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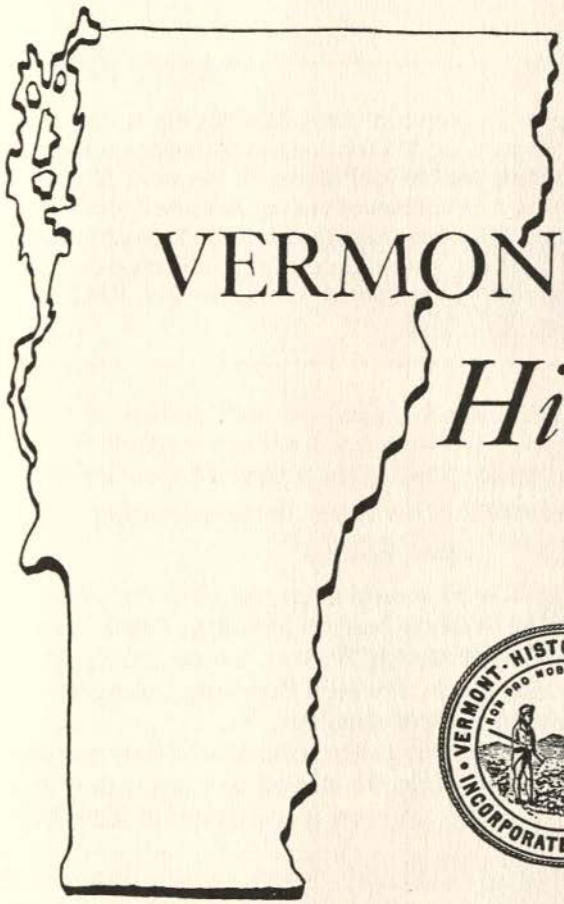

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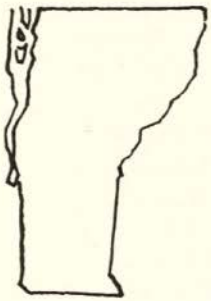


"Every day is taking me farther & farther from home & all the dear ones there, but I am not sorry, for through these mountain passes & over the ocean beyond is my straightest path to Heaven."

The Straightest Path to Heaven: Louisa Bailey Whitney and the Congregational Foreign Missionary Movement in Nineteenth Century Vermont

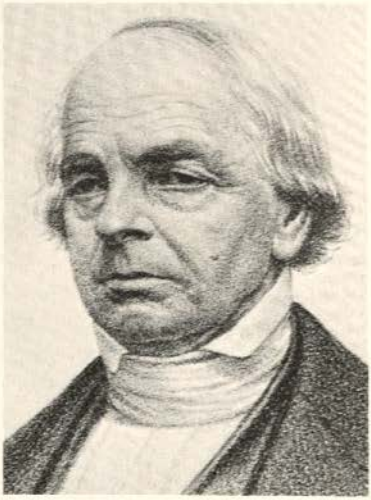
By JEFFREY D. MARSHALL

A portion of the massive emigration from nineteenth century Vermont had unmistakable evangelical overtones. Many Vermonters went west to seek economic opportunity, and in the process, often consciously, bestowed the "blessings" of New England civilization upon the new communities. These emigrants included those who settled in Kansas to vote against slavery, the young men and women who tutored the children of the wealthy or kept schools in frontier communities, and even soldiers who perceived the Civil War as a crusade against slavery. Occasionally, several families from a single Vermont town would journey westward to establish a Christian community in the wilderness.[1] The most clearly evangelical among the emigrants, though, were the missionaries. In the 1870s Louisa Bailey Whitney responded to this impulse. She represents a major element in the religious history of Vermont, as the state adjusted to the changing conditions of the nineteenth century.

