

She-Preachers, Sisters, and Messengers from the Lord: British Baptist Women, 1609-1700



Pamela R. Durso

Pamela R. Durso is executive director of Baptist Women in Ministry.

On September 9, 2013, Lynn Green began serving as the general secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain, the fourth largest Christian denominational group in the United Kingdom and a network of 2,150 local churches in England and Wales with thirteen regional associations and six training colleges.¹ Green is the first woman to serve as leader of British Baptists, and her appointment signaled an intentional attempt by the Baptist Union to broaden its leadership base and to embrace a fresh movement of the Spirit.

As she began her work, Green noted, “As Baptists we are blessed that we are formed . . . from many nations; we have so much to learn from each other in our journey to become Christ-centered communities.” She further stated, “We are committed to the priesthood of all believers, where women and men, young and old, rich and poor, are encouraged and released to serve the Lord, each one differently abled and unique.”²

At her induction service on September 22, 2013, Green noted that she had not pursued the general secretary role, but trusted colleagues had nominated her, and she shared that during the time she was prayerfully considering acceptance of the new position, her family began the process to be guardians for two young girls. For her, “The two paths seemed to be ‘mutually exclusive.’” But following a period of “waiting and deep trust,”

Green was named as guardian and also appointed as general secretary.³

While Green's appointment as the top denominational leader marks a major shift, she joins a host of British Baptist women who, for 400 years, have been faithful church members, outspoken leaders, and fiery preachers. Even in the early decades of the seventeenth century as British Baptist churches first began organizing, women played a role. They outnumbered the men in Baptist churches, and "they played a more active role in Baptist life than did women in the Church of England or among Presbyterian ordered congregations."⁴

These years were not easy ones for Baptists in England. The Anglican Church was, of course, a state-established church, and membership in the church was not merely an expectation but a requirement. Participation in dissenting religious groups was forbidden as a violation of the law of the land, and those who refused to comply were subjected to spiritual sanctions as well as financial penalties. While the enforcement of sanctions and penalties varied from parish to parish, leaders of the church and the state sought to "suppress ideas which might be used to undermine their political and religious legitimacy."⁵ As a dissenting group, Baptists were perceived as a threat to social and ecclesiastical order, and as a result, they suffered much persecution and often were targeted for punishment.

Throughout most of the seventeenth century, British Baptist women experienced oppression and lived with the threat of persecution. Yet despite the hardship of membership and participation in this dissenting religious movement, a good number of these women held fast to their convictions and were faithful to their churches. This article highlights the presence and influence of those women and their contributions to the early Baptist movement in England from 1608 to 1700 and argues that among early British Baptists, women found places of service and sometimes even places of leadership in Baptist churches.

A Woman of Influence

While Joan Helwys was not present at the founding of the earliest Baptist church, her influence and experiences were certainly felt by the small congregation that joined together in Amsterdam in 1609. In 1595 Joan Ashmore married Thomas Helwys, and the couple settled at the Helwys family estate near Nottingham. In 1596 the first of their seven children

was born. During the early years of the seventeenth century, the Helwys home became a meeting place for the region's Puritan clergy.⁶ Their visitors enjoyed discussing theology and debating religious issues. One frequent visitor, John Smyth, soon became a close friend to the Helwys family. Eventually, both Thomas and Joan adopted Smyth's Separatist beliefs and joined his congregation.⁷

As penalties for religious dissenters grew more severe, the Helwys family provided funds for their congregation to relocate to Holland and thereby escape persecution. Thomas Helwys traveled with the group in 1608, but Joan stayed behind in England with the seven children. Perhaps the couple intended for her to come at a later time, or they possibly thought that she would escape persecution if he was gone.⁸ His departure, however, did not shield Joan from scrutiny by the British officials for she was soon arrested and imprisoned in York, accused of being a Brownist and charged with refusing to take an oath of loyalty to the Church of England.⁹ Apparently, she was released within several weeks and brought back to court a few months later.¹⁰ The ultimate outcome of her case is unknown.

