DEVOUT PEDAGOGIES: A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY CHRISTIAN WOMEN

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This project is situated in scholarship surrounding the rescue, recovery, and (re)inscription of historical women rhetors, particularly those within religious spaces. It places a lens on the rhetorical practices of two religious women: Jessie Penn-Lewis and Margaret E. Barber. I argue that it is important to investigate these women, for doing so reveals not only an area that has not received extensive critical attention, but also informs how scholars look at pedagogy, particularly in religious spaces. The project and methods are grounded in feminist research practices. This project is historical in nature and will thus draw upon feminist historical and archival research methods as my primary methods of investigation. Further, this project is framed as two case studies, which examine closely through textual analysis surviving work produced by these women to begin to extend our knowledge of pedagogical and rhetorical practices in religious spaces. The heuristic used to investigate these texts and women bring forward key themes for study and application such as: how space is used, whether rhetorical or physical; what kind of tools can be used or appropriated for teaching practices; how texts and women circulate and under what conditions and intentions. Finally, I argue for their inclusion within the rhetorical canon as well as rewriting histories of women’s rhetoric; for their work is not only worthy of recognition from the past but more importantly for future scholarship that acknowledges the ways in which institutions of power are still over girls and women. This dissertation points further to the need to research literate practices of “ordinary” people and the barriers of public and private still existing today.
To my husband, for his support through the latter portion of this project.

For my true brothers and sisters who have helped to grow into who I am and most importantly to my Lord, Jesus Christ, for granting me a new way to see and to live
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## I. RHETORICAL PRACTICES IN RELIGIOUS SPACES: A LOOK FROM PAST TO PRESENT

### FROM PAST TO PRESENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coming to the Project</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why these Women?</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessie Penn-Lewis</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret E. Barber</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods and Methodology</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Questions</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature Review</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing (Wo)men into the Canon</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Including Voices from the Margins</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negotiating Spaces</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Tradition in Rhetoric: Preaching and Teaching</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetorical and Pedagogical Practices of Women in the Christian Tradition – Early Europe</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetorical and Pedagogical Practices in the Christian Tradition – America</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholars on the Rhetorical Practices of Religious Women</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spaces for Inventive Pedagogy</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter Overview........................................................................................................ 30

Chapter 2: Methodologies and Method for Analysis .............................................. 30

Chapter 3: Case Study of Jessie Penn-Lewis....................................................... 31

Chapter 4: Case Study of M. E. Barber.............................................................. 31

Chapter 5: Conclusion.......................................................................................... 32

Significance of the Project.................................................................................... 32

II. METHOD AND METHODOLOGY: A FEMINIST APPROACH

TO TEXTUAL ANALYSIS THROUGH HEURISTIC........................................... 35

Methodology.......................................................................................................... 35

Archival Research................................................................................................. 36

Feminist Histories................................................................................................. 39

Methods................................................................................................................. 41

Heuristics.............................................................................................................. 41

Heuristics for Feminist Rhetorical Practices....................................................... 43

Heuristic for Social Circulation........................................................................... 44

Textual Analysis..................................................................................................... 46

Triangulation from the Digital Humanities........................................................ 48

Limitations............................................................................................................ 49

Conclusion............................................................................................................. 51

III. CIRCULATION OF THE SPIRIT: A CASE STUDY OF

JESSIE PENN LEWIS ........................................................................................... 52

Introduction.......................................................................................................... 52

Background......................................................................................................... 52
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heuristic Findings</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voyant Analysis</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus Analysis</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. MEANS OF THE SPIRIT: CASE STUDY OF</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARGARET E. BARBER</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heuristic Findings</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voyant Analysis</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus Analysis</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion of Themes</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Nineteenth Century Missionary Work Norms</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Contexts</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hymnody</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Circulation</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Findings</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Circulation</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I. RHETORICAL PRACTICES IN RELIGIOUS SPACES: A LOOK FROM PAST TO PRESENT

Introduction

In this chapter I situate my project in scholarship surrounding the rescue, recovery, and (re)inscription of historical women rhetors, particularly those within religious spaces. The following sections provide background on the historical period, scholarship and the two women selected for my project: Jessie Penn-Lewis and Margaret E. Barber. I argue that it is important to investigate these women, for doing so reveals not only an area that has not received extensive critical attention, but also informs how we look at pedagogy, particularly in religious spaces. This project is historical in nature and thus draws upon feminist historical and archival research methods grounded in feminist research practices as my primary methods of investigation. Further, I frame this project as two case studies, examining closely through textual analysis surviving work produced by these two women to begin to extend our knowledge of pedagogical practices in religious spaces. Finally, I argue for their inclusion within the rhetorical canon.

Background

Much attention has been given to unearthing women rhetors to place them within the canon of rhetoric. Through such work, the importance and tension of the religious sphere has been roused again and again as women throughout the centuries are brought to light and acknowledged in the rhetorical tradition. Particularly, the position of women in religious spaces has long been contested. I focus on the position of women involved in Christian outreach in the transition from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. Missionary work was particularly active and prominent during the nineteenth century, often being linked to the spread of the British Empire across the globe. However, little attention has been paid in the field of Rhetoric and Composition to the role of women in the missionary movements that occurred...
during this long, and important time in Western history and on an international sphere as well. According to custom and propriety of the period, women seldom ventured such global occupations alone, for the missionary, the preacher, the evangelist were male roles in the divine call to service. A woman who did go out into the missionary field was often part of a set, going as a complement to her spouse—the missionary’s wife. A married unit was thought to be better than the single, for they provided access to both genders abroad. Western propriety went with the missionaries, in all operation under the religious service. And yet, there were still some women who managed to navigate in this male dominated space, both at home and abroad—Jessie Penn-Lewis and Margaret Elizabeth Barber. These two women are important figures for multiple reasons. First, they provide textual evidence to how women could negotiate the religious space that was openly marked as exclusively male—the preaching platform, hymn writing, solo mission work in the field, publishing and teaching, including to mixed audiences. Taking up the call by Royster and Kirsch to not only rescue, recover and (re)inscribe these women into the rhetorical canon, I investigate the role of social circulation surrounding these women and their pedagogy in a space that is often overlooked in the field of rhetoric—religion.

**Coming to the Project**

Since the early stages of my academic journey, I have been drawn to historical texts and periods, devoting most of my undergraduate coursework and master’s level courses to early literature. I delved into the Victorian period with relish, writing my undergraduate thesis on landscape in the complete novels of Jane Austen. I found it curious that there was tension between the ideal scenery in the texts and the economical state that forbid the heroines from possessing the very spaces they admired. For my master’s portfolio, I investigated the charges brought against Lady Charlotte Guest (an affluent, nineteenth century Welsh woman) regarding
her translation of *The Mabinogion*, an early Welsh text, which was handled at that time only by male scholars.

I found myself once again in familiar territory when I began the Rhetoric and Writing program at Bowling Green State University. One of my first courses of the program was a special topics course, Nineteenth Century American Women Rhetors, taught by Dr. Sue Carter Wood. I started to see these women and the space they navigated and negotiated to in order to express their convictions. The course was eye opening and a direct connection from my previous academic interests and research to the field of Rhetoric and Composition.

In the fall of 2014, I began to pursue an interest in Christian history, a subject that I have entertained during my free time over the span of the last decade. I had recently come across a particular woman, Margaret E. Barber, whose doctrinal teaching had been passed on for many generations though she had been unnoticed by many religious scholars. I began to look for other women of her period (the late nineteenth century into the early twentieth century) and found others, like her, who were no longer visible to church history or were not noticed in the first place. I selected another woman who shared a similar thread in doctrinal teaching to Barber: Jessie Penn-Lewis. Here began the current project under consideration.

**Why these Women?**

Jessie Penn-Lewis and Margaret E. Barber were contemporaries to each other during the late nineteenth century – early twentieth century and were also aware of the other’s writing. M.E. Barber specifically refers her pupils to the work of Jessie Penn-Lewis and other religious scholars of the time. Further, Penn-Lewis was one of the only women to openly speak/preach in an international convention from the Christian movement she was in. Also, I chose these women because of the subject matter they teach, the topic of the cross and a particular look at the growth
and maturity of a Christian. They are also recognized by some later religious communities as part of a spiritual genealogy. They also link themselves to an earlier woman, Madame Jeanne Guyon, who is considered to be part of a particular movement or period in church history often referred to as the Mystics, Christians who were devoted in their spiritual pursuit in the Catholic Church. Finally, they both bring different approaches to educating and mentoring those around them, showing their work is deserving of scholarly inquiry.

Jessie Penn-Lewis

Jessie Penn-Lewis was born on February 28\textsuperscript{th}, 1861, in Neath, South Wales. Her father was a Civil and Mining Engineer and her mother was the daughter of a business man. She was sickly the majority of her life—illness after illness followed her and she had a chronic condition that today we would call asthma, which was at the time not effectively treated. Though sickly, Penn-Lewis was very active. From her youth, she was a part of the Good Templar temperance movement in Britain, holding an administrative office for the junior league until of age to participate at full capacity as an adult. Upon her marriage she moved to Sussex, England and there received salvation in the Christian doctrine. Penn-Lewis and her husband actively preached and spoke throughout that region of England. They frequently took in young women to provide them aid and announce the gospel to them. Penn-Lewis frequently had visitors to her home, where she advised and offered spiritual guidance even when suffering under the frequent complaints of her illness. Beyond this, Penn-Lewis was part of the YWCA and held a bible study educating women and preaching the gospel to them. In later years, Penn-Lewis travelled across the globe, spending time in North America, India and China to spread the gospel in person while publishing teaching on the “work of the cross” and “spiritual warfare” in missionary newsletters.
Jessie Penn-Lewis was a prolific writer. She kept a journal throughout most of her life and wrote thirteen full-length books on Christian experiences. She often made available through her publication *The Overcomer*, a Christian periodical, works of other religious authors that she found important to the spiritual growth of Christians all over the globe. She wrote forwards to books and produced small tracts and newsletters to missionaries in many parts of the world. Upon her death (1927), The Overcomer Literature Trust was established in Wiltshire, UK that still publishes to this day.

*Margaret E. Barber*

Margaret E. Barber was born in 1866 to a middle-class family in Peasenhall, Suffolk, England. A single woman all her life, her involvement in missionary work was difficult and often challenged. Shortly after her conversion experience, she felt called to mission work. She left home to serve as an Anglican missionary for the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Fuzhou, China. Barber taught at the Tau Su Girls’ High School (founded by the Church of England) and also guided and advised students from her home. After some time in China, a report was sent back to the mission board that she served under, bringing her under serious charges. She was called back to England because of the charges and she chose not to defend herself. She remained in England until the chairman of the mission board became aware of the misrepresentation of the report and demanded her version of the story. She provided her testimony and was openly vindicated before the mission board. However, by this time, she had pursued further spiritual guidance, and broke with the Anglican denomination. Thus, she set out again for China apart from the support of any mission board.

M.E. Barber is best known by those who came after her. During her lifetime, she taught extensively a handful of young people in China who became key leaders in spreading the gospel
and her spiritual experiences throughout China. Though M.E. Barber never published a book, there are still traces of her pedagogy left behind in the form of personal correspondence (a few letters remain), poems, hymns, published letters to missionary newsletters and written accounts by those whom she taught over the course of her lifetime. M.E. Barber died in China, in 1929. Her pedagogy extends beyond the written text, as many of the accounts of her reveal an oral tradition of teaching. Her hymns and poems were written to instruct as well, providing another vehicle of learning for her pupils locally and globally.

Methods and Methodology

In chapter two, I provide a fuller discussion of the methodologies and methods informing this project. In the discussion below, I preview the methods that I selected for best conducting my proposed study. This project is at its core a feminist rescue/recovery study; therefore, the scholarship and the methods reflect feminist methodological approaches to my research. I particularly draw from two main methods: feminist historical and archival methods through the work of Kirsch and Royster, and feminist textual analysis as put forward by Kathleen Ryan. I will triangulate my work by looking at pedagogy and a digital program Voyant developed by digital humanities scholars to cross check my findings.

Research Questions

1. What can the study of women in religious spaces teach us about rhetorical practices of their period, for example preaching, singing, teaching spiritual contexts, hymn writing?
2. About the religious teaching practices of their period?
3. How are the feminist rhetorical practices of these women useful in understanding the range of practices in the knowledge that students bring with them?
To develop a heuristic for answering these questions, I draw on the following methodology as outlined in Kirsch & Royster work *Feminist Rhetorical Practices*: social circulation, critical imagination, globalization, and strategic contemplation. These methodologies will be explored in more detail in chapter two.

**Literature Review**

In the following discussion, I provide a review of the scholarship that has informed my research. I look particularly at the move for rescue, recovery, and (re)inscription of women into the rhetorical canon, the spaces that women have negotiated physically and rhetorically, the inclusion of voices of women into the canon and the historical relationship between Christian tradition and rhetoric.

**Writing (Wo)men into the Canon**

The space and placement of women in history is a long fraught one, though much work has been done in recent decades to adjust the imbalance in the rhetorical canon. Tracing back to ancient times, we see that even the women who are permitted into the sphere of rhetoric do so at a cost. Cheryl Glenn, in her ground-breaking text *Rhetoric Retold: ReGendering the Tradition from Antiquity Through the Renaissance*, traces the acts and practices of women such as Aspasia and Sappho, who are acknowledged through the back of the hand. Their bodies must be brought into the picture if attention is to be paid to them. Aspasia, for example,

Opened an academy for young women of good families that soon became a popular salon—not a brothel—for the most influential men of the day; she established a reputation as a rhetorician, as a philosopher, and as a member of the Athenian intelligentsia; she was memorialized by a number of those same men….However, for those very same reasons (being female, being a foreigner), her contributions were later
directed through a powerful gendered lens to both refract and reflect [men], rather than herself (13).

Woman has long been the carnival mirror for male histories, reflecting an ideal man while remaining herself in distortion or shadow. This positioning is not because of reality, but because of the narrow, patriarchal focus that has too long been given to the history of rhetoric. Glenn notes, “women’s rhetorical lives have always existed, among the innumerable, interminable, clear examples of public, political, agnostic, masculine discourse” (175). Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg in their seminal anthology *The Rhetorical Tradition: Readings from Classical Times to the Present* similarly bring forward women from the classical era into the modern period, though with a heavy dose of canonical male rhetors. From their excerpts on Christine de Pizan, Margaret Fell, Madeleine de Scudery, Sor Juana Inez de la Cruz, Mary Astell, Sarah Grimke, Phoebe Palmer, and Frances Willard we can see female rhetors speaking out in their own defense/cause (de la Cruz) as well as instructing other women how to navigate within the male dominated spaces that they inhabit (de Pizan, Grimke). Scholars Joy Ritchie and Kate Ronald have taken the anthology on the history of rhetoric further (even challenging Bizzell and Herzberg), editing a collection that traces only women from antiquity through to the late twentieth century, not through the lenses of intellectual periods (such as the Enlightenment) but in the context of other female rhetors speaking out on similar issues. To do so, places these women in relation to each other, not in isolation, each as a heroine alone against the odds (xix).

In her full volume work, *Rhetorical Theory by Women before 1990: An Anthology*, Jane Donawerth includes ancient women rhetors from the Far East, extending the map of the rhetorical canon. Donawerth likewise fills in the gap on the body of work during the Enlightenment with robust texts from rhetors such as Hannah More to Eliza Farrar. Andrea
Lunsford’s collection *Reclaiming Rhetoric*, a collection of essays looking at particular women rhetors from antiquity to modern day, offers not a separate tradition of women rhetors or a “new rhetoric,” but seeks rather to interrupt the seamless narrative usually told about the rhetorical tradition and to open up possibilities for multiple rhetorics…that would not name and valorize one traditional, competitive, agonistic, and linear mode of rhetorical discourse but would rather incorporate other, often dangerous moves: breaking silence; naming in personal terms; employing dialogics; recognizing and using power of conversation; moving centripetally towards connections, and valuing—indeed insisting upon—collaboration (6).

Instead of offering a “new rhetoric,” a complete history, or unified text, the collection is diverse and inclusive. It represents “widely varying and contrasting approaches, methodologies, scholarly styles, and individual voices” (7). Lunsford’s collection brings in not only women rhetors but different/differing scholarly approaches to the women placed in the collection. What the work of the scholars in this section reveals are the existence of women rhetors from antiquity to modern times, as well as the challenges and impetus to enrich the “landscape” of what is defined as part of the rhetorical tradition. This project in many ways builds upon the groundwork laid by their work in making Christian women rhetors and their work more visible today as continuing the tradition.

*Including Voices from the Margins*

With all of the excavation that has taken place to bring forward women rhetors in the rhetorical tradition, it is especially important to look in the “margins,” in places that are often out of focus from most research. Within the movement to recover women into the canon, some
academics have focused their attention on more specific areas of recovery. Scholars such as Shirley Wilson Logan with her work “We are Coming”: The Persuasive Discourse of Nineteenth Century Black Women, Jacqueline Jones Royster’s text, Traces of a Stream: Literacy and Social Change among African American, and portions of Karlyn Kohrs Campbell’s multivolume work Man Cannot Speak for Her, bring to light the rhetorical practices and voices of nineteenth century African American women rhetors from a historical and feminist approach. All three works clearly convey the richness of the period, an era where documentation from these women is made more visible in conjunction with the social and political movements of the time (women’s suffrage, anti-slavery efforts). As Jones Royster acknowledges in her introduction, she selected elite African American women, “focusing particularly on elites of the nineteenth century, an era during which the shift in educational opportunity after the Civil War gave rise for the first time to the development of a cadre of well-educated women” (6). Her text overall looks at the literacy practices of these women, showing the ways in which they made their voice(s) heard, known. The women investigated in her text were editors or contributors to publications that were circulated during that period of time that carried inherently Christian values—a characteristic that will be addressed in this project. Anthologies such as The Rhetorical Tradition by Bizzell and Herberg and Available Means by Ritchie and Ronald also mindfully incorporate rhetors of color into their compilations, giving space to Belinda’s “Petition of an African Slave”, texts from Cherokee women (“Cherokee Women Address Their Nation”), Sarah Winnemuca’s Life among the Piutes, and Fannie Barrier Williams’ “The Intellectual Progress of the Colored Women of the United States since the Emancipation Proclamation.” These texts provide a much richer landscape of the rhetorical practices of women from multiple backgrounds and ethnicities.
Shirley Wilson Logan takes up the discourse of African American women, a move that allows her to examine not only the texts produced by these women but also the phenomenon of presence and speech. Though like Royster most of the women included in her text engaged in traditional literacy practices (Ida B. Wells, Frances Harper, and Anna Julia Cooper), her approach allows her to make space for women like Sojourner Truth, a (traditionally speaking) illiterate woman, bringing in opportunity to highlight different rhetorical features and practices. What Royster and Logan offer through their recovery work is a look at the way in which morality, religion and Christian virtue played a key part in their rhetorical practices. Logan notes that

in some African religious cultures women played major roles as priestesses, queens, and diviners….While most historians of nineteenth-century black women focus on the National Association of Colored Women and the secular club movement, the training ground for developing organizational—I would add—speaking skills was the black church (xiii).

Christian organizations “offered black women a forum wherein to articulate a public discourse critical of women’s subordination (Higgenbotham, qtd. in “We are Coming”). Women across races were negotiating and adopting strategies within Christianity to carry out social and political activism. Likewise, in this project attention is given to rhetorical practices such as public speaking, teaching and activism through a case study of Jessie Penn-Lewis in a later chapter.

**Negotiating Spaces**

Looking further into rhetorical practices, it is also important to examine space. In scholarship on historical women’s rhetorical practices, I provisionally define “space" as negotiation of physical location/presence/area/sphere by existing discourses or power structures
and expand it to include the creating or transforming of location into rhetorical space. Much work has been done to identify the importance of space in revising of the canon by rhetoric scholars. Feminist scholars such as Anne Ruggles Gere, with her work *Intimate Practices: Literacy and Cultural Work in U.S. Women’s Clubs, 1880-1920*, reveal the spaces, particularly clubs, where women found room to develop, share and extend their rhetorical practices to further their political causes. As Gere notes,

One force animating this intimacy derived from clubwomen’s common religious heritages, since a majority of clubs were organized around denominational affiliations. Many clubs grew out of church / synagogue groups and sought particularly in the early days, approval from religious leaders or those who set a high moral tone….Except for working women’s groups, common denominational ties constituted an important source of identity for many clubwomen (41).

Clubs, particularly those with religious affiliation provided a space for women to reaffirm their identities and engage in activities that allowed them to effectively advocate for their social and religious causes (e.g. Mormon women clubs).

Likewise, Priscilla Murolo takes up clubs, spaces and activities of African American women in her book *The Common Ground of Womanhood: Class, Gender, and Working Girls’ Clubs, 1884-1928*. Nan Johnson also brings in the topic of space and in her text, *Gender and Rhetorical Space in American Life, 1866-1910*. Johnson continues investigation in the complicated representation of women rhetors that were often produced (reaffirmed) through manuals and writing guides. Examining specifically the way in which parlor rhetoric and the idealized, domestic woman often undercut the rhetoric practices of late nineteenth century women. Figures such as Willard were frequently framed within an ideological motto: “No matter
where a woman goes or what she does, she succeeds best at home where her rhetorical powers and other talents are at their most divine” (148). Further, even the most progressive texts of the period drew comparison of

> the rhetorical power a woman might wield in the pulpit or on the platform to the far greater power she possesses in the home [directly situates within] the many arguments posed in postbellum parlor rhetorics, conduct manuals, and social commentaries that urged American women to exchange public rhetorical roles for maternal influence at home….a “divine” rhetorical calling waits for any woman who knows that her ‘native instincts draw her homeward’ (149).

Biographies, a form of writing taken up by Johnson, were frequently a place to tame the use of the space that women such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton utilized for reform. Johnson illuminates the ways in which the space that women physically inhabited was often brought upon women to domesticate and feminize other physical and rhetorical spaces that women used to communicate their cause. In a later chapters I discuss how rhetorical and physical space operate for the women rhetors investigated within the scope of this project.

*Christian Tradition in Rhetoric: Preaching and Teaching*

The Christian tradition has arguably been in existence since the time of Christ. This term has been generally described as arguments that are bound in or draw from the Christian god and doctrinal practices as outlined by the Catholic Church and other forms of Christianity that have developed over time. It has also found its place within the sphere of rhetoric, most frequently in the male voice, and most notably making its presence through male rhetors such as St. Augustine (*The Rhetorical Tradition*). Augustine, who is regularly identified in this tradition as well as the rhetorical canon, received a formal secular education in the study of rhetoric, which he later
taught it until his conversion in 398 C.E. His education is an example of the focus during this period. Rhetoric was taught as one of the trivium, a minor foundational subject of education and theology indeed was placed at the advanced level of education on same footing with philosophy as “serious higher education.” The relationship between rhetoric and religion was strong in education and in his experience. When he entered the Catholic church his most influential work on rhetoric *On Christian Doctrine*, directed the “Christian pastor on how to foster both psychological and social order by correctly interpreting the Scriptures and conveying this truth to diverse audiences” (451). Preaching, which was one of three major rhetorical arts is given extensive attention to in his seminal text. Instructing a male audience on preaching and rhetorical treatment of doctrine, Augustine continues a long tradition of the male only voice and space that was predominate in the secular sphere into the religious sphere. His work *On Christian Doctrine* remained the authoritative text well into the Renaissance period and is still print today as a seminal text in field of rhetoric and theology (452). Equally popular in the treatment of the male voice in religious space is the apostle Paul with his injunction against the speaking of women within the church.

*Rhetorical and Pedagogical Practices of Women in the Christian Tradition – Early Europe*

Tracing back to the time of the apostle Paul in his epistles, the role, space, and voice of women have clearly been restricted and defined. Women have fought, defended, and pleaded their way into religious spaces. Margery Kempe (1373-1439), who authored the earliest autobiography in the English language, disrupted the social and cultural norm of medieval women to follow her call from God to “weep (her gift of tears) and to pray for the souls of her fellow Christians—not in a cell or convent, but throughout England, Europe, and the Holy Land” (*Reclaiming Rhetorica*, 53). She sought out her way to spread her message on pilgrimages, often
finding her audience (particularly male) to be hostile and derisive of her cause. The reception of her mission was critiqued both within narrative and the text itself. Her text exists because of the copying done by scribes who were male, for she was illiterate and uneducated. The tensions are present in both spaces. Christine de Pizan (1365-1430), a French contemporary of Kempe, noted the negative treatment of women particularly in literary work. Like Kempe, Christine shares her lament under such negative representation and accusation of her sex:

I decided that God had formed a vile creature when he made woman…how such a worthy artisan could have deigned to make such an abdominal work which, from what they say, is the vessel as well as the refuge and abode of every evil and vice….a great unhappiness and sadness welled up in my heart….look at all these accusations which have been judged, decided, and concluded against women, I do not know how to understand this repugnance (Available Means, 34).

Pizan, like Kempe has a vision, a divine calling, and composes The Book of the City of Ladies as a result, for the edification of her sex. This work and subsequent texts (The Treasure of the City of Ladies) from Christine served as manuals of instruction ranging all the class and rank of the women of her day, teaching them how to navigate the confined roles and spaces they occupied in virtue and prudence. Julian of Norwich, who was a contemporary to Chaucer, Kempe and Christien de Pizan, also struggled to enter religious spaces. Julian composed the text Revelations of Divine Love, which was a challenge to the misogynistic writing and teaching perpetuated in her day through the mouths of religious leaders and other proponents of woman as the line of Eve, the cause for the fall of mankind. Julian, like Christine and Margery Kempe, saw visions or revelations from God that serve to authenticate her mission and work. Her work challenged the teachings of the medieval church in both form and content. She chose to write in the first person
“I”, which stylistically challenged the position that women could not interpret Scripture, let alone teach or write with any serious on the subject (Available Means, 23). This thread of women seeking and fighting for their spiritual understanding to be heard carries throughout the centuries to the present day.

In the seventeenth century, Madame Jeanne Guyon sought to be heard in religious spaces. In her autobiography that she addressed to her director, she relates her spiritual conversion, pilgrimages, letters to many Catholic spiritual leaders, and her sufferings on account of her unique and intimate approach to her faith. Madame Guyon (as she is frequently referred to in scholarship) not only shared with visitors on her journeys but also to guests in her home about her faith. She wrote texts as well to teach and explain to others how to gain deeper spiritual experiences, most notably, Spiritual Torrents.¹

Madame Guyon had a significant impact on an Archbishop, Father Francois Fenelon. Set up initially to challenge her teaching and experiences, Fenelon soon found himself convinced by her life and writing. He was long a proponent of her faith and teaching even to the point of losing his position (Fenelon was not only an Archbishop but a royal tutor, both positions were stripped). Her spiritual practices eventually came to be linked to the Quietist doctrine, something banned by Pope XXX the Innocent. Sharing with Margery Kemp and Julian Norwich, she was faithful to her spiritual practice, even in the midst of heavy opposition and persecution. These women, inhabiting the space allotted by the Catholic Church, are frequently referred to as Mystics (otherwise known as the inner life movement as the centuries pass—one of these women comes from the Anglican church, which has direct ties to the Mystics).

¹ Jessie Penn-Lewis reprinted a condensed version of Spiritual Torrents, where she wrote a preface putting the work in context with herself and modern writers of her time. The book also contains annotations/commentary throughout by Jessie Penn-Lewis.
Margaret Fell, an English Quaker and contemporary of Guyon, gave the use of her estate, her voice, and her pen to the propagation of the Society of Friends. Fell takes her writing a move further than those that have gone before her in that she clearly stated the case and defense for women to speak. In her tract *Women’s Speaking Justified, Proved, and Allowed by the Scriptures*, Fell takes the audience (of which is assumed to be detractors of women speaking, teaching and other roles in the Protestant churches. Her bold language from the beginning of the text is a major step publicly and historically in relation to women before her and her contemporaries:

Whereas it hath been an objection in the mind of many, and several times hath been objected by the clergy, or ministers, and others, against womens speaking in the Church; and so consequently may be taken, that they are condemned for meddling in the things of God; the ground of which objection is taken from the Apostles words, which he writ in his first Epistle to the Corinthians…and also what he wrote to Timothy in the first Epistle….But how far they wrong Apostles intentions in these Scriptures, we shall shew clearly when we come to them in their course and order. (*The Rhetorical Tradition*, 753)

She takes up the objection from the first sentence and shows her tone of authority in her execution of her argument by laying out the progression and her solid knowledge of the Scriptures. Her language becomes stronger after each example and/or exposition of Scripture is laid out:

Let this word of the Lord, which was from the beginning, stop the mouths of all that oppose womens speaking in the power of the Lord; for he hath put enmity between the woman and the serpent; and if the seed of the woman speak not, the seed of the serpent speaks; for God hath put enmity between the two seeds, and it is manifest, that those that
speak against the woman and her seeds speaking, speak out of the enmity of the old
serpents seed...(753)

Fell states that those who oppose women speaking are speaking from the enemy of both man and
God, the old serpent. Further, she claims that the speaking that women are doing is “in the power
of the Lord.” This section is a double-edged sword; for to say that women speaking are speaking
“in the power of the Lord” says that those prohibiting women to speak are working against God
(as He is moving in His power through the mouths of women) and also that they are speaking for
the enemy, Satan. Such speaking is clearly a thunder bolt to the audience she identifies in her
opening words: clergy, ministers, and others. This excerpt correlates with Fell’s autobiographical
account of her defense to her accusers as well as how she carried herself as a leader in the
Society of Friends; she fought for her cause in political and religious spheres.

The frequency of women speaking, teaching and preaching in the nineteenth century was
greatly aided by the Methodist and Quaker denominations. John Wesley permitted women to
speak in church and even later, upon the challenging of women leaders in the denomination,
openly accepted that women could preach publicly. One of the key women in this major shift in
the roles permitted to women within religious space was Mary Bosanquet, who is directly
responsible for the change in Wesley in favor of the woman preacher. Bosanquet, who had
shared in running an orphanage, hosting prayer meetings and “class meetings” had led many to
conversion which in turn brought heavy criticism upon her. She decided to address the criticism
and wrote Wesley a letter in which she laid out each of the objections to her work:

Objection:—But the Apostle says, I suffer not a woman to speak in the Church—but
learn at home. I answer—was not that spoke in reference to a time of dispute and

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2 This is the term that John Wesley gave the meetings that Bosanquet lead prior to his acceptance of women lay-
preachers.
contention, when many were striving to be heads and leaders, so that his saying, She is not to speak, here seems to me to imply no more than the other, she is not to meddle with Church Government.

