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HISTORY OF METHODIST MISSIONS

IN SIX VOLUMES

HISTORY OF METHODIST MISSIONS

PART ONE

EARLY AMERICAN METHODISM, 1769-1844

in Two Volumes

VOL. I, MISSIONARY MOTIVATION AND EXPANSION

VOL. II, TO REFORM THE NATION

PART TWO

MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL
CHURCH, 1845-1939

in Two Volumes

PART THREE

MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL
CHURCH, SOUTH, 1845-1939, *and*

MISSIONS OF THE
METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH

PART FOUR

WORLD OUTREACH OF METHODIST MISSIONS *in*
EVANGELISM, EDUCATION, LITERATURE, COOPERATION, AND
MEDICAL SERVICE

HISTORY OF METHODIST MISSIONS

PART ONE

Early American Methodism
1769-1844

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME TWO

To Reform the Nation

by

WADE CRAWFORD BARCLAY

The Board of Missions and Church Extension
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Preface

THIS VOLUME completes *Early American Methodism, 1769-1844*, Part One of the *History of Methodist Missions*. The first volume, *Missionary Motivation and Expansion*, is a chronological presentation of the development of American Methodism in its extension over the continent and missionary beginnings in Africa and South America. The second volume, *To Reform the Nation*, is a topical study of the Methodist Movement during the same period as an agency of moral and social reform.

Concerning the evangelizing activities of the early Methodist itinerants much has been written, but of their social concern and social services comparatively little is generally known. To portray the Methodist Movement in this wider perspective, to make clear that the social motive was an integral part of the missionary purpose of the Church, and to point out the ideological and practical factors that limited and retarded the realization of its social aims, is a primary purpose of the volume.

The first history of Methodist missions, *An Authentic History of the Missions*, by Nathan Bangs, published twelve years after the official recognition of the Missionary Society by the 1820 General Conference, was almost wholly an account of Methodist missionary activities among the American Indians. By 1844 the program had expanded to include missions among thirty-five Indian tribes in sixteen states and territories, exclusive of Upper Canada. Other than the work under the immediate direction of the Missionary Society, fifteen Annual Conferences had sponsored Indian missions. For the first time since 1832 accounts of all of these widespread and significant missionary activities are brought together in a single volume.

The Methodist Episcopal Church was unlike any other religious movement of the period between the American Revolution and the first nationwide schism caused by the struggle over slavery. In the chapters on "The Methodist Way" and "The Methodist Message" the author presents an analysis and interpretation of its essential character. It was a unique blend of New Testament Christianity, the Protestant Reformation, and the influence of the life and

work of John Wesley. With this blend was interwoven much of the spirit of the new American nation—altogether a composite unlike any preceding religious movement. Without an understanding of the motif and the component elements of the Movement it is impossible to account for its rapid spread over the continent and for its moral and religious influence in the life of the New Republic.

The final chapter, "Men with a Mission," aims to present the dominant characteristics possessed in common by many, though by no means all, of the preachers. In addition, to illustrate the variety found in the ministry of early Methodism a more detailed study is made of a selected group. Indomitable men, spiritually sensitive and widely influential in their day and generation, they each represented a different ministerial type, effectively disproving the long current idea that the Circuit Riders all conformed to one peculiar pattern of personality and thought. The wide range of religious points of view represented by the itinerants reflected the catholicity of Wesley and is in part an explanation of the catholic spirit of the Movement as a whole.

In seeking to interpret early American Methodism the author has used the method of letting the actors very largely speak for themselves in extensive quotations from their journals, letters, and autobiographies. Primary source materials are so widely scattered and so difficult of access that they can be consulted only by extensive research. It has seemed worthwhile to bring a considerable number of them within reach of both the student and the casual reader by reproducing numerous extracts. Since any interpretation of the inner life of an individual is certain to be colored by the presuppositions and points of view of the interpreter it has seemed important to bring to the reader as far as possible a firsthand account of the persons whose experiences are presented. As William James remarked in his *Varieties of Religious Experience*, "In my belief that a large acquaintance with particulars often makes us wiser than the possession of abstract formulas, however deep, I have loaded . . . [these] lectures with concrete examples . . ."

This volume is based on extensive research in both familiar and hitherto unused source materials. In some cases, it may be noted, it departs from particular judgments of earlier works on Methodist history. The writer who seeks to be true to the historical method cannot proceed to prove a thesis; he must perforce chronicle the results which his research reveals.

WADE CRAWFORD BARCLAY

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THE AUTHOR of a work based on historical research incurs heavy indebtedness to many persons. He is first of all under obligation to those men and women who day by day, year after year, recorded their thoughts and experiences in diaries and in letters to friends and acquaintances or, nearing the end of their course, laboriously prepared autobiographies. From them the obligation extends to those who, sensing the value of original records to future generations, saw to it that they were preserved. Next are those who garnered the harvest of rapidly disappearing primary sources, and incorporated a part in their writings, thus providing resources of which the originals had been lost or destroyed.

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W. C. B.

Contents

I. Methodism and Reform

	PAGE
SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE AND CONCERN OF EARLY AMERICAN METHODISTS	2
SOCIAL SERVICES OF THE CIRCUIT RIDERS	9
SUNDAY SCHOOLS IN THE SERVICE OF THE POOR	14
METHODISTS AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENTS	18
CIVIC AND POLITICAL INTEREST AND ACTIVITY.—PRISON REFORM. —THE TEMPERANCE REFORM MOVEMENT.	
INCREASED PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN CHURCH AND COMMUNITY	39
THE CHURCH AND LABOR	44
THE CHURCH AND INTERRACIAL RELATIONS	52
METHODISM AND SLAVERY	61
EARLY METHODIST OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY.—OPPORTUNITY FOR GREAT REFORM.—COMPROMISE AND STRUGGLE.—GENERAL CONFER- ENCE LEGISLATION.—ANNUAL CONFERENCE ACTIONS.—LOCAL CHURCHES AND SLAVERY.—SLAVERY'S INCREASING ECONOMIC IM- PORTANCE.—PATTERN OF RATIONALIZATION.—THE NEW ABOLITION- ISM.—THE FIRST SLAVERY SCHISM.—DELIBERATE DIVISION.	

II. Indian Missions East of the Mississippi, 1820-44

GOVERNMENT AND INDIAN MISSIONS	113
RELATION OF ANNUAL CONFERENCES TO INDIAN MISSIONS	117
THE WYANDOT MISSION.	
MISSIONS AMONG THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES	126
CHEROKEE MISSIONS.—CHOCTAW MISSION.—CREEK MISSION.	
MISSIONS IN THE WEST AND NORTHWEST	143
POTAWATOMI MISSION.—MISSION TO THE ONEIDA AND MENOMINI. —CHIPPEWA MISSION.—INDIAN MISSIONS ON THE UPPER MISSIS- SIPPI.—BROTHERTOWN MISSION.	
UPPER CANADA INDIAN MISSIONS	165
MINOR INDIAN MISSIONS EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI	167

III. Indian Missions West of the Mississippi, 1830-44

	PAGE
INDIAN MISSIONS ADMINISTRATION	171
INDIAN MISSIONS IN KANSAS	173
KANSAS (KAW) MISSION.—SHAWNEE MISSION.—DELAWARE MISSION.—KICKAPOO AND PEORIA MISSIONS.—WYANDOT MISSION, WEST.—POTAWATOMI AND OTHER MINOR MISSIONS.	
MISSIONS IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY	188
CHEROKEE MISSION, WEST.—CHOCTAW MISSION, WEST.—CREEK MISSION, WEST.—CHICKASAW MISSION, WEST.—QUAPAW MISSION.	
THE OREGON MISSION	200
FLATHEAD MISSION AUTHORIZED.—ON THE OREGON TRAIL.—HEAD-QUARTERS LOCATED AND OREGON MISSION ESTABLISHED.—JASON LEE'S MISSION STRATEGY.—MISSION SUNDAY SCHOOL AND DAY SCHOOL.—MISSION PERSONNEL INCREASED.—MISSION HORIZON WIDENS.—RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT.—DAVID LESLIE, ACTING SUPERINTENDENT.—EXPANDED MISSION PROGRAM.—JASON LEE SUPERSEDED.—JASON LEE RETURNS EAST; VINDICATION AND DEATH.—OREGON INDIAN MISSION LIQUIDATED.	
GENERAL SUMMARY: INDIAN MISSIONS	262
COMPLICATING CONDITIONS IN INDIAN MISSION WORK.—THEORY AND PRACTICE IN INDIAN MISSION SCHOOLS.—POSITIVE RESULTS IN INDIAN MISSIONS.	

IV. The Methodist Way

SPIRIT AND METHOD OF THE ITINERANCY	287
AN ITINERANT MINISTRY.—A BROTHERHOOD OF POVERTY.—LIMITATIONS OF THE CIRCUIT RIDER SYSTEM.	
A WAY OF EXPERIENCE	301
CONVERSION.—PERFECT LOVE.—ASSURANCE.—AGENCIES OF EVANGELISM.—THE EMOTIONAL FACTOR IN METHODIST EVANGELISM.	
A WAY OF FELLOWSHIP	337
THE CLASS.—THE BAND.—OTHER MEANS OF FELLOWSHIP.	
A WAY OF DISCIPLINE	347
LAY DISCIPLINE.—MINISTERIAL DISCIPLINE.	
AN ORGANIZED WAY	358
THE QUARTERLY CONFERENCE.—DISTRICT CONFERENCE.—ANNUAL CONFERENCE.—GENERAL CONFERENCE.—PRESIDING ELDERSHIP.—EPISCOPACY.	
A PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT	367

V. The Methodist Message

	PAGE
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MESSAGE	373
PRIMACY OF EXPERIENCE.—AN ETHICAL GOSPEL.—BIBLE PREACH- ING.—DOCTRINAL CONCERN.	
THEOLOGICAL CONTENT	380
UNIVERSAL REDEMPTION.—JUSTIFICATION AND REGENERATION.— WITNESS OF THE SPIRIT.—PERFECT LOVE.	
PREACHING METHOD	390
EXTEMPORANEOUS PREACHING.—DRIVE FOR DECISION.—TYPES OF SERMONS.—DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSY.	
EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS	400
METHODIST ATTITUDE TOWARD EDUCATION.—THE CHURCH FOUNDS COLLEGES.—RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AND SUNDAY SCHOOLS.—WOR- SHIP AND HYMNODY.	

VI. Men With a Mission

A CALLED MINISTRY	418
VARIED FORMS OF THE CALL.—THRUST OUT AGAINST THEIR WILL.— A CAUSE TO DIE FOR.	
A DISTINCTIVE MINISTRY	426
PRACTICE OF PRAYER.—TIRELESS ENERGY.—INNER DRIVING POWER. —A PREACHING ORDER.—CIRCULATION OF LITERATURE.	
PREPARATION AND TRAINING	432
SELF-EDUCATED MEN.—WIDE READERS.—A TUTORIAL SYSTEM.— COURSE OF STUDY.—SIFTING PROCESS.—NOT ALL WERE ASSETS.	
RANGE OF TEMPERAMENT, PERSONALITY, AND GIFTS	445
INFLUENCE ON THE NATIONAL LIFE	457
—————	
REFERENCES AND NOTES	463
BIBLIOGRAPHY	512
INDEX	543

EARLY AMERICAN METHODISM, 1769-1844

VOLUME TWO

To Reform the Nation

I

Methodism and Reform

“WHAT MAY WE reasonably believe to be God’s design, in raising up the preachers called Methodists?”

At the first Methodist Conference, convened in London on June 25, 1744, John Wesley asked this question. Five years had passed since the first Methodist Society had been formed. Increasing in number year by year and steadily expanding their Circuits, lay preachers had gone forth to preach the Gospel to growing multitudes of people. Organized groups of Methodists were springing up over a wide area of England. The Movement had not been of Wesley’s planning, and its rapid development gave him deep concern. *What was God’s design in it all?*

To answer this question the Conference had been called. For six days the group of ten—six clergymen of the Church of England and four lay preachers—pondered, prayed, and discussed with profound concern. They considered what should be done that the Movement might continue, what and how to preach and teach. They undertook to define in clear precise terms, understandable by all, the Methodist doctrine, discipline, and practice. On Thursday, the fourth day, they recorded their agreement in answer to the question of the divine purpose:¹ “*To reform the nation, more particularly the Church; to spread scriptural holiness over the land.*”*

Forty years later, in the Christmas Conference at Baltimore at which the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, the same question was asked and a like answer recorded. Under Section I of the first *Discipline*, “Of the Rise of Methodism (so called) in Europe and America,” in answer to the

* In successive editions of the *Large Minutes* during Wesley’s lifetime the answer was reprinted in substantially the same form: 1763—“To reform the nation, and, in particular, the Church; to spread scriptural holiness over the land.” 1770: “To reform the nation, particularly the Church; and to spread scriptural holiness over the land.” 1772: in form identical with 1770, except for the omission of “and.” 1780: in the exact form of 1770. 1789: “Not to form any new sect; but to reform the nation, particularly the Church; and to spread scriptural holiness over the land.” (*Minutes of the Methodist [British] Conferences* . . . 1, 446f.) But in the Methodist (British) *Discipline*, printed in 1779, “SECTION I. *The Design of GOD in sending the Methodist Preachers*. Q. 1. In what view may the Methodist Preachers be considered?” the answer read as follows:

“A. As Messengers sent by the Lord, out of the common way, To provoke the regular Clergy to jealousy, and to supply their lack of service, towards those who are perishing for want of knowledge; and above all, to reform the nation, by spreading scriptural holiness over the land.”—*Discipline* (British), 1779, p. 1.

fourth question, "What may we reasonably believe to be God's Design in raising up the Preachers called Methodists?" is this statement: "To reform the Continent, and to spread scriptural Holiness over these Lands."²

Through the entire period 1784-1844, in successive editions of the *Discipline*, the statement is reprinted.*

SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE AND CONCERN OF EARLY AMERICAN METHODISTS

Preceding the organization of the Church at the Christmas Conference American Methodism had no corporate existence. Each separate Society was a law unto itself and as a whole the people called Methodists cannot be said to have had a common mind or voice. Their sense of social responsibility was inchoate and diffused.

Precisely what Coke, Asbury, and the group of sixty other preachers who met in 1784 meant by the declaration of purpose recorded in the *Discipline* is not certain. It was taken over almost verbatim from the *Minutes* of the first British Conference. But this does not necessarily mean that the one was a mere copy or echo of the other. They interpreted it in terms of their own moral and religious conviction. This much, at least, they meant and tirelessly taught: that in the democracy of the New World in process of development there was freedom for all; to every man power was available to make his environment—whatever it might be—serve his highest interests. As soon as the Church was organized a sense of corporate social responsibility began to develop. Methodist Circuit Riders of American birth began to give expression to democratic social ideals. In attitude and preaching they challenged the European tradition of aristocracy based upon birth, social prestige, and property. They refused deference to the class distinctions which had prevailed in colonial society and the stratification which divided society into higher-class and lower-class people. All men—the Cabots, Lowells, and Lawrences of New England as well as the peasant farmers; the wealthy Virginia and Carolina planters as well as their slaves; the merchant shippers of Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York as well as their clerks and their indentured servants—were sinners in need of salvation. Without repentance, conversion, and mutual bearing of burdens in everyday living, all were under the condemnation of God and were bound for a common destination. This spiritual equalitarianism continually enforced in the preaching of the Circuit Riders had profound social implications.

Moreover, the social concern of the preachers was evidenced in the extent

* The third edition of the *Discipline* (p. 4) added a second sentence: "As a Proof hereof, we have seen in the Course of fifteen Years a great and glorious Work of God, from New York through the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, even to Georgia." In the sixth edition, Section I was made a prefatory statement, addressed "To the Members of the Methodist Societies in the United States," and signed by the Bishops. The question and answer form was not used but the complete statement as it appeared in the third edition remained unchanged. In this form it appeared in all subsequent editions published during the period 1790-1844.

to which they gave themselves sacrificially to minister to the unchurched population. Field preaching, the first *Discipline* declared—herein again following the Wesleyan tradition—had been used “too sparingly”:

our Call is to save that which is lost. Now we cannot expect them to seek *us*. Therefore we should go and seek them. . . . Because we are particularly called, by *going into the Highways and Hedges, to compel them to come in*.³

In obedience to this injunction, everywhere the Circuit Riders sought out the neglected and the destitute—those for whom none other cared. They were constrained by the love of Christ, filled with the missionary spirit and passion. No man, woman, or child was so ignorant, so miserable and forsaken, or so sinful and degraded as to be beneath their notice. Joseph Pilmoor relates in his “Journal” that he not only visited the “Bettering-House” (a poorhouse in Philadelphia), but in New York “had a number of people from the poorhouse” to dine with him, and records that he found “more satisfaction in their conversation than that of the most refined and polite citizens who are strangers to God.”⁴ The preachers’ conviction that no man was so sunken in depravity as to be not worth saving or incapable of being saved was a measure of the length and breadth and depth of their social sympathy and the power of the Gospel they preached.

We “must suffer *with* if we labor *for* the poor,” wrote Asbury.⁵ The identification of the Circuit Riders with those whom they sought to serve is proof of the integrity of their social concern. Year after year they found shelter in dirty cabins, slept in comfortless beds, and shared the meager fare of the poorest of the poor. This represented deliberate purpose. To some of them a different course was open. Following the close of the Revolutionary War there were numerous pastorless churches, parishes with vacant parsonages, of the Protestant Episcopal and other denominations. Among the Methodist ministers were popular preachers to whom comfortable livings were open. Of only one preacher—Robert Williams—did Asbury express a misgiving that he might accept a settled Station, and that before the beginning of the war.⁶

That the social perspective of the Circuit Riders was somewhat narrowly circumscribed in terms of ethical insights is undeniable. They denounced certain specific social evils, as will be pointed out later in this chapter, but most of them lacked the insight to perceive underlying principles and practices which held a causal relationship to them. Their sermons contain no inkling of recognition of the fact, to be emphasized three-quarters of a century later, that low factory wages, long hours, miserable housing, and similar evils are very closely related to the problem of sin. None of the Methodist preachers—or, for that matter, none of any other evangelical denomination—made direct attack on the dominant institutions of the economic order.

The conviction that sin not only found expression in the acts of men but also had become inwrought in the warp and woof of the social order which they had built had not yet been developed, although flashes of this insight are to be found in the sermons of William Ellery Channing and Theodore Parker.

Social significance was inherent in certain injunctions in the form of rules of conduct, incorporated in the first *Discipline*. In fact, the term "Rules" early became attached to them.* Later they were denominated the "General Rules." But the early Methodists in America, as decades before in England, thought of them as something more than mere rules of behavior. "All these we know," John Wesley had declared, "His Spirit writes on truly awakened hearts." They were not regarded merely as legalisms imposed from without. They were evidences of the genuineness of the individual's religious experience—the fruits of godliness, an expression of the indwelling Spirit of God in the heart.

No greater mistake could be made in the interpretation of early American Methodism than to portray it—as it has so often been described by the writers of secular history and fiction—as the working up of mere feeling for its own sake, or slavish adherence to narrow, puritanical codes of conduct. Asbury and his associates, and the Circuit Riders who came after them, were concerned with the awakening and the cultivation of an inner spiritual experience that was genuine; and as an evidence of the reality of the experience, they insisted—on penalty of expulsion—on strict adherence to the General Rules.

The observance of the discipline involved in obedience to the General Rules made the Methodists—both preachers and lay men and women—a people apart, in some communities a despised and persecuted group, but, what was more significant, it gave them power and influence, and released within them an immense energy capable of being directed to social ends.

The Rules in themselves in various particulars possessed an essentially social content. Consider the significance for early American society of such statements as these:

How little brotherly Love [is there among us]? What continual Judging one another? What Gossiping, Evil-speaking, Tale-bearing? What Want of moral Honesty? To instance only one or two Particulars:

Who does as he would be done by, in buying and selling? Particularly in selling Horses? Write him Knave that does not. And the Methodist-Knave is the worst of all Knaves.

Extirpate smuggling, buying or selling uncustomed Goods, out of every Society. Let none remain with us who will not totally abstain from every Kind and

* The first example was in the eighth edition of the *Discipline* (1792). The form and content of the *Discipline* had undergone gradual reorganization and expansion in the several editions. The eighth edition (Ch. II, Sec. 1) bore the title, "The Nature, Design, and general Rules of the United Societies," to which was added, "all which we are taught of God to observe, even in his written word, which is the only rule, and the sufficient rule both of our faith and practice."

Degree of it. . . . Extirpate Bribery, receiving any Thing, directly or indirectly, for voting in any Election.

Do not affect the Gentleman. You have no more to do with this Character than with that of a Dancing-Master.

A Preacher of the Gospel is the Servant of all.

. . . Be ashamed of nothing but Sin: Not of fetching Wood (if Time permit) or drawing Water: Not of cleaning your own Shoes, or your Neighbour's.

Let all our Chapels be built plain and decent; but not more expensively than is absolutely unavoidable: Otherwise the Necessity of raising Money will make Rich Men necessary to us. But if so, we must be dependent upon them, yea, and governed by them. And then farewell to the Methodist-Discipline, if not Doctrine too.⁷

The General Rules were not merely scraps of paper. They were determinative in the preaching, the teaching, and the living of the preachers and a goodly proportion of the lay members of the Church, and they constitute in themselves evidence of the reforming purpose of the Methodists. The leaders, both preachers and laymen, were reformers. But they were reformers primarily because of a religious urge. Their profound conviction was that only as men through genuine conversion became holy, loving, just, honest, and righteous, sincerely seeking to do the will of God, would the nation be reformed. In seeing in such provisions profound implications for the reconstituting of society the Methodist preachers exhibited a sound social instinct.

From time to time as years passed additions to the Disciplinary rules originated in acts of Annual Conferences, later being incorporated, in substance, in the *Discipline*. The Virginia Conference session of 1827, for example, ordered that "by precept and example the pernicious and too common practice of buying or dealing in lottery tickets" should be discountenanced.⁸ At the first session of the Erie Conference (1836) a committee was empowered "to express the sense of . . . [the] Conference on the subject of shows, menageries, circuses, etc." The committee reported that "it is improper to attend them, or in any way to encourage them."⁹

Two customs, generally prevailing in the Established Churches, were outlawed by the Methodists. Question 48 in the first *Discipline* was: "Are there any Directions to be given concerning the Fees of Office?" The answer was explicit:

We will on no account whatsoever suffer any *Elder* or *Deacon* among us to receive a *Fee* or *Present* for administering the Ordinance of Marriage, Baptism, or the Burial of the Dead. *Freely* we have received, and *freely* we will give.¹⁰

To this rule the preachers strictly adhered.

The second custom was that of pew renting. Against this, no rule was inserted in the first editions of the *Discipline* but it was generally understood to be forbidden. During the earlier years the meeting houses were so severely

plain that that question was seldom or never raised. From the beginning everyone knew that the Methodist chapels were open to all without financial obligation of any kind.

With the rapid growth of towns and cities and increase of middle-class members demand arose for larger and more elaborate churches. How to finance their construction became a problem involving considerable difficulty and in some cases—particularly in New England—resort was had to the custom of constructing pewed churches. Following the 1813 session of the New England Conference McKendree recorded in his "Journal":

It is feared that our preachers and congregations in this part of our work will drop off like untimely fruit. They build meeting-houses upon congregational principles, and the preachers, when they locate, have the art of deriving the benefit. It is reported that they are giving in to the plan of building very expensive and ornamental houses; selling pews, so that it is made difficult for the poor to hear the gospel; and fixing the government in the hands of such as may become owners of pews; so that our itinerant preachers, as well as the poor, may be excluded when men of the world may choose to do so. Are these things so? In part, if not in whole. Has not this course a tendency to injure the progress of experimental religion, and destroy the itinerant plan? It has.¹¹

Asbury's statement is even stronger:

We have made a stand in the New-England Conference against steeples and pews; and shall possibly give up the houses, unless the pews are taken out, and the houses made sure to us exclusively. The conference now pursue a course which will surely lead to something decisive: we will be flattered no longer.¹²

The trend toward conformity with the long-established custom of other Churches was too strong to be easily counteracted but the Methodist leaders had a determined purpose. The issue was raised in the General Conference of 1816 but no action was taken. In 1820 the Conference added to the Disciplinary section, "Of the Building Churches, and the Order to be observed therein," the words "and with free seats," together with the following section:

As it is contrary to our economy to build houses with pews to sell or rent, it shall be the duty of the several Annual Conferences, to use their influence to prevent houses from being so built in future;* and as far as possible to make those houses free which have been already built with pews.¹³

* As this action was not mandatory, but only advisory, it did not settle the issue. Some years later when the citywide Board of Trustees in New York City found itself burdened with heavy debt Heman Bangs, in 1830 one of the pastors in the city, proposed that additional needed churches should be built with pews to sell or rent. A committee to whom the proposal was referred reported that the plan was "not lawful nor expedient," but influential laymen contended that no binding legislation existed on the subject and in 1833 the first pewed Methodist church in New York City, First Wesleyan Chapel (more commonly known as Vestry Street Church), was erected "by joint-stock subscription on leased ground, at a total cost of about \$26,000." Soon after, a second pewed church, Mulberry Street, was built (S. A. Seaman, *Annals of New York Methodism, 1766-1890*, pp. 271, 321). In the meantime the issue again came up in the General Conference of 1832 with delegates from New York and New England contending that local Societies should be left entirely free to build as they saw fit. "This," says Alfred Brunson, "roused up the South and the West to a perfect storm. . . . public meetings were called, and remonstrances and protests were largely signed against this 'fearful innovation.'" Finally, action was indefinitely postponed.—*A Western Pioneer* . . . , I, 391.

The "otherworldliness" of many of the preachers was the basis of much ridicule by their opponents. That preparation for death and heaven was prominent in Methodist preaching is beyond dispute. That in the preaching of some, this emphasis was disproportionate to the attention given by them to weighty matters of social ethics is likewise true, but that an otherworldly emphasis dominated early Methodist preaching, either in Great Britain or in America, is not true. It cannot be justly charged that these men spent their time merely in stargazing or in rhapsodizing about the rewards and joys of the life beyond.*

It was said that of all the early Methodist preachers Richard Whatcoat was one of the most "otherworldly" in his preaching. J. B. Wakeley is quoted as reporting:

Mary Snethen said to me, that of all the pure and holy men that came to . . . [the] old parsonage [John Street in New York], he seemed to be the most heavenly-minded. He talked of heaven, he sang of heaven, and [he] meditated of heaven.¹⁴

What was said of Whatcoat's preaching and conversation might have been said with equal truthfulness of many of the Methodist Circuit Riders. They were heavenly-minded men, but they also had their feet on the earth. They served in many humble and practical ways the people to whom they felt themselves called to minister. It was in them and their eternal welfare that their deepest interest centered. They were concerned for them, whatsoever their earthly estate, because they saw them as souls for whom Christ had died and above all else they longed to see in them the divine redemption realized.

This limited social perspective of the Methodist preachers was shared not only by the religious leaders of all the Churches but also by educators and publicists.† To have undertaken consciously and intelligently in a comprehensive, systematic way the gradual reconstruction of the social order would have required an ideology and knowledge that did not then exist. Scientific comprehension of principles and methods of social advance was a much later development. Even the term "sociology" as designating the objective study of the associated life of man was not coined until 1838.¹⁵

Following the turn of the century, William Ellery Channing (1780-1842)

* Wellman J. Warner: "The other-worldly individualism for which Wesleyanism has often been stigmatized was, in fact, not so characteristic as an individualism of present interest with an emphatic social emphasis. . . . The content of this empirical interest will be made clear by the manner in which Wesleyan leaders undertook to apply their doctrines concretely to current social problems."—*The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 59f.

† John Allen Krout and Dixon Ryan Fox: "Even the most enlightened students of the problem [of poverty] believed that individual faults rather than social conditions explained the plight of the poor. Philadelphia's charitable organizations in 1817 reported that destitution was the result of prolonged idleness, excessive indulgence in intoxicants and extravagant spending for food, fuel, and clothing. To this list New York's Society for the Prevention of Pauperism in 1818 added ignorance, imprudent marriages, gambling and incontinence."—*The Completion of Independence, 1790-1830*, pp. 380f.

and later Theodore Parker (1810–60), pioneers in social thinking among American preachers, were preaching and writing in denunciation of corporate sins but to many of the Methodists these men were merely moral reformers, not religious leaders.

For the most part Methodist sermons—though by no means always—were solely individualistic in aim, ignoring the corporate institutions, customs, and influences that had made the man what he had become. In the preachers' thinking this limitation was justified by their confidence that if the man's soul was saved fundamental social change would inevitably follow.* The most direct and sure way of changing society and all its evil institutions, they believed, was to change the individual. Than this, nothing more was necessary. It is true they were keenly conscious of maladjustments in human relations, yet their thought was that these were due not to defects in social organization but solely to an evil will, to sin in the human heart. So certain were they of this, some even contended that time spent in efforts at specific reforms was time wasted. The preacher had but one thing to do: to convert men from their evil ways. They took literally Wesley's injunction, written into the first Methodist *Discipline*, "You have nothing to do but to save Souls."¹⁶

This line of thinking resulted in a tendency toward interpretation of the statement of twofold purpose of the Christmas Conference as one: not "to reform the Continent, *and* spread Scriptural holiness over these Lands," but to reform the nation *by* spreading Scriptural holiness. In his address to the General Conference of 1816 Bishop McKendree made this distinction: "We believe," he began,

God's design in raising up the preachers called Methodists in America, was to reform the continent by spreading scriptural holiness over these lands. The end is not fully accomplished; therefore our mission is not out.¹⁷

How generally this interpretation became prevalent during the latter part of the period under review it is impossible to say. Undoubtedly it predominated among those who identified themselves with the holiness party within the Church. On the other hand, there was a noteworthy overlapping in the membership of the missionary, Bible, and tract societies and the leadership of the several social reform movements in which Methodists were active.

It is not without significance, for example, that the rise of missionary interest and the temperance reform movement were synchronous. The recipro-

* In the opinion of a secular historian laws enacted in Ohio against anti-social practices were not as effective as the preaching of the early evangelists. "Despite the handicap of their narrow sectarianism," he writes, "one cannot fail to be impressed with the real achievements of such men as Francis Asbury, Lorenzo Dow, James Finley, Joseph Badger and scores of other[s]. . . . Their labors resulted not only in the founding of hundreds of congregations but also in a general awakening of the social conscience. . . ."—William T. Utter, *The History of the State of Ohio, II, The Frontier State, 1803–1825*, 362.

cal relation between the missionary purpose of Methodism and its zeal for moral reform is unmistakable.

SOCIAL SERVICES OF THE CIRCUIT RIDERS

In America during this period there were fewer poor than in most countries. Asbury assured his relatives in England that any industrious man could make a living in America and Coke, who traveled widely over the Southern and Middle States on three journeys to America between 1784 and 1790, was impressed by the absence of extreme poverty among the people:

in (what I believe to be) a proper view of things, the people in this country enjoy greater plenty and abundance of the mere necessaries of life, than those of any country I ever knew, perhaps any country in the world. For I have not in my three visits to this Continent, in all of which I have rode about 5,600 miles, either met with, or heard of, any white men, women, or children, that have not had as much bacon, Indian corn, and fuel for fire, as they wanted, and an abundance to spare: nor are they badly off for clothing.¹⁸

However, the later years of the Revolution and those immediately after the close of war were characterized by acute and widespread economic distress.* Again, in 1798-1801 a serious depression occurred. In fact, during the entire period 1784-1844 there were recurring depressions, causing extensive destitution affecting both the rural sections and the larger centers of population. James Quinn, appointed in 1801 to the Erie Circuit in Pennsylvania, of which Meadville was ostensibly the center, records that throughout the entire bounds of his extensive Circuit the people experienced such scarcity, including provisions, that the situation was bordering on a famine. "Breadstuffs were very scarce, and what flesh we ate was chiefly taken from the woods with a rifle. But about midsummer we got plenty of good potatoes."¹⁹

A few years later the recurrence of hard times constituted one of the factors in the demand for war against Great Britain—general throughout the nation except in New England—which resulted in the War of 1812. During the war, as previously during the Revolution, widespread fear and panic prevailed. The effects of the war were especially hard on the people of the newer states. In the territory of Illinois, deer, beaver, and raccoon skins served as circulating media. Paper currency was plentiful in most sections but it was "cheap . . . and worthless."²⁰ In some sections flour sold for sixteen dollars a barrel and other food products in proportion. Out of their scant support Methodist itinerants were compelled to pay as much as fifty cents a peck for oats for their horses, while shoeing a horse cost four dollars. Re-

* In 1781 shoes were quoted at £20 a pair; potatoes sold for 90 shillings a bushel; milk at 15 shillings a quart; corn at \$40, a bushel; a cow at \$1,200. A wagonload of paper money, it was said, would scarcely purchase a wagonload of provisions.—See J. Franklin Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*, pp. 62f.

covery began in 1816 and, except for manufacturing, there was moderate prosperity throughout the country during 1816-18.

However, near the close of 1818 the most disastrous depression the nation had yet seen got under way, reaching the proportions of a social crisis in 1819-22.²¹ Matthew Carey estimated that in 1819 three million people—almost one-third of the population—were directly affected.* The Philadelphia cotton mills, in 1816 employing 2,325 workers, on October 2, 1819, had only 149. Never before in American history had such acute problems of unemployment, pauperism, and human distress been known, affecting equally the cities and the rural areas.²² While bread lines formed in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, reports came from as far west as Cincinnati that distress was beyond conception.

Beginning in 1821-22 there was gradual improvement, though business continued at a low level throughout the twenties. But recovery was short-lived. A tightening of credit, generally blamed upon removal of federal government deposits from the Bank of the United States, brought about a general reduction of wages and, again, increase in unemployment.

To make conditions worse, the most serious crop failure the country had ever known occurred in the spring and summer of 1836. From eastern Pennsylvania to Kentucky and Tennessee the infestation of the "Hessian fly" completely destroyed the wheat crop. In the fall it became necessary to import wheat from England and by February, 1837, flour was selling at the seaboard for twelve dollars and fifty cents a barrel. The situation was aggravated by reckless speculation in public lands in 1834, 1835, and 1836. The panic of 1837, which ensued, was almost as devastating in effect as the depression of 1818-22, causing widespread suffering in cities of the East and in some rural regions, particularly in the South.²³ In the early forties agricultural products declined in price below the actual cost of production. In Cincinnati hogs were marketed for less than two cents per pound; in Illinois corn sold for eight cents per bushel; wheat as low as twenty-seven cents a bushel.²⁴

While some of the states enacted stay laws applying to the execution of judgments—notably Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, and Illinois—the federal government confessed its powerlessness to remedy conditions. James Monroe (1817-25) and his successor, John Quincy Adams (1825-29), both declared the situation appalling but neither initiated constructive remedial

* These recurrent depressions affected not only individuals, but all of the agencies and institutions of the Church. On Jan. 23, 1818, the Methodist Book Agents in New York wrote to a Presiding Elder in the West regarding remittance for religious books sent on consignment: "You think you shall make a remittance in May and wish to know what western notes will best answer our purpose here. In answer to this we would observe that unchartered notes will not pass at all. The best are the notes on Marietta, Steubenville, and Chillicothe. These notes are from 6 to 8 per cent below par. . . . shall be perfectly satisfied when you have done the best you can and have no doubt you will always endeavor to do so."—Letter to James B. Finley, quoted by William Warren Sweet, *Circuit-Rider Days Along the Ohio* . . . , p. 44.

action of any kind.* While most of the leaders of the Churches displayed no more social and economic insight than the political leaders, many local church organizations extended the hand of charity, in the larger cities some churches opening soup kitchens for feeding hungry and starving people.

In all of these periods of recurring depression the Circuit Riders showed their sympathy and resourcefulness in ways and means of practical helpfulness. Continually they were seeking out old and young who were in trouble and in physical distress, offering counsel and providing relief. Without a realization of the extent of destitution, the ways in which the Circuit Riders entered into fellowship with the people in the hardships they endured, and the practical methods they found of extending aid, it is scarcely possible to explain the regard and affection in which they were held by the common people. Timothy Flint comments on these activities of Methodist preachers, and adds:

It would be a desirable thing, that the religious of other denominations had more of this 'esprit du corps,' and felt that their community of profession, imposed obligations of this sort towards their suffering brethren. . . .²⁵

Multiplicity of preaching appointments on Circuits constituted a serious handicap to any kind of systematic pastoral service. The hours of each day required for travel from one engagement to another left only limited opportunity for visitation and personal conference. But as Station assignments gradually increased intensive social work became a possibility. In 1832 Enoch Mudge of the New England Conference was placed in charge of the Seamen's Chapel, or Mariners' Church, of New Bedford, Massachusetts.²⁶ Soon he was engaged in a broad ministry of social services. Says Abel Stevens:

He not only preached . . . on Sabbaths, but provided . . . [the seamen] a reading-room, museum, &c. He became, not only their spiritual guide, but their well-trusted counsellor in business transactions; the guardian of their families in their absence, the trustee of their property, the arbiter of their litigations, whether with each other or their employers; and such was the universal sense of his integrity, that his word, in such cases, was decisive and final. His labors were not limited to the Bethel, and the homes of the seamen. He followed them with his correspondence into all the world; he wrote poems and printed sermons for them to carry to sea. He commemorated their disasters, or deaths, in special exercises in his chapel . . . He was, in fine, among seamen what Oberlin was among his mountaineers.²⁷

The Circuit Riders often found themselves called upon to render first aid and even to give medical counsel in serious illnesses. Many pioneer settlements were remote from towns where doctors' services were available. Epidemics of various kinds were widely prevalent—among others yellow fever

* John Quincy Adams wrote: "The disease is apparent, the remedy not discernible. . . . As it is, the arbiters of weal and woe, the healers and destroyers, Time and Chance, must bring the catastrophe or the cure."—*Memoirs*, V, 128f.

which ravaged the principal ports every few years—spreading universal fear and causing many fatalities. Of a colony of 126 Virginians who settled in New Design, Illinois Territory, about the turn of the century, one-half died within the first six months. Far distant from medical aid, they were swept off by a malignant fever, fatal in many cases within a few hours.²⁸ In the South there were several cities which were almost yearly visited by yellow fever epidemics.²⁹

True to Wesleyan tradition, many of the Methodist preachers were familiar with simple remedies. Every Circuit Rider was expected to familiarize himself with Wesley's *Primitive Physic** and to carry a copy with him on the round of his Circuit. Widespread confidence prevailed in the efficacy of herbs, roots, and vegetable compounds for the cure of disease and for these Wesley's manual had many prescriptions. The medical practices in vogue among physicians chiefly involved blood-letting, purging, sweating, and blisters. Benjamin Rush, member of the Constitutional Convention and one of the most noted physicians of the time, was a leading advocate of bleeding and purging as the most effective treatment for fevers and other disorders.³⁰ Many Methodist ministers became adept in these practices and made their skill freely available to people for whom professional medical services were not obtainable.

On occasion, Thomas Coke did not hesitate to prescribe for the sick. He records that on November 7, 1787, "Brother *Hammet* was taken ill with a fit of the ague"; and continues, "by administering to him an emetic on the next day, and a purge on the following," the disorder apparently vanished, "through the blessing of God."³¹ Asbury also had favorite remedies which he frequently prescribed for common ailments. On April 18, 1804, seeking shelter under the friendly roof of Henry Fry in Virginia, whose hospitality he often enjoyed, he found him suffering from "a weakness of his bowels." He continues:

I gave him Fothergill's recipe. It is thus: one ounce of bark, half an ounce of rhubarb, three nutmegs — all boiled together in a gallon, until reduced to two quarts: a wine glass of this to be taken every two hours.³²

On his way to establish the Green Bay (Wisconsin) Indian Mission, John Clark encountered numerous victims of the cholera epidemic. He had with him a medicine chest from which he provided "powerful doses of camphor spirits and laudanum."³³

Some of the Circuit Riders were well-qualified physicians. One such was William Phoebus (1754–1831), a native of Maryland, who entered the itinerancy in 1783. He was widely known as a man of sterling integrity, inde-

* An American edition, published by John Dickins, had a commendatory preface by Coke and Asbury. It was in circulation as late as 1844.

pendent judgment, skillful in adjustment of difficulties between people, and deeply devoted to the work of the ministry. He found it necessary to take a location in 1792 and for fourteen years engaged in the practice of medicine. In 1806 he resumed work in the traveling ministry.³⁴ James B. Finley completed a course of medical studies and was given a permit to practice medicine, but turned from it to enter the ministry.³⁵ After his location in 1815, John Travis of the Tennessee Conference entered upon the practice of medicine which he followed until the infirmities of old age compelled retirement.³⁶

Alexander Talley, who gained prominence as a missionary to the Choctaw Indians, had practiced medicine for years when, past middle life, he decided to become a preacher. James P. Thomas, admitted on trial in the Mississippi Conference in 1829, was a doctor before entering the ministry.³⁷ Before his admission on trial in the Kentucky Conference in 1840, John Miller was known as a successful physician.³⁸ Matthew Simpson had studied medicine for three years (1830-33) and begun its practice, when—having determined to enter the ministry—he was admitted on trial at the Pittsburgh Conference of 1833³⁹ and appointed junior preacher on the St. Clairsville (Ohio) Circuit.

During the first three decades of the century the number of physicians considerably increased* in the nation at large, with the result that a growing tendency prevailed toward regarding medical practice as outside the pale of ministerial service. In the 1817 session of the Ohio Conference, Lemuel Lane was charged and found guilty of "acting quite contrary to his character and profession as a minister of the Gospel" on the specifications of (1) "practicing Medicine without sufficient knowledge," and without authority, thereby violating a state statute; (2) "receiving exorbitant pay for his vegetable preparation"; (3) "practising the Science of Midwifery without skill"; and, finally, (4) "stubbornly persisting" in these practices against the counsel of his Presiding Elder. After acknowledging his conduct "marked with impropriety" and pledging himself entirely "to lay aside the Study and practice of physic," also "the Science of Midwifery," he was allowed to remain on trial but deprived of the exercises and office of a deacon.⁴⁰

Motivating the social services of the Circuit Riders, and even more significant because infinitely more far-reaching, was their daily exemplification of identification with the people to whom they ministered. The Methodist itinerant not only preached *to* the people, he was one *of* the people. Nowhere in the whole literature of personal journals and autobiographies do we find expression of the ambition to become a leader. On their ceaseless rounds they

* In 1831 the state of New York had 2,549 physicians as compared with 1,300 ministers, Cincinnati in 1839 had one physician for every 500 of its population, and Chicago one for every 200 people.—*Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, IV (1831), 184; XVI (1838), 387; XX (1839), 395, as cited by Henry B. Shafer, *The American Medical Profession, 1783 to 1850*, p. 166.

came and went among the people in the spirit of comradeship, eager to share their burdens, asking nothing for themselves in the way of emoluments or special privileges, thinking only of giving themselves in service. Few, if any, of them had in mind clear-cut schemes of social salvation that they were seeking to advance. But one and all possessed in eminent degree sympathy for the common lot of the people, a spirit of fraternity and comradeship, and a consuming purpose to spend and be spent in effort for their salvation.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS IN THE SERVICE OF THE POOR

In America as in England Sunday schools began as an educational philanthropy for the children of the poor. Robert Raikes, whose name will ever be associated with the origin of the Sunday School Movement, stirred by pity and social concern for the "little miserable wretches" who thronged the streets of the industrial section of Gloucester, determined to make an effort to improve their forlorn and neglected state. He described his program of establishing schools on Sunday, the one day of the week when children were not employed in the factories, as a "plan for a reform of the rising generation."⁴¹

This idea was not wholly original with Raikes.* John Wesley's thought, some fifty years earlier, was much the same except that with him the religious motive was uppermost. His desire to be of service to the poor, however, was an influential element in Wesley's compassionate effort, even as in that of Raikes. This is evidenced by many of his statements. When in 1739 he assumed responsibility for the Kingswood school for colliers' children, founded by Whitefield, its purpose was stated: to teach the children of the poor, first religion, then to read, write, and cast accounts. His Foundery school in London (1747) provided educational opportunity for children of whom the majority were so extremely poor he found it necessary to provide clothes for them before entering them as pupils.⁴²

Decades later, July, 1787, Wesley wrote in his *Journal*:

Friday, 27 . . . we went on to Bolton. Here are eight hundred poor children taught in our Sunday schools, by about eighty masters, who receive no pay but what they are to receive from their Great Master.⁴³

A half year later, three years before his death, he wrote to Duncan Wright, one of his preachers, asserting his confidence that God's blessing rested on him and his helpers for what they were doing "for the sake of the poor children," and expressing his final judgment that the Sunday schools "are one of the noblest specimens of charity . . . set on foot in England since the time of William the Conqueror."⁴⁴

* While Robert Raikes was not the founder of Sunday schools, nor the first to arrange free instruction for poor children on Sunday, his experiment may be said to have been the starting point of Sunday schools for the poor on an extensive scale. Within three years of the opening of the first Sunday school in Gloucester some 2,000 poor children had been enrolled, and by 1818 a parliamentary return showed nearly a half million pupils in attendance in England and Wales.

The soundness of Wesley's estimate of the social value of Sunday schools was amply justified by history. Richard Guest ascribed to their influence a significant part in elevating the level of the submerged masses of England. In his *Compendious History of the Cotton-Manufacture*, he declared that in less than a generation "the labouring classes [of England had] . . . made the advance of centuries," a change largely "effected by Sunday schools."⁴⁵

Although Wesley succeeded in imparting to many of his preachers something of his own social concern, leading them to become active in establishing Sunday schools, at least in part as agencies of social welfare, this motive seems not to have operated in the case of the missionaries sent to America.* Of those who returned to England apparently none, during his brief period of service in America, made any effort to establish Sunday schools for children of the poor.

One of the earliest of the Sunday schools founded in America on the general pattern of the Raikes' schools—many believe unquestionably the first—was established in 1785 in his own home in Accomac County, Virginia, by William Elliott, a Methodist lay convert. On Sunday afternoons Elliott taught white boys who had been "bound out" to him, together with his own children and some young girls. At another hour he conducted a school for slaves and servants.⁴⁶ In 1786, Asbury is said to have organized a Sunday school on the Raikes' plan at the house of Thomas Crenshaw in Hanover County, Virginia.⁴⁷

On Monday, February 15, the first of the fourteen Annual Conferences of 1790 was convened. On Wednesday, the seventeenth, Asbury wrote in his *Journal*: "Our conference resolved on establishing Sunday-schools for poor children, white and black."⁴⁸ It seems evident that the action did not arise out of a compelling conviction for he never recorded exerting any effort to put it into effect or in any way referred to it a second time in his voluminous *Journal*. The *Minutes* of the Conference are more informing than Asbury's statement:

Quest. What can be done in order to instruct poor children, white and black, to read?

Ans. Let us labor, as the heart and soul of one man, to establish Sunday schools

* Wesley's concern was evident during his brief period of service as a missionary in Georgia. In conversation with Thomas Rutherford he narrated this incident: "When I was in America, I taught one school at *Savannah*, and Mr. [Charles] Delamott[e] [who had gone with Wesley to Georgia under the patronage of the trustees of the colony] taught another. He told me one day, that a part of the boys belonging to his school wore stockings and shoes, and the others did not; and that the former laughed at and ridiculed the latter, and thereby discouraged them; . . . I told him . . . I thought I could cure it; and added, 'If you will take the care of my school next week, I will take care of your's and try'; . . . Accordingly, on Monday morning I went into his school without either stockings or shoes. The children looked with surprise, first at me, and then at each other. . . . I soon observed, . . . that those who were without stockings and shoes, began to gather courage, . . . I did the same every day during the week; before the end of which, several of those who used to wear stockings and shoes, came to school without them. Thus the evil was effectually cured!"—"Memoir of Mr. Thomas Rutherford" in *The Methodist Magazine* (London), XXXI (November, 1808), 490.

in or near the place of public worship. Let persons be appointed by the bishops, elders, deacons, or preachers, to teach, gratis, all that will attend and have a capacity to learn, from six o'clock in the morning till ten, and from two o'clock in the afternoon till six, where it does not interfere with public worship. The council shall compile a proper school-book, to teach them learning and piety.

The *Discipline* of 1798 laments that not more is being done "*among the poor* in this respect," and declares that if the people would establish Sunday schools for "*the children of the poor*," even to the extent of sacrificing attendance upon "*a few public ordinances every Lord's-day*" that "*God would be to them instead of all the means they lose; . . .*"⁴⁹

About this same time interest among other groups than the Methodists was manifest in the establishment of free Sunday schools for poor children in different parts of the country. "The First Day or Sunday School Society" of Philadelphia was founded in January, 1791, by Bishop William White* ; Dr. Benjamin Rush, a Presbyterian; Matthew Carey, a Roman Catholic; and a number of other laymen. Failing in its attempt to get the Pennsylvania Legislature to provide for the establishment of Sunday schools as free schools, the Society raised funds for compensating teachers by voluntary contributions. By 1800 more than 2,000 pupils had been enrolled in schools under its auspices.⁵⁰ In Boston, also, a society was organized which stimulated interest in Sunday schools for poor children. It was influential in leading some New England manufacturers to establish schools. Among others, Samuel Slater, owner of one of the largest mills in America, in 1797 established a Sunday school in a room in his factory at Pawtucket, Rhode Island.⁵¹ While some measure of success attended each of these and other efforts, none can be said to have resulted in the establishment of Sunday schools for the poor on an extensive scale.

Sporadic efforts, however, continued to be made in various cities by men and women of benevolent spirit. In the fall of 1815 Mrs. Mary W. Mason, with the cooperation of Francis Hall and his wife, persuaded the official board of the New York City Methodist churches, against many objections, to give its approval to the opening of a Sunday school. Mrs. Mason describes its beginning:

It was a rainy morning, the first Sabbath in November The first scholar that offered was an adult, who did not know her letters. Soon Brother [A.C.] Wheeler entered with some boys. Thus we continued from Sabbath to Sabbath to receive of scholars and teachers, until, the room being too small to accommodate so many, it was proposed to ask for the use of the New York Free School-room, No. 1 Chatham-street. The request was . . . granted by the Trustees.

* While in England for Episcopal consecration, a few years earlier, the Anglican cleric White had become interested in the work of Raikes, and on his return in 1788 proposed the organization of Sunday schools on the Raikes' plan.—Cf. Oscar S. Michael, *The Sunday School in the Development of the American Church*, p. 54.

The school had forenoon and afternoon sessions, exercises in reading and spelling alternating with periods of religious instruction and singing of hymns.⁵²

In his *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* Nathan Bangs explains the limited utilization of the Methodist plan of 1790 by saying that "it was extremely difficult to induce . . . [the] children to attend the schools," and because of this the teachers who had volunteered free service became discouraged and discontinued the schools. In this he is in agreement with a statement written by Jesse Lee some thirty years earlier :

Sunday schools were established in several places, and the teachers took nothing for their services. The greater part of the scholars were black children, whose parents were backward about sending them; and but few of them were regular in attending, and in a short time the masters were discouraged, and having no pay, and but little prospect of doing good, they soon gave it up, and it has not been attended to for many years.⁵³

Other reasons than those mentioned operated to handicap the enterprise. Following the turn of the century free schools ("common schools") increased in number, particularly in the cities, offering day-school facilities for many children, both poor and well-to-do. With this development the propriety of using the Sabbath for instruction not exclusively religious was more and more questioned. Many people had strong conscientious scruples against any other than strictly religious schools on Sunday. The plea that the Bible was exclusively used in teaching the children to read did not wholly satisfy the objectors. Also, although the pupils were usually taken in a body to public worship in the forenoon, many of the teachers were inclined to continue the afternoon school sessions during the hours of church services, which caused further objection.

In a preachers' meeting in New York City in January, 1819, a resolution was considered, though not finally voted upon, reading :

Resolved, that this leaders' meeting consider that it is very improper for Sunday-school instructors to teach children on the Lord's day that attend regular schools all the week. 2. That we disapprove of teaching at all in time of divine service in our churches.⁵⁴

In some sections of the country opposition was much more pronounced. In Nashville, Tennessee, Mrs. Felix Grundy, a devout Presbyterian, with a few friends established a Sunday school in July, 1820, for poor children. The school met on Sunday morning at eight o'clock and was regularly opened with prayer. Webster's Spelling Book and the New Testament were used as text-books. All of the churches, it is reported, "doubted the policy and questioned the morality" of the school. "We were called Sabbath-breakers, and violators of the laws of the land, and . . . deserved punishment as disturbers of the

peace." Two years later, however, churches opened their doors, inviting the school to use their facilities.⁵⁵

The Christmas Conference had strongly emphasized the importance of religious instruction of "children whose parents are in Society" and had enforced upon the Traveling Preachers the obligation of meeting them an hour every week for systematic religious teaching. Ensuing Conferences renewed and enlarged upon the injunctions of the 1784 Conference. Gradually, as a result of this increasing emphasis, first classes for children and later, Sunday schools for distinctively religious instruction began to be formed in the Societies of many Methodist Circuits. More and more interest and effort were transferred from the holding of schools on Sunday for teaching children of the poor the rudiments of education to the organization and maintenance of religious schools.*

METHODISTS AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENTS

Above all earlier epochs the eighteenth century is historically known as the humanitarian century. Its humanitarianism was complex in its origin and its motivation, and comprehensive in its aims and forms of expression. Inherent in it was impatience with the medieval idea that things always had been as they are and always would so remain, and the corollary conviction that the reconstruction of society was both imperative and possible. Much of its strength was drawn from the Enlightenment and to it in their time the French Revolutionaries made significant contribution. But it also received stimulus from religious sources, particularly the quiet, persistent teaching and example of the Society of Friends.

Taking sharp issue with the humanitarians who held to the perfectibility of man apart from superhuman aid, the Methodists constantly emphasized its possibility by divine grace, and zealously stressed the Christian requirement of perfection. Implicit in the doctrine of sanctification that they enforced was the obligation of the reform of society and its institutions. It was the evangelical revival, says the historian Green, that "reformed our prisons, infused clemency and wisdom into our penal laws, abolished the slave trade, and gave the first impulse to popular education."⁵⁶

In America during the eighteenth century property ruled, as it had from early colonial times, "openly and without apology."⁵⁷ Although as the outcome of the Revolution, hereditary privilege was abrogated by the basic laws of the early state constitutions, and by the federal Constitution as adopted, and the nation theoretically committed to a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, the necessity remained of giving substance to the theory.⁵⁸ Had the day of the people actually dawned at last? Was democ-

* See Ch. V, pp. 408ff.

racy to be made real in practice? A number of minor problems came to the fore as subjects of political contention, but involved in and underlying them all was the basic issue of human rights.

During Washington's eight-year administration the issue became acute in the long-drawn-out contest between the Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton and those of his school of thought, and the Democratic-Republicans, one of whose great leaders was Thomas Jefferson. Hamilton believed in an intimate and necessary connection between property and liberty. He frankly declared the rule of property to be not only inevitable but desirable. By nature and choice an aristocrat, he deliberately sought to ally government with wealth. Give, he contended, to the rich and the wellborn the ruling hand and all will be well with the nation. "The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right." Men in general "are vicious," governed by "their passions." "The people!—the people is a great beast!" The principle of exploitation is not to be condemned, but defended. The increase of national wealth accrued by levying toll upon the weak and the helpless is to be accepted and contemplated with satisfaction. His was a tough doctrine, destined to live long. Twenty years later Daniel Webster was to declare that if Congress takes care of the rich, "the rich will take care of the poor," and Noah Webster was to write Daniel approving the declaration, expressing as his own opinion that without the aid of the wealthy the poor would perish or be reduced to savagery.⁵⁹

Jefferson, although a Virginia planter of refinement and broad culture, was by interest and conviction on the side of human rights. Monticello was in the Piedmont country of western Virginia where his father had been a pioneer. Although one of the gentry, and possessed of considerable wealth, Jefferson's sympathies were with the common people—particularly the landless among the rural population. They—not the gentry of wealth, privilege, and power—were in his mind when he wrote the Declaration of Independence and introduced his great reforms abolishing entail and primogeniture, establishing freedom of religion, and inaugurating his comprehensive plans for the general diffusion of knowledge. He cannot be said to have been an extremist. He did not go so far as to commit himself to the levelling principles espoused by many of his followers in Vermont, western Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Ohio. Property qualifications as a condition for suffrage, requiring that no one with less than a fifty-acre freehold could vote and that only the well-to-do could hold office, such as were included in the constitution of South Carolina, did not deeply disturb him. But he was concerned that farmers and villagers, contending against formidable odds imposed by nature and circumstance, should be protected in their natural rights as men.⁶⁰

Another factor which gave an immense impetus to the democratization of

American life and institutions was the French Revolution. It popularized the ideal of democratic government and provided a body of philosophy for those who had been instinctively sympathetic with the largely unformulated democratic ideals of the new nation. It supplied the masses with effective slogans in support of democracy. But unfortunately the association of atheism with the French Revolution gave the enemies of political democracy and social equality in America a powerful weapon. Federalists charged that the word "Republican" was synonymous with atheism. The epithet of atheist was hurled indiscriminately and attached as a label to anyone who dared declare himself for "liberty, equality, and fraternity." As a result a strong *odium theologicum* became attached to the advocacy of democratic principles*—an explanation, at least in part, of the estimates of wide prevalence of atheism preceding and following the close of the eighteenth century. But the movement largely defeated itself. The more violent the conservative agitation the more rapidly the so-called "infidel and irreligious spirit" spread among the common people and among student groups.

Both in New England and the South the solidarity of the old order was broken by the Revolution. It continued to have its protagonists for decades and generations but the stability of its political rule was ended. The struggle was fierce and democratic progress had many interruptions but substantial advance was gradually achieved, though the growing spirit of democratization was at every point sharply challenged by surviving elements of the caste and class distinctions and divisions of colonial society.

During the opening decades of the new century increasing national wealth had a tendency throughout the country to re-enforce the old and to create new class distinctions. An elite made up of the newly rich, characterized by even more arrogant and vulgar assertion and display than had prevailed among the colonial aristocracy, came into existence. However, on the western frontier class distinctions were almost wholly broken down. Among farmers a common saying was: "If a man is good enough to work for me, he is good enough to eat with me."⁶¹ Immigrants, even though they had been of the peasant class in Europe, if industrious and of good character, soon attained a status equal to that of their American-born neighbors. No sharp contrasts were evident between well-to-do property owners and persons of moderate means, or even comparatively poor. Servants and laborers—particularly skilled workers—could not be considered a distinct class because in a majority of cases their status soon changed.

In the realm of political thought and action continued evidence abounded

* Contrariwise, the revivalism of the Methodists and Baptists was the spiritual counterpart of revolutionary democracy in politics. G. Adolf Koch: "The *elan vital* of them both was democracy, freedom, faith, and optimism—the dominant characteristics, in short, of the great American frontier."—*Republican Religion* . . . , p. 281.

of decisive change. With the third decade of the century, the demand for the amendment of the early state constitutions in the interest of extending civic and social rights had won general acceptance. In 1820 the people of Massachusetts broadened their constitution; and in August, 1821, a New York State convention began the task of amending the constitution of that commonwealth. Even so, in both conventions hostility to universal suffrage, distrust of the plain people, and continuance of the long-drawn-out struggle between property rights and human rights, were still in evidence. Attempts made previous to 1810 in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Virginia to amend the constitutions for manhood suffrage, for the abolition of life tenure, and for more elective offices, had been defeated. As before, advocates of liberalization and extension of rights were denounced as "levellers," "disorganizers," "Jacobins," and "malcontents." But now there could be no doubt of the outcome. The constitutions of all the six new states admitted during the decade 1816-26* were much more liberal than those of the older states.⁶² Conservative, exclusive social traditions had been weakened and progress in reform was assured.

A resurgence of the democratic spirit, the second phase of the Jeffersonian movement—reinforced by influences growing out of the depression of 1818-22—together with widespread dissatisfaction with the dominant policies and personnel in political control in national affairs, brought Andrew Jackson to the Presidency in 1829.† The European tradition of aristocracy and its American counterpart in New England, Virginia, and South Carolina, while challenged by the democratic forces, had not until now been politically deposed.⁶³ Strongest of these influences‡ was the assertion on the part of the common people of their long-subordinated rights and reaction against the rapidly increasing power of business, which manifested a strong monopolistic trend. A contributory factor also was expression of the newly realized power of labor—now beginning to organize and for the first time in America beginning to be conscious of its strength. "The spirit of 1798 was rising afresh, and the re-alignment assumed the form of a democratic-aristocratic struggle, which for the moment obscured the more significant fact of an emerging middle class."⁶⁴ Previously, political power had been closely

* Indiana, 1816; Mississippi, 1817; Illinois, 1818; Alabama, 1819; Maine, 1820; Missouri, 1821.

† The popular vote for Jackson was also immensely increased by his military fame. As a war hero he drew support from men of all shades of economic and political opinion.

‡ This was more than a spontaneous popular uprising. Although Jackson, who had begun his political career as a representative in Congress from Tennessee, was an uneducated man, without advantage of book learning, the movement of which he became the leader received strong reinforcement from intellectuals. Economically and philosophically it was undergirded by the anti-monopolistic doctrine of Adam Smith which found expression in America in the writings of William M. Gouge, editor of the *Philadelphia Gazette* and author of *History of the American Banking System* (1835); Churchill G. Cambreleng; William Leggett, editor of the *New York Evening Post* and author of *Political Writings* (1840); and Theodore Sedgwick, author of *Public and Private Economy*; and the pro-labor teaching of William Cobbett, reflected in the speeches and writings of George Henry Evans, editor of the *Working Man's Advocate*; Ely Moore, labor leader and congressman, and editor of the *National Trades' Union*; and John Ferral.—See Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson*, pp. 307f., *passim*.

held by the privileged few, the aristocracy of birth and wealth, distinguished as Theodore Sedgwick, Jr., asserted: "socially by exclusiveness, economically by wealth, and politically by mistrust of the people." "[It] is now for the yeomanry and the mechanics to march at the head of civilization," declared George Bancroft. "The merchants and the lawyers, that is, the monied interest broke up feudalism. The day for the multitude has now dawned."⁶⁵ Until now the Presidents had been "gentlemen" by birth, wealth, or education. Andrew Jackson was elected by the rank and file as one of themselves—a man trusted by the common people, who believed that in him they had discovered a leader who would not betray them.⁶⁶ Although his administration antagonized several of the factions whose support brought him to power, as President he proved to be one of the few American political leaders who consistently in word and practice maintained that government must deal as justly with the poor as with the rich. He refused to permit the federal power to be used for business advantage, or government credit to be utilized for private profit.

Within the decade of the thirties two national parties were evolved, a consolidated Democratic Party and the Whig Party. So widely disseminated throughout the nation and so strong in national thought and life had democratic popular sentiment become that when the Whigs nominated William Henry Harrison for President in 1839, they considered it necessary to picture their candidate as a democratic pioneer. A representative of one of the first families of Virginia, educated and moderately wealthy, Harrison was living as a country gentleman on his two thousand-acre farm in southern Ohio but he was depicted as a rough and ready frontiersman, living in a log cabin, wearing a coonskin cap, and drinking hard cider.⁶⁷

CIVIC AND POLITICAL INTEREST AND ACTIVITY

For the most part the early Methodist Circuit Riders stood aloof from the political contests of the times, but they preached a theology and an ethic which exercised on the thought of the people a powerful influence in behalf of natural rights and equality. As in England the influence of Wesley upon civic and political conditions had been noteworthy but for the greater part had worked indirectly,⁶⁸ so also was it with the Methodist influence in America.

During the Revolution, because of their British connection, Methodist preachers were suspected of Toryism,* although with a few exceptions, unfairly. Unwilling to take the test-oaths George Shadford applied to General Smallwood for a pass that would enable him to embark for England. When the general inquired his business Shadford told him that he had been travelling through the woods for several years, to seek and to save that which was

* See Vol. I, 45f.

lost. It was true we could not beat the political drum in the pulpit, preaching bloody sermons; because we considered ourselves messengers of peace, and called to preach the Gospel of peace.⁶⁹

Benjamin Abbott likewise declared that he "never meddled in the politics of the day." When questioned by a major of the Revolutionary forces whether he "preached up for war," Abbott said:

I told him I preached repentance toward God, and faith in Jesus Christ, and that all who did not experience this would be damned and go to hell.⁷⁰

But there were others who did not hesitate to declare themselves publicly, proclaiming themselves for independence and glorying in "our admirable Revolution." In 1793, when the "Whisky Insurrection" was in progress Washington found occasion to write to Valentine Cook, Thornton Fleming, and William M'Lenahan, commending them for using "their influence . . . to inculcate the necessity of a peaceable compliance with the law."⁷¹ Ezekiel Cooper records in his "Diary" receipt of a letter "disapproving of my preaching at all on politics, which I touched upon considerably," declaring that he felt "a clear conscience."⁷²

In New England the clergy of the Established Church were predominantly on the side of the conservative, property-holding class.* The dissenters, for the greater part, advocated the doctrines of Jefferson.⁷³ In fact, the overthrow of the Federalist dynasty of New England was chiefly attributed by Samuel G. Goodrich to the Methodists, Baptists, and Episcopalians cooperating with the new democratic political forces in undermining "the old and established order of things."⁷⁴ William Bentley, in his *Diary*, refers to Peter Jayne, the Methodist preacher at Lynn in 1803-05, as having published "a Sermon on a political subject."⁷⁵ Willbur Fisk, in a discourse delivered before the Vermont Legislature, declared that the spreading of the principles of the Gospel of Christ would mean the imparting of "liberal views of the rights of man," destroying "dangerous ambition and lust of power" in rulers and "the spirit of insubordination, on the part of the ruled."⁷⁶

Despite concentration of authority and lack of democracy in Church organization and administration, not only in New England, but in the nation at large, the influence of the Methodists was strongly felt in behalf of democratic principles.† Alfred Brunson estimated that "the great mass, if not the

* "The vast majority of the Congregational clergy were Federalists," William A. Robinson states, and "the Congregational Church as an institution stood for Federalism."—*Jeffersonian Democracy in New England*, pp. 132, 138.

† Wesley M. Gewehr: "the significant fact with all the evangelical groups is that each emphasized the worth and equality of the individual. Is not this the real essence of democracy? In all of them each member had the right to express himself freely—a thing lacking in the old Established Church. Thus, the Methodist classes and bands were small units in which every member was expected to take an active part by praying, testifying, or exhorting. In fact, no Church placed more emphasis on the activity of the individual, and the more gifted were bound to have an opportunity to assume some sort of leadership by being chosen to head a class or band, or by being pressed into the ranks of the lay ministry. Even with their centralized organization, then, the Methodists were essentially a popular Church in which there were decided democratic influences operating upon the members."—*The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790*, p. 198.

entire, of the Methodist Church and her adherents," were political liberals.⁷⁷ Laban Clark, one of the founders of the Missionary Society, and for many years one of the most prominent ministers of the Church, took an active part in political affairs. Seaman says of him that those who knew him well would hardly recognize a portraiture of him which failed to emphasize that he was "a thorough-going Democrat of the old school, admiring Andrew Jackson in respect to politics as he did John Wesley in respect to theology."⁷⁸

While there were many laymen in the Methodist Church who were in full agreement with the positions taken by their pastors some resented the discussion of what were considered to be political questions in the pulpit. While the feeling was probably stronger in the South than in any other region it was not entirely absent in the Middle States and in New England. Without doubt this attitude tended to influence many of the itinerants against the discussion of political issues as such in their sermons. Even though they did not attempt to make the connection explicit in their preaching, there was no question concerning their allegiance* to democratic political ideals.⁷⁹ Their active interest in civic and political affairs is indicated by the number of ministers who were appointed or elected to office in the state and national governments. Edward Tiffin, a Methodist Local Preacher, became the first governor of the state of Ohio (1803-07). In 1820 William Stevenson, of the Missouri Conference, was elected a member of the first Arkansas Territorial Legislature and was chosen Speaker of the House.⁸⁰ For four terms, 1828, 1829, 1832, 1833, Peter Cartwright represented Sangamon County in the Lower House of the Illinois General Assembly.† William M'Comas, an influential Local Preacher, took an active part in politics in Virginia, serving both in the state legislature and in the national Congress.⁸¹ Joseph Wyatt was chaplain to the Maryland Legislature for many years.⁸² Mark Trafton, a prominent New England Methodist preacher, was elected to Congress from Westfield, Massachusetts.⁸³ Zadoc Casey, a native of Georgia, a Local Preacher for more than fifty years, became a member of the Legislature of Illinois in 1828, was elected lieutenant-governor in 1830, and in 1832 was elected to Congress, serving for ten years.⁸⁴ Jesse Lee was elected chaplain of the national House of Representatives in 1809, later re-elected, and in 1814 was chosen chaplain of the Senate.⁸⁵ William Ryland was six times elected

* Reinhold Niebuhr: "While the social histories of America frequently emphasize the anti-Jeffersonian and the anti-Jacksonian conservatism of the more traditional churches, they usually fail to do justice to the intimate and even organic relation between the Jacksonian political radicalism of the frontier and the spirit of Evangelical Christianity, particularly as expressed in the Methodist and Baptist churches, which moved with, and religiously conquered, the frontier. It was the affinity between Evangelical Christianity and frontier democracy which made churches of sectarian origin notably the Methodist and the Baptist, the most powerful churches of our nation."—Art., "The Impact of Protestantism Today," *The Atlantic*, 181 (1948), 2 (February), 59.

† The *Journal* of the House shows Cartwright to have been one of the most active of its members, chairman of several committees, and the author of various important bills and resolutions. In 1846 Cartwright ran for Congress against Abraham Lincoln, receiving 4,827 votes, Lincoln receiving 6,340.—Art., *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society For the Year 1902*, in Illinois State Historical Library Publications, No. 7, pp. 52f.

chaplain to Congress and later, for seventeen years, was chaplain at the Navy Yard in Washington.⁸⁶ In 1831, the United States Senate, without previous intimation to him, elected John P. Durbin its chaplain.⁸⁷ These are but a few of many Methodist preachers who rendered significant civic and political service within the period (1787-1844).

While Methodist preachers were predominantly liberal in political affiliation, there were some conservatives. In a few cases in the latter years of the period the Methodist ministry furnished Whig candidates for public office. William Senter of the Holston Conference was twice elected to Congress as a Whig; and in the fall of 1840 Alfred Brunson himself was elected on the Whig ticket to the House of Representatives of the Wisconsin Territory.⁸⁸ The outstanding example of a Methodist preacher in politics was William G. Brownlow ("Parson Brownlow"), who in 1838 established the *Elizabethtown Whig* (Tennessee), continuing it under various titles for many years.⁸⁹

In the middle thirties the sentiment against preachers engaging in political activity became so strong that the Church placed itself officially on record against it.* This action, however, was a direct outgrowth of the prevailing tension over abolitionism rather than a change of attitude in relation to participation in civic and political affairs in general.

PRISON REFORM

The penal code of colonial America was chiefly an inheritance from England, although in the main somewhat more humane. As late as 1833 it was estimated that every year 75,000 persons in the United States were imprisoned for debt. Following the Revolution there had been some amelioration in the severity of punishments inflicted, including reduction in the number of capital offences, but criminal law continued to be extremely rigorous. After the turn of the century there was some improvement in prison conditions but even during the decade of the twenties many jails and workhouses were described as filthy and immoral while conditions in such prisons as the Bridewell in New York City, the Walnut Street Prison in Philadelphia, and the Baltimore and Washington jails were unspeakably bad. In some penal institutions the sole dependence of the prisoners for food, fuel, and clothing was upon voluntary charitable organizations.⁹⁰

While Methodists shared with the Quakers and members of other denominations some degree of responsibility for maintaining prisoners' aid, there was among Methodist preachers no such sense of mission for prison visitation as had characterized the Holy Club and, later, the British Confer-

* A resolution of the General Conference of 1836 declared that "it is highly improper for any member of an annual conference to engage in political strife, and to offer for a seat in the legislative councils, or Congress hall . . ." This resolution was not incorporated in the *Discipline* but was "ordered to be recorded in the journal of each annual conference, for the regulation of all concerned . . ."—Nathan Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, IV, 265f.

ences.⁹¹ Within the first month following his arrival in America, Joseph Pilmoor records visiting "the poor prisoners in the gaol" in Philadelphia and "preaching the gospel of Christ to them." A few days later (Sunday, Nov. 19, 1769) he writes, "my poor labors were owned, especially among the prisoners."⁹² These entries in his "Journal" are followed by numerous other references to visitation of prisoners in Philadelphia and New York. On Tuesday, November 28, 1774, Francis Asbury arrived at Burlington, New Jersey, and was greeted with news that two men were to be hanged on the following Monday:

The next day I visited them; and found one of them, who was a Papist, a little attentive; but he wanted to know if he might not trust for pardon after death. The other was a young man who appeared to be quite stupid. Both Captain W. and I spoke freely and largely to them; though there was very little room to hope that we should do them any good.

The following Friday he visited the prisoners again; this time also in company with Captain W. (doubtless Captain Webb). Asbury comments: "very little fruit of his labour could be seen."⁹³ In March, 1776, he tells of visiting "a poor unhappy man imprisoned for murder," who he felt "was brought under some concern" before he parted with him. A few days later he records visiting a prisoner in another place under sentence of death.⁹⁴ Ezekiel Cooper, while serving as pastor in New York, visited the prison regularly on Tuesday and Friday evenings of each week, preaching and praying with the prisoners. On Sunday, May 14, 1786, a note was sent from the prison to the John Street Church, stating that "near one hundred desired the prayers of the congregation" on their behalf.⁹⁵

These are typical accounts of the prison ministry of the early Methodist preachers. Their visits were mostly confined to convicts sentenced to execution, chiefly to prepare them for death. There is little evidence that Asbury or others of the early American Methodist preachers manifested any special concern either for penal reform or for constructive measures for the prevention of crime.⁹⁶

THE TEMPERANCE REFORM MOVEMENT

In the latter part of the eighteenth and the early decades of the nineteenth century temperance reform assumed the proportions of a nationwide crusade. The motivation of the movement was strongly religious and churches in all sections of the country had a prominent part. From the beginning of British Methodism, opposition to the manufacture and use of "spirituous liquors" was inwrought as an integral element and in this particular, as in many others, early American Methodism was powerfully influenced by the Wesleyan tradition.

The use of intoxicating drinks was taken for granted in colonial society.

Among religious people, including the clergy, as among the nonreligious, no moral stigma was attached to drinking.* Intoxication, except when it took the form of habitual drunkenness, was not morally banned. At ordination ceremonies in New England it was expected that either the congregation or the town would provide liquors for all who attended.⁹⁷ Drinking was almost if not quite as common among women as among men.

Even church raisings sometimes ended by everyone becoming drunk and at funerals excessive drinking was common. Near Savannah, Georgia, Joseph Pilmoor calling at a house where a death had occurred found some of the people who had gathered merry with drink.

The widespread and excessive use of liquor became a matter of comment by European visitors. Adam Hodgson wrote that while taking America generally, from Maine to Louisiana, "the sin of drinking to excess prevails less extensively there than in England," nevertheless in some parts "it prevails to a lamentable extent." Captain Basil Hall, R.N., on an extensive trip through the state of New York found bars, taps, and grogshops everywhere staring him in the face. The use of spirits, he comments, is common in every country, but "it certainly is not, upon the whole, any where so conspicuous as in the United States."⁹⁸

By the middle of the eighteenth century the extent and attendant evils of intemperance had begun to invite criticism, and in the fourth quarter of the century moral condemnation was freely expressed, by no group more strongly than by the Methodists.

The original Wesleyan rule, in force in Great Britain, adopted in 1743 against "drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity,"⁹⁹ was accepted as Methodist law. To effect reform in the prevalent customs of distilling, selling, and drinking was a well-understood objective of the Circuit Riders.

The Revolution, as in the case with every war, increased the use of liquor and of profits derived from its manufacture and sale. For the sake of increased gain† some members of Methodist Societies yielded to the temptation to engage in distilling. At the Baltimore Conference of 1780 the practice was given consideration, and action was recorded in the traditional question and answer form:

* This continued to be true during the early part of the nineteenth century. Lyman Beecher describes the boisterous drinking at the first Congregational and Presbyterian district association he attended after entering upon his pastorate at Litchfield, Conn., in 1811: "As they [the ministers] could not all drink at once, they were obliged to stand and wait as people do when they go to mill. . . . The sideboard, with the spillings of water, and sugar, and liquor, looked and smelled like the har of a very active grog shop. None of the Consociation were drunk; but that there was not, at times, a considerable amount of exhilaration, I cannot affirm."—*Autobiography*, I, 245.

† Walter G. Muelder: "In relation to the problems of wealth, many writers have rightly pointed out that he [Wesley] did not address himself to the general social ethic of its production. At the same time he did employ the doctrine of the stewardship of vocations with respect to employments like the liquor traffic, slavery, smuggling, hazardous and unhealthy work which bear on earning one's livelihood."—Essay, "Methodism's Contribution to Social Reform," in W. K. Anderson, Ed., *Methodism*, p. 195.

Quest. 23. *Do we disapprove of the practice of distilling grain into liquor? Shall we disown our friends* who will not renounce the practice?* [Ans.] Yes.¹⁰⁰

Three years later—at the Conference of 1783—this action was reaffirmed, expanded, and strengthened:

Quest. 11. *Should our friends be permitted to make spirituous liquors, sell, and drink them in drams?* [Ans.] By no means: we think it wrong in its nature and consequences; and desire all our preachers to teach the people by precept and example to put away this evil.¹⁰¹

These early Conference actions were not recorded as mere expressions of opinion. They grew out of deep concern and keenly felt moral condemnation. They expressed what the preachers believed to be the judgment of God, and they were recorded as disciplinary rules to be enforced as means of reforming iniquitous social customs and personal practices. This becomes clearly evident in numerous statements of Asbury's *Journal*:

Tuesday, 25 [July, 1780, North Carolina]. . . . I dwell as among briars, thorns, and scorpions: the people are poor, and cruel to one another: some families are ready to starve for want of bread, while others have corn and rye distilled into poisonous whiskey;

Saturday, 14 [March, 1795]. . . . I preached and prayed, and (the people said) stormed and scolded. When meeting was over, I saw the new still-house, which, as George Fox said, "struck at my life;" and we found it necessary to deal plainly with brother _____ about his distillery, and to tell him what we apprehended would be the consequence if persisted in. Its natural tendency would be to corrupt his family, and the neighbourhood; and to destroy the society. O, that the snare of Satan may be forever broken!

Monday, 30 [March, 1795, South Carolina]. . . . My body is weak, and so is my faith for this part of the vineyard. . . . This country improves in cultivation, wickedness, mills, and stills; a *prophet of strong drink* would be acceptable to many of these people. I believe that the Methodist preachers keep clear, both by precept and example; would to God the members did so too! Lord, have pity on weeping, bleeding Zion!

In 1812 he recorded his most severe judgment:

Wednesday, 5 [August, Pennsylvania]. . . . Farewell to Merwine's — I lodge no more there; whisky — hell; as most of the taverns here are. . . . this [whisky] is the prime curse of the United States, and will be, I fear much, the ruin of all that is excellent in morals and government in them. Lord, interpose thine arm!¹⁰²

The actions of successive General Conferences, beginning with the Christmas Conference of 1784 to the General Conference at the close of the period (1844), bear testimony not only to the strength of the forces against which

* Preceding the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church at the Christmas Conference of 1784, persons enrolled in the Methodist Societies were not referred to as "members" but as "friends."

the Methodists had to contend in their efforts for temperance reform but also the way in which ecclesiastical self-interest operated to modify the application of moral principle.

The first *Discipline* of the Methodist Episcopal Church, issued in 1785, has this statement :

Q. 23. May our Ministers or Travelling-Preachers drink spirituous Liquors?

A. By no means, unless it be *medicinally*.¹⁰³

While in this action the Church at the very beginning of its organized life placed itself definitely on record in opposition to the drinking of intoxicating liquors, the rule recorded was much less rigorous than the earlier statute* which it superseded, lacking all reference to the distilling, selling, and drinking of spirituous liquors by lay members.

It is important to note that a powerful economic influence entered at this time, possibly determinative in the omission of a prohibition against distilling. The practice of wholesale distilling of spirituous liquors from grain in frontier communities was defended on the ground of the necessity of money with which to pay taxes. Local cash markets were all but nonexistent. Means of transportation of grain in large quantities to eastern markets were lacking. Scarcely more than four bushels of corn, rye, or wheat could be carried by horse, but in the form of whisky the equivalent of twenty-four bushels could readily be transported.

In the second edition of the *Discipline* (1786) question 23 was entirely omitted.† In the third edition (1787), the first to be divided into sections, under Section X, "On the Duty of Preachers . . .," the question, "Are you temperate in all things?" was included, and as a subdivision, "Do you chuse and use Water for your common Drink? And only take Wine and other Liquors medicinally?" In the fourth edition (1788) the latter question was altered to read, "And only take wine medicinally or sacramentally?" omitting the words "and other Liquors."¹⁰⁴ This question was retained in all editions of the *Discipline* to and including that of 1844 without further change.

In the fifth edition of the *Discipline* (1789) a new section, XXXV, entitled "The Nature, Design and general Rules of the United Societies," was inserted. In this section, a specific rule was included requiring avoidance of "evil of every kind," including "Drunkenness, *buying or selling spirituous liquors; or drinking them.*" This was a significant change, in effect a prohibi-

* The General Rules in Wesley's *Works* bear the date May 1, 1743, but in a period of three months, beginning Dec. 30, 1742, out of 64 persons expelled from a single Society—that in Newcastle—17 were removed for drunkenness, and two for retailing spirituous liquors.—Cf. Henry Wheeler, *Methodism and the Temperance Reformation*, p. 20.