In 1612, following a division within the Amsterdam church, Thomas Helwys, along with ten church members loyal to him, returned to England, settling near London at Spitalfield. There they planted the first Baptist church on English soil. Joan surely joined her husband in this new church, but no mention is made of her in his later writing with one exception. He named Joan in his will. Thomas died in prison, sometime between 1615 and 1620, and in his will, he bequeathed his widow ten pounds.¹¹

Although her official membership and association with the earliest Baptist churches in Amsterdam and Spitalfield cannot be documented, Joan Helwys's strong commitment to her dissenting beliefs and her willingness to risk imprisonment surely inspired those Baptists who gathered with her husband for worship and who returned with him to England. Before returning, Thomas had written, "And let none think that we are altogether ignorant, what building, and warfare we take in hand, and that we have not sat down and in some measure thoroughly considered what the cost and danger may be."¹² Joan's experience had already taught him the danger of what lay ahead for him and his fellow Baptists.

Women Deacons and Deaconesses

Prior to his return to England, Helwys wrote several documents defending the actions and beliefs of his group, including a confession of faith, *A Declaration of Faith of the English People Remaining at Amsterdam in Holland*. In this 1611 confession he established guidelines for church government, which included these instructions: "The officers of every church or congregation are either elders, who by their office do especially feed the folk concerning their souls (Acts 20:28, Peter 5:2, 3) or deacons, men and women, who by their office relieve the necessities of the poor and impotent brethren concerning their bodies (Acts 6:1-4)."¹³

Two years earlier, John Smyth, who, along with Helwys, had formed the Baptist church in Amsterdam, also had set forth guidelines that included women's service as deacons. In 1609 he wrote *Paralleles, Censures, Observations*, in which he stated, "the church has the power to elect, approve, and ordain her own elders, also to elect, approve, and ordain her own deacons, both men and women."

Whether the church in Amsterdam or the one in Spitalfield actually had women serving as deacons is unclear, but the inclusion of women by Smyth and Helwys in their guidelines for church structure and their intentional mention of women's service to the church as deacons points clearly to their preference for gender inclusion with regard to that particular office of church leadership. The two Baptist founders may well have stood alone in this preference, for no other early English Baptist confessions mentioned women deacons, and some confessions clearly stated that deacons were to be men. According to English Baptist historian John Briggs, "Women are not specifically identified in any of the later confessions of faith of either General or Particular Baptists in the seventeenth century."¹⁴

By the late 1600s a handful of English Baptist churches had appointed widows to assist male deacons, while other churches elected deaconesses. Records from Broadmead Church in Britsol indicate that in 1670, the church selected four women as deaconesses: Sister Smith, Sister Spurgeon, Sister Webb, and Sister Walton, and Mary West was recognized as a deaconess as early as 1671. The assigned duties of these women were to visit the sick, women and men, and to provide encouragement, comfort, and spiritual consolation.¹⁵

Clearly, for early English Baptists the leadership of women as deacons was not a foreign concept, even if the concept was not always fully lived out

in the first half of the seventeenth century. By the last part of the century, for some among the General Baptists, women serving the church in leadership roles had moved beyond a concept to an accepted practice.

Women Preachers

Even before Baptist women were serving as deacons and deaconesses, they were preaching. A 1641 document revealed that six women, Anne Hempstall, Mary Bilbrow, Joane Bauford, Susan May, Elizabeth Bancroft, and Arabella Thomas, had been preaching throughout England in the 1630s.¹⁶ The women, who hailed from Middlesex, Kent, Cambridgeshire, and Salisbury, declared that they took up preaching because "there was a deficiency of good men, wherefore it was but fit that virtuous women should supply their places."¹⁷ Hempstall stated that she had received her calling during a vision of the biblical prophetess Anna. Hempstall's preaching astonished her listeners, not so much because of her content or even because she was a woman preaching; they were astonished that she preached such lengthy sermons. The author of the 1641 document wrote, "long did she preach, and longer I dare avouch than some of the audience were willing."¹⁸

Another early English Baptist woman preacher, Mrs. Attaway, was a lace-maker and member of Bell-Alley Church, a General Baptist congregation in London. In the mid-1640s Thomas Edwards, a Presbyterian minister and a vehement opponent of Baptists, labeled Mrs. Attaway as the "mistress of all the she-preachers on Coleman Street."¹⁹ This Baptist "she-preacher" began in 1645 speaking at sessions held on Tuesday afternoons at four o'clock. Her initial audience was comprised only of women, but in response to the influx of a huge crowd of people, including many men, Mrs. Attaway opened her meetings to all who would like to attend. Edwards noted that "there came a world of people, to the number of a thousand."²⁰