Objection:—Nay, but it meant literally, not to speak by way of Edification, while in the Church, or company of promiscuous [mixed-sex] worshippers.

Answer:—Then why is it said, Let the woman prophecy with her head covered, or can she prophecy without speaking? Or ought she to speak but to edification? (Bizzell and Herzberg 1086)

Bosanquet chose to compose the letter as a debate, written in question and answers, a style that is more common to the spoken debate than a letter. This rhetorical move allowed her to speak freely and directly to the criticism and walk her audience through the debate, building her ground of argument. It was quite successful—Wesley chose to acknowledge that women could be lay preachers, though it may be due to an “extraordinary call.” Eventually, there were over forty women serving as “lay preachers” of the Methodist denomination during this period (late eighteenth century).

*Rhetorical and Pedagogical Practices in the Christian Tradition – America*

Out of this groundwork, scholars have noted later fruit or proponents in America such as Maria Stewart and the Grimke sisters Angelina and Sarah Grimke. What is particularly unique about the Grimke sisters, especially Sarah, was an open challenge that women can and should preach. In her letter (Letter XIV) Ministry of Women, Sarah Grimke clearly argues, section by section the reasons, interpretation and positions that women can and should occupy. From the start, her challenge is clear:
According to the principle which I have laid down, that man and woman were created equal, and endowed by their beneficent Creator with the same intellectual powers and the same moral responsibilities, and that consequently whatever is morally right for a man to do, is morally right for a woman to do, it follows as a necessary corollary, that if it is the duty of man to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ, it is the duty also of woman (The Rhetorical Tradition, 1054)

Starting with the argument about what is morally right and that men and women were created equal she boldly asserts that if men can preach then women can too. But she is doing something more than just arguing for women to be able to speak in church meetings; she is arguing for and setting out to prove why women can preach, prophesy, teach. This move takes her beyond her predecessors. Grimke lays out first, an open challenge to ministering or office of minister or priest. She specifically cites pre-Mosiac law to show that being called to preach, prophecy or see (as in seers) existed before the Jewish priesthood. This ministry was first and has nothing to do with the priesthood (1055). After setting up this argument, she then moves to the New Testament principle that Christ came as the fulfilment of the law and that he abolished it.

Now why were sacrifices instituted? They were types of that one great sacrifice, which in the fullness of time was offered up through the eternal Spirit with spot to God. Christ assumed the office of priest; he ‘offered himself,’ and by so doing, abolished forever the order of the priesthood, as well as the sacrifices that the priests were ordained to offer.

With these two passages, she argues that preaching is before the law, therefore superior, as it preceded the Jewish priesthood and further, she proves that as most Protestant believers would support, Christ both fulfilled the law and abolished it for He was the great high priest and sacrifice to a new ministry. This line of reasoning is very similar to that of the apostle Paul, in his
debate with the Christian Jews in the Epistle to the Hebrews. She next takes up the argument of teaching by way of prophecy, speaking forth the word of God. She makes another dig at the priesthood in the examples, saying that the priests “were simply commanded to read the law to the people.” Again, she is noting how this old priesthood is inferior to the mediums/positions that are occupied in the church. Grimke identifies prominent examples of women who prophesied in the Old Testament, such as Deborah and Miriam, women who not only prophesied but also had the power through their words to turn the current situation of their time. She then turns the argument to not only a theological discussion but a lexical one too. Again, on the topic of prophecy, Grimke exalts:

We attach to the word prophecy, the exclusive meaning of foretelling future events, but this is certainly a mistake; for the apostle Paul define it to be ‘speaking to edification, exhortation, and comfort.’ And there appears no possible reason why women should not do this as well as men. At the time that the Bible was translated into English, the meaning of the prophecy, was delivering a message from God, whether it was to predict future events, or to warn people of the consequences of sin. (1056)

What Grimke shows here is not only a sound argument, but also authority regarding interpretation of the Scriptures. It is more than the words or argument that challenges the position and ability of women to preach—she educates her audience on how to interpret the Bible. It is as though she is in the act of preaching in her writing. Grimke delivered here a sermon to her audience, a move that her reader will clearly recognize. Grimke is one the clearest examples of women fighting for women to have a place behind the pulpit, to preach and prophecy and she is one of the clearest examples of a woman preaching to her audience. She, in fact, enacts what she defends.
Frances Willard continues the Methodist line of religious spaces women intersected. Willard actually received a teaching degree from Oberlin College, attending the only co-educational school in the U.S. (1114). She taught both men and women, spoke in public settings and evangelical meetings. Willard served as President of the WCTU (Women’s Christian Temperance Union), an organization for women supporting the prohibition of alcohol. She was an activist, one who found her views firmly centered in her doctrine. One of Willard’s most famous texts, Woman in the Pulpit (Rhetorical Tradition), specifically addresses the silencing of women in religious spaces, such as barring of women preachers. This text is a thorough argument that works through several points of contention. In her first section, “The Letter Killeth,” she specifically takes up the issue of interpretation of Scripture on the topic of women speaking in the church. Willard uses an extreme case of application to literal interpretation to set up her argument:

The First Congregational Church organized in New Jersey ordered its chorister ‘not to allow any women to sing in the choir, because Paul had commanded women to keep silence in the churches.’ This is the most illustrious instance, so far as I know, of absolute fidelity to a literal exegesis concerning woman’s relation to public worship. By the same rule of interpretation, Luther and Washington must have treasured up unto themselves wrath against the day of wrath when, in church and state, they severally proceeded to ‘resist the power,’ for it is declared that ‘whosoever resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.’ (1124)

Beginning with the choir example she shows her reader the absurdity of the literal application. Building from it, she moves into two examples of breaking a literal application of Scripture that her audience (Americans and Protestants) would consider very noble and foundational to great
shifts in history: Washington, breaking from England, and Luther in his 39 article document that openly challenged the Catholic Church. After providing several more examples of the contradictions of literal application to scripture, Willard explains her understanding (and teaches the audience how to view these discrepancies:

In presence of these multiple instances, and many others that might be named, what must a plain Bible-reading member of the laity conclude? For my own part, I long ago found in these two conflicting methods of exegesis, one of which strenuously insisted on a literal view, and the other played fast and loose with God’s word according to personal predilection, a pointed illustration of the divine declaration that ‘it is not good for man to be alone.’ We need women commentators to bring out the women’s side of the book; we need the stereoscopic view of truth in general, which can only be had when a woman’s eye and a man’s together shall discern the perspective of the Bible’s full-orbed revelation. (1126)

What Willard accomplishes here, pulling from a famous quote from the book of Genesis, is a new turn and call for women to not only speak but to interpret with man. She is explicitly declaring women are capable of interpreting the Bible not only for themselves but for others and should be allowed to do it alongside their male counterparts (Genesis metaphor), offering a complete perspective of the Bible’s revelation. In other words, to interpret the Bible without the help of women is incomplete. This is a bold move. In her later sections, Willard takes up “The Spirit Giveth Life” Men preach creed, women will declare a life. Men deal in formulas, women in facts. She argues in her debate that

The entrance of woman upon the ministerial vocation will give to humanity just twice the probability of strengthening and comforting speech, for women have at least as much
sympathy, reverence, and spirituality as men, and they have at least equal felicity of manner and of utterance. Why then, should the pulpit be shorn of half its power? (1133)

It is worth noting the order in which she lists the traits that women share in common with man. She begins her list with sympathy, a word frequently applied to the nineteenth century idealized Christian women and therefore easy for her audience to accept. She moves from sympathy to reverence, shifting to more explicit religious tone and closer to language frequently linked to male religious figures. She then lists spirituality, a term that is important for marking placement in religious spaces, both individually and collectively. Spirituality is a term laden with codes, practices, and doctrinal stance. However, in the last three words she chose to draw the similarity to men, the moves to more clear physical terms: felicity, manners and utterance. She brings forward language that allows the audience to visualize the comparison as she concludes her point—“why then should the pulpit be shorn of half of its power?” By saying this, not only she draw attention to behavior and actions but to a specific space and place, one of power, authority, and one that is heavily rhetorical. Willard is claiming that without the female preacher what man is offering now from that “sacred space” (the pulpit) is insufficient, it is only half, only able to deliver half of what it should. Again, another bold move from Willard. Moreover, Willard revisits this language in addressing the counterargument to her point above on the point of equality in the space/role of preacher with men:

But some men say it will disrupt the home. As well might they talk of driving back the tides of the sea. The mother-heart will never change. Woman enters the arena of literature,…becomes a teacher, a philanthropist, but she is a woman first of all, and cannot deny herself. In all these great vocations she has still been ‘true to the kindred points of heaven and home;’ and everybody knows that, beyond almost any other, the
minister is one who lives at home. The firesides of the people are his week-day sanctuary, the pulpit is near his own door, and its publicity is so guarded by the people’s reverence and sympathy as to make it of all others the place least inharmonious with woman’s character and work. (1135)

Willard revisits the words reverence and sympathy once again, and this time her argument moves to turning the masculine minister towards the domestic, and therefore, feminine sphere. She effectively shifts through a series of language the argument of space to indeed another space—those connected to the pulpit (or better) the pulpit is in the home. This setup allows her to first show the places/spaces that women have effectively occupied outside of the home while still holding the position/place role of mother. She directly brings the minister into the home; a common part of the minister’s duties was to visit people in their homes. She brings the pulpit near his own door—in other words minister and the pulpit are both mobile—bringing authority, and all that the position represents, from the building of worship to the hearth (in the home).

What is clearly shown through investigating the texts of Protestant women rhetors such as Willard, Grimke, Bosanquet, and Fell along with the work of Catholic women rhetors including Madame Guyon, Julian of Norwich, Margery Kempe, and Christine de Pizan is a long tradition of religious women rhetors working to expand the landscape of women’s voice and visibility in religious spaces, especially those marked explicitly sacred and male.

Scholars on the Rhetorical Practices of Religious Women

Scholars over the last several decades have taken up the call to bring women back into not only the canon but also spaces within the Christian tradition. These scholars have investigated women and their position/voice within religious spheres where, using the voice of Paul, women are forbidden to speak, preach, and engage in other male, religious activities.
Scholars such as Roxanne Mountford provide a history of the scared spaces that women were prohibited to enter in (looking at the pulpit) and the women who in fact found ways to occupy that space, preaching. Mountford also puts the analysis in contemporary context, investigating two women preachers in modern times. Bringing forward texts, ordinances, and theories from social scholars, she reveals the contradictions in the fictional progress narrative:

Despite the history of women evangelists beginning with Susanna Wesley, the Methodists voted to prevent women from preaching in their pulpits at the beginning of the nineteenth century…At the time of this writing [2003], the Southern Baptists have voted on an article of faith limiting the office of preacher to men, despite the fact that their seminaries have been ordaining women preachers. (28)

This excerpt is just one of many places that Mountford reveals the continued re-inscription of gender hierarchies in Christian religious spaces. These “legal” restrictions have been in existence from the early centuries, and as stated above, firmly continued by conservative and fundamentalist denominations.

Scholar Vicki Tolar Burton has similarly addressed women preachers and the pulpit, focusing her work particularly on early Methodism. In her chapter “Preaching from the Pulpit Steps: Mary Bosanquet Fletcher and Women’s Preaching in Early Methodism,” she takes up Mary Bosanquet Fletcher to analyze how women’s preaching came into Methodism as a hybridization of rhetorical genres used to support a rapidly growing movement that needed more religious leaders but found traditional male leadership unavailable (32). Because of need, new practices allowed women a space in which to speak/preach, identifying them both (the women and the activity) as the result of an “extraordinary call”. This provisionary term provided the flexibility to grant access where the aid was needed and also a way to restrict that same access
when Church authorities desired to do so. Through her investigation, Burton brings forward the
different religious practices that allowed women a place to speak. Early eighteenth century
women were able to publically pray, testify (share their testimonies), exhort, expound, and
preach for the sake of extending the Methodist faith, though the latter two genres were often
contested practices.

Jane Donawerth, in her text *Conversational Rhetoric: The Rise and Fall of a Women’s
Tradition, 1600-1900*, both defines and discusses the rhetorical practices of seventeenth and
eighteenth century women, particularly, the texts and letters written for defending the need to
educate women in public speaking, letter writing, and rhetorical methods. As Donawerth
describes women’s rhetoric from 1600 to 1900, including preaching, can be “theorized as
conversation rather than public discourse” (12). Donawerth’s definition of a sermon does not
appear to require that is be based on a biblical text, as was the practice in Methodism. This
definition as outlined by Donawerth widens the scope of investigation into women’s religious
rhetorical practices across the centuries and denominational barriers.

In their article (chapter) “With the Tongue of [Wo]men and Angels: Apostolic Rhetorical
Practices among Religious Women,” scholars Aesha Adams-Roberts, Rosalyn Collings Eves,
and Liz Rohan, explore the apostolic rhetoric of four historical women within three distinct
traditions of Christianity and across three centuries: Anne and Elizabeth Hart, late eighteenth and
early nineteenth-century African-Caribbean Methodist missionaries; Eliza Snow, nineteenth
century Mormon woman and president of the Female Relief Society; and Janette Miller, a white
middle-class evangelical missionary who grew up in the American Midwest (46). What makes
the discussion of apostolic rhetoric interesting with regard to the approaches of other scholars
visited in this section is the way it engages the role of preaching in the church.
Apostolic rhetoric is a powerful lens: it explains the rhetorical ethoi of women in
Christian traditions across race, geography, and time….an apostolic voice positions the
speaker within a spiritual community….Invoking an apostolic model allowed the women
to strengthen their communities through three distinctly apostolic rhetorical practices:
translating the word of God for community members and helping them understand the
practical implications of the word; regulating local affairs by calling for reform and
identifying those who fall short; and teaching appropriate Christian behavior through
example. (46)

Here is an important aspect of this rhetorical approach that is made clear through the excerpt
above: community focus. While both the review of women historically practicing preaching,
teaching and writing in religious spaces and the discussion of scholars here allot very little
attention to this crucial component of religious spaces in the Christian tradition. Because of this
focus, Adams-Roberts, Collings Eves, and Rohan are able to show how women across
denominations and centuries connect to their audiences in an more intimate level—addressing
the needs of a congregation or community. This is essentially a part of the apostolic duty—
“feeding and shepherding the sheep.” It is a specific aspect of the preacher/minister position and
one that so clearly relates to women; as nurturers, spiritual mothers and sisters, taking care of
those in their care in the faith.

Following the conversation of Adams-Roberts, Collings Eves, and Rohan from the
perspective of the woman missionary, scholar Karen Seat, in her chapter “Rhetorical Strategies
in Protestant Women’s Missions: Appropriating and Subverting Gender Ideals,” draws from the
literature of missionary women to reveal the rhetorical practices at work. Examining the
discourse and missionary newsletters across denominations, Seat reveals the rhetorical moves
that women had both at hand to use and how to navigate through the restrictions and barriers that were prominent as the women engaged in the mission field from all angles: fundraising, traveling, speaking, writing, educating and endorsing for their great spiritual work. Seat notes an example of such strategies at work in the Methodist Episcopal Church, where women met resistance on promoting their work:

[the General Mission board secretary] chided the women who had resolved to organize the Women’s Foreign Mission Society, stating ‘Could you ladies make the necessary arrangements for Miss A. to go to India, obtain bills of exchange, take care of her on the voyage, provide a home when she arrives at her destination, and so forth? No, your work is to forward money for Miss A. to [general headquarters] New York.

Here it is clear that for the secretary of the General Mission board, all that women could do was forward money, a point he drives home by pointing out all the practical steps that women do not have access to make their operation work. The response from the women is a curious blend of submission and challenge: “We will be as dutiful children to the Church authorities, but through our own organization we may do a work which no other can accomplish” (63). It is evident the women were acknowledging the Christian authority while making politely clear that they would continue to push for the establishing of their own foreign missions. Such rhetorical maneuvers occur throughout Seat’s piece. Jessie Penn-Lewis, Mary McDonough, and Margaret E. Barber belong to a long tradition of women both seen and unseen, and that is why I see it as urgent to bring them forward into light, for both the feminist and Christian scholar alike.

Spaces for Inventive Pedagogy

As we can see, a traditional space for rhetoric in the Christian tradition has been preaching, one of the three medieval rhetorical arts. But continuing issues regarding who has
access to the preaching space has long been a topic of much debate. Of note, both Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Frances Willard address the issue. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, along with a committee, produced *The Woman’s Bible* (1895), challenging the traditional position in Christian orthodoxy that women should be subservient to man. Frances Willard, in her work *Woman in the Pulpit*, argues that preaching is particularly appropriate to women, “who by their natures appeal to moral sentiment; that women’s voices are physically sufficient to be heard, with proper training; that motherhood is not in conflict with a life of spiritual guidance of others, but in keeping with it; and that God calls women as well as men to preach” (Donawerth 243). It is clear that, just as antebellum women in the United States created spaces for their rhetorical practices, so too have Christian women throughout the centuries have found ways to engage in rhetorical practices when preaching was proscribed to them. Common practices included, letter writing, singing, teaching Sunday school to children and women, and holding bible studies in their homes. Many of these practices relied heavily upon orality, linking them to a long tradition of rhetoric and composition, dating back to classic antiquity. Similarly, their texts engage in the modes of written communication available and often draw on the work of male leaders around them to add authority to their persuasive discourse. Thus, the practices of the women selected for this study (Jessie Penn-Lewis, Margaret E. Barber) are ripe for an analysis grounded in contemporary understandings of feminist research.

**Chapter Overview**

*Chapter 2: Methodologies and Method for Analysis*

This chapter focuses on the framework used to look into the lives and rhetorical practices of Jessie Penn-Lewis and Margaret E. Barber. Since this project is both recovery work to the rhetorical canon as well as an avenue to explore and highlight different pedagogical
practices/spaces, this section discusses the lens needed to conduct the project. The approaches used in this project are feminist in root, as defined and outlined in this section. Textual analysis, archival research practices and recent feminist rhetorical practices as discussed by Jaqueline Jones Royster and Gesa Kirsch provide the main framework of investigation and analysis for the study. This section includes the research questions that drive the project as well as the heuristic to guide my research and analysis of the case studies examined.

Chapter 3: Case Study of Jessie Penn-Lewis

This chapter focuses on the biographical background of the life and rhetorical practices of Jessie Penn-Lewis. To look at the rhetorical and pedagogical practices of Jessie Penn-Lewis, an investigation of her (auto)biography is presented and analyzed. As a highly visible figure during her lifetime, connections to major events and other spiritual leaders during her travels and ministry are brought forward to strengthen the evidence and significance of her work as a rhetor, feminist and spiritual leader. To focus this discussion, primary attention is given to her journal entries that discuss her public speaking.

Chapter 4: Case Study of M. E. Barber

This chapter investigates the final figure included in this project. Biographical information is provided to establish the relationship across the women addressed in this study. Particular emphasis is put on M. E. Barber’s writings, which consist of hymns, correspondence, published writings (poems and letters to missionary journals and newsletters) and testimonials from those whom she taught during her time in the missionary field. Her work across genres and spaces connect her to the multimodal component of pedagogy. The primary focus of the analysis is the circulation of her text(s) and use of genres.
Chapter 5: Conclusion

The final chapter of this project draws together the women and their success as rhetors and teachers. It synthesizes the findings from chapters three and four to show the significance of this work to the broader field of rhetoric. The pedagogical and rhetorical practices of these women and the impact that their work has had over the century is not only an important point in the religious sphere that they worked within, but also provides more light into areas where rhetoric is at work within religious spaces. The final chapter also acknowledges limitations of the project and the strengths and limitations of the heuristic that guided the research and analysis. Applications for future research are also addressed.

Significance of the Project

Though much work has been done to expand the rhetorical canon, the “recovery” work is still not complete, particularly with regard to women in religious spaces. Religion and religious spaces have long had a major role in how we view the world, physically and spiritually. Likewise, religion has played a complicated though important role in the history of rhetoric. It is strongly connected to ideologies and culture, tracing back to ancient times. Religion and Christian rhetoric are also a major part of culture and ideology today. For example, in recovering African American women as rhetors both Jacqueline Jones Royster (Traces of a Stream: Literacy and Social Change among African American) and Shirley Wilson Logan (“We are Coming”: The Persuasive Discourse of Nineteenth Century Black Women) have discussed the intersections of Christian identity and activism of women such as Sojourner Truth, Lucy Stanton, Mary Church Terrell, Virginia Earl Matthews, and Maria W. Stewart. The seminal works of Royster and Logan clearly acknowledge the significance of African American women rhetors as both social and religious in nature. This project builds from their work with white missionary women.
and their work. As with other aspects of lives today, people bring their spirituality with them wherever they go—it is part of being human (whether for or against). This study demonstrates a way of understanding rhetoric and writing that encompasses the performance of spirituality (it is part of who they are). This work is a continuation of rescue, recovery and re-inscription of female rhetors, answering a call that has sounded continuously over the last few decades within the field of rhetoric. Studying these women provides a way to learn more about religious women teachers and how they answered their calling (both physically and spiritually) from the perspective of gender. This work is globally and internationally relevant. As missionary and Christian teachings have spread all across the world, it is important to see the impact from a new lens. The negotiation and influence across cultures affects modern religion and rhetoric and becomes more complex through the lens of gender. As another culture assimilates the teachings and experiences of those who bring the message to them, that culture likewise changes and adds to the teaching and experiences that are in turn passed on by them. Similarly, we are living in a global neighborhood. By looking into the lives of Jessie Penn-Lewis and Margaret E. Barber Looking into the lives, spaces and rhetorical practices of the three mentioned above, an opportunity to investigate the impact and global connections comes forward. As Gesa Kirsch and Jaqueline Jones Royster note in *Feminist Rhetorical Practices: New Horizons for Rhetoric, Composition, and Literacy Studies*:

> We might tack in to move more consciously into our classrooms, recognizing more explicitly the globality within them. We might take greater advantage of these instantiations of globality internally, seeking more deliberately to gain experience in connecting internal globality (the world within us) to external globality (us in the world), as we tack out to other geopolitical locations. (128)
In essence, these women and the spaces they inhabited can be investigated as a way to interrogate the world within and to look out to how people inhabit the world, a practice beneficial to research and the classroom. These three women are also crucial in our understanding of the ways that texts, knowledge, and people still circulate today. Through the multiple reprints of these women’s texts, we can see how knowledge is shaped and appropriated for a new context, purpose and value. What adds to the investigation of the movement of (their) text(s) is the frequent loss of the women (their bodies). The framing and reframing that occurs across editions and retellings is at the cost of the women. Often, the male voice/publisher becomes the channel of the teaching and practices of women, particularly the women of this study. There is a need to examine them within the scope of their time to see the ways they took up the calling to teach, pushing, defying, and negotiating the forbidden spaces of Christian traditions.
II. METHOD AND METHODOLOGY: A FEMINIST APPROACH TO TEXTUAL ANALYSIS THROUGH HEURISTIC

This chapter focuses on the framework used to look into the rhetorical practices of Jessie Penn-Lewis and Margaret E. Barber. Since this project is both recovery work as well as an avenue to explore different pedagogical practices/spaces, this chapter discusses the lens needed to conduct the project. The approaches used in this project are feminist in root, as will be defined and outlined in this section. Archival research, textual analysis, and recent feminist rhetorical practices as discussed by Jaqueline Jones Royster and Gesa Kirsch provide the main framework of investigation and analysis for the study. This chapter also includes the research questions that drive the project. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the methods and methodology that are used for this project and to discuss the heuristic that guides the analysis in each case study in following chapters. Finally, this chapter builds on the groundwork of chapter one, connecting feminist historical work to women who engage in feminist rhetorical practices.

Methodology

In this section I preview the methodologies that inform my positioning to this project. At its core, this project is a feminist rescue/recovery study; therefore, the scholarship and the methods reflect feminist methodological approaches to my research. I particularly draw from two main methodologies: feminist historical methodology and archival research through the work of Kirsch and Royster, and feminist textual analysis as put forward by Kathleen Ryan. These methodologies allow me to not only closely investigate the works selected for this project but also to connect myself with the women of this study, actively participating in practices and approaches that value the lives of women who have gone before us in the field of Rhetoric and Composition and give care and attention to the differences, challenges and inconsistencies that
often arise when working with people, places and times that are not my own. Feminist historical methodology and archival research allow me to continue a line of rescue and recovery that is still critical and relevant in the field today (Kirsch, Royster, Johnson, Glenn).

**Archival Research**

This project, though not rooted in physical archives, is an archival project, in nature. Though several of the materials that I work with were at one time published, many are now out of print, retained in special collections, or held in private collections. Archival research approaches provide me the space to discover both the women and myself. As Gesa Kirsch and Liz Rohan note in *Beyond the Archives: Research as Lived Process*, “the process of discovering and writing about research subjects helps researchers better imagine the struggles and experiences of these research subjects who were—like all of us—shaped by and constrained by their respective cultures” (7). Archival research approaches also “further teach the value of research as a lived process. Doing research helps us understand our subjects, of course, but it guides us to see—for better or for worse—how the world works” (7). Finally, this kind of research reveals that “all researchers and most especially novice researchers, need to set clear parameters in order to limit the scope of their projects” (8). Archival research allows me to value the “importance of tapping into [my] passions, pursuing research subjects that attract our attention, and allowing creativity and intuition to enter the scholarly research process while broadening what counts as an archive” (9). Archival research also provides an understanding for conducting close investigation of local, physical artifacts and documents instead of looking at wide sweeps of history; specific connections and influences versus broader, more general analysis.
Archival research also provides the why—why historians use particular approaches to historical work. Barbara L’Eplattenier notes in her article “Opinion: An Argument for Archival Research Methods” that “methodology means the theorization of the goal of research, the selection of subjects in a particular period (the research topic and focus), and the categories for evaluation of historical evidence” (qtd. in “Historical Studies” 84). Archival research helps me to question why I chose the women discussed in later chapters, the reasons or goals of such research (how does it contribute to the field more broadly) and what kinds of ways I should separate and analyze the historical evidence contained within the case studies that follow.

Another key component of archival research is an ideological standpoint in terms of looking into collections of work and back out at the broader, contemporary connections to research today. Jacqueline Jones Royster and Gesa Kirsch coined this stance and practice as “tacking in” and “tacking out,” an approach they articulate in their text *Feminist Rhetorical Practices: New Horizons for Rhetoric, Composition, and Literacy Studies*. One way in which they describe “tacking in” is as archival work may begin with the discovery of family artifacts and then take on much larger cultural, social, and historical dimensions (74-76). Beginning research close to “home” – physical location, local people and resources can help to bring together other individuals and stories who share experiences similar to the researcher’s creating a “community of sorts, though an involuntary one” (105). This kind of work not only recovers the life and legacy of those investigated but also contributes to a multigenerational, multivocal, collective biographies of individuals researched. “Tacking out” encourages the researcher to “recast … conceptual frameworks so that [they] might better understand historical women within their own cultural frameworks, rather than ours, and to render their lives more fairly and respectfully” (652). It pushes the researcher to look beyond contemporary concepts and to
consider the goals, ideologies, and identities of those studied in order to better understand the way those aspects connect to a former time. This helps the researcher to avoid the pitfall of creating heroines and allows the research to do more than become a “rescue/recovery” narrative. Taking the time to “tack out,” [scholars] learn to look more systematically beyond [their] own contemporary values and assumptions to envision the possibilities of women’s practices in broader scope and to bring intellectual rigor to the analytical task” (652).

By looking at “tacking in” and “tacking out” as a strategy to ethically examine and analyze artifacts, scholars and researchers can also look at the pedagogical implications of using such techniques. Kirsch and Royster refer to the ways in which educators are “increasingly called upon to help students to shift the paradigms by which they form their expectations as reader and composers of multimedia texts, and, of course, we, too, as teachers are hard pressed to be more open to the possibility and diversity in the ways by which we engage with students and make and use our pedagogical choices” (107). In this context, “tacking in” and “tacking out” serves as an aid to breakdown the Western, Eurocentric frameworks and allow students (specifically with a look at graduate students), researchers and teachers to begin to see new and alternative ways of looking at and making texts. Archival research methodologies likewise know and learn from the genealogy of those who have gone before and the way in which their lives, works and practices still impact my work as a researcher today. For example, works such as Jacqueline Jones Royster’s “‘Ain’t I a Woman’: Using Feminist Rhetorical Practices to Re-set the Terms of Scholarly Engagement for an Iconic Text,” which help us to “1) understand the analytical and interpretive values added by placing women in social space, rather than only in private, public, or institutional space and 2) understand how ideas and habits might seep beyond specific social circles and communities, travel through time and space, re-locate, and become re-
used for many purposes” (Royster, 34). Scholarship like this respectfully engage those who went before us and through such critical work, I can honor the past and contribute to the future more ethically and subjectively through this methodology.

*Feminist Histories*

Feminist historical research provides a way to look at these women from a “kaleidoscope” of approaches (Royster). To really acknowledge the significance of the women I study in this project, it is important to look at them not just as Christian women of the late nineteenth century into the early twentieth century, but to look at the complexities surrounding their lives (lives we can see today at best in fragments). I come to these women from a feminist historical approach, drawing on the work of scholars of historiography and archival methods to properly listen, read, and acknowledge Penn-Lewis and Barber in their places within their time period, religion and the rhetorical tradition. To do this, I follow the call from Kirsch and Royster in *Feminist Rhetorical Practices: New Horizons for Rhetoric, Composition, and Literacy Studies*, looking specifically at the way that the works of Penn-Lewis and Barber have circulated over time (frequently without the bodies of the women who composed them).