† The reason for this omission is not clear. As no General Conference was held between December, 1784, and November, 1792, alterations in the *Discipline* during this period probably were effected by Asbury's submitting proposed changes to the Annual Conferences in succession and, when approved, publishing them in the *Minutes* of the Annual Conferences or in new editions of the *Discipline*.—Cf. Robert Emory, *History of the Discipline* . . . , pp. 79f.

tion of *all* use of spirituous liquors as drink, and of buying or selling them under any circumstances. It was even more drastic than Wesley's original provision, since it omitted the phrase "unless in cases of extreme necessity."¹⁰⁵

Evidently the new rule met strong opposition, for in the very next edition of the *Discipline* (1790) the interdict against "buying or selling" was eliminated. The statement was changed to read "Drunkenness: or drinking spirituous liquors, unless [in] cases of necessity." In this form it was continued in the *Discipline* until 1844. By whose authority the change was made is unknown. At any rate, a great disservice was rendered the cause. The Church was compromised in the opinion of many people and its discipline was so weakened that within a decade the retailing of liquors by members in some communities had become a scandal.

The revised statement, even in modified form, was evidently not interpreted as having the force of a statute, and whatever disciplinary influence it possessed was even further lessened by an action of the General Conference of 1796 in inserting in the *Discipline* a statement concerning "the sale and use of spirituous liquors" which tended to shift the emphasis away from selling, serving, and drinking to disorderly conduct caused by drink:

If any member of our society retail or give spirituous liquors, and any thing disorderly be transacted under his roof on this account, the preacher who has the oversight of the circuit, shall proceed against him as in the case of other immoralities; and the person accused shall be cleared, censured, suspended or excluded, according to his conduct, as on other charges of immorality.¹⁰⁶

In addition to this Conference action Coke and Asbury appended to it the following apologetic note:

Far be it from us to wish or endeavor to intrude upon the proper religious or civil liberty of any of our people. But the retailing of spirituous liquors, and giving drams to customers, when they call at the stores, are such prevalent customs at present, and are productive of so many evils, that we judge it our indispensable duty to form a regulation against them.—The cause of God, which we prefer to every other consideration under heaven, absolutely requires us to step forth with humble boldness in this respect.¹⁰⁷

Altogether, the effect of these several actions could not have been other than seriously to retard the progress of temperance reform among both Methodist preachers and members. Numerous laymen engaged in distilling, selling, and drinking liquor without forfeiting their membership in the Church.* Even some preachers were known to deal in ardent spirits.

By 1810, according to some estimates, more than 14,000 distilleries were

* Willbur Fisk, principal of Wesleyan Academy, Wilbraham, Mass., was more than a little embarrassed, in his zealous efforts for temperance reform, by the fact that a trustee of the academy and member of the Methodist Church owned a distillery, carried on a large business in its products, and himself imbibed freely.—See George Prentice, *Willbur Fisk*, p. 183.

in existence, producing more than twenty-five million gallons of ardent spirits annually. Enumerators of the 1820 census, referring to Jefferson County, District of Ohio, declared that distilling was such a general practice that it was meaningless to classify it as a distinct industry.¹⁰⁸ In some other sections of the country it was not less prevalent. The low point in Methodist conviction and practice was reached during the second decade of the century.

The General Conference of 1812 approved an Address to the Church which, while it marked an advance as compared with popular sentiment, was strangely weak in contrast to the uncompromising enactments of earlier days:

It is with regret that we have seen the use of ardent spirits, dram drinking, &c., so common among the Methodists. We have endeavored to suppress the practice by our example; but it is necessary that we add precept to our example; and we really think it not consistent with the character of a Christian to be immersed in the practice of distilling or retailing an article so destructive to the morals of society, and we do most earnestly recommend the annual conferences and our people to join with us in making a firm and constant stand against an evil which has ruined thousands, both in time and eternity.¹⁰⁹

Farther than this somewhat innocuous pronouncement the 1812 General Conference was unwilling to go. When James Axley introduced a resolution proposing to condemn the character of a minister who sold "spirituous or malt liquors" the move met defeat¹¹⁰—possibly because of its inclusion of fermented liquors in the same class with distilled spirits. Nevertheless, the 1812 Conference marked a turning point.

Undiscouraged by the rebuff he had suffered four years previously, in 1816 Axley proposed and the General Conference decreed "that no preacher shall distil or retail spirituous liquors without forfeiting his license."¹¹¹ While this action was not as strong as that proposed in 1812, since that included "malt" liquors and this did not, its enactment recorded an advance in temperance legislation.

Little was accomplished for reform by the General Conference of 1820, and in 1824, so far as the record indicates, the subject seems not to have been mentioned. An effort was made in 1820 to repeal the rule forbidding Local Preachers to distill or sell spirituous liquors, but the motion was defeated. A motion was then made that "no member in our Church shall distil ardent spirits without forfeiting his standing," but this also met defeat by indefinite postponement.¹¹²

In 1828 the General Conference was memorialized to adopt more drastic Church legislation. The Conference appointed a committee on "petitions relating to the use of ardent spirits." In accord with the usual procedure the committee's report, when presented, was laid on the table but for some

reason not apparent from the *Journal* was not called up for action. On May 24, as the Conference was about to adjourn, Willbur Fisk offered a resolution which, after stating that from the beginnings of Methodism its rules and examples had been "calculated to suppress intemperance, and to discountenance the needless use of ardent spirits," declared:

That all our preachers and people . . . are . . . expected to adhere to their first principles as contained in their excellent rules . . . and to do all they prudently can, both by precept and example, to suppress intemperance

. . . That to bring about the reformation desired . . . it is important that we neither drink ourselves, (except medicinally,) nor give it to visitors or workmen.¹¹³

The resolution was adopted, but it cannot be said that it marked an advance in the official position of the Church.

The year 1832 brought evidence of the development of widespread public interest in temperance reform. Never before had so many memorials been presented to a General Conference. Petitions and resolutions came from widely separated sections of the country—from Annual Conferences, District Conferences, Circuits and Stations, schools and colleges. In recognition of what it termed an "intense and growing interest" a special committee on temperance was authorized, to which all memorials were referred. The committee presented an extensive report recommending, from among the measures suggested, that a General Conference Address to the Church at large be prepared. Late in the session the Address, written by H. B. Bascom, was brought before the Conference.* By unanimous action, authorization was given for its publication and wide circulation as a tract.¹¹⁴ Unfortunately, due to adjournment soon afterward, other recommendations did not receive consideration.

Although many petitions and memorials praying for the reinstatement of Wesley's original rule were presented to the General Conference of 1836, the necessary authorization was not given. However, the law of 1816 was broadened to read, "No elder, deacon, or preacher shall distill or retail spirituous liquors without forfeiting his official standing."¹¹⁵ The question of the restoration of Wesley's rule was then submitted to the Annual Conferences. A committee of the 1840 General Conference reported that of 2,080 preachers voting on the question 1,774 had voted in the affirmative and 306 in the nega-

* The Address was an appeal based upon a review of the teaching of the Old and New Testaments, and of John Wesley, on "the vice of intemperance." It invoked the aid of members of the Church in an attempt to "banish the evil from our Church altogether," and concluded with this apologetic note: "we cannot but fear that the alteration . . . [of Wesley's original rule] by the American Methodists, . . . since 1790, . . . [has] been attended with but little good to any, and perhaps with *direct injury* to thousands. And now that the engrossing question of total abstinence is arresting the attention of most of the Evangelical Churches . . . and in many of them becoming a term of membership, we are fully convinced it would be criminal in us to remain silent, and not lend our aid and cooperation in purging the Churches and redeeming the nation from this insidious yet alarming and desolating evil."—*Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VI (1832), 48 (July 27), 189.

tive. Nevertheless, the committee advised against the change* on the ground that the

true grammatical construction of the language of the Discipline implies that there must be three-fourths of the members of every annual conference in favor of the contemplated measure, in order that it may be lawfully carried into effect.¹¹⁶

The 1840 General Conference did, however, remove from the *Discipline* the section, "Of the sale and use of spirituous liquors," adopted in 1796.

The slavery question so dominated the proceedings, both of the Annual Conferences of the quadrennium 1840-44, and of the 1844 General Conference—with resulting currents and crosscurrents of agitation and influence—that due consideration of any other question was almost impossible. The memorial for the restoration of Wesley's original rule again went the round of the Annual Conferences, this time failing by sixteen votes of securing a two-thirds majority. In the General Conference of 1844 a motion to the effect that "no members should use as beverage, or manufacture, or traffic in intoxicating liquors, on pain of expulsion after remonstrance," following long debate, was laid on the table. By resolution the Conference pronounced the use of intoxicating drinks "subversive of the health, morals, domestic peace and happiness of mankind" and total abstinence "the only safeguard against all these evils"; recommended the pledge of the American Temperance Union; and urged all members and friends of the Church to give the temperance reformation "unreserved approval and earnest and liberal support."¹¹⁷ The restoration of Wesley's rule was submitted for a third time to vote of the Annual Conferences.

But if the General Conference was inclined to be cautious and dilatory in legislative action Methodist preachers were not lacking who were aggressive and determined in attacking the evils of intemperance. Some, particularly in the West, early became known as temperance reformers. Of these, James Axley (1776-1834) is credited with having been one of the most effective. Another was Alfred Brunson, of whom it was said that he not only insisted upon observance of Conference resolutions against the sale and use of intoxicants but that he was strenuous in his opposition to the liquor traffic. "His words," his enemies said, "are like a sledgehammer, and his tongue shaves like a razor, only it is rough on the edge." A third who was widely known was James B. Finley. Before temperance societies were heard of in

* No action was taken directly on the report of the committee but the matter came before the Conference just before adjournment in the form of a motion which, in effect, would have reinstated Wesley's original rule in the *Discipline*. Many members had left the Conference. The vote on the motion was reported as 75 affirmative and 38 negative, one short of a two-thirds majority. H. B. Bascom, who had not voted, asked to be recorded in the affirmative, making exactly a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. Bishop J. O. Andrew, who was presiding, ruled that as two-thirds of the *elected members* had not voted for it the motion had failed to carry.—See "Journal of the General Conference, 1840," p. 130, and "Debates of the General Conference, 1844," p. 61, in *G. C. Journals*, II; H. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 103f.

the West, he had convinced thousands of people of the evils of the traffic and of drinking. In his *Autobiography* he writes :

Frequently I would pledge whole congregations, standing upon their feet, to the temperance cause; and during my rounds I am certain the better portion of the entire community became the friends and advocates of temperance, and on this circuit alone, at least one thousand had solemnly taken the pledge of total abstinence.¹¹⁸

Led by Jason Lee, the settlers in the vicinity of the Willamette mission station on February 11, 1836, organized the Oregon Temperance Society. When, a few months later, two settlers proposed to establish a distillery and sell liquor to the Indians and the white population a meeting of the Society was called at Lee's mission house and a committee appointed to protest their action. As a result the enterprise was abandoned.¹¹⁹

In New England Willbur Fisk was a foremost advocate of the cause—by his preaching, lecturing, and writing convincing many of the evil influence, the economic waste, and the sinfulness of the liquor traffic.¹²⁰

Ministers not only preached against liquor but also used personal persuasion in their pastoral work. E. F. Newell tells of calling on a rum-seller and leading him to give up the business.¹²¹ Some preachers were restrained by intense local opposition, but to men like Jacob Young antagonism served as a challenge to more determined action.* He tells of an experience he had on one of his Circuits in Ohio :

The men of the world, in [my] part of the country, had taken a firm stand against the cause of temperance. . . . [This included] some of the Methodists, who made, sold, and drank whisky. We knew, when we brought up the subject, we were going to have a hard battle but we resolved to do our duty The notice of the meeting being published, the house was crowded to overflowing. We framed our constitution, and then organized a temperance society, under the old pledge.¹²²

On occasion, preachers did not hesitate to stand against prevailing customs of social drinking. A striking incident of this kind is told of Bishop Elijah Hedding in connection with the 1833 session of the Maine Conference, held at Bath. A prominent citizen, an ex-governor, gave a great dinner, inviting members of the Conference and leading laymen. When all were seated the host arose and said, "Bishop, give me the pleasure to drink a glass of wine with you." Bishop Hedding politely but with decision replied, "I pray you will excuse me, sir; I never drink wine except at the sacrament, or as a medicine." The host, somewhat confused, then invited the entire company to

* On his way to lecture on temperance in a Connecticut town Willbur Fisk met a layman who endeavored to persuade him to cancel his engagement "because the local church was not in favor of temperance, because some of its members traded in liquor, and because the Methodist society there would be divided if the lecturer persisted. Said . . . [Fisk], 'Sir, if the church stands on rum, let it go!'"—G. Prentice, *op. cit.*, pp. 184f.

drink with him, but "not a single preacher, and only one or two laymen, touched the cup."¹²³

Some of the preachers, however, either shared the common notion of the harmlessness of drink no matter under what circumstances or drank because of fondness for alcoholic beverages. Peter Cartwright tells of his journey to the General Conference of 1824* in company with Samuel H. Thompson, Jesse Walker, and an unidentified Circuit Rider whom he calls F. S. Two of the company called for liquor at their overnight lodging houses:

I felt hurt that two Methodist preachers, delegates to the General Conference, and our travelling companions, would call for and drink spirits in those public houses. Thompson and myself remonstrated with them. They defended the practice. I told them at length that if they did not quit the practice I would not travel with them, and in this Thompson joined me. Brother Walker was a good man, and . . . he agreed to, and did quit it altogether, and we got along much better.¹²⁴

Alcohol is no respecter of persons. Since some preachers indulged in drink, it was inevitable that among them there should be victims of alcoholism. Among the very few, the most prominent was Joseph Cromwell, who was admitted on trial in 1778 and immediately won the admiration and affection of Asbury. In 1780 Asbury declared him to be the only man in America with whose preaching he never tired; that Cromwell almost never opened his mouth in vain, and that "the power of God . . . [attended him] more or less in every place." A few months later, thinking that he should choose some of the preachers to accompany him on his ceaseless journeys, Asbury declared that he regarded Cromwell the best fitted of all the preachers to serve as his companion. Twenty-four years later he recorded his death as an alcoholic (in 1797 he had been expelled "for immoral conduct"), commenting that he died with "no manifestations of God to his soul," and adding, "We can only hope that God had mercy on him."¹²⁵

Entrenched popular belief in the medicinal values of whisky, particularly in the prevention and cure of epidemic diseases, was long an influential factor in the continuance of drinking and in restricting both ecclesiastical and secular legislation against the manufacture and sale of liquor. Nathan Bangs relates that following his appointment in 1804 as a missionary to a new settlement on the river Thames in Upper Canada (now Ontario), a region then specially subject to fever and ague,

he was generally presented with a bottle of whisky, and urged to partake of it as a preservative against the fever; but he declined the beverage, and told them they might, if they chose, drink their whisky, and he would drink water and tea, and see who would have the better health;¹²⁶

* Cartwright also states that in 1817 he felt reluctant to accept appointment to the Red River Circuit, to which he was assigned by Bishop McKendree, because there were on the Circuit "about twenty talented local preachers" who were dram drinkers.—W. P. Strickland, Ed., *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright* . . . , p. 182.

These traditional ideas were slow to give way to enlightened opinion but by the third decade of the century the belief that ardent spirits were a preventative of epidemic diseases and also of high curative value in various physical ailments was being discredited by professional judgment. Physicians of prominence in various parts of the country were less frequently prescribing distilled spirits, some no longer using whisky at all.* Many large employers of labor were discontinuing the traditional practice of supplying liquor to employees, some declaring that not only was efficiency impaired thereby but that the effects were often demoralizing and destructive. A movement toward total abstinence was beginning to get under way among trade unions and labor societies. Both in the East and in western frontier communities farmers were discontinuing the custom of a daily ration of rum or whisky in agricultural operations and on special occasions such as barn-raising.¹²⁷ Various nonreligious organizations were taking a bold and forthright stand.

The postwar depression with its concomitants of unemployment, destitution, and hunger emphasized the interrelation between intemperance and pauperism. Timothy Dwight, Lyman Beecher, Calvin Chapin, and other religious leaders headed the demand for total abstinence from the use of intoxicants as the only remedy for what had become a national menace.†

Momentum in the temperance crusade was not gained until temperance societies began to be formed. What the denominations had failed to accomplish, acting in their corporate capacity, was achieved when leaders of the several communions—ministers and laymen—associated themselves together in non-ecclesiastical organizations whose specific purpose was that of agitation and education, together with the enforcement of legal measures against the liquor traffic. One of the earliest of these organizations was the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, organized at a convention held in the State House in Boston on February 4, 1813. Its leaders included a distinguished group of Congregational, Presbyterian, and Unitarian clergymen, together with a number of wealthy businessmen and prominent politicians. Tracts, sermons, and pamphlets spread the principles and teachings of the movement far beyond New England. Soon similar societies were organized not only in the other New England states but also in New York and Pennsylvania. New interest in temperance was awakened in the South and West.‡

* Somewhat later 75 physicians practicing in the state of New York signed a declaration that they no longer gave distilled spirits a prominent place among curatives.

† Lyman Beecher: "So long as men suppose that there is neither crime nor danger in drinking, short of what they denominate drunkenness, they will cast off fear and move onward to ruin by a silent, certain course, until destruction comes upon them, and they cannot escape." (Sermon II, 39.) "Intemperance is a national sin, carrying destruction from the centre to every extremity of the empire, and calling upon the nation to array itself, *en masse*, against it." (Sermon IV, 60.)—*Six Sermons on Intemperance*, preached at Litchfield, Conn., in 1825.

‡ The town of Mt. Carmel, Ill., laid out about 1818, was established "on Temperance principles." Eighteen years later Thomas Hinde, one of the founders, wrote to a friend in the East: "We never

The first national organization, the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, was formed in Boston, Massachusetts, on February 13, 1826. Of the fifteen signers of its constitution, seven were ministers and eight were laymen. Of the seven ministers, one, Timothy Merritt, was a Methodist. The purpose of the organizers was to enlist officially all of the Churches in the nationwide crusade.¹²⁸

The Methodist Church was slow to respond. In the list in the second *Annual Report* of thirty-four ecclesiastical bodies that had passed resolutions approving the objectives of the society, only one Methodist body is named, the New England Annual Conference.¹²⁹ For this, Nathan Bangs offers a partial explanation:

A proposition had been submitted to us to unite . . . , and on such terms as we did not think it expedient to accept. It was proposed to raise a permanent fund of twenty thousand dollars for the support of an agent or agents, who should be exclusively devoted to the temperance cause. To this it was objected, because it was thought that a permanent fund was unnecessary for the success of the enterprise, as the money needed to carry it forward might be better raised as it should be wanted. It was moreover urged that we had always been a temperance society, having made abstinence from intoxicating liquors as a beverage a term of church communion; and therefore to come into the measures of the American Society would be a virtual acknowledgment that we, as a church, needed such a reformation.¹³⁰

An influential negative factor, of which Bangs gives no intimation in his statement, was the strong sectarian spirit prevailing at the time among the leaders of Methodism. Controversy at once arose between those who would have the Church stand aloof from the new movement and those who advocated cooperation. The controversy revealed the real facts:

The [original] rule itself had been softened down, and . . . in many instances even this had been suffered to remain as a dead letter. . . . members of our own Church were in the daily habit of using intoxicating liquors, and . . . the Discipline, at best, had been but partially enforced. . . . the necessity of the reformation . . . became very apparent.¹³¹

But if the General Conference was cautious and dilatory in legislative action, largely because of the negative attitude of delegates from states where the liquor traffic was strongest and temperance sentiment had not been actively cultivated, numerous Annual Conferences were aggressive in temperance reform. Some organized themselves into temperance societies. In 1833 the New England Conference Temperance Society was formed, and in 1834 the Tennessee Conference Society. The latter included all of the members of the Conference "on the broad principle of total abstinence from the use

have had any intemperance amongst us scarcely in any way, except by interlopers and stragglers."—Letter to E. C. Delavan, Jan. 4, 1836, in *Journal of The American Temperance Union*, February, 1837, p. 8.

of ardent or intoxicating spirits, except as a medicine." Each member, by the action taken, pledged himself to become "a temperance agent . . . morally obligated to form a Temperance Society" in each congregation on his charge.¹³² The Indiana Conference in 1835 voted unanimously to request the ensuing General Conference to restore to the *Discipline* Wesley's original rule on ardent spirits.¹³³ Some Conferences took actions intended to stimulate Methodist Church members to bring their influence to bear on state legislators in behalf of the enactment of temperance legislation. The Kentucky Annual Conference in 1839 by unanimous vote "respectfully requested and directed" all of its members,

at a period as early as practicable, to induce the people within their respective charges, and the several divisions of their labor, to address petitions and memorials to the Legislature . . . praying for the enactment of suitable laws for the suppression of the *vice of Intemperance* within the commonwealth . . .¹³⁴

While in New England Congregational ministers were the most influential propagandists for the temperance movement, in some other regions—particularly the West—the Methodist preachers were the most active of any group. So preponderant was the Methodist influence in some sections of the West that enemies of temperance charged the Methodist Church with using the reform as a cloak for proselytizing, thereby gaining members among temperance advocates in other denominations.

The most active agencies of agitation and education were the temperance societies, the national organization and its auxiliaries, the membership of which by 1833 exceeded one million. Gradually the movement as a whole assumed the aspect of an almost nationwide religious revival. Temperance hymns were written and published for use by congregations large and small in church services and special temperance assemblies. Camp Meetings became occasions for mass appeals for pledge signing. Preachers in their sermons placed emphasis on the extent and manner in which intemperance thwarted the efforts of the Church to realize its mission.¹³⁵

The members of the temperance societies were with few exceptions communicants of the Protestant Churches and the majority of their most active leaders were ministers. The motivation of the entire movement, in fact, was definitely religious. Significant progress was made during the period under review in the growth of temperance sentiment throughout the nation and substantial results were achieved in winning men and women to total abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquor. Advocates and opponents alike agreed that the power and influence of the movement were derived chiefly from evangelical Christianity and that its successes could be attributed only to the fact that it was undergirded by the strength of the Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, and other evangelical Churches.

INCREASED PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN CHURCH AND COMMUNITY

In British Methodism Wesley had not hesitated to accord women a recognized place in his Movement* as sick-visitors, teachers, prayer leaders, Class Leaders, and even as preachers—although as regards preaching, some degree of reluctance and misgiving was evident. However, in this, as usual, his pragmatic attitude finally prevailed: “God owns women in the conversion of sinners,” he said, “and who am I that I should withstand God?” Though those who felt called on occasion to take a leading part in Class meetings and public assemblies were not numerous they constituted a notable company. Outstanding among them were Mary Bosanquet—who became the wife of Fletcher of Madelay—of whom Robert Roe said, “So much wisdom, dignity, and piety, joined to so much childlike simplicity, I never saw before”; Ann Cutler, widely known among Methodists by reason of her special power in prayer; Hester Ann Rogers, whose piety won for her a place in the calendar of Methodist saints; and Sarah Crosby, who in a single year traveled 960 miles, held 120 public services, led 600 Class and group meetings, and wrote 116 letters. Wesley knew well that his course was an offense against public sentiment and deeply rooted tradition. It behooved him to proceed with caution, hence his admonition to Sarah Crosby to alternate periods of “short exhortation with prayer,” never to speak in “continued discourse without some break” for more than four or five minutes, and never to take a text.¹³⁶ His last recorded letter on the subject was written, a month before his death, to Alice Cambridge who sought his advice when some complained of her, a woman, preaching. He wrote: Conscience “will not permit you to be silent when God commands you to speak . . . give as little offence as possible If you want books . . . let me know”¹³⁷ Women were not recorded as members of Conference during Wesley’s lifetime, nor were any assigned to regular Circuits. Nevertheless, the kind and extent of recognition that he accorded them in religious work marked an advance in the religious activities of women.†

In line with this Wesleyan precedent Coke, Asbury, and McKendree might have done much more than they did to broaden the scope of women’s participation in the life and work of the Church. To what extent their course was influenced by the strength of American custom against the participation of

* Both religious and secular histories, as a rule, give scant attention to the place and work of women in the Church and in society. “An examination of the standard histories of the United States . . . raises the pertinent question whether women have ever made any contributions to American national progress that are worthy of record. If the silence of the historians is taken to mean anything, it would appear that one-half of our population have been negligible factors in our country’s history.”—Arthur M. Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, p. 126.

† The British Conference of 1803 recorded the following rule: “We are of opinion that in general [women] ought not [be permitted to preach among us]. 1. Because a vast majority of our people are opposed to it. 2. Because their preaching does not at all seem necessary, there being a sufficiency of Preachers, whom God has accredited, to supply all the places in our connexion with regular preaching. . . .”—*Minutes of the [British] Conferences* . . . , II, 188.

women in any kind of public activities is difficult to determine. That adverse sentiment generally prevailed and was very strong is beyond dispute—stronger probably in New England than in other regions of the nation. An expression of the dominant point of view* is found in a pastoral letter issued by the General Association of Massachusetts (Congregational) in 1837, in protest against women's taking active part in anti-slavery agitation through circulating petitions and speaking in public. It declared that such practices threatened "the female character with wide-spread and permanent injury":

We can not, therefore, but regret the mistaken conduct of those who encourage females to bear an obtrusive and ostentatious part in measures of reform, and countenance any of that sex who so far forget themselves as to itinerate in the character of public lecturers and teachers.¹³⁸

It is probable that during the first five or six decades of American Methodist activity the physical hardships imposed by the itinerancy militated against women's undertaking Circuit preaching. The exertion and exposure involved were such as only an exceptional constitution could long endure, although Quaker women ministers traveled at large,¹³⁹ much after the manner of the Methodist Circuit Riders, some of them riding horseback over wilderness trails, sharing the discomforts of pioneers' cabins and sometimes even spending the night in the woods with only the sky for a roof. They had, it should be said, no such intensive, regular preaching schedules, month after month through the year, as the Methodist itinerants had.

At the very beginning of the American Methodist Movement, however, women were afforded opportunity for the exercise of their gifts of religious leadership through appointment as Class Leaders, a position of no small responsibility in the local Society. In 1769 Joseph Pilmoor appointed Mary Thorne, a widow, as a Class Leader of the St. George's Society in Philadelphia.¹⁴⁰ The second woman Class Leader in Philadelphia was Mrs. Mary Wilmer, also of St. George's, appointed by Asbury in 1775.¹⁴¹ From Abel Steven's statement that Mary White, the wife of Judge Thomas White of Kent County, Delaware, led "if there were none present more suitable, . . . the religious exercises, and met the class," it is to be inferred that she was a regularly appointed Class Leader. Stevens also says that Mrs. Martha F. Allison who united with the Methodists in 1770 was "for several years a class-leader . . . in Baltimore."¹⁴² Henry Smith records that when appointed to the Fell's Point Circuit in 1807 he found Mrs. Frederick Shaeffer as Class Leader in charge of "the largest female class."¹⁴³

There are in the extant records comparatively few accounts of appointments of women Class Leaders by Asbury, but this is in itself of little or no sig-

* Tradition and custom were defied by the Friends, many of whose ministers were women. Undaunted by criticism and ridicule they maintained their practice against all opposition.

nificance. He makes very few references to his appointments of men Class Leaders or for that matter to his appointments of Traveling Preachers.* He does mention a number of women who bore an active part in the spread of the Gospel—taking the initiative in opening the family home for preaching, providing overnight accommodations for the Circuit Riders, offering effective testimonies at Love Feasts, and as Class Leaders conducting prayer meetings and teaching groups of women.¹⁴⁴

There are evidences also that in at least a few instances Methodist women took it upon themselves on occasion to broaden the scope of the Class Leader's office to include the holding of public services of worship. Mrs. Sarah Roszel, the mother of Stephen G. Roszel (for many years a prominent member of the Baltimore Conference) was an example. In intervals between the scheduled engagements of the Traveling Preachers it was her regular custom to hold public meetings in a neighboring schoolhouse on Sundays, reading one of Wesley's sermons, offering prayer, and afterward meeting the Class "which had been entrusted to her care, . . . giving such instruction and advice as she considered the state of the several members required." Her house also "was a regular preaching place for more than half a century."¹⁴⁵

Missions were one of the chief means of opening up to the women of the American Churches increased opportunity for participation in church and community life. The "mite societies," advocated by Asbury and other church leaders, combining group study and prayer with systematic contribution of "a cent a week" to the missionary cause, created wide interest among women, who soon took upon themselves chief responsibility for their support and promotion.¹⁴⁶ As some of the missionary agencies were interdenominational, the local "mite societies" afforded women opportunities for communitywide activities.

While it cannot be said that early Methodism in America broke with custom to any such extent as the Quakers in giving women an approved place in the ministry, yet in the freedom of speech permitted them in religious assemblies it at least constituted a precedent and paved the way for their later leadership which came to expression in their active participation in the temperance movement, the anti-slavery movement, and other measures where theological and Biblical teaching could not be so readily or authoritatively invoked in opposition.¹⁴⁷

During the period of which we write there were not lacking some Methodist women whose concern for woman's welfare impelled them to take a leading part in the founding of aid societies and of eleemosynary institutions for women and children. Nathan Bangs writes of the organization in Boston in 1829 of a "ladies' society" for aiding the needy

* Without previous information concerning Asbury's responsibility for assignment of preachers, diligent study of his *Journal* would give a reader no inkling of the extent of his appointments, after the turn of the century aggregating hundreds annually.

by furnishing employment to the poorer class of females, wives and widows of seamen, and the garments thus made are . . . sold to those . . . able to pay for them, or given away to such as are most indigent.¹⁴⁸

An outstanding example of woman's leadership is to be seen in the career of Mary W. Mason (Mrs. Thomas Mason) of New York City, whose long service as a teacher and missionary leader has already been mentioned. Her ministry of relief among the poor had impressed her with the acute need for institutional care for expectant mothers and in 1822 she became one of the first managers of the Asylum for Lying-in-Women, an institution with which she continued to be associated for more than thirty years. In 1838 she helped establish and was chosen directress of the Female Benevolent Society for the relief of destitution. In 1850 she aided in planning and drafting the constitution of a Methodist Home for the Aged and Infirm which led to the founding of the Ladies' Union Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the City of New York. In 1858 she became a member of the Board of Managers of the Colored Orphan Asylum and later was elected as directress. In 1855 Mrs. Mason cooperated with Dr. J. Marion Sims in the founding of the Woman's Hospital in New York City and for six years acted as chairman of the Executive Committee. The hospital opened on May 5, 1855, with three patients—one of the first of its kind in the United States.¹⁴⁹

When in America during the Revolutionary period natural rights became a basis of demand for American freedom and independence, it was inevitable that the question of the civil, political, and social status of women should come in for consideration. If the founding fathers were too busy debating other implications of the principle, their wives were not disposed to allow it to be disregarded. While John Adams, one of the most influential members of the Continental Congress, was discussing ways of implementing the principles for foundation of the new government, including the declaration that "all men are created equal," his wife Abigail twitted him concerning the inconsistency of the group's retaining absolute power over wives while at the same time proclaiming peace and good will to men:

I long to hear you have declared an independency. And, by the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could.

With a note of sternness, she added that if attention were not given to the matter the women were "determined to foment a rebellion," and would not hold themselves bound "by any laws in which . . . [they had] no voice or representation."¹⁵⁰

While the woman's rights movement was long overdue, progress toward

the liberty, equality, and mutuality premised as cornerstones of the Republic was tedious and slow. It was almost the middle of the century before the first Woman's Rights Convention was held (July 19–20, 1848), yet its Declaration of Sentiments reflected—though with obvious exaggeration*—inequities and social injustices that after more than six decades still prevailed in the relationship of the sexes:

He [man] has made her [woman], if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead. He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns. He has made her, morally an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband . . . the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement. He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in the case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of woman—the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.¹⁵¹

One reason for slowness of progress was acquiescence and even opposition within women's own ranks. As late as 1840 Catherine E. Beecher, sister of Henry Ward Beecher, wrote:

Heaven has appointed to one sex the superior, and to the other the subordinate, station It is therefore as much for the dignity as it is for the interest of females, in all respects to conform to the duties of this relation. And it is as much a duty as it is for the child to fulfill similar relations to parents, or subjects to rulers.¹⁵²

This attitude widely prevailed among women. Although many undoubtedly chafed under the limitations imposed upon them in law, politics, and the Church, women in general accepted—in the Methodist Church as in other Churches—the canons of Paul respecting their religious and domestic station.

While engaged in the process of developing a definitely organized movement, leading advocates of equal rights for women were disposed to charge religion and the Church with much of the responsibility for the disabilities under which the sex labored. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, perhaps the foremost leader of the group, wrote a widely circulated pamphlet entitled *Bible and Church Degrade Woman*.¹⁵³ In England John Wesley had taken an unequivocal stand in favor of universal suffrage.† Although in America the equal rights movement was not promoted as a religious reform and the Churches, as such, did not take a leading part in it—ministers of most of the denominations

* Cf. Mary R. Beard: "it seems perfectly plain that the dogma of woman's complete historic subjection to man must be rated as one of the most fantastic myths ever created by the human mind."—*Woman as Force in History, A Study in Traditions and Realities*, p. 144.

† "Do not quibble or shuffle," Wesley wrote. "Do not evade the question; but come close to the point. I ask, By what argument do you prove that women are not naturally as free as men? And, if they are, why have they not as good a right as we have to choose their own Governors? Who can have any power over free, rational creatures, but by their own consent? . . . Are they not rational creatures?"—"Thoughts on Origin of Power," *Works*, XI, 49.

expressing themselves in opposition—some of its leading proponents were zealous religionists. Lucretia Mott, one of the early leaders, was a Friend and attended conventions dressed in her Quaker costume. Antoinette L. Brown, a vice president of the fourth national convention, was an ordained Congregational minister and pastor of a church. A few other ministers were advocates of the cause. However, no Methodist preacher, and no Methodist woman advocate, it must be said, attained wide prominence in the movement. In this, as in certain other particulars previously mentioned, American Methodists were not prepared to follow the lead given by Wesley.

THE CHURCH AND LABOR

By the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century there were developments under way which would eventually effect a profound change in the American way of life. Power looms of English type were first introduced in 1815, and within a short time all cotton cloth manufactured in the United States was produced by machine power.¹⁵⁴ Mass production in the textile industry had begun. The industrial revolution was at hand.

Although throughout this period the United States was still an overwhelmingly agrarian nation, between 1820 and 1840 the number of persons engaged in manufacturing increased 127 per cent while the increase in agriculture was only 79 per cent. The rise of American industry was reflected in the growth of the urban population, clearly indicating the beginning of a gradual transition from an agricultural to an industrial nation. By 1840 the number of workers in manufacturing establishments having an annual output of \$500. or more had reached 791,000. The percentage of people living in cities in 1820 was 4.9; in 1840, 8.5. Massachusetts with a total population of 701,331, by 1837 had 117,352 persons engaged in industry.

In England during the period of the rise of Methodism its most conspicuous successes had been gained in the new factory towns. Its most rapid growth had been in the industrial centers where the population increase was greatest. The largest number of its converts were from the laboring masses.¹⁵⁵ Would this history be repeated in the beginning of the industrial age in America?

Conditions affecting labor during these early years cried aloud for reform. A significant characteristic of the new industrialism was the large proportion of women workers. Alexander Hamilton, a generation earlier, had advocated the establishment of the factory system on the ground that it would provide employment for women and children, thus keeping wages and production costs low. His expectation had been realized. During the decades of the thirties and forties women and girls numbered from two-thirds to three-fourths of all factory operatives, in some mills as many as

nine-tenths.* Women in the New England mills were mostly from the farms and lived in mill dormitories. The mills were badly constructed buildings, narrow and high—sometimes seven stories—the workrooms with low ceilings, heated by stoves, poorly ventilated and ill-lighted. Sleeping apartments in the corporation boarding houses were even worse: six or eight girls crowded into a single bedchamber so “choked with beds, trunks, bandboxes, clothes, umbrellas, and people, that one finds it difficult to stir, even to breathe freely.”¹⁵⁶ In the Lowell mills, long portrayed as the most nearly idyllic to be found, the hours of labor, as late as 1845, from May to September were from five in the morning to seven at night, with a half-hour out for breakfast at seven, and another half-hour for dinner, a net working day of thirteen hours.¹⁵⁷ Their pay was almost unbelievably low. Michael Chevalier states that the average wages paid to women in 1834 by “the Merrimack corporation” (Lowell, Massachusetts) ranged from \$2.78 to \$4. per week.¹⁵⁸ In his treatise on cotton manufacture in America, James Montgomery, himself a manufacturer, reported that in 1836 the average wages of women in Lowell were \$2. a week and board. Mill operatives in many cases were not paid in money but in orders on company stores where they were invariably overcharged.¹⁵⁹ In the Fall River Mills wages were always paid in goods. Harriet Martineau, Charles Dickens, and some other European travelers, comparing conditions with those prevailing in England and on the continent, commented favorably upon American mills and factories,† but to public-spirited Americans the situation was deplorable. Wages, it was charged, were but little above starvation level, intemperance was encouraged, and women—even young girls—were forced into prostitution‡ to an almost unbelievable extent.¹⁶⁰

Mill employees included many children, working under conditions no better and at even lower wages than their mothers and older sisters. “We hear the philanthropist moaning over the fate of the Southern slave,” wrote Seth Luther, secretary of Boston General Trades’ Union, “when there are *thousands* of children . . . [in the factories] as truly slaves as the blacks of the South.” In 1820 it was estimated that half of the factory workers were children—many of them boys and girls as young as nine and ten years—who worked twelve to thirteen hours a day for thirty-three to sixty-seven

* A summary estimate of the proportion of women operatives in the cotton mills of eight New England mill centers in the years 1818–33, compiled by Edith Abbott, shows a range of eighty-three to ninety-five per cent.—*Women in Industry, A Study in American Economic History*, p. 90.

† In contrast with conditions in the mills of Yorkshire and Lancashire those of the Lowell mills might well seem worthy of commendation. C. M. MacInnes declares that “it is no exaggeration to say that in some respects the plantation slave [in America] was no worse off than many mill children [of England],” who “in brisk times of trade were obliged to work nineteen hours a day.”—*England and Slavery*, pp. 110f.

‡ Harry J. Carman: “Living in miserable germ-ridden quarters, laboring from sunrise to sunset in factory buildings usually unfit to harbor a human being and for a wage that constituted a mere pittance, many of these factory families led a wretched existence. . . . Unemployment, debt, imprisonment, hunger, vice, drunkenness, sickness and misery were the danger shoals upon which many were wrecked. . . .”—*Social and Economic History of the United States*, II, 50.

cents a week.¹⁶¹ On July 3, 1835, the children working in the Paterson (New Jersey) textile mills went on strike for reduction of their working day to eleven hours for five days and nine hours on Saturdays, and for other changes in working conditions. Parents and friends of the children organized the Paterson Association for the Protection of the Working Classes of Paterson, and solicited aid from Newark* and New York workers. After holding out for several weeks the mill owners agreed to reduce the work week to sixty-nine hours.¹⁶²

The plight of unskilled, casual laborers was equally tragic. Matthew Carey (1760–1839), public-spirited Philadelphia businessman, champion of free public education and the common welfare, called attention to the sorry pittance on which many were compelled to subsist, wholly inadequate for the support of their families. Among others he cited the case of common laborers on canal construction whose rate of pay was 62, 75, and 87 cents a day for seasonal labor, out of which they were required to pay from a dollar and a half to two dollars a week for their board. For contract labor in their homes women made shirts for as little as seven to ten cents each. The highest rate paid, with two exceptions, is reliably reported to have been twelve and one-half cents. Women free from the encumbrance of children, working from twelve to fifteen hours per day, could not make more than nine shirts per week—a weekly wage of \$1.12½.¹⁶³

Out of conditions such as these trade unionism arose. As a distinct class-conscious movement with clearly formulated aims, it may be said to have emerged in America in the years 1825–30 while the new industrialism was still in an early stage of development. Its chief aims were four: a shorter work-day, higher wages, better working conditions, and payment in honest money, not in depreciated bank paper.

Workers' organizations had been formed in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston shortly after the Revolutionary War by skilled craftsmen in self-protection against the rapidly growing power of merchant capitalists. Their membership was made up chiefly of printers, carpenters, and cordwainers (shoemakers). The first permanent union organized by workers in the United States was formed by the Philadelphia shoemakers in 1792. By 1810 permanent organizations of shoemakers and printers existed in almost all of the principal cities, including not only Philadelphia and New York but also Baltimore, Boston, Washington, and Albany.¹⁶⁴

In 1786 Philadelphia printers and in 1791 carpenters participated in "turn-outs," the first examples of strikes in America. The carpenters later organ-

* In Newark a committee of investigation was formed in answer to the appeal. Conditions which were found to exist in the mills aroused much indignation. They were characterized as belonging rather to the dark ages than to modern times, and more congenial to an autocracy than to a land claiming to be the home of the free and an asylum for the oppressed.

ized as the Union Society of Carpenters. They complained that they were under compulsion to toil from sunrise to sunset in summer for five shillings a day—working conditions that were not unusual—and in winter were put on piecework without regular hours of employment. They demanded a fixed working day for the year, from six in the morning to six at night, with an hour for breakfast and another hour for dinner, ten hours of labor, six days of the week. The common laborer—carpenter, mason, stonecutter, cobbler—began work at four o'clock in the morning, was allowed an hour off for lunch at ten o'clock and another hour at three for dinner, after which work went on until the sun had set.¹⁶⁵

The first attempts at collective bargaining were made near the turn of the century. In 1799, in Philadelphia, a deputation from the society of shoemakers, striking for a wage increase, "waited upon the employers with an offer of compromise." An employers' committee met with the journeymen. In 1809 the Typographical Society of New York printers submitted a set of wage scales to the employers' association. Committees representing both groups met and finally agreed upon a scale of wages. Thus early in the nineteenth century in a particular case the principle of collective bargaining won recognition as a mode of procedure in wage disputes.¹⁶⁶ The principle of the closed shop also was claimed at an early date to be essential to effective workers' organization.

By 1830 approximately half of all cotton goods and linens used in the eastern states were produced in domestic factories. In the production of woollens the factory system developed more slowly but between 1820 and 1830 woolen mills began to be erected in New England. In the boot and shoe industry also the factory stage of production developed slowly, although by the middle thirties in one city (Lynn, Massachusetts) 1,741 men and 1,675 women were employed in making boots and shoes. By this same time some eighteen thousand persons were employed in the making of hats, while the iron industry provided employment for almost thirty thousand.¹⁶⁷

In general, factories were small, located in villages and towns, adjacent to water power or mines, rather than in cities. Everywhere in southern New England new mill villages—groups of company houses adjacent to pond or dam—were being built. By 1845 almost a third of the townships of Massachusetts had within their bounds one or more textile mills. Altogether, the state had 282 cotton mills employing 19,754 persons and 192 woolen mills with 7,097 operatives.¹⁶⁸ While New England was the foremost industrial region, the nation's industries were widely distributed. In 1835 the state of New York had 809 mills and factories, and many smaller industries.* New-

* New York's mills and factories included 234 woolen mills, 112 cotton mills, 293 ironworks, 70 paper mills, 13 glassworks, 24 oilcloth factories, and 63 rope factories.—J. Leander Bishop, *History of American Manufactures from 1608 . . .*, II, 390.

ark, New Jersey, had sixty-eight large factories of various kinds, employing more than 2,500 persons. Pennsylvania had many important factories. Many small industries had sprung up in the West, particularly in Illinois. A few cotton mills had been established in the South—four in Fayetteville, North Carolina. The first cylinder printing press west of the Alleghenies was purchased in 1835 for the Methodist Book Concern of Cincinnati.

The depression of 1819–22, with its widespread unemployment, was demoralizing in its effect on labor organizations. Many unions were forced to disband and the morale of workers was greatly weakened. But as the general economic situation gradually improved, interest in trade unionism revived. In 1827 the first citywide federation of American workers was formed in Philadelphia, the Mechanics Union of Trade Associations. This was followed in 1831 by the organization of the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and Other Workingmen. In 1834 the National Trades Union was formed. During the years 1833–37 union labor membership grew with a rapidity unknown in earlier years, increasing from 26,250 to 300,000. More than 150 unions were formed in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York, and the movement spread to Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis.¹⁶⁹ Workers in many trades never before organized formed unions.

The first recourse of the unions for improvement of conditions was the strike. Within the four years of rapid growth there were 168 strikes. Of these 103 were for higher wages; twenty-six for a ten-hour day; four for the closed shop; the remainder for various other objectives. When Dover, New Hampshire, mills cut wages in 1834, 700 girls marched in a body to the courthouse and formulated their demands, declaring:

However freely the epithet of 'factory slaves' may be bestowed upon us, we will never deserve it by a base and cringing submission to proud wealth or haughty insolence.¹⁷⁰

The strike was lost but most of the girls, refusing to return to work at a lowered wage, went to their homes.

A second recourse of the workers was political organization. In Philadelphia in 1828–29 a Workingmen's Party was formed. The movement quickly spread to New York, Albany, Troy, Schenectady, Buffalo, and Dorchester (Massachusetts). Its purpose was declared to be:

to encourage justice, equality, temperance, industry and frugality; . . . obtain . . . the abolition of all monopolies in business

[It demanded] . . . mechanics' lien laws, no imprisonment for debt, free schools, a ten-hour day, and no convict labor.¹⁷¹

The labor political parties were short-lived. When the established parties, thoroughly frightened by the rapid growth of the workingmen's groups, be-

gan advocating some of the reform measures demanded by labor, the new parties, already weakened by internal dissension, rapidly disintegrated.

In 1831 the extreme left wing of the Democratic Party organized as the Locofocos,* drawing to itself many of the leaders and rank and file of the workingmen's movement. It represented an attempt to take the governing power of the nation out of the hands of bankers, factory owners, and merchants and lodge it with the workers and producers—the first political attempt in America to effect a conscious class alignment of labor against capital.

During 1835 and 1836 labor encountered serious setback in court actions. In 1835 certain common-law decisions declared strikes illegal and in the latter year twenty-one New York journeymen tailors who had formed a union were indicted for a conspiracy injurious to trade and commerce, and after a trial the presiding judge charged the jury to bring in a verdict of guilty.

The financial panic that struck in 1837 also was disastrous in its effects. Warehouses were overstocked with goods, mills and factories were unable to sell their products, and soon plants were closed down. Towns dependent upon a single industry found their streets thronged with hungry, desperate workers. Not only skilled mechanics and craftsmen but also day laborers were involved. Those who were continued on the payrolls found themselves compelled to accept reduced wages, for everywhere were starving workmen ready to accept employment at whatever wage was offered. Union treasuries were quickly depleted and many organizations collapsed. Standards won by organized efforts were sacrificed, labor leaders became discouraged, and the labor press disappeared.

Significant gains, however, had been made in the course of the two decades. In 1840 President Martin Van Buren proclaimed ten hours a legal day's work on government contracts and the example of the government was followed by some corporations. In 1843, in the state of Massachusetts, the employment of children under twelve for more than ten hours a day was made illegal. In other states also some reform measures were enacted.¹⁷² Imprisonment for debt was abolished. Labor had at least made a beginning in establishing a place for itself in political councils.

Influential advocates of social justice and labor's rights had arisen outside the ranks of labor, making forthright declarations for support of labor's cause that were destined to endure and long to influence national thought and opin-

* Locofocoism was the counterpart in America of the Reform Bill and the Chartist Movement in England. While it also proved to be short-lived it was, says Frederick J. Turner, "a landmark in the rise of organized demands of the common people for the control of government in the interest of their own economic and spiritual welfare." He adds: "The political philosophy which had been incorporated in the . . . Declaration of Independence, but which had not, even by the thirties, found logical and concrete expression in the realities of American life, was now made the basis of thoroughgoing demands. The Locofoco leaders, resting their case upon natural rights and radical democracy, urged the menace of special privilege to equal rights."—*The United States, 1830-1850* . . . , pp. 125f.

ion. Following the decision in the journeymen tailors' strike William Cullen Bryant had written in the *New York Evening Post*:

Can anything be imagined more abhorrent to every sentiment of generosity and justice, than the law which arms the rich with the legal right to fix, by assize, the wages of the poor? If this is not SLAVERY we have forgotten its definition. Strike the right of associating for the sale of labour from the privileges of free-man, and you may as well bind him to a master, or ascribe him to the soil.¹⁷³

And William Ellery Channing, a founder of American Unitarianism, had made numerous declarations that were to be echoed and re-echoed as part of the credo of the prophets of the social gospel when the twentieth century should dawn. A civilization whose central idea is wealth, he contended, could not permanently endure. Nor were the world's depressed masses condemned to continue indefinitely in the poverty and degradation in which they then existed. Christianity holds the promise, he felt sure, of a new understanding of human dignity and worth and of a new sense of justice which in time would usher in a new and higher order of society.*

In general, however, pulpit and press joined in inveighing against all those "who would spread a spirit of discontent and insubordination among thrifty and prosperous native-born mechanics" and laborers.¹⁷⁴ In his book, *Political Economy*, Alonzo Potter, later a Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, charged that union leaders were generally atheists and foreigners.¹⁷⁵

The new industrialism of this period presented to Methodism a great missionary opportunity. The cause of labor sorely needed religious champions. Rank-and-file workers had not yet been alienated in large numbers from religion, although exponents of "free thought" were active among them. Working-class immigration was still predominantly Protestant and many foreign-born workers felt themselves religiously orphaned.

In its purposes and objectives the Labor Movement stood for the same principles of freedom and equality that were given virile expression by the Circuit Riders in many parts of the nation. It would seem that the movement should have found sympathy and active support among them. The kind of popular advocacy that so many of them were well fitted to give would have won for labor many friends among middle-class people, both tradesmen and farmers. But one searches in vain among the spokesmen for labor's cause during these years for the names of Methodist ministers. Very few Methodist Societies were formed during this period among industrial workers.

In seeking explanation several considerations are suggested. The American Circuit System, differing from that of England in several particulars.

* H. J. Carman: "Count de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), viewing the horrible results of uncontrolled industrialism in England, conceived the idea of combining business enterprise with religious idealism. In his volume *Le Nouveau Christianisme*, he emphasized the necessity of ameliorating the lot of the poor and of building a social order in which the principle of 'association' and not that of 'antagonism' would prevail."—*Op. cit.*, II, 85.

did not readily lend itself to the type of ministry needed to cope with the problems presented by the new industrial centers. The long Circuits with their many appointments did not allow sufficient time between preaching engagements for the Circuit Riders to acquaint themselves with the new and different conditions and needs. There was slight chance for contact and acquaintance with factory workers whose work kept them for twelve to fourteen hours a day in the mills. The immigrants among them came from entirely different religious backgrounds from those of the rural population to which the itinerants were accustomed to minister. Some were non-English speaking people not attracted by English-language preaching. The leaders of Methodism shared the failure of the American public in general to realize the far-reaching implications of the new industrialism in relation to the national economy and life. Its inherent possibilities of development and growth were entirely unforeseen. As a consequence they failed also to appreciate the importance of adapting the Methodist method and message to the new conditions.

Some of the leaders of labor's cause were freethinkers and blatantly anti-religious. In the organs of the movement, the *Daily Sentinel*, the *Free Enquirer*, and the *Working Man's Advocate*, they loudly denounced the Churches, lumping them all together indiscriminately as enemies of labor. Critics of the movement were not slow to retaliate, dubbing it "atheistic," "infidel," and "anarchistic." Undoubtedly there were Methodist leaders, as ministers of other evangelical bodies, who as a result of this development became antagonistic, opposing the "radicals" not because of indifference to labor's aims but on account of their irreligion.¹⁷⁶

Horace Mann, English political leader, declared that in England nothing contributed more to the success of the Methodist Movement among the working people than the activities of Local Preachers—"some ten or fifteen thousand [of whom] are employed not merely in the work of visitation, but also in that of preaching."¹⁷⁷ In considering a possible remedy for the estrangement of the working classes of England from the Established Church he suggested adoption of the Methodist plan. But American Methodism was hampered in paralleling British Wesleyanism by the fact that during these years (1825-44) no such extensive use was made of Local Preachers as in the British movement. In the industrial areas of the East the number of Local Preachers averaged less than one to a Circuit or Station.* Throughout most of New England there was not more than one for the several Societies of a Circuit; for some, probably none, making impossible the intensive programs of visitation and lay preaching carried on in the industrial areas of England.

* For the Conference year 1836-37, the first year in which the *General Minutes* list the number of Local Preachers in the respective Conferences, the New England Conference reported 159 Traveling Preachers and only 85 Local Preachers. For the New Hampshire Conference the respective numbers were 134 and 177; and for the New York Conference, 197 and 186.—*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 496.

Another factor in the situation was that New England corporation paternalism extended to the point of providing corporation churches in many of the mill towns, to which every employee, regardless of religious affiliation (or lack of any) was obliged to pay a regular monthly fee. It is needless to record that no corporation church was Methodist. To what extent this custom prevented the Circuit Riders from making effective contact with the workers it is impossible to say.

In England the majority of the leaders of the trade-union movement were converts of the Nonconformist sects. Many of them were Methodist Local Preachers. From the founders of Methodism they had drawn an unshakable conviction that theirs was a God-given mission. Their training in group organization and in public address they had gained in the Methodist Class and Society meetings.* The American labor movement needed a realization of the strength and added influence that would come to it by recognizing and drawing upon the heritage available in the teaching of the prophets and of Jesus. It needed to be imbued with the conviction that its aims were more than material, that in reality they were spiritual and eternal. It needed, finally, the sense of obligation of universal brotherhood which undergirded the Christian missionary movement.

Despite all hindering conditions, it may not be doubted that the 1825-44 generation of Methodist preachers had a chance to do for the rising trade unionism of America what Wesley and his followers had done for the British movement. Far removed from the immediate influence of Wesley, much less acquainted with the Wesleyan heritage than were their fathers, and absorbed—as many of them were—with the perplexities and tensions of abolitionism, that generation missed the swiftly passing opportunity to make Methodism a dynamic influence either in the new industrialism or in trade unionism.

THE CHURCH AND INTERRACIAL RELATIONS

That the missionary extension of Methodism to the American colonies would be interracial in character was insured by the Wesleyan insistence on the universality of the Gospel. All men, Wesley's preachers declared, are children of God and brothers one of another. It was with a sense of deep satisfaction that Joseph Pilmoor and Richard Boardman found on their arrival in New York that Negroes were included within the membership of the John Street Society. Writing to John Wesley under date of May 5, 1770, of the congregation, Pilmoor says:

Nevertheless, there are some who are alive to God. Even some of the poor, dispised children of Ham, are striving to wash their robes, and make them white

* Élie Halévy: "In the vast work of social organization which is one of the dominant characteristics of nineteenth-century England, it would be difficult to overestimate the part played by the Wesleyan revival."—*A History of the English People in 1815*, p. 372.

in the blood of the Lamb. We have a number of black women, who meet together every week; many of whom are happy in the love of God. This evinces the truth of the Apostle's assertion, that 'God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him.'¹⁷⁸

Several months earlier (Nov. 4, 1769) Boardman, in a letter to Wesley concerning the Society, had spoken of being impressed by "the number of blacks that attend the preaching." On November 12, 1771, Francis Asbury arrived in New York, and during his brief stay preached several times in the John Street Church. He records in his *Journal*:

The *Lord's day*, 18, I found a day of rest to my soul. . . . I feel a regard for the people: and I think the Americans are more ready to receive the word than the English; and to see the poor negroes so affected is pleasing; to see their sable countenances in our solemn assemblies, and to hear them sing with cheerful melody their dear Redeemer's praise, affected me much

Eleven months later (Sept. 12, 1772), in New York again, he testifies to the presence of Negroes at the sacrament of remembrance celebrated in a meeting of the John Street Society: "At the table I was greatly affected with the sight of the poor negroes, seeing their sable faces at the table of the Lord."¹⁷⁹

Although, as is evident from these and other references in the early records, the John Street Society was interracial in character,* a degree of segregation was tolerated within the Society. Testimony to this fact is found in Pilmoor's "Journal." He records that during his second period of preaching in New York, on November 7, 1770, he "formed a separate class for Negroes." Again, two months later (Jan. 27, 1771), he writes:

After preaching I met the negroes apart, and found many of them very happy. God has wrought a most glorious work in many of their souls, and made them witnesses that he is no respecter of persons.¹⁸⁰

That segregation at this period was not peculiar to the John Street Society is evidenced by other records. Ezekiel Cooper tells in his *Diary* of preaching twice in one day (Feb. 28, 1785) "in Spaniard's Neck" on the Kent Circuit, Maryland. He says: "At night we had another meeting, and met the black class. We had a powerful time;" No distinction on the basis of color was made in reports of membership in the *General Minutes* until 1786.¹⁸¹

In the records of membership of the John Street Church, Negroes were not listed separately previous to 1787, but a list of members made by Woolman Hickson, the third membership list in the records, dated July 20, 1787, gives the names of 228 whites and thirty-six colored in seventeen Classes.¹⁸² In 1788 in St. George's Church in Philadelphia there were 270 white and

* The Methodist Society formed by Robert Strawbridge at Sam's Creek, Md., is also said to have had Negro members. Of the first Class, "Aunt Sweitzer," a Negro woman, is believed to have been a member.—Cf. Charles H. Wesley, *Richard Allen, Apostle of Freedom*, p. 40.

seventeen colored members. The largest Negro membership was in Maryland, the Calvert Circuit reporting 505 white and 342 colored members; the Talbot Circuit 1,077 and 524 respectively.¹⁸³

The degree of segregation observed by Methodism during this period represented conformity to established practice—a concession to class and caste distinction which prevailed in society in general and also in the churches during earlier colonial times. In the New England churches class distinctions segregated both whites and Negroes, congregations being seated according to sex, and each sex according to status as determined by wealth and social rank or prestige. Although in Congregational churches Negroes participated in singing, prayer, and the communion, their abject economic level caused even free Negroes to be considered lowest in social status, and this in itself, irrespective of race or color, assigned them to the lowliest place in the meeting houses.* They either stood or sat on benches in the rear or in an "African corner." In the graveyards, also, Negroes were segregated.¹⁸¹ There can be little doubt that segregation based upon social status was accentuated by "race," since the Puritans regarded both Indians and Negroes as "inferior races" whom God had given them as part of their inheritance.¹⁸⁵ The same general practice as regards segregation prevailed in the Middle Colonies and in the South as in New England. This colonial custom was a cornerstone of the American caste system.†

As years passed and Methodism expanded far and wide churches with both white and colored members became numerous. No denomination other than the Baptist grew so rapidly in Negro membership.‡ The 890 members reported in 1786 in ten years increased to 11,280. In 1810–11, Negro Methodists numbered 34,724; in 1825–26, 49,433; and in 1844–45, 150,120. Joseph Travis relates that Methodism was introduced in Fayetteville, North Carolina, by a colored man named Henry Evans. By earnest effort he succeeded in getting a meeting house where he preached to all who would come to hear:

he began more and more to elicit the attention of the white population. Ultimately a white married lady, of good mind and accomplished manners — a celebrated school-mistress in the town — joined the Methodist Episcopal Church Prejudice . . . began to melt like wax before the flame. Other white citizens presented themselves for admission. . . . His congregation became large and respectable

* There are no reliable statistics earlier than 1790 on the Negro population, or on the proportionate number of slaves and free. The first census (1790) reported 694,279 Negroes in the United States. Free persons other than whites numbered 58,612.—*Return of the Whole Number of Persons within the several districts of the United States.*

† The term "caste" is used, rather than "race" or "class," inasmuch as race is scientifically incorrect; and class is impractical and confusing since it is commonly used to mean a group, non-rigid in social status, from which an individual may readily rise or fall, whereas a Negro is not permitted to pass from the status into which he is born. His is a closed and rigid status.—See Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma, The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, I, Part VIII, ch. 31.

‡ The Asplund Annual Register (1796) reports 17,644 Negro Baptists south and east of Maryland in 1795.—William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, I, *The Baptists, 1783–1830*, 780.

. . . he . . . transferred church, congregation, and all, over to the white Methodist preachers.¹⁸⁶

In 1817 Travis himself was appointed to Fayetteville as pastor.¹⁸⁷

Writing of Methodism in Georgia, George G. Smith, Jr., says that in "every church there was a place for . . . [Negroes]. They were received into the societies and invited to the Communion table." Adam Hodgson was impressed by seeing slaves "receive the sacrament at the same table as their masters, some of whom were of the very first rank of Carolinian planters."¹⁸⁸

North and South, whites and Negroes together attended revival meetings, kneeling at the same altar. Writing from Philadelphia in 1798 Richard Allen tells of "a very great revival" in which he was one of the preachers:

Our Churches are crowded, particularly Bethel. . . .

. . . Our congregations consist of as many whites as blacks; . . . many of them are awakened and join the Society, so that nearly as many whites as blacks are convinced and converted to the Lord.¹⁸⁹

In a letter written from Charleston, South Carolina, Stephen Olin relates that during a period of three months "between forty and fifty white persons, and above two hundred colored [have been received] into our Church."¹⁹⁰ At the time of her death, in August, 1849, Rachel Wells was the oldest member of the Charleston, South Carolina, Methodist church. She was the first colored person to join the Society, when the first Methodist meetings were held, at the home of Edgar Wells, and for seventy years she had lived a sincere, deeply devoted, and saintly life.¹⁹¹

However, the principle of discrimination shown in the segregation of Negroes in separate seating sections of churches was exhibited in other ways. Joseph Pilmoor writes of a Sunday evening outdoor service at Norfolk, Virginia (Aug. 9, 1772):

As the ground was wet they persuaded me to try to preach within and appointed men to stand at the doors to keep all the Negroes out till the white persons were got in, but the house would not near hold them. . . .¹⁹²

Not only were Negroes excluded when facilities were insufficient to accommodate all who wished to attend, they were not permitted to assemble by themselves.* In some of the states the law forbade a religious meeting of Negroes without the presence of a white man. Some Methodist churches, as doubtless those of other denominations, more or less disregarded this rule, even in states where all-Negro assemblies were illegal. Delaware had such a law but Richard Allen tells of attending Negro Class meetings, after he had joined a Methodist Society, in a forest† near Dover.¹⁹³

* This prohibition was, in part at least, motivated by fear of insurrection.

† It is undoubtedly true that Negroes, keenly conscious that their presence in white religious assemblies was merely tolerated, enjoyed meeting by themselves. Charles H. Wesley suggests that

In some localities Negro Methodists seem to have encouraged the formation of separate Societies. In New York City in 1796 a small group solicited and received permission from Asbury to hold meetings by themselves. At first they met in a hired house in Cross Street. Jesse Lee states that the reason for their request was "a desire to hold meetings among themselves, where they might have opportunity to exercise their spiritual gifts, and thereby, as they hoped, become more useful to each other." Meetings were held only in the intervals "of the regular preaching hours of the white ministers." The Society met with many difficulties but they persevered and prospered sufficiently to build a meeting house of their own, Zion Church, on Church Street, corner of Leonard Street, of which they took possession in September, 1800.¹⁹⁴

Elsewhere the authorization by the General Conference of 1800 for the ordination of Negro ministers as deacons has been mentioned.* But Asbury did not wait for General Conference authorization.¹⁹⁵ On June 11, 1799, he ordained Richard Allen of Philadelphia as deacon—the first Negro to receive ordination from the Methodist Episcopal Church¹⁹⁶—a noteworthy fact of which he made no mention in his *Journal*. Writing in 1809, Jesse Lee states that "several others have since been ordained in New York and Philadelphia, and one from Lynchburg, † in Virginia."¹⁹⁷

But these few and limited concessions were not enough to satisfy the religious and civic aspirations of Negro Christians. How the situation appeared to some of them is strikingly revealed in a public statement drawn up in November, 1794, by a Philadelphia group:

Whereas, from time to time many inconveniences have arisen from white people and people of color mixing together in public assemblies, more particularly places of worship, we have thought it necessary to provide for ourselves a convenient house to assemble in, separate from the white brethren.

Continuing, the statement sets forth the actuating purposes: (1) to prevent any offense being given the whites by their presence and their mingling with them in public worship; (2) to prevent any of the colored people from taking offense at religion itself because of the partiality shown by the white worshippers on account of color; and (3) that they might "build each other up."¹⁹⁸

At this time the spirit of independence and discontent was growing rapidly among Negroes, especially among freedmen of the North. Probably not less

the religious feeling engendered by such assemblies as the Dover Class meetings inspired many of the Negro spirituals, as "Steal Away to Jesus" and "Way Down Yonder by Myself I Couldn't Hear Nobody Pray."—*Op. cit.*, pp. 12f.

* See Vol. I, 268.

† Years later (1824) at the Virginia Conference David Payne, "a free man of color," was ordained deacon. W. W. Bennett refers to his election to deacon's orders as "the first instance on record of the election of a colored person to orders by the Virginia Conference." (*Memorials of Methodism in Virginia*, p. 705.) Since Lee's statement is somewhat ambiguous in form, Bennett may be correct.

than five thousand Negroes had served as regular soldiers in the American Revolutionary forces¹⁹⁹ and knowledge of this fact had stimulated pride and ambition in the hearts of many thousands. The abolition of slavery in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and acts for gradual emancipation in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Rhode Island had not resulted in economic and social freedom and equality. In New York Negroes were permitted to ride only in public conveyances marked "Colored people allowed in this car." In other cities similar discriminatory practices were increasing. Even within Methodism, which from its very beginning in America had expressed solicitude and devotion to their spiritual interests, there were evidences of increasing discrimination.*

Under these conditions it is not strange that Negro defections from the Church occurred. The really surprising aspect is the gradualness of the movement. In 1791 a few Methodists, in company with other members of the Free African Society, decided to form a church of their own. In 1796 the group incorporated as the African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, with Absalom Jones as their pastor. He was ordained by Bishop William White of the Protestant Episcopal Church.²⁰⁰ The ablest Negro leader was Richard Allen, † a man of enterprise and integrity, who represented a unique combination of businessman and evangelist. Around him rallied many of those who preferred to adhere to the Methodist Church, and under his leadership the Bethel Society was organized. In 1793 Allen erected a meeting house for the Society on his own land, which was dedicated by Asbury on June 29, 1794. Asbury's *Journal* entry reads:

I preached at the new African church. Our colored brethren are to be governed by the doctrine and discipline of the Methodists.²⁰¹

It is to be noted that Asbury does not say that it was a Methodist Episcopal church. Evidently Allen held incompatible purposes: he proposed that the church should be independent and at the same time that it would "continue in union with and subject to the government of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church." The church was incorporated as "Trustees and members of the African Methodist Episcopal Church called Bethel Church."²⁰² By agreement only Negroes were to be admitted as members. In time the duplication in jurisdiction was found to be unworkable. In response to legal appeal the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania declared the Bethel So-

* "With all its devotion to their religious welfare, Methodism had not dared to fully recognize their Christian parity in its congregations, and thousands of its African members, gradually advancing under its care in intellectual and moral improvement, justly felt the disabling and humiliating disparagement."—Abel Stevens, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . .*, IV, 260.

† Richard Allen was an ex-slave, having by indefatigable energy succeeded in purchasing his freedom in 1777. In 1786 he began preaching in St. George's Church, Philadelphia, twice a day—at five o'clock in the morning and in the evening. Sometimes he preached in different places four and five times a day. By tireless industry and strict economy he became moderately wealthy. By his ability and honesty he gained the respect of the entire Philadelphia community.

ciety independent. “. . . taking into consideration their grievances, and in order to secure their privileges and promote union among themselves, it was resolved that the people of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and all other places, who should unite with them, should become one body”²⁰³ At a general convention held in April, 1816, the African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, destined to become one of the largest and strongest of America's Negro denominations. Daniel Coker, who had been active in Baltimore, was first elected as Bishop but resigned, and Richard Allen was then elected. The early years of the Church were marked by persecution and litigation, yet growth was rapid. As early as 1822 there was a church of 3,000 members in Charleston, South Carolina. Later this Society was suppressed by police authorities. Fifty years after organization (1866) the Church had ten Annual Conferences.* The Missionary Society was formed in 1844, to include both home and foreign missions. In 1820, twelve years before the founding of the Liberia Mission by the Methodist Episcopal Church, a mission was established in Sierra Leone by Daniel Coker. Scipio Beans was sent to Haiti as a missionary in 1827. In later years Conferences were organized in Bermuda, Ontario, Nova Scotia, the West Indies, South America, and Africa. The Church also developed extensive educational work including ten colleges, two normal schools, an industrial school, and two theological seminaries.²⁰⁴

The Zion Society in New York during these years experienced difficulties similar to those of the Philadelphia Bethel Society. Their original articles of agreement provided that they would “continue forever in union with the M. E. Church in the city of New York, subject to the government of the present bishops and their successors.”²⁰⁵ There is no reason to question the sincerity of their expressed purpose, but they found themselves increasingly restive under the limitations imposed upon them. The arrangement provided that an elder of the New York Conference should have “the direction and management” of the spiritual concerns of the Society; that he should alternate with one of the Negro ministers in preaching but whatever salary the Society could raise would be paid to the white elder. The Negro preachers were not “admitted to a seat and vote with their white brethren in ecclesiastical assemblies.” Disaffection was stimulated by a preacher who withdrew from the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church.† They were courted by representatives of the African Methodist Episcopal Church but a partisan feeling developed which made them unwilling to unite with the “Allen party, being dissatisfied with their general manner of procedure.” The outcome was the organization of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Conference on June

* Statistics of membership as given by different authorities vary widely.

† William M. Stillwell, the leader of a faction in and about New York City. Some three hundred of his partisans withdrew, chiefly members of the John Street Church. The movement was ephemeral in character.—See N. Baugs, *op. cit.*, III, 175ff.; A. Stevens, *op. cit.*, IV, 246.

21-26, 1821. Joshua Soule and William Phoebus were present and took an active part in this session; and on the fifth day, Freeborn Garrettson. At different times consultations were held with Bishops McKendree, Roberts, and George. The Negro leaders were set on having fully ordained ministers (elders) and on pressing forward to completely autonomous organization. None of the Bishops or leading preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church was willing to go as far as this. Undaunted, the Negro ministers resolved to go forward on their own account, convened in special session on July 18, 1822, ordained six preachers as deacons in the morning, and as elders in the afternoon. "This was a necessity," the historian records, "there being a great demand for ordained ministers in our societies." Provision was made for a Superintendent (Bishop) of the connection; pastors were appointed to churches in New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Long Island, and New Haven, and a missionary was sent to Boston.²⁰⁶ Growth of the denomination was slow but at the twenty-fourth session of the New York Conference, 1844, forty-three preachers were in attendance and 3,370 members were reported.*

A fact of deep significance—one that many political and religious leaders did not fully realize—was that emancipation of slaves did not in itself solve the problem of race relations between whites and Negroes in American society. Both South and North the social and economic plight of freed Negroes was little if any better than that of slaves. In certain localities it was even worse. McMaster describes the situation objectively and in detail. He says, in part:

nowhere did the black man have all the rights of the white. Here he could not vote; there he could not serve in the militia; nowhere was he summoned to be a juror. Race prejudice shut him out of a long line of trades and occupations, and condemned him to a state of gross ignorance. No carpenter, no blacksmith, wheelwright, mason, or shoemaker would take him as an apprentice; no shopkeeper would have him as a clerk. He was excluded from every hotel, inn, and tavern, and from every school save such as benevolent persons had established for the especial benefit of his race.²⁰⁷

It would seem that if anywhere in the United States the common rights of man would be accorded the Negro it would be on "the soil dedicated to freedom by the Ordinance of 1787." But not so. The constitution of Ohio deprived Negroes of the franchise and the first legislature enacted severe re-

* Racial issues were among the chief causes for several other divisions. In 1813 the Union Church of Africans, which originated in the withdrawal of Negro members in 1805 from a Wilmington, Del., Methodist congregation, was incorporated. In 1850 it reported forty-one congregations in four states. It later became the Union American Methodist Episcopal Church. The Colored Methodist Protestant Church was formed about 1840. The African Union Methodist Protestant Church resulted from the union of the African Union Church (which had split off from the Union Church of Africans) and the First Colored Methodist Protestant Church.—See Carter G. Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church*, pp. 107, 192.

strictive statutes. Indiana permitted them to vote but denied their right to be witnesses against white persons. Illinois prohibited free Negroes within her borders.

In the East conditions were but little, if any, better. Of the Middle States, New York in 1813 practically disfranchised free Negroes by a law denying them a vote unless they possessed property of the value of \$250. The New Jersey constitution of 1834 limited suffrage to whites. In New England the Connecticut constitution of 1818 and that of Rhode Island in 1822 disfranchised free Negroes. Throughout the New England States Jim Crow customs generally prevailed. Few merchants or other employers serving white customers dared employ a colored clerk or apprentice. When a Connecticut school for young women enrolled a Negro girl as a student, public remonstrance was so strong that the legislature enacted a restrictive law.²⁰⁸

As years passed, steady deterioration in Negro-white relations took place. One of the contributing factors was competition for jobs among common laborers, white and black, and increasing feeling among the whites that many employers preferred Negro labor. Mob violence developed as a reaction to abolitionist agitation. In 1834 a veritable mania of Negro mobbing developed with serious riots in Rochester and New York City in New York; Trenton and Bloomfield, New Jersey; and in Philadelphia, Columbia, and Lancaster in Pennsylvania. In July, following an anti-slavery meeting held in Chatham Street Chapel in New York City, violence broke out on a large scale. Seven Negro churches were wholly or partially demolished, the homes of a number of Negroes wrecked, and many people, black and white, seriously injured. Beginning on August 12, mob violence raged for three successive nights in Philadelphia. More than fifty houses of Negroes were sacked or torn down, a Negro church wrecked, and several people killed.²⁰⁹

To Michael Chevalier the fact that religious people in America could so readily square their religious beliefs and practices with the depression and segregation of Negro freedmen presented an insoluble puzzle. "In the States without slaves, as well as those in which slavery is admitted," he concluded, "the elevation of the black seems impossible."²¹⁰ His conclusion was shared by de Tocqueville. Legislation could make the Negro legally free but it could not give him social and economic freedom. It was powerless to cleanse the minds and hearts of people or do away with the attitude of race prejudice. The lot of the free Negro, south and north alike, demonstrated that the colored man's position in American society was quite as inexorably fixed by inherited feelings, social customs, and economic influences as by legal statutes. The greater task to be accomplished devolved upon the Churches and the schools, and they were not ready for it.

METHODISM AND SLAVERY

The planting of Methodism in America was in a soil in which slavery had long been deeply rooted. As an institution it was as old as the civilization within which it was maintained. Tobacco planters of Virginia purchased Negro slaves from the captain of a Dutch slave ship in 1619. In New England Indian slavery existed before the settlement of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1629. Negro slaves were probably first imported in 1638.²¹¹ They were at first treated as indentured servants but as no laws existed for protection of their rights they soon became victims of lifetime servitude. Slave trading was early found to be profitable; it increased rapidly, and slavery became an established institution in all of the thirteen colonies. In 1713 the African slave trade was secured to England by the Treaty of Utrecht. Up to the abolition of the traffic in 1807 it is estimated that three and a half million Negroes had been transported to America under the British flag.²¹²

Of all the colonies those of New England were foremost in slave trading.²¹³ While southern planters—the Carrols of Maryland, the Beverlys and Carters of Virginia, the Blakes and Heywoods of South Carolina, and many others—waxed rich by the exploitation of slave labor, northern slave-trading merchants—the Cabots, Browns, Fanueils, Pepperells, and others—built great fortunes by the purchase and sale of human flesh. In both sections the profiteers gained social prestige and held high state office without sense of shame or public condemnation.

Negro slaves were imported into New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania at an early date in colonial history. Much of the agriculture of New York and Delaware was dependent upon slave labor* and in the latter part of the colonial period slaves constituted approximately one-seventh of the population.²¹⁴ New York City became an important slave center. The importation of slaves into Pennsylvania was strongly opposed by white workmen who contended, rightly, that slave competition reduced their wages.²¹⁵

At no time was slavery entirely unopposed in the colonies. Pennsylvania always maintained that slavery was forced upon her by England. In South Carolina, where many deemed slavery economically indispensable, the colonial assembly at one time passed an act prohibiting continued importation of slaves but Great Britain disallowed it. Virginia, beginning in 1699, passed twenty-three successive acts aimed at repressing the slave trade, all of which were rejected by the British government—its settled policy being that it could not “allow the colonies to check or discourage a traffic so [economically] beneficial to the nation.”²¹⁶

* While economic welfare in colonial New England and the Middle Colonies was not dependent upon slave labor, it is historically incorrect to say that it was unprofitable. Slave labor was profitably utilized in many commercial and industrial enterprises, as well as in household service.—See L. J. Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776*, p. 123.

Colonial religion, it must be said to its discredit, was a house divided against itself both as regards slavery as an institution and the christianization of the slaves. Puritan and Anglican apologists for slavery contended that it was a divinely ordained means for the salvation of the heathen while at the same time many slaveholders opposed evangelization because they feared that the effect of the equalitarian teaching of the Gospel might destroy slavery and that time of slaves otherwise available for work would be spent in attending church services and classes for religious instruction.²¹⁷ In the plantation colonies slaves cultivated plots of ground on which they raised food crops for their own subsistence, and church attendance would interfere with this work. This objection had less influence in New England where Puritan teaching would not permit even slaves to labor on Sunday. The belief also was traditional in both the North and the South that only heathen could be enslaved by Christians, the corollary of which was that a slave who became a Christian automatically became free. This likewise operated to hinder the evangelization of slaves. By various expedients of rationalization even slaveholders who professed to be religious—some who were sincerely and deeply pious—“let material motives outweigh moral and spiritual principles, and sought an expedient to preserve their slave property.”²¹⁸

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Anglican missionary agency, actively engaged in efforts for the instruction and conversion of the Negroes but was neutral as regards slavery as an institution. The Anglican Church did not oppose slavery. In the colonies, as in England, many of its ministers were slaveholders. Bishop Gibson, of London, whose jurisdiction in a measure extended to the American colonies, held that Christianity “continues Persons just in the same [civil] State as it found them.” It gives freedom from the bondage of sin, “but as to their *outward* Condition . . . whether bond or free” becoming Christians makes no manner of change.²¹⁹ In colonial times the only religious groups that were unequivocal in their condemnation of slavery were the German sects in Pennsylvania—the Dunkers and the Mennonites—and the Quakers. They not only abolished slavery among their members but also strongly influenced state policy.

By the beginning of the War for Independence slavery in the colonies had increased to such an extent that the slave population was approximately 500,000. Virginia had the largest number, estimated at 200,000. South Carolina was next with 100,000. Maryland and North Carolina each had 70,000; New York, 20,000; New Jersey, 10,000; Georgia, 10,000; Pennsylvania, 6,000; Connecticut, 6,000; Massachusetts about 5,000; Rhode Island, 4,000; and New Hampshire, 700. No estimate can be found of the number in Delaware. To every four freemen in the American colonies there was a slave.²²⁰

EARLY METHODIST OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY

That American Methodism would strongly oppose slavery was assured by its Wesleyan heritage. No British leader was more outspoken or more determined in opposition to slavery than John Wesley. His anti-slavery agitation preceded by fifteen years that of William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, and Granville Sharp, to whom chief credit has commonly been accorded for the abolition of the slave trade.

In 1743 Wesley wrote into the General Rules of the Methodist Societies a prohibition against "the buying or selling the bodies and souls of men, women, and children, with an intention to enslave them." Through his letters, his preaching, his published pamphlets, and his "Society for the Suppression of the Slave Trade," he waged unceasing warfare on both the slave trade and slavery as an institution, denouncing them as "that execrable sum of all villainies."* Comparable to them in wickedness, he declared, he knew of nothing "in the heathen world whether ancient or modern."²²¹ In his *Thoughts Upon Slavery*, published in 1774, he wrote:

I strike at the root of this complicated villainy. I absolutely deny all slaveholding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice. . . . Much less is it possible that any child of man should ever be born a slave. Liberty is the right of every human creature as soon as he breathes the vital air, and no human law can deprive him of that right. . . .²²²

In this tract Wesley had America definitely in mind:

And this equally concerns every gentleman that has an estate in our American plantations; yea, *all slaveholders of whatever rank and degree*; seeing men-buyers are exactly on a level with men stealers.

One of his latest letters was to William Wilberforce following his introduction of a resolution in the British Parliament for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies. "Go on," he said,²²³ "in the name of God and in the power of His might, till even American slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish away before it."† Indisputably Wesleyan Methodism carried a major

* Wesley's denunciation of slavery was matched twenty years later by that of Timothy Dwight, in 1794 pastor of the Congregational church at Greenfield Hill, Conn., and later president of Yale College:

"O thou chief curse, since curses here began;
First guilt, first woe, first infamy of man;
Thou spot of hell, deep smirch'd on human kind,
The uncur'd gangrene of the reasoning mind;
Alike in church, in state, and household all;
Supreme memorial of the world's dread fall;
O slavery! laurel of the Infernal mind,
Proud Satan's triumph over lost mankind!"

—*Greenfield Hill* (Part Two), p. 38.