Although only a handful in number in comparison to the mass of "ordinary" emigrants, these missionaries epitomized the views of many Vermonters, eager to improve the world by remaking it in the image of Vermont. The characteristics that reputedly distinguished Vermonters—devotion to duty and to hard work, thriftiness, stubborn righteousness, and dedication to reform efforts—readily combined with the religious goals of converting the heathen and building a Christian world.[2] The Vermont missionaries translated cultural and religious chauvinism into

a need to save the souls of the heathen. These efforts often met with limited success in the field, but at home the evangelical interest had a unifying effect that contributed to the revitalization of the "Christian Commonwealth."[3]

The foreign missionary movement blossomed during the Second Great Awakening, a series of powerful religious revivals that swept the frontier and the eastern states in the first four decades of the nineteenth century. These revivals brought many into churches and converted many others, for a time at least, to an emotional support of fundamental Christianity. Conversion typically involved an emotional upheaval and sometimes a complete transformation of character, as the born-again Christians surrendered their souls to the Saviour. The experience demanded repetition, and hearts gladdened by the grace of God could not rest until the word reached every corner of the earth.



The Reverend Joshua Bates, who served as president of Middlebury College from 1818 to 1839, was one of many ministers who contributed to a climate of evangelicalism in Vermont. Undated. Courtesy of *Middlebury College*

The doctrine of pre-millenialism often forged a theological link between revivalism and missions. It stated that Christ would soon return to dispense the final judgment and begin his reign of a thousand years, as the millenialists interpreted the New Testament. Lengthy formulas derived from Biblical references indicated that the Day of Judgment was imminent. The sands of time, they thought, rapidly ran out for sinners. "According to every plausible hypothesis," the Rev. Joshua Bates, later president of Middlebury College, assured the members of a missionary society in 1813, "the hour is at hand, when everything, which exalteth itself against God, shall be destroyed."[4] The doomed included not only the unrepentant members of civilized society, but also the ignorant, if

benign, heathen in foreign lands. The fate of the unenlightened heathen weighed heavily upon the minds of good Christians. Many of those converted by the revivals became convinced of the imminence of the Second Coming. Probably searching for meaning in their lives and not anxious to return to old routines, these newly converted dedicated themselves to the task of rescuing heathen souls while time remained. Both theologically and psychologically, the missionary movement became an extension of the revival experience.

Revivalism in Vermont peaked in the 1830s, a decade that witnessed a wide variety of social ferment.[5] In contrast to the sensationalistic reputation of camp meetings in New York State's "burned-over district," religious revivals in Vermont rarely produced bizarre behavior such as shaking, barking, convulsions, and speaking in tongues. Time and again, Vermont ministers emphasized the quietness and seriousness of their revivals, which took place in the established churches and to a large extent involved sons and daughters of people who already belonged to the church. Typically, a revival in Vermont would follow the death of a popular young person in a community or at one of the colleges. At such times, ministers would appoint special prayer meetings and attempt to exploit feelings of grief and remorse.

Even those who did not participate in revival meetings were susceptible to the emotional momentum of evangelical religion. After revivalism declined in the 1840s Congregationalists still expected public professions of faith—required for admission to the church—to be based on deep, emotional experiences. Louisa Bailey, a minister's daughter who would devote ten years to missionary work in Micronesia, never experienced "conversion" as a young woman. Recurring religious crises marked her adolescence, however, and her missionary career was as much a product of the Second Great Awakening as were the careers of those Vermont missionaries who participated in revivals during the turmoil of the 1830s.

The missionary movement, unlike law and medicine in the first half of the nineteenth century, offered opportunities for women. Wives had accompanied their missionary husbands to foreign lands from the beginning, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Congregational-dominated missionary agency, early decided that they were essential as companions, domestic laborers, and as models of feminine virtue for the heathen. The example of proper Christian families would, they reasoned, provide a powerful statement of the moral superiority of Christianity.[6] As the movement expanded, the role of women expanded. Missionary wives formed prayer groups among the heathen women and did much of the teaching necessary to spread the gospel message.