During one gathering Mrs. Attaway offered "a word of exhortation" from Acts 2, noting that the prophecy of Joel was now being fulfilled for the Spirit of God was being poured out on handmaidens. After speaking, Mrs. Attaway led a lengthy prayer and then read John 14:15: "If you love me, keep my commandments." Edwards noted, "Analyzing the chapter as well she could, she then spoke upon the text, drawing her doctrine . . . for the space of some three quarters of an hour." She then opened the floor for discussion,

“for that was their custom to give liberty in that kind.”²¹ On some occasions, this kind of liberty resulted in expressions of opposition.

At a January 8 meeting a woman from the Bell-Alley congregation asked Mrs. Attaway “what warrant she had to preach in this manner.” When questioned about the meaning of “this manner,” the woman responded that Mrs. Attaway should only preach to the baptized. A heated discussion of infant baptism ensued, but in the course of the conversation, Mrs. Attaway noted that she was not preaching but was exercising her gifts in the manner set forth in 1 Peter 4:10-11, that she was fulfilling the Hebrews 10:25 command that Christians “exhort one another,” and that she was obeying Malachi 3:16, which instructed, “Then they that feared the LORD spake often one to another: and the LORD hearkened, and heard it.”²²

For most twenty-first century readers, Mrs. Attaway clearly was taking on the role of preacher during these sessions. But she was hesitant to identify herself as a preacher of the gospel. Interestingly enough, Edwards and many of those in attendance at her meetings easily assigned her the title of preacher. Several explanations for the difference in perception about her role have been offered. Curtis W. Freeman asserted that seventeenth-century Baptists “recognized their preachers as valid if they were called by a gathered congregation,”²³ and Mrs. Attaway’s Tuesday afternoon sessions were not sponsored by a church or understood to be official church services. Thus, because she had not received a congregational call, had not been officially recognized as a minister, and did not serve a local congregation, she understood her role as that of an exhorter, not as a preacher. The other fact to note is that, in describing Mrs. Attaway as a preacher, Edwards certainly did not intend the use of the title to be complementary or a blessing of her work but instead meant his word choice to belittle her role. He often wrote derisively of “illiterate mechanic preachers . . . [and] women and boy preachers,” all of which were unthinkable because of their lack of education and training.²⁴

At that January 8 gathering, following Mrs. Attaway’s quotations of scripture, the contentious discussion continued with other objections made by the Bell-Alley member along with several men in the audience. Eventually Mrs. Attaway stood, offered a prayer of thanksgiving for the occasion, and walked away from the table. Another woman stood and concluded the meeting. In reporting on this meeting, Edwards asserted that Mrs. Attaway left the meeting because she was not fit to argue questions on baptism, but his recording of this lively debate actually demonstrates her openness to dialogue and diversity of

opinion, her embrace of freedom of conscience, her commitment to believer's baptism, and her willingness to walk away from angry retorts.²⁵

A Woman Church Founder

During the same period in which Mrs. Attaway was preaching in London, Dorothy Hazzard was at work in Bristol founding what would eventually become a Baptist church. A few years after the 1631 death of her first husband, Anthony Kelly, Dorothy married Matthew Hazzard, an Anglican minister who had arrived in the city to serve St. Ewins Church. Even before her marriage to Hazzard, Dorothy was clearly a spiritual leader in Bristol. As Edward Terrill described,