† Compare with Wesley's characterization of American slavery that of Andrew Burnaby, a contemporary Anglican clergyman, archdeacon of Leicester and vicar of Greenwich, who made an extensive journey through the colonies in 1759 and 1760. His comment on conditions in general among Negro slaves was as follows: "Their condition is truly pitiable; their labour excessively hard, their diet poor and scanty, their treatment cruel and oppressive; they cannot therefore but be a subject of terror to those who so inhumanly tyrannize over them."—*Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America* . . . , pp. 119f.

share of the burden of British abolitionism, resulting in the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, and emancipation in the West Indies in 1833.*

The anti-slavery zeal of Thomas Coke was scarcely, if any, less than that of Wesley.† On his extensive preaching tour in America following the Christmas Conference, he attacked slaveholding with vigor. His *Journal* indicates that he had been forewarned of antagonism if he should engage in agitation, but this did not deter him. He not only bore "public testimony against slavery" but also in preaching and in conversation urged Christians to emancipate their slaves. He was called upon to assist a dying man in drawing up his will in which it was specified that eight slaves should be freed after his death. "This," said Coke, "is a good beginning." He was unperturbed when "a high-headed lady" withdrew during a sermon and offered a protesting group "fifty pounds, if they would give that little doctor one hundred lashes." While some were incensed by his preaching, others were convinced of the sin of slaveholding, and "fully and immediately emancipated" their slaves—one "brother Martin" freeing fifteen; "Brother Norton," eight; and "Brother Kennon," twenty-two‡ who were "worth . . . upon an average, thirty or forty pounds sterling each."²²⁴ Ten years later in a letter to Ezekiel Cooper, he declared his faith that God "will never withdraw his hand till civil and religious liberty be established all over the earth," and that "if the body of Methodist preachers keep close to God they will be the chief instruments of bringing about this most desirable state of things."²²⁵

Although Asbury did not make the kind of frontal attack on slavery that Coke did, his burden of soul concerning it was not less. On June 23, 1776, near Baltimore, he recorded meeting first the white Class and afterward "the black people, some of whose unhappy masters forbid their coming for religious instruction," and added, "How will the sons of oppression answer for their conduct, when the great Proprietor of all shall call them to an account!" On June 4, 1780, in Virginia, he spoke "to some select friends about slave-keeping," and lamented sadly, "they could not bear it: this I know, God will plead the cause of the oppressed, though it gives offence to say so here," adding the prayer, "O Lord, banish the infernal spirit of slavery from thy dear Zion." On October 14, 1784, he wrote, "I pity the poor slaves. O that God would look down in mercy, and take their cause in hand!" And again:

* Of a total of 352,404 signatures to anti-slavery petitions secured by 22 non-conforming bodies, including the Roman Catholic, two-thirds (229,426 names) were presented by the Wesleyans.—See Maldwyn Edwards, *John Wesley and the Eighteenth Century* . . . , p. 124.

† Whitefield, on the contrary, defended slavery and was himself a slaveholder. Writing to Wesley under date of March 22, 1751, he argued for slaveholding on both economic and Scriptural grounds. He stated that he had no part in introducing slavery in Georgia, but there is record of his having recommended, in 1740, an "allowance of Negroes" for the benefit of the colony. (L. Tycman, *Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley* . . . , II, 132.) Lecky declares that his "influence contributed largely" to the introduction of slavery into Georgia. At Whitefield's death his orphanage plantation in Georgia had on it 75 slaves.—W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, III, 102.

‡ The Baptists had similar experiences in persuading some of their members to emancipate their slaves. Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, in Virginia, is said to have gradually liberated all of his several hundred slaves after joining the Baptists.—W. M. Gewehr, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

"The Lord will certainly hear the cries of the oppressed, naked, starving creatures. O, my God! think on this land!"

In 1796 his comment on the "conduct of some Methodists" was caustic. He charged that they

hire out slaves at public places to the highest bidder, to cut, skin, and starve them; I think such members ought to be dealt with: on the side of oppressors there are law and power, but where are justice and mercy to the poor slaves? what eye will pity, what hand will help, or ear listen to their distresses?

His soul burning within him, he vowed a vow: "I will try if words can be like drawn swords, to pierce the hearts of the owners." His efforts evidently were disillusioning, for four months later he confessed to much pain of mind, and felt himself to be in bondage:

O! to be dependent on slaveholders is in part to be a slave, and I was free-born. I am brought to conclude that slavery will exist in Virginia perhaps for ages; there is not a sufficient sense of religion nor of liberty to destroy it; . . .

His dejection of spirit and sense of frustration in contending against an evil so entrenched and powerful perhaps reached its lowest point in January, 1801:

The rich among the people never thought us worthy to preach to them: they did indeed give their slaves liberty to hear and join our Church; but now it appears the poor Africans will no longer have this indulgence. Perhaps we shall soon be thought unfit for the company of their dogs. But who will mourn the loss of the friendship of a world that hath so hated our Lord and Master Jesus Christ?²²⁶

So strong, in fact, was the Wesleyan anti-slavery heritage that the institution did not find a single strong advocate among all the early American preachers. Jesse Lee had strong conscientious scruples* against slaveholding. Freeborn Garrettson believed that on the day following his conversion he was directly commanded by God to free his slaves. "It was God, and not man," he declared, "that taught me the impropriety of holding slaves: . . ." John McGee, who with his brother William McGee (Presbyterian) had a prominent part in the great revival of 1799-1801 in the West, was unalterably opposed to slavery.† William McKendree, especially during the early years of his ministry, was strongly opposed both to the slave trade and to slaveholding.²²⁷

These convictions were by no means confined to the preachers. They

* In 1798, assigned to "travel with Asbury," while filling appointments in Virginia, Lee paid a visit to his aged father for the special purpose of importuning him "to provide for the emancipation of his slaves."—L. M. Lee, *Life and Times of the Rev. Jesse Lee*, p. 342.

† John McGee, admitted on trial to the Virginia Conference with William McKendree in 1788 (*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 30), later located, migrated to Tennessee, married, and engaged in farming. Robert Paine says that he had "a comfortable and well-furnished home, and abundant pecuniary means; and, although . . . [living] in the midst of a large slave population, he never would own a slave. . . . He considered slavery a misfortune, if not a curse, to the slave-holder, and would not be 'plagued with slaves.'"—*Life and Times of William M'Kendree*, II, 203f.

were fully shared by many of the laymen. Numerous Methodist families were moved by their repugnance to the slave system to migrate from slave states to the Northwest Territory. Perhaps the most extensive migration was from Virginia. Among the early emigrants were Philip Gatch,* his brother-in-law, the Rev. James Smith, and Ambrose Ransom, who left Virginia in the fall of 1798. In his "Journal" Gatch wrote:

I could not feel satisfied to die here [in Virginia] and leave my off-spring in a land of slavery. . . . My intention to cross the Ohio which separates between slavery and freedom became fixed. I knew not what lay between us and that desirable place of retirement, but like Abraham I decided to venture.²²⁸

Some time later Frederick Bonner, a layman and friend of Gatch, left Virginia for the "Land of Liberty and Equality," settling in Greene County, Ohio. His sentiments concerning slavery were recorded in a letter to Edward Dromgoole, dated July 19, 1807, chiding him for tarrying "in Sodom":

By your letter I find you wate [wait] to be driven from that country of oppression & wrong by some Ju[d]gment. . . . when once planted here our children are saved from the harmful practice of trading on their fellow creatures in the manner I understand some of our old Friends have done in the state, when Slavery exist[s] & whats worse they take protection under General Conference. LORD have Mercy on the Methodists cause and Fix it on a firm basis— . . . what can we think will be the condition of the church . . . when slavery is encouraged & liberty suppresst, in a few years[.]²²⁹

Another of the zealous Methodist laymen who migrated from Virginia to escape the evil influence of slavery† was Peter Pelham, the head of a numerous family. Locating in the same neighborhood as Bonner he became a prosperous farmer and businessman and an influential citizen. He, also, was a friend and correspondent of Edward Dromgoole to whom he wrote of his joy in living in a "place of Liberty," declaring that he "wou'd not be situated to spend . . . [his] Days where . . . [he] came from, for half the State of Old Virginia."²³⁰

A fact important to realize is that during the early post-Revolutionary period Methodism as a whole was practically a unit in its anti-slavery attitude. Its leaders, with few exceptions, were Southerners, most of them Virginians. It was within this group, not among the more northern men—both ministers and laymen—that the strongest anti-slavery conviction found expression.

* Philip Gatch formerly had been a Traveling Preacher but following his marriage had located and had become a prosperous planter. For biographical note, see Vol. I, 64n.

† Numerous other laymen and preachers removed from slave territory. One such preacher was John Kirkpatrick, who migrated from Georgia to Illinois in 1802. Inheriting three slaves in Georgia in 1829, he brought them to Illinois and promptly gave them their freedom. Another was John Sinclair (1793-1861) who migrated from Tennessee to Kentucky; and later, feeling that slavery there "was a serious thing," removed to Illinois.—James Leaton, *History of Methodism in Illinois from 1793 to 1832*, pp. 38, 358; Stephen R. Beggs, *Pages from the Early History of the West and Northwest* . . . , pp. 305ff.

A few among the early preachers were inclined to a defeatist attitude. While they believed slavery to be evil, they felt it was such an ancient wrong and was so deeply rooted in American society that nothing could be done about it. John Lee, a brother of Jesse Lee, bemoaned the fate of the slaves and sought to do what he could for their relief but he did not "find freedom" publicly to denounce slavery "as in his judgment it would neither profit the master or the slave."²³¹ But most of the Methodists were more forthright in voicing their convictions.*

OPPORTUNITY FOR GREAT REFORM

In the post-Revolutionary period Methodism was undoubtedly confronted with its greatest reform opportunity. The crucial hour for doing away with the supreme evil with which the new nation had to contend was at hand, and for a time it seemed that Methodism was prepared to undertake a major share of the great task.

In their agitation against slavery the early Methodist preachers were not alone. They were reinforcing and strengthening convictions and attitudes held by many of the Revolutionary leaders whose principles had found expression in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. In the years preceding and during the war, growth of sentiment for emancipation had made remarkable progress. Feeling against human bondage was growing and was becoming more widespread throughout the nation. The Revolution had fired the hearts of multitudes of people in all sections of the country with a passion for liberty. The moral sentiment of the Republic was against slavery and the times were ripe for a strong, aggressive anti-slavery crusade based on civic, moral, and religious grounds.²³² In conversation, speeches, letters, and pamphlets the Revolutionary leaders—even those among them who were slaveholders—freely discussed their troubles of conscience. They characterized slavery as "an inherited evil," "a wicked cause," "a cancer in the body politic," even "an abominable crime." Both Samuel and John Adams strongly condemned slaveholding. In 1764 some friends of the family proposed to present Mrs. Adams a Negro girl slave but Samuel refused to consent to the girl's entering his house unless she could come as a free woman.²³³ John Adams, second President of the United States, wrote in 1819:

I have, through my whole life, held the practice of slavery in such abhorrence that . . . it has cost me thousands of dollars for the labor and subsistence of free men, which I might have saved by the purchase of negroes at times when they were very cheap.²³⁴

* While both the Presbyterians and the Baptists received many slaves into church membership there was in neither Church unanimity of opinion concerning slavery. In both Churches during the post-Revolutionary period some of the prominent leaders, as David Rice of the Presbyterians and David Barrow of the Baptists, strongly condemned slavery as irreconcilable with the teachings of the Christian religion, but no official pronouncement in condemnation was made by either denomination as such. In line with Baptist polity the action to be taken was left to each church to decide for itself.—See W. M. Gewehr, *op. cit.*, pp. 238ff.

With Washington it was different. For three generations his family were slaveholders; he owned slaves during his entire life and at the time of his death possessed about four hundred Negroes. But his conscience disapproved slavery and he felt an increasing repugnance toward it. In 1786 he declared in a letter to Robert Morris that no man living wished more sincerely for its abolition. In reporting that Washington was in full agreement with the sentiment of the petition for emancipation, addressed to the Assembly of Virginia,* which Thomas Coke and Asbury presented to him on May 26, 1785,† Coke beyond doubt accurately represented the general's views. In his will Washington directed that all of his slaves "should be freed on the death of his widow."²³⁵

Thomas Jefferson was even more pronounced in his disapproval of slavery than was Washington. His draft of the Ordinance of 1787 stipulated that in the proposed fourteen new states slavery should not exist after 1800—a stipulation intended to prevent its spread outside the original thirteen states. He politically attacked slavery directly on various occasions. He clearly foresaw the inevitable outcome of a policy of temporization and in 1779 wrote in his autobiography:

the day is not distant when . . . [the public mind must bear and adopt the proposition of gradual emancipation], or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free.²³⁶

While Samuel and John Adams were of New England, Washington and Jefferson were Virginians and their convictions and attitude were shared by many others among the best minds of the South—not only during the early post-Revolutionary years but also much later.‡ St. George Tucker, professor of law in the University of William and Mary and a judge of the General Court in Virginia, in 1796 proposed gradual abolition, asserting his amazement that a people who had declared all men by nature to be equally free and independent and had made this declaration

the first article in the foundation of their government, should, in defiance of so sacred a truth, recognized by themselves in so solemn a manner, and on so important an occasion, tolerate a practice incompatible therewith . . .²³⁷

* See p. 74n.

† The gracious hospitality for which Mount Vernon was famous was exemplified in the way Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury were received. After dinner they were accorded a private interview. General Washington "asked us to spend the evening and lodge at his house," Coke records, "but our engagement at Annapolis the following day, would not admit of it."—*Extracts of the Journals* . . . p. 73.

‡ This is not to deny that preponderant public opinion, particularly among slaveowners, was strongly pro-slavery. Cf. William S. Jenkins: "The natural rights philosophy of the Revolutionary Era contributed to the growth of an emancipation sentiment in the South . . . but its influence was confined to a comparatively few speculative thinkers and was not diffused widely among the slaveowners." (*Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South*, p. 48.) William L. Duren: "Its [the South's] overwhelming economic interest in the institution determined the attitude of the section as a whole, and there could be no organized opposition to slavery except at the peril of those who dared to undertake it. But there were thousands of people in the South who were as sincerely opposed to slavery as were any in the North. They were simply crushed under an avalanche of opposing sentiment; and in the very nature of the case their virtue has not been enhanced by a share of credit for a popular and victorious cause."—*The Trail of the Circuit Rider*, p. 205.

Its ultimate doom, though he could not predict the time or the mode, he confidently believed to be "certain and irrevocable." Charles Carroll and William Pinkney of Maryland, agreeing with Jefferson concerning the injurious effect of slaveholding on the white owners, also advocated gradual emancipation. John P. Kennedy of Maryland declared slavery to be, for most of the South, "an unmitigated blight." He charged that it was expensive and unprofitable, that it impoverished the country, impeded public improvements, bred indolence in the white population, and debased their manners. John Randolph freed his slaves. In their earlier years both Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun were opposed to slavery. "Clay was an ardent abolitionist in Kentucky in 1799, and his anti-slavery impulses were always breaking through the apologies he made for it later."²³⁸ Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, James Petigru of South Carolina, Cave Johnson of Tennessee, and Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky discerned clearly the evil genius of slavery and were frank in reprobating it. Hugh Swinton Legaré of South Carolina, distinguished philosophical historian, pronounced by Parrington "perhaps the best linguist and the most widely read man in America," was much troubled by the institution declaring it to be an anachronism in American society.²³⁹

The first state constitution to prohibit slavery was that of Vermont, adopted in 1777. In 1780 Pennsylvania proclaimed gradual emancipation. In 1784 New Hampshire followed the example of Vermont, and in the same year Rhode Island and Connecticut took action similar to that of Pennsylvania. In 1783 the Massachusetts courts held that the declaration of rights by inference prohibited slavery in the state. In New Jersey the first governor of the state, William Livingstone (1776-90), set an example of emancipation by freeing his slaves, and in 1786 the legislature prohibited slave importation. In the same year North Carolina imposed a prohibitory duty. Maryland in 1778, and Virginia in acts passed in 1778, 1792, and 1793, put an end to the slave trade. In the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory slavery was forbidden and when Ohio became a state, in 1803, the prohibition against slavery was adopted as a part of her constitution. In Kentucky's Constitutional Convention an effort made to prohibit slavery failed although supported by an influential minority, including the six clerical members.

The framers of the federal Constitution were opposed to slavery but South Carolina and Georgia made its recognition a condition of their joining the Union.* Objection to the use of the words "slave" and "slavery" in the

* John Rutledge of South Carolina argued that religion and humanity "have nothing to do with this question [slavery]. Interest alone is the governing principle with nations." He appealed to the economic cupidity of New England, declaring that if the northern states would consult their interest, they would not oppose the increase of slaves which would in turn increase the commodities of which they were the carriers. This argument won the support of the Connecticut delegates, Oliver Ellsworth complacently agreeing that the morality and wisdom of slavery were considerations to be left to the several states themselves.

Constitution, however, was sustained, since, as Madison says, "they did not choose to admit the right of property in man" in direct terms. In 1788 New York decreed that after a fixed date the slave trade should be prohibited, and in 1798 New Jersey took similar action. In 1794 the participation by American citizens in the slave trade to foreign countries was forbidden by Congressional action, and in 1807 the importation of slaves from Africa was prohibited.²⁴⁰

Widespread misapprehension has been long current concerning the extent of slaveholding in the Southern States, many people assuming that almost the entire population possessed a property interest in slavery. Such was never the case. While the number of slaveholders in the South increased following the Revolutionary War the total represented a comparatively small proportion of the white population. A large majority of the slaves were held by a few owners. Conversely a substantial majority of slaveholders owned but a small number of slaves. In Gloucester County, Virginia, for example, there were some 3,000 slaves owned by 300 individuals but fifty-seven of these held more than one-half of the whole number.²⁴¹ Similar conditions prevailed in Maryland, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. These are facts of great importance when the possibility of abolishing slavery is considered.*

The rise and growth of anti-slavery societies during the post-Revolutionary years indicate what might have been accomplished by an aggressive abolition movement. The first society was formed in 1775 in Philadelphia, its members mostly of the Society of Friends. By 1826, 101 societies were in existence, of which seventy-seven were in the slaveholding states of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Of these states, North Carolina had the largest number (41), and Tennessee the next largest (23).²⁴² The activity and wide influence of many of these societies are illustrated by the organization formed in New Jersey in 1786 whose members included many able citizens. An annual statewide meeting was held and county meetings were convened semi-annually. It was instrumental in bringing about the manumission of many slaves and in obtaining the passage of laws for the gradual abolition of slavery.²⁴³ In 1794 a national organization was formed, the American Convention of Delegates from Abolition Societies, which supplemented the work of its subsidiary societies in promoting anti-slavery publications and petitioning Congress and state legislatures.²⁴⁴

In the few years that their missionary crusade had been under way the Methodists had organized Societies over a much wider area and had gained larger popular following than the Quakers. Their preachers had demonstrated

* A half century later, according to the census of 1850, of 6,184,477 whites in the slave states only 347,525 owned slaves. Of these only eleven owned 500 or more Negroes, and only 254 possessed 200 or more. The large majority had fewer than ten each.—See Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, I, 415f.

an almost irresistible moral power with the throngs who attended their meetings. Would their moral and social insight and courage prove equal to the challenge for great reform?

The first recorded Conference action on the subject of slavery had been taken before the close of the Revolution, at the "northern" Conference* held at Baltimore in 1780:

*Quest. 17. Does this Conference acknowledge that slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society; contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion, and doing that which we would not others should do to us and ours? Do we pass our disapprobation on all our friends [Society members] who keep slaves, and advise their freedom? [Ans.] Yes.*²⁴⁵

While this action was only advisory, not mandatory, as regards slaveholding by lay members, it was emphatic and forceful, and can scarcely be said to have been conciliatory in tone. Indeed, to Jesse Lee it seemed "calculated to irritate the minds of . . . [the] people," and not likely "to convince them of their errors."²⁴⁶ The Conference went further. Some of the preachers evidently were themselves slaveholders. With them in mind the Conference recorded this action:

Ought not this Conference to require those travelling preachers who hold slaves to give promises to set them free? [Ans.] Yes.

At the Conference of the Virginia and North Carolina preachers, at Manakintown, Virginia, almost immediately following (May 8, 1780), no action relating to slavery, so far as is known, was taken. However, since it also included men of strong anti-slavery convictions, it probably was in majority agreement with the action of the Baltimore Conference.²⁴⁷

Local Preachers were not specifically mentioned in the action and in succeeding months some slaveholders among them did not exhibit readiness to conform to it. When the eleventh Conference convened, in May, 1783, the question of how slave owners should be dealt with was considered and decision reached:

We will try them another year. In the mean time let every assistant deal faithfully and plainly with every one, and report to the next Conference. It may then be necessary to suspend them.²⁴⁸

By this time it was evident that Methodism—at least so far as a majority of the preachers were concerned—was disposed to deal drastically with the great evil. The next year the Christmas Conference in organizing the Methodist Episcopal Church and formulating legislation by which it should be governed, expressed its judgment in unmistakable terms. For strength of

* For the membership and status of this Conference, the eighth, see *General Minutes*, I, 11. In terms of the later division between the "slave states" and "free," this was by no means a predominantly northern Conference since it included Delaware and Maryland preachers. Besides, a number were by birth Virginians.

conviction, amplitude of plan, and detail of method, no parallel can be found in ecclesiastical legislation on the subject:

Q. 42. What Methods can we take to extirpate Slavery?

A. We are deeply conscious of the Impropriety of making new Terms of Communion for a religious Society already established, excepting on the most pressing Occasion: and such we esteem the Practice of holding our Fellow-Creatures in Slavery. We view it as contrary to the Golden Law of God on which hang all the Law and the Prophets, and the unalienable Rights of Mankind, as well as every Principle of the Revolution, to hold in the deepest Debasement, in a more abject Slavery than is perhaps to be found in any Part of the World except America, so many Souls that are all capable of the Image of God.

We therefore think it our most bounden Duty, to take immediately some effectual Method to extirpate this Abomination from among us: And for that Purpose we add the following to the Rules of our Society: viz.

1. Every Member of our Society who has Slaves in his Possession, shall within twelve Months after Notice given to him by the Assistant (which Notice the Assistants are required immediately and without any Delay to give in their respective Circuits) legally execute and record an Instrument, whereby he emancipates and sets free every Slave in his Possession who is between the Ages of Forty and Forty-five immediately, or at farthest when they arrive at the Age of Forty-five:

And every Slave who is between the Ages of Twenty-five and Forty immediately, or at farthest at the Expiration of five Years from the Date of the said Instrument:

And every Slave who is between the Ages of Twenty and Twenty-five immediately, or at farthest when they arrive at the Age of Thirty:

And every Slave under the Age of Twenty, as soon as they arrive at the Age of Twenty-five at farthest.

And every Infant born in Slavery after the above-mentioned Rules are complied with, immediately on its Birth.

2. Every Assistant shall keep a Journal, in which he shall regularly minute down the Names and Ages of all the Slaves belonging to all the Masters in his respective Circuit, and also the Date of every Instrument executed and recorded for the Manumission of the Slaves, with the Name of the Court, Book and Folio, in which the said Instruments respectively shall have been recorded: Which Journal shall be handed down in each Circuit to the succeeding Assistants.

3. In Consideration that these Rules form a new Term of Communion, every Person concerned, who will not comply with them, shall have Liberty quietly to withdraw himself from our Society within the twelve Months succeeding the Notice given as aforesaid: Otherwise the Assistant shall exclude him in the Society.

4. No Person so *voluntarily withdrawn*, or so *excluded*, shall ever partake of the Supper of the Lord with the Methodists, till he complies with the above-Requisitions.

5. No Person holding Slaves shall, in future, be admitted into Society or to the Lord's Supper, till he previously complies with these Rules concerning Slavery.²⁴⁹

Thus was recorded the determination of Methodism by clearly defined, gradual action, to extirpate slavery so far as it lay within its power to accomplish so drastic a reform.

The action of the Conference, it is clear, was by no means unanimous. Jesse Lee says that many "private members, local preachers, and some of the travelling preachers" were opposed to the rules.²⁵⁰ At any rate, when attempt at enforcement was begun much opposition—some of which must have been anticipated—was encountered, both without and within the Church. When Coke went into Virginia in the spring of 1785, denouncing slavery and demanding emancipation, he encountered intense reaction.* He was threatened with violence and in at least two counties bills of indictment were returned against him.²⁵¹ Other preachers also were threatened. Some members withdrew from the Methodist Societies.

This year (1785), for the first time, three "regular" Conferences were held. Of these, the first was held in April "at Green Hill's in North Carolina."²⁵² The second convened in Brunswick County, Virginia, on May 1.²⁵³ At this Conference "several petitions were presented by some of the principal members, urging the suspension of the rules on slavery." But Coke insisted that they must be retained and threatened that preaching would be withdrawn from Circuits where they could not be enforced. As a result no negative action was taken by the Conference and the rules continued in force.²⁵⁴

Asbury seems not to have been greatly perturbed by the opposition. Between the adjournment of the Christmas Conference on January 3 and the convening of the third Annual Conference in Baltimore on June 1 he traveled through Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, again North Carolina, again Virginia, and Maryland. He was continually preaching, meeting, and talking with many people, and conferring with small and great, yet he alludes but once in his *Journal* to the subject of slavery. Referring to the Virginia Conference, he says, almost whimsically:

Rode to W. Mason's, where we are to meet in conference. I found the minds of the people greatly agitated with our rules against slavery, and a proposed petition to the general assembly for the emancipation of the blacks. Colonel _____ and Doctor Coke disputed on the subject, and the Colonel used some threats: next day brother O'Kelly let fly at them, and they were made angry enough; we, however, came off with whole bones, and our business in conference was finished in peace.²⁵⁵

Within a month after the adjournment of the Virginia Conference, with its refusal to repeal the slavery rules, they were indefinitely suspended by the Baltimore Conference. Concerning the causes that operated to bring about

* W. P. Harrison: "He was interfering with a civil institution, lawfully established, and a stranger in England striving to overthrow monarchy was not one whit more guilty of impertinent interference with the laws of a country than Dr. Coke was in his diatribes against slavery."—*The Gospel Among the Slaves* . . . , p. 144.

this action the historical sources shed but little light. Asbury makes no mention of it. Jesse Lee's *History* refers to it not at all. Bangs' *History* also is silent. Coke's *Journal** states: "We thought it prudent to suspend the minute concerning slavery, on account of the great opposition that had been given it, our work being in too infantile a state to push things to extremity."²⁵⁶

The *Minutes* merely say:

It is recommended to all our brethren to suspend the execution of the minute on slavery till the deliberations of a future Conference; and that an equal space of time be allowed all our members for consideration, when the minute shall be put in force.²⁵⁷

The Conference did give expression to its continued antipathy for the evil, recording in its *Minutes* the statement:

We do hold in deepest abhorrence the practice of slavery; and shall not cease to seek its destruction by all wise and prudent means.²⁵⁸

The suspension of the 1784 rules was the first official concession made by American Methodism to slavery—a fatal backward step. What the Church needed at this juncture was a John Wesley or a John Woolman—a leader with faith to believe that he was God's chosen instrument to remove a curse from the land.† Like many of the Methodist preachers, John Woolman's soul was overborne by the oppression and sufferings of the slaves. Their cries, he said, "have entered into the ears of the Most High," and it is He who "hath opened our understandings . . . concerning our duty towards this people." Considering "the purity and certainty of His judgments," he was driven to the conclusion that he had no choice but to take his stand, come what might. This, he said, "is not a time for delay":

Should we now be sensible of what he [God] requires of us, and through a respect to the private interests of some persons, or through a regard to some friendships which do not stand on an immutable foundation, neglect to do our duty in firmness and constancy, still waiting for some extraordinary means to bring about their deliverance; it may be by terrible things in righteousness, God may answer us in this matter.²⁵⁹

* Samuel Drew in his biography of Coke offers as an explanation: "the rule . . . was taken into serious consideration; and judging from the manner in which it had been withstood, that steady perseverance might ultimately defeat a greater good, it was finally determined that its operations should, for the present, be suspended." (*The Life of the Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D.* . . . , p. 139.) Drew's statement is given countenance by the fact that Methodists at that time were active in circulating petitions to be presented to state legislatures in behalf of emancipation. A petition had been circulated by Methodists in North Carolina praying for the repeal of the law against emancipation of slaves and Coke states that Asbury visited the governor and "gained him over." (*Journal*, Tuesday [April] 19, [1785], pp. 65f.) The legislature, however, failed to act. In November at least nine petitions were presented to the Virginia Legislature—four of which were from Halifax, Amelia, Mecklenburg, and Pittsylvania—in the heart of the Methodist territory. No legislative action resulted.—See W. M. Gewehr, *op. cit.*, pp. 247f. Cf. W. W. Bennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 224ff.

† Samuel Hopkins who in 1769 was installed as pastor of the First Congregational Church of Newport, R. I., was another such instrument. Becoming convinced of the sinfulness of slavery, he determined at whatever cost to follow his conscience and to use his whole influence for its destruction. Against the opposition of many he preached, wrote and circulated pamphlets, and personally urged people to free their slaves. His efforts, together with those of other ministers who followed his example, constituted one of the principal factors in bringing about the Emancipation Acts of the New England States.—See Leonard W. Bacon, *History of American Christianity*, pp. 203ff.; William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America*, pp. 414f.

What certainty, strength, and prophetic prescience is seen in this calm declaration! It *was* a time for action, not for delay, and in the spirit of this declaration John Woolman, and other Friends imbued by the same spirit, pressed patiently, determinedly forward against all opposing forces until the State Assembly passed the Emancipation Act that finally ended slavery in Pennsylvania.

Coke, Asbury, Jesse Lee, and others contended that no other course was open to them than suspension of the Christmas Conference legislation, and, for a time, there was practical cessation of preaching against slavery.

In taking this position, American Methodists failed to live up to their Wesleyan heritage. It was not John Wesley's way to compromise on a clear moral issue or to be deflected from his course by threats or persecution of magistrates or mobs.* The British and American situations as regards slavery were not analogous and one cannot certainly say what Wesley would have done had he been in Asbury's place. However, one can scarcely imagine Wesley's consenting to the rescinding, after six months' trial, of a Conference action on a moral issue. Intense opposition—even mob violence—against various aspects of the Methodist Movement was exerted during its first quarter century. Through it all Wesley stood as unflinching as a stone wall. The full story has never yet been written. Fragmentary accounts are contained in a hundred or more volumes, one of the most detailed being Wearnmouth's fully documented chapter in his *Methodism and the Common People of the Eighteenth Century*.²⁶⁰ Every species of persecution that fiendish cruelty and cunning could devise was brought to bear both upon him and his preachers. He was attacked not only by drunken ruffians, the ignorant rabble, and cruel crowds, but by local clergy, Bishops, the press, and mayors and magistrates. He was slandered, maligned, grossly insulted, and threatened with prosecution and death. He was charged with being "an enemy of society," a "spy," a "traitor," a "blasphemer," a "Jesuit," a "Popish emissary"; with "engaging in scenes of debauchery," raising "routs and riots," acting "contrary to Act of Parliament"; of "propagating atheism," and of destroying "the foundation of all religion." His most able preachers—such men as John Nelson, Alexander Mather, Christopher Hopper, John Pawson—were subjected to all sorts of indignity and insult. Attacks and punishment included being slapped in the face, pelted with eggs and stones, impressed as soldiers, imprisoned in vile dungeons, ducked in pools of stagnant water, thrown into rivers, rolled in sewers, and dragged naked through streets over gravel and paving stones. The more bitter and intense the opposition, the more determined was their will and the more passionate their zeal. Alexander Mather was so se-

* It is significant, however, in this connection that there was in the Wesleyan heritage a distinct vein of conservatism in political matters. As a Tory, Wesley was inclined always to stand for the *status quo* in government.

verely beaten by a mob that he suffered for years from the effects of the injuries; a Mr. Moore had an arm broken and his skull fractured; Thomas Beard had to have an injured arm amputated and died in a hospital from the shock. While preaching at Whitechapel Wesley himself was struck by a stone "just between the eyes,"²⁶¹ leaving a scar which he carried to the end of his life.*

It is scarcely conceivable that any greater opposition and more severe persecution than was endured by the English preachers could have been aroused in the Republic. Slavery as an institution was weaker now than ever it would be again. Now was the time when the issue might have been forced and possibly decided at least cost of blood and tears.

The argument used at the time, and years later, was that prudence and expediency dictated the course followed: compromise was necessary that the Church might grow. But in England Methodism had grown under persecution. It had gained steadily in numbers during the period of most severe persecution and what is more significant, it had grown inwardly in strength. Intense opposition gave it moral fiber and spiritual vitality. The storms that beat upon it caused its roots to sink all the deeper into its native soil. Under the stimulus of suffering, preachers and people developed a sincerity of witness, a stability of religious experience, and a robustness of moral character that otherwise they would not have had. American Methodism by its action lost something of the adventurous spirit of its earliest years, surrendered an opportunity for courageous, independent thought and action, and failed to escape the conflict before which it quailed. If the leaders of the Movement had persisted in the course laid down at the Christmas Conference, declaring with the early apostolic band that they must "obey God rather than men," who can say that it might not have been given to Methodism†—together with the Friends, the Baptists, and other evangelical groups that would have stood with them—to have changed the course of the nation's history.²⁶² The struggle would have been stubborn and long, but the cost would have been far less than that eventually paid.

The Christmas Conference plan called for effort in combatting human servitude akin to that carried on over decades by the Friends but the methods proposed by the Methodists differed radically. In their efforts, the Methodists depended chiefly upon direct attack by denunciation and threatening. James O'Kelly's preaching is an example. He was so pronounced in his attack that

* The bust of Wesley by Enoch Wood, bearing the inscription, "He [John Wesley] sat for this bust . . . 1781," plainly shows the imprint of the stone on his forehead.

† In this statement agreement is expressed with the judgment of Abel Stevens: "Now was their sublime hour, . . . But they failed, and history must not evade the fact. . . . Few careful students of the civil and ecclesiastical history of these times can doubt that, had Methodism courageously fought out the contest which it had now begun, it would at last have triumphed, and have saved the history of the civilized world from the darkest record in its pages since the horrors of the French Revolution."—*History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* . . . , II, 251f.

he was characterized by Jesse Lee as "violent"; he rallied "against all who held slaves, as though they could not possibly be saved if they died in the possession of them." The abruptness and sternness of the demands of the Methodist preachers had a tendency to provoke intense anger in those who had not been accustomed to regard slaveholding as sinful, and who considered their economic security dependent on slave labor.

The Quakers, in contrast, attained their result by the method of patient, calm, steady persuasion, and quiet persistent insistence on obedience to the dictates of conscience.²⁶³ Quaker reform had been begun in 1688 in what was the first formal protest against slavery in North America. Pastorius and other leaders of the Friends stated in simple, noble words why they were against slavery and the traffic in the bodies of men. Others after them carried on the work of reform—writing, circulating petitions, using personal persuasion, publicly declaring themselves for entire abolition, forerunners by more than a hundred years of Garrison and his associates, until finally the Yearly Meeting unanimously agreed that Friends who persisted in holding slaves should be disowned. John Woolman made extensive preaching tours through the South but he did not engage in "diatribes against slave owners." He and others constituted committees to visit slaveholders and persuade them. The work was difficult and slow. Often, repeated visits were necessary, a committee sometimes laboring continuously for two or three days with a tough-minded objector. By 1780 slaveholding among Quakers had become almost nonexistent. Three factors are outstanding as of the utmost significance in the Quaker reform: both ministers and laymen* were enlisted in this work; reliance was placed chiefly upon persuasion in personal conference; no decisive action was recorded until it could be taken in unity.²⁶⁴

A chief difficulty in an adjustment of the Methodist method to a procedure more in line with that of the Friends lay in Asbury's dependence upon preaching. His mind and heart were set upon preaching and ever more preaching; ceaseless itinerating and continuous extension of the outposts of the Methodist work, rather than intensive cultivation of ground already occupied. Any method, for whatever end, that involved modification of the itinerancy as it had been developed under his leadership was certain to meet with his stern opposition.

COMPROMISE AND STRUGGLE

To refuse to face a moral issue resolutely when it is clearly recognized as such is not the way of peace either for an individual or a religious group,

* It is impossible to determine from extant records to what extent Methodist lay members collaborated with the preachers in efforts to effect manumission of slaves. It is questionable whether if others than preachers had participated in the proceedings of the Christmas Conference the action on slavery would have been taken. It must be remembered, however, that—other than Thomas Coke—all present were lay preachers.

least of all for a Church which had from the beginning of its existence committed itself to moral reform. Although the Baltimore Conference indicated that the slavery legislation was not annulled but merely suspended "till the deliberation of a future Conference," it was not until 1796, eleven years later, that a General Conference renewed consideration of the subject, and then not in the original form.*

In this period of more than a decade the young Church did not know an hour of peace. If its corporate soul may be imagined to have had a voice for the expression of its deepest consciousness it might have been heard joining in the lament of the Apostle—"For the good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do."²⁶⁵ Everywhere throughout the nation the ferment of liberty was working in people's hearts and minds. Painfully conscious of the inconsistency of swearing allegiance to inalienable rights of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness for themselves, while in practice they were denying them to other human beings held by them or their neighbors in servile bondage, great numbers of people were inwardly sorely distressed. The poignancy of conscience of many—both within and without the Church—found classic expression in a letter written by Patrick Henry, eminent Virginian:

Is it not amazing that a time, when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty; that in such an age and such a country, we find men, professing a religion the most humane, mild, gentle and generous, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity as it is inconsistent with the Bible and destructive to liberty. . . . Would anyone believe I am the master of slaves of my own purchase! I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living . . . without them, I will not, I cannot justify it. . . . I believe a time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil.²⁶⁶

As regards their personal relationship to slaveholding a large majority of the preachers, not without some inner struggle, were clear in their determination to be free of guilt. In referring to the Conference held at Mabry's, Green-ville County, Virginia, in November, 1794, Asbury wrote:

We opened our conference, and had great siftings and searchings, especially on the subject of slavery. The preachers, almost unanimously, entered into an agreement and resolution not to hold slaves in any State where the law will allow them to manumit them, on pain of forfeiture of their honour and their place in the itinerant connexion; and in any State where the law will not admit of manumission, they agreed to pay them the worth of their labour, and when they

* In the second edition of the *Discipline* the rule "on the extirpation of slavery" was omitted. Q. 43. with answer, was included without change. The third edition, strangely, omitted the General Rules altogether. The fourth edition included them, as well as the Articles of Religion, and "some other useful Pieces," but omitted all mention of slavery. In the fifth edition, Section XXXV was entitled "The Nature, Design, and general Rules of the United Societies," but the section contained no mention of slavery. The eighth edition, as "revised and approved at the General Conference" of that year (1792), although considerably enlarged, again failed to make mention of the subject.

die to leave them to some person or persons, or the society, in trust, to bring about their liberty.²⁶⁷

John Kobler adds important particulars. He says to this agreement:

our . . . [revered] Father [Asbury] first set his hand, after that 66 out of 70 subscribed hand and heart. Glory be ascribed to God.

Also this:

Toward the Close, several Local preachers was presented for ordination, this was not done till they gave their obligation to the humane society for the Emancipation of their slaves—to which they readily consented.²⁶⁸

The Christmas Conference in the very act by which it recorded its determination to purge itself of the taint of slavery had paid its first tribute to a policy of weak and inconsistent compromise in dealing with slaveholding:

And respecting our Brethren in *Virginia* that are concerned,* and after due Consideration of their peculiar Circumstances, we allow them *two Years* from the Notice given, to consider the Expedience of Compliance or Non-Compliance with these Rules.

The provision was attached to a *Nota Bene* reading, "These Rules are to affect the Members of our Society no farther than as they are consistent with the Laws of the States in which they reside."²⁶⁹

The rationale of this concession is difficult to understand. Precedent for resistance to civil law was not lacking. Asbury had steadfastly resisted, on conscientious grounds, Maryland's requirement for an oath of allegiance. Garrettson, Jesse Lee, and others had resisted conscription for military service. Moreover, for members of the Church to free their slaves in obedience to the Church's rule would have been to do no more than many others did of their own free will and accord. Statutes against the manumission of slaves were not rigidly enforced by any state. The freeing of slaves by their masters through manumission by will and otherwise went on despite legislative proscription. They were freed because their ownership had become unprofitable, or for other reasons.

Such a rule would have caused some to withdraw from the Church and would have necessitated the expulsion of others, but the leaders insisted that not "numbers" but a pure and righteous Church, was their object.† The rule might also have precipitated a conflict between Church and State, but that would not have been an unmixed misfortune. In England Granville

* The chief "peculiar" circumstance affecting Virginia slavery was that the slave population was greater and, in general, slaves were held in larger number by individual slaveholders in that state (and in Georgia and South Carolina) than in other slave states, and their manumission would therefore involve greater economic sacrifice.

† Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury: "Our grand object is to raise and preserve A HOLY AND UNITED people. HOLINESS is our aim; and we pay no regard to numbers, but in proportion as they possess the genuine principles of vital religion."—Introduction, *Minutes of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1796*, appended to the ninth edition of the *Discipline*, p. 59.

Sharp had brought forward the case of James Somersett at the Court of the King's Bench. Lord Chief Justice Mansfield was plainly reluctant to disturb the established order and twice adjourned the case but finally, concluding that decision could no longer be delayed, rendered judgment on June 22, 1772, that *there was not and never had been legal slavery in England*:

The state of slavery is of such a nature, that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons, moral or political, but only by positive law, It is so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it, but positive law. Whatever inconveniences, therefore, may follow from the decision, I cannot say this case is allowed or approved by the law of England; and therefore the black must be discharged.²⁷⁰

Mansfield's decision ended slaveholding in England.* It is not unlikely that had the issue been brought before the United States Supreme Court† the whole process of enslaving men would have been declared illegal.²⁷¹

The course of compromise and struggle through the long period from 1769 to 1844 can best be traced in the record of General Conference legislation.

GENERAL CONFERENCE LEGISLATION

The years 1792-96 witnessed a rising tide of anti-slavery conviction in many parts of the nation. The times seemed ripe for a reiteration of the suspended rules of 1784. As a result the Conference of 1796 recorded as answer to "Question 12, What regulations shall be made for the extirpation of the crying evil of African slavery?" comparable in some of its stipulations to those of the Christmas Conference:

Ans. 1. We declare, that we are more than ever convinced of the great evil of the African slavery which still exists in these United States; and do most earnestly recommend to the yearly conferences, to the quarterly meetings, and to those who have the oversight of districts and circuits, to be exceedingly cautious what persons they admit to official stations in our church; and in the case of future admission to official stations, to require such security of those who hold slaves, for the emancipation of them, immediately or gradually, as the laws of the states respectively, and the circumstances of the case will admit: And we do fully authorize all the yearly conferences to make whatever regulations they judge proper in the present case, respecting the admission of persons to official stations in our church.

2. No slave-holder shall be received into society till the preacher who has the oversight of the circuit, has spoken to him freely and faithfully on the subject of slavery.

* Previous to 1660 the prevailing attitude in England toward slavery was one of strong disapproval, Englishmen in general considering it "incompatible with their free traditions and the spirit of their constitution." Following the Restoration, for over a hundred years the slave trade and colonial slavery were regarded as inevitable and necessary to English mercantile prosperity. The slave population of England, according to Charles M. MacInnes, was never more than fifteen to twenty thousand.—*Op. cit.*, pp. 107, 122.

† When the Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850 was pending in Congress, carrying an amendment proposing "trial by jury," James M. Mason of Virginia objected to this provision on the ground that "it would bring up the question of the legality of slavery in the States, which, said he, *it would be impossible to prove.*" Thomas H. Bayly of Virginia agreed, and the provision was stricken.—*Cf. American Slave Code in Theory and Practice . . .*, William Goodell, p. 261.

3. Every member of the society who sells a slave, shall immediately, after full proof, be excluded the society. And if any member of our society purchase a slave, the ensuing quarterly meeting shall determine on the number of years in which the slave so purchased, would work out the price of his purchase. And the person so purchasing, shall immediately after such determination, execute a legal instrument for the manumission of such slave, at the expiration of the term determined by the quarterly meeting. And in default of his executing such instrument of manumission, or on his refusal to submit his case to the judgment of the quarterly meeting, such member shall be excluded the society. *Provided also*, That in the case of a female slave, it shall be inserted in the aforesaid instrument of manumission, that all her children which shall be born during the years of her servitude, shall be free at the following times, namely—every female child at the age of twenty-one, and every male child at the age of twenty-five.—*Nevertheless*, if the member of our society, executing the said instrument of manumission, judge it proper, he may fix the times of manumission of the children of the female slaves before mentioned, at an earlier age than that which is prescribed above.

4. The preachers and other members of our society, are requested to consider the subject of negro-slavery with deep attention, till the ensuing general conference; and that they impart to the general conference, through the medium of the yearly conferences, or otherwise, any important thoughts upon the subject, that the conference may have full light, in order to take further steps towards the eradicating this enormous evil from that part of the church of God to which they are united.²⁷²

In addition to this action the Bishops appended to the General Rules a note declaring, "The buying and selling the souls of men . . . is a complicated crime." The legislation reflects the widely prevailing idea of the time that slavery was a dying institution and if the importation and the buying and selling of slaves were prevented it would die a natural death. It is to be noted also that the rules reflect less effort to legislate in terms of the Church as a whole, and increased disposition to place responsibility for drastic action upon the Annual Conferences and the local churches.

The 1796 action did not prove as effective as its proponents hoped and when the General Conference of 1800 met an effort was made to strengthen further the anti-slavery legislation. Three proposals were made: (1) That no slaveholder should be admitted to membership in the Church; (2) that all Negro children born to slaves owned by Methodists after July 4, 1800, should be emancipated at stipulated ages; (3) that every slaveholding member of the Church should free all his slaves, the Quarterly Conference to decide the length of time each slave should serve, unless the laws of the state expressly prohibited emancipation. Each of these proposals was voted down.²⁷³ However, an additional rule, much less stringent than the legislation of 1784, was added:

2. When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves, by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church, unless he

execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the state in which he lives.

In addition, the Annual Conferences were directed to draw up addresses to the legislatures of the respective states, where emancipation laws had not already been passed, petitioning for gradual emancipation; requiring the Conferences also to constitute responsible committees for the preparation of the addresses and for securing signatures.²⁷⁴

The Conference authorized an "affectionate address to the . . . societies" on the subject of slavery.²⁷⁵ This Address, signed by Bishops Asbury, Coke, and Whatcoat and by three other ministers, Ezekiel Cooper, Jesse Lee, and William McKendree, was phrased in forthright terms. It declared slavery to be the "great national evil," and that the Methodist Church, having considered it "as repugnant to the inalienable rights of mankind and to the very essence of civil liberty, but more especially to the spirit of the Christian religion" was "determined at last to rouse up all . . . [its] influence in order to hasten, to the utmost . . . , the universal extirpation of this crying sin."²⁷⁶ In some sections of the Church the Address was welcomed; in others it was the cause of no little agitation. It apparently awakened in Asbury some misgiving for he recorded in his *Journal*: "nothing could so effectually alarm and arm the citizens of South Carolina against the Methodists as the *Address of the General Conference*."²⁷⁷

By 1804 there was evidence on every hand of less vigorous opposition to slavery. The militant mood of 1796 was entirely absent. In the General Conference Freeborn Garrettson was moved to propose a redrafting of the section in the *Discipline* on the subject, the Bishops to "form a section to suit the southern and the northern states, as they in their wisdom may think best." Asbury declined to serve and the task was assigned to a committee of seven—one from each Conference. At almost every point the Disciplinary statements were moderated: the declaration concerning the sinfulness of slavery was softened; the advice regarding sending petitions to state legislatures was stricken; in an additional action preachers were charged to "admonish and exhort all slaves to render due respect and obedience to the commands and interests of their respective masters." As if this were not enough, an amendment to the paragraph dealing with the emancipation of slaves under direction of the Quarterly Conference was adopted by the Conference providing that:

The members of our societies in the States of North-Carolina, South-Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, shall be exempted from the operation of . . . [these] rules.²⁷⁸

By the 1808 General Conference appeasement of the pro-slavery interests was carried even farther. A motion to strike from the *Discipline* "the whole

section respecting slavery" was lost. However, the Conference virtually abrogated its responsibility for legislating on the slave traffic:

The General Conference authorize each annual conference to form their own regulations relative to buying and selling slaves.²⁷⁹

Finally, the Conference stultified itself by passing this motion*:

that there be one thousand forms of Discipline prepared for the use of the South Carolina Conference, in which the section and rule on slavery be left out.²⁸⁰

No significant change in the Disciplinary statement regarding slavery was made by the General Conference of 1812. The only mention of slavery in the *Journal* of the session was a motion by David Young of the Western Conference that inquiry be made "into the nature and moral tendency of slavery." The motion was placed on the table²⁸¹ and there remained.

Compromise had proceeded to such a point that a sense of the futility of any action had developed. The mood now was one of helplessness and hopelessness on the part of those who by conscience were still opposed to sanction of slavery by the Church. This is clearly reflected in an action of the Conference of 1816. A memorial on slavery from the Staunton Circuit, Virginia, was referred to a special committee of nine, which declared after consideration that "under the present existing circumstances in relation to slavery, little can be done to abolish a practice so contrary to the principles of moral justice. . . . the evil appears to be past remedy;" In adopting the report of the committee the General Conference took an action which became known as the "Compromise Law":

Your committee find that in the South and West the civil authorities render emancipation impracticable, and . . . they are constrained to admit that to bring about such a change in the civil code as would favour the cause of liberty is not in the power of the General Conference. . . . they beg leave to submit the following resolution:

Resolved, . . . [that] 'no slaveholder shall be eligible to any official station in our Church hereafter where the laws of the state in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom.'²⁸²

The only action taken by the General Conference of 1820 was negative in its effect. It had become evident that the widely variant actions of the Annual Conferences, under the authority given them by the law of 1808 to make their own regulations governing the slave traffic, had placed the Church in a position so self-contradictory as to be embarrassing and humiliating. Wherefore that paragraph was rescinded.²⁸³

Throughout a large portion of the Church during these years no other sub-

* Jesse Lee says that the motion must have been made by Asbury. It appears in the proceedings of May 26 as having been made "from the chair." Also W. L. Duren: "as M'Kendree had been ordained just eight days preceding it is hardly to be believed that the mover was other than Bishop Asbury."—*Francis Asbury, Founder of American Methodism and Unofficial Minister of State*, p. 47.

ject constituted so burning an issue as slavery, but the General Conference had gone so far in its long-continued policy of compromise that, so far as effective legislation against the slave system was concerned, it had virtually lost its ability to act. None of the Bishops during this later period took an aggressive stand against slavery* and "not a single great outstanding nationally known preacher in Methodism . . . came out strongly for abolition."²⁸⁴

The Conference of 1824 added three new paragraphs, each of some significance in itself, but without any relation whatever to "the extirpation of slavery"—this being the subject of the section of the *Discipline* in which they were placed:

3. All our preachers shall prudently enforce upon our members, the necessity of teaching their slaves to read the word of God; and to allow them time to attend upon the public worship of God on our regular days of divine service.

4. Our coloured preachers and official members shall have all the privileges which are usual to others in the district and quarterly conferences, where the usages of the country do not forbid it. And the presiding elder may hold for them a separate district conference, where the number of coloured local preachers will justify it.

5. The Annual Conferences may employ coloured preachers to travel and preach where their services are judged necessary; provided that no one shall be so employed without having been recommended according to the form of discipline.²⁸⁵

This action constituted the final amendment of the section on slavery during the period 1796–1844.† In the General Conference of 1828 a resolution providing that slaveholders who treated their slaves inhumanely, either by refusing them proper care or separating, by means of purchase and sale, members of families, should be brought to trial as in cases of immorality, was by vote of the Conference placed on the table and was never considered.²⁸⁶ The question of slavery was not brought before the Conference of 1832 in any form for consideration.

The General Conference session of 1836, in Cincinnati, was the most heated of any ever held. Many preachers and laymen—by no means all northern men—had become convinced that the time had passed for silence on the supreme moral issue of the nation. Many memorials were presented praying that the rules against slavery formerly in the *Discipline*, should be restored and that effective action should be taken to free the Church from slaveholding,

* This is not to say that the Bishops were devoid of conviction on the slavery issue. In the impasse that developed in the 1826 meeting of the Bishops in the matter of election of a fraternal delegate to the British Conference the objection of Bishops George and Hedding to William Capers (see Vol. I, 357) was "on account of his connexion with slavery." Davis W. Clark, Hedding's biographer, represents him as holding that Capers "would be greatly embarrassed in his mission on account of his connexion with slavery."—*Life and Times of Rev. Elijah Hedding, D.D.* . . . , pp. 325f.

† It is of interest that the section remained unaltered in the *Discipline* of the Methodist Episcopal Church, following division, until 1860.

and from the buying and selling of slaves by its members. Clearly the temper of a considerable part of the Church had again been aroused on the subject. The memorials were referred to a special committee on slavery. Its report stated the opinion of the committee to be that "it would be highly improper for the General Conference to take any action that would alter or change" the rules on the subject of slavery. Further:

That it is inexpedient to make any change in our book of Discipline respecting slavery, and that we deem it improper further to agitate the subject in the General Conference at present.²⁸⁷

The addresses of two fraternal delegates to the Conference—those of William Lord, including the official Fraternal Address of the British Conference,* and of William Case of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Upper Canada—both strongly anti-slavery, were sharply criticized by many delegates. A committee, consisting of Nathan Bangs, William Capers, and Thomas A. Morris, was appointed to frame a reply, and also to draft the Pastoral Address to the Church. The Address, signed by all the Bishops, in addition to the three members of the committee, after summarizing the legal barriers against anti-slavery action and deprecating the evil effects of agitation, stated:

These facts . . . constrain us as your pastors, . . . to exhort you to abstain from all abolition movements and associations, and to refrain from patronizing any of their publications;

. . . we have come to the solemn conviction, that the only safe, Scriptural, and prudent way for us, both as ministers and people, . . . is wholly to refrain from this agitating subject, which is now convulsing the country, and consequently the Church, from end to end²⁸⁸

When the report had been read a delegate from the Maine Conference, John B. Husted, moved to amend by inserting the oft-reiterated declaration, "We are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery," but the amendment was voted down, and the report approved by an almost unanimous vote.²⁸⁹

During the session of General Conference a weekly meeting of the Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Society was attended and addressed by two of the New

* The British Fraternal Address stated the conviction that slavery in "a Christian State" is in violation of "great scriptural principles" and "the precepts of Christianity" and expressed a hope that the Methodist Episcopal Church "having already begun to resist and condemn this baneful system" would be able so to lead public opinion as to "result in a unanimous rejection of slavery and its social mischiefs, on the ground of its repugnancy to the laws of Christ." (*Minutes of the [British] Methodist Conferences . . .*, VII, 615ff.; also in N. Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, IV, 223ff.) The General Conference refused the customary authorization to print the Address in the Church press. The response to the British Conference, while acknowledging that the Church had been "more or less agitated with the perplexing question of negro slavery," expressed confidence that had the British brethren been able to analyze critically the various ramifications of slavery in America their tone of sympathy "would have been deeper and more pathetic." (N. Bangs, *op. cit.*, IV, 229.) The British Conference in the Address of the next year maintained its stand without apology, declaring it to be "the duty of the Christian church to bear an unequivocal testimony against a system which involves so much sin against God, and so much oppression and wrong, inflicted on an offending race of our fellow-men."—*Minutes of the [British] Methodist Conferences . . .*, VIII, 115ff.

Hampshire Conference delegates. On the following day S. G. Roszel of the Baltimore Conference moved these resolutions:

Resolved, by the delegates of the annual conferences in General Conference assembled, 1. That they disapprove in the most unqualified sense the conduct of two members of the General Conference, who are reported to have lectured in this city recently upon and in favour of modern abolitionism.

Resolved, 2. That they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, wish, or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave as it exists in the slave-holding states of this Union.²⁹⁰

Much excitement followed. Discussion of the resolutions—some of it vehement and vituperative—continued for the greater part of two days. The Conference finally voted 122 in favor of the first resolution and eleven against. The second resolution was divided and the clause: "That they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism," was adopted 120 to 14. The remainder of the resolution was unanimously adopted.²⁹¹

In 1840 the General Conference was confronted with anti-slavery petitions signed by more than 10,000 members of the Church, including five hundred Traveling Preachers. The memorials were principally from New England, but some were from Black River, Erie, Genesee, Indiana, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Oneida, Pittsburgh, and Troy Conferences.²⁹² Proceedings revealed that the majority attitude, re-enforced by the Address of the Bishops, was strongly opposed to any legislation that would affect "the unity and peace of the Church."²⁹³ A resolution declaring it to be "inexpedient and unjustifiable" for any preacher "to permit coloured persons to give testimony against white persons in any state where they are denied that privilege in trials at law" was carried by a vote of 74 to 46.²⁹⁴ For a number of years the Baltimore Conference had rejected Local Preachers as applicants for deacon's and elder's orders "solely on the ground of their being slaveholders." Official members of the Westmoreland (Virginia) Circuit, Baltimore Conference, appealed to the General Conference against this action. The General Conference declared:

That, under the provisional exception of the general rule of the church on the subject of slavery, the simple holding of slaves, or mere ownership of slave property, in states or territories where the laws do not admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom, constitutes no legal barrier to the election or ordination of ministers to the various grades of office known in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and cannot, therefore, be considered as operating any forfeiture of right in view of such election and ordination.²⁹⁵

ANNUAL CONFERENCE ACTIONS

Such scant records as exist of Annual Conference proceedings prior to 1808 supply little information concerning actions affecting slavery. Begin-

ning with that year, as a result of General Conference authorization "to form their own regulations," slaveholding and the traffic in slaves became live issues in all Conferences in regions where slavery existed.*

The Virginia Conference at its 1813 session directed its members to "instruct the colored people in the principles and duties of religion," and to "search out . . . all the classes of colored people" within the bounds of their Circuits. In addition the action stated:

If any member of the . . . Church be found guilty of carrying on, directly or indirectly, the trade of slave speculation, he or she shall be expelled²⁹⁶

At the 1817 session this rule was superseded by stronger anti-slavery legislation. The action provided that no member of the Church should

buy or sell any slave where it does not appear to the preacher . . . , and the Society, or a Committee appointed by him, that they are bought or sold for the express purpose of keeping husbands and wives, parents and children together, or from principles of humanity. And in every case of violation of the above rule, such persons so offending, shall be dealt with according to Discipline, as in other cases of immorality.

In addition the Conference ordered that a copy of the rule should be supplied to every Presiding Elder and preacher and should be read to every congregation annually in conjunction with the General Rules of the *Discipline*.²⁹⁷

In 1819 an attempt was made to abrogate this legislation by substituting the 1813 rule but after "considerable discussion" the Conference refused.²⁹⁸

In no region was the struggle more prolonged and intense than in Tennessee. One of the earliest incidents is related by Robert Paine in his *Life and Times of William M'Kendree*:

the [Western] Conference which met Oct. 1, 1808, . . . took up the subject, and, as they were somewhat at a loss what to do, they requested the Bishops to give them a written opinion on the subject. Bishop Asbury presented and read a paper, suggesting caution and moderation, and discouraging legislation upon the vexed question.† When he finished, there was an evident indication of dissatisfaction—indeed, it is said '*the audience hissed him*.'²⁹⁹

One of the principal causes of difficulty in the Tennessee Conference, as in a number of other Conferences, was the fact that some of the preachers were themselves slaveholders. The Conference was so divided in sentiment that Church law applying to slaveholding by members (Traveling Preachers)

* The Annual Conference histories, for the most part, are sadly lacking in information on attitudes and actions of the Conferences on slavery. J. B. M'Ferrin's three-volume *History of Methodism in Tennessee* is an exception.

† This incident affords striking illustration of the failure of Asbury to furnish positive leadership on this great moral issue. The explanation of his attitude is easily understood. He stated that "the blacks" were kept from them because "their masters are afraid of the influence of our principles," and asked, "Would not an *amelioration* in the condition and treatment of slaves have produced more practical good to the poor Africans, than any attempt at their *emancipation*?"—*Journal*, III, 298.

was not rigorously applied.* The "Journal" of the first session (1812) contains this minute:

Leven Edney, recommended from Nashville Circuit; his character examined and approved, Learner Blackman being security that he'll set his slave free, when practicable.³⁰⁰

"When practicable" was an escape clause, easily taken advantage of. How effective Learner Blackman's surety was likely to be in bringing about the slave's freedom may be judged from his argument in the case of a Local Preacher who had been suspended by his Quarterly Conference for buying and selling slaves and had appealed to the Annual Conference (1813). Blackman defended him. He argued that "the purchaser had made the condition of the slave much better"; that "he may have been influenced by the most humane feelings"; that it is no more a sin for preachers than for laymen to own slaves; that great wrong had been done by "officious intermeddling with legal and private rights," and much more in the same tenor.³⁰¹ The Annual Conference affirmed the suspension.

There are other evidences that during the early period of the Conference the anti-slavery group constituted a majority but as the years passed the situation gradually changed. In 1819 Peter Burum, and Gilbert D. Taylor†—who by Robert Paine was considered "eminently worthy"—were refused admission because they were slaveholders, and several Local Preachers, candidates for deacon's orders, were rejected for the same reason. Following these actions a protest, signed by sixteen members, including Thomas L. Douglass, Lewis Garrett, Barnabas McHenry, Thomas Stringfield, Henry B. Bascom, and others of the leading men of the Conference, was made and recorded in the "Journal."

We deprecate the *course* taken as oppressively severe in itself and ruinous in its consequences, and we disapprove of the *principle* as contrary to, and in violation of, the order and discipline of our Church.³⁰²

Although the opponents of slavery were still able to command a majority of votes in test cases this paper—signed by leading men of the Conference—indicated that they were fighting a losing battle. Already several of the strongest men of the opposition had migrated across the Ohio River and others, discouraged by the turn affairs had taken, transferred to the Ohio and other northern Conferences. After 1820 the pro-slavery group was dominant.

* In a few instances Congregational ministers and laymen serving as missionaries among the Indians of southern states were charged with slaveholding through having contracted with slave owners for slave labor. On Feb. 23, 1836, the responsible committee of the American Board took the following action: "*Resolved*, that the missionaries among the southwestern Indians be instructed to enter into no more such contracts;"—Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, p. 320.

† Gilbert D. Taylor made a sincere and successful effort to comply with the Conference requirement. After appealing in vain to the states of Tennessee and Alabama for permission to emancipate his slaves he took them to Pennsylvania and there freed them.

This brief summary of Tennessee Conference actions in relation to slavery is paralleled, with minor deviations, by developments in such other Conferences as Holston, Baltimore, Missouri, and Arkansas.

The case of the Ohio Conference was peculiar in that—for the crucial years 1812-20—it embraced within its territory not only the entire “free” state of Ohio but also approximately one-half of Kentucky, a slaveholding state. At the beginning it was predominantly anti-slavery in sentiment. At its first session (1812) it formally adopted “Rules by which the Ohio Annual Conference is to be govern’d respecting Slavery.” These rules provided that (1) no member of the Society should purchase a slave “except in Cases of mercy or humanity to the Slave”; (2) the number of years the slave should serve “as compensation for the price paid” to be subject to decision by the Quarterly Conference; (3) all children of female slaves to be free at the age of twenty-one; (4) no slave to be sold “except at the request of the Slave,” provided that if any member considered it necessary to sell a slave the case was to be submitted to the decision of three non-slaveholding members. The penalty for violation of any provision was exclusion from the Society. All provisions were subject to the law of the state. The stern attitude of opposition expressed by these rules soon began to soften. No trial involving a member’s relation to slavery was brought before the Conference after the first year; in 1817 the rules were rescinded and no legislation was substituted in their place.³⁰³

As in various other regions throughout the Church, a strong opposition to abolitionism developed in Ohio among those who continued to adhere to anti-slavery convictions. In its session in 1835 the Ohio Conference adopted a report of its Committee on Abolition and Colonization (T. A. Morris, L. L. Hamline, and E. W. Sehon) which in its concluding section read:

Resolved, That we deeply regret the proceedings of the abolitionists and anti-slavery societies in the free states, and the consequent excitement thereby produced in the slave states; . . . ³⁰⁴

The Kentucky Conference in this same year (1835) unanimously adopted a report* which, deploring “the interference of abolitionists,” at the same time condemned slavery as morally wrong:

Although citizens of Kentucky, we are not the advocates of slavery. We believe it to be morally wrong, and relatively mischievous in all its tendencies. . . . We deeply regret and anxiously deplore its existence in this or any other country; . . . ³⁰⁵

* The Synod of Kentucky (Presbyterian) in its Oct. 8, 1834, session adopted a statement declaring that “the system of absolute and hereditary domestic slavery, . . . is repugnant to the principles of our holy religion, . . . and that the continuance of the system any longer than is necessary to prepare for its safe and beneficial termination is sinful. . . .”—Charles Elliott, *History of the Great Secession* . . . , pp. 855f.

New England Methodism manifested no special interest in the slavery issue during the early decades of its history. Its awakening is chiefly attributable to the influence of William Lloyd Garrison (1805-79), his periodical, *The Liberator* (founded in 1831), and the organization of the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1832. At the session of the Conference held in June, 1835, a Methodist anti-slavery society was organized, committed to "the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery."³⁰⁶ The preachers who had been most outstanding as Conference leaders in the immediately preceding years, including Willbur Fisk, Elijah Hedding, Edward T. Taylor, and Abel Stevens, were opposed to "abolitionism," characterizing it as dangerous radicalism, but the abolition cause soon came to command majority support in all of the New England Conferences.

The New England Conference* of 1840, by a vote of 80 to 31, memorialized the General Conference of that year so to alter the General Rules as to prohibit the "buying or selling or holding men, women, or children as slaves under any circumstances, or giving them away except on purpose to free them."³⁰⁷ The memorial was sent to all of the Annual Conferences of the Church. Other than the three New England Conferences, only the Genesee had more than five votes in favor of the proposed rule, and most were unanimous for non-concurrence.

New England Methodism was noteworthy, also, for opening the columns of its organ, *Zion's Herald*, to anti-slavery articles and letters when other periodicals of the Church were closed to them.

LOCAL CHURCHES AND SLAVERY

When all has been said concerning actions of the general legislative bodies of the Church the fact remains that—so far as the Church was concerned—it was chiefly within the local Societies that the issue of the freedom of the slave or the perpetuation of his bondage was being determined. General and Annual Conferences might make rules but they were mere dead letters unless they were applied, and the point of application was in the local churches and the Quarterly Conferences of the Circuits and Stations. Laws printed in the General and Annual Conference *Journals* came alive only as they became determinative in the thinking and the day-by-day practice of the ministers and the lay people of the Societies.

The procedure of making and the enforcement of the rules were, of course, processes of interaction. The attitudes and convictions of the people influenced the laws enacted by the General Conference members even as the statutes written into the *Discipline* of the Church in turn influenced the attitudes and think-

* In addition to the actions here cited, other Annual Conference actions on the slavery issue may be found in the section on "Pattern of Rationalization," pp. 94ff.

ing of Society members and, to a very limited extent, of the general public. But one can never be certain as to the extent that the General Conference majority accurately reflected the real spirit and convictions of the rank-and-file preachers and people.

Unfortunately few records of particular Circuits and Stations covering an extended period of time preceding 1844 are extant.* Happily the "record Book, Treasurers Accounts 1768-96," of the first Methodist Society in New York City—that of Wesley Chapel (John Street Church)—is still in existence. Under date of "1783, June 10" is found this entry: "Paid Mr. Aymar for his negro Peter, Lb. 40.0.0." Several subsequent entries appear, including these: "1783, July 12, Received of black Peter at sundry times Lb. 4." "Dec. 1, 1783, By Peter Williams in part, his indebtedness to the Society, six payments additional in this year, Lb. 16. 20s." Finally, this entry: "By cash, received of Peter Williams, in full of all demands, on the 4th of November, 1785, Lb. 5.7s." The implications of the entries are clear. Peter Williams was a slave, owned by Mr. Aymar, a tobacconist, who as a Loyalist felt compelled to flee following the close of the Revolutionary War. That Peter Williams might be freed the John Street Society bought him, giving him an opportunity to redeem himself by installment payments. Within twenty-nine months he had purchased his freedom.†

Evidence exists that a few, at least, of the Circuit Riders not only preached against slavery but supplemented their preaching by persuasion and entreaty to slaveholders to free their slaves in accordance with the advisory action of the 1780 Conference and the mandatory action—soon postponed—of the Christmas Conference. Thomas Haskins records in his "Journal" that while on the Baltimore Circuit, in April, 1783, he visited "Brother Williams and went fully into the matter about the freedom of his Slaves." Again, in April, 1785, when on the Talbot Circuit, he tells of drawing up "a manumission for the freedom of a slave" belonging to a member of the Society.³⁰⁸ John Kobler records in his "Journal":

Decem. 7 [1794] I preached the funeral for one of our members, D. by name, and a citizen of Bedford [Virginia]. At his death he set 40 or 50 slaves at liberty, and gave every family of them 100 acres of land and provisions for the first year. This his only son could not stand.³⁰⁹

* Methodism has been negligent concerning its historical records. During the early decades of its history no systematic effort was made to preserve local church or Quarterly Conference records. As a consequence the great majority have long since perished, and even the comparatively few that remain are in most cases fragmentary.

† Peter Williams was born in Beekman Street, New York City, of slave parents. He married Mary Durham, a native of St. Christopher, West Indies. He was converted under the preaching of Embury and Webb, and became a member of the John Street Society. He was sexton of the church, except for brief intervals, from 1772 to 1818. For seven years he and his wife lived in the parsonage and cared for the itinerant preachers. Although he could neither read nor write, he went into business for himself, prospered and became the owner of considerable property. He was one of the founders of the African Zion Methodist Episcopal Church, and with his own hands laid the cornerstone of the church at Leonard and Church Streets, New York, in 1800. Coke, Asbury, Whatcoat, John Dickens, and others pay tribute to his worth as a man and citizen and to his faithful Christian character.

Thomas Smith, serving on the Talbot Circuit in 1804, states that after preaching at Royal Oak he "went home with . . . brother H. Banning," and expresses his satisfaction in finding that he had "liberated forty-four slaves, whom he might have kept in bondage without losing his membership."³¹⁰

There is evidence also that despite the reactionary trends in the General Conferences of 1800 and 1804 sincere effort continued to be made by some Quarterly Conferences to enforce the provisions of the 1796 legislation. At the Quarterly Conference of Harford Circuit "held at Deer Creek [Maryland] Chapel, October 10, 1806," with thirteen persons present, one elder, two "circuit preachers," three Local Preachers, and seven Class Leaders, the following Minutes were recorded:

Question 3. Have any purchased slaves A[ns.] John Ingram [present, listed as Class Leader] has purchased one boy about 14 years of age who was to be free at the age of 21 years. Agreed by this Conference that he should serve the time he was purchased for also John Clarke [present, listed as Local Preacher] has purchased a girl now about 11 years of age for which he gave 60 Dollars to serve until she arrives at the age of 25 years. This Conference decrees that she shall be set free at the age of 23 years. Signed pr order Godfrey Watters (Sec).³¹¹

At successive Quarterly Conferences of this Circuit questions were asked in varying form such as: "Have all of the decrees of the conference been executed faithfully respecting the manumission of slaves?" "Has there been punctuality in Emancipating those [slaves whose cases have come before the Conference] before?" The final entry concerning slavery occurs in the Minutes of a Quarterly Conference held at Charity Chapel, March 5, 1814. It reads:

Whereas Richard Farmer has bought a slave about 28 years of age by the name of Jerry (otherwise calls himself Jerry Barnes) for which he gave three hundred dollars . . . [The pastor] appointed a committee . . . (of five) to award what time said Jerry should serve to pay said Farmer his money, the committee after considering the matter before them are of opinion and do award that the above named Jerry shall serve the said Richard Farmer the term of nine years from the 12th day of February 1814 being the time of purchase Godfrey Watters (sect).³¹²

A. H. Redford in his *History of Methodism in Kentucky* states that the law forbidding the admission of slaveholders "into society or to the Lord's Supper" until they complied with the "rules concerning slavery" was enforced "in many communities." Asa E. Martin agrees that Kentucky Methodists in general were active in opposition to slavery. Redford cites the records of the Quarterly Conferences of Hartford Circuit "from 1804 to 1825" as showing "the continual agitation of the question, in the examination of the characters of official members, who, by any means, had become connected with slavery."³¹³ But by 1840 anti-slavery activity by local churches in Kentucky had practically ceased.³¹⁴

In some cases—how many it is impossible to say—condemnation of slavery by Quarterly Conferences led lay officials of local churches to free their slaves. Officials of Livingston Circuit (Kentucky), Western Conference, voluntarily offered to accept decision of the Quarterly Conference (Oct. 2, 1805) as to whether they should free their slaves. The record reads:

we, thereby, had the unspeakable pleasure of decreeing salvation from slavery in favor of twenty-two immortal souls; we did not reprobate one of them.³¹⁵

At a Quarterly Conference in Duxbury, Massachusetts, resolutions were offered by one of the members, one of which read:

while God gives us the exercise of our reason and the use of our tongues, we will continue to plead for the slave and will not be silenced by civil or ecclesiastical bodies.

Believing the resolutions to be opposed to the advice of the General Conference and a reflection on the administration of the Bishops, the Presiding Elder refused to put the resolutions to vote. Members refused to do any other business until the vote was taken, whereupon the Presiding Elder left the chair meaning thereby to close the session. One of the preachers took his place, called for the vote, and declared the resolutions passed unanimously.³¹⁶

There can be no question but that in the thirties when sentiment for abolition became exceedingly strong in various sections of the country the attitude of many lay members of the Church was more inflexible than that of leading preachers.

SLAVERY'S INCREASING ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE

The decline of anti-slavery sentiment in the American Churches beginning at about the turn of the century, following a marked rise during and immediately after the Revolutionary War, presents a complex problem of historical causation. That decline of religious opposition to slavery was coincident with a sharp increase in the economic importance of slave labor is unquestionable. To say that the economic factor was the sole cause is to oversimplify the problem. That it was one of the chief causes seems too clear to be debated.

The invention of Eli Whitney's cotton gin in 1793, in association with several inventions in the process of cotton manufacture, soon made cotton growing the one major industry of the South. The conviction that successful cotton growing was dependent upon Negro labor and the belief that the Negro would not work except under compulsion immensely strengthened the slave system. The growing of cotton quickly became exceedingly profitable, and spread in extent, increasing both the demand for and the market price of slaves.

The law enacted by Congress prohibiting the importation of slaves

from outside the United States was a death sentence against the African slave trade. But the institution was so deeply rooted in economic privilege that it was slow to die. Enforcement measures were weak and vacillating and New England shipowners, northern merchants, and southern planters found it easy to evade both the federal law and state legislation.³¹⁷ Nevertheless, lacking legal sanction the importation of slaves gradually decreased and finally after many years entirely ceased.

An effect of diminution of the trade was that it made the breeding of slaves second only to cotton growing in economic importance. What had been widely believed to be a dying institution revived, and within a generation became the economic base of southern society—a whole newly reconstituted structure of social and economic life. Wherever the plantation system spread—and it extended rapidly from the coastal area to the West and the Southwest—the plantations, large and small, were cultivated, the homes were cared for, and business of every kind was conducted on the basis of slave labor. As the agricultural and industrial development proceeded, as cotton moved into the back country and pioneer farming even in the New West began to give way to large-scale agricultural operations, it became unmistakably clear that hired free labor could not compete with slave. Many even of those who inwardly despised the system found themselves led to buy slaves. They no longer felt themselves free agents. Their support, the maintenance of their homes and families, their thinking—all were determined by the working of a system upon which society had become dependent. Individuals “were borne like corks on the current of the times.”³¹⁸

PATTERN OF RATIONALIZATION

When the conviction had become established in the public mind that slavery was the indispensable means of maintaining the economic life of the South an elaborate process of rationalization set in.* A natural starting point was the fact that sanction had been given slavery by statutes passed by state legislatures. It is a first duty of Christians, as good citizens, the argument ran, to be subject to the laws of the state, and of ministers to enjoin obedience to the civil power. To condemn slavery, more especially to make any effort to bring about the manumission of slaves, contrary to state law, is manifestly disloyal and unchristian. Much was made of this argument. One finds it repeated over and over again in varying form in sermons and addresses and writings of ministers, and in resolutions. It was contended that such had been the position of southern Methodists from the beginning:

* It should be said, however, that churchmen who at this juncture came to the defense of slavery were undoubtedly familiar with and in greater or less measure influenced by pro-slavery arguments that had been current during the colonial era. For these arguments see W. S. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 39ff.

Non-interference, as a Church, in State or governmental affairs has been their motto. As citizens, they exercise the right of suffrage; as citizens, they pay their taxes and sustain the laws and Constitutions of the States and General Government; but as Methodists, they claim only the privileges guaranteed to all Christians, affirming that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world. If, in any instance, there has been a departure from these views, it has been a violation of the known principles of the Southern Church from the beginning.³¹⁹

At first voiced by churchmen in the slave states, as slavery became more and more strongly entrenched and the feeling permeated the entire Church that it was powerless to do away with it, the doctrine of non-interference* was promulgated by some Annual Conferences in the free states and by the General Conference.³²⁰

To sustain the dictum of non-interference it seemed necessary to maintain that slavery as an institution was purely and wholly a civil matter. The ground of this contention was that the whole question of slavery had been relegated by the Constitution and the federal government to the states and thereby wholly removed from the jurisdiction of federal and ecclesiastical courts and assemblies. It was an institution, it was asserted, with which the Church had nothing to do, and to interfere with it in any way or to make any pronouncement concerning it was wholly unjustified.† This contention was maintained strongly through many years. Let the Church and its ministers leave slavery alone: theirs is one business only, to preach and to teach the Gospel. As an evidence of how deeply rooted this doctrine became, witness the statement of Redford, written as late as 1870:

we find a few of the preachers of whom . . . [Peter] Cartwright was the acknowledged leader, by their interference with slavery—a civil institution—greatly embarrassing the progress of the Church in the portions of the State in which they labored, and keeping out of its communion many families of influence.³²¹

But there were many in the Church, both North and South, who could not so easily satisfy their consciences. Is not slavery, they asked, also a moral issue? Is it not essentially a matter of right or wrong? Were the leaders of

* Proponents of non-interference received reinforcement from the "Instructions to the Wesleyan Missionaries," written by the eminent Richard Watson by authorization of the British Wesleyan Committee given on Dec. 18, 1817, and sent to the missions of the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion in the West Indies: "As in the colonies in which you are called to labour, a great proportion of the inhabitants are in a state of slavery, the committee most strongly call to your recollection what was so fully stated to you when you were accepted as a missionary to the West Indies, that your only business is to promote the moral and religious improvement of the slaves to whom you may have access, without in the least degree, in public or private, interfering with their civil condition. . . .

"The [Missionary] committee caution you against engaging in any of the civil disputes or local politics of the colony to which you may be appointed, either verbally or by correspondence with any persons at home, or in the colonies. The whole period of your temporary residence in the West Indies is to be filled up with the proper work of your mission."—See Thomas Jackson, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Richard Watson*, pp. 209f.

† How general this attitude became is evidenced by the fact that most of the interdenominational religious philanthropic societies developed and persistently maintained a non-committal policy as regards slavery. Among these were the American Home Missionary Society, the American Tract Society, and the American Bible Society.—See Anon., *The American Home Missionary Society and Slavery*; Lewis Tappan, *The Life of Arthur Tappan*; R. V. Harlow, *Gerrit Smith, Philanthropist and Reformer*.

the Church in the period of its founding mistaken in declaring that slavery was sinful? These questions could not be evaded. They must be answered, and the proponents of slavery—first cautiously and later with all boldness—asserted that Negro slavery as it existed in America was not intrinsically evil.* Advanced first in negative form, the assertion later became positive: that slavery, far from being morally wrong, was a righteous and beneficent system.

The Georgia Annual Conference in its session in December, 1837, seems to have been the first unequivocally to declare slavery not a moral wrong.† Its declaration was repeated the next year by the South Carolina Conference. The contention, which had been repeatedly advanced in Congress and the public press for a number of years,‡ received strong reinforcement from political leaders, particularly Alexander H. Stephens and John C. Calhoun. In a speech delivered in 1838 Calhoun declared:

Many in the South once believed that it [slavery] was a moral and political evil. That folly and delusion are gone. We see it now in its true light, and regard it as the most safe and stable basis for free institutions in the world.³²²

Around this contention, in the course of two or three decades, in the Methodist Church§ and the South as a whole, an elaborate ideology was developed in defense of slavery. It is possible here to present only a few of the principal elements in the structure of the pro-slavery philosophy. (1) The term "slaveholding" has been loosely used and mistakenly defined. It does not consist in the mere possession of slaves but only in retaining them "with evil purpose and wrong treatment." A slave may be held, and often is held, for his own advantage, and when so held is "morally emancipated." Evil, where it exists, is not in the institution *per se* but in its abuse.³²³ (2) Slavery

* In his thoroughly objective study of Negro-white relations in America Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish scholar, declares that the real break between North and South, which did not assume the form of overt action until several decades had passed, came at the point of disagreement on the moral issue of the right or wrong of slavery. "In the South the break from the unmodified American Creed continued and widened. . . . Around this central moral conflict a whole complex of economic and political conflicts between North and South grew up."—*Op. cit.*, I, 87.

† The statement as adopted by the Georgia Conference, said to have been passed unanimously, read: "Resolved, That it is the sense of the Georgia annual conference that slavery, as it exists in the United States, is not a moral evil:

"Resolved, That we view slavery as a civil and domestic institution, and one with which, as ministers of Christ, we have nothing to do, further than to ameliorate the condition of the slave by endeavoring to impart to him and his master the benign influence of the religion of Christ, and aiding both on their way to heaven."—C. Elliott, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

‡ In the U. S. Senate on Jan. 26, 1820, William Smith of South Carolina enunciated at length what came to be known as "the positive good theory" of slavery (*Annals of Congress*, 16, 1 Sess., pp. 259ff.). Senator Benjamin Ruggles of Ohio commented: "This was taking entirely new ground; it was going farther than he had ever heard any gentleman go before. Heretofore, . . . slavery had not been considered as a matter of right, but as an evil, a misfortune entailed upon the country . . ."—*Ibid.*, p. 279.