That they could become missionaries in the early decades only as the wives of ministers did not diminish the sense of duty among evangelical women. In many cases men appointed as missionaries, rushing to prepare for their journeys, married women who had been strangers only weeks before. By the 1840s missionary appointees lacking wives could usually find partners in a hurry at the Hadley Female Seminary (Mount Holyoke Seminary), where a straightforward procedure had developed. "Three or four of the most promising young women would be stationed in the rear of the large reception room while the seeker was conducted slowly through the room, afterwards indicating which one of the candidates he preferred. Whether the ordeal was accompanied by slow music of 'Greenland's Icy Mountains' or 'Mrs. Judson's Burial' is not recorded. It is at least hoped that the young women had previously announced their willingness to be laid upon the matrimonial altar."[7]

The ranks of the Christian soldiers working for missions at home were, from the beginning, predominantly female. By the time of the Civil War the pioneering work of Mount Holyoke students resulted in the general acceptance among missionary agencies of single women. The first women's missionary agencies emerged soon after the war. The interdenominational Women's Union Missionary Society, founded in 1861, failed after several years of resistance from established agencies, but in 1868 the American Board authorized the formation of an auxiliary Women's Board of Missions.[8] The Women's Board exercised a great deal of autonomy in raising and dispersing funds and in selecting women missionaries, but it remained a legal entity of the American Board well into the twentieth century.

The Vermont chapter of the Women's Board began operations in 1872, and soon supported at one time as many as six women in foreign missions.[9] Whether the Vermont and other state chapters tapped a new source of contributions or simply diverted money from the regular fundraisers of the American Board remains unclear. But it is clear that after the Civil War the missionary movement increasingly came to be regarded as a women's reform movement, and as such, women demanded and received positions of leadership.[10]

The example of Louisa Bailey Whitney, missionary to Micronesia from 1871 to 1881, illustrates many of the diverse forces operating on the nineteenth-century evangelical mind. Born in 1844 in Hebron, New York, close to the Vermont border, and raised from infancy in East Berkshire and Albany, Vermont, Louisa grew up in an intensely religious environment with a family legacy of evangelism. Her family's expectations for her commenced with a special consecration before her birth.

Betsy Fisk Bailey, the second wife of the Rev. Phinehas Bailey, had almost celebrated her fortieth birthday when she became pregnant with

her second child in 1843. A pious, God-fearing woman, Betsy greatly feared dying in childbirth, and filled her diary with agonized appeals for deliverance. She interpreted her fear as a lack of faith in God. As her burden increased, she fasted and prayed until she finally became reconciled to her interpretation of God's will. "I have tried to consecrate all to God, and in a special manner have I besought the Lord to make my unborn infant a child of his. Should the Lord see fit to take me away I desire to leave my dying testimony to the goodness of God. . . ."[11]

Betsy Fisk Bailey survived Louisa's birth, but she died from complications of childbirth three years later, leaving Louisa in the care of her sixty-year-old father. Phinehas Bailey kept his daughter's special consecration alive, and shared his expectations for Louisa with his third wife, Hannah Edwards. When Louisa committed herself to a missionary career many years later, her stepmother remembered that she had "often said that you was [*sic*] born a missionary when you was [*sic*] a little girl. . . ."[12]

As a minister's daughter, Louisa grew up in a household resting on a firm foundation of Christian faith. She joined her father's church at the age of six, but she later confessed that her early conviction stemmed more from fear than love of God. Although Louisa "maintained a habit of prayer and of reading the Bible" throughout her childhood, she did not experience a deep religious conviction until her later teens.[13]

The missionary movement made a strong impact on Louisa as a child, notably through the *Morning Star* campaign of the American Board. Hoping to improve its evangelistic efforts in Micronesia, in 1855 the Board announced plans to build a small sailing vessel to serve the island missionaries. To pay for the ship, the Board issued an appeal to the children of America to buy "shares" at ten cents apiece. The effort succeeded so well that the *Morning Star* was built and provisioned with money to spare.[14] Louisa Bailey was among the thousands of children who responded to the *Morning Star* appeal. "My first desire to be a Missionary," she later wrote, "was at the time of the building of the first Morning Star. I wished then that I might go in that ship and tell the heathen about Jesus, and the impression then made has never wholly left me."[15]