Kirsch and Royster provide a framework that I use as a foundation in this research project: social circulation. According to Kirsch and Royster, “social circulation invokes connections among past, present, and future in the sense that the overlapping social circles in which women travel, live, and work are carried on or modified from one generation to the next and can lead to changed rhetorical practices” (23). It allows for “understanding the complex interactions [of] reimagining the dynamic functioning of women’s work in domains of discourse, re-envisioning its various impacts and consequences within these localities, and linking these analyses in an informative and compelling way to forward a larger understanding of rhetoric as a
cultural phenomenon and very much a human enterprise” (23). This particular tool is very important to my project as women such as Barber, who have little to no biographical information, are left to fade into the background while her text is circulated and recirculated over the course of a century for different rhetorical purposes. In a similar way, Penn-Lewis has been both attached and detached from her body, as her work has ebbed and flowed in interest over the last century. It is important to investigate the moves (rhetorical and physical) that have occurred with these women and their texts.

The women of my study are both Caucasian, middle class women from a Christian tradition, though in some ways they clearly pushed against these positionalities. It is important therefore for me to keep in mind both their place in the spaces they moved within as well as my own, as a modern, white, middle class, female scholar. I consider in later chapters the cultural and political shifts that have occurred since their time and how those shifts have impacted today (and where change has yet to occur). Kirsch and Royster’s seminal text play a fundamental role in my research throughout this project, specifically through the use of social circulation, a key strategy from their work which I used as the backbone to develop my heuristic or this study.

Archival and feminist historical research help me to situate my research solidly within a feminist lens, providing points to move into the framing of my research as well as the goals of the research itself. It teaches how to position myself as research to the work and women I research here and reveals a base in scholarship for viewing and valuing the research I do. Building on such methodology, I provide in the section that follows the heuristic that more specifically guides the analysis in the chapters that follow. I draw from the work of Kirsch and Royster to develop the heuristic specific to this project and also other methods that are used to
shape and triangulate the analysis through feminist textual analysis and cloud software from the
digital humanities called Voyant.

Methods

This project is guided by following questions:

1. What can the study of women in religious spaces teach us about rhetorical practices of
   their period, for example preaching, singing, teaching spiritual contexts, hymn writing?
2. About the religious teaching practices of their period?
3. How are the feminist rhetorical practices of these women useful in understanding the
   range of practices in the knowledge that students bring with them?

In order to answer these questions, I have selected primary texts (first editions where possible)
from the women of this study. As further evidence, I draw from secondary sources both in and
outside of the field to enrich and contextualize the analysis.

I use the heuristic as presented by Kirsch and Royster in their book Feminist Rhetorical
Practices as the base and reference for the development of the heuristic created specifically for
this project and finally triangulate the data collected from the heuristic through using Voyant
software. Overall, this project uses the three methods research: a heuristic focusing on social
circulation; textual analysis; and triangulation through using Voyant. The sections that follow
briefly discuss each method as they apply to the project.

Heuristics

The use and development of heuristics as both an inventive strategy and tool for analysis
dates back to antiquity, appearing for the first time through Aristotle. The term heuristic
originates from Greek, meaning “to find out or discover.” The Latin form of the word is
“invention” which is one of the canons of classical rhetoric (“The Meaning of Heuristic in
Aristotle’s Rhetoric” 205). For many scholars, heuristics have been used (even pulling from Aristotle’s topics) to aid in developing invention strategies. Edith Babin and Kimberly Harrison give a clear picture of the earlier decades in the field of Rhetoric and Composition on the movement surrounding the topic and use of heuristics in their text Contemporary Composition Studies: A Guide to Theorists and Terms. Babin and Harrison identify the heavy attention given to heuristics in the 1970s and early 1980s in the field reviewing the key players in scholarship such as Richard Enos, Janice Lauer, and Ann Berthoff. These scholars addressed the use of heuristics from classical and even interdisciplinary approaches either in favor or against the use of the framework.

Scholars from other fields have also taken up heuristics, defining and describing their use in other terms. Janice Lauer cites scholars in the field of mathematics as well as their definition of the term:

Heuristics, or ars inveniendi, was the name of a certain branch of study, not very clearly circumscribed, belonging to logic, or to philosophy, or to psychology, often outlined, seldom presented in detail, and as good as forgotten today. The aim of heuristics is to study the methods and rule of discovery and invention…Heuristic reasoning is reasoning not regarded as final and strict but as provisional and plausible only, whose purpose is to discover the solution of the present problem. (qtd. in Polya 13)

Polya gives a slightly different origin to heuristics; however, his later statement reveals the usefulness of the heuristic, “reasoning not regarded as final and strict but as provisional and plausible only, whose purpose is to discover the solution of the present problem.” Heuristics are not meant to be a complete, absolute approach to solving any issue at hand, rather a tool to show what is plausible and to aid in the discovery of a solution (or answer) to a present problem (idea,
investigation as the current project presented herein). Further, scholars such as Christopher Eisenhart and Barbara Johnstone in the field of Rhetoric and Composition define and look at heuristic as

\[a\] set of discovery procedures for systematic application or a set of topics for systematic consideration. Unlike the procedures in a set of instructions, the procedures of a heuristic do not need to be followed in any particular order, and there is no guarantee that using it will result in a single definitive explanation. A good heuristic draws on multiple theories rather than just one.  

Here, the echo from Polya is clear that a heuristic is a tool used for discovery and that it is not a rigid set of “instructions,” on the contrary, it can be developed and executed in many ways. Further, a heuristic does not guarantee or dictate any given answer or explanation. This allows for many uses and variations on the development of a heuristic: the more contextual and theoretical frameworks used to inform the heuristic, the greater the potential the heuristic can afford to a project.

*Heuristics for Feminist Rhetorical Practices*

What Kirsch and Royster contribute to the field is new insight and strategies for viewing and conducting research. It is essentially interdisciplinary, drawing from scholars and perspectives on gender, race and ethnicity, status, geographical sites, rhetorical domains, genres, and modes of expression. Their four rhetorical strategies for working beyond rescue and recovery work, identified as critical imagination, strategic contemplation, social circulation and globalization, are grounded in questions that help situate scholars using those methods to their research in subjective, rich and experiential ways. I provide a heuristic that is based on one of these categories (social circulation) with a set of questions from Kirsch and Royster as well as a

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3 And this is why I have chosen to work with a heuristic. See Appendix A for complete heuristic.
set developed specific to this study to guide my analysis of the pedagogical and rhetorical practices of Jessie Penn-Lewis and Margaret Barber.

Heuristic for Social Circulation

As noted in earlier sections of this document, social circulation is a strategy that allows researchers to draw from the past, present and future to look at connections in activities and practices across generations and time that can lead to changed rhetorical practices (23). In this section I provide a list of guiding questions from Kirsch and Royster that were used to develop a set of questions to guide the analysis of the texts from Jessie Penn-Lewis and Margaret E. Barber. I look both within the texts and without, noting and highlighting the intrinsic modes/paths of circulation as well as those that physically (in the various printings of the texts and context surrounding those forms of circulation). Therefore, the questions are split into two areas of focus, a base framework to construct the heuristic of the studies and one specific to the project itself:

- Where were the spaces in which women chose/were permitted to speak?
- What were their fora, their platforms, the contexts of their rhetorical performances?
- Who were their audiences?
- What were their concerns?
- What tools for interaction did they use?
- How did they construct their arguments?
- What were the impacts and consequences of their rhetorical performances?
- How were they trained?
- How did they convey legacies of action? (100-101)
These questions serve as an excellent base for looking more closely at a given historical text. For this reason, I have tailored the approach of the questions more specifically to the project in the following set of questions that guide my work to answer my research questions: 1) What can the study of women in religious spaces teach us about rhetorical practices of their period, for example preaching, singing, teaching spiritual contexts, hymn writing? 2) About the religious teaching practices of their period? 3) How are the feminist rhetorical practices of these women useful in understanding the range of practices in the knowledge that students bring with them? The following questions take up the research questions above in specific ways to the project:

1. What spaces did they teach/speak/write in and how did their activities (not) fit in the context of their historical period?

This question allows me to gather information to answer both research question one and two above to help me understand where these women engaged in rhetorical and teaching practices. It also provides a specific focus to look at the practices within the scope of the period in which these women lived.

2. What tools for interaction did they use for teaching and/or engaging in rhetorical activities?

This question allows me to look not only at the practices but the interactions/relationships around the practices engaged in by the case study subjects. It also is aimed at research questions one and two.

3. When engaging in teaching and/or rhetorical practices, who were their audiences?

This question allows me to consider which/how audiences may or may not affect the types of rhetorical and pedagogical practices and activities that these women used and seek to provide understanding for research questions one and two.
4. What’s the context of the circulation of the texts/women?
This question, similar to the one above, allows me to look more specifically at how the texts that these women produced relate to and give evidence of the teaching and rhetorical practices of their period.

5. How have the texts and/or these women circulated since the initial production?
This question allows me to see how their teaching and rhetorical practices extended beyond their initial audience to how those practices could be accomplished in different spaces across the globe (those they were given access to and those they were not).

6. What were the impacts and consequences of their rhetorical and pedagogical practices to their students?
This question allows me to consider the ways in which their students were affected by their teaching and rhetorical practices. It helps me to answer research question three. Working with these questions brings forward more specific evidence into the way that text and bodies move across space. Likewise, it highlights the rhetorical and teaching practices that may not appear distinctly to the surface of the texts investigated in this study.

Textual Analysis
I examine the texts of this project in order to identify the ways that these women and their texts circulated through diverse genres: personal correspondence, hymns, poems, published letters, and excerpts of journals and diaries. As mentioned in chapter one, my interest in Margaret E. Barber and her teachings led me to seek out her writings. Her writings were not published formally as collections or books as Jessie Penn-Lewis, but rather buried within the pages of missionary newsletters or letters that have survived to friends throughout her lifetime. Today her work remains accessible though the digitization efforts of Google and various
institutions which provide a way for scholars to study such valuable material a practical way. However, most with my pursuit to study Penn-Lewis, I collected bound copies of her many works, including a rare early edition of the autobiography which serves as the primary text for this study. Though I came to the materials of this study through different techniques and access the process in many ways mirrors the topic of the study and the strategies for analyzing it.

The multiple modes of teaching and rhetorical practice reflected throughout the mediums of Barber and Penn-Lewis’ work bring forward the ways in which the women of this project used “any available means” to instruct their pupils and to impact broader audiences across space and time. Different modes integrally connected to different spaces and communities, showing the many interconnections that occur through circulation of ideas, people and texts.

Presented as two case studies, I discuss the texts, pedagogies and reception of each female rhetor. Building from Kirsch and Royster’s Feminist Rhetorical Practices, I look at the primary texts of my research through the lens of social circulation as applied to archival research methodology. After I “reread” my materials, I (re)searched through databases, bibliographies (both my primary texts and those of my secondary sources) and produced thorough notes on these materials. Then, I applied the heuristic to the artifacts:

- I looked for tools generated and used by the women of this project to investigate teaching and rhetorical practices in spaces not generally perceived as open to women.
- I examined the audiences connected close and remotely to the practices the women engaged in as tools for conveying their cause.
- I looked for patterns within the texts and my notes, drawing connections and noting where difference occurs (redrafting).
- I pay attention to the context, genre, and gender.
From here I “recast” the texts and the women of my study with a view towards expanding contemporary approaches to the field of rhetoric and composition.

**Triangulation from the Digital Humanities**

Since this project is grounded in feminist research practices, I acknowledge my position in my research and the affordances and limitations that come with using this construct of methodology. The research is lived, experienced and multifaceted, so the process for triangulating the work must be also. Drawing from the digital humanities, I have selected an open source, web-based application developed as a textual analysis tool in the field of digital humanities to look through my data collection from one more lens—technology. **Voyant Tools**, previously known as **Voyuer**, was developed by two digital humanities scholars, Stefan Sinclair and Geoffrey Rockwell. The application and project itself is updated and maintained by a team of contributors (research assistants, postdoctoral fellows, and programmers) from the University of Alberta and McGill University in Montreal, Quebec (Getting Started / Voyant Tools Tools).

What **Voyant Tools** allows users to do is to upload, cut and paste, or use texts from within the site’s libraries to run analysis on selections of digital text. From there, the application provides a breakdown of the frequency of words, themes, word trends, vocabulary density, length of documents, document comparison, and use distinctive words. What makes the application unique is that it allows users to select how they wish to see the data presented—through a variety of visual representations of data. Users are able to select from a list of twenty-one different kinds of visual depictions of the data inputted into the application.

This application is useful to me as a researcher to aid in “seeing” my research and findings against another form of textual analysis—what it “sees.” By working through this alternative approach to textual analysis, I in turn, observe and synthesize richer and fuller
discussion of the texts I am working with and have the ability to draw comparison to the results of my data. It is a modern, multimodal, and interdisciplinary way to triangulate my research.

**Limitations**

There are many affordances to using heuristics; however, as shown in the discussion of the history of heuristics above, there are also limitations. Some of the limitations with regard to heuristics are not the heuristic itself, but how they are interpreted. There may arise issues in how a heuristic is used and also in what the results of the heuristic mean, depending on the intent and positionality of the reader and researcher. Another potential area of caution is to what purpose heuristics are used, whether for generating knowledge such as in inventive practices, writing process, or for culling out knowledge from preexisting text or ideas. Further, there is the potential for a heuristic to be too rigid, too narrow, or constraining to the text or subject that it is applied to (cannot address all aspects of a given subject or text). Though this latter point may be true, the same can be said for any given method or methodological approach, which is why combining different approaches and methods can help to offset restrictions with any particular tool or strategy. Moreover, there is an understanding in some methodological approaches, specifically in feminist historical research practices, that scholars recognize, acknowledge, and respect such limitations, lenses as a way to enrich their work. The conscious awareness of such aspects of the research processes in turn lead to more ethical and full research.

As with any technology, there is always a potential of glitches, incompatibility and extinction of web based work. Since this web-based analysis tool is open source, issues may arise in functionality between maintenance, updates, security and even financial support. As a project that is managed through collaboration across academic institutions, continued funding, staffing and availability of (trained) contributors for the project maybe potential be a concern.
The website does provide a section noting funding; however, it does not include any further information into where, who and how funding occurs to support the *Voyant Tools* application. Similarly, due the open source nature of the project, problems may occur within the availability and compatibility of the software used to develop and maintain the website.

Though any of these concerns are valid, the website offers a few options to work with these potential issues. For example, users do not store their documents within *Voyant Tools*, so *Voyant Tools* does not hold, keep, or store the user’s work or documents. Once the web session is ended the information is gone. If users wish to keep the data results from their use of the software, they may export data during the session for later use:

One of the most interesting features of *Voyant Tools* is the ability to bookmark and share URLs that refer to your collection of texts. Among other advantages, this allows you to work with the same texts during different sessions, without having to reload all the documents each time. You can export a link for the entire skin by clicking on the “Export” (diskette) icon in the blue bar at the top, or export a link for an individual tool by clicking on the “Export” icon in one of the tool panes. (Getting Started / *Voyant Tools* Tools)

By having options such as exporting of data available, users can store and return to their projects across different sessions as well as preserve their work.

The religious connection that I share with these women may challenge my ability to approach their lives and work objectively. I draw from the work of other scholars of religious texts and people to provide a structure to keep me mindful of potential bias or blind spots. However, feminist rhetorical practices and research methods encourage me to make my stance plain and to reveal the ways in which my insider knowledge enriches and deepens the work set
out by this project (Kirsch & Sullivan). Another concern is that the work proposed here is limited by the space and time of the texts and women examined herein. Following feminist archival research practices informs me of ways to negotiate and honor the texts and lives that I am investigating, working to preserve their beliefs and representation of their lives, a point that is very important considering the shift in the use of their work over time. Finally, as I am working with women within a Western religious and political framework, I acknowledge them within the systems that have affected the people and cultures that they were involved with. I discuss the Imperial system in tandem with the lives and work of the women.

Conclusion

This chapter brought forward the methods and methodologies used to conduct the case studies in the following two chapters. An overview was provided to show how the project is situated in feminist research and why the methods and methodologies included in this chapter were selected for the execution of this study. Attention was given to the heuristic that was developed for the analysis of the following case studies, both in the framework that serves as its foundation as well as the methodology that informs it. Finally, the chapter discussed how the research in later chapters is triangulated, both as a method and as a methodology from a feminist research standpoint. The following two chapters use the heuristic developed here to build an analysis of each case study subject in terms of social circulation.
III. CIRCULATION OF THE SPIRIT: A CASE STUDY OF JESSIE PENN LEWIS

Introduction

This chapter will focus on the biographical background of the life and rhetorical practices of Jessie Penn-Lewis. To look at the rhetorical and pedagogical practices of Jessie Penn-Lewis, an investigation of her (auto)biography will be presented and analyzed. As a highly visible figure during her lifetime, connections to major events and other spiritual leaders during her travels and ministry will be brought forward to strengthen the evidence and significance of her work as a rhetor, feminist and spiritual leader. To focus this discussion, primary attention will be given to her journal entries that discuss her public speaking and teaching practices as guided by the heuristic questions developed and discussed in chapter two. The findings from the heuristic will then be discussed in the scope of other scholarship to show connections to other activities and movements contemporary to the period analyzed. The chapter will conclude with a discussion on triangulation of data using Voyant software and a summary of the key points of the chapter.

Background

As discussed in chapter one, Jessie Penn-Lewis was an active advocate of spiritual edification throughout her entire life (1861-1921). To Jessie Penn-Lewis, teaching was firmly rooted in her understanding of the message of the cross—a doctrine of Christian salvation that focused on the operational effectiveness of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ to Christians as well as spiritual growth in maturity based on the continued spiritual experience of self-denial through the work of the cross in a believer’s daily living. She came to know and profess this doctrine shortly after her conversion experience and follows a long (though often unnoticed) line of Christian teachers stemming from the Mystics movement in earlier centuries (see chapter 1 for review of key people from this movement). Her teaching has been preserved and circulated through the
many publications that she produced—she served as editor for *The Overcomer*, a publication that continues today, funded by The Overcomer Trust that was established upon her death. Similarly, she penned thirteen books/booklets and even began her own autobiography, a task that was taken up shortly after her death by Mary Gerrard. The primary text for this chapter, *Mrs. Penn-Lewis: A Memoir*, is the autobiography completed by Mary Garrard, which is a compilation of Jessie Penn-Lewis’ personal journal entries and correspondence with family and friends that were written over the span of her life.

Beginning her life mission as early as 1884, Jesse Penn-Lewis worked closely with the British YWCA as a vehicle to reach out to young women in the U.K. and eventually worldwide. She frequently took in young women to provide them aid and announce the gospel to them in her early years. Penn-Lewis regularly had visitors to her home, where she advised and offered spiritual guidance even when suffering under the frequent complaints of her illness. Beyond this, Penn-Lewis became a prominent speaker for the YWCA and held bible studies, educating women and preaching the gospel to them. In later years, Penn-Lewis travelled across the globe, spending time in North America, India, and China to spread the gospel in person while publishing in missionary newsletters. Many of the excerpts in the sections below bring forward these events and activities with a closer look at how she taught as well as her rhetorical practices.

**Heuristic Findings**

In order to investigate more closely the rich experiences of Jessie Penn-Lewis as seen through her teaching practices, it is important to look at where and how those activities occurred within the scope of the historical period she lived in. The following section investigates the teaching and rhetorical practices of Jessie Penn-Lewis using *Mrs. Penn-Lewis: A Memoir* as the key text for this case study.
Mrs. Penn-Lewis: A Memoir, which I have collected as a first edition of the work, is unique many ways. It is a lovely blue hardcover with gold embossed trim and text. The cover provides a personal touch by having Jessie Penn-Lewis’ signature imprinted on it gold as the only marking for the front of the book. The text was begun as an autobiography and continued after Penn-Lewis’s death by her close friend Mary Gerrard. The book is a compilation of journals, diaries, articles, and letters filling 307 pages. The book includes beautiful black and white portraits of Jessie Penn-Lewis, presumably taken at different periods and places in her life. By chapters, the work is divided into spiritual stages of her life. It is one of the earliest and most complete sources documenting Jessie Penn-Lewis’ life and work, published initially in 1930, just three years after her death. What makes this artifact particularly unique is how it serves as a clear example of social circulation. It challenges the traditional genre and structure of autobiography in its compilation of Penn-Lewis’ writings as well as the weaving of the biographer to complete the autobiography on behalf of Penn-Lewis. It is an autobiography, a biography and a compilation or selection of Penn-Lewis’ writing. Working from this edition of the text, I treat the work physically and rhetorically as an artifact and utilize archival research approaches.

Drawing from the work of Gesa Kirsch and Jaqueline Jones Royster in their text Feminist Rhetorical Practices, the heuristic questions in the following section build on the lens/strategies that they provided, looking particularly at social circulation. The focus of these questions is on rhetorical and teaching practices and what they reveal from this period about pedagogy, specifically in religious spaces.

In order to understand what studying women in religious spaces teaches us about rhetorical practices of their period, it is necessary to look more specifically at the spaces that women such as Jessie Penn-Lewis moved and practiced within. In this section I examine
excerpts from *Mrs. Penn-Lewis: A Memoir*, to look into how and what spaces were used for the rhetorical and pedagogical activities that Jessie Penn-Lewis engaged in. The following heuristic questions were used to guide the analysis of selected excerpts from her (auto)biography.

1. *What spaces did they teach/speak/write in and how did their activities (not) fit in the context of their historical period?*

As discussed in chapter one, space is both conceptual and physical. Jessie Penn-Lewis utilized space in many ways to teach her message. Below I discuss the spaces in which she taught according to location, both private and public. From the private sphere, one of earliest places that Jessie Penn-Lewis taught was from her home. She used this space both physically and rhetorically to teach in a more intimate way. From the public sphere, her biography has various entries documenting her attendance and participation in gatherings in other homes and in activities hosted by the women’s clubs she held membership with, such as the YWCA. As with the private spaces, Penn-Lewis branches into both the physical and rhetorical in the public spaces she occupied as well. With her work circulating abroad through reports, letters, and booklets she easily became visible along with her message/mission to the public.

From the point of her conversion Penn-Lewis began to utilize her home for the purpose of spiritual guidance and edification. Often, she referred to these visits as interviews, noting the intimate setting of the conversation as well as the type of communication—one on one. In the home, Penn-Lewis was also wife and mistress of the house, and had full authority/room to host and conduct these “interviews.” Her journals and letters to friends document instances of both the use of the home for practical and spiritual use. Descriptions such as her household tasks (“very busy all day—making marmalade, ironing, etc.”) come through, reminding readers that she is a dutiful housewife, taking care of her responsibilities in the home as well as abroad (11).
She firmly establishes her ethos as good Christian wife, which is an important point to gain in order to be credible to instruct others on a living a proper Christian daily life. As Penn-Lewis shows in the example above, the home or hearth was used as the hub for women’s missionary and other religious work. This is discussed at length in the text *The World as Their Household: The American woman’s foreign mission movement and cultural transformation*, focusing on nineteenth century tropes and treatment of charities, missions, and philanthropy involvement as the home.

From her biography, there are also frequent references to the visits from pupils and guests seeking spiritual guidance, often paired with descriptions of her physical condition. In the section of biography titled “Consecrated Service,” one example relates a morning full of visits from young people seeking her advice, “A.M. came at 7.15, almost too tired to talk to her…Miss B. came for five minutes, and ten D. for an hour…she prayed afterwards, it was sweet” (13). More often than not, the entries bring forward not so much the content of her lessons but the people who visited her and the time given to care for her pupils while under such physical limitation through her chronic illness (weak lungs from childhood). Later entries describe her home more specifically as a hub for visitors seeking spiritual guidance from all across Britain (she was Welsh) and other regions that she visited or had connections to (Andrew Murray, South Africa).

While maintaining her home and using it as a platform to educate young people through “quiet talks” and interviews” on spiritual experience and doctrine, Penn-Lewis was also very active outside the home with her message of the gospel. Penn-Lewis was equally active in public

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4 Penn-Lewis often refers to her illness. The constant description of her illness and frailty directly link back to the way in which teaches—living through suffering—an integral part of obtaining a deeper spiritual walk. Sickness is a common trope found in the “inner life” movement or the mystics (as they are also called) tradition, of which Penn-Lewis continued the lineage. This trope serves to model her very personal approach to teaching. It also shows her physical sacrifice for the divine cause she committed her life to, which again solidly links to her the inner life or mystic tradition.
spaces. The section of the biography titled “Consecrated Service” relates meetings (held in mixed company) that she attended in the homes of other Christian workers where she participated, encouraged, and monitored her pupil’s growth in their faith. In one such instance, Penn-Lewis recalls a recent meeting “…[at] Hammond’s meeting, although poorly all day. Young B—was there: I watched for him…after a long time, thank God, he decided…I was led to claim him this afternoon” (11). Here, the language of the entry reveals her observing a young person she has some relationship with, eagerly “watching” for him⁵ for the purpose of leading him in conversion, “claiming” another soul for her heavenly master. Leading a person to conversion is the beginning and some of the earliest activities/practices of Christian experience. Activities such as these are examples of the spaces Penn-Lewis was engaged in for the purpose of instruction.

Home meetings such as the one referred to in the excerpt above were not the only kind of spaces that Penn-Lewis moved in. She also was very active in “social spaces,” especially with activities and space for women. Kirsch and Royster refer to “social spaces” as an aspect to consider the activities and engagement of women outside of the common the dichotomy of male/public, female/private (666). One specific example of this was a formal tea party organized in a city where the YWCA was seeking to establish a new branch—Neath, Wales. In one of her journal entries, found in the section titled “For Time or Eternity?”, Penn-Lewis recalls, after having “got together all the Neath ladies we could, and we gave a tea, --my little mother and I. We gathered about seventy girls out of the shops and the ladies played games with them!” (62). The tea party, a public and at times formal social activity, here served as a spring board (through

⁵ The language here, to me, is an instance of where she echoes biblical language, like the apostle Paul, shepherding and watching over souls as part of his divine commitment. In the epistles, Paul also refers to activities that ministers and servants of God engage in, such as watching over their [congregation, believers, and those they care for] souls (Hebrews 13:17a “Obey the ones leading you and submit to them, for they watch over your souls as those who will render an account”).
appropriation) to assemble young women together for the cause of spreading the gospel—teaching the townswomen through engaging them in familiar and highly social interactions such as tea and games. This example shows Penn-Lewis’ flexibility and creativity to gain pupils.

Penn-Lewis occupied significant public spaces in the spaces given to her for teaching in conferences such as the Keswick Convention. The Keswick Convention was, and still is, an annual gathering begun as a result of a spiritual revival in T. D. Hartford-Battersby (founder) and Robert Wilson after attending a Christian conference in Brighton, England. The first conference was held in 1875 and continues on to the present day, retaining a focus on personal salvation experience, fullness of the Spirit (a specific spiritual experience), foreign missions and Christian unity. For Penn-Lewis, the first of these public occasions is related in a section of the biography titled “Keswick—1899.” In November of 1899, Penn-Lewis was invited by the trustees of the Keswick Convention to be a speaker at the “Ladies Meetings” (178). According to her journal excerpts in the biography, Penn-Lewis had been in attendance at the Convention since 1892, having been impacted from the first visit (35). As the recurring key speaker for the women’s section of the conference, Penn-Lewis occupied a large space both physically and rhetorically throughout her connection with the Keswick Convention.

2. What tools for interaction did they use for teaching and/or engaging in rhetorical activities?

As shown in the section above Jessie Penn-Lewis not only utilized space in creative and diverse ways but she also used many strategies or “tools” for the purpose of teaching and engaging many audiences to her cause. Upon further examination into the biography, looking at the entries, excerpts and letters, several teaching practices come to the surface. Just as she used spaces such as the Neath ladies’ tea party event to draw in the girls from the town to gain pupils,

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6 This excerpt was also published in her work called Life of Faith, as “Keswick Number”.
7 Penn-Lewis continued to carry the “Women’s Meetings” at the annual Keswick Convention until 1909. She continued to serve as a trustee after her resignation as speaker.
she also used tools such as teaching music drills, singing classes, shorthand classes with the same
desire—“winning souls.” Penn-Lewis spent her early years engaged in these activities,
continuing up to the period that she began to travel and speak abroad. Her “tools” can be
identified as: letters, apostrophe, ethos, appropriation, publications, public speaking, written
prayers, spoken prayer, performance and modeling, prophetic authority, and New Testament
epistolary style. This section will identify the use of each of these tools as they apply to Jessie
Penn-Lewis’ teaching and rhetorical activities.

Letters, Literary Devices, and Performance

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the text Mrs. Penn-Lewis: A Memoir is a
 compilation of letters, excerpts and journal entries arranged together to present the life and work
of Jessie Penn-Lewis. Penn-Lewis was a prolific writer; the text provides many letters either in
part or their entirety revealing both her purpose and cause. Letters were used by Penn-Lewis
frequently to update and share information and experiences and yet they are rife with examples
of her teaching practices. One example given in the text, under the chapter “For Time or
Eternity?” relates what her biographer refers to as basic lessons, lessons that were shared for the
purpose of understanding, establishing, and growing the number of pupils into the association
she was affiliated with – the YWCA. The letter was written to the secretaries and workers in the
association and was later published in a circular entitled “Go Forward” (April, 1896). Using a
series of rhetorical questions, Penn-Lewis identifies and explains to her recipients the need for
“God-possession” (59). She begins

…if our Association is to maintain its power, and retain its hold upon our Young Women,
it must be by the force of its God-possession…. Are we to descend to carnal means, and

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8 There is an entire archive of correspondence from her held at Wheaton College, which was beyond the scope of
the current project. A description of the contents of the archive can be found at the following link:
http://archon.wheaton.edu/index.php?p=ollections/findaid&id=60&q=&rootcontentid=6234#id6234
be a worldly ‘success’ or shall we launch out upon God—determine that nothing among
us shall grieve our God—be a living object-lesson, in this worldly age, of faithfulness to
God, and a channel for the Living Waters to flow out to thirsty souls all over the world?

(59)

Here is the main thrust of her statement, that they must live it, be a channel. The letter is full of
alliterative rhetorical questions using the phrase “shall we?” (see extended passage in Appendix
C). These devices reinforce sense of community through collective “we” as well as the
responsibility as workers for this organization to the cause. These tools, particularly the patterns
of rhetorical/literary devices, recur throughout the compiled letters provided in the biography.