§ Some recent writers assert that the Methodist Church consistently condemned slavery. For example, William E. Arnold: "the Methodist Church, in the South, as well as in the North, always condemned the institution of slavery. From the very beginning they declared it an evil and sought a way for its extirpation. The controversy between the two sections was not over the character of the institution—some pro-slavery, some anti-slavery—but over the proper method of dealing with it." (*History of Methodism in Kentucky*, II, 142.) Unfortunately history cannot record this as fact. Cf. W. L. Duren: "There were always, and in all sections, some who addressed themselves to the moral aspects of the issue; but, to the minds of the vast majority, the issues involved were political and economic rather than social or moral."—*The Trail of the Circuit Rider*, p. 191.

is recognized by the Bible, which—far from pronouncing human servitude sinful—gives specific directions for the treatment of slaves. The Christian master who treats his slaves humanely and is concerned for their religious welfare is “performing an acceptable and important service in the economy of God’s providence.”³²⁴ (3) Slavery is the one way by which the races can live together in peace. The Negro is an inferior order of creation,* and slavery is the divinely sanctioned plan for his elevation and salvation. In the College of William and Mary—where three decades before, Chancellor George Wythe and St. George Tucker, much to the gratification of Jefferson, were indoctrinating students in the belief that slavery must be abolished—Thomas R. Dew was inculcating in the minds of youth an historical and theological justification of the slave system.³²⁵ (4) A “free society,” in contrast, is a violation of Scriptural teaching and of the “laws of nature.” All men are not created “free and equal” and the principle of equality as formulated in the Declaration of Independence is unchristian and atheistic.³²⁶

The pattern of rationalization was now all but complete.† There was but one more step and that was soon taken. Since slavery was beneficent, morally justified, and Scriptural, any and all attempts to interfere with its operation or to abolish it were morally wrong.³²⁷

In the Conferences of the slaveholding states opponents of slavery had been effectually silenced and abolitionism morally condemned. This is understandable. But more surprising was the development that anti-slavery activities and especially the advocacy of abolitionism were reprobated by some Conferences in non-slaveholding territory. The Baltimore Conference—a border Conference—at its session of 1836 resolved:

That we are opposed, in every part and particular, to the proceedings of the Abolitionists, which look to the immediate, indiscriminate, and general emancipation of slaves.³²⁸

At the Erie Conference for 1837 it was reported that an anti-slavery society had been formed by the initiative of some of its members. The Conference resolved by a vote of 35 to 25 to “disclaim all connection with such association.”³²⁹ A second resolution declared it to be incompatible with the duties of Methodist preachers to spend time “delivering abolition lectures,

* While widely held, this view was by no means universally accepted. Many, although defending slavery as an institution “sanctioned by God and demanded by society for its highest development,” at the same time maintained that the African was a human being whose “full ethical character must be allowed.” H. N. McTyeire: “Many a Christian master is ready to grant, that among his servants [slaves] are better Christians than himself.”—*Duties of Christian Masters*, p. 140.

† It is not to be inferred that this process as outlined was in any sense limited to churchmen. South and North an extensive secular pro-slavery literature was developed. Some of the most elaborate arguments in defense of slavery and in intense opposition to emancipation found expression in northern newspapers and books. Of the latter a prominent example was *Slavery in the United States* (New York: Harpers, 1836), by James K. Paulding, a native of Dutchess County, N. Y., friend of Washington Irving, collaborator with him in the authorship of *Salmagundi*, and Secretary of the Navy in the cabinet of Martin Van Buren.

. . . getting up abolition meetings or in attending abolition conventions . . . or circulating abolition papers." An almost identical resolution had been passed by the New York Conference the preceding year.³³⁰ James Floy, David Plumb, and Charles K. True were suspended for anti-slavery activities, and Paul R. Brown was tried on similar charges.³³¹ At the Pittsburgh Conference of 1838 Goodsill Buckingham, a probationer, was discontinued for having delivered two lectures on abolitionism.³³² At the 1840 session of the same Conference Edward Smith, a prominent member of the Conference, previously a Presiding Elder, was suspended on charges of giving "publicity to things respecting the Methodist Episcopal Church . . . which are highly slanderous in their character." His offense had consisted of condemning, in communications to *Zion's Watchman*, the action of his Conference prohibiting preachers from attending conventions, delivering lectures, or circulating papers of an anti-slavery character, and in refusing to assent to appointment in Virginia where under the law he would have been prohibited from bearing Christian witness against the sin of slavery.³³³ There were similar cases in other Conferences. In 1837 Lucius C. Matlack,* a Local Preacher of exemplary character, thorough piety, and recognized ability, was denied admission to the Philadelphia Conference. A short time before he had assisted in the organization of a Wesleyan anti-slavery society and had accepted office as its secretary. On this ground he was refused admission, although as a Local Preacher he was engaged as an assistant preacher by the pastor of the West Chester [Pennsylvania] Circuit. The following year his application for admission was again refused. From 1837, for ten years, every candidate for admission was asked "Are you an Abolitionist?" and unless the answer was "no," admission was denied.³³⁴ Three Conferences—the Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Michigan—at their 1838 sessions passed resolutions protesting against Methodist preachers' delivering abolitionist lectures within their bounds, as "they tend to disturb the peace and prosperity" of the Church.³³⁵ In this statement is to be discerned the chief motivation of the many resolutions of the northern Conferences against abolitionism. Almost invariably the resolutions were prefaced by some such statement as: "We are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery." Some pro-slavery sentiment existed among Methodists in the free states, though the vast majority of preachers and people were theoretical-

* Lucius C. Matlack (1816-83), a native of Baltimore, united with Union Methodist Church, Philadelphia, in 1832, and in 1837 was licensed to preach and recommended for admission to Conference that year. Two years later he was given an appointment in Massachusetts, and in 1840 was received on trial in the New England Conference. He was one of the organizers in 1843 of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection. He served as Book Agent (1848-56), editor (1852-56), and President of the General Conference (1860). During the Civil War he was for a time a chaplain, and later a field officer, with the rank of colonel by brevet. In 1867 the Philadelphia Annual Conference, by unanimous vote, admitted him to membership, thus rescinding its action of thirty years earlier. He later served as pastor at Elkton, Md., Wilmington and Middletown, Del.; and as Presiding Elder of the New Orleans District, Louisiana Conference, and of Wilmington District, Wilmington Conference. His history of the anti-slavery struggle in the Methodist Episcopal Church was written by request of a group of leaders of the Church, including William Rice, Gilbert Haven, and C. H. Fowler.—Matthew Simpson, Ed., *Cyclopaedia of Methodism*, pp. 568f.; *Gen'l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Ch.*, 1884, pp. 78f.

ly opposed. But they felt that all efforts for its eradication were fruitless,* they feared possible division of the Church, and they deplored all agitation—and even discussion—as productive only of excitement, bitterness, and a divisive spirit. It seems not at all to have occurred to them that in proscribing writing, preaching, and lecturing against abolitionism and the holding of anti-slavery meetings they were undermining the traditions of free speech and free assembly for which at great cost their fathers had stood.

The length to which officials of the Church went in efforts to prevent all agitation and discussion now seems incredible. In 1834 the *Christian Advocate* editorially condemned abolitionists for “irrational attempts to break up the existing relations of society,” and in 1837 closed its columns to all mention of slavery.† At the New England Conference of 1837 memorials were offered asking the Conference “to bear its solemn testimony against the great sin of slavery and to memorialize the General Conference on the subject.” Bishop Beverly Waugh “refused to put a motion to refer [the memorials] to a committee, refused an appeal to the Conference from his decision, declined to give an opinion as to whether the memorials had been received and were in possession of the Conference, and refused to put a motion for the expression of an opinion by the Conference on that matter.”³³⁶

The changing attitude of the Church toward slavery during the period 1800–35, as recorded, inevitably affected slaveholding by Traveling Preachers. An earnest attempt was made by the Church to keep its ministry untainted—on the whole, considering the complications involved, a reasonably successful effort. Asbury‡ in the case of at least one preacher, that of Philip W. Taylor of the Kentucky Conference, refused elder’s ordination “in consequence of his connection with slavery.”³³⁷ McKendree seems not to have considered slaveholding an inseparable barrier to advancement in the ministry since he is represented to have favored the election of Thomas Douglass of the Tennessee Conference to the episcopacy, although he was an extensive slaveholder.³³⁸ A significant action was that of the South Carolina Conference in 1806, as cited by Peter Cartwright, agreeing to admit a slaveholder on trial “provided that he make provision for the emancipation of his slaves.”³³⁹ In a few cases preachers openly flouted the anti-slaveholding rule. The Tennessee Conference of 1816 took action requiring Hardy M. Cryer to emancipate his slaves

* Even the managers of the Missionary Society shared this attitude: missions for the slaves offer the most effective means “to do them good in their present condition; and surely much more likely to accomplish this object, than to tantalize them with hopes which they can never realize.”—*Sixteenth Annual Rep., M.S., 1834–5*, p. 17.

† This attitude was general on the part of editors and publishers, Richard Hildreth, the historian, tells in the preface of the 1840 edition of his anti-slavery novel, *The Slave: or Memoirs of Archy Moore*, how great difficulty he experienced in getting the book published. Publishers of New York and Boston one after another refused its publication, and it finally appeared without a publisher’s imprint. Although the first edition was sold out within five months “no review or magazine, or hardly a newspaper” would print a notice of it.

‡ Asbury himself seems to have been for a time a slaveholder, as also Whatcoat, slaves having been bequeathed to him by will.—*Southwestern Christian Advocate*, IX, 7, Dec. 13, 1844, as cited by C. B. Swaney, *Episcopal Methodism and Slavery*, p. 120.

and to report to the next Conference. In 1817 he reported that he had not succeeded in his attempt and meanwhile had bought another slave. Nevertheless, the Conference, Bishop Roberts presiding, passed his character and elected him to elder's orders.³⁴⁰ Thomas Stringfield, a prominent member of the Holston Conference, was owner of a number of slaves. His case was repeatedly brought before Conference without decisive action being taken. Finally, at the session of 1834 "charges were brought against . . . [him] for selling Negroes and action was taken depriving him of his parchments for one year." The decision having become known in the community,

A number of citizens . . . appeared in the Conference room and notified the chairman that such an abolition body could not sit in the State of Virginia. The Conference receded from its action and acquitted Mr. Stringfield.³⁴¹

This incident did not, however, permanently determine the attitude of the Conference. Two years later the character of M. C. Hawk was arrested on the ground that he had sold slaves. He acknowledged having sold two. Whereupon he was denied ordination to elder's orders.³⁴²

THE NEW ABOLITIONISM

By 1820 the anti-slavery spirit of early American Methodism seemed to be a spent force. Organizational expression of the Church in the South unqualifiedly condemned anti-slavery sentiment and activity of every kind, while in the North it was scarcely less condemnatory—though for different reasons. To all outward appearance organized Methodism had made up its mind to accept slavery, within definitely defined geographical boundaries, as a permanent feature of American society.*

But appearance was deceptive. In every part of the Church there were individuals whose anti-slavery convictions were as deep and strong as had been those of John Wesley and Thomas Coke. They constituted a minority, they had opposition, but they knew that as citizens and as Methodists they were within their rights, and they were determined to be heard.

The free printing press offered the best available channel. There was at this time upward of fifty daily and weekly newspapers whose columns were open to anti-slavery contributions.³⁴³ Beginning about 1819 there was a phenomenal development in the number of unofficial periodicals established in advocacy of "immediate and uncompensated emancipation."† Of Methodist

* Cf. Mary S. Locke: "Except in the case of the Quakers . . . the organized efforts of . . . [the Churches in the opposition] must be regarded as a failure. Whatever was accomplished among the latter was effected through the strong personal influence of a few individuals, and was partial, local, or incomplete through the lack of a substantial basis of public opinion."—*Anti-Slavery in America (1619-1808)*, p. 45.

† The first of these periodicals was *The Emancipator*, Jonesborough, Tenn., (1819), although *The Philanthropist*, published at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, beginning in 1817, was devoted to the interests of "peace, temperance, and anti-slavery." Other journals were the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Ohio (1821); *Abolition Intelligencer*, Kentucky (1822); *Edwardsville Spectator*, Illinois (1822); *Illinois Intelligencer* (1823); *African Observer*, Philadelphia (1826); *National Philanthropist*, Boston.

periodicals the best known were *The Wesleyan Journal*, Hallowell, Maine; *The American Wesleyan Observer*, Lowell, Massachusetts, Orange Scott and Jotham Horton, editors; *The New-England Christian Advocate*, Lowell, Massachusetts, Luther Lee, editor; and *Zion's Watchman*, New York, New York, La Roy Sunderland, editor. Second in extent and influence to abolitionist periodicals were pamphlets and books, of which a great number were published.

Throughout the North agitation and discussion of the Compromise Bill, eventuating in 1820 in the admission to the Union of Missouri as a slave state, awakened widespread new anti-slavery sentiment. Opposition to this extension of slavery, which even in Congress in its long-drawn-out discussion had been largely based on moral and religious principles, was taken up by the Churches as their own cause. When the pro-slavery forces, flushed by their success in advocacy of the Missouri Compromise, campaigned for the overthrow of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787* and the introduction of slavery into Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, many Methodist preachers of these states who had experienced the evils of slavery in the South became thoroughly aroused.† The defeat of the pro-slavery movement has been attributed by some as largely due to the determined efforts of Methodist and Baptist preachers.³⁴⁴

Of the leaders of the new movement none had greater influence than William Lloyd Garrison, self-educated printer and editor, a native of Massachusetts. Garrison made clear to many the fallacy of depending upon colonization as a means of solution of the slavery problem. His selflessness and his guiding principle of action—to renounce war and political methods and concentrate upon moral means of bringing about the abolition of the slave system—strongly commended him to religious leaders. His forthrightness and determination: "I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch; AND I WILL BE HEARD,"³⁴⁵ recalled to their Wesleyan heritage many Methodist preachers who had been lethargic concerning the sinfulness of human bondage.

The rallying cry of the new abolitionism became immediate emancipation of the slaves.‡ For a time Garrison was a voice crying in the wilderness but soon others made the slogan their own. By 1834, when Amos A. Phelps, pastor of the Pine Street (Congregational) Church in Boston, published his

(1827); *Freedom's Journal*, New York (1827); *The Investigator*, Providence (1827); *Free Press*, Bennington, Vt. (1828); *The Liberalist*, New Orleans (1828).

* See Vol. I, 145.

† Of wide influence also was the Emancipation Act of the British Parliament. The Proclamation of August, 1834, freed more than 800,000 slaves in the British West Indies.

‡ William Lloyd Garrison: "I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population." (*The Liberator*, I [1831], 1 [Jan. 1], reprinted as No. 78 of *Old South Leaflets*, IV, 3.) See also "Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Convention," Dec. 6, 1833. The convention declared "that the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law."—*Selections from the Writings and Speeches of William Lloyd Garrison*, p. 68.

Lectures on Slavery and Its Remedy,³⁴⁶ 124 ministers signed at his invitation a declaration favoring immediate emancipation.*

An influence specially congenial to Methodists was the religious revival under Charles G. Finney, Presbyterian evangelist. Finney was not an abolitionist agitator, but his religious convictions were impregnated with social passion and deep concern for social reform—for temperance, the suppression of vice, and freedom of the slaves. Among Finney's converts was Theodore Dwight Weld who soon became a militant anti-slavery leader.† By his religious earnestness and moral enthusiasm he won the entire student body of Lane Seminary as well as the moral and financial support of the Tappans—wealthy philanthropic businessmen of New York City. His activities at Lane Seminary banned by the authorities, in the spring of 1835 he brought together at Oberlin College the "Lane rebels" to the number of fifty—aggressive young abolitionists—for counsel, study, and training in the propagation of abolitionist immediatism. Within a few months thirty of them went forth as agents of agitation, members of the field staff of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Theirs was a genuine missionary movement, a crusade to persuade northern communities of the sinfulness of slavery, and to put an end to its rule; their demand, the immediate emancipation of the slaves. An example of intensive evangelism was set for them by Weld, their leader. In most places where a local crusade was organized he lectured, by his own report, "from six to twelve times—sometimes sixteen, twenty, and twenty-five [times]," each night speaking from two to five hours, his message charged with a "sincerity and conviction which few could withstand." Beginning in Ohio the crusade moved eastward through Pennsylvania, New York, Vermont and other New England states. That many Methodist preachers attended the meetings and were aroused to interest in abolition is indicated by a report on abolition unanimously adopted by the Ohio Annual Conference in 1835. Abolitionists proposed:

the immediate, indiscriminate and unconditional manumission of all slaves, to remain among and commingle with the white population.³⁴⁷

Timothy Merritt of the New England Conference, who for many years had been one of the outstanding leaders of Methodism,‡ most recently as as-

* The majority were New England clergymen but some were residents of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky. Classified by denominations the list included: Congregational, 60; Presbyterian, 20; Baptist, 11; Methodist, 8; other Churches and unclassified, 25.—See Amos A. Phelps, *Lectures on Slavery and Its Remedy*, pp. viiiff.

† Allied in sympathy and effort with the new crusaders of the North were a number of men and women of the South whose earnestness and ability enabled them to wield wide influence. One of the foremost was James G. Birney (1792–1857), a native of Kentucky, for 14 years a resident in Alabama, graduate of Princeton University, lawyer and politician, and member of the Presbyterian Church. Others included James Thome of Kentucky; William T. Allen of Alabama; Marius Robinson of Tennessee; Huntingdon Lyman of Louisiana; and the Grimke sisters, Sarah and Angelina, of South Carolina.

‡ Timothy Merritt (1775–1845) was received on trial in 1796 and appointed to the New London (Conn.) Circuit. He was one of the charter members of the New England Conference and served as

sistant editor of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, about this time announced adherence to abolitionist principles:

Whether slavery . . . should at once cease I am not so clear but the right to hold men as goods and chattels, subject to sale and transfer at the will of a master, should cease and be discontinued instantly and forever.³⁴⁸

His espousal of the cause he credited to a study of the Lane Seminary controversy and debate. Whether Weld's personal influence and meetings also were influential in his decision is not clear. His new stand cost him his editorship.³⁴⁹ About this time also a large number of other ministers of the New England and New Hampshire Conferences became within New England Methodism a solid phalanx against all pro-slavery advocates, brooking the opposition of the national Methodist press, the Bishops, and the General Conference. That they might "do their benevolent works in the name of their own denomination and proper character" they formed anti-slavery organizations under the name of Wesleyan Conference Societies (1835).^{*} Soon the movement spread to the Erie, Oneida, Genesee, and Troy Conferences, and in each a Wesleyan Conference Society was organized. They set up in New York City—a stronghold of anti-abolition sentiment—a national Wesleyan headquarters.

These men were not widely prominent ministers. They were rank-and-file Methodist preachers. But they were men in whose hearts a fire burned. They were accused of stirring up trouble. They were told that they were creating harmful dissension within the Church. Some were threatened with expulsion from the ministry. Bishops and Presiding Elders conceded that slavery was an evil institution but contended that aggressive efforts for its abolition would avail nothing and would only destroy the unity of the Church. But none of these things moved them. They answered that human bondage was intolerable in God's sight, an insufferable wrong that He would not condone. They declared that His justice could not be thwarted nor His mercy stayed; that if they held their peace, making no effort for deliverance of the oppressed, God would bring stern judgment upon the Church and raise up other spokesmen and other means to declare His counsel and execute His just decrees. So effective was their preaching, together with non-Church abolitionist propaganda, that many local Methodist congregations espoused the cause *en masse*,

pastor of numerous leading churches. One of the founders and an early editor of *Zion's Herald*, he also for four years (1832-36) was junior editor of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, and repeatedly represented New England in the General Conference. A capable writer and preacher, living exemplification of the Wesleyan doctrine of Christian love, never lacking in courage to maintain his convictions, he stood for many years in the foremost rank of the Methodist ministry.—See James Mudge, *History of the New England Conference . . .*, pp. 51f.; W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit . . .*, VII, 273ff.

^{*} The first Methodist anti-slavery society was formed in New York City in 1834 by a group of which the Rev. La Roy Sunderland was the leading spirit. The organization of this and the New England Methodist anti-slavery societies was without doubt stimulated by the organization in Philadelphia of the American National Anti-Slavery Society in 1833.

and within a few years the Methodists, with the Baptists, constituted two-thirds of all the abolitionists in New England.³⁵⁰

Although abolitionism had now won majority support in the New England and New Hampshire Conferences, many of the most able ministers of the two Conferences were strongly opposed. When *Zion's Herald* in 1835 published an abolitionist "Appeal" signed by La Roy Sunderland and four others, an ably written "Counter Appeal" was issued, written by Professor D. D. Whedon and signed also by Willbur Fisk, Edward T. Taylor, Abel Stevens, and five others.³⁵¹ This was followed by a "Pastoral Letter," addressed to "the ministers and preachers" of the two Conferences, signed by Bishops Elijah Hedding and John Emory, declaring that "nothing has ever occurred so seriously tending to obstruct and retard, if not absolutely to defeat, the cause of emancipation" as "the modern agitation on this subject," and calling upon all Presiding Elders, preachers, trustees, and members "to manifest their disapprobation and to refuse the use of their pulpits and [church] houses for such purposes."³⁵²

In the General Conference of 1840 slavery claimed almost exclusive attention. Memorials on the subject crowded the calendar, carrying the signatures of more than 10,000 lay members and not less than five hundred Traveling Preachers. Represented in addition to the three New England Conferences were the Black River, Erie, Indiana, Michigan, New York, Oneida, Pittsburgh, and Troy. Of the delegates, those committed to abolition constituted only a small minority.* The committee on slavery, twenty-eight in number, presented only a brief and indefinite report, advising the Annual Conferences "in their action upon this subject in future, . . . [to] adhere to the language of the Discipline."³⁵³ The Conference refused, by a vote of 59 to 52, to permit the presentation of a minority report. The Pastoral Address, however, in marked contrast to that of 1836, was mild and conciliatory in tone, carrying no word of warning or rebuke concerning anti-slavery agitation. A committee report sanctioning the course of the Bishops in their administration of the Annual Conferences was approved.†

As the quadrennium of 1840-44 opened, the ministry and laity of the Methodist Church included four more or less clearly defined groups in relation to slavery: (1) the pro-slavery advocates, dominant throughout the slaveholding states; (2) the "radicals," as they were generally called—those who were determinedly opposed to slavery on moral and religious grounds,

* Of the Conference delegations only New England, New Hampshire, and Maine were solidly abolitionist, while of the others only in that of Genesee did the abolitionist delegates constitute a majority.—L. C. Matlack, *Antislavery Struggle and Triumph in the Methodist Episcopal Church*, p. 134.

† The report stated that the Committee on Episcopacy had "examined the administration in the several Annual Conferences for the last four years" and had found it "entitled to the approbation and support of the General Conference," and recommended the following resolution:

"That the administration for the last four years be and the same is hereby approved."—"Journal of the General Conference, 1840," *G. C. Journals*, II, 99.

and committed to do all in their power toward its abolition;³⁵⁴ (3) the so-called "Moderates"—those both North and South, but predominantly in the North—who sincerely believed slavery to be evil but were either noncommittal in attitude toward abolition or who considered all abolitionist efforts worse than useless; (4) the uninformed—a considerable number in the North who despite all the agitation of preceding years had little or no knowledge of slavery and no fixed attitude toward it.*

Two developments which occurred within a few months after the General Conference of 1840 greatly intensified anti-slavery sentiment in the North and did much to change the attitude of the Moderate Party. The first was an action taken by the Maryland pro-slavery convention in the winter of 1841-42 demanding the enactment of law by the legislature which would require all free Negroes to leave the state or suffer the penalty of being reduced to slavery. This aroused widespread indignation among white Methodists since a large proportion of the freedmen were members of the Methodist Church. Anti-slavery conventions vigorously protested this new pro-slavery pronouncement.

The second development was the increasing withdrawal of ministers and congregations from the Church, charging that "the M. E. Church is . . . a slaveholding . . . [and] a slavery defending Church."³⁵⁵

THE FIRST SLAVERY SCHISM

At a convention held in Utica, New York, opening on May 31, 1843, attended by 152 delegates from ninety-four cities and towns of nine states, the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America was formed. The delegates represented some six thousand lay persons and preachers who had withdrawn from the Methodist Episcopal Church because of its position on slavery.³⁵⁶

For several years secessions had been occurring. One of the earliest was at Monroe, Ohio, where in 1839 some thirty members of the Methodist Episcopal Church withdrew and formed themselves into a Congregational church. About the same time a Congregational church was organized at Williamsfield, Ohio, by members who had seceded "on account of slavery and Church government." A large number of members withdrew in 1840 at Utica, New York, and formed "the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Utica." From then on secessions steadily increased.†

* The Rev. Orange Scott during the decade preceding the division of the Methodist Episcopal Church (1834-44) became one of the central figures in the Methodist abolitionist movement. His biographer, Lucius C. Matlack, quotes him as saying that although he had been a preacher for more than ten years he was "exceedingly ignorant" as regards slavery. In the course of conversation Hiram H. White, preacher in charge at Springfield, Mass., "rather incidentally mentioned the Abolition Society . . . [and the *Liberator*]." He says, "though I had lived within 100 miles of both, I do not now recollect that I then knew of the existence of either. I resolved, however, to remain in such gross ignorance no longer."—*The Life of Rev. Orange Scott* . . . , pp. 32, 70.

† The first organized secession in Michigan was in February, 1841. Some ten or more Classes, about 170 members living in Wayne, Washtenaw, Lenawee, Hillsdale, Jackson, and Branch Counties, withdrew, calling themselves "Wesleyan Methodists." At their third Annual Conference, 1843, their

The Discipline of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection differed from the parent body chiefly in prohibiting slaveholding and the buying and selling of slaves; prohibiting also the manufacturing, buying, selling, and using of all intoxicating liquors; in having a General Conference and Annual Conferences composed of equal numbers of ministers and lay members, and a stationing committee of ministers and laymen to station the preachers. The Church, as organized, was non-episcopal, the General Conference and each Annual Conference to elect its own President by ballot. Six Annual Conferences were organized. At the first General Conference, held in Cleveland, Ohio, October, 1844, more than two hundred stationed preachers and 14,600 members were reported.³⁵⁷

The effect of the formation of the Wesleyan Connection on the Methodist Episcopal Church in the North was immediate. It was clearly evident—reluctant as many of the “Moderates” were to acknowledge the fact—that a far more aggressive policy than had been followed officially must be pursued if the widespread exodus from the Church was to be stemmed. The first of several anti-slavery conventions was convened in Boston, January 18–19, 1843. Its announced purpose was to insure the unity and harmony of the Church. A pronouncement was issued, declaring that slaveholding was a sin, and that nothing short of divorcing the Church from slavery would save it from catastrophe. Declarations of other conventions were equally forthright in statement. Holding persons in bondage and trafficking in human flesh were denounced in terms reminiscent of the language of John Wesley and of the Christmas Conference. A convention held in New Market, New Hampshire, declared that “to prevent the entire dissolution of the Methodist Church in New England, complete separation from the South and slavery was necessary.”³⁵⁸

When the “Moderates,” faced with the practical certainty of division in the North, had to decide whether to stand with the pro-slavery party of the South or the abolitionists of the North—an issue many were extremely reluctant to face—there was but one answer. Their inheritance of the Wesleyan tradition, their deepest moral and religious convictions, and their political faith were all on one side. The whole situation throughout the North quickly changed. No longer were abolitionist statements deplored by Bishops presiding over northern Conferences, or by the “Moderates,” or by the official press.

number had increased to 1,116. In October, 1842, a society of seceders was organized in western Pennsylvania. In 1842 two churches were organized in Providence, R. I. During 1842–43 churches also were formed in Troy, Ballville, Piqua, Dayton, Cedarville, Cincinnati, and Sandusky City in Ohio; Boston, Leyden, Rockport, Athol, Lowell, and Springfield in Massachusetts; in Seneca Falls, Penn Yan, Lisbon, Chestnut Ridge, New York City, Syracuse, and other places in New York; in Elkland and Pittsburgh, Pa.; and many other places.

DELIBERATE DIVISION

The General Conference of 1844 met in the Green Street Church, New York City, on May 1. The thirty-three Annual Conferences were represented by 180 delegates. They included, it is agreed, the best and most able representatives of all groups—characterized by Gross Alexander as “men of really great abilities, profound convictions, deep piety, and devotion to the church.”³⁵⁹ Few of the extremists, either of North or South, were among them. Representing the South, among others, were Robert Paine, Henry B. Bascom, William Capers, Lovick Pierce, George F. Pierce, William W. Winans, Augustus B. Longstreet, J. B. M’Ferrin, H. H. Kavanaugh, A. L. P. Greene, and William A. Smith. The Moderate Party of the North included Nathan Bangs, Stephen Olin, Peter Cartwright, Charles Elliott, John P. Durbin, Leonidas L. Hamline, George Peck, Jesse T. Peck, Edward R. Ames, and Matthew Simpson. Of those prominently associated with the abolitionist group there were: James Porter, Phineas Crandall, Samuel Kelly, Elihu Scott, Jared Perkins, Schuyler Chamberlain, C. D. Cahoon, John G. Dow, and William D. Cass. Some, formerly most active in the cause, had withdrawn to unite with the Wesleyan Connection.

The Conference found itself almost overwhelmed with memorials and resolutions on slavery, both pro and con.³⁶⁰ The Episcopal Address, strangely, made no mention of the subject and for three days no committee was appointed to which memorials might be referred. Discussion of the issue was precipitated not by New England or any northern Conference but by a border, predominantly southern, Conference when the appeal was presented of F. A. Harding from the decision of the Baltimore Conference which had suspended him from the ministry for failure to manumit slaves acquired by marriage. This case in reality brought the total issue between the North and the South, in all of its aspects, squarely before the General Conference. For an entire week the debate continued, ranging over a wide territory.* In the 1840 Conference neither side had been willing to speak its whole mind. In this debate each fully and clearly revealed its convictions and the interests for which it was determined to stand, whatever the consequences. The vote was decisive—117 against, 56 for, reversing the action of the Baltimore Conference.³⁶¹ After it had been announced the common thought of many Gen-

* Harding was charged with slaveholding, although evidence showed that title and ownership inhered in his wife. It was contended in his behalf that he did not consider slaveholding morally wrong or ecclesiastically illegal; that Maryland law forbade manumission, and that a free Negro did not enjoy liberty in the state. Against his contention it was asserted that no slaveholder had ever been a member of the Baltimore Conference and that slaveholding by a minister was against Methodist tradition; that this was known to him when he entered the Conference and when he married; that others had been debarred from the Conference on the same grounds; that notwithstanding Maryland law, slaves often had been manumitted and remained unmolested in the state; as for the title, he could have persuaded his wife to join him in the act of manumission; further, that if continued in the ministry he could not be appointed to a non-slaveholding congregation—a fact that would invalidate the “itinerant system.” By way of compromise Harding had offered to send the slaves to Liberia, or to a free state, if he could obtain his wife’s and the slaves’ permission.

eral Conference delegates was that the long pending question of unity had been finally determined, division had become inevitable.*

The case of Bishop James O. Andrew, who a few years earlier had involuntarily become a slaveholder, came before the Conference in the report of the Committee on Episcopacy, which included a presentation of his statement† in response to the inquiry of the committee regarding his "connexion with slavery." The report brought on the greatest debate in Methodist history, continuing for ten days, in the course of which various solutions were proposed. A southern delegate suggested that the General Conference assign the Bishops to specific areas, limiting Bishop Andrew's administration to the South. The first resolution which was offered "affectionately requested" the Bishop to resign. For this, after long discussion, a second was substituted: a proposal that the Bishop desist from the exercise of the episcopal office so long as he continued a slaveholder.³⁶²

The situation as presented had been well stated by Stephen Olin in an address delivered in the course of debate in the Harding case. Of all the delegates Olin, a member of the New England Conference who had lived for several years in the South, probably best understood and felt the viewpoints of both sections. Speaking "under the most powerful emotion, and in a strain of tenderness that moved every member of the conference," he said:

It appears to me that we stand committed on this question by our principles and views of policy I do not see how northern men can yield their ground, or southern men give up theirs. we cannot go home under this distracting question without a certainty of breaking up our conferences. . . . But if our difficulties are unmanageable, let our spirit be right. . . . I see no way of escape.³⁶³

Following days of discussion four of the Bishops (Joshua Soule, Elijah Hedding, Beverly Waugh, and Thomas A. Morris) presented a recommendation that action be postponed for four years, but on the following day Bishop Hedding withdrew his name from the recommendation, after which

* Possibility of division had existed for years. Strongly advocated by a small group, withdrawal of the South was for the first time seriously discussed at the General Conference of 1836.

† Bishop Andrew's statement, slightly abbreviated, was as follows: "several years since an old lady, of Augusta, Georgia, bequeathed to me a mulatto girl, in trust that I should take care of her until she should be nineteen years of age; that *with her consent* I should then send her to Liberia; When the time arrived, she refused to go . . . continuing to live in her own bouse on my lot; and has been, and still is at perfect liberty to go to a free state at her pleasure; but the laws of the state will not permit her emancipation, nor admit such deed of emancipation to record, and she refused to leave the state. In her case, therefore, I have been made a slaveholder legally, but not with my own consent.

2dly. About five years since, the mother of my former wife left to her daughter, *not to me*, a negro boy; and as my wife died without a will more than two years since, by the laws of the state he becomes legally my property. . . .

3dly. In the month of January last I married my present wife, she being at the time possessed of slaves, inherited from her former husband's estate, and belonging to *her*. Shortly after my marriage, being unwilling to become their owner, . . . I secured them to her by a deed of trust.

"It will be obvious to you, . . . that I have neither bought nor sold a slave; that in the only circumstances in which I am legally a slaveholder, emancipation is impracticable. . . . I have thus plainly stated all the facts in the case, and submit the statement for the consideration of the General Conference."—"Debates in the General Conference, 1844," *G. C. Journals*, 11, 73.

it was laid on the table by a vote of 95 to 84. The determinative resolution was then put to vote and carried*—yeas, 111, nays, 69:

Whereas the Discipline of our church forbids the doing anything calculated to destroy our itinerant general superintendency; and whereas, Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery by marriage and otherwise, and this act having drawn after it circumstances which, in the estimation of the General Conference, will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office as an itinerant general Superintendent, if not in some places entirely prevent it; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the sense of this General Conference that he desist from the exercise of his office so long as this impediment remains.³⁶⁴

The form of the resolution could scarcely have been more inoffensive. It neither censured Bishop Andrew nor imputed wrong.† But it made unmistakably clear that an irreconcilable conflict existed between the North and the South. The Bishop by his own statement was inextricably involved with the institution of slavery. If he should be continued in office the schism, already serious, would continue until the Church in the North would be irreparably weakened—perhaps destroyed. If the majority decision should be assented to by the southern delegates widespread revolt would ensue. "If one alternative would ruin the North, the other would wreck the South."³⁶⁵

It is to be noted that in this General Conference the southern delegates acknowledged the evil of slavery and did not contend for it or for its maintenance as an institution. The time had passed when anything the Church could do would overthrow the system or greatly weaken its power. If they were not to be entirely cut off from religious ministry to the slaves they had now to take it as it was and deal with it as best they could.³⁶⁶

With the case of Bishop Andrew decided, the Conference turned to routine matters. Within a few days A. B. Longstreet, on behalf of the southern and southwestern Conferences, presented a "Declaration" that the action which had been taken by the General Conference resulting "in the virtual suspension of . . . [Bishop Andrew]" as Bishop,

must produce a state of things in the South which renders a continuance of the jurisdiction of this General Conference over these Conferences inconsistent with the success of the ministry in the slaveholding states.³⁶⁷

The following day H. B. Bascom introduced a lengthy, carefully formulated "Protest" against the Andrew action as exceeding, in the form in

* The strategy followed by the northern delegates in the Conference worked greatly to their advantage. Whether by prearrangement or otherwise the "Moderates" led the anti-slavery debate, the abolitionists taking an inconspicuous part.—Cf. J. N. Norwood, *The Schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church 1844 . . .*, pp. 75ff.

† During the entire course of the long debate Bishop Andrew's statement was unchallenged. No word was spoken in criticism of his conduct or character. It is clear that he was not a slaveholder by his own volition. Students of his life can only agree with the tribute of Gross Alexander: "His piety was genuine and deep and fervent, his humility was extraordinary, his self-sacrificing devotion to the gospel and the church was apostolic, his interest in the black people was zealous and ceaseless, his tenderness to his slaves was parental, his family life was even beautiful." But note also Alexander's comment on his having married a woman, after his election, who was a slaveholder.—*A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, p. 19.

which it had been taken, the power of the General Conference and as a violation of the "Compromise Law" on the subject of slavery. This "Protest" was ordered to be spread upon the *Minutes*. The "Declaration" was then referred to a Committee of Nine, with instruction to devise if possible a constitutional plan "for a mutual and friendly division of the Church, provided they could not devise a plan for an amicable adjustment of difficulties." That the committee would find it impossible to devise such a plan was a foregone conclusion.* The die had been cast.

The division of the Methodist Episcopal Church was stark tragedy both on its own account and as foreshadowing, in some measure even contributing to, the greater national division and sanguinary fratricidal strife yet to come.† Its effects on the religious life of the American people were immeasurable and unspeakably sad. It created bitterness, jealousies, prejudices, and enmities undying in their ingrown tenacity and their ability to propagate themselves through successive generations. In thousands of the best minds of the nation it injured the prestige of the Church and raised unanswerable questions concerning the effectiveness of its ethic and the power of the Gospel which it preached.

Judgment concerning responsibility for colossal failure in dealing with the greatest moral evil in the nation's life may not be lightly passed. The truth is that both North and South were at fault. If there was moral blindness on the part of a large proportion of the Methodist ministers and laymen of the South in failure to be true to the Wesleyan heritage in that they did not stedfastly maintain the sinfulness of human bondage, the failure was shared by many in the North who, although not under any comparable pressure from the vested interests of slavery, nevertheless stifled their consciences and failed to protest against what was a national evil. If the Christian people of the South failed to labor constructively in encouraging and actively aiding the process of gradual emancipation, there was an equivalent lack on the part of preachers and people of the North in their failure to recognize their responsibility for constructively planning a place for the free Negro in their midst. It remained for a secular newspaper—the *Journal of Commerce* of New York—to say:

The North first made property of them, and owe much of their gains to them. How many *hundreds* did they ever liberate? . . . Where is the Northern man, old or young, living or dying, that leaves any bequest of any kind to liberate and restore

* For details of the Plan of Separation see Vol. I, 357f.

† The political implications of the division of Methodism were clearly foreseen and keenly feared. Several political leaders expressed apprehension, among others Henry Clay who wrote in April, 1845: "A division, for such a cause, would be an event greatly to be deplored, both on account of the Church itself and its political tendency. . . . I will not say that such a separation would necessarily produce a dissolution of the political union of these States; but the example would be fraught with imminent danger, and, in cooperation with other causes unfortunately existing, its tendency on the stability of the Confederacy would be perilous and alarming."—Calvin Colton, Ed., *Works of Henry Clay*, IV, Correspondence, 525.

these people whom their fathers or themselves have plundered and robbed from Africa, to their homes?³⁶⁸

An objective historical review of the relation to slavery of the Church as a whole from the date of its organization in 1784 to its division in 1844 does not afford evidence that its influence was steadily and positively exerted in behalf of mercy and justice to, and of freedom for, a sorely oppressed people. In Great Britain during this period the anti-slavery crusade—very largely stimulated and undergirded by the Wesleyan Movement—conditioned the Christian missionary movement of the second half of the nineteenth century. That the anti-slavery movement in America failed to exert a comparable influence in behalf of Christian missions was principally due to the long course of compromise in relation to slavery pursued by Methodism in common with other evangelical Churches.

II

Indian Missions East of the Mississippi

1820-44

THE VOICE of God, William McKendree declared in the Episcopal Address to the General Conference of 1820,* was calling the Church to meet the need for the spread of the Gospel among the Indians.

That the "reform . . . [of] the continent" required the civilization of the Indians was plainly apparent to everyone. The one best way to achieve this end, the Church believed, was to bring them under the influence of the Gospel. Its method, Nathan Bangs declared, was different from those ordinarily proposed :

It is to inform the understanding and reform the heart and life, by the application of divine truth to the conscience and to the judgment. When this reformation is effected, the rest follows as a consequence. Their minds become flexible, their hearts tender, and they may then easily be led on to perceive and to appreciate the blessings of civil and domestic economy, and finally to attend to farming and mechanical pursuits.¹

With the increased sense of responsibility for Indian evangelization expressed by the 1820 General Conference, Methodism was ready for a wide expansion of its Indian missions.

The organization of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church on April 5, 1819, closely coincided with the enactment by the United States Congress of measures "for the purpose of providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes . . . and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization, . . ." Implicit in the legislation was the purpose to encourage education of the Indians and to support schools among them. What came to be known as the "Civilization Bill" was passed by Congress and signed by President Monroe on March 3, 1819.² That it was one of the factors influencing Church action† is suggested by a statement contained in the report of the Committee on Missions of the 1820 General Conference, which gave official denominational approval to the Missionary Society :

* See Vol. I, 205.

† See Vol. I, 203f.

The Government of the United States has manifested a disposition towards the Indians, which may contribute much, not only to their civilization, but to their evangelization. Ten thousand dollars annually have been appropriated by Congress for the establishment of Schools among them.

. . . your Committee are decidedly of opinion, . . . that the institution of schools among them, on the government plan, and under the government patronage, should be your first care. . . .

Several denominations have already availed themselves of the proffered aid of Government above mentioned, and have flourishing schools, of a missionary character, now in operation, among different tribes.³

GOVERNMENT AND INDIAN MISSIONS

In 1820, the Secretary of War commissioned Jedidiah Morse to make a thorough study of the status of all the Indian tribes of the United States. His report, published in 1822, awakened widespread interest. Many of its implications were disquieting to the government and to all citizens who felt any degree of concern for the welfare of the Indians.

It had been generally believed that at the time of discovery the region which then constituted the United States contained about one million Indians but Morse estimated the remaining population at not more than 372,000. Of these some 70,000 were thought to be between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River; west of the Mississippi and east of the Rocky Mountains between the Missouri and Red Rivers more than 100,000; west of the Mississippi and north of the Missouri, some 33,150; and west of the Rocky Mountains about 171,000.

The report dealt in detail with the geographical distribution of many Indian tribes, contrasting their contemporary situation with that of early colonial times. Concerning the "Mohegans, once a very numerous tribe" in Connecticut, he wrote: "[They] are now reduced to a small remnant" and "are gradually wasting away, after the manner of other tribes now extinct." Of the Indians of South Carolina, he said:

When this State was first settled by the English, it was inhabited by twenty-eight tribes All the twenty-eight *original* tribes, excepting [five] . . . have disappeared.

Concerning the tribes formerly inhabiting Indiana and Illinois:

The most of them have sold their lands and are either still lingering on them, unwilling to take a last look over the fertile fields, which they once called their own, and at the mounds which contain the bones of many generations of their ancestors; or they are scattered, and roaming without a home in the territories of strangers. Not many years since, we could point to the populous villages of these Indians, and knew where to direct our efforts for their benefit. Now we may ask the question "Where are they?" and there is no one among us who is able to give an answer.⁴

Formerly war between the tribes had been a main factor in the death rate,

but this in more recent times had given way to other causes: (1) white man's diseases—particularly venereal disease, tuberculosis, and epidemics such as smallpox and cholera; (2) whisky, the habitual use of which had invariably grown out of contact with white traders; (3) low vitality resulting from mental depression associated with dispossession from their ancestral tribal habitat.⁵ While these factors in decrease in Indian population were not wholly unknown to the general public their significance had not been fully recognized and the publication of the statistics of the Morse report rendered significant service in awakening the Christian conscience of the nation to a larger sense of responsibility for bettering Indian conditions.

The enactment of the Civilization Bill was followed in September, 1819, by the issuance of a circular stating the conditions that must be fulfilled by those who desired to receive any share of the government appropriation. The statute authorized the President:

to employ persons of good moral character, to instruct . . . [the Indians] in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation: and for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and performing such other duties as may be enjoined, according to such instructions and rules as the President may give and prescribe for the regulation of their conduct, in the discharge of their duties.⁶

The United States government, previous to this time, had not taken a direct part in the establishment of missions or mission schools,* and it is obvious that in phrasing the statute care had been taken not to violate the Constitutional provision regarding religion. The prohibition of the Constitution applied to acts of Congress but not specifically to the Executive. The statute left to him the responsibility of deciding what "other duties" should be enjoined and what "instructions and rules" should be prescribed "in the regulation of their conduct in the discharge of their duties." The President decided that the annual appropriation should be "applied in cooperation with the exertions of benevolent associations or individuals" who wished to devote their time or means to the objectives "contemplated by the act of Congress." Further, that within the limits of the appropriation cooperation would be extended "to such institutions as may be approved, as well as in erecting necessary buildings, as in their current expenses."⁷ The government was prepared to pay two-thirds of the total cost of buildings. The only restriction was a requirement that an annual account of expenditures should be submitted to Congress.

The circular issued by the Secretary of War invited public cooperation. The evident intent was to create new and additional interest in Indian education and—by implication—in evangelization as a civilizing influence. Government reports showed that there were at the time only two Indian schools actual-

* The government, however, had made certain limited appropriations to mission schools, notably—on the recommendation of President Jefferson—an appropriation of \$250. in 1803, and \$350. in 1804 and 1805, to the Highwassie Indian School sponsored by the Rev. Gideon Blackburn among the Cherokee Indians (see p. 127).—Oliver W. Elsbee, *The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America*, p. 73.

ly in operation but it was assumed that if adequate support were assured many others would be established. Results showed that the assumption was not mistaken. Response was immediate. The American Board, the Presbyterian General Assembly, and the Baptist Board of Missions all expressed approval of the government's action. The 1820 Methodist General Conference authorized "the establishment of Indian schools in conformity with the circular issued by the Secretary of War," and the committee appointed by the Conference was authorized to apply for a share of the government appropriation. In March, 1824, the Secretary of War was able to report that there were in operation twenty-one Indian schools, all but four of which had been opened since the first appropriation was made from the Civilization Fund.* A year later it was reported that six additional schools had been opened.⁸

While the comparatively small annual Congressional appropriation of \$10,000. (continued until 1873) was never increased, ways were found of supplementing it. In numerous cases Indian treaties made the government the custodian of funds procured from the sale of lands ceded by the tribes, from which annual annuities were to be paid them. From the funds, stipulations in the treaties provided, appropriations might be made for schools. In one instance—that of the Cherokee—the treaty set apart a definite portion of the ceded lands to be sold for an education fund. In other cases, as an inducement to acceptance of the treaties by the Indians, the government pledged itself to make appropriations for tribal education. Within a few years such provisions produced more funds for schools than all other sources.⁹ The control of the Indians over the annuity funds was nominal only, so that the appropriations from this source were generally considered as government support.†

Of the several denominational organizations the American Board during the early years received by far the largest appropriations. Next in order were the Presbyterian and the Baptist Boards. These had been longer organized than the Methodist Missionary Society and their centralized organization permitted more prompt action and a single unified appeal. The principle followed by the Methodist Society in lodging initiative for the establishment of missions with the Bishops and the Annual Conferences‡ operated as a handicap in securing government support. The Indian office much preferred, in the case of each denomination, to deal with one central agency. Nevertheless, within a few years the Methodists were receiving substantial aid from the government.

* Government support of sectarian institutions seems to have awakened little or no objection. Financial aid to denominational schools was given primarily not because they were conducted by Churches, not because they were religious institutions, but because they were schools. The government was reluctant to establish schools under its own auspices.—See Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, IV, *The Great Century* . . . , p. 48.

† After the Indians' removal to territory west of the Mississippi the proportion of government support was materially increased. Some of the missions established were wholly maintained by government appropriations.—Martha L. Edwards, "Government Patronage of Indian Missions, 1789-1832," p. 22.

‡ See Vol. I, 280.

In 1824, encouraged by small appropriations made earlier, James B. Finley, who that year was Presiding Elder of Sandusky District and Superintendent of the Wyandot Mission,* decided to ask largely. On his way to the General Conference he stopped at Washington and made a personal appeal to President Monroe and Secretary of War John C. Calhoun for increased funds.† He reported on the progress of the school and stated that the Indian congregation had outgrown the capacity of the double log meeting house. Secretary Calhoun promised an increased appropriation for tuition, and a grant of \$1,333., "the government's proportion of the expense," toward the cost of mission buildings. Wishing to avoid the possibility of misunderstanding, Finley asked Calhoun's consent to apply the amount to the erection of a church for the Wyandot tribe.‡ Assent was at once given. Thus it came about that the United States government was the largest contributor to the cost of the first Methodist church building in northern Ohio.¹⁰

Other substantial contributions were made to Methodist missions from time to time. At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society on September 20, 1837, the Treasurer reported receipt of a communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs§ stating that treaties with the Ottawa and Chippewa provided an annual total of \$8,000. for education and missions, of which \$1,000. would be retained for contingent expenses and the balance appropriated to five religious associations. The letter continued: "I offer to your Board the sum of \$1,400 per Annum, to be applied in support of missions and schools . . . for the benefit of the Ottawas and Chippewas." The following resolution was then unanimously passed:

that the Treasurer be instructed to inform . . . the Commissioner on Indian Affairs, that this Board gratefully acknowledge the receipt of his communication . . . and . . . accept of the Trust, and will adopt all necessary measures in furtherance of the specified object¹¹

On October 28, 1839, the Treasurer announced receipt of a letter from the

* See Vol. I, 203ff.

† Finley reported that he had an interview with the President. In making his appeal to Secretary of War Calhoun, he gave as his references Governor Allen Trimble, members of Congress from Ohio and Judge John M'Lean, at that time Postmaster General of the United States. That he made a good impression is evidenced not only by the large appropriation he received but also by the fact that soon after he was notified of the government's intention to "maintain the authority and preserve the influence of the missionary establishment," which purpose would be most effectively realized by abolishing the office of sub-agent at Upper Sandusky and transferring its duties to the missionary, who—it was incidentally assumed—would exercise them without compensation.—*History of the Wyandott Mission* . . . , pp. 258, 274, 324ff.

‡ The church, thirty by forty feet, was built of blue limestone quarried from the nearby Sandusky River bottom. The stone was transported by ox team. The masonry and plastering were done by John Owens, an Englishman, and an assistant, who completed their work by early fall, 1824, receiving for their services \$800. The General Conference of 1888 (Methodist Episcopal Church) appropriated \$2,000. toward the cost of rehabilitating the building. The rebuilt church was rededicated on Sept. 21, 1889.

§ On March 11, 1824, Secretary of War Calhoun created by order the Bureau of Indian Affairs as an office within the War Department. On July 9, 1832, Congress authorized the President to appoint a Commissioner of Indian Affairs, under direction of the Secretary of War, to have "the direction and management of all Indian affairs, and of all matters arising out of Indian relations."—Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs, Its History, Activities and Organization*, p. 27; Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, p. 59.

Office of Indian Affairs stating that "sums amounting to \$4,650." on account of allowances from the Ottawa and Chippewa missions' and education funds for 1836, 1837, 1838, and 1839 would "be paid immediately . . . leaving \$350. to be paid at the close of the year . . ." ¹²

In its *Twenty-second Annual Report* (1840-41) the Board expressed grateful appreciation for "the amounts, from time to time, paid" into its treasury by the government for the support of mission schools by which it had "been enabled to extend . . . [its] aboriginal work beyond what would otherwise have been . . . [within its] power. . . ." ¹³ On February 15, 1843, a letter was read to the Board from its Western Secretary, Edward R. Ames, stating that he had "just drawn from the United States Treasury \$4,300." which he was placing in the Missionary Society treasury at Cincinnati, thus reducing "the demands on us . . . to be met by Church contributions . . . for the current year." ¹⁴

RELATION OF ANNUAL CONFERENCES TO INDIAN MISSIONS

It is impossible from existing records to give account of all the Indian missions established by agencies of the Methodist Church before 1832, when the forced removal of many Indian tribes to the west of the Mississippi River prompted the discontinuance of efforts to originate new missionary enterprises in the eastern half of the United States. Initiative in establishing Indian missions in practically all cases was taken by Annual Conferences, in many instances without communication with the Board until need arose for supplementary funds. In some cases missions were begun, carried on for some time, and discontinued without correspondence with the Missionary Society. The *Annual Reports* contain repeated complaints of failure of Conference Missionary Societies to report to the parent society. As late as 1833 the entry occurs: "These are all the [currently existing] aboriginal missions of which we have received any account . . ." ¹⁵

Already, by 1820, the advancing tide of white settlements was uprooting Indian tribes from their long-established haunts, causing reluctant migration. "Like the tumbleweed before a prairie gale" they were pushed onward as the frontier moved irresistibly westward. In tribe after tribe a mission was initiated and a promising beginning made in establishing a school and gathering a congregation of Christian converts, only to have the enterprise disrupted by migration of the tribe to a distant new location.

THE WYANDOT MISSION

Work among the Indians was first officially commissioned by the Church, as we have seen,* after the labors of John Stewart, a poor Negro convert, had

* See Vol. I, 203ff.

brought forth fruit among the Wyandot.* Recognizing the value of his work the Ohio Conference in 1819 appointed James Montgomery as missionary to assist the worn-out Stewart, but his stay was of short duration. Within a few weeks he received a government appointment as sub-agent for the Seneca. James B. Finley,† Presiding Elder of the Lebanon District, within which the mission was located, thereupon employed Moses Henkle, Sr., to take Montgomery's place and arranged that the first Quarterly Meeting of the mission should be held on November 13, 1819. According to Finley's account:

there were present about sixty Indians; This was . . . the first time I ever tried to preach by an interpreter. . . . Some of our hymns had been translated into their tongue; and when we sung in English, they sang in Wyandott to the same tune. In the evening we met again, and brother Henkle preached, The meeting was concluded with singing and prayer, and it was a profitable time.¹⁶

At this meeting sixty signified their intention of living Christian lives.

However, a party within the tribe remained antagonistic and some months later a council, attended by twelve chiefs and five queens (or female counselors), was held to consider whether the mission should continue. After a number of days the question was decided in the affirmative. Five of the most prominent chiefs signed a statement reading:

We thank the fathers in conference for sending us preachers to help our brother Stewart, and we desire the old father [Henkle] to keep coming at least another year when his year is out; and we want our brother Armstrong [Indian-adopted interpreter and Exhorter] to come as often as he can, and our brothers Stewart and Jonathan [Pointer] to stay among us and help us, as they have done; and we hope our good fathers will not give us up because so many of our people are wicked and do wrong, for we believe some white men are wicked yet, that had the good word preached to them longer than our people; and our great heavenly Father has had long patience with us all;¹⁷

But, as Presiding Elder, Finley was not satisfied with the rate of progress. Because of declining health Stewart's work was not as effective as formerly. Henkle lived in Clark County, distant from the reservation, and visited the mission but once a month—staying over two Sabbaths. Under these conditions Finley felt but little was being done "to improve the nation. Some held on their way, others were added, and some returned to their former habits."¹⁸ It was clear to him that a more comprehensive program must be planned. He

* In the sources the name of the mission is variously spelled Wyandot, Wyandott, and Wyandotte. Jeddiah Morse: "No standard of spelling [of] . . . Indian names, has yet been agreed on, The same tribes are called by different names by the French, English, and Spaniards, and even by the Indians themselves."—*Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs* . . . , p. 21.

† James Bradley Finley (1781–1857) was a native of North Carolina, removing in his youth with his parents to Kentucky. He was one of the many converts at the Cane Ridge Camp Meeting of 1801. He was received on trial in the Western Conference in 1810 and appointed to the Wills Creek Circuit. He quickly came to prominence and at the Ohio Annual Conference of 1819 was appointed Presiding Elder of the Lebanon District which included in addition to its Ohio area, the Territory of Michigan. Beginning in 1846 he was for three years chaplain of the Ohio Penitentiary. He died Sept. 6, 1857, aged 76 years, and was buried at Old Mound Cemetery, Eaton, Ohio. For estimate of his character, life, and work see pp. 454f.

recognized, moreover, that with their reservation so reduced in area and with wild game—specially turkey, deer, and bear—on which the Indians had largely depended for food, becoming scarce, the Wyandot must either work or starve. The solution he believed to be a competent, full-time resident missionary and a school. On his way to Detroit in July, 1821, he says, "I pressed this subject upon them with great earnestness." The chiefs received the proposal seriously and after Finley's departure went over "the whole ground with the utmost exactness, and matured it by frequent reviews." When he returned they handed him an address, signed by seven chiefs and duly witnessed by William Walker, Sr., a member of the tribe and also government agent, who signed as "U.S. Interpreter," and Moses Henkle, Sr.:

[We, your Wyandot brethren,] inform you that lately our council have resolved to admit a missionary school, to be established amongst us, at Upper Sandusky; and have selected a section of land for that purpose, at a place called Camp Meigs, where there is spring water and other conveniences; and all other necessary privileges that may be required for the furtherance of said school, shall be freely contributed Moreover we will endeavor to supply the school with scholars of our own nation sufficient to keep it in action; and we will admit children of our white friends who live amongst us. . . . We would further let the conference know, that we wish our teacher to be a preacher, that can teach and baptize our children, and marry our people; a man that loves our nation; that loves us and our children; [We] . . . subscribe ourselves your humble fellow servants in our great and good Lord God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Amen.¹⁹

Land was donated for a mission farm, a section lying east of the Wyandot Mission churchyard. Near at hand, a short way down the river, were located the gristmill, sawmill, and blacksmith shop provided by the government in accordance with treaty provisions.

The Ohio Conference which met in August, 1821, accepted the Wyandot proposal. John Strange was made Presiding Elder of the Lebanon District and Finley was appointed to the Wyandot Mission. The outlook can scarcely be said to have been propitious. Two hundred dollars only was appropriated for mission support, including missionary salary. No house was available on the mission farm for shelter for the family and no supplies were in hand for the winter. But Finley was undaunted. He bought a yoke of oxen, had a wagon made on which he loaded his household goods, engaged three helpers—two young men and a young woman—and on October 16 arrived with his family at the mission. The blacksmith had built a new cabin, as yet "without door, window, or chinking," which he placed temporarily at the new missionary's disposal. Logs were soon cut in the forest, hauled to the sawmill, and made into joists and plank, and on the day "that snow began to fall" the family moved into a new cabin, twenty by twenty-three feet, as yet lacking door, window, or loft. An old "block house" was repaired to be used as a stable for

the cattle. In addition, the missionary "preached every Sabbath and met class, attended prayer meeting once every week, and labored to rear up the Church."²⁰

As teacher of the proposed mission school Finley was fortunate in securing, as a volunteer, Harriet Stubbs—a sister-in-law of Judge John M'Lean—a young woman of exceptional character and ability. Of her, Finley wrote years later:

Sister Harriet Stubbs, of blessed memory, volunteered to leave as peaceful and happy a home as could be found in the state, with every thing to make her happy, and become the matron and instructor of the poorest of the poor outcasts, She possessed more courage and fortitude than any one of her age and sex, that I have been acquainted with. It was but a short time till she, the intrepid female missionary, was the idol of the whole nation.²¹

Although at this time religious activities under Methodist auspices had been under way among the Wyandot for some five years no regularly organized Methodist Society had been formed. After conducting weekly services for about three months Finley proceeded to organize a church. He read the General Rules, explaining them in detail, and then added as a positive condition that he would not suffer "any person to be in society that tasted . . . [ardent spirits] on any occasion." At "the Big Spring," twelve miles from Sandusky, and on the following Sunday at the council house, Upper Sandusky, he invited "all that were determined to serve God and forsake all sin, to come forward and give . . . [him] their names," Thirty only out of the entire Nation responded—a disappointing number—but among them were four of the chiefs: Between-the-Logs, Mononcue, Hicks,* and Peacock. The great deterrent was the prohibition of strong drink. Finley records that many left and became violently opposed to his efforts, "urged on by a set of traders and whisksellers" who were hangers-on around the reservation.

The thirty were divided into two Classes and soon the number began to increase. Finley was encouraged, but felt himself thwarted by lack of financial support and adequate facilities. "God has opened my way," he said, "and I now see nothing to hinder success but a failure of means and labour." He appealed to Bishop Joshua Soule for aid. "O send over and help us!" he wrote. "For the sake of Christ and the souls of this people get help from those who have to spare!"²²

Whatever the response to the appeal made to the Bishop, the need some months later was still more acute. A children's missionary society—the Juvenile Finleyan Mite Society—which had recently been organized in Baltimore, offered a ray of hope. In February, 1822, Finley addressed a letter to Stephen G. Roszel, Presiding Elder of the District, describing without a note of com-

* The Hicks family was founded by a white captive who was adopted into the tribe. This was true also of the Walker, Brown, Armstrong, Driver, Mudcater, and some other families.

plaint the meagre fare on which his family, the Indian pupils, and the teachers were obliged to subsist, and the paucity of equipment :

Our common fare is sassafras tea for breakfast, with some meat. At dinner, meat and hommony, and at supper some take tea . . . water, sugar and bread. . . We hope soon to have some milk. . . I expect in one month to have twelve hundred pannels of fence up, which will enclose about sixty acres. I have . . . a house, 48 feet by 38, of squared logs: and until I get this ready for occupation, I can do nothing of purpose in a school. I want almost every thing: clothing, bedding, and money to pay my hired labourers.

And to the Society he wrote :

We have living with us four Indian girls, which are as many as we can admit, until we get more suitable buildings and more clothes and bedding. I most heartily bless my good Master and Lord that he is in you about to raise up some friends for these poor naked children, who are as wild almost as the beasts. . . I am labouring to put up a building, which I calculate, will be sufficient to hold fifty or sixty children.

The school, to accommodate fifty children, he estimated could be maintained after the farm had been brought into full operation for not more than \$1,000. annually: for the Superintendent and his family, \$400.; for an interpreter and teacher for the boys, and "one female teacher, aided by the superintendent's wife," for the girls, \$200.; for "three female servants for washing, weaving, dairy and other domestic purposes, \$50 each, \$150"; for two young men to operate the farm, \$100. each, \$200.²³

The report of the Treasurer of the Missionary Society for 1822-23 shows remittances for the Wyandot Mission to the amount of \$1,899.46; of which \$200. was contributed by the Juvenile Finleyan Mite Society.²⁴

John Stewart had now become so enfeebled by tuberculosis that he was confined most of the time to his house, but so eager were the Indians of "the Big-mossey-Turtle tribe" to have their children in school that Finley employed him as a teacher of twelve pupils—the schoolhouse provided at the Big Spring by the Indians themselves.

Following the appointment at the Ohio Conference of 1822 of Charles Elliott as missionary and teacher, in addition to Finley as Superintendent and Presiding Elder of the Lebanon District, substantial growth in the work of the mission was recorded.²⁵ The log meeting house was completed and equipped for school purposes. Two additional teachers, William Walker, Jr.,* and Lydia

* William Walker (1800-74) was the son of William Walker, Sr. (1770-1824) and Catherine Rankin Walker. His father was a Virginian, kidnapped at eleven years of age by the Delaware and later adopted by the Wyandot. His mother was the daughter of James Rankin, an Irish Indian trader, and Mary Montour, of Indian-French descent. He was educated at a Methodist school at Worthington, Ohio, and by reason of his intellectual ability and character early became one of the most influential men of the Wyandot tribe. He read English, Greek, Latin, and French, and spoke five Indian languages. In 1835 he was made head chief of the Wyandot. He migrated with the tribe to Kansas in 1843. He wrote many newspaper articles, few of which have been preserved. He was a member of the Lecompton Constitutional Convention (Kansas), and in 1853 was elected provisional governor of

Barstow, were employed. Five of the most intelligent and stable men of the Wyandot—Between-the-Logs, John Hicks, Mononcue, Peacock, and Squire Gray Eyes—were appointed as a committee to oversee school affairs and the conduct of the children. The membership of the Methodist Society continued to increase. Elliott was most favorably impressed:

Great things, under God, have been already done here. Upwards of sixty persons of this nation belong to our church, most of whom, in all appearance, are sincere and happy Christians; walking in all the commandments of God there are as few instances of unsteadiness and apostacy among them, in my opinion, as among most of white people. There are now several very zealous, and comparatively, well-informed exhorters, who speak to their people with warmth, judgment and effect. . . . The most influential, and greater part of this nation, are now Christians, either in theory or practice. . . .

. . . Our school commenced, October 22d: on the 27th we had eight children. . . . now thirty-seven scholars, all of whom, except two, board with us. . . .

. . . We are so ill off for beds and blankets, that I dread, as the approach of a deadly enemy, the coming winter. . . . Every sort of clothing is needed We need money; I have now only a few dollars and I owe, on the mission's account, twice that sum. . . . We will struggle on till we hear what the public will do; we hope God will support us.²⁶

In June, 1823, Bishop William McKendree spent several days at the mission visiting the school, observing the farm operations, conversing and dining with the principal men of the Nation, and participating in a council of the chiefs and others. "That a great and effectual door is opened on our frontier, for the preaching of the Gospel to the Indian nations," he wrote to the Missionary Society, "and that we are providentially called to the work, I have no doubt Are we prepared to obey the call?"²⁷

John Johnston, agent for Indian Affairs, was also favorably impressed with the program of the mission. Writing on August 23, 1823, to Bishop McKendree, he said:

The buildings and improvements of the establishment, are substantial and extensive The farm is under excellent fence, and in fine order There are about fifty acres in corn, which from present appearances, will yield three thousand bushels. It is by much the finest crop that I have seen this year—has been well worked, and is clear of grass and weeds. There are twelve acres in potatoes, cabbages, turnips and garden. Sixty children belong to the school, of which number fifty-one are Indians. These children are boarded and lodged at the Mission-House. They are orderly and attentive They attend with the family regularly to the duties of religion. The Meeting-House on the sabbath is numerously and devoutly attended. A better congregation in behavior, I have not beheld I believe . . . there are very many persons . . . in the Wyandott nation, who have experienced the saving effects of the Gospel upon their minds. Many of the Indians are now

Nebraska Territory.—William E. Connelley, Ed., *The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and the Journals [1845-1854] of William Walker*, Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Second Series, III, 5-16.

settling on farms, and have comfortable houses and large fields. A spirit of order, industry and improvement, appears to prevail, with that part of the nation which has embraced christianity; and this constitutes a full half of the whole population.

Johnston's prediction concerning the probable corn crop was not amiss. Later, writing to the Missionary Board, Finley stated that the mission farm had produced "between two and three thousand bushels of corn, and vegetables in great plenty"; also that "about one hundred and twenty yards of cloth" had been manufactured. There were "260 on the class register" and "the houses were too small to contain the congregations."²⁸

In the course of a missionary journey in December of 1823, accompanied by several Christian Indians, Finley crossed into Canada to "visit . . . the Wyandotts on the Aux Canards river." On December 24 "at the house of Mr. Clarke" he preached to a house full of people a sermon three hours in length. After singing and praying he "opened a door for members, and organized a Class of twelve persons." "*This*," says Finley, "*was the first Methodist Indian Society formed in the Canadas.*"* He wrote to "the preachers who traveled on that circuit" to take the Class "into their regular work," and states that this was done. But the Indian members felt that the Class was a branch of the Wyandot Mission at Sandusky. As many as could do so

would come over once or twice a year, to our quarterly meetings; and our Indian exhorters would visit them several times in the year, and hold two and three days' meetings with them. The work spread, and the class was greatly increased.²⁹

On this same journey, preceding the crossing into Canada, Finley and his Indian associates visited a small Indian settlement on the Huron River "a little above Flat Rock" (Michigan). Finley refers to the settlement as located "in the Wyandott reserve of eight sections." The Indian residents were members of both the Wyandot and Shawnee tribes, who had intermarried. The party was most cordially and heartily welcomed by a white man whom Finley refers to as an old friend, "brother Honnis."[†] A meeting was held on the Sunday evening of their arrival, and another on Monday morning at which a Class of twelve members was formed—the first Indian Class, according to Finley, "formed in the Michigan territory."

This was the beginning of what later became known as the Huron Mission. During the early years little or no information is to be found in the available records concerning the Class. It seems probable that as in the case of the "Aux Canards" Society it was considered as a branch of the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky, receiving occasional visits from the Indian Exhorters and Local Preachers of that mission. At any rate, when in 1831 E. C. Gavitt was

* This Society and the one formed by Alvin Torrey (see p. 166) were organized at approximately the same time.

[†] Honnis, at this time an old man, had been captured by the Indians when a small child, and adopted into their tribe. He had only a vague memory of his childhood home and of his parents. He was presumably of German ancestry.

appointed junior preacher on the Wyandot and Fort Finley Mission Circuit he visited the Class, remaining a week, "preaching and visiting the membership." Before he left he "held a sacramental service, which was both interesting and profitable." The Missionary Society *Annual Report* for this year states that "an awakening . . . [had] taken place among a few families of the Wyandots and Shawnees on the river Huron" in which "ten have lately become probationers in the church." The *Report* for the following year says that the new religious interest had continued and that "the native teachers have been very useful to their brethren."

For one year, 1832-33, the Society was included as an appointment on the extensive Monroe Circuit of which E. C. Gavitt was junior preacher. W. H. Brockway was teacher of the Flat Rock Indian school. In 1833, having been admitted on trial to the Ohio Conference, he was appointed to a newly formed Circuit of eight appointments, of which most were in white settlements, listed as the Huron Mission. The Indian Society this year reported twenty-seven members and a day school of ten pupils.³⁰ Gradually the Wyandot and Shawnee yielded to the pressure of the rapidly increasing white population and joined their tribesmen on the reservations west of the Mississippi.*

The year 1824 had brought the beginning of serious difficulties to the Wyandot Mission. The rapacity of the whites found expression in urgent demand that the fertile Sandusky area should be vacated. The War Department made an attempt to secure the cession of the Indians' lands, causing restiveness and arousing the antagonism of the tribesmen. Finley espoused the Indians' rights so persistently that some of the government agents are said to have threatened his life. Influenced by his report of mission progress, the War Department asked him to accept appointment as Indian sub-agent,³¹ to take the place of the agent whose resignation had been requested.†

Despite the agitation for removal—which from this time on continued incessantly—and the turbulence that it caused among the Indians, the progress of the mission continued year by year.‡ A noteworthy incident of 1826 was the trip of Between-the-Logs and Mononcue, Samuel Brown, interpreter, and Finley to several eastern cities, including New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.§ Both of these chiefs were now regularly licensed Methodist preachers.

* Appointments were made to the Huron Mission, as recorded in the *General Minutes*, for five successive years: 1834-35 (under the Ohio Conference), E. C. Gavitt; 1835-36, A. Buckels, E. Pattee; 1836-37, Ypsilanti and Huron Mission (under the Michigan Conference), W. H. Brockway, Charles Babcock; 1837-38, Dearbornville and Huron Mission, W. H. Brockway.—*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 291, 357, 418, 479.

† Finley held the government position for sixteen months and then, ostensibly because of ill health, presented his resignation.

‡ Appointments to the Wyandot Mission, 1823 to 1828, were: 1823-24, J. B. Finley, Jacob Hooper; 1824-25, Sandusky District, J. B. Finley, Presiding Elder, and Superintendent of the Wyandot Mission; in addition, to the mission, Jacob Hooper; 1825-26, J. B. Finley, J. C. Brook; 1826-27, J. B. Finley, James Gilruth; 1827-28, Lebanon District, J. B. Finley, Presiding Elder, and Superintendent of the Wyandot Mission; in addition, to the mission, Russel Bigelow.—*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 421, 450, 480, 513, 546.

§ See Vol. I, 281n.

Their sermons and exhortations in some of the largest churches of the East created much interest. Later in the year, on account of indisposition, Finley temporarily gave up the superintendency of the mission and was succeeded by James Gilruth, whose incumbency was for one year only.* This year the mission reported 300 church members, seventy Indian pupils in the school, fifteen Class Leaders, and four native preachers.³²

Finley's connection with the Wyandot Mission was permanently terminated in 1827-28, following his appointment for the second time as Presiding Elder of the Lebanon District. At the 1831 session of the Ohio Conference the Wyandot and Fort Finley (white) Missions were combined to form a Mission Circuit.³³

In October, 1832, Bishop John Emory visited the Wyandot and convened a council of all the official members of the Church in the Nation. In the course of the council meeting James Harryhoot, who had been appointed by the Indians as their chief spokesman, made a statement noteworthy for its keen and discriminating criticism of mission policies. He said, in part:

For the last two years, the mission . . . has been thrown into a circuit, embracing a large extent of country; and the missionaries have been obliged to attend to this large circuit, and at the same time to the affairs of the mission, and the mission school,—the whole together being a task too heavy to be well managed by any two missionaries. We have thought . . . that [since] we have discovered a serious decline in the school . . . and a great diminution in the number of the scholars has taken place . . . the task imposed on . . . [the missionaries] was too heavy; more than they could attend to. . . . Another discouraging circumstance to our people . . . [are] the efforts of the government . . . to induce us to remove to the west of the Mississippi. This keeps the minds of our people in a constantly unsettled state, and many have been induced to believe that their friends and the former patrons of the mission had become discouraged, and were about to abandon them to their fate.³⁴

In 1828 the branch mission was established at "Big Spring," where a combined meeting house and schoolhouse was erected, but the mission seems never to have regained the strength that it had preceding the change in policy from a distinctively missionary enterprise to Circuit status. In 1835 Thomas Thompson reported in a letter to the *Christian Advocate* three "regular preaching places, and a fourth filled by brother Grey-eyes"; two missionaries, "one of whom is a native"; 196 church members; 40 pupils in the school, "36 of whom are natives."³⁵

On March 17, 1842, a treaty was finally concluded with the Wyandot by

* Year by year appointments of missionaries to the Wyandot Mission from 1828 to 1844 were: 1828-30, Russel Bigelow, Superintendent, Thomas Thompson; 1830-31, T. Thompson, Benjamin Boydston; 1831-32, T. Thompson, E. C. Gavitt; 1832-33, T. Simms; 1833-35, T. Thompson; 1835-36, S. P. Shaw; 1836-37 (Michigan Conference), S. P. Shaw; 1837-38, Samuel M. Allen; 1838-40, James Wheeler; 1840-41, James Wheeler (under Ohio Conference); 1841-43, James Wheeler (under North Ohio Conference); 1843-44, James Wheeler, Ralph Wilcox.—*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 7, 82, 125, 169, 224, 291, 357, 418, 565, 656; III, 95, 181, 290, 394.

which the Indians released all their remaining land in Ohio, besides other land in Michigan, the government in return agreeing to give them 148,000 acres west of the Mississippi and \$10,000. to defray the expense of removal.*

MISSIONS AMONG THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES

In the South were located five groups of American Indians whose cultural and economic achievements were so far in advance of the general average of American aborigines that they came to be known as the Five Civilized Tribes. These were the Cherokee, Chickasaw,† Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole. The four first named had organized governments patterned after those of the states. The designation "civilized" was fully justified by the fact that many of their citizens in economic status, intelligence, and character compared favorably with their white neighbors. Many of their customs and institutions were similar—some identical—with those of the whites. Methodist missions were established among four of the five tribes, the exception being the Seminole.

CHEROKEE MISSIONS

Of all Indian Nations none made greater advancement in the arts of white civilization than the Cherokee, the largest tribe of the Iroquoian family.³⁶ Their great tribal territory, 250 miles in length with a width of 100 to 150 miles, with an excellent soil in a healthy climate, was in 1821 estimated to have an Indian population of 14,500. The area included the northwest part of Georgia, the northeast corner of Alabama, the southwestern section of North Carolina, and the southeast part of Tennessee.³⁷ Property in mills, farming machinery, horses, cattle, and sheep was valued at \$571,500. The whites had intermarried freely—particularly white men with Cherokee women. One-half of the population, as early as 1809, was of mixed blood.³⁸ Fitzgerald, in his biography of John B. M'Ferrin, characterized the half-breed Cherokee‡ as an exceptionally fine race physically. The men, he says, were "tall and well formed" and the women "with brilliant dark eyes, clear complexion, expressive features, and vivacity tempered by a natural dignity . . . were remarkable for their beauty."³⁹

By every test the Cherokee constituted a distinct Nation. They instituted a government with legislative, judicial, and executive powers—the constitution

* On the Sunday preceding migration a farewell service was held in the "Old Mission Church." The Rev. James Wheeler preached the English sermon, translated into the Wyandot language by Jonathan Pointer. Squire Gray Eyes made a pathetic farewell to the "Old Mission," to the rivers, brooks, and the old hunting grounds. His address was interpreted into English by John M. Armstrong. It was a sad farewell. As on the night when the treaty was signed, "many of the chiefs shed tears."—See Emil Schlup, "The Wyandot Mission," *Ohio Archeological and Historical Publications*, XV, 181; John Johnston, *Recollections of Sixty Years . . .*, p. 47, as quoted by G. Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, note 20, p. 99.

† For Chickasaw Missions, see pp. 167f.

‡ In the census and other government reports all persons of mixed blood, although the Indian proportion may be hut one-sixteenth, one-thirty-second, or even one-sixty-fourth, are officially counted as Indians.—*Indian Population in the United States and Alaska, 1910*, p. 10; Frederick W. Hodge, Ed., *Handbook of American Indians . . .*, II, 286.

modeled on that of the United States. Drunkenness and infanticide were prohibited. A free press and public schools were established. An alphabet was invented by a half-breed genius, George Guess (Sequoyah), and in three years' time one-half of the tribe had become literate.⁴⁰ An official organ, *The Cherokee Phoenix*, was established in 1828. Their treaty with the United States government made following the close of the Revolutionary War was observed by them as a sacred agreement. Again and again it was breached both in spirit and letter by the United States but never by the Cherokee.⁴¹

Various denominations maintained missions within the Cherokee Nation. The first was that of the Moravians, begun in 1735 and re-established in 1801 at Spring Place, Georgia. The mission included a school which, although it never had more than a small enrollment, accomplished a noteworthy work in training youth as leaders for the Nation.⁴² In 1804, with the encouragement and support of the Presbyterian General Assembly, a mission which by 1808 included two schools was founded by the Rev. Gideon Blackburn, who ten years before had settled among the Cherokee in Blount County, Tennessee.⁴³ For a time operations were suspended, but were resumed in 1817 at Brainerd,* Tennessee, under the auspices of the American Board, by the Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury, a graduate of Brown University and Andover Theological Seminary, on a unique plan that became a model for government Indian schools. Buildings including a mission house, schoolhouse, dining hall, kitchen, and gristmill were erected from funds furnished by the United States government.⁴⁴

For many years Bishops Asbury, McKendree, Roberts, and George were in contact with the Cherokee country, often crossing parts of it in their episcopal journeys. It was familiar ground also to many of the Circuit Riders. But not until 1822 was any real effort made to establish a mission among the Cherokee and even then the initiative was taken not by any Methodist leader but by a Cherokee—half-breed Richard Riley. In the spring of that year he urged Richard C. Neely, junior preacher on the Paint Rock Circuit, Tennessee Conference, to preach at his house. The invitation was accepted, the hearers were responsive, and Riley's was added to the Circuit as an occasional preaching point. In the course of the summer Neely succeeded in forming a Methodist Society of thirty-three members. Richard Riley was appointed Class Leader.

When at the ensuing session of the Tennessee Conference Riley reported the success of his enterprise, formal action was taken to establish a mission and appoint a missionary "to reside in Mr. Riley's neighborhood, to preach to

* The enterprise was first called "Chickamauga Mission," but in 1818 was renamed "Brainerd" in honor of David Brainerd, pioneer Indian missionary.—R. S. Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees* . . . , p. 105.

the Indians and instruct their children." A committee also was appointed "to raise subscriptions and solicit donations" and to report "their proceedings, and . . . the state of the mission" at the next Conference.⁴⁵ Andrew J. Crawford was appointed to the mission* and on the seventh of December, 1822, arrived at Riley's home. A council was called of the principal men in the area who promptly gave approval for the establishment of a school which was opened on December 30 with twelve children present. The enrollment soon increased to twenty-five. At first, some opposition was expressed within the tribe to regular preaching but through Riley's influence this was overcome and within a short time a meeting house was built by the Cherokee—"a comfortable house to preach in."⁴⁶ In July, 1823, a well-attended Camp Meeting was held at Riley's, some of the Indians coming from a distance of sixty miles. As a result of this meeting a second Society was organized and at the close of the year a membership of more than one hundred was reported.

At the 1823 Conference session the work was divided into the "Upper Cherokee Mission" and the "Lower Cherokee Mission," with two additional missionaries. To the Upper Mission Nicholas D. Scales was appointed; to the Lower Mission Andrew J. Crawford and, by request of the Cherokee, Richard Neely. Two schools were maintained throughout the year, each with an attendance of approximately fifteen to twenty pupils. Besides teaching, the missionaries preached every Sunday and frequently four or five times during the week, also visiting the different settlements. At the year's end the Upper Mission reported 131 members; the Lower Mission, 152.⁴⁷ At the 1824 Tennessee Conference three missionaries were appointed: Nicholas D. Scales, Richard Neely, and Isaac W. Sullivan.⁴⁸ From this time the development of the mission was rapid.† Every year witnessed significant growth. In 1827, the Rev. William M'Mahon, Superintendent of the mission, reported three Circuits, four schools, and 675 church members, with several of the Indians serving as licensed Exhorters and Local Preachers, including a Cherokee preacher, Turtle Fields, "eminently distinguished for his deep piety and devotion to the interests of the mission." By 1830, the program had attained virtually the status of a District, with Dixon C. M'Leod as Superintendent, with eight Sta-

* Robert Paine, pastor at Murfreesboro, then the capital of Tennessee, was Bishop McKendree's choice for the mission but Paine's ill health and the protests of the congregation thwarted the intentions and plans of the Bishop.—George F. Mellen, art., "Early Methodists and Cherokees," *Methodist Quarterly Review* (South), (July, 1917), p. 477.