As she grew older, Louisa took increasing interest in religious matters. She could not point to a specific conversion experience, but particularly crucial changes affected her view of religious matters in 1859-61 while she attended school at People's Academy in Morrisville. Founded in 1847 by popular subscription, People's Academy stood among a handful of schools in Vermont then offering a thorough secondary education. Students from several neighboring towns boarded in Morrisville to attend the academy. Louisa Bailey from Albany, some twenty miles away, found ideal accommodations in the fall of 1859 with the family of the

This photograph of Louisa Bailey (1844-1916) was taken on the occasion of her graduation from Mount Holyoke Seminary in 1868. Courtesy of *Mount Holyoke College Library / Archives*

Rev. Septimius Robinson, the Congregational minister who had led the effort to establish People's Academy.[16]

The Robinson household stimulated Louisa's spiritual development. She joined a young ladies' prayer group, which, she claimed, played the major influence in her gradual conversion. There she discovered "a joy and peace in believing which I had never known before, and *Christ* became so precious to my heart that I was almost ready to say that I had never found him until then."[17] Louisa wrote with admiration of Rev. Robinson's adopted niece, Emily Redington, a regular member of the prayer group. In 1863, two years after Louisa had left Morrisville, Emily married her "particular friend,"[18] Mr. Giles Montgomery, a young minister under appointment by the American Board as a missionary to Turkey.[19]

Evangelical religion provided a method for building deep friendships. While boarding with the Robinsons, Louisa began to express concern for the spiritual condition of her friends and acquaintances. Late in 1860 she described one of the other boarders as pleasant and well-mannered, but not pious. Within a few weeks, however, the young man began to change. Louisa observed that "he seems to be feeling quite serious lately and we have hopes of his being a Christian."[20] On another occasion she described the progress of the young man's conversion at a prayer meeting and added that she had "had no opportunity yet for conversation with [her friend] Harriet Somers but I am determined if possible not to let another week go by without having some talk with her upon her personal religious feeling."[21]

Although she described her own conversion as a gradual process, a crisis one day in September 1860 greatly advanced Louisa's spiritual progress. She did not reveal the cause of her troubles, but she referred to this crisis as "the first time that I was ever really, thoroughly, discontentedly homesick."[22] That night she prayed with her roommate Mary Paine, and found peace. Louisa "was led to feel differently about some things," and later called the experience "the happiest moment" of her life.[23] The following Friday, Rev. Robinson died, and in the heat of the grief one of the other boarders became converted. Louisa and Mary commenced prayers in behalf of "W," who may have been Robinson's son, and they agreed to pray at an appointed hour every Friday night for a year in the fervent hope that "W" would yet "be a child of God."[24] The events of the two Fridays, to which Louisa would allude many times over the next few years, bonded Louisa and Mary together as "sisters in Christ."

The year 1861 brought disruptions in Louisa's young life. The principal of People's Academy, Andrew J. Blanchard, volunteered for the Union Army, and took many of his students with him.[25] Louisa served as a teacher at the Academy in the fall, and experienced some of the

discouragements of standing in front of the class.[26] In December, Phinehas Bailey died. Always closer to her father than to her stepmother Hannah, Louisa must have felt a great loss. Phinehas did not leave Hannah and Louisa, his only remaining dependents, enough to live on, and both spent some years with relatives in Vermont and New York.[27] Louisa did not return to Morrisville in 1862, but she did attend school in Coventry, Vermont.