It might be said of her as of Ruth (iii.11), all the city did know her to be a virtuous woman: she was like a he-goat before the flock. For in those days Mrs. Kelly was very famous for piety and reformation, well known to all, bearing a living testimony against the superstitions and traditions of those days, and she would not observe their invented times and feasts, called holy days. At which time she kept a grocer's shop in High-street, between the Guilders' Inn and the High Cross, where she would keep open her shop on the time they called Christmas day, and sit sewing in her shop, as a witness for God in the midst of the city, in the face of the sun, and in the sight of all men; even in those very days of darkness, when, as it were, all sorts of people had a reverence of that particular day above all others. And as the Apostle saith, 1 Cor. viii. 7, *There was not in every man that knowledge; for some, with conscience of the idol unto this hour, eat it as things offered unto an idol, and their conscience being weak is defiled.* But this gracious woman (afterwards called Mrs. Hazzard), like Deborah she *arose*, with strength of holy resolution in her soul from God, even a *mother in Israel*, and so she proved: because she was the first woman in this City of Bristol that practiced that truth of ye Lord, which was then hated and odious, namely, separation.²⁶

Sometime around 1640 Dorothy and four others, Goodman Atkins, Mr. Bacon, Goodman Cole, and Richard Moone, began meeting each Sunday afternoon in her home, which was located at the upper end of Broad Street. There they discussed their discontent with the false worship taking place at St. Ewins. With Dorothy as their leader, these conversations soon resulted in action.²⁷

Edward Terrill, who was a member of the Broadmead Church as

early as 1663 and who kept a handwritten account of the church's progress, recounted Dorothy's gradual separation from her husband's church. He reported that one Sunday she walked out of the church service during the middle of her husband's sermons, declaring that he "upheld the lawfulness of images and paintings in churches." The incident grieved Dorothy, causing "a very sore conflict in her spirit" for she knew there would be an "ill report" if she left, and she also feared that she would be "a bad example unto others if she did refrain and not go."²⁸ But in the end, she determined that she must never again listen to one of her husband's sermons, and she held true to her word.²⁹ Terrill further reported that on another Sunday, Dorothy was on her way to the service just to hear the readings from the Book of Common Prayer, when she paused to read her Bible. She happened to open her Bible to Revelation 14 and read verses 9-11:

And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb: And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.³⁰

Dorothy knew that she could never again attend mass or hear a service taken from the Book of Common Prayer.³¹ Following that experience, the five-member group resolved to separate themselves completely from "the false church" and vowed that "they would in the strength and assistance of the Lord, come forth of the world and worship and Lord more purely, preserving therein to their end."³²

Because of the danger of persecution, Dorothy about this same time secured a house outside of town, where two or three families could gather safely. The house was at times used by pregnant women who traveled there from other parishes to deliver their baby, hoping to "avoid the ceremonies of the church."³³

Because of her strong beliefs and her commitment to be part of a "New Testament church," Dorothy challenged the social, political, and religious

views of her day. But with every step she took toward living out her convictions, she took a step further from the beliefs of her husband. At times, Matthew Hazzard seemed to be troubled by his affiliation with the Anglican traditions and thus sided with his wife, but he continued in his role as vicar at St. Ewins. One of his church members confronted Hazzard, predicting that since Dorothy had left the church, she would also abandon the marital bed. The prediction, however, did not prove to be true. Dorothy and Matthew Hazzard remained married, and she “approving her heart to the Lord, walked before him, with her husband, in his ordinances blameless, (to his death near thirty years afterwards).”³⁴

The small group led by Dorothy constituted as a church during the Easter season of 1640. That year “a *baptized* man,” Mr. Cann, visited Bristol, and when Dorothy learned of his presence in the city, she invited him to her home. She soon recognized that Cann was a Baptist, and with his help, the small group organized into a church. Although they founded the church, which would be called Broadmead Church, sometime around 1640, the exact date that the church embraced Baptist views is unknown. In the early 1650s the new church began discussions about the necessity of baptism following a confession of faith, and by 1670, most of the church members had experienced believer’s baptism.³⁵ As a member of Broadmead Church, Dorothy seemed “to have been equal to the whole of the men” who started the church with her,³⁶ and she remained a faithful and active member of the church until her death on March 14, 1675.³⁷

Writing Women Prophetesses

A final group of Baptist women active between 1640 and 1680 were Baptist prophetesses, a term used by Curtis W. Freeman in his 2011 book, *A Company of Women Preachers: Baptist Prophetesses in Seventeenth-Century England, A Reader*.³⁸ Freeman estimated that in the mid-1600s as many as 300 women prophetesses were active in England, and he discovered that at least forty-seven of these women left behind writings. Of these, nine were Baptists.³⁹

These Baptist women, like their Anglican counterparts, “wrote declarations, autobiographies, prophetic judgments, doctrinal disputes, appeals for toleration, epistles, and accounts of sufferings.”⁴⁰ Freeman’s book has writings by or about seven of the Baptist prophetesses: Katherine Childley, Sarah Wight, Elizabeth Poole, Jane Turner, Anna Trapel, Katherine Sutton,

and Anne Wentworth. Included in the book are thirteen documents, numbering about 700 pages. Many of these documents were printed as pamphlets and were circulated widely throughout England.