† Appointments to the Cherokee Mission for successive years 1825-31 were: 1825-26, Francis A. Owen, Ambrose F. Driskill, Richard Neely; 1826-27, William M'Mahon, Superintendent, F. A. Owen, George W. Morris, James J. Trott, William P. Nichols, Turtle Fields; 1827-28, W. M'Mahon, Superintendent, Greenbury Garrett, T. Fields, J. J. Trott, G. T. Henderson, J. B. M'Ferrin, Allen F. Scruggs, D. C. M'Leod; 1828-29, W. M'Mahon, Superintendent, J. B. M'Ferrin, T. Fields, D. C. M'Leod, G. Garrett, N. D. Scales, A. F. Scruggs, Thomas J. Elliot, J. J. Trott; 1829-30, F. A. Owen, Superintendent, D. C. M'Leod, John Spears, John F. Boot, G. M. Rodgers, Young Wolfe, Edward Graves, Robert Rogers, W. M'Intosh, T. Fields, Joseph Miller, J. J. Trott, Jacob Ellinger, Joseph B. Bird, G. Garrett, W. B. M'Ferrin, N. D. Scales; 1830-31, D. C. M'Leod, Superintendent, G. M. Rodgers, Martin Wells, J. Miller, J. W. Hanna, G. W. Martin, W. W. Phillips, N. D. Scales, T. Fields, E. Graves, J. J. Trott, J. F. Boot, J. Spears, Y. Wolfe.—*Gen'l Minutes*, 1, 486, 520, 553; II, 14, 15, 50, 88.

tions and Circuits and a prosperous school. This year 1,028 members* were reported.⁴⁹

The generous tolerant spirit of the Cherokee Christians is shown in a letter written August 7, 1826, to the Missionary Society by Richard Neely :

at one of my preaching places on the Caunasauga river, the neighbours joined and built a very decent, good, comfortable meeting house, twenty-four feet square; and provided every accommodation necessary for it to be used as a house of worship. This they did previously to my ever having preached there, of their own accord, for their own accommodation, and not in the name, nor for the use of any particular society, to the exclusion of another: but they had a definite understanding among themselves, that it was and should be free for all regular ministers of the gospel. Their motive for it was, that being within about twenty-five miles of the white settlements, they thought that if a meeting house was erected by them, on such principles, the ministers in general would bestow some attention on them, and visit and preach for them, whenever it might be convenient.⁵⁰

About 1828 the time of great tribulation for the Cherokee began. The state of Georgia always had claimed the territory within its limits occupied by the Indians. When in 1828, gold having been discovered in the area, an influx of white settlers occurred, the legislature passed an act formally confiscating and annexing the Cherokee lands and declaring all laws of the Cherokee Nation null and void. It was further enacted that any person who sought to influence another not to emigrate to the West† should be punished by imprisonment. Finally, it was provided "that no Indian or descendent of an Indian . . . shall be deemed a competent witness in any court . . . to which a white person may be a party." Emboldened by this latter law, unscrupulous white men proceeded to rob Indians of their livestock and other property. In some cases, well-to-do Cherokee were dispossessed of their homes.‡ As a further antagonistic act a bill was passed making it a criminal offense for a white man to reside among the Cherokee without a license from the state. The governor then wrote to all missionaries notifying them that they would be arrested if they did not remove from the state.⁵¹ The Georgia laws were reinforced by the Removal Bill,§ passed by Congress on May 28, 1830.⁵²

* Joseph Tracy: "In December [1830], there were in the nation, 219 members of Presbyterian churches, of whom 167 were Cherokees; 45 Cherokee members of Moravian churches; [and] about 90 members of Baptist churches; . . ."—*History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, p. 236.

† By the treaty of July 8, 1817, a tract of land in Arkansas was assigned to the Cherokee, the first western land ceded to any of the Five Civilized Tribes. By the treaty of May 6, 1828, the western Cherokee "gave up their land in Arkansas and were assigned seven million acres in northeastern Oklahoma, the United States agreeing 'to guarantee it to them forever, . . .'"—L. F. Schmeckebier, *op. cit.*, pp. 92f.

‡ Joseph Vann owned a plantation of eight hundred acres, with a brick residence costing \$10,000, and other extensive improvements. The property was seized in December, 1833, as forfeit to the state, and he and his family driven across the Tennessee line where they were compelled to seek shelter in an open log cabin, upon a dirt floor in the dead of winter.—*Memorial and Protest of the Cherokee Nation to Congress, June 21, 1836*, quoted by Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal*, p. 251.

§ G. Foreman: "After one of the bitterest debates in the history of Congress this bill was enacted into law . . . It did not itself authorize the enforced removal of the Indians, and did not in terms appear to menace them; but it announced a federal policy favorable to Indian removal, and placed in the hands of President Jackson the means to initiate steps to secure exchanges of lands with any tribe 'residing within the limits of the states or otherwise.'"—*Op. cit.*, pp. 21f.

The Cherokee brought an action in the United States Supreme Court to restrain Georgia from enforcement of its laws against them but on March 3, 1831, the Court dismissed the proceeding, holding that the Cherokee Nation was not a foreign state within the meaning of the Constitution and that therefore the Court was without jurisdiction: "If it be true that the Cherokee Nation has rights, this is not the tribunal in which these rights are to be asserted." The hearts of the missionaries burned with a sense of the injustice of the Georgia laws and several resolved to stand, at whatever cost to themselves, with their Cherokee brothers against the infamy. In July, 1831, Elizur Butler, M.D., the Rev. Samuel A. Worcester, and the Rev. John Thompson, American Board missionaries, having refused to swear the oath of allegiance to Georgia, were arrested, chained together, and forced to walk twenty-one miles behind a wagon to jail. The Rev. J. J. Trott,* Methodist missionary, and the Rev. D. C. M'Leod, Superintendent of the Methodist Cherokee Mission, intervened in protest and were chained with the others.⁵³ At the session of the Superior Court of Gwinnett County eleven white men including Butler, Worcester, and Trott were sentenced to four years' hard labor in the penitentiary. Nine were later pardoned by the governor on giving assurance that they would comply with the law. J. J. Trott offered proof that he did not reside within the state of Georgia and was released.

Appeal was taken from this judgment to the Supreme Court. The Court, in effect reversing itself, ruled in a decision written by Chief Justice John Marshall that Indian tribes or Nations "had always been considered distinct, independent political communities," retaining their original natural rights:

The Cherokee nation, then, is a distinct community, occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia can have no force, and which the citizens of Georgia have no right to enter, but with the assent of the Cherokees themselves, or in conformity with treaties, and with the acts of Congress.⁵⁴

Georgia disregarded the decision,† and the federal government—influenced by the President's attitude and that of Congress—made no attempt to contravene the Georgia laws.

Ineffectual as the protests of the missionaries were in influencing the policies of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi,‡ their devotion to the rights of the Indians greatly heartened the Cherokee, affording evidence that the religion they taught was something more than pious phrases. Unfortunately, however,

* Joseph Tracy states that the Rev. J. J. Trott was "a Methodist missionary with a Cherokee family."—*Op. cit.*, p. 251.

† To this decision President Andrew Jackson made retort: "John Marshall has rendered his decision; now let him enforce it." The officials of Georgia, in fact, did disregard the mandate of the Supreme Court and refused to release Dr. Worcester. He was offered a full pardon by Governor George R. Gilmer if he would agree to leave the Indian country. This, he rejoined, he could not do in loyalty to his principles. Later he was unconditionally pardoned by the governor.—*The Democrat* (Jan. 31, 1833), p. 3, as cited by G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 235, 235n.

‡ Alabama and Mississippi in the meantime had enacted legislation similar to that of Georgia.

the Tennessee Conference was unwilling to defend its missionaries in their policy of civil disobedience. The missionaries formulated certain resolutions which they asked the Conference to adopt. Instead of approving them the body expressed its sympathy with the "Cherokee brethren in their present afflictions" and assured them of "unabated zeal for the conversion and salvation of their souls." Continuing, it

Resolved, That whatever may be our private views and sentiments, as men and free citizens, relative to the sufferings and privations either of the aboriginal nations of our country . . . or of the policy adopted and pursued by the State authorities or General Government, yet, as a body of Christian Ministers, we do not feel at liberty, nor are we disposed, to depart from the principles uniformly maintained by the members and ministers of our Church in carefully refraining from all such interference with political affairs.

Not a word of criticism of the flagrant violation of civil liberties by the military authorities! Not a word of recognition of the courageous protest of the missionaries against the inexcusable cruelty of treatment of their fellow workers!

Not satisfied with this refusal to defend the missionaries, the Conference proceeded to administer rebuke:

Resolved, That however we may appreciate the purity of motive and intention by which our missionary brethren were actuated, yet we regret that they should have committed themselves and us so far as to render it impossible for us to omit with propriety to notice their proceedings in this public manner.⁵⁵

These weak, apologetic statements are in strange contrast to the moral dignity and strength of an editorial statement in the *Cherokee Phoenix* by Elias Boudinot, full-blooded Cherokee:

With the high and exalted ideas entertained by the Cherokees of their national character, they never can consent to be disfranchised and scattered like vagrants, relying for protection only on the tender mercies of their persecutors. Better at once to oppose themselves to this systematic usurpation and relying on the justice of their cause to resist to the last all invasions of their country and their homes. . . . If necessary let them resist to the death. Better, a thousand times better, would be the quiet of the grave than protracting a miserable existence rendered wretched by repeated and compulsory removals into the wilderness before the advancing footsteps of the more powerful people who occupy their country and treat its ancient possessors with persecution and heartless contempt.⁵⁶

In accordance with this spirit of determined resistance the Cherokee Nation refused to submit to the proposed migration, the chiefs ordering that all who enrolled for migration should be deprived of their Indian citizenship and that those who collaborated in selling any part of the land to the government should be put to death.

Despite the hindrances to mission progress presented by these develop-

ments, the program continued to expand until 1831. That year, the *Twelfth Annual Report of the Missionary Society* stated that fourteen missionaries—including three Cherokee preachers—were engaged in the work of the mission, six schools were in operation, and church members numbered 900.⁵⁷ From then on, membership steadily declined and missionary appointments accordingly were decreased.* Widespread demoralization set in, induced by heartless oppression and almost innumerable acts of repression which spread disaffection among the people. By dint of great effort government agents assembled 626 Cherokee during the fall and winter of 1831 who in the spring migrated to the West under federal supervision.†

At the Tennessee Conference of 1834 what remained of the Cherokee Mission east of the Mississippi River was transferred to the Holston Conference. Thomas Stringfield, Presiding Elder of the Washington District, was also designated Superintendent of the Cherokee Mission and to it David B. Cumming, D. T. Fulton, and David King were appointed as missionaries. Turtle Fields and John F. Boot, Cherokee Traveling Preachers, were transferred from the Tennessee to the Holston Conference.⁵⁸ Writing on April 1, 1835, Stringfield stated that there were three Circuits "among the Cherokees." An Indian church membership of 521 was reported to the 1835 Holston Conference.⁵⁹ The next year 752 Indians were stated to be "in Society."⁶⁰

Beginning in 1834, a series of three treaties‡ was negotiated by the government with a minor faction of the Cherokee, the third with a group of three to five hundred out of a population of more than 17,000.§ Despite protests of the national party under the leadership of chief John Ross,|| representing some 16,000 Cherokee, the fictional treaty of December, 1835, was ratified by the United States Senate by a majority of one vote.⁶¹ It purported to convey seven

* Appointments to the Cherokee Mission from 1831 to 1834 were: 1831-32, D. C. M'Leod, Superintendent, Martin Wells, E. J. Allen, F. G. Ferguson, H. M. Glass, Thomas Lloyd, J. Spears, J. F. Boot, Turtle Fields, Jeremiah Easterwood, Edward Graves; 1832-33, Edmund Pierson, Superintendent, J. S. Claunch, Jeremiah Williams, J. F. Boot, W. P. Rowles, Young Wolfe, J. T. Sawrey, T. Fields, Uriah Williams, "Jack Spears and Edward Graves, interpreters"; 1833-34, E. Pierson, Superintendent, J. F. Boot, T. Fields, Johnson Fields, W. P. Rowles, S. W. Hankins.—*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 132, 179, 237f.

† Migration of Cherokee to the west of the Mississippi had begun long before 1831. In 1813 a party of considerable size voluntarily emigrated, and in 1818-19 a still larger number. By 1820 the estimated Cherokee population in Arkansas was approximately 7,000. In 1819 the American Board projected a mission among them which finally was established in 1821.—J. Tracy, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 111.

‡ The three treaties were negotiated on June 19, 1834; March 14, 1835; and Dec. 29, 1835. All three, in which the Rev. J. F. Schermerhorn, American Board missionary, had a leading part, were repudiated by the vast majority of the Cherokee, and the methods used in attempting to secure their ratification were condemned even by Major W. M. Davis and Generals Wool and Dunlap, army officers.—G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-273.

§ This population was distributed among four states, the large majority within the geographical boundaries of Georgia. An official census (December, 1835) gave the total population, exclusive of 1,592 Negro slaves and 201 whites intermarried with Cherokee, as 16,542, distributed as follows: Georgia, 8,946; North Carolina, 3,644; Tennessee, 2,528; Alabama, 1,424.—*U.S. Senate Document No. 120*, Twenty-fifth Congress, second session, 535, as quoted by G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

|| John Ross (1790-1866), a native of Georgia, was the son of a Scotch immigrant and his Cherokee wife, herself three-quarters white. He was a member of the Methodist Church, a man of intellectual ability and exceptional qualities of leadership. President of the national committee of the Cherokee Council from 1819 to 1826 he was one of those chiefly instrumental in the drafting of the national constitution and development of plans of government and education. He was president of the Cherokee constitutional convention; from 1828 to 1839 principal chief of the Cherokee Nation; and, after settlement in the Indian Territory, chief of the united Cherokee Nation until his death.—*Handbook of American Indians . . .*, F. W. Hodge, Ed., II, 396f.; Emmett Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians and Their Legends and Folk Lore*, pp. 410-419; G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 265f.

million acres of land for \$4,500,000. to be deposited to the credit of the Cherokee Nation in the United States Treasury, and stipulated May 23, 1838, as expiration date for removal. Without sanction or approval of the Cherokee Nation, it was declared to be in effect. President Andrew Jackson refused to hear any appeals. In March, 1836, a supplemental article was added ceding all remaining land east of the Mississippi.

The remainder of the incredible story which will ever remain as an effaceable and shameful blot on the pages of American history has no place in this narrative save for its bearing on later efforts of Indian evangelization west of the Mississippi. When the expiration date of 1838 came it was found that all of the pressure the government had been able to bring upon the Cherokee had resulted in the emigration of not more than 2,000. The remaining 15,000 either could not believe that the United States government would actually force them from their homes or had determined to follow Boudinot's counsel to resist to the death. Then suddenly, almost without warning, came the invasion of 7,000 regular army troops under the command of General Winfield Scott. The account of what followed, wrote James Mooney, of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, "may well exceed in weight of grief and pathos any other passage in American history":

squads of troops were sent to search out with rifle and bayonet every small cabin hidden away in the coves or by the sides of mountain streams, to seize and bring in as prisoners all the occupants, however or wherever they might be found. Families at dinner were startled by the sudden gleam of bayonets in the doorway and rose up to be driven with blows and oaths along the weary miles of trail that led to the stockade. Men were seized in their fields . . . women were taken from their wheels and children from their play. . . . on turning for one last look as they crossed the ridge, they saw their homes in flames, fired by the lawless rabble that followed on the heels of the soldiers to loot and pillage.⁶²

And this, says a long-time missionary in the Cherokee Nation, "is not a description of extreme cases. It is altogether a faint representation of . . . [what] has been perpetrated on the unoffending, unarmed, and unresisting Cherokees."⁶³

When some 14,000 had been herded into the concentration camps, the enforced removal began. Companies of eight to nine hundred at a time were taken out by the troops, embarked upon boats, and started on their way. Of some 14,000 herded onto the "trail of tears," as it has come to be known, 4,000 died and were buried in unmarked graves around the concentration camps and along the line of march.

At the 1837 Holston Conference the three Cherokee Circuits of the New-town District reported a church membership of 480. The next year there was none. All were gone—the majority, it is to be presumed, removed to the

West, the remainder escaped to mountain fastnesses. The Presiding Elder, D. B. Cumming, and the three Indian preachers, John F. Boot, A. Campbell, and Weelooker, accompanied the deportees and were announced as transferred to the Arkansas Conference.⁶⁴

The Nation shattered by military power, the settlements disrupted and despoiled, the spirit of the Cherokee people was yet unbroken. As the final detachment was about to be dispatched their leaders held the last council to be convened within their national bounds. In it they placed on record a resolution which, as John Collier has declared, deserves to be remembered by the American people forever:

The title of the Cherokee people to their lands is the most ancient, pure and absolute known to man; its date is beyond reach of human record; its validity confirmed by possession and enjoyment antecedent to all pretense of claim by any portion of the human race.

The free consent of the Cherokee people is indispensable to a valid transfer of the Cherokee title. The Cherokee people have neither by themselves nor their representatives given such consent. It follows that the original title and ownership of lands still rests in the Cherokee Nation, unimpaired and absolute. The Cherokee people have existed as a distinct national community for a period extending into antiquity beyond the dates and records and memory of man. These attributes have never been relinquished by the Cherokee people, and cannot be dissolved by the expulsion of the Nation from its territory by the power of the United States government.⁶⁵

Despite every effort made by the government many Cherokee escaped the military forces and from their hiding places in the mountains gradually filtered back to their former homes. The total number that remained has never been accurately estimated. Disorganized churches were in time reorganized and religious services resumed by missionaries. By 1842 the Upper Cherokee Mission was able to report ten Local Preachers, nine Exhorters, and thirteen Class Leaders. Five Sunday schools reported an enrollment of one hundred. The Lower Cherokee Mission reported six Local Preachers, six Exhorters, and more than seven hundred members.⁶⁶ In 1843 there were twenty-six preaching appointments on the Lower Cherokee Mission Circuit, with the missionary reporting twelve other places where regular religious services should be held.⁶⁷

CHOCTAW MISSION

The Choctaw belonged to the Muskogean family of Indian tribes, closely related to the Creek and the Chickasaw. Before contact with the whites they were a powerful tribe, numbering about fifteen thousand.⁶⁸ Jedidiah Morse, in 1821, found them living in small villages in southern Mississippi, their traditional home, well advanced in the arts of civilized life. They raised corn, vegetables, melons, and cotton, and owned many cattle. He mentions one man, in particular, who for a number of years had raised his own cotton; had

made wheels and cards; and had spun, woven, and made clothing.⁶⁹ They maintained a friendly attitude toward the whites, operating a number of public inns which for facilities and neatness had gained a reputation of being superior to many of those owned by white people.

The first Protestant mission among the Choctaw was established by Cyrus Kingsbury of the American Board in 1818.⁷⁰ The mission church was organized on March 28, and the school opened on April 19, 1819. The mission staff was strengthened in 1821 by the addition of several missionaries, including the Rev. Cyrus Byington, a cultured and thoroughly trained minister.⁷¹ He reduced the Choctaw language to written form and published a grammar which he revised no less than seven times.

At the Mississippi Conference in December, 1824, Wiley Ledbetter was appointed to the "Choctaw miss[ion],"⁷² the first Methodist appointment to the Choctaw recorded in the *General Minutes*. At the 1825 session of the Conference he was located and for two years the mission was left "to be supplied."⁷³ Nathan Bangs is vague in his account, saying that the "beginning . . . was unpropitious, and the mission languished, being considered almost desperate."⁷⁴ J. G. Jones first says that the "mission was prosecuted with great success" but later records that William W. Winans, whose District embraced the mission, made a verbal statement concerning it "showing a total defeat in the enterprise."⁷⁵ Neither Bangs nor Jones is entirely frank concerning what is declared by Joseph Tracy to have taken place. Tracy states that Ledbetter persuaded the chiefs to turn over to him for school use certain buildings erected by the American Board for "a new station, to be called Bethany,"* offering "to receive a greater number of scholars . . . and to board them himself." But when the time arrived (January 1, 1825) to open the school, Tracy says Ledbetter "was unable to do any of the things he had promised" and the chiefs "in a few months drove him from the nation."⁷⁶

The disaffection resulting from Ledbetter's unethical procedure and failure was partially remedied by the appointment to the mission in 1827 of a man of more than ordinary qualifications, the Rev. Alexander Talley, M.D. While he was entirely sympathetic with the desire of the chiefs and other leading people among the Choctaw for more schools, he was committed to the idea that precedence should be given to evangelistic preaching and individual conversion. He firmly believed that if the cardinal truths of the Gospel were presented in simple terms even to unschooled minds the Holy Spirit would so interpret them that regeneration and reformation of life would result and would prepare the way for far more effective schooling.

* Joseph Tracy's statement provides an explanation for Ledbetter's location by the Mississippi Conference, not otherwise accounted for. He further states: "The case . . . was reported to the Secretary of War, who . . . informed the chiefs, that they could not be allowed thus to take property from the [American Board] mission at pleasure."—*Op. cit.*, p. 166.

Accordingly, he secured the aid of the best available interpreter and traveled from village to village, everywhere preaching the Word, accompanying it with singing, praying, and individual instruction of inquirers. He carried a tent with him. When he arrived at a village he would pitch the tent and then send the interpreter from cabin to cabin to invite all to come at an appointed hour to hear "the good talk that the Great Father above had sent them." Usually from twenty-five to fifty would respond and to them he would preach from one to two hours. Frequently he preached twice on the same day at different places. "He would continue this course for several days," meanwhile holding private conferences with persons who desired to confer with him. He would then move on to another center.⁷⁷ To the Mississippi Conference of 1828 he took several of his converts, one of whom gave account of the work that had been done among them.

So rapidly did evangelization proceed by Talley's method that by 1830 approximately 4,000 church members were enrolled. Three missionaries,* three interpreters, and four schoolteachers were this year employed in the work of the mission. The *Eleventh Annual Report of the Missionary Society* (1829-30) was jubilant concerning results attained:

It is only about two years since the work of reformation commenced among these people, and it has spread with a rapidity, deepening and widening in its course, which . . . plainly announces the hand of God as its Author and Supporter. So thorough has been the reformation, that they have not only forsaken their heathenish religious customs, but ardent spirits, that bane of Indian improvement, has been banished from the nation. . . .

. . . all of the principal men, . . . with the exception of three or four, have embraced Christianity⁷⁸

Joseph Tracy declared that the work done by the Methodists had "given a new impulse to the [Christian] cause" throughout the entire Choctaw Nation, influencing not only the young but the old men as well, "whom once it was supposed nothing could move."[†]

Already, however, pressure for Indian removal exerted by the government, the state, and incoming white settlers was seriously interfering in various ways with all missionary activities. On October 18, 1820, General Andrew Jackson and Thomas Hinds had concluded a treaty with the Choctaw by which a considerable proportion of their lands was ceded to the government in exchange for a tract lying between the Canadian and Red Rivers in the Indian Territory (later Oklahoma).[‡] It was assumed that extensive voluntary emi-

* Mississippi Conference appointments to the Choctaw Mission were: 1828-29, Alexander Talley, Superintendent, Yazoo, A. Talley; Pearl River, Robert D. Smith; Old Queen's School, Moses Perry; Seneshar School, to be supplied; 1829-30, A. Talley, Superintendent; Tushkahemytta and Yockanukena, Robert D. Smith, Moses Perry; Shenoakehitto and four schools "to be supplied"; 1830-31, A. Talley, John Cotton, Moses Perry.—*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 16, 53, 113.

[†] "This work of grace," Tracy wrote, "has carried with it such convincing evidence, that almost all have been constrained to acknowledge it the work of God."—*Op. cit.*, pp. 208f.

[‡] This was the first assignment by government of land in Indian Territory. The Choctaw were

gration would follow, but prior to September 25, 1828, only fifty Choctaw had removed from their homeland.⁷⁹ It was evident that if removal was to be brought about, influence from within the Nation was necessary. To secure this, government agents used cajolery and bribery without limit, and succeeded in aligning many of the leaders of the Nation in favor of removal.⁸⁰ The treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek resulted, executed on September 27, 1830. By the terms of this treaty the entire Choctaw area east of the Mississippi was ceded to the government, the Indians being given three years to emigrate. The treaty was ratified and proclaimed on February 24, 1831.

This latter treaty of cession and removal not only created schism in the Choctaw Nation but also serious division within the missionary forces. Grant Foreman, whose long research in original sources has been exhaustive, states that a majority of the Nation were opposed to it.⁸¹ There seem to have been three parties. Dr. Talley and some other Methodist missionaries, believing that removal sooner or later was inevitable, favored the treaty. Agreeing with them were most of the Methodist converts including the astute and influential chief Greenwood Leflore, part white. The Indians allied with the missions of the American Board, including several chiefs, were strenuously opposed.⁸² The third party, led by "the implacable full-blood chief Mushulatubbe [Masholatubbe]," was violently antagonistic to all Christian missionaries, their teaching, and the Choctaw who had become converts. Masholatubbe assailed the government for allowing tribal funds to be used for mission school education, saying that money had been paid to "Yankee Missionaries" for twelve years for which the Nation had received no return: "we have never recd. a Scholar out of their Schools that was able to keep a grog shop book." He and a number of other tribal leaders joined in a letter to the Secretary of War on June 15, 1831, asking him to direct that no more of their money be paid to missionaries. "Neither," they said, "do we wish for any of the present missionaries to go with us beyond the Mississippi, and Doctor Talley, who has already settled on our land, may be ordered out."⁸³ The opposition of these chiefs and their party* was carried to the point of burning down two or three churches, destroying many Christian books, and threatening violence to missionaries and converts.⁸⁴

This intense opposition of some of their own people, added to the sorrow and despondency attendant upon forced removal, led to the falling away of many Indian Christians. A large proportion, nevertheless, remained faithful.

During the winter of 1830-31 Dr. Talley conducted a party of the emigrants to their new home. The journey of four hundred miles, most of the way

assigned the area which, two years earlier, had been ceded to the United States by the Quapaw.— Cf. L. F. Schmeckebier, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

* It is evident that the Missionary Society report (see p. 136) with its estimate of all but unanimous christianization of the Choctaw Nation was considerably exaggerated.

through wilderness and swamp, involved terrible suffering and privation.⁸⁵ Others of the missionary group accompanied the party, including the Rev. Moses Perry, Talley's interpreter, and one of the teachers. Perry, having married a Choctaw woman, and having become a tribesman, traveled as a Choctaw. During 1831-32 removal proceeded in detachments. By the beginning of 1833, 6,000 of the Nation, it was estimated, had been removed by the government. During 1832 emigration was accompanied by an appalling amount of sickness and mortality among the emigrees, caused in large part by the prevailing cholera epidemic. By the latter part of 1833, when the three years allotted for removal had expired, some 7,000 Choctaw still remained in Mississippi. Demoralization and destitution steadily increased among them and the government renewed its attempts to get them away. In April, 1845, 1,280 removed to Indian territory; the next year a thousand more.⁸⁶ Annually thereafter for several years many hundred migrated, but a considerable number successfully resisted removal. By the close of 1834 all Methodist missionary work among the Choctaw east of the Mississippi had been ended.⁸⁷

CREEK MISSION

The Creek, like the Choctaw, belonged to the Muskogean family. By some they were referred to as the Muskogee Indians. At the close of the Revolution the Creek Nation was large and powerful, possessing the greater part of the land area of both Georgia and Alabama* but the so-called Creek War of 1813-14, waged relentlessly by Andrew Jackson against warlike and peaceful villages alike, considerably reduced their number.⁸⁸ Their defeat by Jackson's army was followed by surrender of most of their land to the government by cession. In 1821, at the founding of the first Methodist mission among them, they were believed to number about 24,000. They were characterized by Jediah Morse as a hardy, sagacious, and politic people, extremely jealous of their rights and passionately devoted to their lands. They were agriculturists, lived in log houses, many owning considerable property. They cultivated tobacco, rice, corn, potatoes, beans, peas, cabbage, melons, strawberries, grapes, and grew orchards of peaches and plums. Many possessed mechanical skills, making use of the anvil, the loom, and the spinning wheel. They raised cattle and hogs and an abundance of poultry.⁸⁹

At the session of the South Carolina Conference in January, 1821, William Capers was appointed by Bishop McKendree to institute a mission to the Creek Nation. For eight months he was busily engaged in "making collections to defray the expense" of establishing a school as the most promising means of gaining the favor of the principal men. Under date of August 19 he

* In 1831 the Creek were "the acknowledged owners of 5,200,000 acres of land in the State of Alabama."—*U.S. House Document* No. 452, Twenty-first Congress, second session, as quoted by G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 110n.

recorded in his *Journal*: "Augusta, Georgia . . . I am now on my way to the Creek Indians." Ten days later, he wrote:

We now have prepared ourselves to travel among the Indians. We go on horseback; each with a blanket, great coat, umbrella, saddle bags and wallet. We carry sugar and coffee; and on one side my saddle, hangs a coffee pot, and on the other a tin cup. O God of Abraham, God of Missions, go with us.⁹⁰

On September 2 he preached his first sermon in Creek territory "in the house of Mr. Spain" to a congregation consisting of Spain, his wife and daughter, the government agent, three other white men, "three or four blacks," and five Indians. Within a few days, with the assistance of Col. Blount, the agent, a conference was arranged with McIntosh, one of the principal chiefs, at Coweta. Capers told McIntosh that he came on an errand "of charity, as the agent of the Church, and under the patronage of government": and that the government was interested in improving the condition of the Indians through the education of their children, while the Church for its part regarded it a sacred duty to forward the good work.⁹¹ The Creek, it was generally understood, were not favorable to the introduction of Christianity. They were jealous of their tribal customs and habits and strongly opposed to any modifying influences or innovations. They were concerned for the welfare of their children, however, and were willing to consider the establishment of schools. Neither he nor any coterie of chiefs, said McIntosh, could reach any final conclusion on the proposal; it must await a general council of all the chiefs of the Nation without the consent of which, and the agreement of the government agent, no white man would be permitted to take up residence among them.⁹²

At the meeting of the general council, early in November, articles of agreement were submitted by Capers and accepted. As executed they were signed by William Capers on behalf of the Bishops and the South Carolina Conference, and the chiefs of the Creek Nation in council. They stipulated that two schools should be instituted for the free instruction of Indian children, providing for them also "comfortable lodging, and sufficient food," with no demand made of the Creek Nation of "any equivalent whatever, for services rendered," the teachers being allowed to cultivate not more than ten acres of land for every twenty children, and to possess a given number of milch cows, "for the sustenance of the teachers and the children." The Rev. C. G. Hill was "left to board with Lovett," the Indian interpreter, and Mr. Capers set out immediately for Augusta "to procure supplies and employ workmen; . . ." ⁹³

In the course of the year mission buildings were erected a mile west of the Chattahoochee River, near Coweta, Alabama, and the establishment was named the "Asbury Mission." A second school was planned also to be located in Alabama, on the Tallapoosa River, to be named after McKendree. Appoint-

ments at the 1822 session of the South Carolina Conference* read: "Indian mission, *William Capers*, superintendent, with the charge of the collections. Asbury and M'Kendree, *Isaac Smith*, † *Andrew Hammill*."⁹⁴ Shortly afterward, Smith wrote: "Today I opened a school [consisting of twelve children] in the house in which I live, the school house not being yet finished." Within a week the enrollment had doubled.

Neither in the preliminary interviews between William Capers and the Indian chiefs, so far as printed records reveal, nor in the articles of agreement, was mention made of preaching or any kind of missionary activity other than establishment of schools and instruction of children. In a report written a year later Capers does say that, prior to any conversation with the Indians on the subject of his mission among them, "he preached before several of their people at the house of a white man in their nation." The missionaries, however, were not long content with merely conducting a school. Their devout conviction was that they could only fulfill their ministry by also preaching the Gospel to adult people. Accordingly preaching services were begun. At this, objection immediately arose. Big Warrior, one of the chiefs, was specially hostile. The United States agent, Col. John Crowell, the missionaries charged, sought to stir up the chiefs against continuation of preaching and finally ordered the missionaries to desist. Superintendent Capers then broached the subject in general council. The agent contended that preaching would only "breed confusion and insubordination." Big Warrior strenuously objected to its continuance. While no formal action was recorded by the council the outcome was very unsatisfactory to Superintendent Capers and he served notice, with the sanction of the Mission Committee of the Conference, that in consequence of objection to preaching the opening of a school at Tuccabatchee would be postponed. Whereupon the chiefs privately concluded arrangements with a Baptist missionary to open a school at Tuccabatchee. When word of this reached Capers he formally transferred "the place at Tuccabatchee" to the Baptist missionary.

The South Carolina Conference at its next session sent a memorial to the Secretary of War "in which the difficulties thrown in the way of its mission-

* Asbury (Creek) Mission appointments for successive years as stated in the *General Minutes* were: 1823-24, Milledgeville, William Capers, stationed preacher, and Superintendent of Asbury Mission; Asbury Mission, Isaac Smith, Daniel G. M'Daniel; 1824-25, Milledgeville, W. Capers, stationed preacher and Superintendent of Asbury Mission; Asbury Mission, Isaac Smith, Matthew Raiford; 1825-27, Asbury Mission, Isaac Smith, Whitman C. Hill; 1827-29, Andrew Hamill, Whitman C. Hill; 1829-30, Nathaniel H. Rhodes, Robert Rogers.—*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 412, 413, 430, 431, 459, 489, 523, 556; II, 19.

† Isaac Smith (1758-1834) became a Methodist in 1783. His name first appears in the *General Minutes* in 1784, assigned to Salisbury Circuit (N. C.) with Jesse Lee. When, in 1793, he was appointed Presiding Elder, his District included almost all of what was later the South Carolina Conference. In 1795 it was still larger. In 1796, on account of ill health, he was compelled to retire, but twenty-four years later he resumed the active relation and in 1821 was Presiding Elder in Georgia. In 1822 he became associated with Asbury Mission, and devoted himself to work among the Creek Indians until, in 1827, the infirmities of age compelled final retirement. He was known as "the father of the South Carolina Conference."—*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 19, 50, 522.

aries" were detailed and an examination requested of the conduct of the agent. The War Department gave Col. Crowell a hearing at Washington in defense of the charges brought against him, and on March 30, 1824, the Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, addressed communications to William Capers and the agent. The letter to the Superintendent was conciliatory in tone, although expressing the opinion that "there is no foundation on which to take any measure" against the agent, particularly since "his general conduct" in discharge of his duties had been marked by "promptitude and accuracy." The Secretary gave renewed assurance of the "deep interest" of the President in "the benevolent object" the Conference had in view, and intimated that had the Superintendent communicated earlier with the Department specific instructions would have been given to the agent for his guidance which would have removed "the objections of the Indians to your preaching."

Secretary Calhoun's letter to Col. Crowell was even more specific, and as indicative of the government's attitude toward Methodist missions among the Indians is worthy of reproduction here. It read:

Sir,—The president has perused, with attention, your letter of the 18th March, in explanation of the charges which had been presented against you by the Rev. Mr. Capers, and he directs me to inform you that he most deeply regrets that any misunderstanding should take place between you and Mr. Capers, and the other members attached to the Methodist mission, in the Creek Nation. . . .

You will give a decided countenance and support to the Methodist mission, [and] . . . any other society that may choose to direct its efforts to improve the condition of the Creek Indians. It is not conceived that they can have any just cause of apprehension against the privilege of preaching the gospel among them; and you will use a decided influence with them to reconcile them to its exercise on the part of the mission. The department feels confident that, by proper efforts on your part, you may secure to the mission the right of preaching among the Indians, which is deemed to be so essentially connected with the objects of the society. (Signed) John C. Calhoun.⁹⁵

Needless to say there was no further open opposition on the part of the agent to preaching services as a part of the mission's activities. The antagonism of some of the chiefs, however, persisted in spite of all that the missionaries could do to win their favor. The *Fifth Annual Report of the Missionary Society* states that "the missionaries are not yet permitted to preach the gospel to the adult [Creek] Indians . . ."⁹⁶ By 1826 antagonism had so far abated that the missionary was allowed to preach in the council house and was requested by some of the Indians to continue.

Since the Louisiana Purchase (1803) no less than six "treaties" had been made with the Creek Indians by which parts of their territory had been released on the demand of the whites.⁹⁷ None of these resulted in any considerable emigration and year by year encroachment of the whites and pressure for In-

dian removal increased, resulting in ever-deepening resentment on the part of the Creek against all white people.

During these troublesome years it seems that a large proportion of the few who attended the preaching services which the missionaries maintained despite all difficulties were Negroes. Anson West in his *History of Methodism in Alabama* says that "the greater part of the congregations" were Negroes, some of whom were slaves of the Indians. Unlike the most of the Creek who attended they were able to speak both the English and the Creek languages and were on this account of assistance as "mediums of communication." West also states:

During the year 1827 seventeen Indians and thirty-three Negroes joined the Church at the Mission, and six members were discontinued, nine were removed, and two died. At the close of that year there were in the Society . . . sixty members, forty-three of them being Negroes, fifteen . . . Indians, and two . . . white persons.⁹⁸

The expense of maintenance of Asbury Mission was heavy and as the years went on, with comparatively meagre results shown, the collection of funds for its support became more and more difficult. Under these circumstances in 1827-28 the South Carolina Conference Missionary Society, which had carried on the mission without federal aid, appealed to the government for support. One hundred dollars was contributed and the Society was "given reason to believe that . . . [the school would] be put on a footing with other similar institutions."⁹⁹ The next year the government made "a donation of a thousand dollars . . . out of the proceeds of . . . [the Creek land] ceded to the United States."¹⁰⁰ This aid, substantial as it was, did not solve the problem of mission maintenance. Difficulties were intensified, and finally discouragement dictated the abandonment of the undertaking. Discontinuance was announced in the *Eleventh Annual Report* (May, 1830). As of the date of discontinuance of the mission, there were connected with the Methodist Society, as members, sixteen Indians, one white person, and a large number of Negroes.¹⁰¹ Responsibility for the failure of the mission, other than the long-continued opposition of the chiefs of the Nation, was laid by Nathan Bangs at the door of "dissipated white inhabitants, who found their interest promoted by furnishing the Indians with the means of intoxication."¹⁰²

Bangs' statement concerning white misdemeanors is mild as compared with the indictment lodged by the Creek chiefs with the Secretary of War in January, 1831:

Murders have . . . taken place, both by the reds and whites. We have caused the red men to be brought to justice, the whites go unpunished. . . . justice we don't expect, nor can we get. . . . They bring spirits among us for the purpose of practicing frauds; they daily rob us of our property; they bring white officers among

us, and take our property from us for debts that were never contracted We are made subject to laws we have no means of comprehending; we never know when we are doing right.¹⁰³

Following enactment by Congress of the Indian Removal Bill the pressure brought to bear upon the Creek for migration was intensified. As in the cases of the Cherokee and the Choctaw bribery, intimidation, and favoritism were freely used. Finally, on March 24, 1832, a treaty was signed purporting to cede all of the tribal land east of the Mississippi except "individual selections," which the owners were free to sell.¹⁰⁴ Companies were organized for the sole purpose of robbing the Indians of their individual holdings. All prudential restraint was set at defiance and acts which should cause men to cover their faces in shame came to be the boast of large numbers of despoilers of Indian property.¹⁰⁵ The President finally appointed John B. Hogan as federal representative to make an investigation. In his account Hogan declared that "a greater mass of corruption," in his opinion, had "never been congregated in any part of the world" than the frauds engendered by the Creek Treaty in the grant of individual reservations to the people of the Creek Nation. In some sections of the country nine-tenths of the sales, he found, had been fraudulent.¹⁰⁶

Forced removal by United States troops was carried out in 1836. In that year, according to government accounts, 14,609 Creek were removed to the Indian Territory.¹⁰⁷

MISSIONS IN THE WEST AND NORTHWEST

Numerous Indian tribes of the central division of the Algonkin family were located in this general area in 1820, their population probably aggregating between twenty-five and thirty thousand. Among the principal groups were the Potawatomi; the Menomini; the Chippewa; the Sauk (Sac), Fox, Kickapoo, and Ottawa; the Peoria and Kaskaskia; and the Miami, Piankashaw, and Wea. They were inclined to be sedentary in their habits, doing little hunting, and for food depending chiefly upon maize and wild rice. The several tribes each possessed a closely knit clan organization, with highly developed religious concepts and ceremonies.¹⁰⁸

POTAWATOMI MISSION

The Potawatomi, when first identified (about 1670), were located in the Green Bay, Wisconsin, region. They subsequently scattered, some remaining in Wisconsin, others settling in lower Michigan, still others in Indiana, and in Illinois chiefly along the Illinois and Fox Rivers. Morse, in 1820, reported finding from 1,000 to 1,500 Indians in the immediate neighborhood of Chicago, "the greater part Pottawattamies."¹⁰⁹

At the Missouri Conference of 1823 Jesse Walker, as missionary, was directed to give his attention "particularly . . . to the Indians within the bounds" of the Conference. Sometime during the year or early in 1824 he established the Potawatomi (or Salem) Mission. His appointment in 1824 as described by the Missionary Society was as "a missionary to the new settlements between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, and to the Indians in the vicinity of Fort Clark." Nathan Bangs defines the appointment more specifically in terms of a mission to "the Pottawatamy Indians." Walker made report to the Missouri Conference in 1824, and the next year presented "articles of agreement" between "Jesse Walker & the Chiefs of the Potawatamy Indian nation" which were formally approved. The Conference then voted "that Jesse Walker be clothed with proper authority, and furnished, with suitable instructions, as missionary among the Indians."¹¹⁰

In the fall of 1824 Walker opened a school at Fort Clark, enrolling six Indian children. In the spring of 1825, after "a most satisfactory council with five chiefs of . . . [the] tribe" he re-established the school near the mouth of the Fox River where he enrolled fourteen pupils, but soon afterward, finding that the station was not located on Indian land, another location was selected "about one hundred miles above Fort Clarke," between the Illinois and Fox Rivers.¹¹¹

Walker had ambitious plans for the mission. The site selected provided fertile soil, well watered, with plenty of timber. In addition to a house for the missionary family, he built a poultry house, a spring house, a blacksmith shop, and a horse mill. Forty acres of ground were put under cultivation, an acre set aside for garden, and seven used for pasture. He wrote to the Missionary Society:

I have expended altogether in the establishment \$2,093.98³/₄. The government have agreed to pay two-thirds of the expense, which would be \$1,394.00. I have received from the church \$1,000.00—which, added to the amount promised by government, makes \$2,394.00—to which add \$107 of donations . . . which, if the money were drawn from the government, would leave in my hands an unexpended balance of \$401.¹¹²

The Illinois Conference, now separately organized, was wholehearted in its support of the mission. Each year the project was considered—first in Committee, then by the Conference—and endorsed. In 1826, the elected committee composed of five of the leading preachers, "after mature deliberation" decided that \$1,000. was necessary for support. In this decision the Conference concurred. To raise \$1,000. was a formidable undertaking and the Conference called upon "every preacher of . . . [the] Conf-e [to] exert himself to procure funds & means [material articles] for the support of s-d mission"¹¹³

A year later doubt was beginning to be expressed concerning the wisdom

of continuing the enterprise. Writing under date of June 15, 1827, Peter Cartwright—who as Presiding Elder of the District within which the mission was located was designated Mission Superintendent—emphasized the difficulties in the way of success. The Potawatomi, he declared, are “extremely suspicious of the whites.” In addition, they are very superstitious and very proud, and “given to all kinds of dissipation.” Nevertheless, he had hope that the Gospel would ultimately prevail among them.¹¹⁴ In 1827 a Conference committee appointed “to take into Consideration the Situation of the Potowatomy Mission” reported the mission in debt.* Its conclusion was:

But little has been effected, as yet by the Mission, when compared to the expence, labours & Sufferings of the Missionary & his Family; but when we consider what it has cost, and the probability of its being less expensive in the future, we cannot advise its discontinuance, until further trial is given it.¹¹⁵

The situation was further complicated by the omnipresent factor of the white demand for the Indians' land. Many treaties had been made with the various divisions of the tribe for the purpose of securing cessions of their lands, all of which contributed to increasing unrest. The Potawatomi, Foreman states, “invoked more legislative and administrative concern than any other northern tribe.”¹¹⁶ At the Illinois Conference of 1828 Jesse Walker was appointed senior preacher on the Peoria Circuit and Isaac Scarritt (1775–1860), who had been living as a located preacher for a number of years at Edwardsville, was appointed to the Salem Mission.¹¹⁷ The 1829 Conference voted that “whereas the Pottawatomy Indians have disposed of their lands . . . it is inexpedient longer to continue a mission . . . & the same is hereby discontinued.”¹¹⁸ Peter Cartwright was elected to dispose of the property of the mission, and to settle all claims against it “as far as the money will go.” His dour comment reads:

We expended several thousand dollars of missionary money in improving these mission premises, and succeeded in civilizing and Christianizing a few of these Indians, but the whites kept constantly encroaching on them till they became restless, and finally, the government bought them out.¹¹⁹

Cartwright apparently was not as successful as he hoped to be in realizing funds from the sale of the mission property, for he adds that the mission premises with a section of land were reserved—doubtless by the government—“for one of the half breeds, so that the Missionary Society lost all that they had expended.”†

* The reported debt of \$1,058.80 seems to have been principally a current bookkeeping deficit. As an offset there was reported property valued at \$303.25; a crop estimated at \$502.; and additional property “offered in the [Superintendent's] Report” to the Conference, valued at \$250.—a total of \$1,055.25.—William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783–1840*, IV, *The Methodists*, 310.

† It seems also that some difference of opinion developed between Cartwright and several other members of the Conference regarding reimbursement made to Jesse Walker. A committee was elected “to take into consideration the claims of Bro. J. Walker to certain property at the Mission station” This committee (John Dew, chairman) reported that Walker was “justly entitled to the mill, smith tools, waggon and remnants of hogs, if any, which he claims: and that these articles were purchased with his own funds” (*Journals of the Illinois Conference* in W. W. Sweet,

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society on November 18, 1829, the Treasurer read a letter from Bishop Soule deploring the removal of the Potawatomi and saying, "we must follow them into the wilderness."¹²⁰

MISSION TO THE ONEIDA AND MENOMINI (MENOMINEE)

The Oneida Indians were one of the well-known "Six Nations" of New York. The five others were the Cayuga, the Mohawk, the Onondaga, the Seneca, and the Tuscarora. The six were generally considered as constituting the Iroquois family. In earlier times they had been ruthless, ferocious fighters—the traditional foes of the Algonkin—but during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, settled in the fertile Mohawk Valley of New York, their tribal villages fortified by stockades, they became more inclined to peaceful ways.¹²¹ Missions were established among them, schools conducted, mills built, tools for husbandry supplied, and churches organized.¹²² The Oneida were located in Oneida County, south of Oneida Lake.

The Oneida Methodist Mission at Vernon (or Vernon Center), New York, was reported for the first time at the eleventh annual meeting of the Missionary Society. It was begun in 1829 by Daniel Barnes who, at the first session of the Oneida Conference (1829), was appointed Presiding Elder of the Oneida District and "superintendent of the Welsh and Oneida missions."

The most effective evangelistic work was done by Daniel Adams, a young Christian Mohawk from Upper Canada, who was able to preach to the Oneida in their own language. Upward of one hundred professed conversion, a Methodist Society of 111 members was organized, and a school established with seventy-nine pupils enrolled. The Methodist group became known as the "Orchard party." The religious interest spread to the neighboring Onondaga, among whom a Society of twenty-four members was organized,¹²³ including three of the chiefs.*

Before the mission had become well established migration began to a new reservation at Green Bay, Wisconsin, made available to them by the Menomini in the treaty of February, 1831, ceding to the several New York tribes 500,000 acres of their reservation.¹²⁴ The Missionary Society *Report* of April, 1831, says that "many . . . have emigrated . . . and others are going," making request that a missionary and a schoolteacher accompany them.¹²⁵ No immedi-

op. cit., IV, 332, 335.) Cartwright says that "the chiefs of the nation gave Brother Walker a thousand dollars of their annuities, as a compensation for the improvements he had made with the missionary money; and this money properly belonged to the Mission Society, but they never realized it . . ."—*Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, The Backwoods Preacher*, p. 283.

* Two years later the Oneida Conference Missionary Society reported that the attitude of the Onondaga chiefs had unexpectedly changed and that they had developed "the most open hostility to everything like religious instruction, as well as the most settled purpose to resist every effort to introduce civilization among them." The change was attributed to antagonistic efforts of certain influential white men, by no means an isolated instance. (*Christian Advocate and Journal* . . . , VI [1831], 4 [Sept. 23], 14.) However, inclusion of the name in the title of the mission, beginning in 1841, indicates that missionary effort with the tribe was continued although definite data are lacking.

ate response was made to this appeal. Meanwhile, despite removals, growth of the Methodist Society continued. In 1831 three congregations were reported, and two schools, requiring the service of a missionary and two lay teachers. On November 20, 1832, Daniel Barnes who, beginning in 1830 for three years served the Oneida Mission on full time as missionary, wrote that the Class meetings and prayer meetings were well attended, and family worship generally observed. "I do not know," he said, "that there is one pagan left in the nation."¹²⁶

At the 1833 session of the Oneida Conference John Seys was appointed to the Oneida Mission. Of more than ordinary ability, deeply imbued with the missionary spirit, he gave himself without reservation to the work. Soon the program was expanded to such an extent that he could report three preaching places; two day schools; and an interracial church whose membership was composed of 100 Indians, seven whites, and one Negro. The mission staff consisted, in addition to the missionary, of a day school teacher, a Local Preacher, and four Indian Exhorters. Four months later he reported an addition of twenty-three new members, and a second Local Preacher.¹²⁷

By 1835 the diminution of members of the Society by emigration was keenly felt—nearly one hundred Oneida having emigrated during the preceding year, approximately thirty of whom were Methodists. This left between 700 and 800 Indians on the Oneida Reservation of 5,000 acres. John Seys had been replaced by George Gary, who reported only eighty-seven members remaining in the Society, and one day school averaging about twenty pupils. Many of the Sunday-school pupils—a large proportion men and women—he said, were able to read in their own language, and Mohawk catechisms and hymnbooks were much needed. A Temperance Society, organized several years earlier, had done much to lessen the demoralizing effect of liquor upon the tribe.¹²⁸ By 1844* the number of Indian members in Society had been further reduced to eighty.¹²⁹

In the meantime the request of the immigrants at Green Bay had come to the attention of the Rev. John Clark† of the New York Conference while he was in attendance upon the General Conference of 1832. He was then sta-

* Appointments to the mission during the period 1836-44 were: 1836-37, M. Adams; 1837-39, Alvin Torrey; 1839-41 (Oneida and Onondaga Mission), T. B. Rockwell; 1841-45 (Oneida and Onondaga Mission), Rosman Ingalls.—*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 396, 476, 563, 652; III, 86, 179, 280, 383, 509, 511.

† John Clark (1797-1854), born at Hartford, Washington County, N. Y., was of Pilgrim ancestry. His early life of poverty and hardship inured him to privation and self-sacrifice. On March 25, 1817, he experienced conversion and in 1820 was admitted on trial in the New York Conference and appointed to Leyden Circuit (Mass.). Beginning in 1828 he was for three years Presiding Elder of Plattsburg District. In 1831 he was appointed to New York City. Four years were given to pioneer missionary service among the Indians of Michigan and Wisconsin (1832-36), followed by three years as Presiding Elder of the Chicago District, Illinois Conference. For three years (1841-44) he served on the Texas frontier. Transferring in 1844 to the Troy Conference he became Presiding Elder of the Poutney District. In 1852 he transferred to the Rock River Conference to become pastor of the Clark Street Church, the largest and most influential station in the rapidly growing city. It was largely through his influence that Mrs. Eliza Garrett was led to give \$100,000. for the founding of Garrett Biblical Institute. He died on July 11, 1854, a victim of cholera. For obituary, see *Gen'l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Ch.*, V, 485f.

tioned in New York City, but for several years he had had the northwestern frontier under consideration as a possible field of service and when he heard of the call from the Oneida he promptly offered himself to the Missionary Society as a volunteer and was accepted. He was soon upon his way, leaving his wife for the time being at her father's home at Northampton, New York. On July 21, 1832, he arrived at Green Bay.¹³⁰

The white settlement at the head of the bay, located principally on the east bank of the Fox River, consisted of about one thousand persons, mostly French Catholics, but included also many non-Catholics among whom Clark at once established a preaching appointment. The Indian settlement, distant some twenty-five miles, also on the east bank of the Fox River, was made up of Oneida, Stockbridge, and Tuscarora. Within a few days, taking with him Daniel Adams, the Christian Mohawk evangelist—whom he had enlisted as interpreter and assistant missionary—Clark visited the settlement and arranged for a council. The Oneida in this village, it seems, numbered about one hundred adults. Soon they had together arranged for a schoolhouse and place of worship. Daniel Adams, it was agreed, should be in immediate charge of the mission, leaving Clark partially free to explore possibilities and needs for missions among other Indian tribes.

On September 15, 1832, a Methodist Class of twenty-five members was formed, the first in Wisconsin. On Sunday, the mission house—twenty-four by thirty feet, built of logs—was dedicated. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered to some thirty-five or forty persons, and a Stockbridge Indian child was baptized. On Monday a school was organized, with thirty children enrolled. Miss Electa Quinney, a young Stockbridge woman, and an earnest Christian, was employed as teacher. She also agreed to conduct a Sunday school for both children and adults.¹³¹

Having established the mission and school, later in the fall Clark returned to the East to complete arrangements for the removal of his family—a son, John Emory, having been born in his absence. He attended a meeting of the Mission Board in November, and during the winter filled many speaking engagements in the interest of missions. On his return to his field of service in the spring, taking with him books, clothing, and other supplies to the value of \$300., which he had received as contributions, he first went to Sault Ste. Marie.* In the early summer (1833), when he finally reached Green Bay, he found that the Oneida had sold their land on Fox River and were preparing to remove to Duck Creek. Under the care of Miss Quinney—who in the meantime had married Daniel Adams†—the school had done well. Clark

* For an account of John Clark's mission to the Chippewa at the Sault, see p. 153ff.

† Daniel Adams and his wife went in 1837 to the Seneca Mission, in the Indian Territory. About 1843 he died, greatly lamented. Mrs. Adams continued in service, highly esteemed for her intelligence and good work.

proceeded immediately to make arrangements for building at Duck Creek a log mission house and ten log houses for Indian families.¹³² When, on his next visit, he again arrived at Duck Creek (May 8, 1834) he found that a Society had been formed and a school established. He was much cheered by the evidence of spiritual and temporal progress.

Clark's extensive missionary Circuit now included the Green Bay region, Sault Ste. Maria where he had established his headquarters, from the Bay to the Sault one hundred and fifty miles, and Kewawenon on Lake Superior. The itinerary required was long and the travel difficult. On September 3, 1834, he wrote from the Sault to the Board at New York with a trembling hand, reluctantly admitting that he was in ill health, suffering with an affection of the lungs, accompanied with fever and a dry cough. Less than a month later the family were sorely afflicted by the death of their little daughter Helen. Nevertheless, in November he wrote the Board that the interest of the work required his transfer to Green Bay:

I am expected to take charge of the whole work in the Indian country, and extend it as fast and as far as Providence shall open the way. . . . in prosecuting my work, each station must be visited at least once a year; and in opening new missions it is very desirable that the ground be first examined, that the most eligible locations may be chosen . . .

. . . the most central place should be selected as the starting-point. Such is Green Bay¹³³

The next month, with his family, he was on his way, planning on boat passage from Mackinaw but on arrival he found passage by water unavailable, because of the lateness of the season. Leaving his family at Mackinaw for the winter, he succeeded in reaching Detroit,* where he purchased "a snug built, pony-like horse and equipage" and made his way via Chicago to Green Bay, arriving on January 27, 1835.†

On his arrival he found that the Rev. George White, who had been appointed to Green Bay as his assistant, had been successful in organizing a Class of twenty-nine members among the citizens and soldiers of the white settlement.¹³⁴ The Society at Duck Creek‡ had increased to forty members, and the school also had prospered. For a brief time, following the departure of Daniel and Electa Adams, the school was in charge of Rolla H. Chubb. Later, in 1836, he was succeeded by Sophia Mudgett and Etherlinda Lee, recent graduates of Newbury Seminary, Vermont. The Superintendent di-

* That Clark spent his time to good advantage during his stopover at Detroit is evidenced by James Gilruth, Presiding Elder of the Detroit District: "*Sund. dec. 14*, went to hear Br John Clark . . . he spoke well . . . B Clark preached a Missionary sermon in the Presbyterian M House —at night . . . we took up a publick collection for Mission purposes amounting to \$16 & some cents. . . ." "*Mond Dec 15*. . . . heard Br Clark preach in the presbyterian M. H. . . ." "*Journal*," of James Gilruth, in W. W. Sweet, *op. cit.*, IV, 413.

† The detailed narrative of this journey, much of the way through trackless wilderness, in the dead of winter, is a thrilling story of missionary persistence and daring. It is contained in a letter of Clark's to the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society.

‡ In some sources the Duck Creek Mission is referred to as Oneida West.

rected Miss Lee to open a second school, four miles north, where a Class of twenty members had been organized, and fifteen children enrolled as school pupils. Evidently sufficient precaution had not been taken to secure full cooperation of the Indians in the vicinity, for four-and-a-half days after the school opened a mob of opposing chiefs and others came "and leveled the house with the ground."¹³⁵

The Menomini, from whom the Oneida had purchased their land, once a powerful tribe, were now greatly reduced in strength, numbering only about 1,600 to 1,900. From an early period they had held possession of the Green Bay region.¹³⁶ In the late spring or early summer of 1835 Clark made a preliminary visit to the reservation, conferring with the Indian trader and with some of the head men of the Menomini. Encouraged by the friendly reception accorded, later in the summer he sent his faithful Indian helper John Cahbeach for further council with the chiefs. They expressed themselves as anxious for a school, making it possible for the children to be continuously under instruction. With this in view as a possibility Cahbeach was stationed among the Menomini. In the spring of 1836, Clark arranged for the building of a schoolhouse, twenty by thirty feet. For director of the school he chose John Summerfield, a Chippewa youth who had received training at the Cazenovia (New York) Seminary. It was Clark's fond hope that his school might be made the first unit of an Indian Training School to serve as a preparatory institution for the education of native Indian leaders. This dream, however, was doomed to disappointment, for the Menomini under pressure of the whites were induced to sell their lands and in 1836 remove into the interior.¹³⁷

At the session of the New York Conference in June, 1836, Clark transferred to the Illinois Conference and in October was appointed Presiding Elder of the Chicago District, in which he served for three successive years. As his District during this Conference year extended from Chicago 250 miles north, as well as 100 miles south, he continued to have general supervision of the Oneida Mission.* In May, 1836, Daniel Poe was appointed to the mission by Bishop Joshua Soule. Soon he expanded the educational work among the Oneida Indians West and in 1837, with the aid of his wife, who supplied from her own funds \$300., and the Indians by whose labors lumber was brought from the woods, built a house of worship. In November, 1837, Salmon Stebbins, Presiding Elder, visited the mission and recorded in his *Journal* his impression that "the cause of true religion . . . [was] advancing" among the Oneida. On Thursday, the ninth, he stated:

* Appointments to the Oneida Mission, 1836-44, as recorded in the *General Minutes* were: 1836-38, Daniel Poe; 1838-39, Henry W. Reed; 1839-40, "to be supplied"; 1840-42 (under Rock River Conference), Henry R. Colman; 1842-43, H. R. Colman, George L. S. Stuff; 1843-44, H. R. Colman.—*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 427, 504, 590; III, 9, 91, 186, 285, 388.

Visited several families of the natives. Was delighted to witness their improvement in circumstances. They are opening farms, building houses and barns. . . . Their piety is equally good.¹³⁸

This year an encouraging growth in membership of the Society was recorded, members increasing from forty-eight to eighty. In December, 1838, the first Quarterly Conference of which record has been preserved was held. The Conference included the Presiding Elder, three Local Preachers, the missionary in charge, and eight other official members. The following year (1839) a new church building was erected.¹³⁹ The growth of the Society was interrupted, however, by an increased spirit of restiveness. By the Buffalo Creek (New York) Treaty of January 15 with the government, the several New York tribes re-ceded all their land at Green Bay save the limited area already occupied by their tribesmen. They received in return a tract of 1,824,000 acres, twenty miles wide, extending west from the Missouri River. This treaty indicated the number of Oneida at Green Bay as 600; and in New York as 620.¹⁴⁰

For five years (1840-45) it was the good fortune of the mission to have as pastor Henry R. Colman, previously a member of the Troy Conference, whom John Clark influenced to volunteer for missionary service. With whole-hearted devotion he ministered to the flock—teaching, exhorting, reproving, comforting, and upholding everyone—making himself also advisor-in-chief of the community. His influence was reflected not only in the deepened spiritual life of the community but also in improvement in temperance and industry and in temporal welfare. By 1844 most of the Oneida were reported to have well-fenced, productive farms and to be living in comfortable houses. Their progress did not, however, measure up to their missionary's hopes and desires. While a majority were satisfied to remain where they were, others wanted to remove to Missouri, and this division was a disturbing influence. While many joined the Temperance Society formed within the church, and became consistent total abstainers, some yielded to the temptations put in their way by white traders and debased themselves by drink. The greatest obstacle to the development of a stable society among them, however, Colman came to believe, was their "aversion . . . to all restraint," growing out of the experience of earlier generations having lived without the restrictions of legal statutes.¹⁴¹ Chiefly as a result of migration, the Society at the close of the period was reduced in number to forty-four members.

CHIPPEWA MISSION

The Chippewa by some ethnologists were considered as one with the Ojibway. Either the Canadian forests north of the Saskatchewan River or the forests around the Great Lakes are believed to have been their original home.

The chief grain food was the wild rice that grew in abundance on the margins of lakes and the swamplands of the rivers. For flesh they depended chiefly upon moose, deer, and water fowl, supplemented by fish. A long-standing feud existed between the Chippewa and Cree on the east and the Dakota on the west—basically an economic war—the Chippewa wanting access to the western country for buffalo and the Dakota being determined to monopolize them for themselves. For the most part the Chippewa were friendly to the whites. They were one of thirty-four tribes, previously allied with Great Britain, who in the summer of 1818 signed treaties of peace and friendship with the United States.¹⁴² At this time they were widely scattered in small villages in the northern and western parts of Michigan and northern and central Wisconsin.

At the 1823 session of the Ohio Conference Bishop McKendree proposed a plan for expanding the Indian missions, including “the establishment of a mission among the Chipeway Indians,” the sending of “two Missionaries to Michigan Territory,” and a visit by James B. Finley to Governor Lewis Cass to secure his approval of the Chippewa Mission project. If successful in the interview Finley was to “proceed to that nation, and attempt the contemplated establishment.” The *Minutes* record that the Conference considered the plan “a judicious one” and that the members would use their “influence in its support.”¹⁴³ The proposed new missionaries were not appointed, but Finley considered himself instructed “to extend . . . [his] labors to the Ottowas and Chippewas, at Saginaw Bay.” In response to a letter, Cass—“chief agent of the Indian department for all the west”—wrote warmly commending Finley for his “zealous labors among the Wyandotts” and the “well matured” and “faithfully executed” mission plan. He stated that many difficulties would be encountered in attempting to conduct a mission among the Chippewa at Saginaw, the most troublesome Indians in this quarter. They are in the lowest state of moral degradation. More savage and indolent, and less tractable than the Wyandotts.

Cass further stated that he could supply to “any respectable missionary establishment” \$2,000., appropriated by an act of Congress in accordance with the Treaty of Saginaw, “for the support of a blacksmith,” for horses, cattle, and farming implements; and for persons “to aid the Indians in their agricultural labors.”¹⁴⁴

Leaving the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky on December 10, accompanied by two chiefs—Mononcue and Squire Gray Eyes—and Jonathan Pointer as interpreter, Finley made the extensive missionary journey to the Michigan Territory and Canada, of which partial account has already been given.* At Detroit he called upon Cass who referred him to “Major Baker, commandant of the garrison, who had recently built the military works at

* See p. 123.

Saginaw." Baker informed him that most of the Chippewa were absent hunting and that the conditions among them were in a turmoil because of the determination of a majority of the tribe to depose their old chief, who violently resisted every effort to supplant him. Furthermore, that the chief was "violently opposed to missions and to religion of every kind." Finley decided that the situation was unfavorable and made no attempt to establish a mission among them.¹⁴⁵

A year later, at the Ohio Conference session of 1824, McKendree in an address to the preachers again referred to the need for a mission among the Chippewa, and the establishment of a mission was sanctioned by the Conference but no appointment was made. Nothing of significance seems to have been accomplished in the Saginaw region until 1832. In that year "Saganaw Mission" appears in the list of appointments of the Ohio Conference, Detroit District, with Bradford Frazee as missionary. He succeeded in forming a Class of eight or nine members, none of whom was Indian.¹⁴⁶ The mission is not listed in 1833.* That it was not continued as originally planned was in part due to the fact that the Chippewa were almost continuously moving about. The Saginaw band of Ottawa and Chippewa continued in the general area until 1837 when they removed beyond the Mississippi.

In the meantime interest had awakened in missionary work among the Chippewa in yet another quarter. On June 15, 1827, Peter Cartwright had written to the Missionary Society:

I would . . . observe to the secretary . . . that I have had an interview with a Chippewa chief [George Copway], a venerable looking old man, who now resides at the Pottawattamy mission, and who expresses an anxious desire that his nation should have a missionary sent them. They reside on the northwest of lake Michigan. He says that the Ottaways and Chipeways are all anxious for a missionary, and will send all their children to school.¹⁴⁷

Apparently, however, Cartwright's letter brought no immediate response.

From such records as are extant it seems that the first Methodist mission of some permanency among the Chippewa was established by John Clark in 1833, a year after he had begun work among the Oneida at Green Bay.† The *Detroit Courier* carried the following news item:

Rev. John Clark, who has been appointed by the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society to labor as a missionary among the Chippewas, arrived in this city on Saturday last, accompanied by four Indians [Peter Jones, William Herkimer, Thomas Frazer, and Thomas McGee], all of whom are devoted Christians. . . .

These interesting visitors left us on Monday. Jones and Herkimer will accom-

* Beginning with 1835 the "Saganaw Mission" reappears in the *General Minutes* (II, 357), but not as an Indian mission. One other incidental reference is found in an official record. In 1843 one of the missionaries of the Lakeville (Indian) Mission wrote to the Missionary Society: "The Saganaw Indians have sent a request that I should visit them."—*Twenty-second Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1843-44), p. 67.

† See pp. 147ff.

pany Mr. Clark to Sault Ste. Marie, and labor in the same field among the Chippewas. The others, . . . will proceed to Green Bay, and remain with the Menomonees.¹⁴⁸

On June 13, 1833, Clark wrote to the Board at New York informing the secretary of his arrival at Sault Ste. Marie, having traveled the last twenty miles in a birchbark canoe. For about two years religious services had been held at the Sault by John Sunday,* and the Chippewa were not unprepared for the coming of the missionary.¹⁴⁹ Clark met the head men of the Indians in council, stated the object of his coming, and asked their approval and cooperation. This they readily granted, seeming much interested in the establishment of a school. The "mission family," in addition to Clark, consisted of his wife, two young children, and two young women assistants whom he had enlisted on his trip to the East—Miss Lydia Gardner of Troy, New York, and Miss Julia Baylies of New York City.¹⁵⁰

The mission was established without delay with Miss Gardner in charge of a day school and a Sunday school. For want of better facilities both were conducted in the house rented as a home for the missionary family. An Indian Class was formed almost immediately, with meetings weekly, and prayer meetings four or five times each week.

Two months after his arrival, on August 13, Clark sent an encouraging report of progress to the *Christian Advocate and Journal* stating that the Indian Class was "doing quite well," and that he hoped soon to form a Class of the citizens of the place. Difficulty in securing laborers, and a trip to the mission at Green Bay, delayed building operations but since he understood "the use of an axe, saw, hammer and . . . plane" he proposed to put his "own shoulder to the wheel" and began preparing timber at once. Fortunately he had one dependable helper, a layman from Troy, New York, who had volunteered his services "without charge, except for board."¹⁵¹

On October 8, Clark wrote to Mrs. Mary Mason, Directress of the women's Female Missionary Society:

At present I am under the embarrass[s]ment of being without an interpreter. However our meetings are regularly held among the Indians for prayer and exhortation. Our Indian Class is in as prosperous a state as can reasonably be expected considering their unsettled mode of living, We are doing what we can by way of teaching the children, but in this, we have many discouragements which

* John Sunday (Indian name, Shahwundais), an Ojibway Indian chief, at this time was employed as a traveling missionary. After having lived until early manhood in ignorance, barely able to read and write, drunken and immoral, he was converted and began religious work among his people. He had a natural gift of effective sermonizing, characterized by shrewdness, penetration, and ingenuity in presentation of religious truth. His humor made him popular with white audiences. He was a faithful and successful preacher until his death in 1875 at eighty years of age. (John Carroll, *Case and His Cotemporaries*, IV, 185f.) In his *Personal Memoirs* Henry R. Schoolcraft in 1833 recorded his judgment that Sunday's teaching among the Chippewa was unanswerably effective: "They heard him refute all their arguments in their own language. He had, but a short time before, been one like themselves—a Manito worshiper, an idler, a drunkard. He produced a great sensation . . . , and overthrew the loose fabric of their theology and mythology with a strong hand."—Ch. XLVI, Feb. 14, 1833, p. 436.

we expect will continue until the Indians are settled. Our school is taught at present by sister Baylies. . . . Sister Gardner not finding the opening for usefulness such as met *her* views of *duty* is no longer connected with the Mission— . . .

. . . We are pretty well supplied with clothing for the winter for the children attending school—it will be our care to give them out judiciously—as their wants may require. The clothing and books marked No. 3—sent out through the kindness of the F[emale] M[issionary] S[ociety] of your city were forwarded to Green Bay—their arrival there was timely.¹⁵²

Sault Ste. Marie in 1833 was an isolated trading post. Nearby was Fort Brady, a small garrison maintained by the War Department. Writing on November 9, Clark stated that the mission would consider itself fortunate if as many as four mails were received “before the upper lakes open next spring.” The mail was carried by Indians and Canadians, traveling on foot along the margins of lakes and rivers, much of the way through trackless forest, a distance from Detroit via Mackinaw, by the route followed, of about four hundred miles. During the summer a spirit of religious inquiry had been awakened among soldiers and some others at Fort Brady, twelve had united in Class, and the members of the Indian Class—although daily tempted “to return to their former habits of intemperance”—had stood firm.¹⁵³

Sometime during the late winter Clark contrived to get a third quarterly report through to New York which showed further progress. A third Class had been organized, making a total of fifty-nine members, forty of whom were Indians, nineteen whites. The enrollment of the school had increased to thirty, though the average daily attendance during the winter was not more than fifteen. The employed staff included three Indian Exhorters, one of whom had served for the entire period, one for six months, and one for four months. All were able to speak English but only one could read. A fourth Indian helper—Henry Snake, an interpreter—had been employed since October 1. He could read, write, and speak English. Clark’s weekly schedule left him little free time. On Sunday he preached “to the citizens and garrison in the town . . . at half-past ten . . . to the Indians at half-past twelve . . . at the office of the agent; to the garrison at three . . . at the school house in the fort. . . .” In the evening he attended prayer meeting at the fort. On Tuesday evening he conducted a Bible Class for the officers of the garrison and their families. Wednesday evening he preached to the citizens and the Indians in the town. Thursday evening he taught a soldiers’ Bible Class. Friday evening he held prayer meeting in the fort.¹⁵⁴

Some two hundred and fifty miles from Sault Ste. Marie, on the south side of Lake Superior, is a large bay known as Keweenaw. Located on the bay in 1832 was an Indian village of about two hundred and fifty persons, “degraded, drunken, and quarrelsome.” The trader at the post, John Holliday, concerned for the welfare of the Indians, in 1832 invited John Sunday, who had been

instrumental in initiating religious services at the Sault, to undertake a similar mission at Kewawenon, using his house as headquarters. On his arrival, Sunday found the Indians not only uninterested but antagonistic, refusing even to hear him. But the following morning two little girls came to Holliday's door, saying that their father had sent them to be taught. With these two girls Sunday opened his school. Soon fifteen were in attendance. From the children the interest spread to some of the adults. One of their "medicine men" became a Christian. In the course of the winter of 1832-33 nine adults were converted. Sunday was succeeded by Thomas Frazer and Thomas McGee, who carried on the good work energetically.

Sometime during 1833 Clark reported to the Board that he had taken on Kewawenon as a branch of his mission, saying that a Class of thirty-one members had been formed.¹⁵⁵

Ranged at intervals around Grand Traverse Bay, on the east shore of Lake Michigan, some sixty miles south of Mackinaw, were five Chippewa villages. The climate of the east shore is mild, the soil of the surrounding country productive, and the waters then abounded with fish. To Clark's discerning eye the locality seemed a promising one for a mission.¹⁵⁶ Accordingly, in August, 1834, he sent three Indian helpers, John Taunchy, John Cahbeach, and one other, to begin preaching and to open a school. Clark's account reads:

When brother J. Cahbeach arrived there with his colleagues, he found the chief (Esh-qui-gonahe) and his people less or more under the influence of the fire water, but on becoming sober he received our brothers with much cordiality of feeling. At this village they began their labor of preaching Jesus to these sons of the forest. Here also they opened a small school for the instruction of the children, and during the few weeks the school has been in operation several of the children have learned to read and spell words of four letters. . . . all are willing and even anxious for schools in the different villages.¹⁵⁷

In this instance what was apparently a promising beginning was made of no effect, according to Clark's statement, by Roman Catholic antagonism. Several Ottawa fur traders connected with a Catholic mission about thirty miles farther north circulated false rumors among the Indians concerning the Methodist missionaries, stating that they were men of unknown origin and bad character. These reports alienated the Indians. Although a friendly trader intervened, calling the Chippewa together in council and pointing out the falsity of the statements, children were withdrawn from the school and the adults refused to attend any religious services. Under these circumstances Clark withdrew the missionaries.¹⁵⁸

While the failure at Grand Traverse Bay was disappointing, on the whole Clark had reason to be gratified by the advance in the work under his charge. By the close of 1834 there were at the Sault two well-organized stations. One

of these was at the fort, with a Class of twelve persons and a flourishing Sunday school. At the Indian station—known as Missionville—two miles below the fort, where thirteen houses, a school, and a mission house had been erected, were a day school, a Sunday school, and a Class of thirty-eight members. Also, at each station, a temperance Society had been organized.¹⁵⁹

In August, 1834, the Rev. Daniel M. Chandler* of the Troy Conference, who had volunteered for missionary service, was appointed to the Sault Ste. Marie Mission. Clark, however, assigned him to Kewawenon, with two native Chippewa—George Copway and John Taunchy—as his assistants. Milton Bourne,† a young man of missionary spirit who accompanied Chandler to Michigan, was given charge of the school at the Sault, Miss Baylies having been compelled because of impaired health to return to her eastern home.¹⁶⁰

The work of the mission among the Chippewa women is described in a letter written by Clark in September, 1834:

A large body of Christian Indians from Kewawenon visited this place [Sault Ste. Marie] in June last, many of whom specially the aged females were in a most pitiable condition with regard to clothing. Several of them of 50 or 60 years of age had never possessed any thing like a regularly made garment, to these Mrs. Clark gave some garments and during their stay she taught them to make other garments with which they appeared much pleased During the past summer Mrs. Clark has taught several of the Indian females to knit, some of whom have showed quite an aptitude to learn and all seem anxious to do so Our females generally are stedfast in the faith of the gospel and regularly attend on all the means of grace. They are instructed to take a part in all our meetings for Prayer and this they do with much devotion of spirit, and some of them Pray with much good sense as well as fervor. A gradual improvement is manifested in habits of cleanliness and domestic economy.¹⁶¹

In June, 1835, Clark spent seven days at the Kewawenon Mission, making the fifteen-day trip from Green Bay in an open boat propelled by oars. After a council the Indians agreed, in writing, to contribute ground for mission buildings and for a small farm. Meetings were held each evening, and on Sunday, a Love Feast, followed by a sermon, the administration of the sacrament, and baptism. Since the establishment of the mission, fifty had been baptized—including thirty adults. Arrangements were made for the erection of a mission dwelling and schoolhouse, which was "built of logs, flattened on two sides by hewing; the roof of flattened timbers, covered with clay mortar, and secured from storms by a strong coating of cedar-bark." Chandler was

* Daniel M. Chandler was received on trial at the 1834 session of the Troy Conference. In 1836 he was transferred first to the Illinois Conference and then to the Michigan Conference. In 1838 he returned to the Troy Conference and died shortly thereafter.—*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 267, 393, 427, 566; B. M. Hall, *Life of Rev. John Clark*, pp. 136f.

† Milton Bourne (? -1865), after a period of service among the Chippewa, was received into the ministry at the Troy Conference of 1837 and transferred to the Illinois Conference. His first appointment in Illinois was to the Thornton Mission in the Chicago District. He was a charter member of the Rock River Conference and served faithfully in its ministry until his superannuation in 1863.—*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 466, 469, 504, 590; *Gen'l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Ch.*, 1865, pp. 224f.

continued in charge of the mission, with three Indian helpers—William Herkimer and wife, and John Johnson, a recent recruit from Mud Lake.* Herkimer and Johnson were directed to give two months to investigating the possibilities for a mission at Ontonagon River, some distance farther up the lake. The following winter Chandler wrote the Superintendent, assuring him that the mission was prospering “in all its branches,” and giving an account of a watch meeting held on the last evening of the year “which was crowned with displays of grace.”¹⁶²

In the spring of 1836 Superintendent Clark made his final visit to Kewawenon. Members in Society now numbered thirty-two. The school had twenty-seven enrolled pupils. On this visit he contracted for the building of a school-house, eighteen by twenty-four feet, with four windows, which with stove, writing table, and benches was supplied at a cost of \$131. He supplied “the Indians with five new axes and five grub hoes.”¹⁶³

Hearing that one of the largest bands of Chippewa in the entire Northwest was located at Lac Court Oreille (the Indian name, Ottawa Lake) at the head of one of the principal branches of the Chippewa River, in the summer of 1835 Clark sent John Taunchy, George Copway, and Peter Marksman to undertake establishment of a mission among them. On the journey they met with an accident that caused delay and on their arrival found that most of the men had gone to their winter’s hunt. The old chief and the few remaining men were unwilling to make decision concerning a school until the spring. The three missionaries found refuge for the winter with Sherman Hall, an American Board missionary at La Pointe, where George Copway aided Hall in the translation of the Gospel of Luke into Chippewa.

In July, 1836, Superintendent Clark journeyed to Lac Court Oreille to see how his helpers had fared in their undertaking. To his great joy he learned that Copway and Taunchy had made firm friends both for themselves and their missionary project. The old chief, Moozoojeele (Moose Tail), whom he found “in very feeble health, lying partly on the ground and on a dirty sack of feathers, in a small wigwam, full of dirt and smoke,” welcomed him cordially and gave immediate consent for the establishment of a permanent mission and school, inviting him to make his own selection of ground on which to build. Tarrying only long enough to make the necessary arrangements for the establishment of the mission and school, Clark took leave of his faithful Indian helpers. They accompanied him a little way, then all knelt down in the woods while the Superintendent prayed for them and for the mission. Then, as tears wet their swarthy faces, he bade them farewell:

* John Johnson was one of the several native Chippewa missionary preachers converted and trained under William Case in Upper Canada, and at Ebenezer Manual Labor School, Jacksonville, Ill. Others included Peter Marksman and George Copway.—Alfred Brunson, *A Western Pioneer: or, Incidents of the Life and Times of Rev. Alfred Brunson* . . . , 11, 81.

Brothers, take courage, do all the good you can, pray much, trust in God; tell the poor Indians how the Saviour died for them. I will pray for you. Good-by, and may the Lord bless you and your labors.¹⁶⁴

In 1836 the mission was transferred to the Illinois Conference, Galena District, under the supervision of Alfred Brunson.*

Clark's appointment as Presiding Elder of the Chicago District, at the session of the Illinois Conference in October, 1836, automatically relieved him of responsibility for the Sault Ste. Marie and Kewawenon Missions. At the same time they were brought within the jurisdiction of the Michigan Conference, newly organized to include the whole of Michigan. D. M. Chandler, transferred to the Michigan Conference, was appointed Superintendent of both missions.¹⁶⁵

In the spring of 1837 Clark made an extensive trip through the East, visiting old friends and relatives, taking with him three of his Chippewa Christian helpers, Henry P. Chase, John Cahbeach, and John Taunchy. Meetings were held at many places en route, including Albany, Troy, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. In New York City they attended the anniversary meeting of the Missionary Society.¹⁶⁶ Personal contact with these earnest, zealous Christian workers and opportunity of hearing direct from their minds and hearts testimonies concerning what the Gospel of Christ had done for them and their people brought to many such realization of the values of Indian missions as they had never previously possessed.