Through the generosity of an uncle, Louisa in 1864 entered Mount Holyoke Seminary, an important step toward realizing her childhood goal of becoming a missionary. Mount Holyoke provided a home and a sanctuary for pious young women. The teaching methods assured a thorough, if not extraordinary, education in the classics and sciences. Mount Holyoke esteemed the development of moral character, both through religious exercises and strict obedience to a plethora of rules and regulations, as equal in importance to the formal curriculum.[28] "The religious privileges and influences of the institution," Louisa wrote, "are of the very best kind."[29] A major revival had swept Mount Holyoke the year before she entered, and a sizable crop of converts was harvested during her third year.[30] Although the school's founder and first principal, Mary Lyon, had died in 1849, her spirit and her interest in foreign missions continued to influence the Seminary. Representatives from missionary agencies and returned missionaries made frequent visits, and large assemblies listened as teachers read letters from missionary alumnae that described their work and appealed for more laborers. These exercises reinforced the expectations that had brought many of the women to Mount Holyoke. Seven of the forty-five members of Louisa's class became missionaries.[31]

Her attendance at Mount Holyoke Seminary did not end personal religious doubts for Louisa. Within a month of her arrival, she encountered a challenge to her religious convictions. Required to spend an hour each day in "private devotion," in prayer or study of some book with religious content, Louisa chose to tackle William E. Boardman's *The Higher Christian Life*.[32] Boardman, a Presbyterian layman from Illinois (he served as Executive Secretary of the United States Christian Commission during the Civil War), believed that Christians could achieve "sanctification" through a second conversion and lead sinless lives.[33] His doctrine differed little from Wesleyan perfectionism, but *The Higher Christian Life* appealed to members of all major Protestant denominations. The appeal rested on a growing rejection of the doctrine of predestination and on a desire for a living, experiential religion as opposed to the dialectical religion of orthodox Calvinism.[34]

Many, however, still considered perfectionism under any name heretical, and others, such as Louisa Bailey, found Boardman's views inconsistent

with their own religious experience. Louisa detailed her troubles in a letter to Mary Paine:

> I believe [the book] has done me good already but I cannot tell whether I have experienced that faith which the book describes or not. . . . I am afraid sometimes that my belief is more theoretical than experimental for I feel none of that ecstasy which Mr. Boardman describes. I cannot tell when I experienced any such change as those whose experience he relates nor can I fix upon any period when I met with a 2nd conversion any more than I can tell the time of my first conversion. The Christian life if I have grown in grace at all has been with me so gradual and slow that I cannot tell when I was born again and I have *never* been *perfectly* free from doubts whether I was a child of God at all.[35]

Louisa also shared her doubts with her cousin Perrin B. Fisk, a recently ordained Congregational minister, who thought she approached religion with too much intensity. "You are trying to be altogether too good," he admonished. "It is well enough to be very steady, if it does not go so far as to stagnate the spirits, but that is just what needs to be avoided. . . . Don't try to get the new view of youth into any body's old bottle, particularly Boardman's, in the sense you have understood him. Be like Mary of old. Don't be like Martha."[36] Louisa may have understood this advice, but she had difficulty heeding it. A year later, at the end of a letter to her cousin Joel Whitney, she wrote: "Pray for me, Joel, that I may do all I can for my Saviour. I am afraid my love for Him too often wastes itself in longings and wishes to do good."[37]

Mary Lyon's lingering spirit did not discourage joyfulness among the Seminary students, but the emphasis on Christian duty probably resulted in more Marthas than Marys. Louisa continued to think seriously about fulfilling her Christian duty as a missionary, asserting that "at times the great need of the heathen pressed upon my mind with a weight that was almost insupportable." Believing herself "weak and unworthy," she finally resolved to proceed with her plans until such time as "God should show it against His will by making it impossible."[38]

Once she became fully involved at the Seminary, Louisa's relationship with Mary Paine grew more distant. Letters became few and vacation visits hurried, and the two "sisters in Christ" grew apart. That Mary did not share Louisa's enthusiasm for missionary work only increased their separation. Mary, in an attempt to explain herself, confessed in a letter to Louisa that she feared "you thought me indifferent when you talked of your decision concerning your future. . . .If I was silent it was because I did not know what to say to you." The most encouragement she could give to Louisa was to admit that she found "a greater interest upon the mission work when I think of you as soon to enter upon it."[39] Louisa did not return Mary's letter for nearly a year, perhaps because of disap-

pointment in Mary's tepid support. At the same time Louisa became deeply attached to her cousin Joel Whitney.