Along with the use of the literary devices of rhetorical questioning and alliteration, Penn-
Lewis frequently used apostrophe for conveying her message to her pupils/audience.

Apostrophe, a literary and rhetorical device, is a speech or passage that is directed at person who
is absent from the presence of the speaker. Throughout Penn-Lewis’s biography, there are many
places where she uses this device. Often, apostrophe is found at the end of a discussion where
she is admonishing her audience to realize a principle or to take action/respond. One such
element follows a passage where she has shared how to draw young people:

But you will never help young people if you do not love, if you do not love them. I do so
long that God’s people will be more human, have more heart—cleansed heart, with
Christ in it—you can do anything with people you love, and who love you. This is not
natural love, because it loves the ugly and the unpleasant. It is the ‘love of God shed
abroad in our hearts’ that is needed. We are too occupied with our own spiritual growth
and progress. Oh God, let us die to ourselves! Lord, come thou and live in us, so that thy
life can flow out to others through us! (62)
What this excerpt shows, specifically at the end, is the use of apostrophe, “Oh God, let us die to ourselves! Lord, come thou and live in us, so that thy life can flow out through us!” This exclamation naturally carries over to a written prayer performed in front of the readers. The cry is to God and yet it is described, it is written down for the audience to learn how to take for themselves her realization/experience.

*Appropriation*

Another tool that the biography reveals is Penn-Lewis use of appropriation. As a literary device, appropriation a device in which text (or style) is lifted from an original context and is then used for a new context, often with a shift in meaning. Appropriation is also a rhetorical tool that has subsets, such as public speaking, New Testament epistolary style, and the prophet’s mantle. In the biography, there are a number of occasions in both letters and excerpts from her booklets where evidence of these tools is present. One example is documented in her public speaking. Penn-Lewis appropriated the platform (though she was granted access to that space) to teach her message. Her goal, as described by both Penn-Lewis and her compiler, was not to align to the theme(s) of the other speakers but rather to speak the words divinely granted to her in the moment – donning the prophet’s mantle. She came to this realization and responded on behalf of “the Lord, on whom I stand” (194) with the following:

Should she give an ordinary Bible Reading, or as she so well could, on some beautiful, pleasing theme from the Word? Or should she—dare she—be faithful to her “commission” as crucified messenger of the crucified Lord, and tell out to that concourse of Ministers and white-haired Divines the oftentimes unwelcome message, that the Cross, in

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9 She revisits this story and sharing in later years while speaking at a conference for Christian Workers, The Stanwick Conference, 1920.

10 Penn-Lewis was keenly aware of her persona and performance when engaging with her audiences. It is observable in her use of photos and portraits as well (see Appendix C). She took an active role in the construction of her persona or how she is presented/represented, particularly through textual circulation.
its personal application to the servant of God, means a deep experimental circumcision of the heart, a laying down of the “natural” gifts of the soul, the “own” eloquence, the “own” power of service; that out of the depths of the spirit, where Christ dwells, may flow to others the life of the Risen Lord, unchecked and unhindered by the human channel. Then, as she mounted the platform, the Lord Himself poured through her lips the message He had for that gathering, in a faithful proclamation of Paul’s gospel of the Cross.

This excerpt shows her move from the standard set up of the conference to her own obedience to be a mouthpiece (a prophet) allowing “the Lord Himself to pour through her lips the messages He had for that gathering…” (194). Both the activity and its description carry the tone of the “prophet” as a trope—the speaker or human vessel as unworthy yet selected by God, being sent to carry out the task of delivering the divine message. Penn-Lewis rhetorically and physically mounted the platform—taking control of the space—as the ordained one to speak the message after the teaching of apostle Paul. The clear linking and usage of male-dominated spiritual activity marks the appropriation of her action. Further, her delivery followed “in a faithful proclamation of Paul’s gospel of the Cross.” Both the language of the biographer describing this scene and the actions of Penn-Lewis show the intentional rhetorical move to align Penn-Lewis’s speaking on this occasion to the religious masculine rhetorical style, including referencing the apostle Paul for divine (yet masculine) authenticity. This use of appropriation is just one of many instances where Penn-Lewis enacted it in a space or activity, often to better serve as a channel for conveying a message, specifically the message the of Cross, echoing New Testament epistolary language.

Publications – Booklets, Magazines
Publication is one of the main reasons why people know of her and her work. Her corpus of publications spans to thirteen books, booklets and many reprints of her messages delivered, along with published letters. The biography includes many excerpts from her corpus of books specifically, revealing the intimate, personal style with which she conveyed her message.

Written/Spoken Prayers

As a person whose doctrine relies heavily on the constant and intimate spiritual experiences with God, it is not surprising to find many, many prayers reproduced in the biography of Jessie Penn-Lewis. Excerpts include not only her own prayers, but prayers she writes for instructing, modeling, and admonishing her audience. One example of prayer being specifically used as a tool comes from an earlier period of her work, with the young women at Neath. In this excerpt, Penn-Lewis drafts prayers on little sheets of paper and places them on the seats of young women who are quiet as a means to encourage them and strengthen them in their faith through audible prayer:

The prayer meetings, always the pulse of any work, were now times of great liberty and rejoicing in free access to the Throne of Grace, though in the past they had often been so lacking in liberty that the Honorary Secretary (Penn-Lewis), in her earnest longing that her girls should learn to pray aloud, would sometimes put slips of paper with little prayers written upon them, on the chairs of those she felt ought to join in audible prayer! (30)

In this excerpt, two points are mentioned: prayer is conducted in multiple ways and that audible prayer is important. Due to these points, it is clear to see why Penn-Lewis came up with a tool to bring some of her students into the practice and experience of praying aloud. Prayers spoken aloud are useful as they show the listener (Penn-Lewis as teacher especially) where the understanding and inward thoughts of the one praying are focused—it serves as a gauge to know
where the student is, mentally, psychologically. This is important for her to know as their spiritual teacher so that she can help them to have (guide them) into proper spiritual experiences to deepen their Christian faith. Speaking out an audible prayer also helps the student to confirm (build confidence) in speaking out their faith (an open profession/confession). An example of this is shown in one of the excerpts from her journal in response to her teaching:

…the Presence of God was so manifest that every barrier was broken down, numbers broke into prayer in the meetings, and when asked to go into another room to be dealt with, without hesitation they would stream in, and before each other, kneel and yield to Christ. There has been no hesitation in boldly confessing Christ in their homes and businesses…. It was blessed to see converts of the night before bringing in their friends to be led to Christ, and taking them to the prayer-room. (43)

The excerpt above shows further the reason for encouraging and teaching audible prayer—open confession leads to conversion, which leads to the confession and conversion of others (multiplication).

3. When engaging in teaching and/or rhetorical practices, who were their audiences?

There were several audiences that Penn-Lewis addressed throughout her experience. Primary audiences that she addressed were her correspondents, such as friends; and largely her readership, which may be further broken down to two sub groups: readers who were seeking to teach, to learn from her spiritual experience; and readers who were a more general audience, reading without actively seeking to acquire specific knowledge or training to teach.\textsuperscript{11} Often, as mentioned in earlier sections, there is the divine audience—God. Penn-Lewis, in instances

\textsuperscript{11} Her readership also extends to a global audience, especially in printed and circulated publications that she produced throughout her life. (Note: some of these more personal stories are related in widely published works by her, such as \textit{The Centrality of the Cross}, a text that investigates more specifically personal spiritual experiences as an individual in contrast to letters and journal entries where she speaks more specifically to the operation and work she was involved in with the YWCA.
throughout her (auto)biography, addresses her Creator. This audience sometimes shifts in range from immediate (or primary) audience to secondary as she addresses another audience more directly. With these considerations in mind, the discussion below looks at the audiences that were addressed or taught by her as reproduced in the biography.

For her primary audience, Jessie Penn-Lewis not only taught young women, girls, and carried personal interviews (as discussed in an earlier section) but also came to be known for public speaking, a highly contested rhetorical (and arguably educational) activity for her time within the Christian sphere.

Below is an excerpt of one of the earliest documented occasions of Penn-Lewis speaking to a large mixed audience—the Keswick Convention. Unlike the women’s section that she was given permission and promoted to lead, Penn-Lewis recounts in a journal entry an occasion at the conference in which she spoke publicly to a mixed audience. The biography gives specific attention to how it came to be that she spoke, in the section called fittingly, “The Liberation of the Message.” The biography notes that “a number of the more conservative members of the committee object[ed] to the ministry of women in general, mixed meetings, in those days—much as the Convener, the Rev. W.D. Moffat, M.A., desired to arrange otherwise” (194). However, due to the nonattendance of a clerical speaker (male), Jessie Penn-Lewis was requested to come to the general meeting\(^\text{12}\) to deliver the message she had prepared on the topic of the cross of Christ. The entry below gives great detail to her coming to speak and the context around it from the biographer,

But God has his own way of bringing His purpose to pass (Isa. 9: 8-9) and one day the clerical speaker planned for the general meeting failed to appear! Just as Mrs. Penn-

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\(^\text{12}\) This was the main section of the conference and where the largest population of attendees (mixed audience) were gathered for the conference.
Lewis was commencing her meeting, in one of the rooms in the Museum Hall, a friend entered and said to her, “You are requested to come and address the general meeting. The speaker has failed to come.” It can readily be understood how strong was the temptation to decline…but after only a few moments hesitation, the will surrendered and the call accepted, our sister went forward.

The array, in the Tent, of Presbyterian Divines, Doctors of Divinity, and Ministers of all denominations, might well have caused a sense of bondage, but with a strong realization of the Presence of God—as one of old who said, “The Lord, before whom I stand”—Mrs. Penn-Lewis gave such a message on the Cross of Christ as resulted in at least one minister saying, “That is the message for the church in these days” … In after years there was no suggestion of a limited ministry whenever our sister was able to come to Scottish Conventions…Oh that God would send pur auld Scotland such a breath from heaven once again, in these dry and dead days of formalism…” (194-96)

This occasion of speaking to a mixed audience is powerful, as shown in a later section. Such impact on her audience, and an audience with spiritual and social authority led to the extension of her ministry to mixed audiences more broadly and publicly for years to come. The autobiography also provides the perspective from Penn-Lewis of the event:

Some who read this story will have heard Mrs. Penn-Lewis tell how, as she walked up the aisle of the Tent behind Mr. Logan, with nothing but a deep, deep sense of her own emptiness and utter insufficiency for such an occasion, the thought came to her: Should she give an ordinary Bible Reading, or as she so well could, on some beautiful, pleasing theme from the Word? Or should she—dare she—be faithful to her “commission” as crucified messenger of the crucified Lord, and tell out to that concourse of Ministers and
white-haired Divines the ofttimes unwelcome message, that the Cross, in its personal
application to the servant of God, means a deep experimental circumcision of the heart, a
laying down of the “natural” gifts of the soul, the “own” eloquence, the “own” power of
service; that out of the depths of the spirit, where Christ dwells, may flow to others the
life of the Risen Lord, unchecked and unhindered by the human channel. Then, as she
mounted the platform, the Lord Himself poured through her lips the message He had for
that gathering, in a faithful proclamation of Paul’s gospel of the Cross. (195)

As shown through the description given by the biographer, Penn-Lewis was keenly aware of her
audience and took on the demand.

The passage below describes how Penn-Lewis impacted ministers through her speaking
at that meeting. After the conference, D.W. Moffat wrote a letter to Jessie Penn-Lewis, putting
himself under her spiritual guidance by referring to himself towards her as “your son in this
service.” This was a major shift in positionality for a minister put himself under a woman
speaker (she did not call herself a minister):

‘Sub-soil work had not been done and I was driven to do it…but the stillness was awful!
You know it— ‘a sharp threshing instrument having teeth’…I sent them home to their
knees, to deal with God alone…Of course I write this to you because I am your son in this
service. You have seen what I did not see, and believed for what I did not think to be
possible, and have cheered and helped me when all was dark and blank. Someday, in the
glory, we will talk over it all. One thing I entreat—do not cease to pray for me. Do you
remember your last prayer in my room here? It was like the “mighty ordination of the
pierced hands.” Please take me still as one of your burdens to the Master’s feet…” It is
difficult to explain the influence of your teaching on my mind, but somehow it is teaching that teaches, and I find that few do that now …’ (190)

Not only does he acknowledge the impact of her speaking/teaching upon himself and the power of her prayer, but he also puts himself under her in this service and requests her to continue to pray for him in his ministry. Moffat’s letter shows his relationship as an audience reading for spiritual help and to teach.

4. **What is the context of the circulation of the texts/women?**

   The biography provides clear examples of circulation both of the text(s) and Jessie Penn-Lewis herself. As a compilation, the biography incorporates many excerpts of Penn-Lewis’s booklets, correspondence and how Penn-Lewis moved as well. One of the major circulations of texts by Penn-Lewis comes from her periodical, *The Overcomer Magazine*, which was in circulation 1906 - 1914. This periodical was in and out of circulation, just as Penn-Lewis herself was in and out of sight among her audiences. The production of the magazine was impacted by many factors; Penn-Lewis’s viewpoint for the magazine shifted throughout production, which affected not only the content but also the frequency of new issues. Penn-Lewis’s initial viewpoint on *The Overcomer* was for the spiritual edification of Christians who were seeking more (219). *The Overcomer* initially circulated to India, Russia, U.S., and Britain. In the closing issue (first series) dated December 1914, she writes a letter to her readers letting them know that the magazine will cease to be printed. After the magazine was out of print for a period, Penn-Lewis writes that she received many letters from her readers requesting it to come back into print. So, *The Overcomer* came back into print for a brief period (235). This shows the dynamic relationship between the audience and the circulation of the magazine.
*The Overcomer* was also directly connected to Penn-Lewis’s health and practical needs. Penn-Lewis struggled with poor health throughout her whole life, from childhood till her last days. These illnesses removed her from public view and ceased or delayed production of the magazine for periods of time. The periodical was not by subscription; the financial support for production and operation costs of the magazine came from Penn-Lewis and through the readership that felt led to support it, which meant no consistent funds were available for use. The whole production of the magazine was managed by Penn-Lewis herself and an assistant out of her home. After Penn-Lewis’s death, a trust was established for the sake of continuing the magazine. According to the Trust webpage, it states that,

> Our aim in the “The Overcomer” is this simple ministry of the Word, giving the measure of light we have upon aspects of truth we have learnt through deep suffering, and proved as yet in small measure, but sufficiently to know that they are of God for His people. We are aware that they do not meet the need of all believers, but there are those to whom they have come in delivering power, and who testify that their lives have been lifted to another plane. (overcomertrust.org/uk)

As noted in the statement from the Trust above, the magazine has continued under the goal to reach audiences looking for spiritual deliverance, provide biblical and experiential truth for the confirmation of faith in believers. The “inner life” focus on the individual spiritual experience is consistent with Penn-Lewis’s life and ministry.

Penn-Lewis’s writings also circulated through the specific requests of her readership and as she felt burdened for specific topics or spiritual needs of her audiences. Another example follows provided by Mary Gerrard, Penn-Lewis’s compiler, showing the fragmented production and circulation based on the above impetus (more specifically on the circulation of text):
In January, 1917, an “Occasional Paper” was sent out to those readers of *The Overcomer* who had registered their names and addresses in the hope of some such after message, for letters from all parts of the world showed that a large body of believers who had received help through the magazine, were sorely missing the “portion of meat in due season.” “Nothing has ever taken its place. It supplied a great and pressing need which no other literature has ever attempted to meet, even in smallest measure,” wrote one of the leaders of a large Bible School in America; and many others wrote to the same effect. Other Occasional Papers followed at intervals, bearing welcome news of steady improvement in health, with increasing power given of God for His service; and dealing in masterly fashion with the “modern attitude to the Bible,” and the “camouflage” of the doctrine of the Atonement—since become a landslide of apostasy from the faith which throws a lurid light upon the question uttered by our Lord: “When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find the faith on the earth?” (262)

In the editorial “Letter” of the second of these papers, we get a glimpse of the leadings of God during this period, as understood through Penn-Lewis as well as the shift in thematic focus in religious spaces. These examples show the many contexts and intentions behind the circulation or break in circulation of Penn-Lewis’s texts.

*How have the texts and/or these women circulated since the initial production?*

Several of Penn-Lewis’ texts have gone through multiple reprints, reaching broader audiences. This section looks closely at the publication history of several of Penn-Lewis’s books in order to reveal the circulation of the texts since their initial production. For example, Penn-Lewis’s book *The Cross of Calvary* is still under copyright and has continued to be reprinted
since its initial publication in 1909, with the most recent publication released in 2013. The book has gone through six editions in English and French. It was one of her more popular books, as mentioned later by Oswald Chambers, a famous contemporary minister to Penn-Lewis. Regarding the same book, it is noted in the biography that “The Cross of Calvary which has become a ‘classic’ on the atonement in all its aspects, has been translated and issued in many languages; Dr. Andrew Murray writing a Foreword to the Dutch edition, published in South Africa.” (221). This is important not only because of the number of languages but also because of the endorsement provided by the Forward from Dr. Andrew Murray, and famous minister, scholar, and missionary of Penn-Lewis’s time. His endorsement of the book aides in the circulation by language and by authorization—his approbation opens or introduces the book to different circles of audiences that it may not have traveled into on the author’s creditability and notoriety alone.

One of her most famous books today, War on the Saints, initially came into print in 1912 and was the result of her experiences during the Welsh Revival and early Keswick Convention. The book has gone through nearly 32 editions, is published in six languages, and was written with its initial audience to those who want to understand spiritual warfare, offering help to Christians in opposing Satan in their daily lives.

Even the autobiography, the key artifact of this study, has gone through two editions (1930; 1947), and is itself a compilation of re-circulated publications from Jessie Penn-Lewis’s earlier work. Within its pages are reprints of her letters, her travel journal from Russia, along with excerpts from her books before many became full-book publication (booklet form). The autobiography even reprints portraits of Penn-Lewis, shifting the images from their original
audience. Interestingly enough, it is apparent that the travel journal, one of primary reprinted texts, was meant by Penn-Lewis to be shared widely, not just to the initial recipients.

Penn-Lewis’s writing appears to have carried a much broader scope even from the initial production of many of her works. What the findings above reveal through examining the publication cycles is that circulation continued actively, not just her Penn-Lewis’s time but even to the 21st century. Further, not only did her texts repeatedly circulate, but also globally, in multiple languages in translation. Whether in full book form, translation, early editions or more recent reprints, her works can readily be found in digital formats and in excerpts spread widely through the internet. This level of availability extends the readership and the potential impact of Penn-Lewis’s writing far beyond the author and initial production.

5. What were the impacts and consequences of their rhetorical and pedagogical practices to their students?

What becomes clear through studying the circulation of Penn-Lewis’s texts is the impact of her teaching on her students/readership. As mentioned in earlier sections, Penn-Lewis’s audience was very widespread and so was her student-base. The autobiography includes excerpts of correspondence that detail the impact of Penn-Lewis’s work to her students, particularly those from abroad. The excerpts come as response to her traveling, her public speaking, her meetings with the women of YWCA, her visitations to homes of her contacts, and through her booklets and magazine circulated globally.

One example comes from her correspondence to friends and family back home during her travels in Russia, in which she relays the reception/response to her speaking during a visit to the home of a princess in Russia:

We had a blessed two hours of talk and prayer, and this group banded themselves together to wait on God every week for an outpouring of the Spirit on the Russian
Christians. One said to me ‘Twenty years have we waited for you! God sent a messenger twenty years ago to tell us of ‘Christ for us,’ and one or two others come now with the same message—but now God has sent another revelation—Christ IN you. Twenty years have we been babes, but now it shall be no more ‘I’—we are so happy—so happy!’ (105)

The women here, being taught or edified in the confines of the home by Penn-Lewis, express quite strongly their positive reception and the impact of her speaking and personal visit to them. In this situation, she serves as the teacher and the oracle to the women here who are confined by their country’s laws against their faith.

Other evidence of the impact of her rhetorical and pedagogical practices on her students can be seen through the reception of her teachings in some of her texts. Several of her readers wrote to her, sharing how they were impacted by her writings. One example of these found in her autobiography comes from a very famous minister who was a contemporary of Penn-Lewis, Oswald Chambers, most widely known, even today, by his book *My Utmost for His Highest*. Below is an excerpt of his response to reading Penn-Lewis’s book, *Cross of Calvary*:

Your ‘Cross of Calvary’ is pre-eminently of God. The splendid treasure of pain, your pain, has merged into the greatness of God’s power. Your book teaches clearly and grandly what the Spirit witnesses to in the Bible and in our hearts, viz: that ‘the way of God’ flatly contradicts common sense, and by utmost despair the Holy Ghost leads to resurrection triumph. The breakdown of the natural virtues seems to be the point wherein most regenerated lives are cast into despair. Your book will help these to understand that this despair must end in death to natural goodness and self, and be raised by the power of God into inconceivably glorious power and peace and liberty of life…
You are clearer and clearer each time you write, and each day you grow from those past
days of mysterious crucifixion, which is an open secret to those of us who have the
witness of the Spirit… (220)

Chambers not only shows that he approves of her teaching but also writes on what point her
teaching is sound, stating later that Penn-Lewis is “clearer and clearer each time [she] write[s]” a
statement that reveals his familiarity with her writings and teaching reaches beyond the *Cross of
Calvary*. Further, he recommends that her book be used for instruction in Christian experiences
and understanding of faith; “Your book will help those to understand that the despair must end in
death to natural goodness and self, and be raised by the power of God into inconceivably
glorious power and peace and liberty of life” (220). He clearly sees the benefit of her writing as
an instructional tool for bringing others into the knowledge that he believes he shares with Penn-
Lewis, “an open secret to those of us who have the witness of the Spirit” (220).
In the section titled “The First Message in Print,” the biography includes a snippet from Penn-Lewis relating a visit she had with a missionary couple from Madras and the impact of her book “The Pathway” upon an entire missionary field abroad: “Last night we had sat down to tea, a missionary and his wife from Madras, and to our great delight he told us that, at a regular United Meeting of all the Missionaries in Madras, your ‘Pathway’ had been the theme of study, conference, and prayer, page by page and meeting by meeting…” (57). Here, her book served very visibly as the pedagogical guide for edifying the missionaries in Madras, through study, conference, and prayer, page by page and meeting by meeting…” (57). According to the Overcomer Trust, the publishing house for her writing today, *The Pathway to Life in God*, was written with the intent to be study material.

[It] is aimed at presenting in some degree our death with Christ on the subjective side of the Holy Spirit’s dealings with the individual. In a preface to the first edition, Mrs. Penn-Lewis wrote, ‘There is no desire to dogmatise or to systematise, but only to show in the main the experimental pathway. The Holy Spirit is not bound, and leads along this road in a thousand different ways. The writer earnestly prays all to whom the booklet is not of present use, to put it aside until God in His own time and way becomes His own interpreter.’ (56)

Penn-Lewis’s preface also tells the reader how to read it. If the present time is not the right time to read (for whatever the cause, though she mentions the tendency of the dogmatic or systematic approach to reading), “put it aside until God in His own time and way becomes His own interpreter.” This instruction is also greatly in accordance with her doctrine and practice.

Due to Penn-Lewis’s pedagogical strategies in utilizing her books and magazine as a tool for instruction, she was able to teach much further than her immediate audiences in the
conferences, visitations, and meetings with the YWCA. The impact of her teaching has continued through to today, with many Christian movements continuing the spread of her knowledge and spiritual experience as a guide to Christian faith. Through her work, she was able to teach students she would never meet or know—her readership both active and passive.\textsuperscript{13}

**Voyant Analysis**

As discussed in earlier chapters, Voyant Tools is a web-based reading and analysis environment for digital texts. In this study, this tool is utilized for the purpose of triangulating the data produced through the heuristic analysis in the earlier portion of this chapter. In order to process the data, the (auto)biography that serves as a base for the data has been digitized and input into Voyant for analysis. In order to set similar parameters in processing the data, the corpus of this artifact along with the findings in the heuristic were input into Voyant. Below is the resulting information from this procedure.

**Corpus Analysis**

From the autobiography, the analysis reveals (by frequency) the thematic importance of subjects such as “God” with the highest count, followed by “life” and “spirit” with next ranking of importance. The third tier of terms follows close in ranking, showing a more robust theme: “Lord,” “Christ,” “message,” “power,” and “cross” fit this level of frequency. One limitation with the Voyant software is that it is unable to distinguish what is introductory material from the main content of the book; some occurrences of the terms reported above may be counted in the overall total due to the inclusion of the table of contents, as well as chapter and section headings.

\textsuperscript{13} Penn-Lewis is cited, taught (F. J. Huegel) and published by many religious publishing houses (Kingsley Press, Christian Literature Crusade). There are many reviews of her books in circulation as of current time.
This limitation could potentially affect the total number of occurrences on specific words and therefore significance based on frequency, which is the basis of the software analysis.

What the software did reveal by frequency of terms, however, directly correlates with topic and subject matter as a reader of Penn-Lewis’s autobiography and other texts. Penn-Lewis work encompasses such titles as *Life in the Spirit, The Cross of Calvary and its Message, The Centrality of the Cross, The Climax of the Risen Life, and Soul and Spirit, and “Soul-Force” versus “Spirit-Force,”* several of which were included in excerpts within the compiled autobiography. Word frequency: [God (653), life (239), spirit (237), Lord (186), Christ (177), message (165), power (160), cross (159)]. What comes through most clearly is the doctrine of the cross, of which these key words were connect to. Penn-Lewis actively taught and expounded upon both these words and doctrine in the books and booklets referenced above.

**Discussion**

Building from the previous chapter, this chapter sets in practice feminist rhetorical methods of analysis to answer three research questions in light of the findings culled from the primary text of this chapter through the use of heuristic questions. These questions serve as the overarching goal of the case study presented in this chapter, which are approached more specifically through the heuristic introduced in the previous chapter to focus the analysis of the artifacts (excerpts) selected for this chapter/case study.

1. What can the study of women in religious spaces teach us about rhetorical practices of their period, for example preaching, singing, teaching in spiritual contexts, hymn writing?

What is evident through the findings above is that preaching, singing, and teaching spiritual contexts are tools that were used by Jessie Penn-Lewis. Though she never directly called herself a preacher or what she did as preaching, she often was, especially when publicly

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14 The biography also includes excerpts of hymns from both the compiler and Penn-Lewis.
sharing the same platform of high-profile ministers of her day. This is very significant, particularly in the sphere of faith practices that she moved in as they were very conservative and women did not share the same space or pulpit. This is why Penn-Lewis, as well as the biographer who continued her chronicle, spend time describing her earlier occasions of speaking a message (and expounding the scripture—a sermon) before mixed company. The pulpit was a strongly gendered space, and one that she was granted access to by religious figures of her time.

The autobiography does not give many examples of Penn-Lewis singing, and it doesn’t appear that she was a hymnist either; however, it does include a few examples of her mentioning singing as part of instructing the women she taught in the religious practice for their own spiritual benefit. During this period, scholars also note that one of the results of the Welsh Revival that Penn-Lewis was involved in also brought to the Welsh churches hymns, which were lacking from their religious practices. Hymn production and singing corresponded with the spread of the gospel—the strong and active evangelism of the period.

Penn-Lewis’s writings in many ways serve to show some of the teaching contexts of her time and yet they also reveal how she appropriated those contexts for her own purpose. Penn-Lewis, like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, made good use of the home, the hearth, as a place not just to dine, take tea, or gossip but to instruct women especially in the spiritual principles and experiences that she believed were essential to the Christian faith. Penn-Lewis’s journals and letters particularly reveal the juxtaposition of her use of the home space and public spaces for the purpose of spiritually edifying and bring the gospel to women (and some mixed audiences) around the world through her travels.

2. About the religious teaching practices of their period?
What can be gathered from an investigation of Penn-Lewis’s biography and her other writings is that religious teaching practices of her period were still primarily male-dominated. Often, as shown through the earlier section of the heuristic regarding tool or strategies used rhetorically or pedagogically, religious teaching practices had to be adapted in order to be authorized. Penn-Lewis frequently acknowledges the spiritual help that she has received from others, particularly male spiritual figures and scholars in order to maintain her own ethos. This technique, though effective for the purpose of creditability (it shows how versed she is in the spiritual writings of her time as well as who she knows, personally) but it also shows that there is still either an implicit or explicit factor in regards to women religious teachers, especially when they seek to expound the scriptures. Likewise, the frequent use of apostrophe is highly performative, calling on her savior to aid in her knowledge as well as to show the example of the spiritual principles that she is describing and instructing. Her religious doctrine is a unique one, in that it lends easily to performance over simple description—the doctrine of the cross is meant to be experienced.

3. How are the feminist rhetorical practices of these women useful in understanding the range of practices in the knowledge that students bring with them?

These rhetorical practices are particularly useful in understanding the range of practices in the knowledge that students bring with them; take for example performance. Performance is not just demonstration; there is a level of connection that is specifically key to the audience. Also, since many of the students taught by Penn-Lewis were women, performance was a major part of interaction and communication in spaces that were highly restricted, socially. This rhetorical tool or strategy was useful not just for Penn-Lewis but also very familiar to her female
audience. Where roles are so clearly defined, performance is easily recognized and appropriated.

Similarly, Penn-Lewis utilized the spaces that women were familiar with—the home and women’s clubs such as the YWCA to connect with her students. These spaces are important not just because they are where Penn-Lewis had access (for in many ways she had more), but because this is where the women she taught were authorized to be as well. Women in these spaces brought with them keen knowledge and understanding of how to function in such spaces. She used their familiarity with these spaces as her tool to teach them something further spiritually.

Based on the way that the heuristic was constructed, the findings using it did not reveal much about the content of Penn-Lewis’s spiritual beliefs. The Voyant analysis, with its focus on identifying the frequency of contents did bring forward potential thematic emphasis within Penn-Lewis’s autobiography, which may also suggest which spiritual concepts were more significant to Penn-Lewis and thus her teaching practices.