Concern for the extensive Indian population within its bounds led the Michigan Conference to establish in 1839 an Indian Mission District, with William H. Brockway† as Superintendent. He was not without experience in the Indian work as the preceding year he had been in charge of both the Sault Ste. Marie and Kewawenon Stations with Indian assistants serving under his supervision.¹⁶⁷ He was continued in the superintendency for eight years, the extent of the missions widening until in 1844 it reached beyond the Michigan peninsula into Minnesota.‡

When, in 1843, John H. Pitezel was appointed to the Sault Ste. Marie Mis-

* The mission was listed in 1836 as Ottawa Lake Mission, to which David Hotchkiss was appointed. In 1837 it was left to be supplied, and the following year disappeared from the *Minutes*.—*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 427, 504.

† William H. Brockway (1813-91), a native of Vermont, removed to Michigan at seventeen years of age. He is said to have been the first man on Michigan soil licensed to preach by the Methodists. He was admitted on trial in the Ohio Conference in 1834 and appointed to the Huron Mission. Following his superintendency of the Indian Mission District, he was appointed agent of Wesleyan Seminary (later Albion College), and at intervals served in that capacity for many years. During 1855-62 he was again Presiding Elder of the Indian District. He was elected as one of the first State Senators of Michigan, and for several years was a member of the House of Representatives. "His convictions were pronounced and his utterances without equivocation or uncertainty."—*Gen'l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Ch.*, Fall, 1892, p. 433.

‡ The Indian Mission District appointments to Sault Ste. Marie and Kewawenon, 1840-44, were as follows: 1840-41, Sault Ste. Marie, W. H. Brockway, G. W. Brown, Peter Marksman; Kewawenon, George King, John Cahbeach; 1841-42, Sault Ste. Marie, W. H. Brockway, G. W. Brown; Kewawenon, D. C. Jakes, J. Cahbeach; 1842-43, Sault Ste. Marie, Harvey Van Order, J. Cahbeach; Kewawenon, G. W. Brown, Peter Marksman; 1843-44, Sault Ste. Marie, John H. Pitezel, John Cahbeach; Kewawenon, G. W. Brown, P. Marksman; 1844-45, Sault Ste. Marie, G. W. Brown, Joseph Bushay; Kewawenon, J. H. Pitezel.—*Gen'l Minutes*, III, 89, 196, 283, 386, 532.

sion the Society had a membership of fifty-five Indians. He was much impressed with the reality of their Christian experience:

Their fervent prayers—their devout hymns of praise—their subdued and often tearful attention to the preached word—their consistent religious experience, as they relate in the class or love-feast, and the correctness of their general deportment, may be favorably compared with that of their more knowing white brothers.¹⁶⁸

The mission day school had an enrollment of thirty, with an average attendance during the winter of about eighteen. When Pitezel first took charge the condition of some of the children was pitiable: their clothes in tatters, and several "infected with an odious cutaneous disease," but his concern and persistent effort soon effected a change. In 1844 he exchanged appointments with G. W. Brown who for three years had labored faithfully at Kewawenon. At this time the Kewawenon Society numbered fifty-six Indians* and seven whites. A Sunday school, as well as a day school, was maintained, including in its membership both children and adults of all ages. A serious hindrance was the lack of reading and study materials, other than the Bible and the hymn books, in the Ojibway language. The Chippewa assistant, Peter Marksman, a part of the time conducted an evening school for pupils, including adults, who could not attend the day school.¹⁶⁹

INDIAN MISSIONS ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI

The year preceding John Clark's appointment to the Chicago District (1835), a new District of the Illinois Conference was formed in the north-west corner of the state—the Galena District—with Alfred Brunson,† a transfer from the Pittsburgh Conference, as Presiding Elder and "Superintendent, and Missionary to the Indians on the Upper Mississippi."¹⁷⁰ The appointment was by his own choice for, like Clark, he had the spirit of the pioneer and explorer. He established headquarters (July, 1836) at Prairie du Chien, put up a house for his family, and made arrangements "to go into the Indian country in the ensuing spring." In the meantime he formed a Class of ten members of those who had accompanied him to his wilderness home, "being the first class of Methodists ever formed north and west of the Wisconsin River."¹⁷¹

* Alfred Brunson is authority for the statement that the Methodist Chippewa at Kewawenon chose not to migrate from Michigan with non-Christian members of the tribe. They saved their money to enter public land when it was thrown open for settlement, improved their farms, and became citizens.—*Op. cit.*, II, 195f.

† Alfred Brunson (1793–1882), born in Danbury, Conn., of Puritan ancestry, was received on trial in the Ohio Conference in 1820 and appointed to the "Chetauque Circuit." (*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 353, 366.) He served as Presiding Elder of seven different Districts; was a member of the General Conferences of 1832, 1860, and 1868; and was widely known as an effective controversial debater. He was a member for two years of the Wisconsin Assembly. From 1839 to 1849, with the exception of one year when he was supernumerary, he held the superannuate relation, was admitted to the bar and practiced law for ten years. In 1850 he again became effective and was assigned to the Prairie du Chien Mission, Minnesota Mission District, Wisconsin Conference. At seventy-five he was appointed Presiding Elder of the La Crosse District, West Wisconsin Conference, serving for two years. He was finally superannuated in 1872. His autobiography, *A Western Pioneer*, was widely circulated. He was a man of indefatigable energy, indomitable will, and great force of character. For obituary, see *Gen'l Minutes*, *Meth. Episc. Ch.*, 1882, pp. 308f.

Brunson's preliminary travels and councils with the Indians in western Wisconsin convinced him of the need for missionary work among them and at the 1837 Illinois Conference he was relieved of responsibility for all the white settlements; an Indian Mission District was created and Brunson was left free to devote his entire time and energy to the Indian work.¹⁷²

Indian missions expanded rapidly under Brunson's energetic leadership. During 1836-37 several new mission schools were established. In 1838-39 he had five missionaries, besides assistants, working with him—altogether twelve persons.* Even so, he was beginning to feel hampered for lack of adequate support. Appropriations were less than \$3,000, which, divided among twelve workers, allowed only \$250, each to cover all expense of salary, food, family maintenance, and incidentals.¹⁷³ At the 1839 session of the Illinois Conference Brunson was superannuated, due to a disability¹⁷⁴ which made preaching impossible. He was succeeded by B. T. Kavanaugh, who continued for three years (1839-42) as Superintendent.†

During these six years a significant missionary program was initiated and maintained among the Sioux, and the Chippewa at Sandy Lake and Fond du Lac, Minnesota. When Alfred Brunson left Prairie du Chien in May, 1837, for the Northwest he took with him as assistants the Rev. David King, as missionary and teacher, and John Holton, accompanied by his family, as farmer. During the winter of 1836-37, he had become acquainted with James Thompson, a mulatto slave who had married a Sioux woman and had learned to use the Sioux language. To secure his services as interpreter it was necessary to purchase him from his owner. Such was the interest of the churches in the mission that \$1,200, was contributed for the required deed of manumission, the owner declaring that he would not have taken less than \$1,500. "for him for any other purpose."¹⁷⁵

In the latter part of May, 1837, the Sioux Mission‡ was established at Little Crow Village, or Kaposia, some ten miles below Fort Snelling, Minnesota. Soon a mission house, a schoolhouse, and a store were built. The school was opened by David King.¹⁷⁶ At the 1837 Illinois Conference James G. Whitford

* Indian missions' appointments during three years of Alfred Brunson's supervision, as given in the *General Minutes*, were: 1836-37, Prairie du Chien Mission, David King; "Maququataa" Mission, George Smith; Ottawa Lake Mission, David Hotchkiss (II, 427); 1837-38, Prairie du Chien Mission, Alfred Brunson; St. Peter's Mission, Thomas W. Pope; Sioux Mission, David King; Crow Wing Mission, James G. Whitford; Ottawa Lake Mission, to be supplied (II, 504); 1838-39, Prairie du Chien, to be supplied; Sioux Mission, Thomas W. Pope, David King; St. Peter's Mission, David Hotchkiss; Crow Wing Mission, Rollin Brown (II, 590).

† Indian missions' appointments during the three years of B. T. Kavanaugh's superintendency were: 1839-40, Illinois Conference, Indian Mission District, Sioux Mission, Rollin Brown; St. Peter's Mission, David King; Chippewa Mission, Samuel Spates, Allen Huddleston, George Copway, John Johnson, and "one to be supplied"; Galena District, Prairie du Chien Mission, William Simpson; 1840-41, Rock River Conference, Indian Mission District, St. Peter and Sioux Mission, David King, and one to be supplied; Sandy Lake, Samuel Spates; Chippewa Mission, Henry J. Brace, George Copway, Henry P. Chase, Allen Huddleston, John Johnson; 1841-42, Sioux Mission, W. B. Kavanaugh, David King; St. Croix Mission, Henry J. Brace; Sandy Lake Mission, Samuel Spates, John Johnson, Henry P. Chase; Fond du Lac (Minn.) Mission, George Copway, and one to be supplied. —*Gen'l Minutes*, III, 9, 91, 186.

‡ This mission is referred to in the sources under various names, viz., Sioux, Little Crow, and Kaposia.

and Thomas W. Pope were appointed that additional mission stations might be established. Equipment was procured by the Superintendent for extensive farming operations—teams, a wagon, plows, and other farming implements—that food supplies for the missions might be raised, and the Sioux stimulated to engage in farming on their own account. Brunson records that when the Sioux first saw sod turned over in wide furrows they could hardly restrain themselves.

They shouted, clapped their hands, jumped, and rejoiced. Near one hundred acres were thus broken up for them, which they divided off in family lots, on which they raised a fine crop of corn and vegetables of various kinds.¹⁷⁷

By the fall of 1839 one hundred and fifty acres of land were under cultivation. For six years David King persevered in his ministry as missionary and teacher, gaining a reputation among his brethren as one of the most efficient and eminent in character of Indian missionaries.¹⁷⁸ But the migratory habits of the Sioux were such that for them a settled life seemed impossible. Although in the fall of 1839 there were thirty-three Indians, half-breeds, and whites "in Society" in the Sioux (Kaposia), St. Peter's, and Crow Wing Missions, in 1843 only thirteen Indians and four whites were reported. With the organization of the Rock River Conference in 1840 these missions had come under its jurisdiction. In 1843 the Conference, apparently discouraged, discontinued the missions and David King took a location, continuing to labor as a farmer.¹⁷⁹ Some years later missionary effort was renewed under Presbyterian auspices, using the buildings erected by Brunson.

The Sandy Lake (Minnesota) Mission first appears in the *Minutes* in 1840. To it Samuel Spates was appointed, beginning twelve years of faithful missionary service. For a part of the time John Johnson and Henry P. Chase, also a Chippewa, were associated with him. A mission house and school were built and occupied. Three years passed before as many as six members were reported. Despite the patient labor of the missionary and his Indian assistant they were not successful in increasing the membership. In 1845 only three Indians were reported "in Society."¹⁸⁰

The history of the Fond du Lac (Minnesota) Mission* apparently was much the same. Appearing for the first time in the *Minutes* in 1841, the next year five whites and two Indians were reported "in Society." In 1843 there were seven Indian members, and in 1844 no statistics of membership were cited.¹⁸¹

BROTHERTOWN MISSION

Between 1776 and 1795 in successive migrations refugee Indians from New England and eastern New York settled at what is now Marshall, Oneida

* Appointments to the Fond du Lac (Minnesota) Mission were: 1841-42, George Copway, "one to be supplied"; 1842-43, George Copway, Thomas M. Fullerton; 1843-44, Samuel Spates, J. Johnson; 1844-45, Michigan Conference, Samuel Spates, Peter Greensky.—*Gen'l Minutes*, III, 186, 285, 388, 532.

County, New York, on a tract of land obtained by treaty from the Oneida. Included were remnants of six tribes—the Narragansett (Charlestown Indians) of Rhode Island; the Stonington or Pequot of Connecticut; the Mohegan, Farmington, and Niantic, also of Connecticut; and the Montauk of Long Island. Under the guidance of able, well-educated Indian leaders they founded a community, organized under its own government and laws, which they called Brothertown (or Brotherton).^{*} Not for long were they permitted to remain in undisturbed possession of the land. White settlers gradually came in, acquiring farms under long-term leases, so that by 1810 half of the reservation was occupied by whites.¹⁸²

Irked by the inroads of the white settlers and disturbed by the effects of intoxicating liquors on the morale of the people, leaders of the Brothertown as early as 1817 began a search for a new location. In association with the Stockbridge Indians they purchased two million acres in Brown County, Wisconsin, from the Winnebago and Menomini tribes. Settlement by the Stockbridge began in 1822 at the Grand Kaukalin (Kaukauna) on the Fox River. The Brothertown followed, attempting to establish themselves on the east bank of the river. Migration was in small companies, beginning in 1823. Both tribes encountered serious difficulties in gaining possession of their land and after ten years of uncertainty the Brothertown were given a township, 23,040 acres on the east side of Lake Winnebago, in Calumet County.[†] Their settlement was called Deansburgh. An adjoining township, to the north, was allocated to the Stockbridge. A few years later Thomas Cammuck, "of the Brothertown Indians," wrote:

The Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians continued to emigrate yearly from the State of New York, . . . and up to 1840, the county [Calumet] contained about . . . 300 Brothertown Indians, and only about three whites

In the year 1839, the Brothertown Indians petitioned Congress for citizenship, which was granted,¹⁸³

The American Board maintained a Presbyterian mission, established in 1828,¹⁸⁴ among the Stockbridge, and the Baptists also for years were active both among them and the Brothertown.¹⁸⁵

In February, 1837, Daniel Poe while laboring among the Oneida visited the Brothertown where he preached a number of times "to nearly all the inhabi-

^{*} Both names are used in early sources. An historical sketch in the July 2, 1839, issue of *The Wisconsin Democrat* refers to the community as "the Brotherton Indians." But in his historical work on Christian tribes of New England W. De Loss Love says that, "as they purposed to live together as 'brothers' they had an appropriate name for their town and tribe—Brothertown, which was probably suggested to them by Brainerd's settlement of that name, now Indian Mills, Pa."—*Samson Occom and The Christian Indians of New England*, p. 209.

[†] William A. Titus: "The first actual [white] settler in the Calumet region was the Reverend George White, who came from Green Bay in 1837. (See p. 149.) For years he conducted a general store near Calumet Harbor . . ." (Art., "Historical Spots in Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, VII, 450.) White was a Methodist preacher who went from the Oneida Conference as a missionary to Green Bay, transferred to the Illinois Conference, and located in 1836 (*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 338, 425). He was a friend to the Indians and rendered acceptable service in preaching to them.

tants who professed to be Christians." About twenty were converted and were "formed . . . into a class." Poe's visit was repeated monthly for some time. He was aided by Jane West Ingram, who on her own initiative had come from her home at Pontiac, Michigan, to become a teacher among the Brothertown and had influenced Poe to visit them. She was instrumental in persuading the Indians to build a schoolhouse in which she began to teach. Her service as teacher was terminated by her marriage to Poe in June (1837). Her place as teacher of the school was supplied by John Clark, the Superintendent of the Oneida and Menomoni Mission. Under date of November 22, 1837, Salmon Stebbins, Presiding Elder of the Milwaukee District, Illinois Conference, records in his *Journal*:

Weds. 22 Rode to the Brothertown Settlement, called Deaneburgh, and visited the school under the instruction of Sister Lee[.] Was pleased with the school and also with Miss Lee.* She possesses much of the Missionary spirit.¹⁸⁶

The *Minutes* of the 1837 Illinois Conference show Hiram W. Frink appointed to the Sheboygan Mission. Deansburgh had been made an appointment on this Mission Circuit and there is evidence of Frink's preaching to the Brothertown. The Conference *Minutes* of 1838 list the Deansburgh and Fond du Lac (Wisconsin) Mission as left "to be supplied."¹⁸⁷ The *Annual Report of the Missionary Society* for 1838-39 announces the mission as established "on the east shore of Winnebago Lake," among "the Brothertown Indians."¹⁸⁸ At the 1839 Conference Jesse Halstead was appointed to "Deansburg miss[ion]."¹⁸⁹ The *Missionary Society Report* of this year (1839-40) again mentions the mission, adding that no Society had as yet been formed and that it was "supplied, at the last account, by the labors of a local preacher, the Rev. George White."¹⁹⁰ The mission is listed in the Illinois Conference *Minutes* of 1840 as "Fond du Lac" and in the 1841 *Minutes*, Rock River Conference, as the "Brothertown miss[ion]" with Jesse Halstead¹⁹¹ as missionary.† In 1842, 106 Indians and twenty-seven whites were reported as church members; in 1844, eighty-six Indians, two "colored," and eleven whites.¹⁹²

Contemporary references to the Brothertown testify to their good character and sense of responsibility. James R. Goodrich, Presiding Elder in 1841-42 of the Green Bay District, Rock River Conference, in a letter to the *Christian Advocate*, says of them:

They . . . speak the English well, and can generally read and write. The government has honored them above all other Indian nations, by admitting them to all the privileges and immunities, as well as responsibilities of citizens, and they appear to be worthy of this honor. . . .

* This was Etherlinda Lee whose unfortunate experience the preceding year near Duck Creek has been narrated. See pp. 149f.

† At the next session of the Rock River Conference (August, 1842) Hiram W. Frink was reappointed as missionary, serving three years, 1842-45.—*Gen'l Minutes*, III, 285, 388, 501.

. . . Their dwellings, fences, and farms, give evidence of their industry; and their attendance at the house of God, their serious deportment, their active zeal in social religious meetings, give evidence of piety and experience in the things of God.¹⁹³

In February, 1844, Goodrich reported to the Missionary Society that the mission had "a small but comfortable parsonage house, and a schoolhouse,* in which the people worship" but that there was great need of a chapel. On May 29 he attended a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society in New York and appealed for an appropriation of \$500. toward the cost, stating that the Brothertown had themselves pledged \$500. He was informed by the chairman that regular procedure required application to come to the Board through the Annual Conference Mission Committee.¹⁹⁴

UPPER CANADA INDIAN MISSIONS

Reference has been previously made to the fact that separation of the Methodist Episcopal Church did not mark the end of missionary activities in Upper Canada. For more than ten years aid was continued to Indian missions in the province under the auspices of the Genesee Conference and the Missionary Society.†

At the Genesee Conference of 1822 Alvin Torrey was appointed to the Grand River Mission. Although Nathan Bangs speaks of this as an "aboriginal mission," the Presiding Elder, William Case, says that it was not undertaken "professedly for the conversion of the Indians . . . but for the benefit of the scattered white population on the Indian lands," estimated to number about one thousand persons. Torrey likewise interpreted his mission as one of ministry to "the scattered and destitute inhabitants on the Grand River," and formed a Circuit 140 miles in length with ten appointments. The Indians, however, were quite as eager as the whites to hear the Gospel, and a few months later Presiding Elder Case reported "the conversion of about thirty natives of the forest, besides near that number of the white population."¹⁹⁵

The Indian reservation included a tract of land on both sides of the Grand River extending from its mouth on Lake Erie about sixty miles northwest through what is now southern Ontario. The reservation was occupied principally by Indians of the Six Nations, the most numerous being the Mohawk. Under Anglican auspices missionary work had long been conducted among this people. A meeting house had been built at Mohawk Village, some fifty miles from the mouth of Grand River, where church services were regularly

* The schoolhouse, probably erected before 1836, in addition to housing the mission school, had been used for a number of years as a chapel and a public meeting place. Otto E. Heller writes: "It was constructed of logs, squared on both sides and full width of log, ends dovetailed together and crevices filled with mortar, which gave it a smooth and neat appearance. . . ."—Letter to the author, Dec. 7, 1948, in the files of the Division of Home Missions, Board of Missions and Church Extension of The Methodist Church.

† See Vol. I, 196*n*.

held in the Mohawk language. While the tribe had made considerable progress in agriculture, among many of the members much need remained for moral improvement. Their extreme addiction to liquor was a stumbling block to some of the neighboring tribes who, though not Christians, had renounced strong drink. "The Mohawks have the Gospel," they said to the missionary, "yet rum causes them to commit wickedness."¹⁹⁶ At the first session of the Canada Conference (1824) the Grand River Mission reported sixty-four whites and thirty-six Indians "in Society." At this Conference Alvin Torrey was reappointed to the "Grand River mission"* and Henry Ryan "missionary to Chippeway and Grand River Falls, and the new destitute settlements in these parts."¹⁹⁷

In 1826 the Grand River Indian Society was weakened by the removal of the Chippewa members to a new location on the Credit River. This decrease, however, was but temporary. At the 1828 meeting of the Canada Conference the missionary's report showed a membership of 105 Indians. In their new location the Chippewa, numbering 180, made remarkable progress. Twenty comfortable houses were provided for them by the governor; the entire tribe, including the two chiefs—with exception of a few families—"embraced Christianity"; a Methodist Society of 110 members was organized, together with a Sunday school; and a day school of about fifty children established. William Case described the change in enthusiastic terms:

A nation of wandering, idle drunkards, destitute of almost every comfort of life, have, in the course of twenty months, through the influence of Christianity, become a virtuous, industrious, and happy people!¹⁹⁸

In the *Minutes* of the 1826 Canada Conference two additional Indian missions first appear: "Credit mission, Edgerton Ryerson"; and "Perth and Mississaugah miss[ion], William H. Williams, and another to be supplied."¹⁹⁹ Scant information concerning these is furnished by the sources. The *Annual Report of the Missionary Society* for 1826-27 identifies the first named as a "mission among the Missisauagas," one branch of the tribe being located on the river Credit and another at "Belville, near the head of the Bay of Quinte." It states:

at the river Credit . . . the Rev. Edgerton Ryerson . . . in addition to instructing . . . [the Mississauga] in the doctrines and duties of Christianity, is endeavouring to acquire a knowledge of their language, with a view if possible to reduce it to grammatical order.²⁰⁰

At a Camp Meeting held at Adolphustown, June 15-19, 1826, primarily for whites, fifty-eight Mississauga attended—forty-one adults and seventeen children—twenty-eight of whom had previously "given evidence of a change

* Later appointments to the Grand River Mission were: 1825-27, Alvin Torrey; 1827-29, Joseph Messmore.—*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 473, 504, 538; II, 4.

of heart." The Indians were encamped by themselves and their meetings were held apart, except for the public preaching, "when a portion of the seats on the right of the stand was reserved for their use." At the conclusion of the preaching service the sermon was interpreted to them by William Beaver, one of two Mississauga Exhorters. During the five days of the Camp Meeting the thirteen "who came to the ground unconverted, were brought to the knowledge of the truth."²⁰¹

With the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, administrative responsibility of the Methodist Episcopal Church for missions in Upper Canada ceased. Final action on dissolution of the connexion was taken by the General Conference of 1832. Financial aid, however, was continued. The General Conference of 1824 had limited the appropriation of missionary funds to the Canada Conference to \$700. in any one year²⁰² but the 1832 General Conference increased the amount to "any sum not exceeding \$1500 annually." This amount apparently was appropriated in 1833 only.²⁰³

Beginning with 1825 the preacher appointed Presiding Elder of Niagara District was also designated "superintendent of the Indian mission[s and] schools within the bounds of his district." In 1826 the same designation was made in the case of the Presiding Elder of the Bay of Quinte District. Under the able and aggressive missionary leadership of William Case, appointed to the Bay of Quinte District in 1824, and John Ryerson, appointed to the Niagara District in 1827, the program of Indian missions steadily expanded. In 1831-32 nine missions were reported,* ministering to about 2,000 Indians, together with eleven day schools in which 400 children were taught, besides Sunday schools. Church members numbered more than eleven hundred.²⁰⁴

MINOR INDIAN MISSIONS EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI

In addition to the missions thus far described, attempts were made to organize Methodist Societies among a number of other Indian tribes. In some of these cases missions were established but for various causes discontinued within two or three years with only the barest mention remaining by way of historical record. In certain other cases missions were mentioned in the *Minutes* and in the *Annual Reports* of the Missionary Society concerning which no information seems to be available.

One of the major Indian Nations east of the Mississippi was the Chickasaw, a Muskogean tribe. Originally they held a huge area, of which the Mississippi was the western boundary, extending from the Ohio River southward to the

* Some missions, other than those already mentioned above, were: 1828-29, Grape Island Mission, William Smith; Whitby and Schoogog Indians, Robert Corson; Cavan and Rice Lake Mission, Hamilton Biggar; New Market and Lake Simcoe Indians, John Beatty. (*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 4.) Two years later these new missions were reported: Snake Island, in Lake Simcoe; Yellow Head Mission on another island in Lake Simcoe; Mahjedusk Bay.—*Eleventh Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1829-30), pp. 11f.

northern border of the Choctaw country in the state of Mississippi. When the whites first made contact with them they lived in village settlements, more than two hundred of which have been located. By successive treaties they ceded to the United States all their territory south of the Tennessee border. They were a friendly, hospitable people,* by 1820 well advanced in civilization, interested in education, and possessed of considerable property in livestock, with good farm buildings.²⁰⁵

A mission was established among the Chickasaw in 1821 by the Missionary Society of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia. In December, 1827, this mission with "four stations, and twelve members," together with several other missions, was transferred to the American Board.²⁰⁶

The first Methodist appointments to the Chickasaw country shown in the *General Minutes* were not made until 1835. The treaty of Pontotoc (October 20, 1832) guaranteed protection of Indian rights until a new location west of the Mississippi should be agreed upon. Ignoring stipulations of the treaty white settlers overran the area.† Included within the Chickasaw Mission District, Mississippi Conference, as one of three missionary Circuits "of very indefinite boundaries," was the Chickasaw Mission, J. P. Sneed, missionary.²⁰⁷ Whether or not this was definitely planned as a mission to the Indians is not clear. At the next Conference one colored and fifty white members were reported, but no Indians.²⁰⁸ Nor did the mission report Indian members at any succeeding Conference.‡

As with the Cherokee and Choctaw, these were troubled years for the Chickasaw, with numerous minor conflicts with the white squatters. Although the stream of emigration to the west of the Mississippi began to increase almost immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Pontotoc, it was not until January, 1837, that a definite location for the tribe was agreed upon. On January 17 of that year a contract of purchase was consummated with the Choctaw Nation for a large tract of land in the western part of the Choctaw country.²⁰⁹

The *Minutes* of the Illinois Conference for 1831 list, under the appointments of the Crawfordsville District, "Iroquois mission, *Wm. Mavity*." An estimating committee recommended \$200. for missionary support. The mission does not appear in the list of appointments of 1832. Writing under date of March 21, 1832, William Mavity states that the mission included "three new

* John Wesley made note of a visit paid to him by several members of the tribe in Savannah in 1736. His record reads: "*Tues. [July 20]* Five of the Chicasaw Indians (twenty of whom had been in Savannah several days) came to see us. . . . They were all warriors, four of them had men. . . . [Wesley asked] 'Do you believe there is One above who is over all things?' Paustoohee answered, We believe there are four beloved things above: the clouds, the sun, the clear sky, and He that lives in the clear sky."—*Journal*, I, 248.

† See Vol. I, 244.

‡ The American Board Mission also apparently met with only very limited success since the last of its Chickasaw Mission schools was closed in 1834 and the mission property sold.—J. Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

settlements" (presumably white), and a "village of the Kickapoo Indians . . . in which there are about three hundred Christian Indians, . . . remarkably devout and teachable." The Missionary Society *Report* (1832-33) locates the mission "on the Iroquois river and Sugar Creek" and adds that the Indian village included both Kickapoo and Potawatomi.²¹⁰ In the summer of 1833 these Kickapoo Indians were removed to Kansas by the government.

At the Indiana Conference in October, 1839, Logansport District, J. L. Belotte was appointed to the Miami Indian Mission. The appointment appeared one year only.

The Lakeville Mission, Detroit District, Michigan Conference, begun in 1841, was unique in that it was established with Indian leadership. Peter Marksman, who had served under John Clark's supervision for several years, was placed in charge. At the next Conference (1842) ninety-six Indians were reported "in Society." This year—for one year only—it was combined with the Romeo Circuit and had three new preachers appointed to it, Peter Marksman having been transferred to the Kewawenon Mission. The membership steadily increased. At the Conference of 1844, when D. C. Jacokes and John Cahbeach (the latter an experienced Indian preacher) were appointed as missionaries, a membership of 225 Indians²¹¹ was reported.

III

Indian Missions West of the Mississippi

1830-44

By 1830 a NUMBER of Indian tribes formerly located east of the Mississippi under pressure of the white population, reinforced by government action, had migrated to the West. In a few cases in which missions had been established earlier, missionaries accompanied them to their new location. Other tribes where there had once been thriving religious communities were neglected, decimated in number and broken in spirit.

Fortunately, at about this time Christian responsibility for the education and evangelization of the Indians west of the Mississippi began to be stimulated to the point of action. On October 20, 1830, Bishop Robert R. Roberts announced to the Missionary Society that the Missouri Conference had established nine Indian missions,* appropriating for their support \$1,830., and that he had drawn on the Society for \$1,375. for five of the nine (the others not being as yet supplied). But Kansas and the Indian Territory† were far distant from Missionary Society headquarters and means of communication were slow and uncertain. All that the Corresponding Secretary was able to report at the ensuing annual meeting on April 29, 1831, was that the Missouri Conference had established a number of missions among the Indians west of the Mississippi of which "no particular account" had been received.¹ Again, a year and a half later (Oct. 12, 1832), Bishop Joshua Soule notified the Society that the amount "estimated for the support of the Shawnee, Delaware, Peori, Ioway, and Sac missions, was \$3,175." and that he had issued a draft on the Society for this amount. The Secretary's statement was much the same as before: "There are four missionaries employed but with what success we have not learned."² Under conditions such as these it was evident that the Mission-

* D. R. M'Anally: "The missionary spirit and the Missionary Society in the Conference received a wonderful impetus at this session. . . . the Conference established, and to the best of its ability supplied, nine missions; . . . it is very doubtful if a higher example of Christian sympathy and missionary zeal is furnished in all the history of the Church."—*History of Methodism in Missouri* . . . , I, 359f.

† The "Indian Territory was never an organized territory of the United States," and not until 1889 were its geographical limits "specifically defined."—Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs* . . . , p. 91.

ary Society could take little responsibility for cultivation of missionary interest and support of the new missions.

INDIAN MISSIONS ADMINISTRATION

The Missouri Conference leaders felt keenly the need for an expanded program of Indian missionary work. But where could missionaries be obtained? Only with much difficulty could a sufficient number of preachers be found for the white Circuits. When the 1831 Conference met, reports of the great influx of Indian immigrants into Arkansas induced action. Plans were made for a widely extended Arkansas District. Bishop Roberts journeyed to the Tennessee Conference and urgently appealed for volunteers. Eight offered themselves and were accepted.* A. D. Smith was named Presiding Elder of the Arkansas District and "superintendent of the Indian missions" in Arkansas and the Indian Territory.³ Two years later (1833) a separate Indian Mission District was formed for administrative supervision of the Indian missions in Kansas.⁴ In 1834 the Cherokee and the Creek Indian work was set off by itself in the South Indian Missionary District.⁵ This administrative plan was retained until 1836. In that year Arkansas was admitted into the Union as a state, and in November the Arkansas Conference was organized. Supervision of the Arkansas and Indian Territory Indian missions, formerly the care of the Missouri and Mississippi Conferences, was assigned to the new Conference. For eight years this arrangement was continued.

When in 1840 the Rev. Edward R. Ames was elected one of three Corresponding Secretaries of the Missionary Society, supervision of Indian missions was made his special responsibility. As a means of acquainting himself with his field he made an extensive tour of exploration and study among the Indian tribes of the upper Mississippi Valley and the Indian territory of the West and Southwest. At Tahlequah, Indian Territory, the capital of the Cherokee Nation, he held extended conferences with John Ross and other Cherokee leaders. At the Choctaw Agency conferences were held with the chief and other head men of the Choctaw. In cooperation with them he developed an educational plan which became the foundation of the Choctaw school system and influenced the educational policy of other tribes. Under his administration a new stimulus was given Indian missionary work throughout the Church.⁶

The General Conference of 1844 created the Indian Mission Conference, defining its boundaries as on the north, the Missouri River; east, the states of Missouri and Arkansas; south, the Red River; and west, the Rocky Mountains.⁷ Its fourteen appointments included all of the Indian missions previ-

* The eight volunteers were A. D. Smith, Harris G. Joplin, Alvin Baird, William G. Duke, John N. Hamill, William A. Boyce, Allen M. Scott, and John Harrell.

ously within the Missouri and Arkansas Conferences. The new Conference was included with the Missouri and Arkansas Conferences in an episcopal area under the general supervision of Bishop Thomas A. Morris. Jerome C. Berryman was appointed to the newly created office of Conference Superintendent.* The immense territory of the Conference had a population of approximately one hundred thousand, of whom perhaps three-fourths were in the southern area. The great majority were Indians of pure and mixed blood. The remainder were white men and women, French settlers and Americans—some of whom were agents of the government and clerks, mechanics, and farmers under government pay, together with a host of bootleggers, gamblers, thieves, and cut-throats who had been driven by authorities of the law to find refuge in western wilds.⁸ Many of the whites were intermarried with Indians.

The Indian Mission Conference was convened by Bishop Morris on October 23, 1844, at Riley's Chapel, two miles east of Tahlequah, the Council Ground of the Cherokee Nation. Fifteen preachers, transferred from other Conferences to become charter members of the new Conference, answered the roll call—"all well qualified . . . [and] experienced in missionary work among the Indians." Also present were several Indian preachers—members of the Conference—and a number of Local Preachers. The appropriation for the first year made by the Missionary Society for missionaries' and teachers' salaries and administrative expense—including food and clothing for pupils of the schools—was \$14,490.32.⁹

Three Districts were formed—the "Kansas" River, the Cherokee, and the Choctaw. Appointments, including the Indian Manual Labor School and the Fort Coffee Academy, numbered fourteen; appointees, in addition to the General Superintendent and three Presiding Elders, twenty-four. Number of church members reported was: Indians, 2,992; whites, 85; colored, 133. There were twenty-seven Local Preachers.¹⁰ Of those preachers ordained at this first session of the Conference two were full-blooded Choctaw.

Bishop Morris was strongly impressed with both the ministerial qualifications and the spirit of the Conference members. He wrote:

This little band of missionaries live and labor together in the bonds of Christian affection. All their work is missionary . . . [I] . . . had no occasion afterwards to change a single appointment, nor did any one complain that his lot was hard. . . .

Any brethren who may wish to become identified with the Indian Mission conference must calculate to go in for the work, the whole work, and nothing but the work, or to be furnished with "walking papers" in short order.¹¹

* The Conference superintendency was continued for one year only. Berryman says the office "was suspended." ("A Circuit Rider's Frontier Experiences," in *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1923-1925*, XVI, 219.) W. H. Goode comments, "The office . . . [served] only to clog and complicate the machinery by creating a system of threefold superintendency and subsuperintendency The simpler all the machinery of our missionary organization the better, and the more directly responsible all its functionaries are for their acts the more smoothly and efficiently will the wheels roll on."—*Outposts of Zion, with Limnings of Mission Life*, p. 148.

At this first session the Conference organized itself into a Conference Missionary Society.

INDIAN MISSIONS IN KANSAS

Unlike most of the eastern tribes, many of the Indians west of the Mississippi were in 1830 still wild, warlike peoples—untouched by civilization. There were numerous tribes, some of the more important being the Kiowa, the Comanche, the Kansas, and the Apache. They were “horse Indians,” buffalo hunters—fond of the chase, predatory—and fierce fighters.¹² The Civilized Nations, who had adapted themselves to pastoral life and were law abiding, committed to conventional forms of government, feared them and dreaded the thought of settling in their midst. Other tribes, who were uninfluenced by fear, as the Shawnee, the Delaware, the Peoria, the Kickapoo, and the Potawatomi, also had been forced by steadily increasing white pressure to remove from their tribal lands east of the Mississippi to Kansas.

KANSAS (KAW) MISSION

Prompted by the possibility of government support, missionary work among the Kansas Indians was begun by the Missouri Conference in 1830. On April 2 of that year Alexander McAlister, Presiding Elder of Cape Girardeau District, wrote to Jesse Greene of the Missouri District:

[I] wish to call your attention to the Caw [Kansas] Indians on your frontiers. Col. Daniel Boon [Daniel Morgan Boone, son of Daniel Boone of Kentucky] . . . is the Government's farmer among those Indians, . . . He promises to do all he can for the support of a school among that tribe. The agent also promises to assist, as far as he can, and informs me that the Caw Indians, according to the provisions of a treaty with the Government, have a considerable sum of money set apart to support schools among themselves, and the Agent advises us to get in there immediately and secure that fund, and improve it to their benefit.¹³

The Kansas (Kanzas, Kansa, Kasas, Kaw, Caw, and numerous other variations) belonged to the Siouan family. From time immemorial the Mississippi River had been the boundary between the powerful Algonkin and Sioux families. The Kansas had from the beginning of historic time occupied the area which now constitutes the state of that name. At the period of which we write their number was about 1,500.¹⁴

When the Missouri Conference met on September 16, 1830, of the appointments made to Indian missions, one read: “Kanzas or Caw mission, William Johnson.”* Beginning his work as missionary on December 1, he immediately

* William Johnson (1805-42), a native of Virginia, emigrated with his parents to Missouri in 1825. He was received into the Missouri Conference on trial in 1828, and two years later was admitted into full connection. All of the remaining years of his life were given to Indian missionary service. He died of pneumonia on April 8, 1842, and was buried at the Shawnee Manual Labor School. Beloved by his brethren, held in veneration by the Indians whom he served, “as a missionary in the true sense of the word, he had no superior . . .”—*Gen'l Minutes*, III, 349f.

opened a school in a room temporarily provided by the government agent. Unable to find an interpreter he began preaching in English but found few able to understand. Not to be thwarted, he began studying the language of the tribe. When spring came he built a schoolhouse. In a letter to the Missionary Society on June 26, 1831, he reported ten Indian and seven white children in school and said he had succeeded in acquiring "a vocabulary of about 600 words" and thought that six or eight hundred more would enable him "to speak with some fluency." He was impressed with the ability of the Indian children to learn: five were able to "spell in words of two syllables," and one to read and write very well.¹⁵

At the end of the Conference year no Indian converts had been made, but the missionary's heart had been gladdened by the fact that members of the family of Colonel Boone, with whom he lived, had "turned to the Lord," and he gleaned some comfort also from having found it necessary to use but "very little of the money appropriated for the work." At the 1832 Conference William Johnson was appointed to the "Delaware mission and school," and Thomas Johnson, his elder brother, who for two years had been laboring among the Shawnee was made Superintendent of the Indian Mission District. These changes Thomas Johnson explains as follows:

brother Wm. Johnson and myself were appointed to labor together among the different tribes of Indians living on and near the Kansas river, viz: the Shawnees, Delawares, Kansas, Peoris, Piankeshaws, and Weas. Our work thus laid off was called "The Missions on the Kansas." We were instructed to occupy any part of this work that might be deemed most advisable, as it was then and is yet somewhat uncertain what can be done. . . .

Brother William has visited the Kansas tribe, and stayed a short season with them He has aided some in keeping up the Shawnee school He . . . will probably spend the principal part of the winter among them

But the instructing of children alone does not satisfy us Our great anxiety is to find access to those who are capable of understanding the nature and enjoying the influence of our holy religion . . . we are endeavoring to improve every moment we can get in learning the language Brother William is learning the Kansas, and I am learning the Shawnee, as with the knowledge of these two languages, we can converse and preach to six or eight different tribes¹⁶

For three years (1832-34), for lack of missionary candidates, no appointment was made to the Kansas Indian Mission.* The Baptists also had found it impossible to enlist a missionary to the Kansas.¹⁷ Finally, at the 1835 Missouri Conference William Johnson was again appointed missionary to the tribe. "[W]e could not feel clear in the sight of God," wrote Thomas Johnson, who had become Superintendent of the North Indian District, "to see these people literally perishing, soul and body, for the want of instruction,

* Existing Missionary Society records carry no evidence of government financial aid to the Kansas Mission.

and make no efforts to teach them." With this second attempt much more extensive preparation was made for systematic educational effort. Mission buildings were constructed, including as the main structure a two-story, hewed-log house and log kitchen, and a smoke house and other outbuildings. Twenty acres of good soil were fenced, plowed, and planted. Here William Johnson and his wife* settled in May, 1836—one hundred miles from the nearest white settlement—beginning six years of faithful missionary labor.¹⁸

The outlook was anything but promising. The Kansas Indians were exceedingly poor, ignorant, and improvident, frequently suffering from lack of food. They lived in dirt houses, seldom wore clothes and, unwilling to engage in farming, depended almost wholly on the rapidly vanishing wild game for food. Few Indian tribes existed under such utterly wretched conditions.¹⁹ Difficulties in the way of effective educational effort were increased by the absence from home on hunting expeditions of most of the men and many of the women for the greater part of the year, and by their propensity to war. Concerning the latter William Johnson wrote:

they carry on a perpetual war with the Pawnees, their next neighbors west
 . . . During the fall hunt the first chief of the nation and four of the braves died. Though some of these died of fever, and others of whiskey, yet such is their savage sentiments, that they must shed blood . . . as a satisfaction for the loss which the Great Spirit has caused them to sustain. To gratify this savage spirit nearly all the males in the nation, who can bear arms, will march in a few days against the Pawnees.²⁰

Both Johnson and his wife succeeded in acquiring a sufficient knowledge of the Kansas language to interchange ideas rapidly with the tribe on ordinary topics of conversation but deeply deplored their inability to convey to them the essential meanings of the Christian religion.† The Indians seemed willing to learn, were more serious than many other tribes, attended to religious ceremonies in a solemn manner, yet failed to grasp and to apply in their lives the vital truths of the Gospel. After five years of the most diligent effort William Johnson felt almost completely frustrated. Except for what he had been able to accomplish with the few children in school, he said, "everything" remains to be done and "how to do it is more than I am able to understand."²¹ A year later death ended his labors. "The death of this man," said Henry R. Schoolcraft, author of the authoritative six-volume work on the Indian tribes of the United States, "whom I considered one of the best men I ever became acquainted with, was, I believe, the greatest loss the Kansas Indians ever met

* William Johnson had been married, on May 24, 1834, in Howard County, Mo., to Mary Jane Chick.

† Edward R. Ames: "Of all the missionaries which, from time to time for the last twenty-five years, have been employed by our Church in the Indian country, brother [William] Johnson was the only one who ever learned an Indian language so as to be able to preach in it: . . . He was probably the only white man that ever learned the Kansas language with grammatical accuracy."—Letter, *Western Christian Advocate*, IX (May 13, 1842), 14, quoted by William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840*, IV, *The Methodists*, 512f.

with." He had gained, Schoolcraft declared, "almost unbounded influence among them."²²

For the year 1842 only two members were reported "in Society"—one white and one Indian. No one was available to take William Johnson's place. Consequently for the second half of the Conference year the mission remained unsupplied. At the Conference session in October, 1842, George W. Love was appointed as missionary but soon after was taken ill and spent but little time during the year at the mission. Although no other Church at that time maintained a mission for the tribe and the government was doing nothing for them other than supplying a farmer and a smithery, the Missouri Conference discontinued its mission.*

SHAWNEE MISSION

The Shawnee are classified as a tribe of the Algonkin family. At an early period of their history they were found in South Carolina, and possibly gave their name to the "Suwaney" River. Inclined to wander, they were encountered by pioneer emigrants in as widely separated regions as Alabama, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Kentucky. When in 1786 the first United States treaty was made with them most of the United Tribe of Shawnee were living within the present limits of Ohio.²³

By the latter part of the second decade of the nineteenth century the pressure from the whites in Ohio had become so strong that the Shawnee, in common with other tribes, were ready to consider removal. Years earlier Shawnee migration to areas west of the Mississippi had begun,[†] and by the treaty of September 29, 1817, at Fort Meigs, they had given up most of their land in Ohio. This had stimulated increased movement to the West. By government cession the tribe came into possession of a large tract of Kansas territory, some twenty miles in width, extending west from the Missouri River about one hundred and fifty miles. The Fish, or Jackson, band of Shawnee settled on the new reservation in 1828. Following the enactment of the Removal Bill, in 1831 the migration of all the Shawnee in Ohio was enjoined by government.²⁴

On July 10, 1830, George Vashon, government agent among the Shawnee, wrote to the Rev. Jesse Greene, Presiding Elder of the Missouri District:

I have this day been requested by Fish, a Shawnee chief, also Wm. Jackson, a white man, raised with the Shawnees, to make application for the establishment of a mission among them for the education of their children, and I most earnestly solicit your attention to the subject. . . .

* All of the missions included in the Indian Mission Conference, organized in 1844, were under the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. For the revived Kansas Mission school, see J. J. Lutz, "The Methodist Missions among the Indian Tribes in Kansas," in *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, IX, 179ff., and Vol. V of this *History of Methodist Missions*.

† Under a grant made in 1793 by the Spanish governor Carondelet, a large band of Shawnee located on a tract of land near Cape Girardeau, Mo. Others migrated to the future Indian Territory following the War of 1812.—Cf. Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, pp. 34f.

I feel convinced that no other situation in the country possesses as many advantages. I therefore recommend it, in the strongest possible light, as the most judicious location that can be selected²⁵

To the Missouri Conference this letter afforded ample evidence that God had opened "a wide door for effective work" and, though there was no illusion concerning the existence and strength of adversaries, immediate decision was made to enter the open door. In the list of appointments (September, 1830) the first read: "Shawnee Mission, Thomas Johnson."²⁶

Of Thomas Johnson* and his wife a younger contemporary minister wrote:

He was a good specimen of the old-time Methodist preacher, with a large, stalwart body, a well stored mind and a kind and benevolent heart, and Mrs. Johnson was a fit companion for such a man in such a work.²⁷

The first Annual Report of the Conference Missionary Society stated that during the first year of the mission† a school had been established with seventeen Indian pupils "in constant attendance," and that many more were expected to enroll as soon "as a house shall be procured for their accommodation." For lack of an interpreter "not much religious instruction [had as yet been] given them."²⁸

The lack of a suitable interpreter continued to be a hindrance, but Johnson applied himself diligently to the study of the Shawnee language—evidently with good effect, for in 1832 he reported to the Missionary Society at New York that there had been "a gracious work of religion." Nineteen had united with the church and "more were apparently under deep conviction for sin."²⁹ With the Missouri Conference of 1833, Thomas Johnson's relation to the Shawnee Mission ended.

By the fall of 1833 the Shawnee Methodist Society, under the leadership of Fish, their chief, numbered forty Indians and five whites. To the mission a succession of able missionaries was appointed.‡ Advance was recorded in

* Thomas Johnson (1802-65), a Virginian, was admitted to the Missouri Conference on trial in 1826 and appointed to the Mount Prairie Circuit, Arkansas District. Beginning with his 1830 appointment, he served for eleven years in the Indian mission work, much of the time as Superintendent. After a brief period as a superannuate (1841-42, 1843-44), in the pastorate (1842-43, 1844-45), and in educational work (1845-47), he was appointed (1847) as head of the Indian Manual Labor School in the Indian Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, serving in that capacity until his death. He was territorial delegate (Nebraska) to the 33d Congress, elected by the slavery advocates. It was said of him, "He was a man of principle . . . Firm without being austere; generous, without temporizing; liberal, without prodigality; and religious, without either asceticism or bigotry" He was assassinated at his home by guerrillas. For him Johnson County, Kan., was named.—See W. S. Woodard, *Annals of Methodism in Missouri* . . . , pp. 62f.

† This first Shawnee Mission "was located on the northeast quarter of the southwest quarter section 24, township 11, range 24, Wyandotte county" (J. J. Lutz, *loc. cit.*, IX, 169). The site was a wooded bluff of the Kansas River "about three-quarters of a mile southeast of the present town of Turner . . . Wyandotte county." The double two-story log building which served both for a schoolhouse and chapel and for living quarters "was ready for occupancy probably not later than the spring of 1831."—Martha B. Caldwell, Compiler, *Annals of Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian Manual Labor School*, pp. 10f.

‡ Shawnee Mission appointments, 1832-33 to 1844-45 (under Missouri Conference to 1844; Indian Mission Conference thereafter), as given in the *General Minutes*, were: Indian Mission District, 1832-34, North Indian Mission District, 1834-37, Indian Mission District, 1837-41, Thomas Johnson; 1841-42, William Johnson; 1842-44, Edward T. Peery; 1844-45, N. M. Talbot. Shawnee Mission and school, 1832-33, T. Johnson, E. T. Peery; 1833-35, W. Johnson; 1835-36, Shawnee Mission, W. Ketrin; 1836-37, to be supplied; 1837-39, T. Johnson, Lorenzo Waugh; 1839-40, Shawnee Mission, T. Johnson, Manual Labor School, W. Browning, D. Kinnear; 1840-41, Shawnee Mission,

religious instruction. A printing press from Cincinnati was installed at the Baptist mission, making possible the printing of religious teaching materials in the Shawnee language, using a new Indian orthography devised by Jotham Meeker, Baptist missionary.* A religious manual, including some hymns, was published by the missionaries, and native Class Leaders were enlisted in teaching the children. In the mission school, which in 1836 enrolled thirty-five children—twenty boys and fifteen girls—of whom seventeen lived in the mission family and eighteen were day pupils, training was given in various skills:

The girls . . . learn to sew, knit, spin, weave, &c. . . . Two of the boys can already make passable shoes, and five others can make good plain chairs, beadsteads [sic], tables, presses, &c. About half . . . can read and write and cypher some . . .³⁰

Members of the Society, 1836, numbered eighty Indians and six whites.

With the encouragement of the Missionary Society and the promise of the government to aid both in the erection of buildings and in school maintenance, the Missouri Conference at its 1838 session agreed to establish a "central manual-labor school" and appointed a committee to proceed with the construction of buildings and the employment of teachers, mechanics, a farmer, and others.³¹ The proposal contemplated a school with facilities and equipment sufficient to accommodate not only Shawnee pupils but also children from other interested tribes. The approval of the Missionary Society carried with it a financial pledge† of an amount "not to exceed ten thousand dollars . . . for any one year."³²

On a site six miles southwest of the present Kansas City, Kansas, construction was begun in February, 1839.‡ Four hundred acres of land already were enclosed, with twelve acres of apple orchard—the first set out in Kansas—and 176 acres in corn. Within a short time the Shawnee had split 40,000 rails. Kilns were constructed for the burning of brick, and lumber was shipped from Cincinnati. A mission house and dormitory for boys was built, 110 by 30 feet, two stories high, with a chapel on the first floor. In this building the sessions of the first territorial legislature were held. Nearby a second building was erected, 100 by 30 feet, with an ell—this as a boarding house, with a dining hall capable of seating from two hundred to three hundred persons at one time. "Log houses and shops went up all over the place": blacksmith shops,

Learner B. Stateler, Manual Labor School, D. Kinnear; 1841-44, Shawnee Mission, L. B. Stateler, Manual Labor School, Jerome C. Berryman; 1844-45, Shawnee and Wyandot Mission, James Wheeler, one to be supplied, Manual Labor School, E. T. Peery.—II, 170, 226, 293, 359, 423, 502, 588; III, 11, 103, 203, 301, 406, 537.

* The Baptists and the Friends had established flourishing missions within a few miles of the Methodist mission.

† Reports of the Treasurer of the Missionary Society show drafts paid in favor of Thomas Johnson (presumably for both the Shawnee Mission and the Shawnee Manual Labor School) for 1837-38, \$4,737.; 1838-39, \$6,198.64; 1839-40, \$12,270.57.

‡ The exact location was on "southwest quarter Section 3, township 12, range 25, Johnson County."—J. J. Lutz, *loc. cit.*, IX, 169n.

wagon shops, barns, cribs, granaries, and toolhouses. A sawmill and a steam flour mill with a capacity of 300 bushels of wheat per day were added.³³ In these operations many of the Indians were as much interested as the missionaries. At a meeting held when the buildings were still in process of construction, subscriptions were called for and \$1,200. was pledged, an average of about fifty dollars for each adult Indian subscriber. Some contributed as much as \$300.

The school was opened in October with four teachers, and seventy-two pupils in attendance: Shawnee, 27; Delaware, 16; Chippewa, 2; Gros Ventre, 1; Peoria, 8; Potawatomi, 7; Kansas, 6; Kickapoo, 3; Munsee, 1; Osage, 1.³⁴ The rising bell for pupils rang at four o'clock in the morning and for "lights out" at eight at night. The school day was twelve hours, six hours in the schoolroom and six at manual employment. The boys worked in the shops and in farming operations under the supervision of the employed farmer. The girls made their own clothes and those of the boys and some of the mechanics and, under the supervision of the teachers, did the cooking for the entire school and staff. Livestock on the farm included 130 cattle, 100 hogs, and five horses. The first year the farm produced 4,000 bushels of oats, 3,500 of corn, 500 of potatoes, and 200 of wheat.³⁵

At the 1840 session of the Missouri Conference the Rev. L. B. Stateler* was appointed to the Shawnee Mission. With an Indian church membership of 130, he recognized the importance of a separate church building. In a grove four miles west of the Manual Labor School a structure of hewn logs was erected, in size twenty-five by fifty feet. Here Sunday services were held, attended by the Indian congregation, pupils of the school, and numerous whites. Nearby was the parsonage. Within a year the Indian membership increased to 183.³⁶ Stateler was also pastor of a Circuit of "three or four appointments," making him preacher-at-large to the entire Shawnee Nation.³⁷

The Indian Manual Labor School deeply impressed Edward R. Ames. The future Bishop visited the school in 1842 and characterized it in a letter to the editor of the *Western Christian Advocate* as "a noble institution which promises to be a blessing to thousands of the red men." He found in the school scores of "fine, sprightly lads with . . . frank, open countenances cheerfully employed" in schoolroom, mechanics' shops, and on the farm, and felt no fear that they would disgrace the noble names† they bore.³⁸

* Learner B. Stateler (1811-95) was a native of Kentucky, of German parentage. He was licensed to preach in 1830, admitted on trial in the Kentucky Conference and transferred to the Missouri Conference in 1831, where he soon entered on a long and eminently useful missionary career. His missionary service included: 1833-34, Creek Mission; 1837-40, Delaware Mission; 1840-44, Shawnee Mission; 1844-45, Presiding Elder of the Choctaw District, Indian Mission Conference. In 1866 he was appointed Superintendent of Missions in Colorado and Montana Territories, Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He served in seven Annual Conferences west of the Mississippi without a transfer.—W. S. Woodard, *op. cit.*, pp. 101f.; E. J. Stanley, *Life of Rev. L. B. Stateler, or Sixty-Five Years on the Frontier* . . .

† It was the custom in the Shawnee Manual Labor School, as in many other mission schools, to

For three and one-half years (1841-44) the Manual Labor School was under the supervision of the Rev. Jerome C. Berryman,* who had previously been in charge, for eight years, of the Kickapoo Mission. In addition to the pastoral work and the general charge of the school and farm, he was the financier, bookkeeper, and official correspondent—"work enough," he says, "for one man."³⁹

The crisis in agriculture, following the depression of the late thirties, seriously affected the Indian missions, as all others. Support of the Manual Labor School suffered disastrous decline. On October 22, 1843, referring to the recent session of the Missouri Conference, Berryman wrote to Charles Elliott, editor of the *Western Christian Advocate*:

I there heard many of them [the preachers] say, when called on for their missionary money, 'I have none, the circuit where I traveled has from three to five hundred members; but there is literally no money in the country, and I consequently could not make missionary collections.' . . .

If our friends do not help us the 'Indian Manual Labor School,' the grandest enterprise ever undertaken in the Indian country, must decline, must die.⁴⁰

In the course of the letter Berryman stated that "not less than fifteen hundred dollars worth of clothing and bedding" was required each year for the school pupils, and that in addition the Indian employees on the farm were willing to accept clothing in payment for their labor in lieu of money. He appealed to *Advocate* readers for shawls, stockings, handkerchiefs, calico, sheets, towels, pillow slips, pins and needles, knives and forks—anything, in fact, that could be put to use in school or home. The appeal evidently met response, as the school did not close. Enrollment, however, was drastically reduced.

The final report for the period (October, 1844) stated the number of Indian members "in Society" as 153, and the Manual Labor School enrollment twenty-five white pupils and forty Indian.⁴¹

DELAWARE MISSION

Perhaps more often than any other tribe, the Delaware—an Algonkin group who called themselves the Lenape—were signatories to treaties with the government. Within a single century they participated in no less than forty-five treaties, averaging one every two years.

give each pupil—in addition to his Indian cognomen—the name of some outstanding churchman, as Joshua Soule, Nathan Bangs, William Capers, William Ryland, Stephen Olin.

* Jerome C. Berryman (1810-1906), a native of Kentucky, emigrated to Missouri when eighteen and was received on trial in the Missouri Conference in 1828. He served four years on Circuits in Arkansas and Missouri preceding his appointment to the Kickapoo Mission. Later he served various Stations and Districts, including Centenary Church in St. Louis, and the Cape Girardeau and Charleston Districts. He gave many years to education as head of denominational schools, including fourteen years as principal of Arcadia High School, and was founder of Arcadia College. A delegate to the General Conference of 1844, he lived to be its last surviving member.—W. S. Woodard, *op. cit.*, pp. 65f.; E. J. Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 129f.; *Gen'l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Church, South*, 1906, p. 46.

From early colonial times they occupied the valley of the Delaware River, claiming possession also of lands almost to the Hudson. Forced by pressure from the whites, who were assisted by the Six Nations, they removed west of the Alleghenies about 1751. By invitation of their allies—the Wyandot—the main body settled in Ohio. By permission of the Miami and the Piankashaw another considerable segment of the tribe located about 1770 on White River in Indiana, where they established six villages. As early as 1781, feeling insecure in Ohio and Indiana since in neither was the land originally theirs, they began a migration to the west of the Mississippi. By the treaty of St. Mary's (Oct. 3, 1818) the government engaged to remove to Missouri those who remained in Indiana. By a treaty made on September 24, 1829, the Delaware of Missouri, including recent emigrants from Ohio, consented to remove to a reservation in Kansas selected for them by the government,⁴² which embraced 2,208,000 acres. It fronted on the Missouri River, its eastern line from the mouth of the Kansas River to Fort Leavenworth, and extended west to the area occupied by the Kansas Indians.⁴³ It was a fertile section, regarded as the most valuable of all the land occupied by Indian tribes, embracing Wyandotte, most of Leavenworth and Jefferson, and portions of Shawnee and Jackson Counties.

At the Missouri Conference in September, 1832, William Johnson and Thomas Markham* were appointed to the "Delaware mission and school."⁴⁴ That the effort to establish a mission was in some measure successful is indicated by an undated letter that appeared in the *Christian Advocate* of May 17, 1833, in which Thomas Johnson said, "The Delaware mission is on the advance. . . . We organized a society there last Sabbath" He reported fifteen members—all Delaware—received on probation which, with six previously received into membership at the Shawnee Mission, made a Society of twenty-one persons.⁴⁵ In 1833 Edward T. Peery† was appointed to the mission, and by 1834 the membership had increased to forty—several of whom were licensed Exhorters. The day school enrolled twenty-four children, and there was also a small Sunday school.⁴⁶ In September, 1836, the Society numbered ninety-four whites and eighty-six Indians—among whom were two of the leading chiefs of the Nation—many of whom were so earnest and faithful that, in Thomas Johnson's opinion, they "would be no disgrace" to a religious society among any people.⁴⁷

* The name of Thomas Markham appears in the 1832 Missouri Conference *Minutes* only in the list of appointments, and in the 1833 *Minutes* not at all.—See *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 170.

† Edward T. Peery was received on trial in the Tennessee Conference in 1822 and appointed to the Beach River Circuit. In 1828 he transferred to the Missouri Conference. His Indian mission service began with his appointment in 1832 to the Shawnee Mission. His subsequent mission appointments were: Delaware Mission, 1833-37, 1840-42; Potawatomi Mission, 1838-40; Presiding Elder, Indian Mission District, Missouri Conference, 1842-44; Shawnee Indian Manual Labor School, 1844-45; Presiding Elder, Cherokee District, Indian Mission Conference, 1845-46; Wyandot Mission, 1846-48. He was a faithful Christian minister, devoted to the interests of the Indians.—W. S. Woodard, *op. cit.*, pp. 63f.

The Delaware Mission had reasonably good facilities and was served by a succession of capable missionaries.* The first church was erected in 1832 in a beautiful grove near the center of Wyandotte County. It was about forty by sixty feet in size, the frame of black walnut, "furnished with two stoves by the Indians themselves."⁴⁸

That the missionary appointment was no sinecure is clearly shown by L. B. Stateler's description of his responsibilities and those of his wife:

The missionary was not only expected to teach religion and instruct the people in the way of life, but also take their children, clothe and feed and teach them in the day school. . . . Clothing had to be made, for the little Indian children came to us destitute. This work the missionary's wife had to perform with her own hands, for that was long before sewing machines were in existence. . . . the cooking had to be done, the clothes washed, ironed, and mended, and the only assistance . . . was . . . given by the Indian girls. When springtime came, the missionary had to take the plow, go into the field, sow and plant and cultivate, that the mission might be made as nearly self-sustaining as possible.⁴⁹

Three principal factors operated to limit the effectiveness of missionary activities among the Delaware Indians. (1) From first to last the missionary program met determined opposition from superstitious and vicious members of the tribe and from others inspired by degraded whites who knew that continuance of their traffic in whisky depended upon restricting missionary operations.⁵⁰ (2) The prevailing attitude of indifference toward education of children and youth. Only a very few of the parents, much to the missionaries' disappointment, were interested in sending their children to the mission day school and Sunday school.⁵¹ (3) Despite the favorable location of the Delaware reservation, the population steadily decreased. Stateler estimated that the Nation numbered in 1837 approximately 1,400; William Patton stated that in 1843 the population was only 1,000. "The corrupting influences of their white neighbors," said the *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Missionary Society*, "are leading them rapidly down to destruction," threatening—unless they can be counteracted—the entire extermination of the tribe.⁵² Nevertheless, gradual growth in membership continued to the close of the period. Of the Societies included in the Indian Mission Conference at its first session (October, 1844) the Delaware Society ranked third among the six in Kansas, exceeded in numbers only by the Wyandot and the Shawnee. In addition to its Exhorters, it had two native Local Preachers.⁵³

KICKAPOO AND PEORIA MISSIONS

On his way to the Missouri Conference in August, 1833, Bishop Soule spent several days with Thomas and William Johnson, in their company

* Appointments to the Delaware Mission, after the first year, were: 1833-37, Edward T. Peery; 1837-38, Learner B. Stateler; 1838-39, L. B. Stateler, Abraham Millice; 1839-40, L. B. Stateler;

visiting the Shawnee and Delaware Missions. What he saw so impressed him that he determined to establish additional missions to the Indians. After a brief survey of the field, missions to the Kickapoo and to the Peoria were decided upon.⁵⁴

The Kickapoo were Algonkin, closely allied ethnically and linguistically with the Sauk and Fox. They came into central Illinois from Wisconsin about 1765. In 1809 they ceded by treaty with the United States a portion of their lands, and in 1819 their remaining claims. Some migrated to Missouri, others remained in Illinois. In the early summer of 1833, the government had succeeded in completing their removal from Illinois, locating them on a new reservation in Kansas, 768,000 acres in extent, lying immediately north of that of the Delaware, the Missouri River constituting its eastern border. At the time of Bishop Soule's visit they were in fact not yet settled, having spent the first few weeks following their arrival in hunting. The Methodist mission served "as a sort of nucleus for their subsequent settlement."⁵⁵

The 1833 session of the Missouri Conference convened at Cane Hill camp ground in Arkansas. Included in the appointments⁵⁶ was "Kickapoo mission and school," Jerome C. Berryman. As a location for the mission he chose a bluff overlooking the Missouri River, three miles north of Fort Leavenworth. Without loss of time temporary cabins and a log schoolhouse were built and, as soon as the family was settled, a school was opened for Indian children. As Berryman was without an assistant it was necessary for him to act as schoolteacher, his wife and a helper providing dinner every day for the pupils.

While no difficulty was encountered in gaining consent for establishment of the school, Berryman found the way of "access to this people in preaching to them was entirely hedged up." This was due principally to the fact that the Kickapoo had a religious leader of their own, one Ke-en-e-kuk,* who had attracted to himself the majority of the tribe,⁵⁷ while those who did not adhere to him resisted any suggestion of change in the Indian culture and were antagonistic both to mission and school.

After a time Berryman discovered that Ke-en-e-kuk was in possession of a written license to preach which a "presiding elder . . . [in Illinois] had actually given him. . . ." He also had other credentials. As it seemed evident that successful approach to the people could only be made through their religious leader, who was also a chief, Thomas Johnson, Superintendent of the Indian Mission District, and Berryman employed him as "a helper" in the mission at a salary of \$200. Within a short period "about four hundred" of the

1840-43, E. T. Peery; 1843-44, E. T. Peery, John T. Peery; 1844-45 (Indian Mission Conference), Delaware and Kickapoo, N. M. Talbot, J. T. Peery.—*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 226, 293, 359, 423, 502, 588; III, 11, 103, 203, 301, 407, 537.

* The name is variously spelled. The town of Kennekuk, Atchison County, Kan., bears his name.

Indians were baptized, and the missionary reported to the 1834 Missouri Conference 230 Indians "in society."

It soon developed that the mission was not building on a firm foundation. At first some of the new members seemed to be "truly pious," and Ke-en-e-kuk cooperative and helpful. He attended the meetings and several times, after the missionary had preached, took the Bible in his hand and declared that it was "God's book," and that his followers ought to try to understand it and look to the missionary for instruction. Later Berryman was forced to conclude that he was an imposter, using the mission only "to accomplish his own ambitious ends."

One of the stipulations of a treaty made by the tribe with the government was that a church should be built for the use of Ke-en-e-kuk. After it was built he would seldom allow the missionary to officiate in it, "pleading as an excuse that his people were yet too ignorant to be benefited . . ." He asserted a claim "to be the Son of God come again in the flesh . . . sent to the red people . . ." As a part of the religious services flagellation was practiced as a means of atonement for sin, official flagellators being appointed to carry out the rite. Finally Berryman renounced all connection with Ke-en-e-kuk, and most of his followers who had united with the Methodist Society gradually withdrew. The membership reported in 1838 was 161, and by 1841 the number had been reduced to forty-one.⁵⁸ His concluding comment on the experience was:

Among the followers of the Kickapoo prophet we found a few at length who could see that they were being deceived . . . Out of these, and a goodly number from the other portion of the nation, we had at the close of my term of service among them built up a Christian society of devoted followers of Jesus numbering about fifty.⁵⁹

Berryman continued in charge of the Kickapoo Mission until the fall of 1841.* In 1835 "a large and comfortable [headquarters] building" was erected. In the same year Berryman was appointed as government teacher, and the mission school reorganized in the public schoolhouse. Only those were accepted as pupils who enrolled for the full school year.

Under this regulation we have received upward of 50, 9 of whom, very promising boys, live with us—the rest eat dinner only. Those who now come to school are chiefly boys from ten to fifteen years of age.⁶⁰

As teacher, Berryman was paid \$480. a year by the government. Instead

* In 1834 J. Monroe was appointed to the Kickapoo Mission in association with J. C. Berryman, serving for one year. For two years (1837-39) David Kinnear served as his associate. During the years 1841-43 Nathaniel M. Talbot was in charge of the mission. On the organization of the Indian Mission Conference, Talbot was made Presiding Elder of the Kansas River District and also appointed, in association with John T. Peery, to the Delaware and Kickapoo Missions.—*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 293, 502, 588; III, 203, 301, 407, 537.

of retaining this to supplement his meager missionary salary of \$200. he applied it "to the support of the native scholars and to other purposes of the mission."⁶¹ Although he was a capable teacher it cannot be said that either the Kickapoo Mission school or the government school was successful. A majority of the tribe were indifferent regarding the school attendance of their children. Enrollment declined until only six pupils were in attendance. Arrangements were made, beginning in 1839, for Kickapoo children to attend the Shawnee Manual Labor School in lieu of a school on their own reservation but apparently none enrolled except three in 1840.

In 1842 missionary support was drastically reduced, resulting in the loss of two of the most efficient Indian interpreters. While the mission at the end of ten years reported a church membership of only fifty persons out of a Nation of six hundred the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society felt justified in reporting to the twenty-fifth annual meeting that the Kickapoo Mission was "in a good condition," eight having recently been added to the Society, of whom two were a chief and his son.⁶²

The Peoria, neighbors of the Kickapoo, in the eighteenth century were one of the principal Indian tribes in Illinois. The main body of the tribe remained on the east bank of the Illinois River until 1832. In that year they sold their claims in Illinois and Missouri to the United States. To the consolidated tribes of the Illinois Confederacy, under the names of Peoria and Kaskaskia, was assigned a reservation on the Osage River in Kansas. From then on regarded as a single tribe, their number was comparatively small.⁶³

To the new Peoria Mission the Rev. Nathaniel M. Talbot was appointed as missionary* in 1833.⁶⁴ Like Berryman he possessed staying quality, continuing in charge of the mission until the fall of 1841.† At the end of his first year he reported fifteen Indian members. Two years later the number had increased to forty-two, but by 1840 membership had decreased to thirty-five.⁶⁵ The record of the school was much the same. In 1836 sixteen pupils were enrolled.⁶⁶ Other than this limited statistical information, there is little of record concerning the mission. *The Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Missionary Society* (1843-44) attributed the lack of progress principally to the rapid decline of the tribe.⁶⁷ With the founding of the Indian Mission Conference in 1844 a Circuit was established with the Peoria, Potawatomi, Chipewea, and Wea as appointments.

* Sources do not agree on the year in which the Peoria Mission was founded. J. J. Lutz (*loc. cit.*, IX, 168, 211) states that it was established in 1833, when the Rev. James H. Slavens was appointed as missionary. He also states that Nathaniel M. Talbot "was appointed in 1834." But the *General Minutes* list the mission for the first time in 1832, naming Slavens as appointee (II, 170), and show Talbot appointed at the 1833 Conference, as stated above (II, 226). A possible conjecture is that appointment was made in 1832, as stated in the *Minutes*, but that Slavens did not undertake to establish the mission.

† Other appointments to the Peoria Mission, as given in the *General Minutes*, were: 1837-38, as associate, Reuben Aldrich; 1838-39, as associate, John Y. Porter; 1842-44, Nathan T. Shaler. In 1841-42 the mission was left "to be supplied."—II, 502, 588; III, 11, 103, 203, 301.

WYANDOT MISSION, WEST

When the immigrant Wyandot disembarked from the Missouri River boats on which they had made the journey from St. Louis to the mouth of the Kansas River at the end of July, 1843,* the government had not yet designated their new reservation. For months they waited in uncertainty and discouragement—many suffering from sickness, others yielding to the blandishments of whisky sellers and other dissipated whites. Finally on December 23, 1843, on their own initiative they purchased from the Delaware Indians for \$46,080. "thirty-nine sections of land off the east end of their reservation within the present Wyandot[te] County, Kansas."⁶⁸

The Missionary Society in its *Twenty-fifth Annual Report* sought to portray the sadly changed situation in a hopeful light. The Wyandot, in their new location, it said,

have a population of about seven hundred. Of this number about two hundred and fifty are members of the church. . . .

A great part of the religious community . . . are respectable, industrious, persevering, and economical. . . . Some of them have adopted the English language in their families. . . . they have suffered less in their religious interests, by their removal, than could have been expected.⁶⁹

Their sufferings were more than the *Annual Report* intimates. The report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1844 states that during the year about one hundred deaths occurred—approximately one out of seven of the population. Even greater was the loss in morale and deterioration in moral character among the non-Christian members of the tribe.⁷⁰

Among the more than two hundred church members there were three Local Preachers, nine Class Leaders, and several Exhorters. The Rev. James Wheeler, their faithful pastor, who had accompanied them on their migration, divided them into five Classes. He found lodging at the Shawnee Manual Labor School but spent most of his time in the camps with his people. Almost always on Sunday at one of the two services he preached, and at the other, one of the Wyandot Local Preachers. Prayer meeting was held on Wednesday evening. On Thursday evening Squire Gray Eyes or some other Indian leader preached.⁷¹ A temperance society was organized, and two day schools established.

In May, 1844, the first service was held in a church built by the Wyandot themselves, a hewed-log house about thirty by forty feet. A parsonage, a two-story frame costing about \$1,500., was also built—paid for out of the proceeds of sale of the mission farm improvements at Upper Sandusky, Ohio.⁷²

Within a few years the tribe measurably recovered from the shock of forced removal. Aided by government annuities, sons and daughters of several

* See pp. 125f., 126n.

families attended schools in Missouri, returning "with education and accomplishments rarely met with amongst their . . . white neighbors."* At last, on August 15, 1848, they received word that Congress had passed a resolution confirming the purchase of their lands from the Delaware. With their land title assured they began making permanent improvements which previously they had not felt safe in undertaking.⁷³

POTAWATOMI AND OTHER MINOR MISSIONS

At the Missouri Conference of 1837 a mission to the Potawatomi was established, with Frederick B. Leach as missionary.⁷⁴ Eight years had passed since the Potawatomi Mission in Illinois had been discontinued. In the meantime many vicissitudes had attended the scattered bands that tried in vain to retain possession of lands east of the Mississippi. Unfortunately the government's purpose and program at a given time was not so much concerned with the welfare of the Indians as in finding ways of dispossessing them in order to meet immediate demands of white settlers in a given region of the country. By the treaty of September 6, 1833, the tribe was assigned a tract of five million acres in western Iowa but they had hardly more than begun to occupy it before the government began to exert pressure upon them to give it up. Whereupon began again the long-drawn-out process of negotiation and resistance that a few years earlier had been experienced in Illinois and Indiana.⁷⁵ Beginning in 1834 small groups migrated to Kansas.

The new mission in Kansas was located on the site later occupied by the town of Osawatomie. The second year (1838) Edward T. Peery was appointed as missionary. After two years he was succeeded by Nathaniel M. Talbot who remained for one year only. At the Conferences of 1841 and 1842 the mission was left "to be supplied."⁷⁶ Based on such reports as he had received the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society stated as his judgment in 1842 that the tribe was "fast hastening to destruction." Somewhat later he felt that the prospect was less dark, and was improving.⁷⁷ At the Conference of 1843 Thomas B. Ruble was appointed to Potawatomi Mission, and at the first meeting of the Indian Mission Conference (1844) the appointment was joined with the Chippewa, Peoria, and Wea to form a Mission Circuit to which Thomas Hurlburt and Ruble were assigned. Of the seven Indian missions maintained during these years, 1837-44, in the Kansas area the Potawatomi was one of the least fruitful. The Indian membership reported in 1844 was thirty-one.⁷⁸

In 1836, Peter M. McGowan stated in a letter published in the *Christian Advocate* that the Seneca Indians, who "until recently have refused to receive . . .

* One of the first pianos in Kansas was purchased in St. Louis by a young Wyandot woman, a daughter of William Walker.

[a missionary] now desire instruction." He expressed the hope that the Arkansas Conference at its next session would be able to send someone to them.⁷⁹

The Seneca, who were of the Iroquois family, were widely known as one of the Six Nations of New York. A band of more than three hundred, under pressure of the government and much against their will, were induced to migrate during 1831-32 from Seneca and Sandusky Counties, Ohio, where they had lived for more than fifty years, to a reservation of 67,000 acres in the Indian Territory, north of the Cherokee country and east of the Neosho River.⁸⁰ At the second session of the Arkansas Conference, November, 1837, A. D. Smith who had had previous experience in Indian mission work was appointed to "the Seneca circuit and school." Here he was later joined by Daniel Adams and his capable wife, who had come from the Oneida Mission in Wisconsin.* According to the report of the Missionary Society the Seneca Mission was intended also to minister "to [the] Mohawk, Oneida, and Kayooga" settled in proximity to the Seneca.⁸¹

The Seneca Mission did not greatly prosper. Reports made by John Harrell, Presiding Elder of the Fayetteville District, within which the mission was located, were contradictory. At one time he wrote: the "quarterly meeting in the Seneca nation . . . was the most interesting I have seen in that mission." Many, he continued, are inclined to hear the Gospel and to receive instruction. A few months later he reported that "success in the Seneca nation is small, but still our prospects are better than they have been." And again, after twelve months, "we have general prosperity throughout the district, with exception of the Seneca mission, where our success is still doubtful."⁸² Under date of November 3, 1843, the missionary-in-charge wrote, "we have had, from among the Senecas, some accessions to the church, four or five of whom have been converted to God." He stated that there were then "in society nine Indians, six whites, and two coloured," but the 1844 Conference *Minutes* reported a membership of only four Indians and six whites.⁸³

Some tribes other than those that have been mentioned were visited by Methodist missionaries, and opportunities for opening schools were found of which—for lack of teachers—advantage could not be taken. Thomas Johnson made particular mention in 1833 of the Iowa and the Sauk (Sac).⁸⁴

MISSIONS IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY

Within little more than a decade forcible removal, conducted with rigor and accompanied by wholly unnecessary cruelties, transferred a total Indian

* See pp. 146, 148. Daniel Adams was received on trial in the Arkansas Conference at its 1838 session and from then until his death in 1843 was in sole charge of the Seneca Mission. Jacob Lanius of the Missouri Conference, who visited him in 1839, bore testimony to his industry and faithfulness. He spoke also of his mastery of the Seneca and other Indian languages and said he possessed the best library, save one, on the District. ("Diary" of Jacob Lanius, quoted by D. R. M'Anally, *op. cit.*, I, 184f.) In 1844 the Seneca and Upper Cherokee Missions were associated in a single appoint-

population variously estimated from sixty to ninety thousand from their cherished homes in southern states to the wilds of the West.* From this distance in time it is impossible fully to realize the conditions under which the removal was carried out. West of the Mississippi there were no roads and but few marked trails. The numerous rivers were unbridged and some of them unfordable. The way led through dangerous swamps, dense cane brakes and all but impenetrable forests. The government pledged itself to conduct the tribes safely and in comfort to the areas allocated to them and to provide ample food supplies and clothing for the journey and for stated periods thereafter. But it was unprepared to fulfill its pledge. The magnitude and difficulties of the undertaking were not comprehended. System and order were sorely lacking. No government surveys of routes or plans for transportation were made in advance. Agreements for effecting the removal of particular tribes were made with different contractors—some capable, honest, and trustworthy, others incompetent and unreliable, bent upon making maximum profit from the misfortune of their hapless victims. For some unexplainable reason removal in most cases was carried out during the worst seasons of the year, late fall and winter, causing acute suffering from heavy rains, sleet and snow, and sub-zero temperatures. It would seem that the experience of the earlier removals should have resulted in improvement. But such was not the case. Some of the worst tragedies occurred late in the decade.⁸⁵

The preponderant opinion of Church authorities, including missionaries, tended to favor the government's policy of Indian removal. From the standpoint of the general welfare of the Indians, they regarded it as on the whole desirable. Jedidiah Morse believed that removal if it could be accomplished by peaceful means would result in benefit to the Indians. This opinion, Nathan Bangs comments,

seems to be founded on the presumption that the Indians can neither prosper in the vicinity of the white population, while they remain in an insulated state, governed by their own laws and usages, nor so amalgamate with the whites as to become identified with them.⁸⁶

Isaac McCoy, Baptist pioneer preacher and teacher—missionary, explorer, surveyor, and administrator—early became a zealous advocate of Indian colonization west of the Mississippi, declaring that he considered "the promotion of this design as the most important business of . . . [his] life." He believed that an Indian confederacy could be established in an area "of *their own*" and that such a measure offered the only hope for their preservation.⁸⁷

ment and to it W. D. Collins, Johnson Fields, and James Essex were assigned.—*Gen'l Minutes*, III, 537.

* It is a lamentable fact that the Missionary Society, so far as the *Minutes* of the Board of Managers and the *Annual Reports* reveal, made no formal protest against the injustice of the government's policy of forced removal or the harshness and cruelties of the methods used.

With Morse's opinion some of the Methodist missionaries also agreed, including Dr. Alexander Talley.* The Methodist missionaries to the Cherokee held an opinion to the contrary. A group of eight in a meeting in the Cherokee Nation in September, 1830, recorded as their unanimous opinion that removal of the Cherokee would, "in all probability, be ruinous to the best interests of the nation." The American Board missionaries, also, in a formal meeting adopted resolutions deprecating removal as "threatening greatly to retard, if not totally to arrest . . . progress in religion, civilization, learning, and the useful arts. . . ."†

Missionaries to some other tribes shared this opinion and made individual protests. But protests were few as compared with demands for removal and had little influence as against the pressure exerted upon Congress and the President by enemies of the Indians.

CHEROKEE MISSION, WEST

Bloody factional strife sadly retarded the progress of the Cherokee in their new location.‡ Not until July 12, 1839, were the two principal parties united as "one body politic, under the style and title of the Cherokee Nation." While the adoption of the act of union and the approval, a few weeks later, of the national constitution laid a stable foundation for law and order, peace and unity were of slow growth.§

Of the approximately ten thousand immigrants of the re-established Nation, more than one thousand were Methodists.¶ The general state of disorganization that prevailed during the early years following the mass migration made organized religious work difficult. But even before the main body of immigrants arrived preparation for the establishment of a mission was under way. In 1830 it was formally authorized but no missionary was available for appointment. At the Missouri Conference of 1831 A. D. Smith, Presiding Elder of the Arkansas District, was designated "superintendent of the Indian Missions" and John Harrell‡ and A. M. Scott were appointed to the "Washington and Cherokee mission."¶ At the close of the year the Missionary Society reported 113 members and four mission schools. At the ensuing Conference Harrell's appointment read "Cherokee Circuit"§ and

* See p. 137.