Louisa had become acquainted with Joel, a Middlebury College student, while living with his family in Wadham's Mills, New York, in 1864, but few details of their circumspect courtship remain. Evidently, Joel had planned to become a minister from the beginning of his college career. Whether he had missionary aspirations, or whether they developed with his interest in Louisa, the two announced in 1868 that they would enter the service as minister and wife. This time Mary Paine responded with zeal: "I am very, *very* glad, in your happiness, and believe that not only your future happiness, but usefulness, will be increased by your decision if, as I doubt not, your friend is worthy of the work he has chosen."[40]

Mount Holyoke Seminary played an important role in preparing young women from New England for work as missionaries. This was one of the aims of its founder, Mary Lyon, shown here in a portrait c. 1840.

Apparently as late as the spring of 1868 Louisa had planned to serve as an unmarried missionary upon her graduation from the Seminary. Earlier that year Hannah Bailey, anticipating the loss of her stepdaughter, expressed her anticipation of "the time in the distant future when you would be a missionary to teach the ignorant heathen and lead them to the Saviour. I could think of it and feel willing to let you go, but as the time draws near . . . I feel that I cannot let you go."[41] Hannah could not alter the decision already made, but Louisa's engagement postponed her stepmother's agony for three years while Joel attended theological school at Andover.

The engagement of first cousins may have been uncommon, but Louisa and Joel shared a proud legacy that drew them together. Their common

grandfather, Deacon Moses Fisk, had been an early settler of Waitsfield, Vermont, and a pillar of the Congregational Church. His celebrated accomplishment of holding a rumless barnraising in 1821 was, at the time, an event unique in conception. It testified to the deacon's influence in his community.[42] Fisk sired twelve children, three of whom became ordained ministers. Furthermore, the Fisks were related to two of the most renowned missionaries, Pliny Fisk and Fidelia Fiske.[43] Pliny, a missionary explorer for the American Board in the Holy Land, died a martyr in Syria in 1825. His niece, Fidelia Fiske, traveled to Persia in 1843 as the first missionary from Mount Holyoke Seminary. This family heritage nourished the evangelical ambitions of the two cousins.

While waiting for Joel, Louisa lived with the Fisks and Whitneys and taught school in Waitsfield and Wadham's Mills.[44] Early in 1871 the couple received an appointment from the American Board to serve in Micronesia, and the final preparations began. Once again Hannah Bailey proved the least prepared, though she knew she could do nothing to keep Louisa from leaving. Resignedly, she wrote to Joel: "Her Mother gave her to the Lord. Her Father was thankfull [*sic*] to have a child that loved to be a missionary. He gave his daughter cherfully [*sic*] and *I must not withhold Her*."[45] On May 3, 1871, Louisa Bailey and Joel Whitney were married, just hours after Joel received his ordination as a minister of the Congregational Church. Shortly afterward, the couple boarded a train for San Francisco, where a steamer waited to carry them to Hawaii. From Hawaii, the *Morning Star* would transport the missionaries to Ebon, an outpost in the Marshall Islands.

Riding the recently completed transcontinental railroad across the vast western plains gave Louisa and Joel the first taste of the isolation they would feel in Micronesia. They believed the rewards justified the sacrifice. "Every day is taking me farther & farther from home & all the dear ones there," Louisa wrote, "but I am not sorry, for through these mountain passes & over the ocean beyond is my straightest path to Heaven."[46]

The note of martyrdom Louisa struck in her farewell had more than a symbolic meaning to the people of rural Vermont. In offering to foreign service many of their best educated and most dedicated young people, the churches lost continuity in financial and evangelical support. Young men and women, willing to serve as missionaries in foreign lands on subsistence salaries, left Vermont with dozens of churches too poor to provide more than shelter and firewood for a minister's family. Even at the height of the Second Great Awakening, many pulpits remained vacant for lack of funds. By the 1850s little had changed, as about 25 percent of Vermont's Congregational churches depended upon the resources of the Vermont Domestic Missionary Society.[47]