**Conclusion**

Overall, this chapter set out to show through the above research questions and heuristic questions the ways in which women like Penn-Lewis taught and operated rhetorically in male dominated spaces as well as the impact of their rhetorical and pedagogical practices across different social circles and time periods. Through exploring her use of space, it becomes clear that women of her time knew very clearly the boundaries and limits that they faced both physically and rhetorically and yet were able to navigate and gain access to those very spaces.

By looking closely at rhetorical strategies and tools that Penn-Lewis utilized, her pedagogy and

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15 For a look at Penn-Lewis’ use of visual performance, refer to her staged portraits in Appendix B.
her vision becomes more apparent, showing impact across multiple generations and regions globally.

Her work is significant because it shows just how far the work of these women can travel, leaving their mark though often unseen by the main, prominent thread of the field of rhetoric and composition. The rhetorical strategy of social circulation particularly brings to the light the value of these women’s work that may have otherwise been hidden. Through this strategy, the richness of Penn-Lewis’s work and impact comes forward providing a way to see her students and the doctrine across generations (and at times gender boundaries).

The following chapter will take up the case study of Margaret E. Barber, a British missionary who was a contemporary of Penn-Lewis in life and ministry. The heuristic set forth in this chapter serves as the framework for the discussion and findings and for the triangulation of findings the Voyant software results are discussed in the context of this project.
IV. MEANS OF THE SPIRIT: CASE STUDY OF MARGARET E. BARBER

Introduction

This chapter will focus on the life, teaching, and rhetorical practices of Margaret E. Barber (1866-1929). To look at the rhetorical and pedagogical practices of Margaret E. Barber, an investigation of her writings and testimonials from those whom she taught during her time in the missionary field will be presented and analyzed. Drawing from the strategies set forth by Kirsch and Royster in their text *Feminist Rhetorical Practices: New Horizons for Rhetoric, Composition, and Literacy Studies*, primary attention will be given to her rhetorical and teaching practices as guided by the heuristic questions developed and discussed in chapter two. The findings from the heuristic will then be discussed in the scope of other scholarship to show connections to other activities and movements contemporary to the period analyzed. The chapter will conclude with a discussion on triangulation of data using Voyant software and a summary of the key points of the chapter.

Background

Margaret E. Barber was a woman with set purpose all her life. Biographically, there is little that remains today to reveal in extensive detail who she was, but of the material that remains it is clear that she was devout in her work as a teacher and missionary and in her faith. Barber was born in 1866 to a middle-class family in Peasenhall, Suffolk, England and remained a single woman all her life (Reetzke). There is no record of her early years in England or her family. What is known about her involvement in missionary work is gathered from the excerpts, correspondence, and newsletters she published in along with a few testimonies from those who knew her in the field. She left home to serve as an Anglican missionary for the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Fuzhou, China. Her work was difficult and often challenged.
Barber taught at the Tau Su Girls’ High School (founded by the Church of England) and also guided and advised students from her home (Reetzke). Barber’s life as a missionary is broken into two periods, her years under the CMS mission board and her later years, when she returned to China, unfunded and completely by her faith and her own mission. Barber resigned from the CMS with a changed doctrinal understanding on baptism and denominational divisions and taught her remaining years primarily from her home.

Margaret E. Barber is best known by those who came after her. During her lifetime, she taught extensively a handful of young people in China who became key leaders in spreading the gospel and her spiritual experiences throughout China. Though Barber never published a book, there are still traces of her pedagogy left behind in the form of personal correspondence (a few letters remain), poems, hymns, published letters to missionary newsletters and written accounts by those whom she taught over the course of her lifetime. Her pedagogy extends beyond the written text, as many of the accounts from her pupils reveal an oral tradition of teaching. Her hymns and poems were written to instruct as well, providing another vehicle of learning for her pupils locally and globally.

Margaret E. Barber died in China of enteritis, believed to be caused by Crohn’s disease, in May 1930, at Bai Ya Tan, China (Reetzke). Her fatal chronic disease was one of the many ways in which she suffered and lived the doctrine of the cross, which she so ardently believed and taught. From the beginning of her time in the missionary field she became acquainted with serious illness and a dependence upon her faith. Within the first two years of her arrival in Southern China she contracted Typhoid Fever followed by Malaria, the latter of which she barely survived (Barber Correspondence). These illnesses set the tone for her understanding of internal challenges as well as the external challenges such as the typhoon that destroyed her first dwelling
in China. Her pedagogy and rhetorical practices came to reflect the way of the cross as a fundamental component to a Christian’s existence.

Margaret E. Barber’s life, work and teaching have over the years laid a great foundation to later groups of Christians globally and though many may not know her name, her understanding and doctrinal approach has been carried on through many generations to today. This chapter will investigate these areas through the many layers of texts that have been found, though at times these layers raise questions and problematize the constructed archive provided as the basis for discussion in this chapter.

Heuristic Findings

In order to investigate more closely the rich experiences of Margaret E. Barber as seen through her teaching practices, it is important to look at where and how those activities occurred within the scope of the historical period she lived in. According to Kirsch and Royster it is essential to “recast our conceptual frameworks so that [scholars] might better understand historical women within their own cultural contexts, rather than [scholars], and to render their lives more fairly and respectfully” (76). These multiple perspectives and dimensions help make possible ways to best honor and enrich both the material and the lives of the women studied. The following section investigates the teaching and rhetorical practices of Margaret E. Barber drawing from a compilation of documents written both by Barber and others who knew her intimately as the primary text material for this case study.

These documents range from hymns, poems, published letters in Christian newsletter circulars, biographies, correspondence, and testimonials from her former students. Though the impact of Barber’s life, work, and teaching has been long recognized in some Christian circles there is little that remains today to clearly and thoroughly describe her. To fill in some of these
gaps I draw from lately recovered published Christian newsletters that contain letters written to
the editors by Margaret E. Barber. These newsletters have been made available through the
digitization process by Google in cooperation with the Andover-Harvard Theological Library,
which placed these valuable texts in the public domain. Initially published as serials, some
quarterly, others monthly or annually, these newsletters are preserved in hardcover volumes by
such institutions as listed above as well as on the world-wide web. They provide a unique look
into Barber’s rhetorical and teaching practices that are not found in other surviving documents.

One published biography exists that provides background on her life as well as her
relationship with her pupils. Produced by Chicago Bibles & Books, a small Christian publishing
house that is affiliated with followers of some of her prominent pupils, the biography is sectioned
thematically to describe Barber’s life and missionary work around scripture that draws on the
parable of the “grain of wheat.” This emphasis presents Barber through a theme of labor and
suffering, eventually bringing forth much fruit or harvest. The biography contains reproductions
of some of the only images available of Margaret E. Barber as well as selected letters of
correspondence, poems, and hymns. However, aside from a detailed cataloguing of her hymns,
the biography leaves many gaps and silences in portraying her life’s commission.

Finally, I draw from hymns that were composed by Barber to reveal her teaching
practices and doctrine in the context of other remaining materials, such as the correspondence
and testimonials of former pupils. Working with these materials, I treat the texts physically and
rhetorically as artifacts and utilize archival research approach. Drawing from the work of Gesa
Kirsch and Jaqueline Jones Royster in their text Feminist Rhetorical Practices, the heuristic
questions in the following section build on the lens/strategies that they provided, looking
particularly at social circulation. The focus of these questions is on rhetorical and teaching
practices and what they reveal from this period about pedagogy (specifically in religious spaces).

1. **What spaces did they teach/speak/write in and how did their activities (not) fit in the context of their historical period?**

   In order to understand what studying women in religious spaces teaches us about rhetorical practices of their period, it is necessary to look more specifically at the spaces that women such as Margaret E. Barber moved and practiced within. In this section I examine excerpts from published letters, biographical information, and correspondence to look into how and what spaces were used for the rhetorical and pedagogical activities that Margaret E. Barber engaged in. The discussion is divided according to different spaces that Margaret E. Barber taught, spoke, and wrote in.

*Private*

Margaret E. Barber was a very powerful teacher in the space of her home. There are many accounts that have been given by her pupils relating the help they received from Barber during individual visits to her home. One account records weekly visits from one of her more prominent pupils every Saturday (Reetzke). Further, one biography states that “While he was temporarily delayed in being received by her, he waited in her living room. He said that even though she was not yet there, he had a deep sense of the Lord's presence.” (Lee ch.3 sect. 3). In contrast to her earlier years in China under the governance of the Anglican missionary board, she is often cited as instructing from her own rented dwelling. Along with her own rented apartments, there are records of Barber renting spaces for hospitality, as many as ten rooms on one occasion (Reetzke 27). Another record states that “to meet the many spiritual needs, Miss Barber prepared a group of houses around her residence for the purpose of hospitality” (Reetzke 15). Not only did Barber visit homes for training and instruction but she also designated
“one of those houses [to be] used as a place of meeting” (15). Though the space was hers, she complicated the definition of “private” through extending her living space to accommodate many people for the purpose of shared living and subjective, daily training.

Margaret E. Barber also taught her pupils privately while visiting their homes or while traveling. One record states that “Barber was often seen cooking in the kitchen and preaching the gospel to the family and other friends in her broken Foochow dialect” (Reetzke 21). This example shows how Barber used other’s homes for the purpose of speaking and preaching. Barber also used her walks to locations as a space to edify her pupils. Watchman Nee, one of her pupils, recalled meeting her on the street on a particular occasion. “Sister Barber took his hands and said, "This is strange. Why has He still not come, even up to today? Maybe He will come before next year” As she walked with [Watchman] Nee on the street, she said that they might meet Him at the next corner” (Reetzke 28). Barber took every opportunity, including unplanned meetings and walks, to teach.

Public

Margaret Barber’s early years teaching were spent primarily in Tau Su Girl’s High School, in Fuzhou, Fukien, China under the supervision of the Church of England Missionary Board. Barber continued on as a teacher in the Fukien region for seven years in which she taught young women and worked under the politics of the Society.

Margaret E. Barber had a knack for bending the use of private spaces. The home, particularly has a space that she appropriated to meet the need of her goal, whether gospel preaching or character training of her pupils. The renting of the ten rooms for hospitality is not a common thing for someone in her position to do, especially as she had no solid financial support or organization to authorize her actions for a larger purpose. The purpose of this space was for
women that worked closely with her to be trained as coworkers in her work through practical living together. Barber is known to have had roommates throughout her time in China. Though it is not strange for missionaries to board together especially if assigned to a similar work or location, Barber taught her coworkers through daily living together, instructing on character and equipping for the ministry she felt called to lead. Since her mission was of utmost priority to her at all times, she was able to quickly turn a kitchen to a gospel meeting for the sake of gaining souls to her faith.

Rhetorical Space / Print Texts

Her early publications were in the Society’s different iterations of missionary newsletters, and as a missionary under their charge, she was expected to provide an annual letter (report) of her work in China to the Society for publication purposes. (see letter in Appendix E) Through these publications and remaining correspondence, a rough map can be constructed of the places that she taught and moved across during this period.

Margaret E. Barber was a prolific poet and in turn, many of her poems became hymns. Though there is no evidence that indicates that Barber composed any melodies or tunes, she did write new lyrics to many contemporary or well-known pieces of music and even some tunes to already-existing hymns of her time. As a rhetorical space, hymns occupy wherever they are read or sung, and travel with the reader or singer. Further, her hymns were the instrument for instruction.

As mentioned above, Barber was a productive poet. Her poetry was a space where she taught and encouraged others. Oftentimes printed in newsletters and correspondence to her friends are where her poetry is found. As a rhetorical device, her poetry existed in many rhetorical spaces such as the genres that contained the poems as their vehicle of reception and
consumption.

Of the corpus of Margaret E. Barber’s writing, newsletters are the most complex of the rhetorical spaces that she used to teach and write. From the beginning of Barber’s time in China under the Anglican mission board, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) she published in the association’s various serials. The material collected and presented in this chapter brings forward published writing from Barber in four different newsletters, two of which had oversight from the Church Missionary Society. Her earliest recovered writing was a poem published in the April 1897 volume of the Christian newsletter *The Western Christian Advocate*, a publication that was produced by The Western Methodist Book Concern, a publication house that supported the Methodist Episcopal Church. The newsletter was American, based in Cincinnati, Ohio in 1834 and ran until 1929. The space of this particular newsletter was towards an American audience and its associated missionaries abroad; however, it appears that she had access to the publication as an Anglican missionary in order to write in for publication.

Of the writings collected here for investigation in this study, Barber’s work was also printed in the November 1903 volume of *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, one of a number of newsletters operated by the Church Missionary Society, a large missionary organization governed by the Anglican church of England. The *Gleaner*, as it was frequently referred to during its production, was published from 1841 through 1870 and was again operated from 1874 until 1921. Barber’s piece printed in the *Gleaner* was both a letter, narrative, and poem.

Just a few years later, in an August 1905 volume of *The Church Missionary Intelligencer*, another Christian newsletter operated by the Church Missionary Society and supported by the Anglican Church in England, Barber’s writing appears with a much stronger message that comes in the form of a letter, narrative, and poem.
The final writing from a newsletter by Barber was published during her final return to China in the serial called *A Witness and a Testimony*, which was edited and published, not by an association, but by a nondenominational congregation from 1923 through till 1971 (the death of the magazine’s editor). The writing was produced was from Barber in her later years, published in the January 1926 edition of the magazine and reveals a more developed writer. It was a poem, and this time an exposition of the passage of scripture that inspired the poem was printed above it.

Of the surviving writing from Margaret E. Barber are letters to primarily the secretary of the missionary board that initially sent her to China and a few to friends. The rhetorical space of these letters varies based upon the recipient of the letters.

2. What tools for interaction did they use for teaching and/or engaging in rhetorical activities?

To look closer into Margaret E. Barber’s teaching and rhetorical activities that she engaged in, it is important to see what tools were used. In this section I examine the constructed archive for this chapter to answer the above heuristic question. Each tool will be presented below.

*Hymns*

One of the tools that Margaret E. Barber is known for is her hymn writing. Over twenty-three hymns have been attributed to her by compilers, often with tunes adapted or appropriated to accompany her poetry.\(^{16}\) It is not clear whether this is a complete count of her hymns as there is so little documented on her life, yet the volume does not take away from the value of each hymn. Barber’s hymns have been collected and compiled into a hymnal, though they are not given attribution. In a testimonial given by one of her pupils, Watchman Nee shares a teaching moment from Barber revealing both the value and the process of hymn writing. At one time, early in his

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\(^{16}\) For a list of her hymns please see Appendix D.
tutelage from Barber he brought to her several good hymns that he had written in one night. Believing he would be praised for his work he was shocked to receive a rebuff: “A hymn, like milk and honey, is the outflow of a life that has learned lessons and is dealt with. This cannot happen in one day and one night” (19). A hymn is not just a spiritual song; it is product of spiritual lessons and experiences. Hymns, according to Barber, are meant to teach. Even her choice in words, “learned lessons,” reveals her approach and use of hymns as a tool to instruct her students.

Margaret Barber’s hymns in content describe and teach “lessons” on the cross doctrine, a doctrine that she shares closely with Jessie Penn-Lewis from the previous case study (see chapter 3). Out of the twenty-three hymns that are attributed to her pen, the topics most common are the cross, the Lord’s return, praise of the Lord’s name, faith, spiritual warfare. One example of her use of hymns as a tool comes straight from her own life experiences. On a particular occasion, per a compiler of her work, Margaret Barber was penniless and in need of funds to pay her bills. A modernist came to visit her and offer her some monetary help, telling her “not to be ‘superstitious’ about God.” Though she was in desperate need of the money, she refused his assistance, due to his statement regarding her faith. The next day, she received a large sum of money from Reverend D.M. Panton, a minister and editor she corresponded with in Norwich, England. Upon receiving the money, she wrote a letter to him, asking why he had mailed her the money. In reply to her letter he wrote that, at the time of her need, he had not been aware of her situation, “but while he was praying, he had sensed that he should mail her the money.” This experience led Barber to compose the following hymn about what she learned, called “There is always something over”:

1) There is always something over,

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17 This doctrine is referred to in Theological scholarship as crucicentrism, the cross as the center/focus.
When we taste our gracious Lord;
Every cup He fills o’erfloweth,
Rich supply He doth afford.
Nothing narrow, nothing stinted,
Ever issued from His store;
To His own He gives full measure,
Running over, evermore,
To His own He gives full measure,
Running over, evermore.

2) There is always something over,
When we, from the Father’s hand,
Take our portion with thanksgiving,
Praising for the things He planned.
Satisfaction, full and deepening,
All our need He doth supply,
When the heart has tasted Jesus
Its desires to satisfy,
When the heart has tasted Jesus
Its desires to satisfy.

3) There is always something over,
When we share in all His love;
Unplumbed depths still lie beneath us,
Unscaled heights rise far above.
Human lips can never utter
All His wondrous tenderness.
We can only praise and wonder
And His Name forever bless,
We can only praise and wonder
And His Name forever bless. (Hymns, 595)

This hymn thematically addresses the concept of trust and receiving in faith which lead to deeper spiritual living. By writing and sharing the hymn, Barber enables her students (anyone who sings/reads the hymn) to take in the concept or lesson through rhyme and melody. In this way, her experiences become the lesson processed or packaged into a form that can travel by word and sound.

Another documented experience that led to Barber writing a hymn as a tool to instruct came from an illness she had. She was once sick with a fever for four days and had no one with her to care for her. She decided to ask God why she was ill, and according to her sharing of the experience, God showed her that the illness was not from Him but was an attack from Satan. She is said to have stated, “If I am wrong, then the sickness will continue. But if this is Satan's attack, then I shall not continue to be sick.” She decided to get up from her sick bed and penned a hymn titled “To the foe my word is always, ‘No.’” and then went about working in her usual manner—the illness was gone (Reetzke). The hymn that was written reads as follows:

1)  To the foe my word is always, “No,”
   To the Father it is “Yes,”
   That His plan and all His counsel
   Be accomplished with success;
When Thine orders I’m obeying,
Grant me, Lord, authority
To fulfill Thy plan eternal
Thru the Spirit’s power in me.

2) To the foe my word is always, “No,”
   To the Father it is, “Yes”;
   ’Tis my attitude eternal;
   May the Lord protect and bless,
   Lest while walking in obedience
   Satan undermine the way;
   When I’m list’ning to Thine orders,
   Grant me mercy, Lord, I pray.

3) To the foe my word is always, “No,”
   To the Father it is, “Yes”;
   I completely would obey Him,
   Though deep suff’ring may oppress.
   If the Lord will save and keep me,
   As I forward press with Him,
   Then no trials shall prevent me,
   Nor will opposition grim. (Hymns, 595)

This hymn reveals an experiential lesson in spiritual warfare, a concept that Margaret E. Barber and Jessie Penn-Lewis share in common. Having attributed her illness as attack from Satan she
focuses on obedience as the way to combat the attack. Each life experience becomes an opportunity for teaching; the hymn becomes the tool or vehicle to convey the lesson.

**Newsletters**

Margaret E. Barber also utilized the *Church Missionary Gleaner* as a tool to instruct in lessons of character and morality. Her use of the newsletters circulating through the mission board are some of the earliest examples remaining that reveal Barber’s teaching strategies. One particular example was printed in the November issue of the *Gleaner* in 1903. This letter gives account of a lesson taught to her students (young women teachers) in which they responded in action to an article that they had read in the *Gleaner* by a clerical correspondent, Mr. Peck, titled “Unto the uttermost part of the earth.” The letter, which was reprinted in the *Gleaner*, describes in detail several aspects of Barber’s teaching. The letter is reproduced below:

We have received the following interesting letter from a Gleaner, which we are sure will be read with pleasure: --

CMS Girls’ School, Fuh-Chow, South China.

It may interest my fellow Gleaners to know of one result from the Rev. E.J. Peck's most interesting and heart moving letters to the Gleaner entitled ‘Unto the uttermost part of the earth.’ It is my happy privilege to give a ‘missionary talk’ to my girls every Monday morning. I may mention in passing that I am now on the staff of workers belonging to the girls’ school of which Miss Bushell and Miss Lambert are the principals. One Monday morning I translated one of Mr. Peck's letters and described his life and work as well as I could from all the information I could muster.

Shortly after one of our girl teachers came to me and said, ‘Teacher, the night after that talk you gave us about Mr. Peck I could not sleep for thinking of and praying
for him.’ She then said that as she was so poor and had no money she had decided to make some garments in the holidays, sell them, and give the money to me to send to Mr. Peck to help him in this work. She was afraid, however, that such a tiny sum as she could raise in this way would scarcely be worth sending. The following Monday morning I explained to the school that this suggestion had been made by one of themselves and that I would be delighted if any others wished to help in a similar way; and then I called upon the originator of the scheme to say a few words. She spoke so humbly and sweetly of how moved she had been to hear of what Mr. Peck had to bear for Jesus’ sake and said that she also desired to do something for Jesus. At the end of her remarks several joined in forming themselves into a band, which is now organized as a ‘Sowers Band.’ It was a great encouragement to my own soul to know that the Eternal Spirit could thus prove that whether in N. W. America in the fields of ice or in South China, where snow is scarcely ever seen, His working and His fruits are unvaried.

It may be of interest to readers of the Gleaner to know that this school is entirely dependent upon the offerings of God's people for its support. Sometimes we have very touching proofs of our Heavenly Father's loving care for us. On Easter Saturday this year we had spent our last dollar and six weeks more of the term stretched before us, each week representing an expenditure of about $100 or 10£. The following Sunday morning, at 10:30, a cheque for $375 was put into Miss Bushell's hand. It was from one who desired to have that gift entered as ‘a gift from God.’

'So on we go not knowing

We would not if we might

We would rather ‘work’ in the dark ‘with God,’
Than go alone in the light.

--Margaret E. Barber

The letter not only presents Barber’s teaching methods (narrative exposition and discussion followed by moral lesson in rhyme) but also reveals how letters can be used to instruct multiple audiences. She taught her students about missionary work through the article contained within the pages of the newsletters along with weekly instruction given to the subject. Further, she used the same tool, the newsletter, to teach the audience that produced the tool—editors and the readers of the newsletter.

Margaret Barber found the genre of the newsletter to be an effective teaching tool but also a rhetorical one. In another newsletter, titled *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, dated August 1905, was printed a letter penned by Barber that once again places the reader in her classroom. However, one important distinction in this letter is the lesson is not primarily to her pupils. The lesson, more appropriately called political critique, is aimed first at herself as representative of her country and faith and secondarily at teaching the readers of the newsletter their responsibility as Christian citizens of England and supporters of the movement that has allowed her to go abroad for her mission. A reproduction of the letter follows:

[The following verses have been sent to us by Miss M. E. Barber, our missionary at Fuh-chow. They were written after reading the speech of the Bishop of Durham on the Opium Question (see Intelligencer for February, page 150). She says: —

'I faced this morning Chinese girls, and I asked them to pray that God would bless every effort to root out the opium curse from their country. With one voice the girls said, "England sent it to us." —For one moment I was speechless, and then almost with tears, I said, "Yes, it is true, but England is sorry she did." Is she sorry? ' — Ed.]
RIGHTeousness or Revenue?
England, thine the choice!
Country, dearer far than life,
Wilt thou heed the voice
Calling thee to clear thy name
From thy share in China's shame?
Righteousness or Revenue?

-- 'Revenue,' she cried.
Then the curse began to work:
China far and wide
Groaned beneath the opium blight,
Wandered further into night.

Oriental says
'Give us Revenue,' and we,*
We have nought to say
Whilst our coffers ring with gold
Price of curse, to China sold.
Righteousness or Revenue?

Ah! we watch with tears,
England's opportunity;
Yet dismiss our fears,

Whilst we ask that God will sway
England's will, the price to pay.

Righteousness or Revenue?
Awful is the choice,
Should we choose the Revenue
And despise the voice,
Calling us to rise and be
Freed from Mammon's tyranny.

Righteousness, whate'er the price!
God make His our choice!
Oh! my England's stalwart sons
With a clarion voice
For her stainless honour plead,
Though her coffers gold must bleed.

Righteousness! This first we seek!
God in Heaven, hear:
When we turn us from our sin
Thou wilt bend Thine ear;
Hear, and heal, and bless our land.

Make her in Thy Might to stand.
Then from China's stretching shores
Myriads yet shall stand,
Clasping hands with England's sons
In the sinless land:

Use, O God, our country where

Opium fumes now taint the air!

Even yet shall China learn

England can repent:

Costly though the sacrifice.

She shall yet relent:

And her name no more shall be

Linked with China's misery.

Fuh-chow, May, 1905.

--Margaret E. Barber

* The answer to the question we put to the Chinaman, 'Why do you grow the poppy? ' is always, 'It pays.'

What becomes very clear through this printed letter is the author’s intent to speak to her audience an important lesson. Opium trade was caused by England’s greed and was directly impacting the lives and nation of the Chinese. Barber’s letter points directly to the hypocrisy that she, as a representative of England, was sent especially to China for the purpose of converting the Chinese to Western Christianity as well as those who sent her are implicated by the greed of the nation. This is why in the narrative she describes her own sense of guilt in response to the student’s reply to her request for prayer.

What is the effect of giving the detail of her emotional reaction to the student’s answer? It accomplishes several things. 1) the pathos of the narrative, by way of persuasion. She allows the
reader to know her reaction, to invite them into it through her description (it is implicitly telling the audience how to react to the situation, as a representative of the Christian faith should).

Further, it also connects the audience by putting them in the classroom with her, through relating the specific dialogue—why dialogue instead of a summary of the event? The effect is to not just to report an observation, event, but to take advantage of a unique moment to teach another direction. She is using any available means (in this case pathos) to teach her readers—to teach beyond her classroom. She is acutely aware of a broader audience that she is an active participant in. The world through this newsletter is her classroom and she catches that moment—it is her use of kairos. Further, by implicating herself in the story she implicates her audience—association/disassociation (one with her audience and yet not) the echoes of the “not” are in her rhymed rebuke that follows the narrative. 2) Barber’s teaching method is centered on conscience, (morality) a theme that becomes clear through examination of corpus of work (though limited, it may be). Her purpose of instruction is not only to educate in English language and practices but also to convert and edify her students to a higher state of human consciousness—through the conscience. This is one of the things that set her teaching apart from others and links her to Jessie Penn Lewis. The message of the cross directly relates to education of the conscience. 3) In her letter, she directly asks the audience after she has spoken on their behalf, “Yes, it is true, but England is sorry she did.” “Is she sorry?” This use of apostrophe is another tool to engage with her audience. She treats her remote audience as present with her and hearing her plead/rebuke. There is a strong sense of presence or present/real time. This tone is continued through the poem—it carries the same present tense language and apostrophic structure.

*Dialogue, one on one (or a few close pupils)*

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18 Many turned away from her spiritual guidance once they found her to be strict on character training. She was known for giving direct words that often offended people.
Barber also uses dialogue as a tool to engage her pupils in her instruction. Through her use of dialogue, she is able gain valuable feedback from her students that directly impacts the way in which she furthers her instruction. Without the discussion and dialogue around her prayer request, Barber would have never come to the understanding and needed adjustment (again kairos) to meet the need of her students. The dialogue opened up a free channel for flexibility of instruction to keep it relevant to her pupils. She was able to be open for impact by her students as well as them to her. The dialogue allows for mutual though exchange, which supports her methodology of engagement through conscience. This approach allows both student and instructor to be taught, ideologically and ethically/morally. Likewise, her mode of letter writing shares this tendency to dialogue. The repeated questions invite response just like her classroom in Fuchow, China.

Another newsletter submission by Barber for the purpose of edification was published in volume four of the periodical *A Witness and a Testimony*, a publication edited by T. Austin Sparks, an important British minister of her time. The entry, though penned much later in her missionary service, still very much carries the same pedagogical style of the earlier printed articles. In this issue of *A Witness and a Testimony*, Barber takes up the subject of Paul’s shipwreck experience in Acts chapter 27 to convey an understanding of “keeping the faith.” The entry includes a poem (later turned into a hymn) that was written with the Acts passage in view:

1) “Keeping the Song of Faith”

   Keep up the song of faith,

   However dark the night;

   And as you praise, the Lord will work,

   To turn your faith to sight.
2) Keep up the song of faith,
   And let your heart be strong,
   For God delights when faith can praise,
   Though dark the night and long.

3) Keep up the song of faith,
   The foe will hear and flee;
   Oh, let not Satan hush your song,
   For praise is victory.

4) Keep up the song of faith,
   The dawn will break ere long,
   And we shall meet the Lord
   And join the endless song.

   M. E. B.

Below is the passage that follows and expounds on the poem:

   In studying Acts xxvii, I have been noticing how those 276 souls came to the
   place where “all hope was taken away” before God stepped in. This is often His way.
   Jesus waits till the fourth watch of the night before He comes to us walking on the sea. If
   God should thus test our faith, let us glorify His name, and we too shall see His wonders
   in the deep.

   Let us not be afraid of being kept waiting till all hope is fled. God will glorify His
   name at the last moment; only God can afford to, wait until the last moment. Then see v.
   24, it was only a promise even then. So with us; we are in some deep test, and no
deliverance comes, but the Lord sweetly whispers some promise to our tried hearts, and in that strength we go.

Then in v. 22, the man who is living on the Word of the living God, can save others—276 persons were saved because Paul believed God; compare Luke i. 45.

Can we believe the word of the Lord in the face of a storm and a sinking ship?

Having a promise, we can wait for its fulfillment. Paul waited until the fourteenth night. Deliverance did not immediately come, but Paul held on to the word which God had given him. Notice vv. 31,32; Satan used these sailors to try and frustrate the word of the Lord, but Paul was on the alert, and God used him to defeat Satan’s purpose. Let us earn that, although God has given us a word to stand on, and we are trusting Him, we must not go to sleep and get careless. We must stand with God to get His word fulfilled. Had Paul not seen the plot, could the promise have been fulfilled, v. 31?

Notice also v. 42. Satan seek this time to use the soldiers to frustrate the word of the Lord. In such a case as this, when the promise is at stake, God will see to it, that His word is fulfilled, and our part must be to trust that it shall be “even as it was told me.” God worked in the heart of the centurion to desire to save Paul; God is able, under all circumstances to keep His word, in spite of all opposing forces, and without our help. Let us trust, however dark things seem, and keep up the song of faith. “I believe God, that it shall be, even as it was told me” and the thing impossible shall be done.