Six of these seven women prophetesses had Particular (Calvinistic) Baptist ties. The seventh, Childley, associated with a church that moved into Particular Baptist circles, but her writings indicate that she may have remained an Independent. These women shared some basic theological understandings, and most of their writings included a conversion narrative as well as stories about trance-like visions. Each woman was prophetic in her writing and/or speaking, and most of the seven had some connection to the politics of their day. Of the seven, two are of particular interest: Sarah Wight and Elizabeth Poole.

The story of Sarah Wight is found in *The Exceeding Riches of Grace Advanced*, which was written in 1647 by her fellow church members and edited by Henry Jessey, a prominent London Baptist pastor. Wight was converted to the faith at the age of sixteen following four years of emotional and mental struggles, suicidal tendencies, and a seventy-six day fast that left her temporarily deaf and blind. During her fast she had visions of Jesus, saw herself being crucified, and testified of her rebirth in Christ. When the fast ended on June 11, Wight was instructed in a vision to be a minister and a witness.

Wight soon moved to the countryside, where she served and encouraged pilgrims at her home. She also spent time talking with women who had been influenced by her experience. Some of those conversations are recorded in *Exceeding Riches*,⁴¹ and by sharing about her sick bed experiences and her visions both in conversation and in writing, Wight transformed painful moments of her life into opportunities to “preach” the gospel.⁴² She “preached”: “Jesus Christ found me and loved me, before I could love him. He came to me in the most disconsolate condition that ever [a] soul was in. When I must either be delivered, or be destroyed, I could abide no longer, then Christ came. Christ is my life, and my life is hid with Christ in God.”⁴³

Although limited information is known about Wight's later life or her continuing influence, her experiences as recorded in *Exceeding Riches* as well as a later writing, *A Wonderful Pleasant and Profitable Letter* (1656), point to her unique role in early Baptist life. Her youth and her mystical experiences and detailed visions are reflective of Catholic religious women such as Julian of Norwich, but the descriptions of Wight's revelations, as preserved by her Baptist pastor, are “consistent with the doctrines of grace for Particular Baptists.”⁴⁴

Another Baptist woman writing prophetess, Elizabeth Poole, was first a member of the London Baptist church pastored by William Kiffin in the early 1640s. By the end of the decade she had established a relationship with Baptists in Abingdon, who were led by John Pendarves. In 1648-1649 Poole served as a spiritual advisor to the Council of Officers of the army in Whitehall. She met with them twice—on December 29, 1648 and January 5, 1649, during the months in which they were debating the fate of King Charles I, who had been defeated during the Second Civil War. At the first meeting Poole spoke based on a vision she had had, advising the council to use the power God had given them to improve the nation for the Lord. She refused to give specific instructions as to how the power might be used.

The council invited her back just fifteen days before Charles's trial was to begin, and this time, she offered more concrete advice, recommending that they not execute the king, saying, "Stretch not forth the hand against him."⁴⁵ Her recommendation was not well received, and the king was ultimately found guilty and beheaded on January 30.⁴⁶ As these events unfolded, Poole encountered much criticism and was forced to defend her prophetic gifts within her Baptist world. In response, she wrote two treatises in 1649: *An Alarum of War* and *Another Alarum of War*. The longer titles point to a strong conviction that her words were prophetic and should have been received with greater care. This is especially clear in *An Alarum of War Given to the Army and to Their High Court of Justice (so called) revealed by the will of God in a vision to E. Poole (sometimes a messenger of the Lord to the General Council, concerning the Cure of the Land and the manner thereof). Foretelling the judgements of God ready to fall upon them for disobeying the word of the Lord in taking away the life of the King*. These writings went unheeded, and Poole lived out the remainder of her life in relative obscurity in Abingdon.⁴⁷

Conclusion

For more than 400 years the great majority of histories written and published about Baptists have not included stories of women members and leaders and have failed to explore the influence and contributions of those women. In recent years, researchers and historians have worked to correct this problem, and they have even been successful in uncovering writings about and by the earliest British Baptist women.