The lack of opportunities at home put great pressure on young people, including young men inclined to enter the ministry, and it made evangelical work seem more promising. Evidence suggests that the decline in economic growth associated with the large emigration from Vermont in the nineteenth century encouraged rather than discouraged evangelical interest. Of the twelve Vermont towns that supplied three or more foreign missionaries to the American Board in the nineteenth century, eight lost population fairly steadily and substantially from 1830 to 1900.[48] County figures show a more striking trend. The four counties that lost population from 1830 to 1900 (Addison, Orange, Windham, and Windsor) each produced twelve or more missionaries, for a total of sixty-nine, while the other ten counties each produced eleven or less, for a total of fifty-two.[49] Evidently, many young Vermonters, facing bleak futures in the sheep-saturated farmlands of Addison County or the slowly disappearing hill towns of southern Vermont, sought spiritual fulfillment. Saving souls meant more to the pious than achieving a higher standard of living offered in other endeavors.

Revivalist camp or "tent meetings," like this one from the Montpelier area believed to date from the 1870s, were a regular feature of Vermont's nineteenth and early twentieth century religious history.

In the broader view the rural parishes gained more than they lost in offering their sons and daughters, as well as their savings, to the Work of the Lord. The missionary movement linked isolated communities in Vermont with world affairs, sustaining a rather narrow but benign sense of self-importance. It fit into the trend toward homogeneity by uniting all segments of the local society in a benevolent cause. Young and old, male and female, rich and poor, all could do their share.

[1] Lewis D. Stilwell, *Migration From Vermont* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1948), pp. 190-2.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 241-4.

[3] The revitalization of evangelical religion in America forms the topic of John A. Andrew's *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1976), an important study in an extensive literature on nineteenth century evangelical religion.

[4] Joshua Bates, *A Sermon Delivered before the Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Indians and Others in North America* (Boston, 1813), p. 18.

[5] See David M. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791 - 1850* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939).

[6] R. Pierce Beaver, *American Protestant Woman in World Mission: A History of the First Feminist Movement in North America* (1968: rev. ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), pp. 50-3.

[7] Martha Votey Smith, "Early Vermont Students at Mount Holyoke," *Vermonter* 27:1 (1921), 14-21, p. 19.

[8] Joan Jacobs Brumberg analyzes women's missionary societies after the Civil War in "Zenanas and Girlless Villages: The Ethnology of American Evangelical Women, 1870 - 1910," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (September, 1982), pp. 347-71.

[9] See the Vermont Auxiliary to the Women's Board of Missions *Annual Reports, 1897 - 1900.*

[10] The foreign missionary movement was strongly linked to women's reform movements by the early 1900s. See Helen Barrett Montgomery, *Western Women in Eastern Lands: An Outline of Fifty Years of Women's Work in Foreign Missions* (New York, 1910).

[11] Diary of Betsy Fisk Bailey, Francis L. Hopkins Papers, hereafter FLH, Bailey-Howe Library, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont. Many of the letters in the Hopkins Collection, written in a shorthand system invented by the Rev. Phinehas Bailey, have required transcription. See Jeffrey D. Marshall, "The Life and Legacy of the Reverend Phinehas Bailey." Occasional Paper #9, Center for Research on Vermont (Burlington, Vt: University of Vermont, 1985).

[12] FLH, Hannah to Louisa, February 2, 1868.

[13] *Ibid.*, Louisa Bailey, undated essay, folder 1-7.

[14] William E. Strong, *The Story of the American Board* (1910; rpt. New York: Arno, 1969), p. 236.

[15] FLH, Louisa Bailey, undated essay, folder 1-7. Her impression closely resembled that of other children, as an account from Jane S. Warren's *History of the Children's Missionary Vessel* (Boston, 1860), p. 30, demonstrates:

> A little boy and girl, whose mother was very poor indeed, were anxious to own shares, but they had scarcely food and clothing to be comfortable in cold weather. By doing errands, the boy earned twenty cents, and then persevered in making out the same for his little sister, though obliged to do it without proper clothing in stinging cold weather. When the children brought the money, the boy said, 'When I'm a man, I'm going to be a missionary, and perhaps I shall go out in that very vessel.'