The Lord give us like precious faith for His glory. Margaret E. Barber

Pagoda Anchorage,

Fukien, China.
What is unique about this particular submission from Barber in this newsletter is the sequence and structure of the writing. As seen in earlier published work by Barber from other Christian newsletters, a specific exposition of her message in this example is established through the order in which she sets up the text. Out of the four newsletters investigated in this study, this submission is the only one that puts the poem portion of her message first. Barber’s early style includes a brief description or story of an interaction in her classroom. The passage is then typically followed by a poem that then extends the thought of the passage. However, here the poem sets the tone for the main thought that she seeks to convey followed by the scripture passage that inspired the poem. What makes this technique particular is that it shifts the emphasis from her poem to her exposition of scripture. This more spiritually mature Barber no longer needed to use the poem as the main vehicle to drive home her point or message; she was able to draw it out of the scripture just like any minister of her time. The language used in the exposition also reveals a more confident Barber, for example, her use of the phrase “notice” and the tone of the passage overall. Barber also draws again on the “we” as used in earlier writings. Here, however, it is not by means of association/disassociation, it is a direct and inclusive “we” – “let us” is repeated throughout the passage by way of exhortation, a stance that only a confident speaker/writer would take. This, added to the audience and kind of newsletter reveals an aged and versed teacher. Another point here is the length of the passage. Barber is given much more space and wrote with more detail for this particular newsletter. The passage is also written an oral component to it, like a speech. The repetition, the clear markers and directives to the scripture are common features of a sermon delivered to a congregation. It even contains a concluding word to close the exhortation. “The Lord give us like precious faith for His glory.” This newsletter article clearly displays her advanced techniques for instruction and edification.
3. **When engaging in teaching and/or rhetorical practices, who were their audiences?**

   In order to gain a fuller understanding of the teaching and rhetorical practices that Barber engaged in, it is important to know what kind of audiences she had. The section discusses each of the main audiences that Barber interacted with rhetorically and pedagogically throughout her time as a missionary.

**Global/International**

   Margaret E. Barber’s audiences were many and vast, though the true number can only be speculated from the subscriptions and volume of print runs. Due to the mode of genres that she chose to work within to teach she was able to carry her ideology and pedagogy beyond her own mouth and pen. Barber, particularly in her earlier years, found voice and platform through the Church Missionary Society’s different newsletters and published correspondence from abroad (the *Annuals* were another space where her writing could be found). These newsletters to the Society allowed Barber’s to reach the Society back home in England as well as other missionaries and supporters out in the mission field across the globe.

**Local Female Students**

   Yet Margaret E. Barber’s most primary audience were her students. She spoke with them directly, and at times within the homes as she traveled, especially in her early years. Her students did not speak English, a point brought out in letter that she sent to the mission board secretary during her first mission to China: “As none of our girls know a word of English, [their] questions were not the result of acquaintance with Western thought” (Reetzke 52).

**Visitors**

   In Barber’s later years, records indicate that she had more visitors to her home than traveling outside to outreach as in her early years. Her later and more dedicated pupils were her
audience for face-to-face instruction and training.

**Villagers**

From the beginning of her time in China, Barber spoke directly with the local people. In her letters, she frequently describes interactions with people that she meets in the villages and town where she was stationed as well as those that she passed through. Barber also refers to the kind of village people that she spoke with, mostly women, some old though most were young. In one letter, she clearly describes a visitation by a Malay woman that she met on an earlier visit and converted. Her audiences were where she was, indoors or out of doors, wherever she went.

**From the Pulpit**

According to sources, Barber taught and preached, having her own pulpit. Within the confines of such a space, Barber also had an audience that served as her listening congregation. As mentioned in earlier sections, Barber, for a period of time, conducted trainings and rented multiple houses for the purpose of instruction and hospitality. Her audiences within these spaces were also her trainees and coworkers.

**Letter Recipients**

Though little material remains, there is evidence in the surviving writing that Barber had a lasting impact through her letter writing to Editor and friend D.M. Panton, a famous brethren minister during the time, and one of her more intimate audience. Upon her death, a memorial note was published by Panton in his magazine, *The Dawn*. It states:

Miss Margaret E. Barber, also in Fukien and a contributor to *The Dawn*, is another magnificent stalwart for Christ who has passed to rest. These leave us an imperishable inspiration. In Miss Barber’s last letter to the Editor, all unconscious of her call, she enclosed a single verse from her own poem:
Just a few more miles, beloved! and our feet shall ache no more;
No more sin, and no more sorrow—hush thee, Jesus went before:
And I hear Him sweetly whispering— “Faint not, fear not, still press on.
For it may be ere tomorrow the long journey will be done.” (The Dawn, v.7, 1930-31, 373)

This document helps to fill in more about the relationship and therefore shows the kind of audience that Panton was to Barber.

Margaret E. Barber wrote to a number of folks abroad. Of the surviving documents are correspondence between herself and Rev. Baring Gould (Secretary to the CMS), which are the bulk of the letters remaining for view. Barber’s relationship with Rev. Gould appears to be one of subordinate yet a friendly one. As the correspondence advances, chronologically, the tone of the letters changes, as well as her closing words to her letters. Barber wrote to Gould for help, advice, to inform or update, and to share prayer requests and to confide. With each of these purposes there is an effect on audience.

4. What’s the context of the circulation of the texts/women?

In investigating Barber’s rhetorical and pedagogical influence it is necessary to look also at the ways in which her writings circulated and the impetus behind them. The section below addresses each context to answer the heuristic question.

Hymns

Margaret E. Barber was a prolific hymnist, penning over twenty-four hymns and many more poems. Her hymns circulated through her instruction and continue today to be reprinted and sung across the world. Living Stream Ministry, a Christian-based publishing house, reproduces all twenty-four of her published hymns in a compiled hymn book. This same
publishing house also prints this hymn book in several different languages, extending out the circulation not just to English readers but also to other audiences in their language. With this also comes the complexity of translation and at times shift in meaning, tune, rhythm, rhyme, and expression. What was originally contained in the source texts may be lost, though the hymns in these circles are much valued today. The goal and context of such publication is for the promotion of the teaching and ideology encapsulated within Barber’s hymns as well as for use as a vehicle for gospel propagation from the ministry that founded the publication house. Though many may not be familiar with Barber, her life, or even her authorship (hymns and poems written by her are only identified in the Music and Composer index of the hymn book) her texts still continue in vast circulation across the globe today.

Poetry

Barber’s poetry, much like her hymns, were used to instruct and to edify in their initial circulation. Often, her poems would accompany a story or a letter to a friend. As mentioned in an earlier section, Barber included a poem as a close to her letter to her friend D. M. Panton, the editor of The Dawn magazine, with the following lines:

    Just a few more miles beloved! and our feet shall ache no more; No more sin, and no more sorrow—hush thee, Jesus went before: And I hear Him sweetly whispering—
    “Faint not fear not, still press on.
    For it may be ere tomorrow the long journey will be done.”

This verse from one of her poems was recirculated by Barber as last words of exhortation to her recipient due to her death shortly after the letter was written. D. M. Panton, in memoriam for her published the stanza her wrote him in volume of his periodical, The Dawn: An Evangelical Magazine, thus circulating her poetry from its context in relation to him, to one of remembrance.
among his readership of the magazine. This shift in genre provided new circulation to the poem initially given in private correspondence. Later, the poem also became a hymn through the hands of some of her pupils. Having a tune adapted to it, adding yet another layer of complexity to the circulation of the original poem. Therefore, the poem shifted from genre to genre over the span of its inception and now remains more prominently in its last form as a hymn though existing in reproduction from the memoriam on.

Newsletters

Margaret E. Barber used newsletters to circulate her thoughts and pedagogy throughout her time as a missionary. What was initially produced in private to be submitted to an editor for the newsletters was then published for circulation among the readership of the newsletters.

The earliest found of Barber’s writings is located within the pages of the Western Christian Advocate, a Christian missionary newsletter that was begun by the American Methodist Episcopal Church, based in Cincinnati, Ohio. The circulation of this weekly periodical spreads wide, with its life cycle running from initial production in May 1834 until it was absorbed in October 1929 and thereafter referred to as The Christian Advocate. The newsletter itself went through several publishers, from Poe & Hitchcock, (Feb. 26, 1868), to Hitchcock & Walden, (June 24, 1868), to L. Swormstedt & J.H. Power, (July 1949).

Barber’s submission for this particular newsletter was a poem, published in the “Young Folks” section of the newsletter. The poem, titled “What is Saintliness?”, is a clear example of later techniques used by Barber to teach. The title poses a rhetorical question to be answered by the body of the poem. Barber’s poem shares space on the page with other material and correspondence such as (look at the digital file again of her poem in the newsletter). Though the readership of a publication is not the same as the circulation it may be surmised that her poem
did reach at least the region of the publication house in the U.S. as well as the missionaries in the field abroad (There are no surviving records that indicate that Barber ever visited the U.S.) Her exposure to the journal would have come from other missionaries from other Protestant denominations working in the same region as herself. Further, American missions were some of the earliest to establish their mission work in the coastal region that Barber worked within. Both Barber’s poem and the newsletter have survived until today in academic institutions special collections which have in turn recently become part of the Google digitization project, making them available now to a modern international audience (if you know where/how search).

The second newsletter that Barber published within was *The Church Missionary Gleaner*. This periodical was established by the Anglican church of England and was one of many publications that they produced over the years. The *Gleaner* was initiated in 1841-1870 and again in 1874-1921 (the periodical changed names from 1919 to the end of its life cycle). The *Gleaner* based out of London as were all the publications under the Church Missionary Society (which Barber belonged to). Like the pervious discussed newsletter, it is a challenge to determine the actual readership of the periodical, however, its circulation clearly reached internationally to the missionaries in the fields abroad (specific countries can be confirmed both internally and externally to the newsletter).

Barber’s writing in this newsletter in structure is primarily a narrative description of a lesson in her classroom that she seeks to share with the readers of the newsletter, praising a particular minister’s sermon and demonstrating her own pedagogy in both the classroom and the letter submission published in this volume of the newsletter. She closes the narrative with a poem that highlights the moral of the story:

“So on we go not knowing,
We would not if we might,
We would rather “work” in the dark “with God,”
Than go alone in the light.”

Here is another example of one of her poems circulating, though the extent of initial circulation of this poem was intentionally meant to reach a large audience. Ironically, Barber’s writing in the newsletter is directly followed up by an article that describes a boasting technique of raising funds for the mission, a very contradictory method to that described in Barber’s writing to this newsletter. Like The Western Christian Advocate, this newsletter has moved in circulation through special collections (Harvard Library) to public domain through the concerted efforts of Google with academic institutions.

Barber’s work in The Church Missionary Intelligencer was similarly written to reach a broad audience. In this newsletter, begun in 1849 and concluded in 1906, just a year after Barber’s printed submission, places the emphasis more on the poem (and therefore stylistically on the moral theme it carries) the message/call to action regarding England’s role in the opium trade. The poem is much long in length than the submission to the Gleaner, and the point to drive home to the reader, more controversial. It is unclear what the exact figures are for the number of readers of this particular periodical, however, like the Advocate and the Gleaner, the audience was indeed global. Both the letter and the newsletter survive in special collection and through the digitization efforts of Google.

Barber’s last located writing within the pages of a newsletter are found in the periodical A Witness and a Testimony, a newsletter operated by a nondenominational congregation in England under the editorship of friend and correspondent, Theodore Austin Sparks, whose works Barber recommended to her pupils. In this newsletter was begun in 1923 and continued in serial until the
death of the editor in 1971. It was a bi-monthly magazine that reached a much smaller audience than the previous periodicals that Barber wrote to.

Letters

Barber’s letters of correspondence were in general not meant for any other audience than those whom she wrote to, with the exception of a letter written to the Women’s Union. She had been a member of before her resignation from the Church Missionary Society. In this particular letter, she states to please share the letter with Rev. Baring Gould, the secretary of the Society who she shared much correspondence with. Her letters surviving in reprints in the appendix of one of the brief biographies of Barber is the extent of circulation today.

5. What are the cultural/social connections to the circulation of their texts/women?

Margaret E. Barber went out to China as part of the Anglican-based Church Missionary Society in January of 1896. This initial trip to China was one of the first to occur after a massacre at happened just months prior to the arrival of her team of missionaries to the Fukien province. The Church Missionary Society (1850) was one of the main societies in China during this period, along with the American Episcopal Methodists, London Missionary Society, American Dutch Reformed Church, the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, and a few others arriving either shortly before or after this period. According to one source, the Church Missionary Society worked “coincident with…the Methodist Episcopal Church” (Stock 322). The contact with other mission societies can possibly explain how Margaret E. Barber’s work was published in a newsletter outside of those produced by the Church Missionary Society she served under. This circulation of her work in the Western Christian Advocate, as mentioned in earlier sections, allowed for her writing to reach a much broader audience, extending her impact on the readership.
The missionary movement was in full force in China, as a political result of the Treaty of Nanjing (1842) and the subsequent treaties from other nations such as the Treaty of Wanghia (1844) and the Treaty of Whampoa (1844), which forced open China’s doors for trade and evangelical propagation, particularly along the coast from Hong Kong to the vicinity of Beijing. Many missions also produced their own publications to inform their home committees and associations of the activities and statistics of the mission work abroad, often urging and promoting the need to financially support the mission stations and their workers in the field. Frequently, the printed texts surrounding Barber’s submissions to the newsletters carry thematically the above content. This both puts her with the movement and its activities and yet at times sets her work apart based on closer examination of the thematic content of her work. These mission societies worked in communication with each other as well as offered some mutual support. Barber relates in one of letters to the secretary of the Society that she and other missionaries across the mission societies gather for weekly prayer (Reetzke 49). In the same letter, Barber refers to a letter that she received with “the enclosed information from Mr. Bissonettee, a Methodist worker” describing what she considers to be a revival: “The fire from Heaven has indeed fallen in our midst and unless it is trodden out of our hearts by the things of the world it will sweep the whole church. This is only the beginning” (47). The connections across the missions appears to be fairly strong and supports the circulation of the newsletters and other communication like Barber’s letters of correspondence among the different missionaries and their societies.

Of Barber’s surviving writings, her hymns are the most wide-reaching of all of her work over the last century. Hymns, particularly hymns like hers that borrow or appropriate a tune from other composers and hymns, are highly mobile. Barber’s hymns, as mentioned in earlier sections,
have been translated across many languages. For example, in Chinese, several of Barber’s hymns carry a different and somewhat richer meaning or message. This is greatly due to both the shift in language as well as the capacity of the translator, for the richness of a translation is very much dependent upon the knowledge and breadth of understanding of the languages and topics that the translator has. Such is true with Barber’s hymns from a cultural and social standpoint. Her hymns are sung worldwide—yet even so, many may not know that she was the author that penned them. As mentioned in earlier sections, the publisher Living Stream Ministry has compiled a hymnal that includes all of Barber’s known hymns and distributes them across the globe today through the compiled hymnal (lsm.org). Due to modern technology, her hymns can also be found online through digital searches with interactive media files that play the tune and provide the lyrics for ease of learning and access (hymnal.net). There are also a number of YouTube videos on the internet that show people from across the globe singing her hymns, whether known or not known that Barber was the author (youtube.com). There is a culture that has continued on her name and her work of which the researcher of this study ascribes to.

6. What were the impacts and consequences of their rhetorical and pedagogical practices to their students?

Continuing from the previous section, the section below investigates the consequences of the teaching and rhetorical practices of Margaret E. Barber on her students. Specific pupils and correspondents are discussed in more detail below to answer this heuristic question.

Watchman Nee and the Inner Life Movement in China

Out of the many pupils that Margaret E. Barber had over the span of her lifetime, one of the most famous was a native Chinese convert named Watchman Nee (his given Chinese name was Ni Shu-zu, later changed to Tuo-sheng, meaning “watchman”). To this day, the writings and
teachings of Watchman Nee, founded very much upon the instruction of Barber, are still in practice and spreading globally. Nee was greatly impacted by Margaret E. Barber. He is known to have said, “In all my life, she gave me the most help,” and “The biggest gain in my life was to know Miss Barber” (8). One of the interactions that he frequently shared with his coworkers regarding Barber was an illustration about a leaf – “a small leaf on a tree can block out the full moon from one’s sight.” Since he realized that disobedience would cause the loss of the God’s presence, he made it his purpose to obey the Lord’s will and the Lord’s revelation at any cost (Nee Ch. 8 section 2). Nee, like Barber, led trainings with his coworkers and specifically helped them with a focus on character—a key area of help he received from Barber. Barber also was the channel for him to know and properly select books on Christian teachings and doctrine. She introduced him to the writings of Jessie Penn-Lewis, Theodore Austin Sparks, Robert Govett, D. M. Panton (who had been responsible for her clarity regarding denominations and shifting to missionary work independent from organizational support) (Nee, ch.4, sec. 2). This was also a principle he passed on to his coworkers in the ministry. These along with many other stories have been shared by Nee in his messages to congregations and workers with him. Barber came up repeatedly in his ministry (lsm.org).

Leland Wang

Another early student of Margaret E. Barber upon her return journey to China was Leland Wang. He was of the same tier of students that came to be taught under Barber in her later years as Watchman Nee. Leland Wang, a former Navy officer and five years a senior to Nee, was very active in gospel propagation under Barber. She refers to his capability in one of her letters of correspondence to D. M. Panton, as “Three sisters & one brother [were] baptised here this week by Leland Wang” (35). Wang was particularly useful in character training of Watchman Nee.
Barber frequently used him to adjust Nee’s disposition and teach him principles of authority. Nee and Wang often quarreled in their early years of service, yet Barber made it clear to Nee to follow and submit to Leland Wang. Nee was under him for a year and a half in this service and eventually Leland Wang was ordained as a priest for the Anglican denomination (Kinnear 88). Barber’s preaching and training laid a foundation for him as a useful minister.

*David Morris Panton*

Though biographical accounts present Barber as under D. M. Panton’s doctrinal influence, his concluding words in memoriam of her show a more mutual relationship between the two, Panton learning and impacted by her life as much as he had been to her. Panton states, “Margaret E. Barber, also in Fukien and a contributor to *The Dawn*, is another significant stalwart for Christ who has passed to her rest. These [her contributions, writings] leave us an imperishable inspiration” (*The Dawn*, v.7, 1930-31, 373). Her writings to his journal clearly left a mark on the editor, if not on the readership more broadly.

*Living Stream Ministry*

As part of the impact and circulation of Margaret E. Barber’s work, the publisher Living Stream Ministry, a non-denominational affiliated printing house, was established through the pupil and coworker of Watchman Nee, Witness Lee. Due to the close link to the genealogy of Barber’s mission work, the publication house provides not only Barber’s hymns in a compiled printed collection, but also biographies of Barber’s student Watchman Nee, which in turn provide vital testimony and evidence of the impact of Barber’s preaching and pedagogy in a pupil’s life. The collection of works published by Living Stream Ministry include many references to her truths and teachings, continuing the impact of her work today in the modern readership of these texts (lsm.org).
Global Followers

Barber’s impact on her students more broadly is more challenging to define with the small corpus of remaining material. However, it can be seen from the references to the names and numbers of converts and prayer requests the relationship and influence that Barber had in her work. There remain testimonies of those who worked with her as coworkers and students that life impact that she had on them, often noting her style of admonition, “strict with herself and strict with her coworkers” “only preached the cross of Christ” (Reetzke). Because of Barber’s training, she not only enriched hymns but also taught her students how to write hymns with a purpose and depth. Her training affected the translation of many hymns into Chinese by her pupils. Similarly, her pedagogy led to more profound writings on deeper Christian experiences.

Voyant Analysis

Voyant Tools is a web-based reading and analysis environment for digital texts. In this study, this tool is utilized for the purpose of triangulating the data produced through the heuristic in the earlier portion of this chapter. In order to process the data, the artifacts that serve as a base for the data have been digitized and input into Voyant for analysis. In order to set similar parameters in processing the data, the corpus of the artifacts along with the findings in the heuristic were input into Voyant. Below is the resulting information from this procedure.

Corpus Analysis

From hymns, the analysis reveals (by frequency) the thematic importance on subjects such as “Jesus,” “Lord,” with “God” “just” and “faith” coming in a second tier of importance.

Response: the software is picking up the repetition, but cannot identify the nuances or similar vocabulary and context related to content. Therefore, it fails to link up cognate ideas.
(Applied this to poems as well). Particularly with hymns, it is unable to distinguish the way in which a word or phrase is repeated (chorus).

With poems, similarly to hymns, the software revealed a different emphasis of theme at first glance. However, after listing the words together by similarity, the textual focus becomes clearer. [Death (9), die (7), buried (5), dead (2), Calvary (1), dying (1), cross (1) = 27 occurrences to the theme of the cross.] This becomes even higher in count and emphasis when related phrases are included.

**Discussion of Themes**

The section below provides a discussion of themes that came out of the analysis and collection of the heuristic questions and the Voyant software results. It works through each theme as an individual section in this portion of the chapter.

**Late Nineteenth Century Missionary Work Norms**

By the time that Barber went out into the field it was appropriate for single women to work as missionaries. However, there were specific roles and spaces authorized for them to operate in. Barber is among those who pushed against those frameworks, such as the way she returned to China, which was very different than her first journey out into the field. The way in which she returned to China also affected how, where and what strategies that she employed to propagate and educate her audiences.

Women’s missionary societies allowed women to gain control over their monetary and human resources. More important, women gathered to pray and study the missionary literature that became an important form of women’s writing in the nineteenth century (Hobbs 30). Missionary literature became a way of promoting the power of the mother at home. “[T]he very elasticity of the definition of woman’s sphere” was crucial to female identity because it allowed
women to be mothers not only to their own households but to the world at large (115). One dilemma arising out of women’s activity in the evangelical sphere was that “evangelical men needed both to protect themselves against the evangelical New Woman” and to preserve her important functions in the church, (such as the mission related activities) while women who were beginning to see themselves as not only uniquely valuable but perhaps as uniquely Christian needed to speak. Gospel hymns provided a compromise to this conflict of interests (32).

Historical Contexts

The Opium wars, though officially ended in action by 1860, were not resolved thematically in practice (Hanes, 12). Many articles continued to be actively written condemning the use, sell, trade and impact of opium on the Eastern sphere. Missionaries particularly addressed this issue with continued force throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century. This also was a political concern.

Hymnody

Singing hymns becomes a performance in which the participant creates afresh the hymnist’s testimony. Human words proclaim the intimate knowledge of a creator just as other poetic elements of a hymn do. Both are a testimony to a personal God, not an ethical ideal. Hymns also testify to the value of singing as worship. As befits an invented tradition, gospel hymns affirm earlier ideas of hymnody. In particular, they assume that hymns are “words of God” in both senses of the phrase; they are both words from God and words about God. Therefore, God is often the speaker of voice in a hymn, combining the human and the divine in both words and voice. “Evangelical fervor, even in a highly literate population, is always best conveyed through the spoken word” since speech is the medium of public testimony (80). As the singer—both the Voice of the hymn and the one who sings it—verbalizes the testimony, the
experience of God takes on reality as surely as the universe took on material reality when God spoke it into being. When a gospel hymnist speaks of a personal encounter with God, the words give physical presence to the spiritual reality of a transcendent God (17). In many gospel hymns, the idea of singing or having a song is proof of genuine spiritual experience. (See Barber’s word of correction to Watchman Nee “A hymn, like milk and honey, is the outflow of a life that has learned lessons and is dealt with. This cannot happen in one day and one night” (Reetzke). This point of view from Barber supports the evangelical understanding of hymn writing as a result of a divine interaction or experience.

Using song or singing figuratively implies that other forms of oral communication, including perhaps sermons, are somehow less spiritual than singing, the one truly democratic form of testimony. Women and children could participate in congregational singing during the gospel hymn era, but in most evangelical churches only adult males could pray aloud and only an adult male separated from the congregation by ordination and sometimes by education could preach (19). “Only the hymn served as a medium by which the entire congregation could participate in in an oral event testifying to inner religious experience” (19).

Social Circulation

Interrogations of feminist rhetorical practices in these sorts of ways (through heuristic), the concept of social circulation functions as a metaphor to indicate the social networks in which women connect and interact with others and use language with intention (101). Examples of this are clearly found in the Barber’s submissions to the different Christian newsletters that she seeking to connect and interact with others using language with intention. Her language use, form, style, and structure were all made with intention to the audiences she was seeking to reach and still yet is reaching today.
These ever-vibrant, interlinking social circles connect women not just across sociopolitical and cultural contexts, settings, and communities—locally and globally—but also across time, and across space. This idea of ever-shifting social circles pushes us to move beyond the public-private dichotomy and beyond just calling attention to social networks. Instead, we shift attention more dramatically toward circulations that may have escaped our attention that we may not have valued (and therefore neglected to study) or that because they are based in women’s activities, we may not have immediately envisioned as rhetorical activities… (101). Surely Barber’s intentions had no perspective of the impact and extension of audience that she would reach beyond the initial readership of the Christian newsletters that she wrote to, read, taught from, and engaged with.

Social circulation [is] a critical term of engagement to suggest that this sense of the fluidity of language use—as well as the fluidity of the power those uses generate—can help us see how traditions are carried on, changed, reinvented, and reused when they pass from one generation to the next…. social circulation enables us to see metaphorically how ideas circulate not just across generations but also across places and regions in local, global, and transnational contexts (101). As seen with Margaret E. Barber’s hymns, they have done exactly this; circulated and shifted over not only generations but also across “places and regions…global and transnational contexts” through the many editions and translations of her hymns into other languages and adapted to new tunes. Some of her hymns carry more than one tune while her lyrics remain.

Multidirectional and dynamic relationships among various points of reference, including the symbol or representation that anchors the process (speaking, writing, and other visual representations), form an identity with the cultural framework (as speakers, writers, listeners, and
readers), the production of meanings within that framework (various multimedia rhetorical acts),
the process of consumption for those productions (listening, viewing, reading), the ways in
which such meanings might be regulated within the culture (in terms of processes of
authorization, accreditation, and valorization or not), and then recursively and dialogically
acknowledging the back and forth movements among all of these reference points in the process
of cultural engagement (qtd., Hall 1-11). Barber’s writings and therefore her pedagogy and
ideologies have circulated, have been built upon, adapted, and appropriated for use within the
sphere of Christianity and church doctrine. Through this study, her collected body of work is
circulating into the sphere of academia while simultaneously moving through certain modern
Christian spaces, globally. Production and reproduction have a direct impact on consumption
when an audience already exists. Though little known at any given time outside of her immediate
circles of relationship (the CMS, pupils, and local people in the regions where she taught,
preached, and lived) her writing and pedagogy have remained active until today.

Conclusion

Continuing the use of the framework put forward in chapter two, this chapter set in
practice feminist rhetorical methods of analysis to answer the three research questions this
section below. These questions serve as the overarching goal of the case study presented in this
chapter, which were approached more specifically through the heuristic introduced in the
previous chapter to focus the analysis of the artifacts (excerpts) selected for this chapter/case
study.
1. *What can the study of women in religious spaces teach us about rhetorical practices of their period, for example preaching, singing, teaching spiritual contexts, hymn writing?*

What is shown, overall, is that though were clear constraints to some spaces that women missionaries like Barber could inhabit for rhetorical and teaching purposes, there were others that opened up to them in the mission that were not available to them at home in within their denominational forms, locally.

2. *About the religious teaching practices of their period?*

Women like Barber were able to use such tools as poetry, newsletter submissions and hymns to speak openly and across many audiences to convey their doctrinal, ethical, and pedagogical ideologies. From the perspective of teaching practices, they were able to teach across genres, secular and religious in the foreign language of their audiences. Further, they were able to teach their audiences back at home or other missionaries, any readers of the Christian newsletters that they submitted to.

3. *How are the feminist rhetorical practices of these women useful in understanding the range of practices in the knowledge that students bring with them?*

Through their narratives and the letter correspondence that occurred across the mission societies and to friends back home it becomes clear what kind of reaction and thought process was happening in some of the students as a result of the instruction that they received in the classroom. It is also clear that the knowledge and personality greatly affected the kind of instruction or training that individual students received from the teacher, especially when teaching occurred in other spaces than the formal classroom environment provided by the missionary schools in the mission field.
Finally, the next chapter will provide an overview of the project, findings and discuss the limitations of the project. Further, it will point to the significance of this study and where future research can build upon the groundwork from this project.
V: CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This project was birthed out of an interest in history of women in religious spaces and a desire to continue work on the foundation of other rhetoric and composition scholars who have argued and fought for the visibility and credit to women rhetors long forgotten or never acknowledged in the field. It is a project rooted in recovery work, yet pushes beyond the call for inclusion in the canon of rhetoric to bring forward new strategies in teaching and rhetorical practices through a theoretical framework in feminist research and archival practices.

Out of this interest I asked questions such as, what can the study of women in religious spaces teach us about rhetorical practices of their period, for example preaching, singing, teaching spiritual contexts, hymn writing? What can the study of women in religious spaces teach us about the religious teaching practices of their period? Or, how are the feminist rhetorical practices of these women useful in understanding the range of practices in the knowledge that students bring with them? These questions served as the overarching theme to this study and were addressed more specifically through the discussions that followed the heuristic analysis that served as the framework within each of the case studies presented in this project.

As part of introducing this project, chapter one also presented the scholarship that has been part of the conversation on women in the canon, women and space, women and religious spaces. It outlined the general scope of the project and why recovery work like this current project is significant for investigation today.

Continuing on from chapter one, chapter two set out to provide the methodological and theoretical framework and scholarship the informed the lens and tools for analysis for this project. As this project is based on recovery work, methodologies in the field of rhetoric and
composition that work with recovery studies were used, as recovery work is inherently feminist in goal. Historical and archival research were key areas of the field that gave form to proper handling of historical texts. Specifically, the main framework for this project was rooted in the foundational text by Gesa Kirsch and Jacqueline Jones Royster, *Feminist Rhetorical Practices: New Horizons for Rhetoric, Composition, and Literacy Studies*. Particularly drawing from their theory and rhetorical strategy social circulation, I presented the heuristic that guided the current project.