A careful compilation of seventeenth-century sources reveals many of the ways that women did indeed contribute to the Baptist movement in those early days. They had a variety of roles in the church from member to deacon/deaconesses to preacher to writing prophetess. These women did not demand church leadership roles or even aspire to them. They were not radical feminists or advocates of gender equality. Instead their roles within Baptist churches and their community seem to have been driven by their response to the leading of the Spirit, their firm conviction that God was leading them, and their desire to be faithful and obedient. While they were clearly in the great minority among early Baptist leaders and preachers, women did make significant contributions and filled meaningful roles. **BH&NS**

¹"Baptist Union appoints woman leader and seeks fresh image," *Ekklesia*, September 9, 2013, <http://www.ekklesia.co.uk/node/19033>, accessed September 25, 2013.

²*Ibid.*

³"Lynn Green inducted as General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain," *The Baptist Times*, http://www.baptist.org.uk/Articles/372696/Lynn_Green_inducted.aspx, accessed September 25, 2013.

⁴Curtis W. Freeman, ed., *A Company of Women Preachers: Baptist Prophetesses in Seventeenth-Century England, A Reader* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2011), 2.

⁵Stephen Wright, *The Early English Baptists, 1603-1649* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: The Boydell Press, 2006), 3.

⁶J. Glenwood Clayton, "Thomas Helwys: A Baptist Founding Father," *Baptist History & Heritage* 8/1 (January 1973): 4.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸Richard Groves, introduction to *A Short Declaration of the Mystery of Iniquity (1611/1612)*, by Thomas Helwys, ed. Richard Groves, *Classics of Religious Liberty*, vol. 1 (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998), xxi.

⁹Ronald Albert Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642* (Longmans, 1960), 163.

¹⁰Groves, xxi.

¹¹"Thomas Helwys and his part in religious history," <http://www.nottinghampost.com/Leader-religious-liberty/story-12238885-detail/story.html>, accessed September 25, 2013.

¹²Thomas Helwys, *A Short Declaration of the Mystery of Iniquity (1611/1612)*, ed. Richard Groves, *Classics of Religious Liberty*, vol. 1 (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998), Appendix, 154.

¹³*Ibid.*, Article 20, 121-122.

¹⁴John H. Briggs, "She-Preachers, Widows and Other Women: The Feminine Dimension in Baptist Life Since 1600," *The Baptist Quarterly* 31/7 (July 1986): 337. See also Charles W. Deweese, *Women Deacons and Deaconesses: 400 Years of Baptist Service* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2005), 51.

¹⁵Edward Terrill, *The Records of a Church of Christ Meeting in Broadmead, Bristol, 1640-1688* (London, Hanserd Knollys Society, 1865), 162. Terrill's records were edited from the original manuscript, and notes were added by Nathaniel Haycroft. The Bunyan Society published this version of Terrill's records in 1865.

¹⁶A *Discoverie of Six Women Preachers in Middlesex, Kent, Cambridgeshire and Salisbry* (n.p., 1641). Although the six women are not specifically identified as Baptists, Baptist scholars such as Edward Caryl Starr and William Thomas Whitley included this document in their bibliographies of Baptist writings, indicating that the women were Baptists. See Edward Caryl Starr, *A Baptist Bibliography: Being a Register of Printed Material By and About Baptists, Including Works Written Against the Baptists*, 25 vols. (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1947-1976), and William Thomas Whitley, *A Baptist Bibliography: Being a Register of the Chief Materials for Baptist History, Whether in Manuscript or in Print, Preserved in England, Wales, and Ireland*, 2 vols. (London: Kingsgate Press, 1916-1922). Carolyn Blevins also believed these women to be Baptist. See *Women's Place in Baptist Life* (Brentwood, TN: Baptist History & Heritage Society, 2003), 26.