[16] Anna L. Mower, *History of Morristown, Vermont* (Morrisville, 1935), p. 86.

[17] FLH, Louisa Bailey, undated essay, folder 1-7.

[18] *Ibid.*, Louisa to Father, April 6, 1860.

[19] Mower, *Morristown*, p. 47. Montgomery, born in Walden, Vermont in 1835, graduated from Middlebury College in 1860 and Lane Seminary in 1863. He died in Turkey in 1888. Edgar J. Wiley, ed., *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Middlebury College, 1800 - 1927* (Middlebury: Middlebury College, 1928), p., 214.

[20] FLH, Louisa to Father, December 20, 1860, and January 18, 1861.

[21] *Ibid.*, Louisa to Mary, September 19, 1861.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.*, Louisa to Mary, March 16, 1861.

[24] *Ibid.*, Louisa to Mary, September 19, 1861.

[25] The Academy closed during the war and reopened afterwards as part of the town school system. Mower, *History of Morristown*, p. 94.

[26] FLH, Louisa detailed some of these discouragements in a letter to Mary, September 19, 1861.

[27] FLH, Phinehas Bailey, Last Will and Testament. Bailey received $100 from a relief fund for retired and disabled Congregational ministers in 1861, but this was quickly spent. Vermont Congregational Conference *Annual Report*, 1862, p. 8.

[28] See Louise Porter Thomas, *Seminary Militant* (South Hadley, Ma.: Mount Holyoke College, 1937), pp. 14-36.

[29] FLH, Louisa to Mary, September 27, 1861.

[30] David O. Mears, *Life of Edward Norris Kirk, D.D.* (Boston, 1877), pp. 340-41, as noted in Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform* (New York: Abingdon, 1957), p. 73; and FLH, Louisa to Joel, July 10, 1868.

[31] Two non-graduates of the class of 1868 also became missionaries. *One Hundred Year Biographical Directory of Mount Holyoke College, 1837 - 1937* (South Hadley, Ma.: Mount Holyoke College, 1937), pp. 120-22.

[32] FLH, Louisa to Mary, September 27, 1864; and William E. Boardman (Boston, 1858).

[33] Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform*, pp. 106-7.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 103-13.

[35] FLH, Louisa to Mary, September 27, 1864.

[36] *Ibid.*, P. B. Fisk to Louisa, May 31, 1865.

[37] *Ibid.*, Louisa to Joel, August 23, 1865.

[38] *Ibid.*, Louisa Bailey, undated essay, folder 1-7.

[39] *Ibid.*, Mary to Louisa, November 21, 1867.

[40] *Ibid.*, Mary to Louisa, October 8, 1868.

[41] *Ibid.*, Hannah to Louisa, October 8, 1868.

[42] Abby M. Hemenway, ed., *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, IV (Montpelier: Vermont Watchman and State Journal Press, 1882), p. 774.

[43] Matt Bushnell Jones, *History of the Town of Waitsfield, Vermont* (Boston: Littlefield, 1909), p. 310; and Joel Fisk, Louisa's uncle, claims the relationship in *Filial Respect, or the Way to Render Family Blessing Perpetual* (Montreal, 1847), p. 32.

[44] Louisa Bailey, alumna biographical survey, 1915, College History and Archives Collection, Williston Memorial Library, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Ma.

[45] FLH, Hannah to Joel, March 27, 1871.

[46] *Ibid.*, Louisa to (cousin) Minnie, June 15, 1871.

[47] Vermont Congregational Conference *Annual Report*, 1855, p. 32.

[48] These were: Cornwall, Danville, Middlebury, Peacham, Putney, Rupert, Shoreham, and Thetford. See Thomas W. Arnold, comp., *Two Hundred Years and Counting: Vermont Community Census Totals, 1791 to 1980* (Burlington: Center for Rural Studies, University of Vermont, 1980).

[49] *Ibid.*