† See pp. 132ff.

‡ John Harrell (1806-76) was an outstanding Indian mission leader. Received on trial in the Tennessee Conference in 1828, three years later he transferred to Missouri and from then until his death was identified with the Indian work. He was a charter member of the Arkansas Conference, and in 1850 became a member of the Indian Mission Conference. For fifteen years he was a Presiding Elder, serving in turn the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek Districts. Five years were given to the superintendency of schools—including Fort Coffee, New Hope, and the Asbury Manual Training School. He was seven times elected as delegate to the General Conference. As a preacher he was said to be "plain, direct, positive, [and] impressive."—S. H. Babcock and J. Y. Bryce, *History of Methodism in Oklahoma*, I, 189ff.

§ Appointments to the Cherokee Mission, 1833-44 (under Missouri Conference to 1836; Arkansas Conference to 1844; Indian Missionary Conference, thereafter), according to the *General Minutes*, cx-

preachers were assigned to three of the four schools—the fourth being left un-supplied.⁹² In the beginning there were no buildings—no meeting houses nor settlers' cabins—and there was no alternative to holding preaching services in open clearings in the woods. Within a comparatively brief time these conditions were changed. In 1834 the mission had sixteen preaching places. Writing in 1835 John Harrell says: "now we have many private houses to preach in, besides . . . 4 respectable meeting houses." Growth in membership, however, was slow. The Cherokee had endured too much at the hands of white men to respond readily to appeals to form church organizations under their leadership. The reported church membership in 1835 was only 275, and the following year—other than twenty-three whites and thirty-six Negroes—less than half that number.⁹³ There was a very serious dearth also in preachers or laymen available for teachers of the mission schools.⁹⁴ At the first session of the Arkansas Conference (1836) which included within its bounds the Cherokee Mission four of the five schools were left "to be supplied." In 1838 a second Circuit was formed, with two preachers appointed to each. Thus reinforced, the work developed more rapidly. At the 1839 Arkansas Conference session a total Indian membership of 405 was reported on the two Circuits, and significant increase each year thereafter. The year 1842 saw a third mission, Grand River, established. The Upper Cherokee Mission this same year reported ten Local Preachers, nine Exhorters, and thirteen Class Leaders, while the Lower Cherokee Mission was also well supplied with a native leadership. Seven Sunday schools enrolled about two hundred children. The missions were supplied with an abbreviated edition of the *Discipline* in the Cherokee language.⁹⁵

By 1843 the Cherokee Nation had established a school system of its own, with eleven schools. The closing of the smaller mission schools freed a number of preachers for a more intensive program of evangelism and also furthered the growth of the larger boarding schools.⁹⁶ When, in 1844, the Indian Mission Conference was organized the Methodist Church, with more than twelve hundred members, was again well established in the Cherokee Nation. Bishop Thomas A. Morris, who presided over the Conference, expressed himself as convinced that the Cherokee were well grounded in the Christian religion and were making substantial progress in education and civilization.⁹⁷

clusive of appointments to day schools, were: 1833-34, J. Brewton, Harris G. Joplin; 1834-35, J. Horn; 1835-7, T. Bertholf; 1837-38, T. Bertholf, Johnson Fields, John Boston; 1838-39, Upper Cherokee, A. D. Smith, J. Fields; Lower Cherokee, J. F. Seaman, J. Boston; 1839-40, Upper Cherokee, D. B. Cumming, J. Fields, Weelooker; Lower Cherokee, Erastus B. Duncan, John F. Boot; 1840-41, Upper Cherokee, D. B. Cumming, J. F. Boot; Lower Cherokee, Samuel Allen, J. Fields; 1841-42, T. Bertholf, J. Fields, William M'Intosh; Lower Cherokee, S. Allen, J. F. Boot; 1842-43, Upper Cherokee, J. F. Seaman, J. Fields, James Essex; Lower Cherokee, E. B. Duncan, J. Boston, W. M'Intosh; Grand River, J. F. Boot; 1843-44, Upper Cherokee, A. Cumming, J. F. Boot, J. Fields; Lower Cherokee, J. F. Collins, J. Boston, W. M'Intosh; Grand River, T. Bertholf, Tussawallita; 1844-45, Seneca and Upper Cherokee, W. D. Collins, J. Fields, J. Essex; Lower Cherokee, J. F. Boot, Tussawallita.—II, 226, 293, 359, 434, 516, 603; III, 23, 114, 211, 317, 422f., 537.

CHOCTAW MISSION, WEST

The new Choctaw reservation was in the southernmost portion of Indian Territory. It was an immense tract, two hundred miles or more from the Arkansas border westward, and about one hundred miles from north to south. It was separated from Texas on the south by the Red River and on the north from the Cherokee tract by the Arkansas River. Within a short time their national government was fully organized under a written constitution and laws, a general council, or legislature, with two branches, and a judiciary. The Nation was divided into three districts, each with a chief.⁹⁸

The energetic missionary leader Alexander Talley, who in the winter of 1830 had accompanied the Nation to the West, rendered incalculable aid. He contracted for all the corn that could be had—in all, 1,000 bushels—for which he pledged the credit of the Choctaw Nation. He engaged a smith and set up a blacksmith shop with tools and iron, so that the incoming immigrants might be furnished with farm implements. He succeeded in gathering together 500 church members and formed two Methodist Societies.⁹⁹ While the oppressive measures and unnecessary cruelties of the forced removal had alienated many from religion, a large proportion of the Christian Indians remained steadfast. The captain of the *Talma*, one of the boats used in transporting the emigrants, paid tribute to their character, saying he had never seen people of better conduct or more devout:

They had morning and evening prayers and spent much of their time on board the boat reading and singing hymns . . . they were in good spirits in spite of the neglect of the agents.¹⁰⁰

However, much work had to be done in rebuilding the spiritual foundations. To add to other difficulties, ill health and acute illness were generally prevalent:

all the laborers and their families, together with almost every family in the mission, were the subjects of deep affliction, and many were called home. . . . Such was the general prevalence of sickness that the school was suspended, and the school house converted into an hospital for the sick.¹⁰¹

To the Mississippi Conference of 1833 Talley reported 739 Choctaw members of the Church, seven whites, and five Negroes. The missionary staff of four included two Choctaw—T. Myers, teacher, and William W. Oakchiah, preacher. There were also five licensed Exhorters. Portions of the Scriptures had been translated into Choctaw, and 200 Indians, mostly from eighteen to twenty-five years of age, were engaged in learning to read the Bible in their native tongue.¹⁰²

Remembering the throngs that had attended upon his ministry in former years in the old Nation, Talley was beset with nostalgia but reflection on the

partial instruction that had been given his converts and the "unmeasured trials" through which they had passed led him "to wonder that any fruit of his labor . . . [had remained]." "The Choctaw Christians," he said, "have certainly passed through the water and through the fire." Moreover, the work was expanding and there were evidences of spiritual progress.

In 1834 he reported fifteen preaching places, at each of which a Society had been organized and in some several Classes maintained. Since the preceding report, he stated,

our people have been uniform in their attention to the stated means of grace; our classes are more uniformly attended to, and better organized; our people feel more at home, and have commenced building houses of worship We have admitted considerably more on trial than we have expelled or dropped¹⁰³

Talley was by no means satisfied with the situation as it was and felt deeply the need for more thorough training of the native leaders:

the rapid spread of Christianity among this people has afforded no opportunity to give sufficient instruction to our helpers.—The want of information is deeply felt by our leaders and exhorters; but their deficiency is more apparent to us; and I shall never feel relieved of the burthen until measures are taken to secure to our official men a larger share of knowledge than is at present within their reach Experience has rendered it evident to me, that we need an improvement in our plan.¹⁰⁴

He was also interested in more generous provision for the education of the young Indian women. He wanted them to have general schooling, but he wanted also a school "in which they would learn to sow [sew], to knit, to weave, and to cut and make garments; [and] to keep their houses neat and clean." He planned another home for himself that such a school might be established in the house which he then occupied.¹⁰⁵ Talley was gratified by the development of indigenous Sunday schools. He was able to report in 1834 twelve schools, with five superintendents, fifteen teachers, and 362 pupils. All of the superintendents and teachers were full-blood Choctaw and used only the Choctaw language. They were conducted, he said, "with the most scrupulous attention to morality, and devotional exercises," and were maintained without expense to the mission. A foregleam of a development that would come in religious education almost a hundred years later was seen in the plan that four of the schools had continuation sessions on weekdays following the Sunday session.¹⁰⁶

Unfortunately Alexander Talley did not live to see the realization of his ambitious plans. By the end of 1834 his health was so impaired that it was necessary for him to request release.* In midsummer of 1835, while on a trip

* Appointments to the Choctaw Mission and Circuit, 1834-44 (under Mississippi Conference to 1836; Arkansas Conference to 1844; Indian Mission Conference, thereafter), according to the

to the Northwest for recuperation, between Natchez and Vicksburg he suffered a violent attack of cholera and died within a few hours.¹⁰⁷

In 1836, C. J. Carney, Superintendent, reported the building of "a capacious house for worship" and the establishment of three government schools within the bounds of the mission for which he had been permitted to procure, as teachers, members of the Church.¹⁰⁸

Having become acclimated and permanently settled on the land in a fertile region the Choctaw advanced rapidly in civilization, social order, and general culture. Many well-improved farms were to be seen, fully fenced, with ample barns and well-built comfortable houses.

Impressed by the progressive spirit shown by the Choctaw and other immigrant tribes, the Missionary Society in 1841 (July 9) took action favoring the establishment "as soon as practicable" of a manual labor school "among the Indian tribes in the Southwest, provided the continuance and pecuniary aid" of the government could be secured. It also authorized a committee, with power, to visit Washington for conference with the officers of government and to negotiate arrangements.¹⁰⁹ But the Choctaw were ready for even more ambitious plans. The general council in November, 1842, passed an act providing for the establishment of seven educational institutions—three designed as academies for boys and four as seminaries for girls. One of the academies, it was planned, was to be under the direct control and supervision of the Choctaw general council, and two—with some limitations and restrictions—under the direction and management of the Methodist Church,* these to be known as the Fort Coffee Academy and the Nunnawaya Academy. For their support the general council appropriated \$6,000. and \$6,500., respectively, to be paid annually for twenty years from funds accruing to the Choctaw by treaty with the Chickasaw and the United States government. Secretary E. R. Ames had attended the session of the general council, and had aided in developing the plans and in drawing up the act.† To these appropriations the Missionary Society agreed to add \$1,000. per year to each institution so long as they remained under denominational control. So deeply interested had the Choctaw become in education that it was said of them,

General Minutes, were: 1834–35, R. D. Smith, Superintendent, C. J. Carney, W. W. Oakchiah, Moses Perry, teacher; 1835–36, C. J. Carney, Supt., M. Perry, assistant and teacher; 1836–37, J. W. P. M'Kenzie, M. Perry; 1837–38, J. W. P. M'Kenzie, John F. Seaman, School No. 1, M. Perry, No. 2, Samuel Allen, No. 3, to be supplied; 1838–39, J. W. P. M'Kenzie, W. Mulkey, No. 1, M. Perry, No. 2, to be supplied; 1839–41, Alexander Avery, M. Perry; 1841–42, A. Avery; 1842–43, R. Gregory, J. Page; 1843–44, John M. Steele, W. W. Oakchiah; 1844–45, Choctaw District, L. B. Stateler, Presiding Elder; Meshulatubbee Circuit, J. F. Collins, J. Page; Puckshenubbee and Pushmctaha Circuits, J. M. Steele, W. W. Oakchiah.—II, 304, 400, 435, 516, 603; III, 23, 114, 211, 317, 423, 537.

* The seminaries for girls, it was proposed, should be placed under the direction of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

† At a meeting of the Board of Managers on April 19, 1843, a letter was read from Secretary E. R. Ames, with a copy of the act passed by the Choctaw general council. It was stated that the action had been confirmed by the U.S. government and that this arrangement would bring to the Missionary Society over a period of twenty years more than \$240,000. for education among the Choctaw.

"If they had the means for competent teachers, almost every child in the nation would be in school forthwith."¹¹⁰

The site chosen for the Fort Coffee Academy was a beautiful location on the Arkansas River, twelve miles from Fort Smith, Arkansas. Buildings formerly occupied by the Fort Coffee garrison* were still standing—suitable, with some repairs and additions, for school occupancy. Under date of March 9, 1843, the Rev. William H. Goode of the Indiana Conference was appointed superintendent of the proposed institution, by Bishops Soule and Morris. The general plan, as outlined in the act of the general council, provided for two departments—that for the boys at Fort Coffee, that for the girls at New Hope, five miles distant. Students were to be selected by the council, and to be clothed, boarded, and instructed at the expense of the institution. The land was to be cultivated and food supplies raised on the farm. Associated with Goode, as his colleagues, were the Rev. Henry C. Benson, also of the Indiana Conference, who acted as assistant and teacher, and John Page, an Indian preacher.

The mission included the region adjacent to the school. Page—a full-blood Choctaw, pious, cheerful, and agreeable—served as interpreter, traveled the Circuit, and preached to the Indians. In 1843 membership of the Choctaw Mission Society numbered 725 Indians, fourteen whites, and fifty-one Negroes.¹¹¹

The school was opened on February 9, 1844. William H. Goode reported: The number of boys assigned to us at first was thirty. . . . In addition . . . the school is open and free to all residing within reach of it. As soon as practicable, we propose to open the female department, with thirty girls; and gradually increase the number in both departments as circumstances will permit.

. . . Our boys are mostly full-bloods . . . sprightly, docile, and submissive, and apparently eager to obtain an education. A number . . . have been received on trial into the church.¹¹²

Regular religious services were held every Sunday, attended by the mission staff—numbering, including the farm employees, about fifty persons—students, whites and slaves from agency and trading post, and Choctaw and Cherokee of the vicinity, "constituting a congregation of considerable size." Classes were organized, Class meetings held, a Sunday school established, and "all the machinery of religious training and education put into motion."¹¹³ On July 24 the first term of the school closed, with a public examination in the presence of the United States agent and officers of the Nation. In October, 1844, it re-opened,† with the addition to the staff of David Brigham, a Pres-

* Fort Coffee was established in June, 1834, and evacuated in November, 1838.

† The connection of William H. Goode and Henry C. Benson with the Fort Coffee Academy was ended by their resignations in the spring of 1845 when it became evident that the Louisville Convention—to which Goode had been elected as a delegate from the Indian Mission Conference—would

byterian layman, as assistant teacher.¹¹⁴ Tentative plans were made for opening the Nunnawaya Academy but were not carried out.¹¹⁵

CREEK MISSION, WEST

The military authorities of the government had fully formulated plans for the forced migration of the Creek but no specific plans for their permanent settlement.* Some ten thousand were "huttet on the Military Reservation" at Fort Gibson, Arkansas, in December, 1836—cold, suffering, and destitute. By spring the immigrants numbered more than fifteen thousand. Some joined a settlement made earlier in the Indian Territory† by others of the tribe on the Arkansas River. The great majority settled on the rich bottom lands of the Canadian River.¹¹⁶ Thoroughly demoralized by the circumstances of migration, without tools with which to till the soil, and lacking funds to improve the land or even to feed themselves, for some time they led a miserable existence. Their unfortunate economic situation was complicated and worsened by bitter factionalism within the tribe. Gradually, with government assistance, conditions improved and within a few years many were comfortably settled, with substantial houses, herds of cattle and hogs, and bountiful grain crops.¹¹⁷

The Creek Mission was first listed in the Missouri Conference *Minutes* of 1830 but only as "to be supplied." In 1831 Alvin Baird (or Beard) was appointed as missionary.¹¹⁸ In his letter of October 12, 1832, previously referred to,‡ Bishop Soule stated:

We have this year provided for six missionaries in the Creek Mission each of whom has the charge of a school.¹¹⁹

But as the 1832 *Minutes* leave two mission schools "to be supplied" the inference is that two of Bishop Soule's appointees failed to appear at their posts.§ Four Creek Mission schools with names of missionaries are listed in the 1833 *Minutes*,|| and in 1834 a Creek Circuit with five preaching places and four mission schools.¹²⁰ While authentic information is scant there can be little doubt that the work was attended by danger and difficulty. An alleged reason for opposition was that missionaries violated a Creek law against teaching

result in the organization of a separate Church. Both were transferred to the North Indiana Conference.—W. H. Goode, *op. cit.*, Part I, chs XXV, XXVII.

* See p. 143.

† In 1828–29 Creeks immigrants to the approximate number of 2,400 settled near the juncture of the Arkansas and Verdigris Rivers in Indian Territory. At the same time a Creek agency was established on the east side of the Verdigris about three miles above its mouth.—Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers, The Story of the American Southwest before 1830*, ch. XX, "Creek Immigrants Arrive in the Southwest, 1828"; *idem*, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830–1860*, p. 16.

‡ See p. 170.

§ Four missionaries are named in the 1832 *General Minutes*: Harris G. Joplin, M'Intosh school, No. 1; John N. Hamill, Wyan's school, on the Canadian, No. 2; Alvin Baird, Hawkins' school, near the agency, No. 3; Henry Perryman, Hardridge's school, No. 4.—II, 171.

|| In 1833: Hawkins' school, No. 1, Pleasant Tacket; Sell's school, No. 2, Learner B. Stalder; South Arkansas school, No. 3, John N. Hamill; Hardridge's school, No. 4, Pleasant Berryhill. (*Ibid.*, p. 226.) 1834: Creek Circuit, P. Berryhill; School No. 1, J. Harrell; No. 2, to be supplied; No. 3, J. N. Hamill; No. 4, to be supplied; No. 5, to be supplied.—*Ibid.*, p. 293.

their Negro slaves and that some missionaries preached abolitionism. As early as 1833 the Rev. John Fleming, a Presbyterian missionary recently from Princeton Theological Seminary, was assaulted by a Creek chief on this charge.¹²¹ However, there was a substantial nucleus of faithful members who had not been alienated from the Church—195 reported in 1832, and 274 in 1833. In 1834 there were nine new converts, five of whom united with the Church.

In 1835 Peter M. M'Gowan came to the Missouri Conference as a transfer from the Pittsburgh Conference. Appointed Superintendent of the South Indian Mission, he entered upon his work with enthusiasm and zeal, traveling constantly through the Creek and Cherokee Nations, preaching and supervising the schools. His letter to the *Christian Advocate*, written on December 1, 1835,* presents the clearest outline that we possess of the Creek Mission situation:

we have 5 schools . . . but for want of laborers to fill them, there is but one of them in operation, and to supply that I had to take brother Irwin, who was to have travelled on the circuit. This is school No. 4, which commenced on the 19th of October, with 11 scholars, since which time the average attendance has been only 8 . . . all of whom are native children of much promise. The attendance will be better when the people get their corn gathered. . . . I have employed brother James Perryman, who is a native, to travel the circuit regularly. He preaches in the Creek language, is an excellent interpreter, a good preacher, deeply pious, and withal much beloved, and very popular in the nation. His half brother, Henry Perryman, is a licensed preacher, and employed as an interpreter. . . . [He] is engaged in translating portions of the Scripture into the Creek language. . . . We have . . . three native preachers, one of whom, however, is unable to preach in the Creek language, and beside these several native exhorters.

The Creek Circuit had ten preaching places. The chief difficulty, M'Gowan felt, was lack of preachers and teachers.¹²² Most unfortunate was the fact that M'Gowan himself could not endure the strain:

The rigorous winter, poor accommodations, unusual food, long, weary travels and sleepless nights were too much for him. By the middle of the first summer, his health was broken. He . . . [retransferred] to the Pittsburgh Conference.¹²³

While many of the Creek people appreciated the work of the missionaries and were responsive to their message, the antagonism of some of the ruling men continued and was intensified. In 1836 the government superintendent, William Armstrong, notified all white missionaries to leave the Creek Nation, declaring that personal safety demanded immediate departure.† The

* Appointments to the Creek Circuit and schools, 1835-44, were as follows: 1835-36, Creek Circuit, J. L. Irwin; Hawkins' school, No. 1, A. D. Smith; South Arkansas school, No. 3, P. Berryhill; Hichitytown, J. H. Rives. 1836-42 (Arkansas Conference), no appointments. 1842-43, Creek Mission, Thomas Bertholf. 1843-44, no appointments.—*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 359, 435, 516, 603; III, 114, 211, 317, 423.

† Isaac McCoy states that the alleged cause was a report "that a Mr. I——, a Methodist mis-

Creek authorities formally dismissed them, and in the fall of 1836 they left.¹²⁴

Shortly after the arrival of the large contingent in December, 1836, John Harrell reported:

I . . . visited the Creek nation the 20th of the present month [January, 1837], and found many of my old friends . . . with whom I labored two years ago; but they have no missionaries among them. Through the malice of some ruling men the missionaries were dismissed, but they are sorry now . . . They appear anxious to have them return. What can be done for this nation? Nearly 30,000 emigrants have just arrived,* making in all about 35,000 . . . O what a field for missionary enterprise! The truth is, we have not men in this [Arkansas Conference] to cultivate so large a field.¹²⁵

Ten months later Harrell reported on a three days' meeting held in the Creek Nation at which the attendance was large. But the prospect of permanent results seemed to him very gloomy. Although friendliness and religious interest were manifest among many, evidence of deeply rooted suspicion and antagonism was all too apparent.† In 1838 there was still no missionary of any denomination among them, and in 1840 some of the chiefs refused to sanction the renewal of missionary activities.¹²⁶ The Methodist Societies for the most part disintegrated and for several years the *Minutes* carried no record of church membership.

A temporary revival took place in 1842-43. At the Arkansas Conference of 1842, Thomas Bertholf, an experienced missionary, was appointed to the Creek Mission. He succeeded within the first year in gathering together many scattered members of the Methodist Societies and at the 1843 Conference reported an enrolled membership of 585.¹²⁷ But Bertholf's first year was his last. In a Creek council meeting a resolution was passed that no white man should preach in the Nation, under penalty of "fifty lashes on the bare back"—natives only to be permitted to hold religious meetings.¹²⁸ As none of the Creek preachers was ordained, arrangements were made for a Choctaw to provide the Methodists with the ordinances, making it possible for the organization to be maintained intact.

CHICKASAW MISSION, WEST

At the Arkansas Conference of 1838 one of the appointments in the newly formed Red River District was the Choctaw Circuit to which J. W. P. M'Ken-

—
sionary who taught a school in the Creek Nation, had conducted [himself] very improperly" and this was urged as a reason why all missionaries should be expelled. (*History of Baptist Indian Missions* . . . , p. 507.) The only Methodist missionary appointed to the Creek Nation this year whose name began with "I" was John L. Irwin, assigned to the Creek Circuit, and later transferred to the school. At the succeeding Conference (Arkansas, 1836) Irwin's character was passed and he was appointed to the Jackson (Ark.) Circuit.—*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 359, 434.

* This estimate was approximately twice the number of actual arrivals.

† An interesting account (based upon the missionary's unpublished manuscript) of the attempt of the Rev. Robert M. Loughridge, a Presbyterian missionary, to maintain a mission among the Creek Indians, is given by Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 179f.

zie and W. Mulkey were appointed. In his *History of Methodism in Arkansas* Horace Jewell quotes Andrew Hunter as authority for the statement that the Choctaw Circuit also included work among the Chickasaw. Other details are lacking. The first listing in the *General Minutes* of a mission to the Chickasaw west of the Mississippi occurs in the report of the Arkansas Conference of 1842, with S. W. Moreland named as missionary. Only scant information can be found concerning it. The report of the Missionary Society for 1843-44 states that it was begun under discouraging circumstances, involving "great labour and sacrifice." A mission school was projected and many of the Indians are reported to have taken an active part in putting up the buildings. At the close of the first year eighty-five church members were reported. A year later the number was ten less.¹²⁹

In 1844 William H. Goode attended a meeting of the Chickasaw council for the purpose of influencing the Nation "to appropriate some portion of their large national income" to education. The council was favorable to the proposal and Goode formulated an agreement similar to that made earlier by E. R. Ames with the Choctaw.

The act provided for the establishment and maintenance of a seminary of learning, to be known as Chickasaw Academy, and placed under the care of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A fund was provided for building, and in addition . . . six thousand dollars a year for twenty years was appropriated for the support of the institution.¹³⁰

The agreement was approved by the council and later ratified by the federal Department of Indian Affairs.

QUAPAW MISSION

The *Minutes* of the Arkansas Conference, November 15, 1843, list for the first time the Quapaw Mission.* The Quapaw historically were one of the oldest of the Indian tribes of the West—recognized by the United States as the owners of the entire territory south of the Arkansas River within the area that became the Arkansas Territory.¹³¹ Very little is on record concerning the mission.†

The *Annual Report* of the Missionary Society issued in 1844 stated that the mission school was "reported to be in a prosperous condition," and that the principal men of the Nation were "deeply interested in the education of their children." However, there appears to have been but little tangible evidence of religious interest among the adults since the 1844 *Minutes* show only

* William H. Goode: "This little tribe had for several years a missionary among them from Missouri Conference; but little, I think, was accomplished by the effort." (*Op. cit.*, p. 87.) Goode supplies no further data.

† Appointments to the Quapaw Mission for the years 1843 and 1844 were: 1843, Samuel G. Patterson; 1844, S. G. Patterson, N. T. Shaler.—*Gen'l Minutes*, III, 423.

one Indian and one white person "in Society" at the end of the year.¹³² This lack of response to missionary preaching excites little wonder when the historical account—one of the most shameful on record—of the treatment of the tribe by agents of the government and white settlers is given consideration.¹³³

THE OREGON MISSION

From 1774, when Juan Perez, under the patronage of Spain, made the first recorded exploration of the northwest coast of the American continent, interest in the region steadily increased. In his *Travels throughout the Interior Parts of North America*, Jonathan Carver wrote with considerable assurance of a great river which he admitted he had never seen, calling it the Oregon.* The river was actually first discovered by the fur trader Robert Gray in 1792, by whom it was named the Columbia, after his ship. His discovery furnished a basis for claim by the United States to all the territory drained by its waters and made further contribution to public interest in the region. A still greater contribution was made by the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1805–06. The wide publicity given to the travels and discoveries of these intrepid explorers made the Oregon country much better and more favorably known. Both American and British adventurers were attracted to the region by hopes of financial gain through participation in the fur trade† and exploitation of other resources of the country. Beginning as early as 1826 the colonization of Oregon was advocated as a means of assuring its possession by the United States. On February 11, 1828, a petition for a grant of land and for government aid in establishing a settlement on the Columbia, prepared by Hall J. Kelley, a Boston schoolteacher, was presented to Congress. Such a grant was declared to be of "great importance for the security of our rights and property on the North-West Coast, and for the peace and subordination of the Indians on our western frontiers." Kelley's was an ambitious idea, nothing less than the establishment on the Pacific coast of a settlement paralleling that of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.¹³⁴

These several developments could not fail to be noted by Methodist leaders. The *Methodist Magazine* in a review of *Adventures on the Columbia River*, by Ross Cox,¹³⁵ said:

This part of our country is now attracting the attention of the American people, . . . and should be seized upon by the Christian missionary as a central position for the commencement and prosecution of aboriginal missions on the west side of the Rocky mountains.¹³⁶

* Carver's suggestion of the name was one of several influences leading to the later application of the term to the region.—H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States of North America*, XXIV, *Oregon*, Vol. I, 1834–1848, 17ff.

† In 1808 John Jacob Astor organized the American Fur Company, and in 1811 the Pacific Fur Company, a branch organization, founded a trading post at the Columbia's mouth which they named Astoria.

The General Conference of 1832 asked the Bishops "to extend, with all practicable despatch, the aboriginal missions on our western and north western frontiers," appointing a "superintendent of Indian missions, who shall explore the country as extensively as possible," and to notify the Missionary Society*

of the state of the Indian tribes generally, together with the prospects of introducing the Gospel among them, the number of missionaries, and amount of money needed to carry forward the work.¹³⁷

It is not surprising that the interest of the Church turned toward the establishment of Indian missions in the Oregon country for the northern Pacific coast region was early noted for its multiplicity of Indian stocks. Of the numerous families those most extensively represented in the region were the Chinookan, the Salishan, the Sahaptian, and the Athabasca. Of the Chinookan family the most important was the Chinook (by some spelled Chenook) who dwelt on the Columbia and the lower Willamette. They built wooden houses of large size, three or four families living together in each. Their canoes were hollowed-out logs which they handled with great skill. For food they depended upon salmon, supplemented by roots and berries. Each village, often of only a few houses, constituted a social unit, with a chief. Like a number of other tribes of the region they adhered to the custom of flattening the head. The Clackama were a lesser Chinookan tribe living on the Clackamas River in what later became Clackamas County. The Clatsop also were a small Chinookan tribe located along the Pacific shore on the Clatsop Plain to the south of the Columbia's mouth. The Wasco, who lived on the south side of the Columbia in the neighborhood of The Dalles, were one of the easternmost branches of the family. They occupied several villages, some of which were used only for camping during the salmon runs. They built two types of dwelling—a winter house, partly underground, roofed with cedar bark, and a summer house in which fir poles were used for the frame, covered with tules or cedar bark. For subsistence they depended principally upon fish; to a lesser extent on edible roots and berries; almost not at all upon wild game. They were skilled in simple forms of wood carving, chiefly the making of spoons, bowls, and twined baskets. Like other Chinookan tribes they practiced flattening of the heads of infants. Their ears were punctured, five holes in each. Jedidiah Morse in 1822 estimated their number at nine hundred.¹³⁸

The Nisqualli (Nezqualy) were a Salishan tribe whose habitat was north of the Columbia in the Puget Sound area of the present state of Washington. The Tillamook (Killamook or Killamuck), also a Salish tribe, on Tillamook

* Evidence is lacking of any immediate effect of the General Conference action.

Bay in northwestern Oregon, a short distance south of Clatsop, were said by Lewis and Clark to "number fifty houses, and a thousand souls." Lee and Frost, however, a few decades later "after passing through their entire country and seeing all their wigwams" estimated that their number had been reduced to not more than two hundred.¹³⁹

A third group of the Salishan family, the Flathead tribe, occupied a mountainous section of northwestern Montana. Here, years later, the government established the Flathead Agency. Strangely, Indians of this tribe are not identified by flat heads.¹⁴⁰

The Kalapooian (Kalapuyan) stock was represented in the Oregon country by a group of small tribes that occupied the upper valley of the Willamette River. These tribes, of which the Calapooya was one, were hunters, depending for their food supply not on salmon but on the wild game in which the region abounded. They, also, were distinguished by flattening of the head. They were considered to be sluggish and indolent, not readily influenced by education.¹⁴¹

The Klickitat (Klikitat) together with other tribes lived in the region adjacent to The Dalles. They were a sub-division of the Nez Percé, which was one of the principal tribes of the Sahaptian stock. Their chief food dependence was on the bulbous root of the camas, supplemented by bitterroot, carum, and wild carrot. They used also sun-dried wild berries and the seed of the wild sunflower. They were skilled basket makers—their best coiled and twined baskets prized for beauty and durability.¹⁴²

The Umpqua were an Athabasca tribe settled on the Umpqua River, which empties into the Pacific about two hundred and twenty-five miles south of the Columbia. They lived in rudely constructed board houses, clustered in small villages.* Their food supply consisted almost wholly of fish, derived from the river.¹⁴³

FLATHEAD MISSION AUTHORIZED

The moving spirit in the founding of the Flathead, later the Oregon, Mission, † was Willbur Fisk, president of Wesleyan University. The conception of the plan, the choice of the founder, and the raising of the initial fund, all were due to him. The primary document in substantiation of these facts is a letter written in October, 1839, by Mrs. Willbur Fisk to Samuel Luckey:

The evening the *Advocate* arrived, which contained the account of the four flat

* Gustavus Hines: "On arriving at the coast [Aug. 24, 1840] we found the Indians living in three small villages The whole number, as near as we could ascertain, amounted to about two hundred men, women, and children. . . ."—*Oregon, Its History, Condition and Prospects* . . . , pp. 103f.

† "Resolved, that the Bishops be requested to change the name of the above Mission [Flathead Mission] to the 'Oregon Mission.'"—*Minutes, B.M.* (Oct. 21, 1835), II, 9.

Head Indians, visiting 'St. Louis, in search of the white man's God,' my dear Husband was much more pressed for time than usual. Yet on receiving it, he came to me, and observed, that he 'had something interesting to read;' at the same time declining a chair, saying 'he had not time to sit with me.' When he had finished reading, he said: 'My dear wife, we will have a mission there.' I replied it would be a noble enterprise; but where is your man? He said 'I know of but *one* in the world, every way calculated for such an undertaking; and you know who that is' . . . [H]e called for his ink, and paper (he was standing by my worktable), and in his standing position, wrote to Mr. Lee, to know if he would accept such an undertaking, if the church saw fit to appoint him; and within *one half hour*, his letter was in the postoffice. The next day, he began to take measures, to collect funds for this mission, and I believe that between \$700 & \$800 were raised in our small City, to assist in its outfit.¹⁴⁴

Fisk's letter proposing the mission was written to the editors of the *Christian Advocate*, bearing date of March 9, 1833:

The communication of brother G. P. Disosway, including one from the Wyandot agent [William Walker, Jr.], on the subject of the deputation of the Flat-head Indians to Gen. Clarke, has excited in many in this section intense interest. And to be short about it, we are for having a mission established there at once. . . . Money shall be forthcoming. I will be bondsman for the Church. All we want is the men. Who will go? Who? . . . Were I young and healthy, and unencumbered, how joyfully would I go! But this honor is reserved for another. Bright will be his crown: glorious his reward.¹⁴⁵

The Walker letter to which Fisk refers appeared in the *Christian Advocate* of March 1, 1833. It was an informal, highly circumstantial, descriptive article which, reprinted in numerous other publications, attracted wide attention and probably awakened more missionary enthusiasm in the Methodist Church than had ever before been created by any printed statement.* As later investigations have proved, it was a highly romanticized, largely fictitious account of a comparatively simple event. It stated in substance that a delegation of "red men" from the Flathead tribe in the interior of Oregon, sent as delegates by a council of their chiefs to inquire concerning the word of the Great Spirit and to bring back to their people the white man's Book of Heaven, had appeared in St. Louis; that in the prosecution of their great object they had traveled two thousand miles over rugged mountains and barren plains, enduring cold and heat, hunger and thirst, and perils from enemies; that they had made known the object of their coming to General William Clark

* Willbur Fisk's immediate, energetic, and enthusiastic response to the appeal is partly accounted for by the fact that the idea of a mission to the Pacific Northwest had been extensively bruited in New England, contemporaneously with debates in Congress on Oregon bills, for several years. In December, 1827, the Prudential Committee of the American Board had urged the sending of "another Plymouth Colony, which shall extend its beneficent influences over millions of intelligent, enlightened and happy men, through successive ages to the end of the world" (*Missionary Herald*, XXIII [December, 1827], 369ff.) At the instance of the American Board, in 1829 Jonathan S. Green, an Andover Seminary graduate, made an exploratory tour of the northwest coast and at the conclusion of his extensive report expressed a fervent hope "that on these shores, and upon these hills, the voice of the Christian ambassador may be heard . . ."—*Ibid.*, XXVII (April, 1831), 105ff.

who had given them such help as he considered wise; that two of them, not being permitted to carry back the "glad tidings," had died in St. Louis, but that two had returned with the message of life to their people.¹⁴⁶

Subsequent inquiry substantiated the statement that four Indians from the far West (two of whom had died in St. Louis) had called on General Clark in 1831*—not 1832 as stated in various accounts. He talked with them and notified the Jesuit fathers and the Methodists of their arrival in the city. Other than these basic facts the principal printed reports appear to be fictitious.†

The Board of Managers of the Missionary Society was prompt to act on Fisk's proposal. At a meeting of the Board on March 20, 1833, his communication was reported and a resolution passed requesting the Corresponding Secretary "to correspond with the Bishops on the subject," and also to correspond with General Clark and any other persons "he may judge expedient" regarding a mission.¹⁴⁷ At the following meeting (April 17), on motion of Nathan Bangs, it was voted that "this board earnestly and respectfully request the bishops to adopt . . . measures . . . for the speedy establishment of an aboriginal mission west of the Rocky Mountains . . ." ¹⁴⁸

Jason Lee did not immediately respond to Fisk's proposal. He had previously offered himself to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London for an Indian mission in western Canada and was awaiting answer. When weeks had passed without word from England,‡ he notified the Board that he would accept appointment to Oregon. On July 17, 1833, it was announced that Bishop Hedding had appointed Jason Lee "missionary to the Flathead Indians." It is doubtful whether, if the entire ministry of the Church had been canvassed, a man better fitted for the strenuous, difficult task of establishing a mission in the Pacific Northwest could have been found than Jason Lee.§

* The date is established by the official record of burials of the Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. Louis, disclosing that a Nez Percé Indian, Nareisse, about forty-four years of age, had died and was buried near the cathedral on Oct. 31, 1831; and that a second, Paul, had died on Nov. 17, 1831.—See Cornelius J. Brosnan, *Jason Lee, Prophet of the New Oregon*, pp. 2f.

† Bishop Osmon C. Baker, classmate and intimate friend of Jason Lee, wrote in 1860: "I hardly need say that subsequent investigations have pretty conclusively shown this account to be, in a high degree, apocryphal. No evidence of . . . a [Flathead] council has yet been found. No tribe has been discovered eagerly awaiting the arrival of a religious teacher. No return deputies ever reported respecting the white man's religious books or religious life. A more probable conjecture is that those were wandering Indians on the plains, who accompanied some white men to the abodes of civilization." (Quoted by W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* . . . , VII, 794.) Also probably legendary is the oft-quoted farewell speech of one of the Indians to General Clark, beginning, "We came to you over a trail of many moons from the Setting Sun. . . . How can we go back blind to our blind people? . . ."

‡ The death of Richard Watson (1781–1833), author of *Theological Institutes* (1823–9), a *Life of Wesley* (1831), and numerous other works, occurred on Jan. 8, 1833. He had served as Secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society during the years 1816–26, and in 1832 had been re-elected. His death so interfered with the ongoing program that Lee's application was not acted upon.—Thomas Jackson, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Richard Watson*, pp. 147, 413, 451ff.; G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, I, 107f.

§ Jason Lee (1803–45) was born at Stanstead, Quebec, Canada, on the border of Vermont, of an old New England family (C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 17ff., 21). He was received on trial in the New England Conference in 1833 (*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 198), having served during the two preceding years as a teacher in the Stanstead Academy and in preaching in Stanstead and adjoining towns.

He was physically robust, courageous, with a vigorous mind, an astute business sense, clear moral and religious convictions, and a brotherly spirit.

On September 25 the appointment of a second missionary was announced. Bishop Hedding, under date of September 7, had written to the Treasurer:

I have appointed the Rev. Daniel Lee . . . a missionary to the Flat Head Indians. He is a single man, a Deacon. I should think 25 years old. He . . . was recommended to me by . . . [the New Hampshire Conference] by vote, as a suitable man to go . . . ¹⁴⁹

Daniel Lee* was a nephew of Jason Lee and was his choice as an associate. During the preceding Conference year he had served as one of three preachers on the Rochester and Pittsfield Circuit.¹⁵⁰ The selection of Daniel Lee was fortunate from every point of view. He was a capable, energetic, and conscientious man. While intensely loyal to his uncle, he possessed independent judgment and did not hesitate freely to express his own opinions. Brosnan's estimate that "his devoted and effective assistance . . . [over a period of eleven years] is a record of successful and consecrated service not often surpassed in the history of American Protestant missionary effort" is not an overstatement.¹⁵¹

At the September 25 Board meeting an appropriation of \$1,000. was made for the support of the mission for the current year. But this action did not satisfy Willbur Fisk who had much more ambitious plans in mind. He attended the October meeting and on his motion the appropriation was increased to \$3,000.¹⁵²

The fall months of 1833 were spent by Jason and Daniel Lee in making preparation for the overland journey to Oregon and in cultivation work in the churches of New England. Returning this year from his first trip to Oregon, Nathaniel J. Wyeth—explorer and Indian trader—had brought with him two Indian boys with flattened heads. Jason Lee induced him to attend a missionary meeting held in the Bromfield Street Church, Boston, in November, bringing with him the Indian boys. Captain Wyeth, Willbur Fisk, and Jason Lee spoke, the boys were introduced, and a collection of \$120. was taken for the Flathead Mission. Meetings were also held at Lynn (yielding an offering of \$100.), at Lowell, Dorchester, Andover, and other places.¹⁵³ Not all contributions were from Methodists. A Presbyterian day laborer sent \$5.; another who described himself as not "of your denomination" contributed \$50., while some offerings were wholly anonymous.

At Boston, early in December, Jason Lee recruited a third missionary,

* Daniel Lee (1806-95) was admitted on trial in the New Hampshire and Vermont Conference in 1831 (*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 106). On retiring from missionary service in Oregon on account of the ill health of Mrs. Lee he wrote, in association with J. H. Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon*, a primary source book on the Oregon Mission, 1834-43. After returning from Oregon in 1844 he served for many years as a pastor in New Hampshire. For obituary, see *Gen'l Minutes*, *Meth. Episc. Ch.*, Spring, 1896, p. 123.

Cyrus Shepard*—a public school teacher of Weston, Massachusetts. Shepard made note in his diary of Lee's visit, under date of December 5, and added: It may seem to some that I was precipitate in making up my mind on this important subject, but it is all known to myself and my God.¹⁵⁴

Like Daniel Lee, Cyrus Shepard, a missionary at heart, was a man of thoroughly sacrificial spirit. Unfortunately, he was not in vigorous health.

Captain Wyeth kindly invited the missionary party to join his overland expedition which planned to leave Independence, Missouri, late in April, offering also to transport their supplies in a vessel which he proposed to send, via Cape Horn, to the mouth of the Columbia. The invitation was gratefully accepted and on January 29, 1834, Jason and Daniel Lee bade farewell to the Missionary Society representatives and started on their journey to St. Louis via Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Louisville, attending missionary rallies and soliciting funds en route. On April 4 they arrived in St. Louis.¹⁵⁵ Cyrus Shepard proceeded to Independence to assemble the equipment and make other preparations for the long trek.¹⁵⁶ Not less than five men, it was believed, would be needed to transport the required equipment and supplies. At Richmond, Missouri, Daniel Lee succeeded in engaging—as lay assistants—Philip L. Edwards, a Kentuckian, twenty-two years of age, a real frontiersman with qualities of leadership; and Courtney M. Walker, likewise young and of strong physique. Walker was employed as mission business agent for one year. Neither of the two possessed any special religious interest, but Jason Lee regarded each a valuable acquisition to the company, just such as were needed, "being acquainted with Indian life, and the mode of traveling we have to pursue."¹⁵⁷

ON THE OREGON TRAIL

On Monday morning, April 28, camp was broken and the train began its march toward the faraway land of the setting sun. Cyrus Shepard's "Journal" supplies descriptive details:

There are in [the] company about two hundred animals of burden, namely, horses, mules, and eighteen or twenty head of horned cattle. Our party numbers upward of sixty men. The mission family consists of five. . . . Each man rides a horse, and leads two others, laden with merchandise and necessary baggage.¹⁵⁸

Daniel Lee's account adds certain picturesque touches. The company, he says, were armed with rifles.

Most of them had each a powder horn or a flask, a large leathern pouch for bullets . . . buckled close to his body with a leathern belt, in which hung a

* Cyrus Shepard (1798-1840) was born at Acton, Mass. For an excellent brief sketch of his character and work see Robert Moulton Gatke, *Chronicles of Willamette, the Pioneer University of the West*, pp. 40ff.

scabbard of the same material, bearing a 'scalping knife,' that savage weapon whose very name is a terror.¹⁵⁹

On Monday afternoon, September 1, after eighty-eight days of exhausting travel—exclusive of thirty-nine days' rest—the company arrived at Fort Walla Walla, on the Columbia, some ten miles below the confluence of the Columbia and Snake Rivers.¹⁶⁰ Daniel Lee's log of the journey, in summary estimate, reads: Independence, Missouri, to the Platte River, Nebraska, 340 miles, seventeen days; up the Platte, 280 miles, fourteen days; from the Platte to the Rendezvous, the headquarters of trappers and traders (Hams Fork, Wyoming; Lee says "Hain Fork"), 300 miles, fifteen days; from the Rendezvous to Fort Hall, Idaho, 240 miles, twelve days; from Fort Hall to Fort Walla Walla, Washington, 600 miles, thirty days—a total of 1,760 miles.¹⁶¹

To Jason Lee the journey had been in several ways a disillusioning experience. It became apparent to him that the effective teaching of the Gospel to the Indians involved difficulties on which he had not fully reckoned. The eagerness to learn about the white man's God, earlier reported, was not in evidence among many of the natives encountered, while others were actively hostile. Nearing the Rendezvous Captain Wyeth informed him he had heard

that the Indians threatened to 'give them Missionaries Hell,' . . . and advised us to say nothing to them on the subject of religion, for it was not possible to do them any good, and be careful not to give them the least reason, or excuse for abusing us¹⁶²

Lee added the laconic comment—illuminating concerning what was going on in his own mind—"it is rather my opinion that it is easier converting a tribe of Indians at a *Missionary Meeting*, than in the wilderness."

A second disturbing discovery concerned the opposition of many of the traders to missionary work among the Indians, which began to find expression at an early stage of the journey and increased as the party proceeded. Lee was quick to perceive that it was not wholly disinterested. Some of the traders, perhaps all, he said,

are opposed to our enterprise. Some have told me that they were opposed from principle, but perhaps they would come nigher to it if they had said from interest.¹⁶³

The missionary also was disappointed to find how small and insulated were many of the tribes. He comments in his "Diary" on this fact, stating for example that the Walla Walla tribe "is small and . . . filthy."¹⁶⁴ His disappointment was particularly keen in discovering that the Flathead tribe had been decimated by warfare with the Blackfeet and that they had been driven back into the mountains where they were almost inaccessible:

They ascertained . . . that . . . the tribe . . . was not only very small, but very disadvantageously situated for the establishment and support of missionary operations. . . . ¹⁶⁵

While some desire for the establishment of a mission was manifested by the Flathead remnant and Lee felt that the interest of some was genuine he could not but feel that in all probability a greater opportunity lay ahead. In leaving them on July 4 he recorded a prayer that he might be directed by the Lord in the choice of a location.¹⁶⁶ In some other particulars also the picture was not wholly dark. On two occasions "Kiouse [Cayuse] Indians" made a gift of horses to the missionaries. On July 30, Lee wrote:

two Indians came and presented me with two beautiful w[h]ite horses. Surely the hand of Providence must be in it for they presented them because we are Missionaries and at a time when two of our horses are nearly worn out. This if I mistake not augurs well for our ultimate success among these generous red men.¹⁶⁷

At Fort Hall, Idaho, on Sunday afternoon, July 27, Lee had held an outdoor religious meeting attended by about sixty persons—members of Wyeth's party, trappers, and Indians—the first Protestant religious service in Idaho and in the vast interior of the Rocky Mountains.* Cyrus Shepard noted the "profound and solemn attention" given by the congregation, and felt encouraged.¹⁶⁸ John K. Townsend, Philadelphia doctor and the ornithologist of the party, was likewise impressed:

The people were remarkably quiet and attentive, and the Indians sat upon the ground like statues. Although not one of them could understand a word that was said, they nevertheless maintained the most strict and decorous silence, kneeling when the preacher kneeled, and rising when he rose ¹⁶⁹

At Fort Walla Walla, faced with the problem of transporting his livestock down the Columbia, Lee negotiated a trade with the Hudson's Bay Company's Post Factor, P. C. Pambrun, whereby he exchanged his ten horses, four mules, and three cows for other stock, provisions, and equipment to be delivered at Fort Vancouver.¹⁷⁰ On September 4 the missionary party embarked on a Hudson's Bay Company barge for the downriver trip. At three o'clock on Monday, September 15, the vessel was moored at water's edge in front of Fort Vancouver. On the river bank the members of the party were cordially greeted by Dr. John McLoughlin, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Christian gentleman and able administrator—later a generous benefactor of the Methodist mission—who invited the party to be his guests. We received every attention. . . . Our baggage was . . . put into a spacious

* Lee opened the Fort Hall service by reading the fifteenth Psalm, led in the singing of the hymn, "The Lord of Sabbath let us praise," offered prayer, and preached a sermon from the text, "Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God" (I Cor. 10.31).

room. . . . The dinner was as good and served in as good style as in any gentleman's house in the east. Fine musk-melons and water melons, and apples were set before us. . . . Dr. McLoughlin . . . seems pleased that missions have come to the country and freely offers us any assistance that it is in his power to render. O Lord, do thou direct us in the choice of a location.¹⁷¹

Gratefully accepting McLoughlin's gracious hospitality, Lee and his party made Fort Vancouver their headquarters while engaged in getting their bearings. On September 16, Wyeth's brig, the *May Dacre*, with the missionaries' supplies on board, arrived at the mouth of the Columbia. At the fort on September 28 Lee preached the first Protestant sermon delivered in the Columbia region:

Assayed to preach to a mixed congregation—English, French, Scotch, Irish, Indians, Americans, half breeds, Japanese [Hawaiians], etc., some of whom did not understand five words of English. Found it extremely difficult to collect my thoughts or find words to express them, but am thankful that I have been permitted to plead the cause of God on this side of the Rocky Mountains where the banners of Christ were never before unfurled.¹⁷²

HEADQUARTERS LOCATED AND OREGON MISSION ESTABLISHED

On September 18, 1834, Jason and Daniel Lee left Vancouver, accompanied by men McLoughlin furnished to examine the country on the Willamette River.¹⁷³

That McLoughlin strongly advised choice of a location in the lower Willamette Valley is clear. But to Jason Lee's mind the choice of permanent headquarters for the mission was a matter of too great importance to be hastily decided. For six days they engaged in thorough inspection of the valley. On September 24 he wrote that his mind was still "greatly exercised" concerning a site:

Could I but know the identical place that the Lord designs for us, be it where it may, even a thousand miles in the interior, it would be a matter of great rejoicing. O, my God, direct us to the right spot where we can best glorify thee and be most useful to these degraded red men.¹⁷⁴

On Saturday, September 27, the party was back at the fort, having been "fifty miles up the Willamette." Four days later (Oct. 1, 1834) the decision was written down: "To the Willamette we have concluded to go," accompanied by the fervent prayer, "O may God go with us, for, unless thy presence go with us, we will not go up, for it will be in vain."¹⁷⁵

Lee's record does not reveal the considerations that determined the decision but a letter written by Cyrus Shepard to the *Christian Advocate** indicated what was certainly a principal reason, if not the determining factor:

* This letter, it will be noted, appeared in the *Christian Advocate* thirteen and a half months after the decision to locate in the Willamette Valley was made. Transmission of mail was so un-

This selection has been made after much reflection and fervent prayer. It has been found by observation, that in order effectually to benefit the rising generation among the natives, a location must be made where a large school can be supported by the produce of the soil; and the place which has been selected appears to be the most favorable for that purpose of any we have yet discovered. From this place we trust the mission will hereafter be extended to other places¹⁷⁶

These utterances bear upon their face such marks of utter sincerity as to make it difficult to conceive how any historian, writing objectively, could impute to Jason Lee the mixed motives attributed to him in Bancroft's *History of Oregon*.*

It is interesting to note, in the light of all that was written in later years concerning his being influenced by base motives, that Lee was clear-sighted enough to realize—since the mission was not established among the Flathead—that his choice of a location might be ascribed, as he says, “to some other motive beside the true one”¹⁷⁷

The location selected was on French Prairie, a few rods to the east of the Willamette River,† about sixty miles south of its confluence with the Columbia—a broad, alluvial plain, about two miles above the farm of Joseph Gervais, a former French Canadian hunter and trapper who had recently turned to farming as an occupation. The prairie was bordered by oak, fir, cottonwood, white maple, and ash timber.¹⁷⁸

The Garvais family, according to Lee, was one of about twenty, settled in the same general area, most of them French Canadian men with Indian wives whom they had married by civil contract, the men formerly having been in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. Indians in the vicinity were of several tribes, including Chinook, Calapooya, and Umpqua. In Garvais' cabin on October 19, Lee preached his first sermon in the Willamette Valley.¹⁷⁹

The mission location chosen, prompt action followed. The Lees, Cyrus Shepard, and their helpers moved to the site and for four weeks lived in a tent. McLoughlin generously loaned seven oxen to haul lumber, eight cows

certain and slow that it took from six to twelve months for letters to reach New York. Writing under date of March 14, 1836, Lee stated that he had received since he started on the Oregon Trail but three letters; one from Canada (date not mentioned) and two from the Missionary Society dated respectively Sept. 2, 1834, and April 10, 1835.—*Christian Advocate and Journal*, XI (1836), 2 (Sept. 2), 6.

* In this volume Frances Fuller Victor states: “The causes governing the selection of a site are obvious. Jason Lee was a man; although a servant of the Lord, he was already the master of men. How far the thought of empire had hitherto mingled with his missionary plans probably he himself could scarcely tell. He could not but see that human possibilities were broader, mightier, in the fertile valley of the Willamette, open through its Columbia avenue to the sea, than the inaccessible so-called Flathead country. Were he altogether missionary, and not man, he might have felt that, though the possibilities for man were here greater, with God all things are possible, and so have remained in the rock-bound region of midcontinent. But being full of human ambition as well as of human sympathy, it was not difficult to make the interests of God identical with his own.”—*History of Oregon*, I, 65.

† The mission house was built too close to the river and some years later was carried away by a freshet.

with calves, and a bull.¹⁸⁰ Several horses and sundry articles of equipment were taken in exchange for effects left at Walla Walla. Jason Lee later told of difficulties of building:

We labored under disadvantages, for we were not carpenters. We however went into the woods and cut the timber. We took the green trees and split them, and hewed out boards for our floors. If we wanted a door, a table, or a coffin, we had to do the same.¹⁸¹

On October 29 the missionaries moved into a mission house, thirty-two by eighteen feet, a story and a half high, built of logs, hewn on the inside.* It had two rooms—each having two windows—with split plank floors, and a chimney made of sticks, clay, and sand. Rudely constructed stoves, tables, and chairs were soon added.¹⁸² Provisions were scarce during the long but mild winter which soon set in. The chief articles of diet were the salt pork which had been transported on Wyeth's brig, dried peas procured from their neighbors, unleavened bread baked from Vancouver flour, milk from the mission cows, and venison obtained from the Indians by trade. The rigors of pioneer life were more than Cyrus Shepard could endure and through the kindness of McLoughlin he was given charge temporarily of the Fort Vancouver school.¹⁸³

Protégés came to the mission unsought, even while building operations were in progress.¹⁸⁴ Soon, Jason Lee writes, three Indian orphans were under its care:

One a boy of 17 or 18 years whom we got to take care of our animals, but his mother dying soon after, we were obliged to take his sister of 12 years to keep her from suffering. The third a boy of 13 years who . . . asked by signs so significantly to be permitted to remain with us that we could not refuse. We devote one hour each evening in teaching them to read and spell, and I think I never knew children make more rapid progress.¹⁸⁵

Cyrus Shepard adds a graphic description of the physical condition of the children when they came to the mission:

These children came to us almost naked, in a very filthy state, and covered with vermin. The girl had no other covering than a small piece of deerskin over her shoulders, and a deep fringe of the same material tied around her waist. I made her a gown . . . from some pieces of tow cloth, which had been used for baling our goods; and J. Lee cleansed them from their vermin, so that they do not now appear like the same children they were when they first came.¹⁸⁶

Jason Lee was not a blind enthusiast. Before he left his native New England for the Pacific Northwest his hopes were doubtless in part buoyed up by an element of romance inherent in the enterprise as it had been pic-

* From time to time improvements were made to the original structure, and other buildings added—a second house fifteen by thirty-two feet, and a commodious log barn. In these several buildings headquarters of the Oregon Mission were maintained from 1835 to 1841.

tured by others. But soon after starting on the Oregon Trail all the tincture of romance faded and from that time on he faced realistically and without shrinking the hard facts of the undertaking. Concerning the immediate situation, he said:

The Indians in this vicinity . . . [were] formerly numerous, but the fever and ague has made such ravages among them that their number is now small. . . . They live principally on roots, are generally naked, and are the most destitute and miserable that I have seen.¹⁸⁷

During the winter of 1835 thirty acres of prairie were plowed and fenced, and when spring came, wheat, barley, and oats were sown, and corn and vegetables planted. The crop harvested included 150 bushels of wheat, thirty-five of oats, fifty-six of barley, eighty-seven of peas, besides potatoes and vegetables.* In the fall fifteen additional acres of sod were plowed. The grain and vegetables amply provided provender for the livestock, and food for the missionary family as well as for a number of Indian children.¹⁸⁸

Firstfruits of Jason Lee's religious activity appeared when he preached for the second time at Fort Vancouver, on December 14, 1834, and baptized four women and fifteen children. Some of the members of the Hudson's Bay Company staff were communicants of the Church of England and it was chiefly wives and children of these who received Christian baptism. Among the women was the wife of McLoughlin and of the children some were orphans enrolled as pupils in the school.¹⁸⁹

JASON LEE'S MISSION STRATEGY

From Willbur Fisk, Lee's mentor and guarantor, came the germinal ideas of his missionary philosophy and program. In Fisk's original letter to the *Christian Advocate* he had said:

I have proposed the following plan:—Let two suitable men, unencumbered with families, and possessing the spirit of martyrs, throw themselves into the nation. Live with them—learn their language—preach Christ to them—and, as the way opens, introduce schools, agriculture, and the arts of civilized life. The means for these improvements can be introduced through the fur traders, and by the reinforcements with which from time to time we can strengthen the mission.¹⁹⁰

All the elements of policy and program developed by Jason Lee during the years of his tenure as Superintendent of the Oregon Mission are found in essence in Fisk's letter.

Recognizing in McLoughlin a wise and experienced counselor, Lee was ready not only to listen to his suggestion concerning geographical location of

* Daniel Lee's account of farming operations varies as regards acreage. He adds that the comparatively small yield was due to the fact that the ground was new. Also that one field was farmed by Indians on shares, some of whom helped themselves to more than their agreed portion.—D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 139.

the mission but also to give sympathetic consideration to the reasons underlying the advice. McLoughlin advised that it was too dangerous for them to "establish a mission," *i.e.*, attempt immediate change in the Indians' religion through direct conversion, or direct evangelization:

that to do good to . . . [them], they must establish themselves where they could collect them around them; teach them first to cultivate the ground and live more comfortably than they do by hunting, and as they do this, teach them religion¹⁹¹

Within four months following the location of the mission Jason Lee had evolved a plan that governed his operations throughout his administration:

I trust it will not be long before we shall have a flourishing school here, which I think is the most effectual means of benefiting these truly miserable beings. . . . I have requested the Board to send a man with a family to take charge of the farm, and by the time one can arrive we shall have it so arranged that it will not be so difficult as it now is. Though we think this establishment essentially necessary to the successful prosecution [sic] of our object, yet we still have our eyes on other places where the Indians are more numerous and enterprising than they are here.

I have requested the Board not to send any more *single men*, but to send men with *families*. . . . A greater favour could not be bestowed upon this country, than to send to it pious, industrious, intelligent [sic] females.

I am not singular in this. The Gov[enor] and other Gentlemen of the H[udson's] B[ay] Com[pany] (though they have native wives) say that white females would be of the greatest importance to the mission, and would have far more influence among Indians than males.

If your opinion accords with ours I beg you to use your influence with the Board to cause them to send out some as soon as possible.¹⁹²

Lee's specific elaboration, in this letter, of Fisk's suggestion of introducing "schools, agriculture, and the arts of civilized life," as a program of missionary operation was not original with either Fisk or Lee. It had been proposed thirteen years earlier by Jedidiah Morse in his report to the Secretary of War,* and in its essential elements had been developed by Methodist missionaries in the Wyandot and other missions, as well as by the Moravians, the Presbyterian missionary Gideon Blackburn, and the American Board.

MISSION SUNDAY SCHOOL AND DAY SCHOOL

In the early spring of 1835 Cyrus Shepard opened at the mission a Sun-

* Jedidiah Morse used "Education Family" as a descriptive term for the plan: "By an *Education Family* I mean, an association of individual families, formed of one or more men regularly qualified to preach the Gospel, to be at the head of such a family; of schoolmasters and mistresses; of farmers, blacksmiths, carpenters, cabinetmakers, mill-wrights, and other mechanics—of women capable of teaching the use of the needle, the spinning-wheel, the loom, and all kinds of domestic manufactures, cookery, &c. common in civilized families. This family to consist of men and women in a married state, with their children . . . contented to labor without salary, receiving simply support. The size of these families to be proportional to the importance of their respective stations, and to the number of Indians around them who are to be educated."—*Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs* pp. 78ff.

day school and a day school. The Sunday school began with fourteen pupils: three Indians and eleven half-breeds.¹⁹³ It gradually increased in enrollment until in October, 1836, it had fifty-three members.¹⁹⁴ The nucleus of both schools consisted of children living at the mission house. In addition, all of the children of the neighborhood who were willing to attend were welcomed. Two Cayuse Indian pupils came from a distance of more than two hundred miles to enroll in the school.¹⁹⁵

Perhaps two years later H. K. W. Perkins described the student body of the day school—some twenty-five or thirty pupils:

Of the most of them it might be said they were . . . anything but interesting. To brother Shepard, however, they appeared like so many angels. There was . . . Frank, a short, chubby, black-eyed, mischievous little fellow, . . . and Thomas, a poor, scrofulous, sickly looking lad. There were also his little Mary Ann, and Harriet, and Ann Stevens, the veriest little papposes in the world, but in his eyes as beautiful little girls as ever need to be. . . .

There were groups also of large boys and girls . . . Jesse, Samson, May, and Isabel. . . . Jesse, in particular was a most awkward boy . . . he might have been nineteen. . . . He had a low forehead, a wide mouth, and an uncommonly long nose, and withal was round-shouldered. He made but little progress in learning, and indeed was expert at nothing. . . . Samson . . . poor lad . . . had an ulcerous leg . . .

May was a fair specimen of a young Calapoewah squaw. With low stature, with uncommonly coarse features, she was poorly calculated . . . to win . . . the affections of any one. . . . Isabel . . . a tall spare girl . . . was of French descent. [She was] . . . naturally frail and feeble, and . . . fell a prey to . . . consumption.

These were some of brother Shepard's pupils. The poorest, frailest, lowest specimens of our common humanity.¹⁹⁶

The curriculum of the day school consisted principally of English (reading, writing, and spelling), arithmetic, and geography. Religious instruction included the teaching of the Bible and the catechism, and the singing of hymns. The boys were trained in farm work and gardening, and the girls were taught sewing and cooking. While some of the pupils made excellent progress, various influences operated against the school's growth during the early years. Most of the Indians were opposed to their children's attending the school, with the result that many of those enrolled were homeless waifs. Despite scrupulous attention on the teachers' part to diet, personal cleanliness, and sanitation, the mortality rate was very high.* Shepard's ill health continued and in the fall of 1839 he was compelled to undergo the amputation of his right leg,† which seriously limited his activity. Despite all handi-

* "Mission Record Book," Dec. 31, 1835: "During the past year there have been admitted into the family thirteen Indians and one halfbreed four of whom have died, one has been dismissed and nine remain also one that was admitted in 1834 . . ." (p. 14). Year after year frequent deaths were recorded. The predominant cause seems to have been consumption. Fatalities also were registered from scrofula, croup and unidentified causes. The winter of 1837 brought a serious epidemic of influenza (*ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1837, pp. 28f). The mortality rate apparently was as high among day school pupils as among those living at the mission house.

† Cyrus Shepard never recovered from the effects of the surgical operation. On Jan. 1, 1840, he

caps, so long as Shepard was in charge the school was moderately successful both as an elementary school and as a Christianizing influence.

Of Cyrus Shepard, Oregon's first professional schoolteacher, people had only words of praise. "No one," wrote H. K. W. Perkins, "could be his enemy, and no one could help admiring his patience and Christian zeal." Bronnan declares him to have been "the most successful and consecrated of all the workers associated with Lee's missionary enterprise." His "gentleness," says Frances Fuller Victor, "won him the hearts of all his associates."¹⁹⁷

For a brief period Solomon H. Smith—"a member of Captain Wyeth's first party"—assisted by his wife, a Clatsop Indian woman, aided in the work of the mission school. Cyrus Shepard's successor as chief teacher, until May, 1840, was William Geiger, a Presbyterian layman.¹⁹⁸

MISSION PERSONNEL INCREASED

The fall of 1835 and the winter and spring of 1836 tried Jason Lee's soul. He had heard very little from personal friends and relatives in the East, or from the Missionary Society. Edwards, who had proven to be a valuable helper, had left the employ of the mission, the time for which he had been engaged having expired. Three of the mission house Indian children had died. Daniel Lee had become indisposed, suffering from an acute affection of the throat and lungs, and had gone to Hawaii for his health, expenses paid by McLoughlin. No reinforcement of personnel had arrived. Though downcast he did not despair.

Two letters, written on consecutive days to the Missionary Society and Willbur Fisk, portray his state of mind. To the former he stated that, though little that was encouraging had been achieved, yet he and his co-workers were still of the opinion "that the Lord will be entreated for this people; and that much good will result . . ." Every foot of the ground, inch by inch, he declared, was contested by "the enemy." "But shall we on that account basely desert the field, and own him conqueror?" For his part, he would not.

His letter to Fisk, his trusted friend and adviser, was more frankly self-revealing:

My courage has sometimes been diminished, and my faith weakened, but they have never *failed*. But I find it much harder walking by faith than by sight. . . .

We labour under many disadvantages. . . .

. . . if there is a place on the Earth w[h]ere missionaries are needed, it is here. And I do think if the Lord spares our lives, and gives us health, that we

died. He had married, on July 16, 1837, Susan Downing of Lynn, Mass., his fiancée when he enlisted for missionary service. He was survived by his wife and two infant daughters. It was his fondest desire "to live and die in the blessed cause" of conducting a school for Indian children. "Through all his sufferings," wrote his devoted wife, ". . . he could rejoice and sing praises to God."—D. Leslie, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal* XV (1840), 7 (Sept. 30), 28; Z. A. Mudge, *The Missionary Teacher, a Memoir of Cyrus Shepard* . . . , p. 208.

shall lay a foundation for usefulness, that shall tell down the generations yet unborn.¹⁹⁹

Lee was not required to wait long for reinforcement. Though infrequent communications from the Society might seem to indicate lack of concern, the Board of Managers was deeply interested in the mission and active in its behalf. In response to Lee's appeal for a married missionary, at its meeting of October 21, 1835, the Board decided

that in the opinion of this board it is expedient to send by way of the Sandwich Islands [Hawaii] or otherwise by water, a married Missionary and likewise the young lady spoken of by bro. Lee, as being affianced to Daniel Lee, provided she is willing to go.²⁰⁰

This action was followed by another, taken at a special meeting of the Board on December 2, 1835:

Resolved, that two farmers (from our western frontier, if they can be obtained) be sent to the aid of the [Oregon] Mission, and to teach the natives the art of agriculture.

The motion was amended by substituting the words "farmer and carpenter" for "two farmers," and finally was held over for later consideration.²⁰¹ On January 6, the Corresponding Secretary reported letters received from nine persons, including three physicians, offering themselves for missionary service in Oregon. Following reading of the correspondence the Board voted that the services of Elijah White, of Havana, in the county of Tompkins [New York], be accepted as a physician; Maria Pittman of New York and Elvira Johnson, of the Maine Wesleyan Seminary as female Teachers, and Alanson Beers as a Blacksmith, and that the Corresponding Secretary notify them accordingly.²⁰²

On June 15, 1836, by formal vote of the Board, Miss Susan Downing "was constituted a member of the mission family." At the same meeting note was made of the fact that W. H. Willson was ready to leave for Oregon but no formal action was recorded concerning his relation to the mission. Formal request was made of Bishop Hedding that he "employ two additional married missionaries for the Oregon Mission as soon as practicable. . . ." Later in the year, in response to the Board's request, the Bishop appointed H. K. W. Perkins, pastor of the Vienna Circuit, Maine Conference, and David Leslie, pastor at Fairhaven Village, New England Conference, missionaries to Oregon.²⁰³

The first group of additional missionary recruits, under the leadership of Dr. White, sailed in July, 1836, from Boston in the *Hamilton*. The party of twelve included the doctor, his wife, his daughter, and an adopted son (George Stoughtenburgh); Susan Downing; Anna Maria Pitman, who be-

came the wife of Jason Lee*; Elvira Johnson, who later married H. K. W. Perkins; Alanson Beers, blacksmith, wife, and three children; and W. H. Willson, ship carpenter, of New Bedford, Massachusetts. The ship landed at Honolulu on December 23, 1836.† For almost four months they waited for transportation, finally taking passage on the *Diana*, which docked at Fort Vancouver on May 17, 1837.²⁰⁴

The Board's record of the outgoing of the group supplies additional information:

With these were sent out a large quantity of household furniture, about twenty boxes of clothing of various sorts and sizes, valued at not less than \$2,000, agriculture, mechanical and surgical instruments, as well as medicine for the benefit of the mission²⁰⁵

At Fort Vancouver the generous hospitality of McLoughlin again was in evidence. For a week the entire party were his guests. On the afternoon of May 25 they set off in a boat and three canoes for their final destination. Progress was necessarily slow and on each of two nights camp was made on the bank of the Willamette. On the forenoon of the third day landing was made at Champog, a little settlement eighteen miles from the mission. At this point the party was met by a courier sent by Daniel Lee with a summons for Dr. White‡ to hasten as rapidly as possible as several of the Indian

* Jason Lee first met Miss Pitman in New York ("Diary," *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, XVII [1916], 409). At that time neither had thought of matrimony but later when Miss Pitman was accepted for service as a teacher intimation was conveyed to Lee that officers of the Board thought of her as a suitable person for his wife and to her that she had been selected as a life companion for Jason Lee (Theressa Gay, *Life and Letters of Mrs. Jason Lee* . . . , pp. 28, 52, 58f.). Two weeks after her arrival in Oregon, Lee asked her hand in marriage. The wedding—the first marriage of a white man to a white woman in the Oregon country—occurred on Sunday morning, July 16, in connection with the regular worship service of the mission, the ceremony being performed by Daniel Lee (*ibid.*, pp. 60ff.). Mrs. Lee died on June 26, 1838, three days after the birth of a son.

† The date of arrival at Honolulu of this first reinforcement of the Oregon Mission, twenty-seven months after the beginning of work by the Lees and Cyrus Shepard at the Willamette station, approximately coincided with the beginning of mission work by Marcus Whitman at Waiilatpu among the Cayuse Indians, in the vicinity of Walla Walla, and by Henry H. Spalding among the Nez Percé at Lapwai in the Clearwater Valley, ten miles from the present city of Lewiston, Idaho (J. Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 322; Clifford Merrill Drury, Henry Harmon Spalding, pp. 156f., 158ff.). The Dutch Reformed Church of Ithaca, N. Y., in 1835 had commissioned the Rev. Samuel Parker to make a survey of the Pacific Northwest preliminary to locating a mission. At St. Louis he met Dr. Marcus Whitman, appointed by the American Board of Commissioners as his associate (Samuel Parker, *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains* . . . , pp. 13f., 24). Following the Oregon Trail in a company of white trappers, at Green River they met a group of Nez Percé who so interested Whitman that he decided at once to return to the East and enlist helpers to establish a mission among them. With his wife he set out on Feb. 6, 1836, for the Nez Percé country. At Prattsburg, N. Y., he enlisted the cooperation of H. H. Spalding and wife who had left Oneida, N. Y., with the intention of working as missionaries among the Osage Indians (C. M. Drury, *op. cit.*, pp. 114ff.). At Liberty, Mo., William H. Gray, who had been employed by the American Board as a mechanic, joined the group. In the meantime Parker had gone on to the valley of the Columbia, made extensive exploration among various Indian tribes, visited the Methodist missionaries and acquainted himself with their activities, and returned to the States via Honolulu. He arrived in Ithaca, on May 23, 1837. The next year he published his *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains* . . . which was widely read and contributed to the increasing interest in the Pacific Northwest.

‡ The Board did not make a fortunate selection when, from among three candidates, they chose Elijah White, M.D., as mission physician—an appointment which he held for only three years. There was not in him the making of a genuine Christian missionary. He was an opportunist, anxious to be popular, fond of oratorical display, and determined on having his own way. Both Mrs. Victor and Brosnan quote with approval the characterization of Sidney W. Moss, an Oregon pioneer ("Pioneer Times," ms., and "Narrative and Remarks," ms., Bancroft Library), describing him as in a way kind and obliging but sycophantic and with an affected piety. (C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 88; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 155.) He resigned from the Oregon Mission in 1840.

children were dangerously ill and in need of immediate medical attention.* Riding horses being in waiting, the doctor departed immediately, the others following more leisurely and arriving at the mission late in the afternoon of May 27.²⁰⁶

On January 24, 1837, a third group of missionaries embarked from Boston on the *Peru*. The leader was the Rev. David Leslie, accompanied by his wife and three children; the Rev. H. K. W. Perkins; and Margaret J. Smith of Saugus, Massachusetts, enlisted as a mission teacher. The *Peru* arrived at Honolulu on July 30, after 187 days en route, and early in August the party secured passage on the Hudson's Bay Company ship, the *Sumatra*, which reached Fort Vancouver on September 7, 1837.²⁰⁷

Up to this time no special effort had been made to improve conditions among the Calapooya located within easy reach of the mission. A missionary society for this purpose was now organized and a fund of \$400. was raised, contributed by the missionaries and settlers. They were systematically visited in their lodges. Religious meetings among them were begun. Efforts were made to persuade them to cultivate the soil and to build comfortable houses to live in. A lay worker was engaged to carry on the work in their behalf, and a meeting house was built for their use in religious worship. Results however were not encouraging and after about a year the project was abandoned.²⁰⁸

The increase of personnel resulting from the coming of the third group of missionaries made possible the extension of missionary operations. Unanimous decision was reached in group council that a second station should be established as soon as it could be arranged and that it should be among the Wasco Indians as Wascopam (The Dalles)† on the Columbia, eighty miles above Fort Vancouver, with Daniel Lee and H. K. W. Perkins‡ in charge. On March 22, 1838, they arrived at their station.²⁰⁹

The location chosen for the second station was about three miles below

* Preceding the arrival on the field of Dr. White the nearest physician was sixty miles distant. In case of severe illness, it was necessary for Jason Lee to take patients by canoe to Vancouver.—"Mission Record Book," Sept. 6, 1836, p. 18.

† A striking example of the lack of objective attitude and of anti-mission bias in Bancroft's *History of Oregon* is to be seen in Frances Fuller Victor's statement: "The family at the Willamette mission now numbered sixty members, including the native children, or nearly an equal number of Indians and white persons. It was a somewhat expensive process, one civilizer to every savage, especially where ninety-nine out of every hundred of the latter died under the infliction. Therefore, it was deemed best that the missionaries should divide" (I, 161f.). The statement throughout displays evident misrepresentation. (1) From the beginning Lee had planned several mission centers. (2) The program included other activities than those centering in the mission house. (3) Whites equalled the Indians only if missionaries' children—some of whom were infants—were counted. Approximately one-half of the whites were children. (4) The mortality rate among the Indian children and adults—though high—was nothing like ninety-nine out of a hundred.

‡ H. K. W. Perkins (1812-84), a native of Maine, was admitted on trial in the Maine Conference in 1836 and appointed to the Vienna Circuit (*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 386, 388). He studied at the Kent's Hill Seminary. Following his arrival in Oregon he was married to Elvira Johnson (Nov. 21, 1837), to whom he was engaged before leaving New England. He was devout, courageous, and zealous, and possessed considerable ability as a writer. He left Oregon in 1844, returning to the Maine Conference. His entire period of service as a missionary was spent at The Dalles. H. K. Hines considered his work among the Indians "probably more successful than that of any other man connected with the Methodist Missions."—*Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest* . . . , pp. 361f.

The Dalles, a half mile from the river. The site and the beginnings of mission work are described by Daniel Lee:

[Here] was found a valuable spring of water, some rich land, and a good supply of timber, oak, and pine, and an elevated and pleasant location for a house. . . . Here, about the 1st of April [1838], a house was begun. . . . Immediately on our arrival at the station we began to hold meetings with the Indians on the sabbath; speaking to them in the 'jargon,' through an interpreter. . . . Their behaviour at worship was very serious, and most of them would kneel in time of prayer. Our meetings were held without, among the oaks, or under a pine whose cooling shade screened us from the burning sun.²¹⁰

From the earliest stage of the mission project Jason Lee realized that the possession of cattle for beef and milk was essential to the well-being of the mission family, as was evidenced by his attempt to drive cows over the long Oregon Trail in 1834. The Hudson's Bay Company maintained a large herd at Fort Vancouver*—the only cattle in Oregon—a monopoly which it was the company's purpose to retain. While McLoughlin's loan of oxen and cows to the mission was generous and kind it did not seem to Lee to be a permanently satisfactory arrangement. He therefore took the initiative in organizing a joint stock company for the importation of cattle from California.† The undertaking of driving a great herd of wild cattle six hundred miles through a primitive wilderness was one fraught with immense difficulty, but was carried through successfully by Philip L. Edwards of the mission and Ewing Young, a pioneer settler. In October, 1837, they delivered 630 cattle to the stockholders at \$7.67 a head. This enterprise made a significant contribution toward freeing the American settlers from economic dependence upon the Hudson's Bay Company.²¹¹ Not only in this, but in all that affected the public welfare, Lee was earnestly concerned.

At the time of the arrival of Lee and his mission confreres in 1834 the Oregon country was ostensibly administered under a "Joint Occupancy" agreement between the United States and Great Britain, but no form of civil government had been put into effect. The only existing semblance of civil law were the regulations of the Hudson's Bay Company. As the American population increased demand grew for the extension of United States government protection for the territory. While the question of "the expediency of . . . [the government's] occupying the Columbia River and the territory . . .

* The Hudson's Bay farm of 3,000 acres at Fort Vancouver, managed by McLoughlin, including a five-acre garden and extensive orchards, was stocked with 750 horned cattle, 400 hogs, and from 200 to 300 horses. In 1835, according to H. H. Spalding, who visited McLoughlin in September, 1836, the farm produced 4,500 bushels of wheat, 4,000 bushels of peas, 1,700 of barley, and 1,500 of oats.—C. M. Drury, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

† The stock company, capitalized at \$2,700., was organized at a meeting held in the Willamette Mission house on Jan. 12, 1837 ("Mission Record Book," p. 26). Jason Lee subscribed \$400. in the name of the mission; McLoughlin almost \$900. for the Hudson's Bay Co.; William A. Slacum \$500. in his own name; and others smaller amounts. Eight hundred cattle were purchased from the San Francisco Mission and 500 from the San Jose Mission.—Jason Lee, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XI (1837), 42 (June 9), 166; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 141.

adjacent thereto"* had been continually before Congress in one form or another since 1820, no Congressional action had been taken. In 1836 William J. Slacum was sent by the government as Federal Agent to visit the region. He arrived at the mouth of the Columbia in the brig Lorient on December 22, and after a visit at Fort Vancouver reached the Willamette mission house on January 14, 1837.† During his brief stay Lee cooperated with him in gathering data concerning the white and Indian population and in drawing up a petition for the extension in effective form of United States jurisdiction to the Oregon country. This memorial, signed by both French and American settlers, was presented to Congress on December 18, 1837—the first petition from Oregon settlers to receive Congressional attention.²¹²

MISSION HORIZON WIDENS

Early in 1838 a decision was reached by the missionaries after due consideration in council which further widened the mission horizon and greatly expanded the scope of missionary operations. No one other than Jason Lee himself better understood or was in a better position to interpret the purpose and program of the mission than Daniel Lee. Full dependence therefore can be placed upon his statements. His account of the council and the decision reached is brief but definitive:

The increase of our numbers made our seasons of public and social worship more interesting. . . . The wants of the country as a mission field were brought forward and discussed, and the judgment prevailed, that much more help was needed to do the work, and that the time had come when Mr. Jason Lee should go to the States, and obtain the men and means wanted.

Although Gustavus Hines wrote his book *Oregon: Its History, Condition and Prospects* . . . some twelve years after the council meeting of 1838, he had arrived on the field in June, 1840, had been personally acquainted with the early missionaries, and intimately associated with Jason Lee during the later years of his superintendency. His statement, therefore, concerning the reasons for the enlarged plans also carries weight:

a general consultation was held on the subject of a still greater enlargement of the missionary work in Oregon. In the estimation of the meeting, 'the harvest was plenteous and the laborers were few.' The Unmpqua, Killamook, Klikitat, Clatsop, Chenook, Nezqualy, and many other tribes, were destitute of missionaries; and in view of these different stations, and the general wants of the country, they passed a unanimous resolution, advising the Rev. Jason Lee to

* Resolution introduced in the House by Congressman Floyd of Virginia on Dec. 19, 1820.