Chapter three took up the first case study of Jessie Penn-Lewis through the unusual autobiography that was begun by Penn-Lewis and completed post-mortem. Working through the heuristic questions presented in chapter two, findings were presented to answer the research questions brought forward in chapter one. Chapter three also discussed the historical context of the period as well as social movements specifically linked to missions among women abroad and spaces where women taught. The discussion also brought out the themes from the findings. In order to triangulate the findings, they were run through the text analytics software, called Voyant. This lead to results that show an emphasis on cross doctrine along with other thematic points. From there, analysis was summarized in terms of the conclusion.

Chapter four focused on the second case study of Margaret E. Barber through a compilation of her writings from Christian newsletters, letters, poems, and accounts from her students after her death. As with chapter three, chapter four used the heuristic model from chapter two to frame the case study and guide the findings. The discussion section of the chapter linked the findings back to the research questions and was organized thematically to show the connections across the data. From there, chapter four moved to analysis through triangulation as presented in chapters two and three. The textual analysis was conducted through the textual
analytics software, Voyant. The analysis was then summarized as a conclusion for the chapter.

Findings

Social Circulation

Overall, this study set out to show through the research questions and heuristic questions the ways in which women taught and operated rhetorically in male dominated spaces as well as the impact of their rhetorical and pedagogical practices across different social circles and time periods. The rhetorical strategy of social circulation (Kirsch and Royster) that served as one of the key lenses for this study brings into focus the value of these women’s work that may have otherwise been hidden. As noted by Kirsch and Royster, social circulation shifts the “attention …toward circulations that …may not have [been] immediately envisioned as rhetorical activities” (101). Photos, newsletters, poems, and stories take on new value and purpose with each circulation. The richness of Barber and Penn-Lewis’s work and impact comes forward through this lens, providing a way to see their students and their doctrine across generations (and at times gender boundaries).

Space

What is shown, through considering circulation of not only texts but bodies, is that though there were clear constraints to some spaces that women missionaries could inhabit for rhetorical and teaching purposes, there were others that opened up to them in the mission field that were not available to them at home in within their denominational forms, locally. A visit to a pupil’s kitchen can become an appropriated hearth for rhetorical performance and kairotic instruction. Hosting tea or a continental train ride can become platform for edification for those invited and those assembled under different circumstances.
Use of Tools

Women were able to use such tools as poetry, newsletter submissions, books, conferences, published travel journals, booklets, photos, and hymns to speak openly and across many audiences to convey their doctrinal, ethical, and pedagogical ideologies. Like the limitations that came with gaining access to certain spaces, women were able to utilize tools in creative ways for the sake of teaching their pupils. Both the limitation of space and tools turned into areas where women were able invent, appropriate and open doors into new teaching strategies.

Through their narratives, publications and the letter correspondence that occurred across the mission societies and to friends back home it is clear what kind impact students had as a result of the instruction that they received in and out of the traditional classroom. It is also clear that knowledge and personality of these women greatly affected the kind of instruction or training that individual students received from the teacher, especially when teaching occurred in other spaces than the formal classroom environment provided by the missionary schools and women’s societies of the period.

Historical Contexts - War

For both of the women of this study, war was present. For Margaret E. Barber war was both in front of and behind her. Her first arrival to China occurred just a few months after a massacre in the region she was sent to, a ripple effect of the Boxer Rebellion. During the entire span of her time in China, the Opium Wars and their effects continued to impact both her teaching and physical living circumstances. Penn-Lewis, though she did not directly address war in her works, was impacted in her publication circulation of her magazine *The Overcomer*. The material resources for publication were great limited during war time as well as limitations of
circulation while Britain and Europe were in the throes of war. These incidents both limited and enriched the writings and experiences of these women, which in turn was carried through into their teaching.

Rhetorical Practices / Teaching Practices

Reflecting on the many available means that Barber and Penn-Lewis utilized for their spiritual causes, the rhetorical and teaching practices of both were very much interwoven. For instance, in order for Penn-Lewis to show what prayer is to her pupils and readers, she often wrote, and in such description performed, her prayers. Many are reprinted in her books including the autobiography, portraying for her audiences the intimate nature of prayer. On another occasion, she used prewritten prayers for her students to read to pray aloud while attending a tea party. In this scenario, the teaching is more pronounced yet occurring in a social setting that required appropriation for its purpose-driven rhetorical shift.

In like manner, Barber often grasps an opportunity rhetorically to teach. In letters that she wrote in to the missionary newsletters, she described her own teaching her pupils by way of performance, bringing the readers of the newsletter into her classroom, while at the same time providing in meter the lesson to be learned from her narrative. Repeatedly throughout this study rhetorical practices and teaching practices have gone hand-in-hand to serve the purpose of these women successfully to their audiences, as varied as they may be. I suggest that such interweaving is evident in today’s classroom though there may be more to learn as strategies from the women of this study.

Limitations – Revisited

Using a Heuristic

There are many affordances to using heuristics; however, as shown in the discussion of
the history of heuristics from chapter one, there are also limitations. Some of the limitations with regard to heuristics are not the heuristic itself, but how they are interpreted. There may arise issues in how a heuristic is used and also in what the results of the heuristic mean, depending on the intent and positionality of the reader and researcher. This is still a relevant concern, looking at the heuristic as used in this study as well as reader response to the study—interpretation in not a fixed component in any research. Another potential area of caution was to what purpose heuristics are used, whether for generating knowledge such as in inventive practices, writing process, or for culling out knowledge from preexisting text or ideas. Further, there is the potential for a heuristic to be too rigid, too narrow, or constraining to the text or subject that it is applied to (cannot address all aspects of a given subject or text). Though this latter point may be true, the same can be said for any given method or methodological approach, which is why combining different approaches and methods can help to offset restrictions with any particular tool or strategy. Moreover, there is an understanding in some methodological approaches, specifically in feminist historical research practices, that scholars recognize, acknowledge, and respect such limitations, lenses as a way to enrich their work. Lenses and frameworks cannot be completely eliminated when undertaking research. The conscious awareness of such aspects of the research processes in turn lead to more ethical and full research which was the goal of the current study.

*Word Analysis Software*

As mentioned in chapter one, with any technology, there is always a potential of glitches, incompatibility, and extinction of web based work. Since this web-based analysis tool is open source, issues may arise in functionality between maintenance, updates, security and even financial support. As a project that is managed through collaboration across academic
institutions, continued funding, staffing, and availability of (trained) contributors for the project maybe potential be a concern. The website does provide a section noting funding; however, it does not include any further information into where, who and how funding occurs to support the Voyant Tools application. Similarly, due the open source nature of the project, problems may occur within the availability and compatibility of the software used to develop and maintain the website. Throughout the process of this study, the Voyant website did undergo updating and intermittent access limitations. However, the updated version is much more robust, the user help section extended and user interface improved. Though not always accessible the changes were worth the temporary delay in access.

As addressed in chapter one, one of the features of Voyant is that users do not store their documents within Voyant Tools, so Voyant Tools does not hold, keep, or store the user’s work or documents—a researcher’s data is theirs, with no terms or agreements. Once the web session is ended the information is gone. If users wish to keep the data results from their use of the software, they may export data during the session for later use.

One of the most interesting features of Voyant Tools is the ability to bookmark and share URLs that refer to your collection of texts. Among other advantages, this allows you to work with the same texts during different sessions, without having to reload all the documents each time. You can export a link for the entire skin by clicking on the “Export” (diskette) icon in the blue bar at the top, or export a link for an individual tool by clicking on the “Export” icon in one of the tool panes. (Getting Started / Voyant Tools Tools) By having options such as exporting of data available, users can store and return to their projects across different sessions as well as preserve their work. These features were very helpful in executing this project.
Positioning of Researcher

I again turn back to my position as researcher. The religious connection that I share with these women may have challenged my ability to approach their lives and work objectively. Knowing this, I drew from the work of other scholars of religious texts and people to provide a structure to keep me mindful of potential bias or blind spots. However, feminist rhetorical practices and research methods encouraged me to make my stance plain from the outset of this project and to reveal the ways in which my insider knowledge enriches and deepens the work set out by this project, often reflected in my footnotes (Kirsch & Sullivan). Another concern addressed in earlier chapters is that the work conducted here is limited by the space and time of the texts and women examined herein. Following feminist archival research practices, however, informed me of ways to negotiate and honor the texts and lives that I am investigated, working to preserve their beliefs and representation of their lives, a point that is very important considering the shift in the use of their work over time—the major emphasis of this research was circulation. I also acknowledged I am working with women within a Western religious and political framework, I identify them within the systems that have affected the people and cultures that they were involved with. I included discussions that tie to Western influence and power in tandem with the lives and work of the women throughout the study.

Implications and Further Research

The scope of this project was investigating the rhetorical and teaching practices of the two women presented as case studies with a view towards expanding the range of rhetorical and teaching practices that have been overlooked from earlier women rhetors and to reveal these teaching practices and the women, spaces they worked in to a present-day audience. Due the
time and nature of the project there were many places where the project could be expanded into future research.

*Sickness Trope*

For example, both women experienced severe illness and used these experiences rhetorically and pedagogically. Jessie Penn-Lewis was born ill and fought her weak lungs and fragile body constitution her entire life. As mentioned in chapter three, Penn-Lewis suffered from tuberculosis at a young age, leaving her lungs damaged. According to her travel journals and accounts within her booklets, Jessie Penn-Lewis used these experiences to link herself to the doctrine of the cross, which was at the core of her ministry. Often, these detailed descriptions of her illnesses allow her to portray such suffering as a living example to her audiences of this doctrine.

Another prong for further research regarding Penn-Lewis’ treatment and depiction of illness deals with the goals and intentions of her rhetorical strategy. By displaying so clearly her illnesses and the spiritual experiences that she linked to them or through them, Penn-Lewis also reveals the rhetorical strategies of authenticity and performance. These examples strongly connect her to a long line of women rhetors, specifically within religious spaces, and places her within a spiritual movement that dates centuries prior to her own special ministry.

As addressed in chapter one, many women, particularly those who sought to function within religious spaces where either they were not allowed or their expression was not allowed, were forced to find other means to convey their messages. Some chose to use their illnesses as the base for validation of their religious experiences, linking them experientially to the sufferings of Christ. Joan of Norwich, who is credited with being the first woman to publish a book in English, tells in her book *Revelations of Divine Love* of how these revelations came to her—on
her sick bed. Considered on the point of death, with a priest present to read her last rites, she
gazed upon the upheld crucifix and those began to see the sixteen visions that the book describes.
Her illness authenticates the visions she received and follow a history particularly among
Catholic forefathers. The illness serves as the vehicle for the individual to be purified to receive
the message or vision.

Margery Kempe, another early Christian woman rhetor included in chapter one, links to
Julian of Norwich and the women of this study through religious experiences ushered in through
illness as well. During her first pregnancy, she experienced a difficult birth and was ill for eight
months. During this period of time she records in her autobiography the visions she received
from God as well as the attacks from evil spirits. These visions that she received became a major
part of her autobiography which has gone on to be translated in many languages and is
considered the first published autobiography by a woman in English.

Seventh century Madame Jeanne Guyon, a French religious woman also shares the same
lineage as Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe in her experiences of suffering, illness, and
accusation from her opposers. While imprisoned for her faith and her rhetorical expression of it,
Guyon wrote an autobiography as her defense. The autobiography was addressed to a priest
which became a student of hers, doctrinally. As shared in the autobiography, her experiences
span the majority of her life including, persecution, illness, family disownment, and
imprisonment. Like Kempe, Julian of Norwich, and the women of this study, Guyon sought to
spread the subjective experiences and doctrine to those beyond her limited circle of relationships.
Her work has been translated into English as well as other languages, with a large volume of
republication through small and independent publishing houses.
Multimodality

Due to the scope of this project, space and time did not allow for the exploration or investigation into this project by way of multimodality. Multimodality, as it would apply to the research of this project is best understood and applied through Jason Palmeri, who, in his book *Remixing Composition: A History of Multimodal Writing Pedagogy*, identifies “multimodal composition [as] —a phenomenon that has always been part of the ancient tradition, through the use of the body, tools and other genres, not just alphabetic text” (6). Through Palmeri’s definition of multimodality, the rhetorical and teaching practices of Penn-Lewis and Barber are clearly incorporated into this field of composition, by providing ways of circulating and harnessing technologies available to them in their era, which in many case allows for ways for their work to remain today.

There is a rich supply of information on this subject both in scholarship and as materials within the space of this study. For example, Jessie Penn-Lewis produced not only booklets and travel journals but also printed and distributed professional photos of herself in the major places that she carried her ministry. She also sat for a photo with her husband in their property, which may have served rhetorically to reinforce her role as a middle-class wife, still fulfilling her duties in the domestic sphere while as the same time traveling, writing, and preaching in male dominated spaces.

Another form of multimodality the comes up within the pages of Penn-Lewis’ autobiography is the story of how one of her earliest books came into print (literally) for the Indian audience. There is much detail on the purchase and setting aside for spiritual use of the printing press, including the dimensions in which the press can print as well as its volume. Penn-Lewis was also highly cognizant of the technology of transportation, which played a large role in
her accounts of travel, visitation, and reception by those that she came to minister to.

Multimodality is also an evident component of Margaret E. Barber’s work and writings. Barber, like Penn-Lewis used any available means to convey her message, as is seen in her writing in to multiple newsletters and through the narrative accounts given by her students post mortem. Barber is known to have published in as many as four different newsletters that has been uncovered to date. Barber also was a poet and hymnist, which in turn makes her texts multimodal. Hymns and poems are meant to carry an aural and oral component to them, with rhythm and rhyme moving through the texts to incite sound. Using these modes of teaching in some ways carries a more lasting affect and allows for transmission and translation across many spaces. Hymns change with pitch, rhythm, translation, instruments used to interpret them—all can affect the delivery and reception of the theme or message embedded within the hymn, which all of Barber’s hymns and poems contained.

Barber like Penn-Lewis was also a speaker, traveling to preach the gospel and speaking within the streets and homes of those that she sought to convert. There remain several accounts of her rhetorical strategies to speak/preach and cook or walk and share with pupils the key lesson of faith.

Extending Case Studies to Contemporaries of Lewis/Barber

Due to the scope of this project there was only space and time to cover the two women presented in this study. However, there are others who fit in the same vein of thought, faith, and impact that were not given room within this study.

For example, it was originally intended that another chapter be included that covered the text *God’s Plan of Redemption*, by Mary E. McDonough, another Christian woman rhetor who actually knew the previously discussed women here, Penn-Lewis and Barber.
Mary E. McDonough was born in 1863 and lived the greater portion of her life in Roxbury, Massachusetts. McDonough was a pianist who was for some time under the teachings of A.B. Simpson, the founder of the Christian Missionary Alliance denomination. It is unclear through the little information available at which point in her early years she began to teach, but teach she did, and married one of her students (Charles McDonough), a corporate lawyer from Boston, Massachusetts. She taught two to three bible classes a week at the Hamilton Bookstore, located near the Park Street Church in Boston. In her later years, McDonough took to teaching her bible classes in her apartment, a task that she carried out until shortly before her death in 1962—yes, she lived to her hundredth year.

Mary McDonough wrote only one book in her lifetime, but the impact of the text has rippled across the last century. Her work, *God’s Plan of Redemption*, has been reprinted in multiple formats and editions since the first initial printing in 1920. At least three great spiritual leaders have referred to her text as a landmark in their understanding of Christian experience. Her text carries another unique feature, in that it includes charts and diagrams in bright colors (including gold gilding) to provide her pupils with a visual representation of the complex and revolutionary teachings of her course (and text). Today, little attention is given to her, though her teachings have now been incorporated into many modern church doctrines.

**Conclusion**

*Continuing Recovery: Rewriting Histories of Women’s Rhetoric*

What this project has set out to be is at the heart a recovery project, one that adds to the writing of histories of women’s rhetoric, particularly in religious spaces. As discussed in chapter one of this project, Margaret E. Barber and Jessie Penn-Lewis are critically part of a long, though not clearly acknowledge lineage of religious women, navigating through, and pushing against
traditional, male dominated spaces and activities. Their lives, teaching practices and rhetorical engagement have always existed, yet unseen through mainstream histories. As mentioned in an earlier section, methodological strategies, particularly social circulation, make possible the kind of archival research this project developed/conducted. Strategies such as this are vital to uncovering, enriching, and illuminating women rhetors of past and more recent times.

Continued Meaning on Barriers of Public and Private

This project also not only brings to light the inventive, unique teaching practices and rhetorical activities of women such as Margaret E. Barber and Jessie Penn-Lewis, but it also sheds light on the continued barriers of public and private, particularly in spaces. Religious spaces have often been a place confining where women can move, teach, operate, inhabit. As primary location for women such as Julian of Norwich, women have been sequestered to monasteries or abbies for religious activity and authorization. Such locations are again a move from public to private, a phenomenon continued in practice by some religious groups. More work is needed linking scholars such as Roxanne Mountford (“On Gender and Rhetorical Space”) and Nan Johnson (Gender and Rhetorical Space in American Life, 1866-1910) to the continued barriers of public and private in modern religious spheres.

Continued Validation of Researching Literate Practices of “Ordinary” People

Further, this project has shown the continued validation of researching the literate practices of a range of individuals, from the women researched in this study to the many layer of pupils, which often led to the variety of literate practices described within this study. This study is a history of ordinary people, in contrast to great figures of the past, men and women alike. Neither woman discussed in this project were wealthy, affluent, had obtained a high level of education. They were women who were convinced and compelled by their faith to enrich the
lives of others through the same faith that they had received. Their creativity in teaching practices and rhetorical strategies began there, with other factors adding further layers of complexity to their set purposes. Today, neither woman is well known, and yet they point to an area of rhetorical history that could stand another look from such lenses.

Continued Attention to the Power of Institutions over Girls and Women

Though the lives and works of Barber and Penn-Lewis are almost a hundred years old, the same power dynamics that they faced institutionally still exist towards women and girls today. Women and girls in many ways seem to have access to more venues and paths; however, access does not guarantee acceptance or that such access is stable or without cost. It is still an issue of how women move, behave, act/enact with institutional frameworks. Because of this, studies such as this one may shed light on the rhetorical savvy of women and girls that is generated through such institutional constraints. In fact, the flexibility that is developed by necessity to work around such constraints leads to new and inventive forms of meaning production, as was revealed in this study in the teaching and rhetorical practices of Barber and Penn-Lewis.

Overall, this study was set out to bring to light women in historically male spaces and roles to recover and invite further research in this area of rhetoric. It also sought to reveal through feminist rhetorical strategies the ways in which not only the women of this study are rife with material for further study but also to point to unique means of teaching and conveying a message rhetorically to both pupils and readers from the past to the present time. Barber and Lewis do not need to be “recovered” only but also to be reconsidered as individuals who truly used “any available means” to successfully reach people across time. Social circulation both
constrains and more often extends rich, valuable knowledge in ways that cannot be dictated and
is worth further investigation in many segments in the field of rhetoric.
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APPENDIX A: HEURISTIC

The following are questions that can be used to examine the rhetorical practices and teaching practices of the women of this study, looking at specific questions on social circulation:

Heuristic specific to the project:

- What spaces did they teach/speak/write in and how did their activities (not) fit in the context of their historical period?
- What tools for interaction did they use for teaching and/or engaging in rhetorical activities?
- When engaging in teaching and/or rhetorical practices, who were their audiences?
- What’s the context of the circulation of the texts/women?
- How have the texts and/or these women circulated since the initial production?
- What are the cultural/social connections to the circulation of their texts/women?
APPENDIX B: PORTRAITS OF JESSIE PENN-LEWIS

Jessie Penn-Lewis. Portrait, October 1925
MRS. PENN-LEWIS IN INDIA. 1903.
MR. AND MRS. PENN-LEWIS
IN THE GARDEN AT "CARTREF," LEICESTER, 1912.

Photo: Ramsden, Leicester
APPENDIX C: EXTENDED PASSAGE FROM JESSIE PENN-LEWIS

The passage below is an excerpt from "Go Forward" (April, 1896) that was included in the memoir and gives a glimpse into some of the lessons of Penn-Lewis referred to in chapter three:

"The conviction has been growing upon me for some time that if our Association is to maintain its power, and retain its hold upon our Young Women, it must be by the force of its God-possession. It must be a weapon in the hand of God, and consequently 'terrible as an army with banners' to sin and worldliness, or be an utter failure from God's standpoint . . . Are we to descend to carnal means, and be a worldly 'success' or shall we launch out upon God—determine that nothing among us shall grieve our God—be a living object-lesson, in this worldly age, of faithfulness to God, and a channel for the Living Waters to flow out to thirsty souls all over the world?

Shall we be among the few who have not 'defiled their garments' and who esteem the reproach of Christ greater joy than the 'success' in Egypt? In short, the question comes to us: 'Shall we work and live for time or for eternity?'

We cannot wield' the Sword of the Spirit and carnal weapons, any more than souls can gain Christ and gain the world. There is no middle course. An awful 'paralysis' in truth will steal over the Branches whose workers attempt this . . . But this again is negative! If we sweep out all that is doubtful, what is to take its place? Bible Classes and Prayer Meetings are most unattractive, unless we have in them the positive attraction of the Holy Ghost. It is possible, as I have found, to have a 'consecrated' Branch, with everything swept out that trenches on the world, yet with no attractive power.

The negative is to 'sweep out': the positive is to 'sweep in' I 'Come, O Breath, and breathe upon these slain that they may live . . . and they stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army' (Ezek. xxxvii. 9, 10, R.V.). A mighty in-sweeping of the breath of God ('a rushing, mighty breath,' Acts ii. 2., Dr. Elder Cumming) would sweep out all doubtful things by the expulsive power of His glorious Presence . . .

I cannot forbear giving my personal testimony in this matter. I have proved the Presence of God to be more attractive to our girls than the old attempt at mild entertainments. Our attendances rose from 6,900 to 11,447 in less than two years, after the mighty breath of God swept upon us. The truth is that we cannot compete with the world. We must win by the force of something far above competition, and this is the Presence and Power of the Holy Spirit.

Then as to funds! I have found that when God is ungrieved, and in unhindered possession of the work, Phil. iv. 19 is absolutely true. If we go down to Egypt for help, He must let us prove Egypt a broken reed. And how we scrape, and what mean things are done in our God's Name, He only knows! But if we knew how to draw upon our resources in God, even in silver and gold, we should act in all the business matters connected with His work as daughters of a King, and be seen to be children of our Father, Who giveth to all men bounty-fully and upbraideth not. Difficulties about funds most often mean something wrong in work or workers, and unless we are prepared to let God search us, and put aside the 'accursed thing,' it is useless to expect Him to respond to our needs . . ."
Ask in faith, the Name of Jesus (776)
Composer: Geistliche Lieder
1 “Ask in faith,” the Name of Jesus
   All your plea before the throne;
   As you trust, the Lord will whisper,
   “See, my child, the work is done.”
2 “Ask in faith,” God waits to answer
   Each petition, Spirit-wrought;
   He will work in wondrous power,
   Far beyond your highest thought.
3 “Ask in faith,” ’tis just the asking,
   In a faith that dares to stand,
   Full of joyful expectation,
   With an open, outstretched hand.
4 “Ask in faith,” for God is waiting
   For thy faith-filled, earnest prayer.
   Faith delights Him; faith can touch Him,
   Every moment, everywhere.

Glorious, mighty Name of Jesus (73)
Composers: C. and F. Jouard
1 Glorious, mighty Name of Jesus,
   Into Thy dear Name I flee;
   “Set aloft,” I praise and worship,
   For Thy Name is victory!
2 Blessed Jesus! Mighty Savior!
   In Thy Name is all I need;
   Just to breathe the Name of Jesus,
   Is to drink of Life indeed.
3 Glorious, mighty Name of Jesus,
   Heav’n and earth its pow’r proclaim;
   But forgiven sinners only,
   Know the balm of Jesus’ Name.
4 Jesus! Jesus! Name most precious,
   Balm in pain or mighty sword;
   In Thy Name, we live and conquer,
   Blessed, glorious, coming Lord.

Lift that Name high! That glorious Name (77)
Composer: Henry Baker
1 Lift that Name high! That glorious Name,
   Let heav’n and earth its pow’r proclaim;
   Our mighty, conqu’ring, coming King,
Earth yet shall with His praises ring.
2 Lift that Name high! To that high tower
We flee in every trial hour,
Safe, sheltered, satisfied and free,
For Jesus’ Name is victory.
3 Lift that Name high! Until one day
His mighty Name the earth shall sway,
And sin and death, distress and pain
Shall be no more, for Christ shall reign.
4 Lift that Name high! Jesus shall reign,
And kings shall follow in His train;
Lift that Name high, all names above,
The Name of Him we own and love.
5 Lift that Name high! For every knee
Shall bow to Him; Jesus shall see
Fruit of His Cross, when earth shall bring
Her tribute to her Lord and King.

O Lord, with Thy Holy Ghost (269)
Composer: Robert Jackson
1 O Lord, with Thy Holy Ghost,
   Fill me to the uttermost;
   Let my life Thy channel be,
      Just a channel, Lord, for Thee;
         Through me all Thy riches pour,
            Give me ever more and more.
2 O Lord, with Thy Holy Ghost,
   Fill me to the uttermost;
   Be it unto me, O Lord,
      Now, according to Thy word;
         Let the life of Jesus be,
            Ever filling, even me.
3 O Lord, with Thy Holy Ghost,
   Fill me to the uttermost;
Cleansed and holy, pure and clean,
Let the life of Christ be seen;
Hold o’er me Thy gracious sway,
Every hour of every day.
4 O Lord, with Thy Holy Ghost,
   Fill me to the uttermost;
For Thy love, Thy light, Thy grace,
Just a channel all my days;
Till my Savior’s face I see,
Fill me, Lord, fill even me.
In the wilderness for God! (352)
Composer: (2 tunes) 1- Mozart; 2-L.W.Lloyd
1 In the wilderness for God!
   Just a common bush aflame!
   Thus may I be, blessed Lord,
   For the glory of Thy Name.
2 Just a common bush to be,
   Something in which God can dwell,
   Something thru which God can speak,
   Something thru which God can tell.
3 All His yearning over men,
   All His purposes of love,
   Flaming with no light of earth,
   But with glory from above:
4 God Himself within the bush,
   Nothing seen but just the flame;
   Make me that, just that, O God,
   For the glory of Thy Name.

Thou Magnet of my soul! (356)
Composer: Robert Jackson
1 Thou Magnet of my soul!
   Let me come nearer, till
   The life of self pulsates no more,
   But is forever still.
2 Thou Sunshine of my heart!
   Fill Thou each crevice there,
   And let Thy garden yield to Thee
   A fragrance sweet and rare.
3 Thou Ransomer from death!
   Possess Thy ransomed one:
   Appropriate to Thine Own use
   The spoil that Thou hast won.
4 Thou Lord of Life and Light!
   I bow beneath Thy sway,
   And count it holy privilege
   Thy precepts to obey.
5 Thou Gift unspeakable!
   Straight from God’s heart of love;
   I break my heart to give Thee room
   And thus Thy sweetness prove.

If the path I travel (377)
Composer: Thomas Hastings
1 If the path I travel
   Lead me to the cross,
If the way Thou choosest
Lead to pain and loss,
Let the compensation
Daily, hourly, be
Shadowless communion,
Blessed Lord, with Thee.

2 If there’s less of earth joy,
Give, Lord, more of heaven.
Let the spirit praise Thee,
Though the heart be riven;
If sweet earthly ties, Lord,
Break at Thy decree,
Let the tie that binds us,
Closer, sweeter, be.

3 Lonely though the pathway,
Cheer it with Thy smile;
Be Thou my companion
Through earth’s little while;
Selfless may I live, Lord,
By Thy grace to be
Just a cleansed channel
For Thy life through me.

There is always something over (595)
Composer: Robert Lowry

1 There is always something over,
  When we taste our gracious Lord;
  Every cup He fills o’erfloweth,
  Rich supply He doth afford.
  Nothing narrow, nothing stinted,
  Ever issued from His store;
  To His own He gives full measure,
  Running over, evermore,
  To His own He gives full measure,
  Running over, evermore.

2 There is always something over,
  When we, from the Father’s hand,
  Take our portion with thanksgiving,
  Praising for the things He planned.
  Satisfaction, full and deepening,
  All our need He doth supply,
  When the heart has tasted Jesus
  Its desires to satisfy,
  When the heart has tasted Jesus
  Its desires to satisfy.

3 There is always something over,
When we share in all His love;
Unplumbed depths still lie beneath us,
Unscaled heights rise far above.
Human lips can never utter
All His wondrous tenderness.
We can only praise and wonder
And His Name forever bless,
We can only praise and wonder
And His Name forever bless.
*This hymn was written when our sister was down to her last dollar.

Via Bethlehem we journey (628)
Composer: Charles C. Converse
1 Via Bethlehem we journey,
   We whose hearts on God are set;
   Babelike souls of Jesus learning,
   While our cheeks with tears are wet;
   For the manger and the stable
   Are not pleasant to our eyes,
   But our feet must follow Jesus,
   If our hands would grasp the prize.
2 Via Nazareth! the pathway
   Narrows still as on we go,
   Years of toil none understanding,
   Yet God teaches us to know
   That the servant is not greater
   Than the Lord, who through long years
   Hid Himself from this world’s glory,
   Follow Him! Count not the tears.
3 Via Galilee, we see Him!
   Stones are hurled, and curses hissed
   By the men who gather round Him,
   Has He not the pathway missed?
   No! unharmed the Savior passes,
   And this rough bit of the way
   We must travel, since like Jesus,
   Nothing can our purpose stay.
4 Via too, the awful anguish
   Of the hours beneath the trees,
   Where the hosts of Satan linger,
   Awful hours of anguish these!
   Yet we fail not, for God’s angels
   Minister to us, and say,
   “Look, beloved, at the glory,
   Conflict is but for a day!”
5 Then the Cross! for via Calvary
Every royal soul must go;  
Here we draw the veil, for Jesus  
Only can the pathway show;  
“If we suffer with Him,” listen,  
Just a little, little while,  
And the memory will have faded  
In the glory of His smile!