¹⁷A *Discoverie of Six Women Preachers*, 1.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Quoted in Dorothy P. Ludlow, "Shaking Patriarchy's Foundations: Sectarian Women in England, 1641-1700," in *Triumph over Silence: Women in Protestant History*, Contributions to the Study of Religion, no. 15, ed. Richard L. Greaves (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 96.

²⁰Thomas Edwards, *Gangraena: Or a Catalogue and Discovery of Many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and Pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of This Time* (London: Printed for Ralph Smith, 1645) 1:31. Available online at <http://www.archive.org/stream/gangraenaland200dupeuoft#page/n5/mode/2up>, accessed September 26, 2013.

²¹Ibid., 30.

²²Ibid., 31.

²³Freeman, *A Company of Women Preachers*, 7.

²⁴Edwards, *Gangraena*, Epistle Dedicatory, B.

²⁵Ibid., 32.

²⁶Terrill, *The Records of a Church of Christ Meeting*, 40-41.

²⁷Ibid., 44.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid., 43.

³⁰King James Version.

³¹Laura Clark, "Dorothy Hazzard, Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol, UK," <http://www.broadmeadbaptist.org.uk/historypage.php?content=history/hazzard.htm>, accessed September 25, 2013.

³²Terrill, *The Records of a Church of Christ Meeting*, 45.

³³Ibid., 43.

³⁴Ibid., 48.

³⁵Roger Hayden, ed., *The Records of a Church of Christ Meeting in Bristol, 1640-1687*, Bristol Record Society's Publication, vol. 23 (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1974), 47.

³⁶John Swaish, *Chronicles of Broadmead Church, Bristol: 1640-1923: A Brief Narrative* (Bristol: Young & Humphrys, [1927]), 13.

³⁷Terrill, *The Records of a Church of Christ Meeting*, 107.

³⁸Freeman, *A Company of Women Preachers*.

³⁹Curtis W. Freeman, "Visionary Women among Early Baptists," *Baptist Quarterly* (January 2010), 11. Also available online at <http://divinity.duke.edu/sites/default/files/documents/faculty-freeman/visionary-women-among-early-baptists.pdf>, accessed September 26, 2013.

⁴⁰Kirsten Thea Timmer, "English Baptist Women under Persecution (1600-1688): A Study of Social Conformity and Dissent," *Baptist History & Heritage* 41/1 (Winter 2006): 23.

⁴¹Freeman, *A Company of Women Preachers*, 21.

⁴²Ibid., 149.

⁴³Sarah Wight, "The Exceeding Riches of Grace Advanced" (London: Printed by Matthew Simmons, 1647), in Freeman, *A Company of Women*, 195.

⁴⁴Freeman, *A Company of Women*, 148.

⁴⁵Ibid., 23.

⁴⁶Ibid., 22-23.

⁴⁷Ibid., 23.

NURTURING FAITH EXPERIENCE MONTANA

AUGUST 18-23, 2014

This "experimental experience" in Big Sky Country, Aug. 18-23, will be a unique retreat opportunity. While addressing key issues impacting congregational ministry today, the group also will shape a model for future events in Montana.

Sponsors include *Baptists Today*, Baptist History and Heritage Society, Cooperative Baptist Fellowship of North Carolina and The Pittman Center of Gardner-Webb University. Programming will make good use of the many talents within the group as well as leaders in Montana.

COST

\$1,200 (based on double occupancy) and includes:

- Ground transportation from airport arrival in Bozeman (Aug. 18) until airport departure from Bozeman (Aug. 23)
- Western dinner and housing in Bozeman on Monday night
- All meals from Monday dinner through Saturday breakfast
- Two-day tour and lodging for one night in Yellowstone National Park
- Three nights lodging, meals and activities at Parade Rest Guest Ranch near West Yellowstone, Montana

LODGING

Housing at the ranch and Yellowstone Park includes cabins and lodges. For private rooms, add \$250.

REMINDER

- Each person is responsible for his or her own travel to and from Bozeman. Reservations should be made as soon as possible.
- Much time will be spent in the great outdoors, with optional activities.

\$400 reservation fee. Checks payable to *Baptists Today*, P.O. Box 6318, Macon, GA 31208-6318 / memo line: "NF Montana." \$800 balance due June 15