6 Then the grave, with dear ones weeping,  
Knowing that all life has fled;  
(Fellow-pilgrims, art thou numbered  
With the men the world calls dead?)  
Thence we rise, and live with Jesus,  
Throned above the world’s mad strife,  
Gladly forfeiting forever,  
All that worldlings count as life.

7 On we press! and yonder gleaming,  
Nearing every day, we see  
The great walls of that fair city,  
God has built for such as we;  
And we catch the tender music  
Of the choirs that sing of One  
Who once died to have us with Him  
In His kingdom, on the throne.

8 Just a few more miles, beloved!  
And our feet shall ache no more;  
No more sin, and no more sorrow,  
Hush thee, Jesus went before;  
And I hear Him sweetly whispering,  
“Faint not, fear not, still press on,  
For it may be ere tomorrow,  
The long journey will be done.”

"Wrecked outright on Jesus' breast" (637)  
Composer: Dimitri S. Bortnianski

1 “Wrecked outright on Jesus’ breast“:  
Only “wrecked” souls thus can sing;  
Little boats that hug the shore,  
Fearing what the storm may bring,  
Never find on Jesus' breast,  
All that “wrecked” souls mean by rest.

2 “Wrecked outright!” So we lament;  
But when storms have done their worst,  
Then the soul, surviving all,  
In Eternal arms is nursed;  
There to find that nought can move  
One, embosomed in such love.
3 “Wrecked outright!” No more to own
   E’en a craft to sail the sea;
   Still a voyager, yet now
   Anchored to Infinity;
   Nothing left to do but fling
   Care aside, and simply cling.
4 “Wrecked outright!” ’Twas purest gain,
   Henceforth other craft can see
   That the storm may be a boon,
   That, however rough the sea,
   God Himself doth watchful stand,
   For the “wreck” is in His hand.

Can you be obedient? (657)
Composer: William H. Monk
1 Can you be obedient
   To the Lord of all,
   Though the earth should totter,
   Though the heav’ns should fall?
   Face e’en a disaster
   With a faith-filled heart,
   Knowing naught can harm him
   Who with Christ will start?
2 Can you be obedient
   To the Lord you serve,
   Never even flinch, friend,
   Never even swerve;
   Though your next step onward
   Seem to lead to death?
   Can you then obey Him
   Without bated breath?
3 Can you trust your Leader
   When He bids you go
   Right into a battle
   With a mighty foe?
   Can you step up briskly
   And with joy obey?
   Can you fight the battle,
   Till the end of day?
4 Can you? Then beloved,
   Christ just waits for you;
   Listen for His orders,
   Glad His will to do;
   Then when soldiers muster
   At the set of sun,
   And your name is mentioned,
Christ will say, “Well done.”

To the foe my word is always, “No” (880)
Composer: William Batchelder Bradbury
1 To the foe my word is always, “No,”
To the Father it is “Yes,”
That His plan and all His counsel
Be accomplished with success;
When Thine orders I’m obeying,
Grant me, Lord, authority
To fulfill Thy plan eternal
Thru the Spirit’s power in me.

2 To the foe my word is always, “No,”
To the Father it is, “Yes”;
‘Tis my attitude eternal;
May the Lord protect and bless,
Lest while walking in obedience
Satan undermine the way;
When I’m list’ning to Thine orders,
Grant me mercy, Lord, I pray.

3 To the foe my word is always, “No,”
To the Father it is, “Yes”;
I completely would obey Him,
Though deep suff’ring may oppress.
If the Lord will save and keep me,
As I forward press with Him,
Then no trials shall prevent me,
Nor will opposition grim.

“On toward the goal!” Press On! (662)
Composer: (2 tunes) 1-anon; 2-C. Warwick Jordan
1“On toward the goal!” Press on!
Alone yet unafraid;
He cut the path who beckons thee,
On then, and undismayed.

2“On toward the goal!” Press on!
The eyes that are a flame
Are watching thee, what then are men?
What matter praise or blame?

3“On toward the goal!” Press on!
Look not behind thee now,
When just ahead lies His “Well done,”
And crowns await thy brow.

4“On toward the goal!” Press on!
Blind, deaf and sometimes dumb
Along the blood-marked, uphill way,
Hard after Christ, press on!

_Deep down into the depths of this Thy name (671)_
Composer: James Langran
1Deep down into the depths of this Thy name,
My God, I sink and dwell in calm delight;
Thou art enough however long the day,
Thou art enough however dark the night.

2Thou art my God – the All-Sufficient One,
Thou canst crate for me whate’er I lack;
Thy mighty hand has strewn the lonely track
With miracles of love and tender care

3For me Thy trusting one. My God I dare
Once more to fling myself upon Thy breast,
And there adore Thy ways in faith’s deep rest,
And there adore Thy ways in faith’s deep rest.

_The days may yet grow darker (710)_
Composer: Alexander C. Ewing
1The days may yet grow darker,
The nights more weary grow,
And Jesus may still tarry,
But this one thing I know:
The Lord will still grow dearer,
And fellowship will be
The closer and the sweeter
Between my Lord and me.

2’Tis our dear Lord we wait for,
Our Hope! our Joy! Our Friend!
Himself we long to welcome,
And just beyond the bend
Hidden, perchance to meet us
Before the day is done,
The waiting will be over
And rest will have begun.

_In the mighty Name of Jesus (775)_
Composer: William H. Doane
In the mighty Name of Jesus,
When we bow before the Throne,
Many deadly foes are vanquished,
Many victories are won.

Chorus:
Mighty Name! Mighty Name!
In that Name alone we win.
Mighty Name! Mighty Name!
Conquering Satan, death and sin.

2 When we plead the Name of Jesus,
Satan and his hosts must flee.
Jesus! Jesus! Precious Jesus!
In Thy Name is victory.

3 Soon shall come the blessed moment
When the battle shall be won,
When the Mighty Name of Jesus
Shall exalt us to the throne.

*Keep up the song of faith (778)*
Composer: herself
1 Keep up the song of faith,
However dark the night;
And as you praise the Lord will work
To change your faith to sight,
To change your faith to sight.

2 Keep up the song of faith,
And let your heart be strong,
For God delights when faith can praise
Though dark the night and long.

3 Keep up the song of faith,
The foe will hear and flee;
Oh, let not Satan hush your song,
For praise is victory.

4 Keep up the song of faith,
The dawn will break ere long,
And we shall go to meet the Lord,
And join the endless song.

"*Keep the incense burning*" (790)
Composer: Edgar Walser
1 “Keep the incense burning” 
On the altar fire; 
Let thy hearts petition, 
Let thy deep desire, 
Be a cloud of incense 
Wreathing God’s own throne, 
Till His will among as 
Shall be fully done.

2 “Keep the incense burning” 
On the altar fire; 
Feed the flame, Lord Jesus, 
Till Thy whole desire 
Shall in us, Thy children, 
Find free course, and be 
Breathed thro’ lips anointed 
For this ministry.

3 “Keep the incense burning” 
Though thy faith be weak; 
Though in words thou canst not 
All thy longing speak; 
Silent heart-petitions, 
Spirit-taught, will be 
Gloriously answered; 
Wrought by God for thee.

4 “Keep the incense burning” 
Hourly let it rise, 
Till from opened heavens, 
Till from flame-swept skies, 
Fire shall fall and kindle 
All hearts to a flame; 
Making us a glory 
To our Savior’s name.

I dare not be defeated (877) 
Composer: Adam Geibel

1 I dare not be defeated 
With Calvary in view, 
Where Jesus conquered Satan, 
Where all His foes He slew; 
Come, Lord, and give the vision 
To nerve me for the fight, 
Make me an overcomer 
Clothed with Thy Spirit’s might.
Chorus:
A victor, a victor! Because of Calvary.
Make me an overcomer,
A conqu’ror, A conqu’ror, Lord, in Thee.
2 I dare not be defeated,
Since Christ my conquering King
Has called me to the battle
Which He did surely win.
Come, Lord, and give me courage,
Thy conquering Spirit give,
Make me an overcomer,
In power within me live.

3 I dare not be defeated,
When Jesus leads me on
To press through hellish regions
To share with Him His Throne;
Come, Lord, and give Thy soldier
The power to wield the sword,
Make me an overcomer
Through Thine inerrant Word.

4 I dare not be defeated,
Just at the set of sun,
When Jesus waits to whisper,
“Well done, beloved, well done”;
Come, Lord, bend from the Glory,
On me Thy Spirit cast,
Make me an Overcomer,
A victor to the last.

_Hallelujah! Christ is Victor (890)_
Composer: Phillip P. Bliss
1 Hallelujah! Christ is Victor,
Tell with ev’ry breath,
That the Savior still is conqu’ror
Over sin and death.

Chorus:
Hallelujah! Christ is Victor,
Tell where’er you go,
That the Lord is still the conqu’ror,
Over ev’ry foe.

2 Hallelujah! Christ is Victor,
Pain and sickness flee,
When we plead the mighty victory
Won on Calvary.

3 Hallelujah! Christ is Victor,
Therefore do and dare;
Go wherever Jesus sends you
In prevailing prayer.

4 Hallelujah! Christ is Victor,
No defeat nor fear
Evermore must dim thy vision!
Christ the way will clear.

5 Hallelujah! Christ is Victor,
Soon His voice shall ring,
“Come ye conquerors, come up hither,
Join thy conquering King.”

Not where we elect to go (907)
Composer: herself
1Not where we elect to go,
But where Jesus leads the way,
There the living waters flow,
There our darkness turns to day.

2Not our self-appointed task
Will the Lord’s approval win,
But the work we did not ask,
Finished humbly, just for Him.

3Not the prayer we long to plead
When we bend before the Throne,
But the toughing deeper need
Of the Spirit’s wordless groan.

4Not the gift we proudly lay
On His altar will He heed,
If our hearts have said Him, “Nay,”
When He whispered, “I have need.”

5Thus we die, and dying live
In the heavenlies with the Lord;
Thus we serve, and pray, and give,
Christ Himself our great Reward.

Watch! for the morning is breaking (957)
Composer: herself
1 Watch! for the morning is breaking,  
   A moment, and He will be here!  
The mists and the shadows are fleeing,  
The darkness will soon disappear;  
   And He, for whom ages have waited,  
The Lord who has tarried so long,  
Will come in an outburst of glory,  
   A moment, and we shall be gone.

2 Watch! for the morning is breaking,  
   A moment, the crown will be won!  
A moment, and we shall be with Him,  
   A moment, the journey is done!

3 Lord, keep us each moment unsleeping,  
   And count is all worthy to be  
In that noble band of Thy watchers,  
   Whose life is a vigil with Thee.

He looked for a city and lived in a tent (974)  
Composer: Henry R. Bishop

1 He looked for a city and lived in a tent,  
   A pilgrim to glory right onward he went;  
God’s promise his solace, so royal his birth,  
No wonder he sought not the glories of earth.

Chorus:
City! O city fair! God’s dwelling with man  
to eternity is there.

2 He looked for a city, his God should prepare;  
   No mansion on earth, could he covet or share,  
For had not God told him, that royal abode  
   Awaited His pilgrims on ending the road.

3 He looked for a city; if sometimes he sighed  
   To be trudging the road, all earth’s glory denied,  
The thought of that city changed sighing to song,  
   For the road might be rough, but it could not be long.

4 He looked for a city, his goal, Lord, we share  
And know that bright city, which Thou dost prepare  
   Is ever our portion, since willing to be  
Just pilgrims with Jesus, our roof a tent tree.
Keng Tau  
Oct. 19, 1898  

Dear Mr. Baring Gould,

I am on my way to a village near on an itinerating tour. I only intended to stay in this house one night but the weather has changed and it is very wet and windy and I cannot get to Mau to go with my load to Hong a so must stay here until tomorrow as I could not do without proper bedding etc. I am delighted to find that in our absence the dear station class women—of them live in Keng Tau—have been so earnest in leading others to go to church and hear about God. One Malay woman has been here to see me and I questioned her as to what she had done for Jesus in my absence. She has been the means of leading 5 families to renounce their idols and worship God. All five families now attend church regularly. She, this woman, has repeated some of our Lord’s parables and explained them quite clearly and she says the people often ask her to come and see them to tell them the stories from the Bible. The story they like best she says is that about Nebuchadnezzar and the golden image. I do thank God for the work of the station class women. I do wish I could see you and talk to you. I am having a very hard time now that the Archdeacon is back but if I were to write about it I could not make you understand. My only course is to do as quietly as possible the work God gives me to do and to pray and trust for the “love that beareth all things.” I have come to the conclusion that what wears one out in China is not so much climatic influences as those sorrows and trials which God alone can be told about.

I am so happy to be amongst the people once more and I pray for grace and wisdom and strength to be able to stay in my district until we have a permanent dwelling once more. I had an interview with Dr. Rennie on Saturday and he gave full and unqualified permission for me to come down here and itinerate. Even if our house were not condemned we could not at present live in it because in the last typhoon one side of it was so badly injured that workmen are engaged to take the East wall down and rebuild it. The last typhoon did a great deal of damage and hundreds of Chinese lost their lives in the storm. Miss Oatway is itinerating just now. She was on her way to Hohchiang City yesterday. She will probably here for a day or two next week. If I can manage it I want to live at Hong a. I mean (to) return there each evening but work in these villages round. Praise God the field is white unto harvest. It is an ever-increasing task (?) to go amongst these dear people teaching and preaching. I must soon send (?) in my annual letter. The past had been full of blessing—

With kind regards
I am, dear Mr. Baring Gould
Yours faithfully
Margaret E. Barber

I am now in much better health than for more than a year past.
Letter Four

Keng Tau
Nov. 15, 1898

Dear Mr. Baring Gould,

You will rejoice to know that Dr. Rigg and Dr. Synge have decided that we can live in this house again and we hope therefore to take possession in about a month’s time. We are rejoining in the prospect. I am only here for a day or two. I should have left for Sa Loo (?) today but the weather has kept in the house. The wind is so high that we are afraid that we shall have another typhoon. No one could venture out today the gale was so fierce. I have no doubt Archdeacon Wolfe has told you of all damage the last typhoon did. Our house was a perfect wreck after it and only two rooms are habitable. The workmen are getting on so well that we hope in a month the house will be quite finished. I am thankful for the work of the past month. The weather has been very bad and we have not been able to go out as often as we wished but in every village where we had the privilege of preaching the gospel we had quite earnest listeners and often really interesting questions were asked by the heathen. My plan when going to a hitherto unvisited village is to go to the few women who are on the watch for the foreigner, having seen my chair in the distance, and after a few minutes friendly talk get an invitation to preach which I and the Bible woman gladly accept, the crowd meanwhile gathering to listen. Often after one of these “preachings” some bystander will ask us to go to her house and in that way the seed is sown. I praise God for the health He is giving me for this glorious work. Hoping to be able to write to you soon of settled work once more in Keng Tau.

I am

Your faithfully
Margaret E. Barber

Letter Five

Ning Taik, Nov. 21st, 1899

The chief event of the past year with regard to myself and my work has been my change of station. In February of this year I left Keng Tau in Hoh-chiang to come to Miss Bioleau’s help here at Ning Taik.

Miss Boileau gave me charge of the women’s school immediately upon my arrival in Ning Taik, and the work in that school is an ever-increasing joy to me. We can only take twenty-five women on account of the limited accommodation, and last term we had our full number as again this term. One thing delights us immensely, the intelligent grasp these women have of the truth, and their evident experimental knowledge of the love of God. Today I was teaching Exodus 16, and as I spoke for a while on the expression “every man according to his eating,” I felt obliged to tell the women what pleasure it gave me to teach them because they had me such big appetites for their spiritual food! They drink in the scripture teaching with such evident enjoyment that it is a real delight to unfold to them the scriptures. I tell my beloved fellow-worker, Miss Boileau, that I am reaping where she has sown, for most of these women under my
teaching, when they first came here were quite ignorant of their Bibles, and some did not know how to read a character.

Eleven of our present number read both Old and New Testament with comparative ease; the result of nearly two years at school, and a good result for that comparatively short time. One old woman called, according to Chinese etiquette, “Old Grandmother,” came to school at the age of sixty-one. Her dear old face beams with joy as she listens to the truth concerning Jesus, and so very often I have been astonished at the knowledge she has of the things that belong unto her peace. The other day I asked this question on Rom. 8:16, “Has the Holy Spirit made you to know that you are a child of God?” and she answered with a beaming face, “Yes, and I know that Jesus is in my heart.” No one is more ready than this dear woman to speak of her Saviour’s love.

As to the district, I have not had very good health at Ning Taik, so I have visited very little, but on the few occasions when I have gone out with our Bible-woman, I have been delighted with the earnestness of the Christians. On one occasion I was visiting in a village about two miles away, when I young man came into the house where I sat with the Bible-woman, his Testament in hand, and he told me theta he too had been “Seeking the lost.” Whilst telling me of all he had done that day, his face beamed with joy and he said, “Oh! It was such a pity I was alone, for I had such a lot of hearers, and my voice tired too soon.”

Letter Six

59 St. Martin’s Lane
Norwich
Oct. 15, 1900

Dear Mr. Baring Gould,

I left Foochow Sept. 2 and arrived at Southampton on Sunday morning. I was obliged to stay in London on my way home but was able to reach Norwich by morning (?) today. I should be glad if you would kindly let me know when you wish me to come to London to see the Committee as I heard it is a rule of our Society that we should see our Committee within a month after arrival in England. Would you also please tell me what salary will be paid to me whilst I am on furlough as my funds are already exhausted and I have no private means. We had a very calm voyage home and are deeply thankful for all the journeying mercies God has showered upon us.

I am, dear Mr. Baring Gould
Yours faithfully
Margaret E. Barber
Fukien Mission South China

Letter Seven

59 St. Martins Lane
Norwich
Oct. 5, 1901

Dear Mr. Baring Gould,
Thank you very much for the letter and instructions received this morning. I also have to the Committee for the copy of the life of George Mueller which I duly received from letters from our mission. I see that this book has been a great blessing to some of our missionaries. I have long wished to possess a copy. I had several letters from both natives and fellow-missionaries last week, and although the poor Chinese are suffering from plague and flood and scarcity of food the prospects for the spread of the gospel are more cheering than ever. To me (?) I have a new sacrifice to lay hold on God’s altar as a result of the experience of life in Fukien, the sacrifice of a “broken spirit.” I am trusting to be the more useful in consequence, God grant it. Please allow me to express once more my lasting gratitude to you for all your kindness. It has been a strength to me to meet sympathy from my Home Committee.

I am
Yours faithfully
Margaret E. Barber

Letter Eight
C.M.S. Girl’s School
Foochow
Dec. 13, 1901

Dear Mr. Baring Gould,

This is my “Rehoboth.” You will have heard that Ladies Conference appointed to Miss Goldie to the Deng Doi Women’s School and Miss Stevens to the Foochow Women’s School (Miss Stevens is C.EZ. but has had charge of the school before) and so there was no work in prospect for me until Miss Lambert bravely suggested I should come and help here. Conference at once granted the request and I am appointed to help in this school for the present. I teach in the mornings and I visit the surrounding villages in the afternoons. I have also charge of some day schools. This afternoon I had a splendid time at a day school and an opportunity of preaching to the heathen afterwards. Our present opportunity amongst these people is wonderful. We all feel that we must make the most of the present. You will understand how thankful I am to be working under such easy conditions. My fellow-workers are delightful and we work harmoniously toward one great end. These schools are the finest buildings in the province. (A) bit better than the outward building is the sight of over 200 once heathen girls gathered together to be taught the words of Eternal life. As I teach these girls day by day I am astonished at their remarkable knowledge of Scripture. Thanking you for your kindness to me when in England.

I remain
Your Sincerely
Margaret E. Barber

Letter Nine
Girls’ Boarding School, Fuh-chow
Dec. 14th, 1901
I have to report my safe arrival in Fuh-chow on December 4th, and my appointment to this school where I am given teaching (in the mornings) and the oversight of day schools connected with the school, as well as visiting amongst the Heathen in the surrounding villages. I am most thankful to be given work I can so thoroughly throw myself into, and I trust that “much fruit” may be gathered in a result of what God shall do through me. Already in the villages I have found open doors on every hand, and many hearts prepared for the Message.

Not the least of my mercies is association in work with two such able and devoted workers as Miss Bushell and Miss Lambert.

My furlough in England was of great benefit to me in every way, and I rejoice to know that, through the limited amount of work I was permitted to do, interest in this glorious enterprise has been quickened and stimulated.

Letter Ten

Extracts from the Annual Letters of the Missionaries for the year 1904 from Barber.

Girls’ Boarding-school
Fuh-chow
Dec. 10th, 1904

The past year has gone so quickly that I scarcely realize that I must report on it to you already. The last ten weeks of 1903 were almost a blank to me, for I was struggling with typhoid and malaria, and was very near eternity; and the beginning of this year, though, thank God, restored to some measure of health, I was unable to take full work. However, since March I have done full work, and am now quite well and able to enjoy the routine of this large school.

We have had over 300 girls all the year. The money has come in, and we have had ‘enough’ always, and sometimes ‘enough to spare.’ We do thank God for all He is doing through us. As to spiritual results, time fails me to give any adequate account of how God is working; and I also feel that it is not wise to say too much about what, to our eyes, is very evident—of the presence of God in our midst.

For a long time we have had an early morning prayer-meeting, conducted by Miss Bushell, to pray specially for the outpouring of the Spirit of God upon this school and upon the Native Church. Then we had, from time to time, special addresses at our Christian Endeavor meeting on Friday evenings. About a month ago, Mr. Diong, of Kucheng, addressed the girls on the subject of ‘Sin, its Power and Penalty, and the importance of putting away Sin.’ The following Friday, quite unexpectedly, we had the privilege of having an address from a clergyman, the Rev. Frausen from Chicago; and he, never having heard of the address of the previous Friday, and all unknowing that the girls, many of them, were under deep conviction of sin, took for his subject ‘The Forgiveness of Sins’ and at the close of his most solemn address asked those who wished to know that their sins were forgiven to stand up. At least sixty girls rose, and afterwards prayed one by one, confessing sin and seeking forgiveness. The following Sunday evening a great many more made a similar decision, and we have every reason to praise
God for the real work then begun; and this goes steadily on. Quarrels have been made up, and other visible results are before our eyes of the reality of this work of grace.

We are thankful to have our dear Miss Lambert back. The burden of funds falls chiefly upon her and upon Miss Bushell, and it is a burden, although so bravely and cheerfully borne; and God does honour His servants by sending in the needed money. We need at least 10 pounds per week.

As to the educational side of the work, I can only say that these Chinese girls are quite as interesting to teach as and of their English sisters; and it is an immense privilege to help them, whether in ‘weights and measures’ or the valuation of things unseen.

Letter Eleven

Dear Mr. Baring Gould,

Thank you very much for seeing about the 2 pounds for our school which has been paid (out?) to us. You will be glad to know that God has restored Miss Bushell and myself to comparative health and that we are daily gaining strength after typhoid fever.

Miss Bushell has been down here about 17 days but I only came last Tuesday. Just as I was recovering from typhoid I had an attack of malaria and nearly died. God’s goodness has been unspeakable and there are many sweet secrets between my Lord and me since and during my illness. I only trust my restored life may be to His glory. I should like to send you a letter about our work and other questions when I get strong. We need the outlying stations which are so efficiently “manned” by our self-deny-ing women missionaries and God is setting His seal upon our present methods.

I am
Your sincerely
M.E. Barber

Letter Twelve

Dear Mr. Baring Gould,

Just a line to tell you that The Revival has come to Fukien! Though not, as yet, into the C.M.S. circle. It is coming to us we doubt not and our United Mission prayer meeting every Monday for the outpouring of the Holy Ghost has received new stimulus. Last Friday I received the enclosed information from Mr. Bissonettee, a Methodist worker, “Last night was a Pentecostal night at Tieng Ang Dong; the Spirit falling in marvelous power upon the people in prayer. The whole assembly prayed until the room seemed to be shaken. The fire from Heaven has indeed fallen in our midst and unless it is trodden out our of hearts by the things of the world it will sweep the whole church. This is only the beginning.”
For about a fortnight now the Methodist colleges and schools have witnessed wonderful scenes. The work began in a prayer meeting held by the boys amongst themselves and now most of 300 men in the Anglo Chinese College and nearly all the girl students in the boarding schools are longing for the first month to come so that they may go home and tell their unsaved relatives what God has done for them.

Last Saturday evening, as I was free for hour or two, I attended an ordinary weekly prayer meeting in the vestry of the Church of the Methodist Mission (American) [where] about 60 men were present and a dozen women. The leader was a Chinaman evidently under the influence of God the Spirit and he spoke just a few words with great power on, “If thou bring thy gift to the altar and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee” etc. etc. He then asked of any present were not at peace with each other and if so would they make peace? About six men in all asked for forgiveness if one another and then the meeting was left open for prayer. I have never heard such prayer anywhere!! Strong men on their knees crying to God, some with tears, for mercy and forgiveness and pleading the precious blood. It was wonderful! When the stream of prayer most violent suddenly it ceased and we rose from our knees to sing “Just as I am” which one man had chosen.

Towards the close of the meeting another remarkable time of prayer made me realize as I never have realized before the awful state of a soul out of harmony with God. The plea urged again and again by these praying souls was “for the sake of the precious blood.” We are all looking to God to do a similar work in our C.M.S. colleges and schools in this district and province. Will you ask prayer for this please at your next weekly meeting?

I am, dear Mr. Baring Gould
Your faithfully
M.E. Barber

Letter Thirteen

During M.E. Barber’s first furlough back to England from China, she visited Liverpool from Oct. 29 to Nov. 8, 1900, where she stayed at the Young Women’s Christian Association, Bromboro House, Great George Square. She had been and still was considered a member of the Ladies’ C.M. Union. It was to this group that she wrote the following letter and asked that they in turn would send a copy to Mr. Baring Gould:

C.M.S. Girls’ School
Foochow 1st moon 2nd day
Jan. 26, 1906

1Sam. 30:23 and 24.

My Dear Friends,

Yesterday was Chinese New Year’s Day and I expect you will like to know the state of the Fukien Church from the standpoint of the missionaries, as we step into another New Year! Thank God we have a grand view point! We are standing before limitless opportunities and
boundless possibilities; and we all believe we are going to have the best year we have ever known for the following reasons,

1. The Spirit of prayer is more and more taking hold of the missionaries, the native leader of the Churches, and the general body of believers; and special prayer meetings characterized by intense desire and the spirit of faith and very usual.

2. The new converts gathered in during the past year are very zealous for their New Master, and are willing to go hither and thither telling the “Old, Old, Story”. One particularly thanks God for their earnestness in following Andrew’s example, and seeking first, as many of them do, their own relatives that they may know Jesus.

3. In Foochow a “Revival” Society has been formed. Its members are men from the three missions in North Fukien, mostly the pastors of Churches and leading lay men, and they have pledged themselves to work for the unsaved souls around them. At our prayer meeting last Monday evening Archdeacon Wolfe said on Sunday last that he had seen three of these men at different centers in Foochow City preaching Christ to crowds of heathen and I quote from the report of the Fukien prayer union the following statements:

“This band of men has gone out on Sunday afternoon and held evangelistic services for outsiders (i.e. heathen) before the Viceroy’s yeomen,…the Emperor’s Temple and other places. At these meetings hundreds of men heard the Gospel, who before had not an opportunity of hearing it….A conservative estimate is that over ten thousand people have heard of Christ by means of these street meetings.”

I must not weary you with too long a letter, or I might tell you of scores of interesting facts which have convinced me that God is working in Fukien as never before, ad is watering the seed of His own Word, which has been sown in the past fifty years in this province, and making it spring up and bear fruit, some even a “hundred fold.”

I tell you this to encourage you to pray on, for “as his part is that goeth down to the battle so shall his part be that tarrieth by the stuff. Hey shall part alike,” and we know that the prayers of our friends in England are bringing down these blessings upon us in Fukien. “With that that the Lord hath given us” we rejoice to know we can “part alike,” and as we share the spoil may we be inspired with even more zeal for prayer and service.

If all who read this, or hear it read, would spend ten minutes a day with God for Fukien, or China as a whole what might we not see this year of spoils given unto to us by the Lord of this Battle!

Now as to my own special work as teacher in this large school, God is blessing us. Time would fail me to tell you of many precious proofs of His working amongst us. One or two shall suffice—One morning I saw, on my study table, a letter with $1 enclosed and no name given. The letter was from one of our Teachers who said she wished the $1 to be given to Jesus’ brethren the Jews and that as she did not want anyone to know about it, she had not put it in the plate on Sunday. She also said she was seeking to live wholly for God and wished to find above in Him all her satisfaction. One dollar to that girl was a very large and generous donation for she only earns $2.50 per month. I know who she is tho’she signed no name.
The other day I met the mother of one of our pupils on the road, and she told me that her daughter was such a comfort to her and so changed. She said “She used to be so wild and would never help me, but now she says she wants to make things easier for me and she never forgets to pray.”

When the examinations were over two days remaining before the girls left I had opportunities of talking with them and seeking to help them, these are some of the questions they asked me,

1. What will become of the people who have died without a knowledge of Jesus? 
2. Can a child be saved if she dies when only 3 or 4 years old? 
3. Can people repent after they have gone to hell? (Hell is a very real place to everyone who has ever worshipped idols.)
4. Do we go straight to Heaven or must we suffer for our sins first?” (in purgatory) and many other things they asked which showed me that Chinese and English are certainly of “one blood.”

As none of our girl know a word of English, these questions were not the result of acquaintance with Western thought. My two days schools are very interesting. We hope to have 3 or 4 girls from there either here or at Miss Lee’s school, next term. They give real evidence of love to Jesus. I have been today to Ciu Buo School and have had a nice talk with the old lady who teaches there. She is not a genius as to mental ability but I would match her against anybody for real devotion to her Saviour.

As to myself I have had a term of hard and happy work and of perfect health thank God, and I am looking forward to an even blessed (?) term, with a heart full of God-given hope.

Beloved pray for us
Yours in Christ’s Service
Margaret E. Barber

P.S. Please praise God for 7 girls baptized last term.