† Slacum's tribute to the character of Jason Lee and the effectiveness of his work, both among the Indians and the white settlers, contained in his official report to the State Department and printed by order of Congress, is impressive—the more so because, as he stated, he did "not belong to the religious sect that sent him [Lee] to Oregon.—See Senate Document No. 24, 25 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 1-31. Also L. G. White, quoting Slacum's speech, in a report on the 15th Anniversary of the Union Female Miss. Soc., Philadelphia, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIII (1839), 20 (Jan. 4), 77.

make a visit to the United States for the purpose of representing . . . the true condition of the country, and of the Indians and soliciting the men and means which, in their judgment, were necessary, for the successful prosecution of the missionary work.²¹³

In this statement also, as in that of Daniel Lee, the predominating consideration was declared to be the missionary work with the Indians. In another connection Hines makes it perfectly clear why, for the successful prosecution of the Indian missionary work in Oregon, it was necessary to ask for farmers, mechanics, and others skilled in what were generally regarded as secular activities:

there were but very few whites in Oregon, and the missionaries had been obliged to devote much of their time to manual labor for the purpose of procuring a subsistence . . . [wherefore] it was judged essential . . . that the mission should be supplied with a variety of secular men . . . whose labors would relieve the missionaries from temporal pursuits, and enable them to devote their time to the spiritual interests of the people.²¹⁴

The interpretation of purpose which Hines so clearly sets forth is borne out by Jason Lee's own statement. For some time he had been troubled in conscience because of the proportion of his time required by the business concerns of the mission and the routine work of the mission farm.* Not that he had changed his mind concerning the place of agriculture, and mechanical and industrial arts, in Indian missionary work. He still believed them to be basic and essential, but he, his nephew Daniel, H. K. W. Perkins, and David Leslie were ministers. Their primary task they felt to be preaching the Gospel to all the Indians who could possibly be reached, and in that most important particular they were not fulfilling their ministry—nor could they fulfill it while it continued to be necessary for them to give so much time to other things.

Lee endeavored to persuade himself it was not his duty under existing circumstances to go on the extended journey that would keep him away from his wife and his work for so long a time, and endeavored to reconcile himself to representing "the circumstances and wants of the Mission . . . by writing," but he despaired of being able to present the case "with that clearness, and force which . . . [its] importance demanded, except in person." Besides, others urged upon him their conviction that it was his duty to go. And the more he reflected upon the missionary work to be done in the country—he wrote in a letter to Daniel Lee after he had started upon the journey—the more their conviction became his own imperious sense of duty.²¹⁵

Involved in the decision greatly to enlarge the personnel and scope of the

* In his letter of March 15, 1836, to Willbur Fisk, Jason Lee wrote: "Since I have been here I have been labouring almost every day building or farming Send us lay-men to attend the temporals, and I will gladly attend to spirituals to the best of my ability. There is not a man in this place that *can be hired* that is *fit to be in a mission family*."—Lee-Fisk correspondence at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

mission undoubtedly was a somewhat changed perspective—particularly in Jason Lee's mind—of the character of the mission. In the various existing accounts this change is best stated by H. K. Hines:

when Mr. Lee was appointed to the mission in 1833 it was with no thought in his mind . . . that his appointment meant anything more than a purely Indian mission. Indeed this was the case for at least two years after he had established himself on the Willamette He thought of nothing and planned for nothing beyond this. The conception began to dawn on his mind with and after the arrival of the reinforcement of 1837, that, whatever he and the Missionary Board believed and planned at the beginning, God had a better and greater design in the planting of the Mission when and where it was planted than that.²¹⁶

The dawning conception of which Hines speaks* found expression in a striking sentence of the settlers' petition,† inspired by Jason Lee, which became known as "The Oregon Memorial of 1838":

We flatter ourselves that we are the germe of a great state, and are anxious to give an early tone to the moral and intellectual character of its citizens.²¹⁷

This the mission had already been attempting to do in its work with the seventeen American citizens, other than members of the mission itself, who attached their names to the petition. But Jason Lee foresaw that these were the forerunners of a vastly larger number who within a few years would come to Oregon as permanent residents and he earnestly desired that the mission might be equipped to minister to them.

However, at this juncture, this conception was still in the germinal stage. Foremost in his mind, as he continued vigorously to affirm, were those for whom the mission had originally been established, the Indian population of the Oregon country.²¹⁸

So it was that Lee, moved by these various considerations, on March 26, 1838, accompanied by Philip L. Edwards and two Cayuse Indian boys—

* Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor, in Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, represents this "dawning conception" as a developing purpose of "appropriating the valley of the Willamette for the Methodist church under the protection of the United States" In her attempt to analyze Lee's inner thoughts and motive she declares that from this point she regards him "less as a missionary than as an American colonizer." She asserts that in the entire country south of the Columbia except "the Umpqua and Rogue River valleys, and a portion of the southern coast," he had not found "a single place where there was any prospect of success in missionary work." What then should he do? Feeling, according to her interpretation, that his missionary-minded patrons would not approve of his giving up the work with the Indians, he decided to practice deception and present his colonizing venture in the guise of an enlarged missionary enterprise—a gross misrepresentation of the motive and character of Jason Lee.—*Op. cit.*, I, 166ff.

† The memorial was signed by eleven missionaries, eleven American settlers, and nine French Canadians. Protection of the rights of American settlers by the U. S. government implicit in the joint occupancy agreement between Great Britain and the United States entered into in 1827 was not carried out in ways satisfactory to the Americans. The possession of the Oregon region by the U. S. government was urged because (1) of its importance to the nation, (2) of the need of the settlers for civil protection, and (3) of the necessity for legal guarantee of land tenure. Robert M. Gatke: "During the period of 'joint occupation' of Oregon there was great uncertainty among the settlers concerning land titles. . . . In connection with the . . . [presentation of the memorial to Congress] Lee urged that protection be extended to the infant colony and that the pioneers be protected in the title to their lands." (Art., "Oregon Memorial of 1838," in *Dictionary of American History*, James Truslow Adams, Ed., IV, 183.) For a brief, succinct review of the Oregon boundary question, and the conflicting claims of the United States and Great Britain, see James W. Bashford, *The Oregon Missions* : . . . , chs. III, VI.

Thomas Adams and William Brooks—bade a reluctant farewell to his wife and started on the long overland journey eastward.* At Vancouver the party was joined by F. Y. Ewing of Missouri who for some time had been in Oregon seeking improvement in his health.²¹⁹

From Walla Walla on April 25 Lee wrote a letter to his nephew which contains interesting and revealing comments on the methods and progress of Marcus Whitman and H. H. Spalding in their work with the Cayuse and Nez Percé:

I visited Mr. W[hitman] & Mr. S[palding] and find them getting on well with their Indians. Both are instructing the Indians in the Nez Percé language. Mrs. S. has made a small book in the language. . . . The Indians have acquired a good deal of scripture knowledge. . . . They . . . all seemed very anxious to be taught. But still he has his troubles with them, the truth is they are *Indians*; though they are certainly superior to those upon the Willamette, and though his things are as much exposed as they can be, they steal nothing from him. Both the Kioose [Cayuse] and the Nez Percé are doing a great deal in cultivation, the former with wooden ploughs with a little bit of iron nailed upon them, and hoes, and the latter with hoes alone. Some of the Nez Percé came to the Doctor's for potatoes to plant, a distance of 300 mi. I was astonished to see the industry of these Indians. . . .

. . . Both Mr. W[hitman] & Mr. S[palding] use highhanded measures with their people, and when they deserve it let them feel the *lash*. . . .

. . . Mr. S. assembles his Indians morning and evening for prayer in front of his house, and sings with them in native, and reads a chapter in English, and sometimes gives a little instruction, besides this he has family worship in his own room.

. . . They give no clothing to the children, and have not advanced far in teaching to read. A few can read indifferently in English and a less number in native. . . .

. . . The more I think about the Missionary work to be done in this country, the more I feel encouraged in reference to my anticipated visit to the Union, and the more I am convinced of the necessity of the Measure.†

. . . pray God to send more help into his field.²²⁰

The disciplinary measures used by Whitman and Spalding evidently made Lee feel that perhaps he and others in his own mission had been unduly lax, for he enjoined Daniel Lee and Perkins not to let the Indians "trifle" with them and when "they intentionally transgress bounds, make them feel the weight of your displeasure."²²¹

* This terminated the connection of Philip L. Edwards with the Oregon Mission. His usefulness to the mission vindicated the missionaries' judgment in choosing him as a member of the overland expedition. For a time he taught the little school of Indian and half-breed children at Champog; he served as treasurer of the joint stock company that imported California cattle into Oregon; and the "Oregon Memorial of 1838" was drafted by him. Returning at this time to Missouri, he studied law and later engaged in legal practice. He served for a time as a member of the state legislature. In 1850 he emigrated to California, was made a member of the legislature, and became an influential citizen of the state.—See Harvey W. Scott, "Jason Lee Memorial Addresses," *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, VII (1906), 3 (Sept.), 253ff.

† Lee's visit and report of his intention to ask for largely increased personnel prompted Whitman and Spalding to ask the American Board for reinforcement of "30 ordained missionaries, 30 farmers, 30 school teachers, 10 physicians & 10 mechanics, with their wives."—C. M. Drury, *op. cit.*, pp. 181f.

On June 29, after passing Fort Hall, Lee took under his care the three half-breed sons of Thomas McKay* (Hudson's Bay Company trader who had befriended him on his outgoing journey) whom he later enrolled in eastern schools.²²² Pushing on, with his enlarged party, early in September Lee reached the Methodist Shawnee Mission in Wyandotte County, Kansas. Here on September 8, 1838, the sad news of his wife's death almost eleven weeks previously was brought to him by couriers:²²³

Having made preparation to depart on the morrow, I lay down on the night of the 7th . . . cheerful and happy in the reflection that I was a beloved husband and an affectionate father—that there appertained unto me in far-off Oregon a beloved wife, who was daily offering fervent supplications to the throne of grace in my behalf, and a smiling babe, both of whom I could call my *own*. But, alas! alas! we know not what a day may bring forth. At one o'clock . . . I was awaked . . . to receive the sad intelligence, and *know*, and *feel*, more sensibly than it is in the power of human language to portray, that I was a lonely *widower*, and a *bereaved* father. . . .

June 26th her triumphant spirit took its flight to the regions of light and joy, and on the following day her clay-cold tenement with that of her infant son pillowed in her bosom, was deposited in the dark and narrow house, where it now lies mouldering beneath the first sod that was ever broken in Oregon for the reception of the remains of a missionary of the cross, of a *white* female, or a *white* child.²²⁴

Resuming his journey within a few days, Lee finally arrived in New York City† on October 31, 1838—his journey having taken seven months and five days.²²⁵

Lee was assured in advance of a sympathetic reception of his plea for a largely increased personnel, if for no other reason, by the rapid development of public interest in Oregon—its acquisition by the United States and its colonization.‡ A meeting of the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society was convened on November 14, 1838, for the purpose of hearing Lee's proposal. At this meeting he reported on the progress of the mission and set forth the necessity of sending to Oregon a large addition "to the Mission family and the importance of extending the missionary work." His plea was referred to a Special Committee.²²⁶

When on December 6 the Oregon Committee reported its recommendations, its extensive plans were unanimously approved by the Board. They

* Various writers have incorrectly stated that the sons of McKay were taken to the East by Marcus Whitman.

† Many stops were made by Lee en route to New York, for addresses in the interest of the Oregon Mission and its support, including the Illinois Conference session at Alton on Sept. 22; St. Louis, Sept. 23; Jacksonville, probably on Sept. 25; Springfield, Sept. 26; Peoria, Sept. 30; Chicago, Oct. 8; Detroit, Oct. 21; and Utica, N. Y., Oct. 28. Details on the meetings held, compiled from various sources, are given by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 98ff.

‡ One of the several colonization projects initiated about this time was the Oregon Provisional Emigration Society formed in August, 1838, at Lynn, Mass. It was a vigorous organization, publishing a monthly periodical—*The Oregonian*—as a promotional organ. It proposed the immediate outgoing of not less than two hundred men with families, to be followed later by even larger contingents. A number of its most active members were ministers.—H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 174.

were summarized by the Corresponding Secretary in an announcement printed in the *Christian Advocate*:

[An addition in personnel of five ministers as missionaries,] *one* physician, *six* mechanics, *four* farmers, and one missionary steward, with their wives, making . . . [34] adults. . . .

That a saw mill be authorized, together with all necessary building materials, tools, and implements [also] goods . . . to the amount of 5000 dollars . . . all persons . . . [to] obligate themselves to remain . . . ten years . . . that Brother Lee be authorized to build a grist mill at the Willamette Falls²²⁷

As evidence of the enthusiasm with which the action was taken* it is to be noted that although Lee asked for only two ministers, five were authorized by the Board, and six were appointed by the Bishops. Certain other recommendations made by him were either disregarded or lightly treated. He strongly urged that no ministers be accepted whose wives were reluctant to go to Oregon—a specification to which slight attention was paid. Instead of the four farmers requested, only two were finally sent. The appointment of missionaries who were ministers rested wholly with Bishop Hedding, specially charged with responsibility for foreign missions.

Plans as adopted included an extensive cultivation itinerary, with particular emphasis on collections. Never before had the Methodist Church experienced a missionary campaign equalling that led by Jason Lee between the early part of November, 1838, and May 15, 1839.† Following numerous engagements in and about New York City and upstate, it included largely attended missionary meetings in twelve principal cities and towns of the New Jersey, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Virginia Conferences. Then came an extended New England tour with addresses scheduled in thirty cities and towns from New Haven, Connecticut, to Lee's native village of Stanstead, Lower Canada. The final series included speaking engagements in nineteen towns and cities of New York State.²²⁸

The report of the Oregon Committee on December 6 carried a recommendation for an appropriation of \$30,300, itemized as follows: half year's salary to each in advance, \$4,000.; passage, \$9,000.; outfit, \$1,800.; merchandise, \$5,000.; materials, tools, etc., \$9,000.; freight, \$1,500. Adoption of the report included approval of these amounts. With this assurance of support Lee felt justified in making definite plans for mission extension, and in shaping his plans it was natural that he should turn to Willbur Fisk, his mentor,

* Gustavus Hines states that because of the heavy outlay of funds involved, Lee "met with warm opposition from some members of the Board" (*op. cit.*, p. 36). The *Minutes* of the meeting give no indication of any opposition.

† H. K. Hines: "Lee's appeals were irresistible. The fire of his zeal caught on the altars of the church everywhere. Oregon and the Oregon Mission fired the heart of the church as no mission ever did before. The age of apostolic fervor seemed to have returned, and Lee was in the eye of the church like the great Apostle to the Gentiles. It was a grand stirring, a glorious awakening. Its uses to the church itself at home, and its influence on the destiny of one of the fairest of lands were immeasurable."—*Op. cit.*, pp. 194f.

for counsel. On the evening of January 16, 1839, a public meeting in the interest of the mission, which Fisk attended, was held in the Methodist church at Middletown, Connecticut.* During the preceding afternoon Lee spent several hours in consultation with Fisk, during which a "Transcript of . . . Plan for an Enlarged Program of Nine Mission Stations" was sketched by the two. This sketch, still in existence, furnishes documentary evidence of the innermost thought of Lee concerning the purpose of the enlarged Oregon Mission. Each of the proposed nine stations was to be provided with at least one missionary; each of five, in addition to the Willamette station where Dr. White resided, was to have a physician; three (Umpqua, Nisqually, and Cowlitz) each a farmer and Willamette an assistant farmer; two (Clatsop and Wascopam) each one carpenter and Willamette three carpenters and joiners and one cabinetmaker. Strangely, only Willamette was allotted a teacher.²²⁹

On the following day (January 17) Lee wrote to Caleb Cushing in reply to an inquiry from him prompted by receipt of the "Oregon Memorial of 1838." The congressman inquired concerning the population of the Oregon country, the classes composing it, and the objects of the mission. Lee stated that members of the mission in Oregon numbered twenty-five persons, counting all ages and both sexes, and that the reinforcement soon to go out would probably add forty-five more.† He continued:

The greater portion . . . are farmers, mechanics, teachers, and physicians. The exclusive object of the mission is the benefit of the Indian tribes west of the Rocky mountains. But to accomplish this object, it is found necessary to cultivate the soil, erect dwelling-houses and schoolhouses, build mills, and in fact, introduce all the necessaries and helps of a civilized colony; and this more especially, as one of the principal means relied upon for the improvement of the natives is the establishment of extensive manual labor schools for Indian children and youth.²³⁰

The general interest in Oregon colonization, doubtless supplemented by the spread of information concerning the memorial to Congress which Lee brought from Oregon, gave rise to rumors that the sending out of the large reinforcement was itself a colonization enterprise, prompting the Board to take the following action at its April 15, 1839, meeting²³¹:

The Corresponding Secretary was requested to prepare a plain statement of facts in relation to the Oregon Mission, some persons being under the impression that we had colonization in view in our movements in relation that Mission.

* This was Willbur Fisk's last appearance at a public meeting. He was at this time weak and ill, and on Feb. 22 he died.—Joseph Holdich, *The Life of Willbur Fisk . . .*, pp. 434, 454.

† Lee estimated that the total white population, including the reinforcement, would be 151 persons, as follows: Methodist mission, 70; American Board mission, 16; emigrants from the western states in the spring of 1839, 20; farmers already in the country, "most of them married to Indian women," 45.—Letter to Caleb Cushing, *House Report, No. 101 (Supplemental Report), Appendix H, H.R., 25 Congress, 3d Sess.*, pp. 3f.

In accordance with this action Nathan Bangs issued an official announcement which appeared in the *Christian Advocate* of April 26 stating the personnel needs and the requirements to be met by candidates, and specifically denying any colonization objective:

We have nothing to do with planting a colony in Oregon. Our business is to send the Gospel to those who may be there, either now or hereafter, whether natives or otherwise. If others see fit to remove there, well . . . But with colonizing companies we have no connection, other than this, if they arrive there, and will allow our missionaries to preach to them, we hope they may receive much spiritual benefit from the friendly intercourse.

Hence it will be perceived that we send out those only who are to be helpers to the cause of missions. It is not for the sake of cultivating the land, and building houses—only so far as these things are necessary to realize the primary object of the enterprise, which is, *the salvation of the souls of the people in that region.*²³²

Lee was charged with responsibility for selection and employment of the mechanics and farmers. Some difficulty was experienced in finding suitable applicants but after notices had been inserted in several issues of the *Christian Advocate* the required number were procured.²³³ During the spring and summer months Bishop Hedding, and later, Bishop Waugh, announced the appointments of five ministerial missionaries. In midsummer a missionary physician was found. Instead of one teacher, as originally planned, four were engaged. Selection of a missionary steward, and a stewardess—not included in the early plan—completed the final list.

At Newbury, Vermont, in February, 1839, Lee visited his lifetime friend and former Wilbraham Academy classmate, Osmon C. Baker. In the course of the brief visit Baker referred to the missionary interest of one of his favorite students at the Newbury Seminary, Lucy Thomson, whose valedictory address on November 22, 1838, had included a moving appeal to her fellow students to consider missionary service as a lifework:

the command which was given by the Son of God . . . has reached your ears, the deplorable state of an apostate world has affected your hearts, and the 'love of Christ constraineth you' to deny yourselves of every selfish gratification, and thereby to qualify yourselves for more extended usefulness. . . .

Is there one who has taken the vows of the Lord upon him who shrinks from any duty, however arduous it may be, for fear of the sufferings it may bring upon him? Forgive the unjust suspicion!²³⁴

Lee's interest was immediately kindled. "I must know that lady!" he exclaimed. A meeting was arranged, followed by correspondence and engagement, and on July 28, 1839, at Barre, Vermont, Lucy Thomson was married to Jason Lee.²³⁵

At a meeting of the Board on May 8, formal action was taken appro-

prising \$30,000. for the Oregon Mission.* On August 14, on recommendation of the Oregon Committee, an additional appropriation of \$10,000. was made.²³⁶

Weeks of negotiation were involved in the task of chartering and outfitting a sailing vessel for the twenty-two-thousand-mile voyage. Satisfactory arrangements were finally concluded, and on September 20 the *Christian Advocate* carried the following announcement:

The ship LAUSANNE, chartered by the Missionary Society, is expected to sail from New-York for the Columbia River on the 1st of October. The vessel is new, of the first class, 400 tons, copper fastened and coppered, with spacious state rooms

. . . She goes out a temperance vessel in its fullest sense, as no spirituous liquors for freight or use will be admitted on board. . . . the ship will touch at St. Catherine's, in Brazil, Valparaiso, in Chili, Oahu, in Sandwich Islands, and thence depart to Oregon Territory.²³⁷

The party of fifty-one persons† constituted the largest single missionary contingent sent out from the United States up to that time. The sailing created keen interest throughout the East, particularly in New York and New England, in both church circles and the business community. The commercial interest was reflected in an editorial in the *Journal of Commerce* of New York City:

The sending of this large expedition to Oregon is an important event, whether considered in its religious or political bearings. Among other things, it will expedite the settlement of the Territory; and we may hope also that it will give a tone to the moral and religious character of the people, resembling that of the early settlers of Massachusetts. An infant community is easily moulded into shape, but suffer it to grow up without religious influences, and any attempts at reformation are made under great disadvantages. With all our hearts we wish success to this mission, and the noble objects which it is designed to promote. Its primary object, we believe, is to carry the gospel to the Indians.²³⁸

On October 10 the missionary family boarded the *Lausanne*. In the evening the vessel anchored off Sandy Hook and early in the morning of October 11 set sail on her long voyage.²³⁹

For the most part the trip was uneventful. A significant event was the celebration aboard ship on October 23 of the first centennial of the founding of Methodism. Gustavus Hines delivered the memorial address and the mem-

* The expenditures of the Missionary Society on account of the Oregon Mission for the fiscal year April, 1838—April, 1839, as shown by the Treasurer's Report, were \$6,824.91.—*Twentieth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1838—39), p. 33.

† The group was composed of the following persons: *Ministers*, Jason and Lucy Thomson Lee; Joseph H. Frost, wife, and one child; Gustavus Hines, wife, and one child; William W. Kone and wife; John P. Richmond, wife and four children; Alvin F. Waller, wife and two children; *physician*, Ira L. Babcock, wife, and one child; *farmers*, Henry B. Brewer and wife; William W. Raymond and wife; *carpenters*, Hamilton Campbell, wife, and child; James Olley; *cabinet maker*, Lewis H. Judson, wife, and three children; *blacksmith*, Josiah L. Parrish, wife, and three children; *teachers*, Maria T. Ware, Chloe A. Clark, Elmira Phillips, Almira Phelps; *steward*, George Abernethy; *stewardess*, Orpha Lankton; *Indian*, Thomas Adams.

bers of the party subscribed \$650. "to be appropriated for the moral elevation of the Indians." Not until April 11 did the Lausanne cast anchor in the bay of Honolulu, where a stopover of three weeks was made. Here David Carter, a lay member of the Methodist Church, joined the missionary party, increasing the number to fifty-two. On May 21 the vessel entered the mouth of the Columbia, and at six o'clock in the evening of June 1, 1840, anchored off Fort Vancouver. The voyage had taken seven months and twenty-one days.²⁴⁰

RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT

The farsightedness of Lee in relation to the future of the Oregon Mission and the welfare of all the settlers—missionaries and others—is revealed in his letter to Caleb Cushing already referred to. Having answered the congressman's inquiry concerning the purpose of the mission and Oregon's population, he went on to state as his opinion that most of the missionary personnel would remain as permanent residents of the country, after the mission should no longer require their services, provided the government would take measures to secure their rights. He continued:

Hence it may be safely assumed that ours, in connection with the other settlers already there, is the commencement of a permanent settlement of the country.

Two things he declared to be needed—government guarantee of possession of land taken up and improvements made upon it, and government regulation of trade and commerce for mutual protection of white settlers and of Indians.

And to whom shall we look, to whom *can* we look, for the establishment of wholesome laws to regulate our infant but rising settlements, but to the Congress of our own beloved country? The country will be settled, and that speedily, from some quarter; and it depends very much upon the speedy action of Congress what that population shall be, and what shall be the fate of the Indian tribes in that territory.²⁴¹

Lee—missionary to the Indians—in this letter revealed that he had also identified himself with the Oregon country as a permanent resident and as such was earnestly desirous that it should be made a part of the United States. That the letter effectively reinforced the appeal of the "Oregon Memorial of 1838"* there can be little question.†

* Frances Fuller Victor asserts (H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 176f.), as fact, that through the influence of Jason Lee a considerable appropriation was made "from the secret-service fund" of the government toward the cost of transportation of the Lausanne passengers. C. J. Brosnan shows that assertion of any such payment was merely rumor and that evidence is lacking of the existence as early as 1839 of any such fund or, if such a fund existed, that any portion of it was expended for the alleged purpose (*op. cit.*, pp. 316ff.). See also Edmond S. Meany, "Secret Aid for Oregon Missions," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XV (1924), 3 (July), 211ff.

† In connection with his missionary meeting in the nation's capital Lee delivered the "Oregon Memorial of 1838" to Senator Lewis F. Linn of Missouri by whom, on Jan. 28, 1839, it was presented to the Senate and ordered printed. On Dec. 11, preceding, Linn had introduced a bill authorizing

A second Oregon Memorial, signed by sixty-seven citizens and would-be citizens of the United States, was drawn up in the autumn of 1839, praying for the immediate extension of American control over the Oregon territory. David Leslie, as acting Superintendent of the Oregon Mission, was at least in part instrumental in its preparation. By him it was placed in the hands of Thomas J. Farnham who carried it to Washington. On June 4, 1840, this memorial was also presented to the Senate by Senator Lewis F. Linn.²⁴²

The Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society was authorized, at a meeting of the Board on June 19, 1839, to take legal counsel,

with the view of securing the preemption rights of the lands & improvements occupied as mission stations in the Oregon territory, with a view of vesting the title of all such property in the Missionary Society.²⁴³

Counsel advised the execution and filing of a declaration of possession. This document executed by Jason Lee declared that as Superintendent of the Oregon Mission he had taken possession of certain lands in the Oregon territory

in behalf and in the name of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the sole use and purposes of said Society, with a view to aid it in spreading the Gospel among the Aboriginies of that Country and others who have settled or may hereafter Settle there.

The document further declared that the land was the property of the Missionary Society,* held in trust for its sole use and benefit.²⁴⁴

On the ground that the success of the Oregon Mission offered promise of rendering "lasting blessing to the [Oregon] inhabitants . . . particularly to the aboriginals for whose special benefit it . . . [had] been undertaken" the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society authorized a memorial to Congress asking for a special annual government appropriation for support of Indian schools under mission auspices. A supporting letter was addressed to the Secretary of War containing information on the history of the mission and its current status, and Nathan Bangs went to Washington for personal conference with the Secretary and others.²⁴⁵

When the Lausanne was in port at Honolulu, through the good offices of the United States Consul, Lee was accorded an audience with the king, Kame-

the occupation of the Columbia River, together with territory north of latitude 42° to be called Oregon Territory, and providing for its occupation by a military force. On Feb. 22 he made a speech in the Senate in favor of providing protection of citizens of the region and of trading on the Columbia.—E. A. Linn and N. Sargent, *Life and Public Services of Dr. Lewis F. Linn*, p. 224.

* H. K. Hines: "The Mission stations by priority of occupation, held the acknowledged right to what a few years later was made a legal right by Congress, a mile square of land at each mission station; or, one covering the site of the old mission, one the site of the present city of Salem, one at Clackamas, the present 'Gladstone Park,' one the site of the present city of The Dalles, one at Clatsop, the most popular seaside resort in the Northwest, one at Ncsqually, near the present city of Tacoma, on Puget Sound, and Oregon City." (*Op. cit.*, p. 347.) The bill making Oregon a Territory of the United States in the form in which it was passed by Congress, and signed by the President on Aug. 14, 1848, contained no affirmative action on land titles "except so far as to secure the missions in the possession of six hundred and forty acres each . . ."—H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 771.

hameha III. The consul in introducing the missionary expressed the hope that the friendly relations which had existed between the king's government and the United States might be extended to include the American settlement in Oregon, a hope which the king in response said he shared. Lee in turn stated the purpose of the mission :

to teach . . . [the Indians] the arts and sciences, and above *all*, the religion of the Bible, which maketh wise unto salvation.²⁴⁶

DAVID LESLIE, ACTING SUPERINTENDENT

When Lee departed on his eastern trip (March, 1838) he commissioned David Leslie* to serve in his stead as Superintendent of the mission. It was indeed fortunate that during this interim period of more than two years a minister of Leslie's caliber was at hand to take over the responsibilities and almost endless detail of mission administration.

The coming of Roman Catholic missionaries in 1838 in various ways increased the complexities and difficulties of the Methodist work. In response to petitions from some of the French Canadian settlers in the Willamette Valley, the Archbishop of Quebec appointed the Rev. Francis Norbert Blanchet, with the title of vicar-general, in charge of "the mission of Oregon." As his assistant, the Bishop of Juliopolis designated the Rev. Modeste Demers, who was already at Red River.²⁴⁷ Daniel Lee tells of their arrival.

In the [Hudson's Bay Company] express of 1838 [from Montreal], arrived Messrs. Dimars and Blanchette, French Canadian Catholic priests. Mr. B. took up his residence in the Walamet settlement, in charge of the Catholic portion of the residents; where a church had been commenced some time before.† . . . His associate, Mr. Dimars, has been chiefly engaged in visiting the different trading posts²⁴⁸

Mission headquarters were located about four miles south of Champoeg, eight miles from the Methodist Willamette station. Lieutenant Wilkes describes the establishment as he found it in 1841 :

We stopped for a few hours at the Catholic Mission . . . to call upon the Rev. Mr. Bachelet [He] . . . is settled among his flock, and is doing great good to the settlers in ministering to their temporal as well as spiritual wants. . . .

Annexed to Mr. Bachelet's house is a small chapel

They are erecting a large and comfortable house for Mr. Bachelet [He] . . . informed me that it was intended to take enough of land under cultivation

* David Leslie (1797-1869), a native of New Hampshire, was received on trial in the New England Conference in 1822 and appointed to the Barre Circuit (*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 375, 391). After serving for fourteen years in the New England Conference, he was appointed to the Oregon Mission. He never returned to New England. In repeated absences of Jason Lee from the field, he served as Superintendent of the mission. For twenty-five years he was president of the board of trustees of Willamette University; also for many years president of the Oregon Bible Society, and of the Oregon Conference Missionary Society. In public affairs as in the Church he rendered eminent service.—M. Simpson, Ed., *Cyclopaedia of Methodism*, p. 536.

† This log church apparently was the same building as that mentioned (p. 218) in connection with the missionary project among the Calapooya.—See H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 319n.

to supply a large community, that will be attached to the mission; for it is the intention to establish schools here, for the instruction of the Indians as well as the Canadians and other settlers. He has already ten Indian children under his care.²⁴⁹

One of the acts of the priests was to declare to the settlers and Indians that all marriage ceremonies that had been performed by Protestant missionaries were invalid and to insist on remarriage. They withdrew all whom they could influence from the Methodist temperance society, forbade people to attend the Methodist prayer meetings, and attempted—though without result—to withdraw orphan children of Canadian parentage from the mission school.²⁵⁰

The closing weeks of 1838 and the opening days of 1839 were a period of marked revival at the Willamette station. Special services were held by Leslie, assisted by Perkins of The Dalles. Several of the settlers and a number of the Indian pupils of the mission school professed conversion.²⁵¹

At about the same time Leslie became convinced that a school for white children and youth—or, as he termed it, “a literary institution . . . amply adapted to the wants of the country”—must be erected. On whom did the responsibility rest, if not on the Methodist Church? Who, other than the Methodist Church, “is called to the distinguished honor of . . . rearing the noble edifice of literary and scientific knowledge in this new world?” How far “the [Missionary] Board of the Church will sustain me in this matter,” he wrote, “I know not,” but he was very clear concerning the duty immediately at hand. He accompanied his letter to the *Christian Advocate* with an outline of a suggested plan:

Our plan . . . has been approved by many in this country. We have a few hundred dollars on subscription.²⁵²

That Leslie possessed administrative ability of no mean order was demonstrated during his interim period as Superintendent. But like Lee he felt far removed and isolated from the seat of authority, and lamented not receiving “any commands or advices from the Board.”²⁵³ Church membership at the Willamette station was still small. In March, 1840, he reported the number in Society as thirty-four: “Whites [including the missionaries at the station] 26, mixed blood 3, Indians 4, Hawaiian 1.”²⁵⁴

EXPANDED MISSION PROGRAM

The Lausanne made slow progress in its trip up the Columbia. Jason Lee's eagerness to greet the members of the mission whom he had left behind twenty-six months before, and to be about the task of organizing a program for the largest single group of foreign mission workers anywhere in the world, impelled him to leave the ship on the afternoon of May 21, and to travel by canoe to Fort Vancouver. Here he made a hurried call on Dr.

McLoughlin to arrange for temporary accommodations for the large reinforcement group and then proceeded to the Willamette. Landing at sunset a few miles below the mission settlement, he spent the night with friends and early on the morning of the twenty-seventh set out on horseback, arriving at the mission house in time for breakfast, to be warmly received by the members of the mission family. After three days' visit and consultation with the members of the mission, Lee—accompanied by David Leslie and Dr. Elijah White—left for Fort Vancouver. Here on the evening of June 3* he assembled the enlarged mission family in a gathering which constituted, in effect, the first of a series of annual mission conferences.²⁵⁵

Following an address by the Superintendent, and a statement by Dr. White narrating occurrences during the Superintendent's long absence, Lee announced the appointments of the workers to the six stations that had been determined upon: (1) Willamette, the "Old Mission" and central station; (2) The Dalles, in more recent times designated "the gateway to the Inland Empire"; (3) Willamette Falls, now Oregon City; (4) Clatsop (near the modern Astoria), at the mouth of the Columbia River; (5) Nisqually (now Tacoma), near the head of Puget Sound; and (6) Umpqua, in southern Oregon, Lee planned, through the development of these strategic centers, a present ministry to a large proportion of the Indian population. He also envisioned a populous region two hundred miles eastward from the west coast and three hundred miles from south to north to be occupied by Methodism—the "great state" of which he had begun to dream three years before.

What Lee seems not to have realized when announcement of the plan was made at this first assembly was that acceleration in the rate of decrease of the Indian population had occurred during his two years' absence, practically dooming in advance any plan that could have been formed for the rehabilitation and reformation of the dying tribes.²⁵⁶

The detailed story of the developments of the crucial period 1840-43 perhaps can be set forth most clearly by presenting in order the facts concerning the mission program of each of the several stations.

The "Old Mission."—The Willamette station for the time being was continued as central headquarters. Here were located the Superintendent and Mrs. Lee; associated with them David Leslie, as minister; William W. Kone and Gustavus Hines, temporarily; Dr. Elijah White as physician; George Abernethy as steward and Miss Lankton as stewardess. To the mission school were assigned as teachers, pending the establishment of other schools, Margaret Smith, Chloe A. Clark, Elmira Phillips, and Almira Phelps. Here,

* H. K. Hines and Gustavus Hines both state that this meeting was held on June 13. Jason Lee gives the date as "the evening of (Wednesday) June 2." ("Diary," *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVI [1841], 2 [Aug. 25], 5.) Lee, however, was in error as to the calendar date. June 2, 1840, fell on Tuesday. The meeting was held on Wednesday evening, June 3.—Cf. C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

too, were Alanson Beers, blacksmith, and J. L. Whitcomb—who, after the death of Cyrus Shepard, managed the mission farm and supervised the farm work of the schoolboys.

The premises at this time, as described by Thomas J. Farnham, who had visited the station in October, 1839,

consisted of three log cabins, a blacksmith shop, and outbuildings . . . with large and well cultivated farms round about; and a farm, on which were a large frame house, hospital, barn, &c., half a mile to the eastward.²⁵⁷

The reinforcement meant more mouths to feed and widely extended building operations, hence the necessity of the immediate erection of a sawmill and a gristmill. These having been authorized by the Board, Lee lost no time in getting construction under way. The operations, together with the transportation of household furniture and goods from Fort Vancouver where they had been unloaded, Lee wrote, "furnished business enough for all hands."²⁵⁸ The mills, it was decided, should be erected on Mill Creek at Chemeketa (later renamed Salem), and as French Prairie had become increasingly unsatisfactory as central headquarters and the original buildings were now inadequate it was determined also to transfer the mission center as a whole to Chemeketa Plain.* The transfer required extensive building operations and much labor in moving. Between two and three thousand acres of fertile farming land were claimed and some ground put immediately under cultivation.

In the early summer of 1840 a rupture of relations between the mission and Dr. White occurred. The precise nature of the difficulties is not revealed by the sources. They were evidently both financial and moral. In Lee's absence White had prevailed upon Leslie to obligate the mission for a larger amount of money for the building of a hospital than Lee was willing to approve. On other grounds charges were preferred against him on which he was brought to trial and expelled from the Society. Whereupon he resigned from the mission and took passage on the *Lausanne* for New York, where he arrived early in April, 1841.²⁵⁹ In his hearing before the Board he charged that Lee "was not qualified for the important trusts which are committed to him"—a charge which may have been one of the factors that ultimately undermined the Board's confidence in Lee as Superintendent of the mission.†

* The new site is described by Joseph Williams: "The new station [is] at the mill, nine miles above the old station, on the Willamette River, . . . on a delightful plain, beautifully studded with green groves of fir trees, and having a creek running through it with a grist-mill and a saw-mill, which supplies the country all around with grinding and lumber. . . . herds of cattle [are] grazing on the plains."—*Narrative of a Tour from the State of Indiana to the Oregon Territory in the Years 1841-42*, p. 64.

† White admitted to the Board "that he had left his post at the Oregon without any authority" The Board, in turn, refused to sanction his leaving and decided that he was entitled to no salary from the date of his letter to Lee announcing his resignation; also that his return expense should not be paid. Later, on White's representation that he was entirely without funds and "unable to proceed to his home," he was reimbursed to the extent of "the expense of his wife and children from Oregon to . . . [New York]."—*Minutes, B.M.*, III, 290, 294, 296.

The increase in size of the community strengthened the sense of need for some form of government. When the time came that organization could no longer be postponed it was inevitable—so integrally a part of the total life of the region was the Methodist mission—that the leadership would be taken by the men of the mission. A meeting to consider the possibility of establishing a provisional government was convened at the Methodist mission house on February 7, 1841. Jason Lee was chosen chairman and Gustavus Hines acted as secretary. Various plans were suggested, and a committee of arrangements for a further meeting chosen. This was held also at the mission house, on February 17–18. Resolutions were passed providing for a code of laws and the election of a full complement of officers. Other meetings followed at intervals. Procedures were retarded by the contention of Blanchet and his adherents that no organized government was necessary, or even desirable.* Lieutenant Wilkes, when consulted, advised delay. But the course of events more and more emphasized the necessity of action—particularly developments resulting in conflict in Indian-white relations in the territory—and in meetings held in May and July, 1843, the establishment of the Provisional Government of Oregon was completed.²⁶⁰

Beginning on May 10, 1841, the first formal annual mission meeting was held, continuing for nearly two weeks. Frost testifies that the session was "very harmonious." To a special committee was assigned the selection of a site for the "Indian Manual Labor Training School"—the successor of the original mission school. The location chosen was approximately a mile from the mission headquarters and mill, a site believed to be healthful and sufficiently distant from the white settlements to insure some degree of isolation. The first building erected was a dwelling for the resident missionary—the first Methodist parsonage in Oregon—completed by the close of 1841, and for a number of years the most attractive dwelling house in the Oregon country.²⁶¹

In nothing was Lee's practical common sense more in evidence than in his project for the Indian Manual Labor School in which classroom instruction was to be supplemented by various types of manual training, such as methods of cultivating the soil, simple arts and crafts work, and care of the home. The plans called for a three-story, wooden frame building, seventy-one feet long and twenty-four wide. Ultimately two wings, each twenty-four feet square, were added on the rear. On the top was a small square belfry tower. Construction was begun in 1841 but workmen were few and progress was slow. It had not yet been entirely completed in June, 1844—cornice and weatherboards

* Blanchet and his French Canadian followers being British subjects desired that the Oregon territory should come under the sovereignty of Great Britain. Since at this time Americans constituted a majority, Blanchet's immediate strategy was to deny the need for any form of organized government.

not yet on. The total cost was in excess of \$8,000. "It was, for many years, the most pretentious structure in the Northwest." In 1842 the school was moved from its former location to the partially completed new building. Gustavus Hines was appointed superintendent of the school.

At the time of removal to the new site disaster was impending in the decimation of the Indian population of the region, owing to the ravage of disease and the scattering of the tribes before the incoming tide of white settlers. The final stroke fell when a contagion broke out among the Indian pupils, causing the death of many. Some who did not suffer attack were so terror-stricken that they ran away and others were removed by their frightened parents. By 1844 enrollment of Indian pupils had been reduced to twenty-seven.²⁶²

In the meantime interest in the founding of a school for white children and youth, as proposed by David Leslie in June, 1839, had been steadily increasing. A meeting in its behalf was convened in his home by Jason Lee on January 17, 1842, at which a committee was appointed to arrange a public meeting. This was held at the "Old Mission" on February 1. The proposal was endorsed, the name Oregon Institute adopted, and a board of trustees elected.* In meetings held in March a prospectus was approved, constitution and bylaws adopted, and fund-raising plans agreed upon. Within a short time \$4,000. was pledged in subscriptions ranging from \$10. to \$500., of which all but \$350. was subscribed by missionaries. On October 26 proprietorship in the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church was assumed by the local Methodist Society. Soon after, building was begun under direction of W. H. Gray,† who had recently resigned from the American Board Mission. In course of time Oregon Institute became Willamette University.²⁶³

Progress in all mission activities during 1841-42 was retarded by decrease in personnel. Mrs. David Leslie, after a long illness, died on February 15, 1841.²⁶⁴ At the 1842 mission meeting Leslie was left without appointment that he might be free to make such arrangements as he should consider possible and wise for the education of his five motherless daughters. In August he sailed for the Sandwich Islands,‡ where he had decided to place two in school.²⁶⁵ The health of J. L. Whitcomb, who in March, 1841, had married Mrs. Susan Shepard, became seriously impaired, and in September, 1842, the family embarked on the *Chenamus* for the United States.²⁶⁵ On December

* The board, as elected, consisted of Jason Lee, David Leslie, Gustavus Hines, Josiah Parrish, George Abernethy, Alanson Beers, Ira L. Babcock, Lewis H. Judson, and Hamilton Campbell.

† The Rev. A. B. Smith and wife, Cornelius Rogers, and W. H. Gray and wife had left the mission of the American Board, "on account of difficulties they had become fully satisfied would ultimately destroy the mission or drive it from the country." (W. H. Gray, *A History of Oregon, 1792-1849* . . . , p. 211.) On Sept. 28, 1842, the Oregon American Board Mission, with unanimous consent, adopted the following resolution: "that we approve of the withdrawal and removal of Mr. W. H. Gray and wife from this Mission, in order to become the Secular Agent of and General Superintendent of the Oregon Institute, to be located in the Willamette Valley, as set forth in a prospectus of the same."—C. M. Drury, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

‡ David Leslie returned from the Sandwich Islands in the spring of 1843 and resumed his work in the mission.

10, 1842, James Olley, mission carpenter and Local Preacher, suffered accidental death by drowning in the Willamette River.²⁶⁷ Most sad and tragic of all was the death of Lucy Thomson Lee three weeks after the birth of her first child, a baby girl:

On Saturday, March 20 [1842] she coughed. Mr. Lee, who was standing by her side, raised her head upon his arm. One gasp and all was over. A sadder husband, a sadder group, never surrounded a missionary's death bed.²⁶⁸

In January, 1839, Lee had suggested in his letter to Caleb Cushing that "a civil magistrate and governor of the territory" should be sent to Oregon. The suggestion had no immediate result, but in January, 1842, Dr. Elijah White who since his return from Oregon had been at his former place of residence, went to New York, called on Fry and Farnham, owners of the *Lausanne*, and secured from them letters of introduction to President John Tyler and Secretary of War J. C. Spencer and gained their support for a proposal that he be appointed Indian agent and governor of the Oregon territory. While he did not fully gain his end, he was partially successful. He was given a government commission as Indian sub-agent and instructed to proceed to Oregon overland, without delay, recruiting as many emigrants as possible to accompany him. He moved with despatch and by May 14 had assembled at Elm Grove, Missouri, twenty miles from Independence, approximately one hundred and twenty-five persons of whom fifty-two were men over eighteen years of age.* After much physical hardship and dangerous encounters with Indians the party arrived in the Willamette Valley on October 5, 1842—the largest group of prospective settlers, up to that time, to arrive in Oregon. While not all remained as permanent residents the American colony was augmented to an extent which greatly increased its influence in behalf of establishment of United States rule over the territory.²⁶⁹

The immigrant group also largely increased the white constituency to whom the mission was called upon to minister. In the summer of 1843, with the assistance of Gustavus Hines, H. K. W. Perkins, and Harvey Clark—a Congregational minister who had come into the community in 1841—Lee conducted a Camp Meeting at the Tualatin Plains, thirty-five miles west of Willamette Falls—the first Camp Meeting for the white population ever held on the Pacific Coast. On the opening day, July 13, the attendance—including preachers—numbered only fourteen persons. But by Sunday, the fourth day, sixty persons were present, and by Sunday night sixteen had professed conversion.²⁷⁰ Among the converts was Joseph Meek, a widely known old Rocky Mountain trapper.

* Frances F. Victor gives the names of the fifty-two men (H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 256). Various authorities differ in their statements of the total number of persons. Lee and Frost say 125 (*op. cit.*, p. 257), which agrees with White's statement (A. J. Allen, *Ten Years in Oregon . . .*, p. 144).

In the fall of 1843 Oregon saw an influx of immigrants exceeding by far anything that it had previously known. Allured by the prospect of free land in the Columbia Valley, made restless and discontented by the privations of the continuing depression, nearly a thousand emigrants with oxen-drawn wagons and great herds of cattle left their rendezvous near Independence, Missouri, at the end of May for the Northwest. Some turned back, a few died en route, at Fort Hall a contingent turned toward California, but in November approximately eight hundred and fifty reached Oregon, a large majority to settle in the Willamette Valley. "Our population, all told," wrote W. H. Gray, "now amounted to not far from twelve hundred." Suddenly the predominant character of the community was completely altered. After 1843 the Indians constituted a negligible minority. The nucleus of a great new state which in imagination Lee had glimpsed five years before had become a reality.²⁷¹

Umpqua.—In the appointments of June 2, 1840, Gustavus Hines* and William W. Kone were assigned to one of the proposed new stations, that at Umpqua, at the mouth of the Umpqua River.

In the winter of 1837 Jason Lee had visited the Umpqua Indians for the purpose of acquainting himself with the tribe—their number and situation—and the opportunities for mission work among them. Although the visit was brief the information gained resulted in a determination, should the Oregon Mission be reinforced, to establish a mission station somewhere in the vicinity of Umpqua fort.²⁷² After the appointment of Hines and Kone, disquieting reports having reached him, he decided to make further investigation before the outgoing of the missionaries. Accordingly, on August 18, 1840, accompanied by Hines, Dr. White, and an Indian boy, Lee left the Willamette station. They were kindly received by the Umpqua:

They expressed great satisfaction in having seen us. . . . if we would come and live with them, they would protect us, and do what we told them. People called them bad; but they lied about them. True, they killed people; but it was not without cause. What we had been telling them was all new; and they wished us to remain longer, and tell them more about it.²⁷³

Lee was disappointed, however, in the number of Indians found in the Umpqua region. He stated that not more than three or four hundred were seen, whereas he had been told many times that there were as many as a thousand. Hines' estimate was in agreement. All of whom they could find

* Gustavus Hines (1809-74), a native of Herkimer County, N. Y., was admitted on trial to the Genesee Conference in 1833, beginning his ministry on the Ridgeway Circuit. Returning to New York in 1845, he continued in the Genesee Conference until 1853 when he transferred to the Oregon Conference, serving as pastor in the larger stations and as Presiding Elder until 1871, when he superannuated. He was author of two works of wide circulation, *Oregon: Its History, Condition, and Prospects* . . . , and *Oregon and Its Institutions, comprising a full history of the Willamette University* . . . —*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 211, 212; V, 264; *Gen'l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Ch.*, 1874, p. 83.

evidence, he says, "did not exceed three hundred and seventy-five souls."²⁷⁴ Nor was Lee as favorably impressed with the Umpqua Valley as a region for American settlement as were some who had explored it earlier. He noted a bar at the mouth of the river which he judged no ship could pass:

The whole region seems gloomy and lonesome; and every thing you see seems to impress one with the idea, that, in this dismal region, *civilization itself* would run *wild*; and that, in order to tame these savage men, whose natures and habits are in exact keeping with every thing around, you must remove them to a more genial soil.²⁷⁵

Following return to the Willamette station, which was reached on September 4, the purpose of establishing a station among the Umpqua was abandoned.²⁷⁶

The Dalles.—In the 1840 plan of appointments Daniel Lee and H. K. W. Perkins were continued at this well-established station, with Dr. Ira L. Babcock,* mission physician, and Henry B. Brewer,† farmer, as their associates. One of the four teachers of the reinforcement party, Maria T. Ware, also was assigned to The Dalles. She was the fiancée of Daniel Lee and their marriage was celebrated at Fort Vancouver on June 11, 1840.

The mission was well situated for the purpose for which it had been founded, Farnham declaring that no location, "not even the sacred precincts of St. Bernard, on the snows of the Alps, could be better chosen for the operations of a holy benevolence."²⁷⁷ It was also reasonably well equipped with buildings, having a dwelling house twenty by thirty feet, one and a half stories high; a second building for school purposes and for worship; and a workshop. Additional buildings were contemplated.

In his "Journal" Perkins describes his activities during the winter of 1839-40:

my time has been almost wholly devoted to traveling from village to village, preaching, catechizing, and taking the oversight of the classes as far as the Cascades, a distance of 50 miles—embracing more than 500 souls, and classes to the number of 30. . . .

On the 10th of Jan., . . . I paid a visit to a large village . . . at the head of the Dalles, called, by the natives, Wishham, (the Wishram of W. Irving . . .) and preached to them for the first time the Gospel. . . .

[He found a large cellar, floored it with mats, and began his labors.] The congregation was small, consisting of a few men and boys, and about 25 women.

* Ira L. Babcock, M.D., had been a resident of the state of New York. Of his personal history prior to his enlistment as a missionary doctor little is recorded in the sources. That he was highly respected by his missionary associates and the community at large is attested by the fact that when the provisional government of Oregon was formed he was elected Supreme Court judge with probate powers and for two years was virtually the head of the infant state.

† Henry B. Brewer was a resident of Wilbraham, Mass., when he volunteered for the Oregon Mission. He offered himself in response to what he believed to be a call from God to missionary service. In 1847, when the mission at The Dalles was transferred to the American Board, he moved with his family to the Willamette and later returned to Massachusetts.

. . . The next day, Wednesday, it was doubled; Thursday about 200; and Friday nearly the whole village. I never saw such wretched objects in one congregation before, and probably there never was a village more degraded. . . .

Naked, squalid, ugly featured, blind, halt, and lame. . . .

. . . the Gospel was to them *the power of God to salvation*, because it was believed. . . .

Saturday my appointments called me away from this interesting village. I have several times since visited it, and find that in this place 'the kingdom of heaven is like leaven' The work has ever since been spreading and deepening. . . .

. . . I have taken into society there 260. This is the Lord's doings, and it is marvelous in our eyes.²⁷⁸

In this same extract from Perkins' "Journal" several individual cases of Indian conversion are described in circumstantial detail. During this period Mrs. Perkins "had the principal care of . . . [the Wascopam] station," and devoted many of her evenings "to the instruction of the boys in Scripture history." Daniel Lee's time was given to itinerant preaching "in the villages down the river as far as the Cascades . . . [whose population] numbered about four hundred and seventy-five souls."

Classes were formed in all the villages, six in number, and leaders appointed; . . . [Some time later, having been] instructed in the nature and design of the ordinance of baptism . . . most of them . . . both adults and children [were baptized]. . . the happiness of these poor yet simple believers was another proof of the power of the gospel to triumph over the deepest degradation and the most abject destitution. . . Their former enmities and quarrels among neighbors and in families, which were frequent, were subdued, and peace now prevailed among them.²⁷⁹

In the spring of 1840 a Camp Meeting was held in an open plain about three miles from the mission house at a place called "Cowelaps" [Cowlitz]. About twelve hundred Indians were present, some from a considerable distance. The wigwams were set in a circle, enclosing an area of half an acre.

The good order observed throughout the whole meeting was never surpassed in any assembly of such numbers At daylight they were awakened by the sound of a trumpet, and soon after engaged, first in singing, and then in prayer, in their houses. Then followed the washing of hands and faces, after which they took breakfast. For public exercises they were called together three or four times during the day, the women and the men apart, with a space of four or five yards intervening, sitting on the ground, sometimes with a mat or a bear-skin spread beneath them, and a blanket or skin or mat over their shoulders; presenting a dense mass of black heads and sunburnt faces, alternating between adults, and babes, and little children, withered old age, and gray heads The company beggars description! . . . In the intervals of public worship they withdrew some distance from the ground and engaged in prayer alone. Prayers in their houses in the evening closed the day.²⁸⁰

The Camp Meeting continued for a week and at the close Communion was administered to several hundreds of persons.*

In midsummer, Dr. Babcock was transferred to the Willamette station, a change much regretted by Daniel Lee and H. K. W. Perkins, his associates, since it left The Dalles without a mission doctor. In October Superintendent Lee, from whom a visit had been long anticipated, spent a brief period at the station. During his stay another Camp Meeting was held. Although it was pronounced by the missionaries "a time of blessed influence on many hearts," the attendance was only about one-third that of the preceding meeting. To Jason Lee it seemed "truly inspiring," leading him to record in his "Diary," "I had rather be a laboring, suffering missionary in Oregon than to fill the presidential chair, or sway the most potent sceptre in the old world."²⁸¹

In the spring and summer of 1841, with the assistance of David Carter†—who had married Orpha Lankton—Brewer finished the building of a barn, much needed for the storage of grain and potatoes. The barn completed, attention was turned to the construction of a more suitable dwelling for the two missionary families. An unsuccessful attempt was made to build a Meeting House. In specific detail Daniel Lee records the difficulties under which he labored and some of the reasons why his work with the Indians was not more effective:

In general our time was so taken up in procuring lumber, building, canoeing to Vancouver and Walamet to bring up the necessary supplies and get our milling done, relieving the sick among the Indians, doing the work of servants in our own families, and in attending to the religious services . . . as to prevent our performing that amount of itinerant labour which the wants of the people demanded. Besides these things, we devoted a part of our time to the study of the language. That we could not visit all the people as often as was necessary for their good, was a very serious disadvantage to them, and a source of affliction to ourselves; and among many it was a cause of disaffection, leading many to neglect to hear even when an opportunity was enjoyed. The Indian doctors resumed their practices, and a large proportion returned to their former vices.²⁸²

In March, 1842, still another Camp Meeting was held. While the number present "was much fewer than at either of the other two yet it was attended with good to many." Some, Daniel Lee stated, were "powerfully reclaimed from a backslidden state."²⁸³

Early in 1843 apprehension—not without basis—became widespread among the American settlers concerning a threatened uprising among the Indians of the interior. Rumor spread abroad that a powerful chief of the Walla Walla

* Some accounts reported the conversion of more than one thousand (G. Hines, *Oregon and Its Institutions* . . . , p. 149). Nathan Bangs wrote, "A reformation so sudden, deep, and wide, among such a people, had not been known in modern days" (*History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, IV, 293.) Subsequent developments proved these estimates to be greatly exaggerated.

† D. Lee and J. H. Frost: "Mr. Carter had been hired several months at my [D. Lee's] station. . . . Timber for a barn has been prepared . . . [by him] and now he put up the frame, assisted by Mr. Brewer and myself."—*Op. cit.*, pp. 248f.

purposed the extermination of all American people in Oregon. Fearing that the disaffection might have serious consequences, and specially concerned for the safety of the mission family at The Dalles, Superintendent Lee journeyed from his headquarters to Wascopam for a conference with the chief, "Yellow Serpent" (Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox), arriving at The Dalles station on February 1, 1843.* The cause of hostility was found to be a fear on the part of the Indians, arising from a large influx of immigrants during the preceding fall, that the incoming of so many white settlers would result in the dispossession of their ancestral hunting grounds. Lee was able to pacify the chief and his band and the danger of an immediate outbreak was averted.²⁸⁴

Writing probably in the spring of 1843, Daniel Lee recorded frankly his judgment of results of his five years' ministry at The Dalles:

Of the mass [of the Indians] it may be said that three-fourths and more appeared careless and indifferent about the teachings of the gospel, and many of these were even against hearing it preached, that they might go on in their heathenish practices, and in direct opposition to its commands, unrestrained. . . . The remainder were those that latterly composed, for the greater part, our congregations; and among these some were found who continued to use the means of grace, and who, so far as could be known, were endeavoring to follow the light they had received. . . .

Doubtless the presence and labours of the missionaries . . . have also prevented bloodshed, and relieved many in sickness, and improved the conditions of many by the introduction of better clothing. Many have been taught the use of the needle. . . . The cruel custom of flattening infants' heads still prevails, though some have in a few instances been dissuaded from it.²⁸⁵

Why no more ambitious attempt was made by Daniel Lee, Perkins, and Brewer to maintain an Indian school or to enlist the Indians in the cultivation of the soil and a more settled manner of life is not apparent. Of all the mission stations Wascopam had access to much the largest Indian population, as was demonstrated by the attendance upon the first great Indian Camp Meeting. Yet only slight effort seems to have been exerted to carry on a school or interest Indian boys in elementary agriculture. Lee and Perkins busied themselves in preaching the Gospel not only to the Indians in the immediate vicinity of the station but also to those in the villages up and down the Columbia, while Henry Brewer's time was doubtless fully occupied during the greater part of the year with farming operations. Commenting on the wheat and potatoes grown on the mission farm in 1841 Wilkes says that potatoes "grow in great perfection, and wheat yields twenty to thirty bushels to the acre." Two hundred bushels of wheat, he says, had been harvested that year and they might grow much more "if they were disposed."²⁸⁶

* Daniel Lee refers to Jason Lee's visit with appreciation but, strange to say, does not so much as mention the peril of an outbreak of Indian warfare (*ibid.*, p. 258). The incident is narrated in detail by H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 257ff.

With the summer of 1843 ten years had passed since Daniel Lee had volunteered for Oregon, the stated period of his enlistment. This year brought to him—apparently for the first time—a mood of discouragement.* As was the case with so many of the missionary wives, Mrs. Lee was in serious ill health. To both there appeared but one way—"to return to the United States." In July they began preparations to leave Oregon and on August 15 embarked on the *Diamond*, from England, for the voyage to Boston, via the Sandwich Islands. The vessel cast anchor in the Boston harbor on March 20, 1844.²⁸⁷

What burden of soul Daniel Lee's departure brought to Jason Lee is shown by a letter which he addressed to his nephew on August 1, 1843:

I feel the imperious hand of necessity upon me, and I *must* attempt, *once more*, to represent to the Board, the state of the Oregon Mission. And never before did I approach this subject, when the prospect of final success *among the Indians*, seemed enshrouded in such a cloud of *impenetrable* darkness. For 'how shall they hear without a Preacher? And how shall they preach except they be sent?' I am satisfied we have no man in the field at present, who believes himself sent by the Head of the Church to these Indians. Bro. Perkins stated publicly at the Camp Meeting that he believed any man who had been five years among the Indians had been among them *three years too long*—and that he would sooner be *hanged to a tree* than return among them. Is there the least prospect that the Missionary Board will send others from the States? I for one, can see none at present. And has it come to this at last? Is there no *alternative*? . . . But I must stop short and say a word in reference to your request. . . . I think I duly appreciate all you have done in the Missionary field, . . . I sympathise with you in your affliction, and . . . I am persuaded you think you leave the field from a sense of duty. . . . *I do not believe* that the situation of your self and family . . . warrant[s] your leaving the field so suddenly, when *so much* depends upon your remaining at the post Heaven has assigned you.

H. K. W. Perkins remained at The Dalles for a year, following Daniel Lee's departure, but in the summer of 1844 also decided to withdraw.²⁸⁸

Willamette Falls.—The seat of a Hudson's Bay Company trading post, and one of the best salmon fisheries on the river, Willamette Falls—later Oregon City—was an important Indian center. As a nucleus it had a stable Indian population, augmented during the fishing season by a considerable number of others in temporary encampments.† To this station in June, 1840, the Superintendent appointed the Rev. Alvin F. Waller,‡ who the same summer

* D. Lee and J. H. Frost wrote: "For us to remain longer in the mission promised nothing advantageous to its interests . . ."—*Op. cit.*, p. 264.

† Dependable statistics on the number of the Indian inhabitants are lacking. Lieutenant Wilkes in 1841 estimated the maximum during the fishing season as less than one hundred.—C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* . . . , IV, 369f.

‡ Alvin F. Waller (1802-72) was admitted on trial in the Genesee Conference in 1833, and when appointed to the Oregon Mission was serving the Elba (N.Y.) Circuit (*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 211, 568). He was one of the charter members of the Oregon and California Mission Conference and for many years a leader in education and Church extension—becoming one of the founders of Willamette University and taking also an active part in establishing the *Pacific Christian Advocate*. One of his chief interests was the circulation of Methodist literature. For obituary see *Gen'l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Ch.*, 1873, pp. 132f.

built a log house*—the first residence erected in the "Falls" Settlement.²⁸⁹ A man of varied interests and concerns, he was by no means inclined to limit his activities to a ministry to the declining Indian population. In a letter written on August 19, 1842, he says:

I have been carpenter and joiner, receiver and forwarder of goods, retail merchant, salmon trader and salter, boat and canoe maker, stone layer, blacksmith, farmer, cooper, cobbler, nurse, and physician On sabbath I have generally held three or four meetings. In the morning, before breakfast, go near three miles to the Clackamees village, and hold meeting with the Indians; return, and at eleven o'clock try to preach to the whites at my house, and hold a class meeting. In the afternoon cross the river to a little village; again hold meeting with the Indians. Sometimes I return and talk to a few who are camped at certain seasons near me, and in the evening hold prayer meeting at my house.²⁹⁰

The establishment of a station at Willamette Falls was followed by serious controversy between Waller and John McLoughlin—one of the most unfortunate developments in the entire history of the Oregon Mission. The disposition of the Hudson's Bay Company to monopolize trade and commerce in the Oregon country resulted in increasing irritation within the growing American colony. Lee reported:

The Settlers became convinced that the H. B. Co. wished to monopolize the commerce. This injured the settlers and the Mission. They believed they could build a Mill . . . at the Falls that would bring in other vessels besides the H. B. Co's.²⁹¹

A stock company, the Island Milling Company, was formed in 1841, in which members of the mission along with others were stockholders. The company proceeded to build a gristmill and a sawmill, contesting McLoughlin's claim to exclusive right of possession and utilization of the water power of the falls. That the building of the mills was at least in part a mission enterprise is evidenced by the fact that Board authorization for a gristmill had been asked of the Board by Lee three years earlier and had been granted.²⁹²

If there had been no further developments than the building and operation of the mills it seems improbable, in view of McLoughlin's longtime generous attitude toward the mission, that serious conflict would have been precipitated. But Waller had personal economic ambitions and proceeded to set up a private claim to a tract of land at the falls, of which a large part, according to McLoughlin, had been pre-empted by him in 1829. Waller's action resulted in conflict.† At this distance Waller's part in the controversy does not seem wholly creditable to him as a man and a minister.²⁹³

* The house was divided into two apartments, one of which was used as a mission store. George Abernethy, the mission steward, was placed in charge of the store. Merchandise was sold to members of the mission, and also to settlers—the latter practice becoming a source of many difficulties for the mission.

† Jason Lee's relation as Superintendent to the Waller-McLoughlin land claim controversy is not

In the fall of 1842 Waller circulated a subscription for funds for a church building at Willamette Falls. Twenty-seven subscriptions were secured, totalling \$857.* Construction was immediately begun and the completed structure—the first Methodist church on the Pacific coast—was opened for public worship in 1844 by Gustavus Hines, then stationed at Willamette Falls. The change by this time in the character of the Oregon Mission is indicated by the fact that this church was built not specifically for the use of the Indians, but for the white population.²⁹⁴

In the readjustment of appointments necessitated by the withdrawal of H. K. W. Perkins in 1844, A. F. Waller was appointed to The Dalles† and the Oregon City station was placed in charge of Gustavus Hines.

Clatsop.—To the new Clatsop station Superintendent Lee, at the June 2, 1840, mission meeting, assigned the Rev. Joseph H. Frost.‡

As a center from which to reach the Indians the region about the mouth of the Columbia could not be disregarded, for in the vicinity were located not only the Clatsop tribe but also the Tillamook and numbers of the Chinook. Samuel Parker had called attention to it, writing:

This would be a favorable location for a missionary station, where access could be had to the Clatsop and Killamook Indians, who are said to be numerous.²⁹⁵

Parker also indicated that in his opinion the area contained available tracts of good land, "which might easily be brought under cultivation." In his conference with Willbur Fisk in January, 1839, Lee estimated that there were in the vicinity 250 Chinook, 130 Clatsop, and an undetermined number of Tillamook. This estimate did not vary greatly from a statement made by James Birnie, the Hudson's Bay Factor at Fort George (the company's new name for Astoria) in a letter written to Daniel Lee on February 27, 1840:

The numbers of the Chinooks about here last year were as follows: 75 men, 88 women, 69 children, and 58 slaves. The Clatsops are about the same number, but the Killimuks are more numerous. There are other small tribes in the vicinity.²⁹⁶

On July 13, Frost—accompanied by Daniel Lee as guide and counselor—

entirely clear, and concerning it wide difference of opinion has been expressed. That he was personally financially interested in Waller's private claim there is no proof, and that in certain particulars he sustained McLoughlin's contentions against Waller is evident. For significant source material see the series of documents on file in the Office of Indian Affairs, Oregon File, W 2477, Washington, D. C., printed in C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, Appendix III, pp. 291ff.

* There were two subscriptions of \$100. each, from John Force and George Abernethy, Jason Lee, A. F. Waller, Elijah White, J. L. Parrish, David Leslie, W. H. Willson, and L. H. Judson each subscribed \$50.—H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 254f.

† James W. Bashford: "We do not believe that Waller was removed from Willamette Falls in order to destroy his [land] claim. It is probable that his business affairs at Willamette Falls were injuring his usefulness as a minister at that station."—*The Oregon Missions . . .*, p. 222.

‡ Joseph H. Frost, a native of New York State, was admitted on trial in the New York Conference in 1835; ordained an elder and appointed missionary to Oregon at the 1839 session. Returning to the New York Conference in 1844 he was given the superannuate relation but in 1845 he again became effective and was appointed to the Hamden (Conn.) Circuit.

in the course of a tour "for the purpose of examining the country and ascertaining the most favorable location for a missionary post near the mouth of the river" visited the Chinook "and Checalish Indians" and talked with them about a mission:

they appeared to be very well pleased; but manifested a degree of disappointment when I informed them . . . that my principal design was to teach them how to worship the Great Chief above, and not to trade for beaver or salmon.²⁹⁷

The following day Frost and Lee crossed to the south side of the Columbia and made a cursory examination of the Clatsop area. They then went back to Vancouver without having chosen a definite location. On August 6, with his wife and young son, Frost returned to Fort George, Factor Birnie having generously offered to provide accommodations for the family at the post while they were getting settled. This proved to be a slow process since Frost, unassisted, showed little ingenuity in determining where to build and in getting the construction of a cabin under way. Several weeks went by with practically no progress made. Fortunately, however, Solomon H. Smith*—interested in the establishment of a missionary station among the Clatsop, his wife being a member of the tribe—had decided to remove from the neighborhood of the "Old Mission" and settle on the Clatsop Plain near the new missionary post, and about the same time Calvin Tibbets, another Willamette settler, also decided to make the same move. Meanwhile, the rainy season was drawing near and Frost appealed to the Superintendent for a missionary associate. In response Lee assigned William W. Kone† to Clatsop as Frost's colleague. After numerous vicissitudes, which Frost narrates in detail, by December 1, 1840, with the aid of Smith, Tibbets, and several Indian helpers, a comfortable log cabin had been erected on the plain some fourteen miles south of the fort, and in addition a lodge for the accommodation of Indian visitors.²⁹⁸

The two missionary families had no more than become settled when it became evident to them that they were too far removed from their base of supplies.

And in addition . . . it was believed that it would be expedient for the future prosperity of the station . . . for one family . . . [to be located] on the bank of the river . . . [with] immediate access to the Indians during the salmon season . . . and that the other should reside on the plain, where provisions could be

* When, on Oct. 19, 1834, Jason Lee preached for the first time in Willamette Valley, in the cabin of Joseph Gervais, he found Solomon H. Smith teaching a little school of Indian, half-breed, and American settlers' children.—J. M. Canse, *Pilgrim and Pioneer: Dawn in the Northwest*, pp. 118f.

† William W. Kone, a native of North Carolina, was admitted on trial in the Virginia Conference in 1835. When in 1837 the North Carolina Conference was set off from Virginia he became one of the charter members. He was pastor of the Warren Circuit when in 1839 he was appointed missionary to Oregon. On his return from Oregon he transferred to the Virginia Conference and at the session of November, 1842, was appointed junior preacher on the King and Queen Circuit. At the 1847 session of the Virginia Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, he was located.—*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 310, 444, 614; III, 34, 314; *Gen'l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Ch., So.*, I, 115.

raised for the support of the station . . . and from whence the missionary . . . could have access to the Clatsops at their winter residence . . . and the Killamooks to the south during the rainy season.²⁹⁹

Decision reached, the two missionaries with the aid of Smith, Tibbets, and Indian neighbors erected within a short time a three-room log house on the river, four miles in a direct line from their plains' cabin, one story high, twenty by thirty feet in size, shingle roof, and floor and ceiling of fir boards obtained from Vancouver. Removal to the new dwelling was made on February 10, 1841. Tibbets and Smith also built cabins at the same location, one on each side of the missionaries' house.³⁰⁰

Lieutenant Wilkes, who visited the mission station on May 23, comments on the desirability of the location, in a young spruce and pine grove, a situation "not susceptible of improvement." Kone, he understood, was occupied in cultivating a tract of land and superintending cattle on the plains four miles distant. To him it seemed that the missionaries had "little opportunity for exercising their ministerial calling."³⁰¹

Whether Frost and Kone were making the most of even their limited opportunity is difficult to determine. Frost seems to have preached regularly on Sundays at his own house to the other members of the missionary families, the Smith family, and Tibbets (who was a bachelor). Frost says:

when the Indians came in, which was very seldom, I would speak to them in their own tongue.

In this statement there is no indication that he made any attempt to establish preaching places among the several tribes of the region or even considered establishing a school for Indian children. As the salmon season drew near and the Indians came to their summer encampment he records that he went

to their lodges to converse with them upon the subject of religion; and requested them to meet in the chief's lodge for the purpose of having me explain the Bible to them on the Sabbath. This they promised to do, and the chief engaged to use his influence to get them together for that purpose. The next Sabbath I attended the appointment, and found several at the lodge. I sung a hymn and prayed with them, and then read a portion of the Scriptures and gave such explanations as circumstances would permit, and closed the interview.³⁰²

The entire account gives the impression of a decidedly perfunctory performance for a Methodist missionary to the Indians. Concerning distinctively religious activities by Kone, beyond recording that he preached occasionally at the mission house and the fort, Frost gives no account. In November, 1841, Kone—with his wife and child—took passage on a Hudson's Bay Company ship for the Sandwich Islands, en route to the United States. Frost, with no explanation of regret, gives a succinct explanation of his leaving:

In view of the unpromising prospects among the natives, and the continually declining state of Mrs. Kone's health, Mr. Kone made application to the superintendent of the mission for permission to return to the States, which was granted. . . . ³⁰³

As a missionary to the Indians, Kone was a misfit. He manifested no interest in the Indians after his arrival on the field and on leaving left no achievement to his credit. He was a chronic fault-finder and a principal cause of disaffection* among the members of the mission.³⁰⁴

As at The Dalles station, much of the missionaries' time was consumed in the necessary routine activities of existence under primitive wilderness conditions. Milk, butter, and beef were deemed necessary. Accordingly, in the summer of 1841 Frost determined to bring in cattle from Willamette Valley, and also horses—required for farming. As he wished to acquaint himself with possibilities of work among the Tillamook he decided on a route hitherto used only by the Indians—south from Clatsop to Tillamook Bay, thence southeastward across the Coast Range via the Grande Ronde Pass. He was accompanied by Solomon Smith, two other white men, and three Indians. The round trip was made in thirty-six days. To Frost and Smith is due credit for bringing the first cattle into what is now known as the Astoria region.³⁰⁵ No sooner had this trip been accomplished than "it became necessary to make a trip to the Walamet by water, for . . . a store of provisions" for winter. After laying in a supply of wood, Frost made this journey—a round trip of 320 miles by canoe—in twenty-one days.³⁰⁶

Frost's "Journal" offers practically no evidence of religious effort on his part among either the Chinook or the Tillamook during 1842 or the ensuing winter. He apparently made no attempt either to preach or to teach. His observations among them had led him to conclude "that there never will be anything like a permanent Christian church raised up from among them."† He had even become hesitant about supplying the sick with medicine :

for they are so extremely superstitious, that if one of them should die after taking medicine, they would be almost sure to attribute the death to those who gave the medicine, if they did not want to be paid for taking it if it cured them. . . . ³⁰⁷

* Jason Lee: "Bro. Kone complains of my treatment of him, and professes to know my secret reasons for wishing to keep all in the field. I never had any *secret* reasons. . . . Bro. Kone by his injudicious remarks caused great excitement among the laymen and made much difficulty."—Final report to the Board, C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

† Nowhere in his "Journal" does Frost have a good word to say for the Indians. He found it next to impossible "to communicate one truth to their dark understandings"; they were lazy—"too lazy to hunt only when hunger drives them to it"; and were given to stealing and unmentionable crimes. Many years later Mrs. Frost (who had become Sarah R. Frost Beggs) wrote a letter exhibiting them in a different light, saying: "Mr. Frost told the Indians that they must not kill or steal, or lie, or commit adultery; love God, and love each other. They promised to do as he said, and they literally kept their word as long as we remained among them. They never showed any rudeness or indignity to us. They willingly assisted us in building the mission house. I mention these things to show that they were not as bad as represented"—Letter to John O. Foster, in Albert Atwood, *The Conquerors—, Historical Sketches of the American Settlement of the Oregon Country . . .*, p. 91.

Frost's health also had become seriously impaired, interfering more or less with all of his activities. In July, 1842, Superintendent Lee transferred William W. Raymond from the Willamette station to take charge of farming operations on the Clatsop Plain. Once more Frost decided on a change of location and in August removed his family to the plain, where a house was under construction for joint occupancy of the two families. Here on a few occasions he preached in English "to those who could understand . . . [him]." On January 27, 1843, satisfied that his health was such "that there was no prospect of . . . being able to render any more efficient service to the mission" he requested discharge, and on March 19 received a letter from Superintendent Lee "containing . . . [his] dismissal from the mission. . . ."* On August 15, with his family, he embarked on the *Diamond*—the same vessel on which Daniel Lee and Dr. Babcock had taken passage.³⁰⁸

Following Frost's resignation, J. L. Parrish†—the blacksmith of the 1840 reinforcement group—now a Local Preacher, was placed in charge of the Clatsop station. In his final statement to the Board, a year later, Jason Lee reported that he had been working hard, laboring for the good of the Indians, and doing well.³⁰⁹

Nisqually.—In June, 1839, while acting as Superintendent during Lee's absence in the East, David Leslie stated in a letter to the Board that he had "explored, and commenced a new station" at Fort Nisqually, on the northwest coast, at Puget Sound:

I consider this the most important station for an Indian mission in all the country. There are between six and seven thousand Indians connected with Fort Nesqually trading post. They all speak the same language, and retain more of their original bravery and enterprise than the Indians on the lower waters of the Columbia. I saw the chief men of Nesqually tribe; they appeared well pleased that we had come to teach them, and do them good; said they would take care of us, and their young men should help us build our house.³¹⁰

Leslie added that he had left William H. Willson, the mission carpenter, to begin operations by building a mission house and acquainting himself with the Nisqually language.

To this important new station Lee appointed Dr. John P. Richmond,‡ and

* On the basis of what Frost himself records in his "Journal," Jason Lee's statement concerning him at his final hearing before the Board is not surprising: "Of Bro. Frost I cannot say much. He has made no thorough effort to bring sinners to God. I mean such an effort as would render it probable that these Indians could not be benefited by the Gospel. Whether he could have done more is with himself."—Jason Lee, final report to the Board, as quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

† J. L. Parrish (1806-95) was a native of Onondaga County, N. Y. He remained on the Clatsop station farm until it was sold by George Gary, Superintendent. He then returned to Salem. Later he served for a time as special Indian agent, in this and in other ways rendering significant public service.

‡ John P. Richmond (1811-?) was admitted on trial in the Illinois Conference in 1836 and appointed to the Pulaski Circuit. When he volunteered for the Oregon Mission, on Jason Lee's urgent invitation, he was pastor at Jacksonville, Ill., one of the few stations in the Illinois Conference. (*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 425, 427, 590.) Bashford states: "He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and had completed a medical course in Philadelphia. He was a member of two State Con-

as his associates, Willson and Chloe A. Clark, teacher. On July 2, 1840, the mission family consisting of Dr. Richmond, his wife and three young children, Willson, and Miss Clark, left Fort Vancouver in canoes—floating downstream on the Columbia to the mouth of the Cowlitz River, which they ascended as far as it could be navigated. At the point of disembarkment they loaded their equipment of trunks, boxes, and valises; sacks of flour and pork; pots, kettles, and pans; tents, beds, and bedding on pack horses.

This done, other horses are saddled . . . Mrs. Richmond is assisted in mounting, and takes the youngest child, a fine little boy of about nine months in her arms. The doctor mounts next with one daughter in his arms, and another up behind; then Miss Clark is assisted in seating herself in the saddle; after which Mr. Wilson . . . springs upon his horse, and all are ready for a two days' march.³¹¹

The route lay across rugged mountains, through deep defiles, across rapid streams and dangerous mudholes, but in the afternoon of the second day they reached their destination in safety. Here they were cordially welcomed by the Hudson's Bay Company Factor who furnished them with comfortable quarters within the stockades of Fort Nisqually for three weeks while the mission house—located within a stockaded enclosure three-quarters of a mile from the fort—was being made ready for occupancy. Two weeks after taking possession Dr. Richmond united Willson and Miss Clark in marriage.³¹²

To Richmond the station's location was pleasing:

We have a convenient proximity to Puget's Sound, near the head of which we are situated in a beautiful plain . . . To the east of us is a chain of beautiful fresh water lakes, abounding with fish . . . [Farther] . . . to the eastward, as far as the eye can reach, chains of mountains . . . the most conspicuous of which, at about twenty miles distance, towering above the clouds, is Mount Ranei [Ranier], covered with perpetual snow.

But to Richmond, so recently from the lush, rich prairie region of central Illinois, the location in one respect was disappointing. "The soil," he said, "is poor. . . ." The surface covered with small granite stones, mixed with a light vegetable loam, he felt certain was "very ill adapted to the purposes of agriculture."³¹³

He was disappointed also in respect to the Indians, their number and their physical and moral conditions. His numerical estimate fell far below that of David Leslie. Those of the immediate region, the "Squally tribe," he estimated at not to exceed two or three hundred. Other than these he found "a tolerable number" of other tribes who came to the post to trade.

stitutional Conventions, was Superintendent of Schools for Illinois for eight years, was speaker of the Illinois Assembly . . . and was a member of the Illinois State Senate." His sermons and speeches before leaving for Oregon greatly stimulated emigration (*op. cit.*, pp. 165f.). Returning to Illinois in 1843 he was appointed to the Petersburg Circuit (*Gen'l Minutes*, III, 400). He died in Manitoba, when over eighty years of age.

In their habits they are the most degraded and filthy of any people that ever came within my observation. . . . [The supply of fish, oysters, and other shell fish is abundant] so that with very little exertion they are enabled to subsist. [Yet] . . . They are frequently from sheer laziness in a half-starving condition. . . . Gambling is a great vice among them, and prevails almost universally.³¹⁴

Within a half year Richmond reached the conclusion that very little good from a religious point of view could be accomplished among the adult Indians of the region. There was hope of significant achievement in work with the children by establishing schools, teaching them the principles of the Christian religion, and training them to be industrious, and he lamented the fact that he did not have the means for engaging extensively in educational work among them. Despite what seemed to him a discouraging outlook he was resolute in purpose:

I intend to do my best under the circumstances in which I am placed, without [an] interpreter; and to attain the language myself, and leave the result to God My present means of doing any possible good, in connection with endeavoring to make some proficiency in the language, is to visit their lodges—converse with them in the best manner I can—to impress upon their minds the general truths of religion—and administer to their sick

. . . At present, I believe, with very little assistance, there might be a school established [for the children].³¹⁵

Richmond's resolution, however, was not enduring. Eighteen months after this letter was written he left the Nisqually station and on September 1, 1842, embarked on the American brig *Chenamus*, bound for Newburyport. Unfortunately we do not have record in his own words of the reasons for his withdrawal, within so short a time, from the mission. Influencing his decision was the fact that the health of his family had become impaired from the acclimatizing process, aggravated by the hardships of living under pioneer conditions. Apparently, also, he was increasingly skeptical of the possibilities of extensive usefulness among the Indians. After having lived among them for two years it was impossible for him to see the significance of the Indian mission enterprise through the eyes of Jason Lee. He was impatient for immediate, measurable results; he lacked Lee's far vision and faith in the ultimate effect of the Gospel upon Indian character and life; and, not unlikely, he may have felt that he had been imposed upon by misrepresentation on Lee's part of the significance of the mission enterprise. At any rate, it is clear that in his correspondence with the Board he was critical of Lee and that his disaffection was a factor in Lee's displacement as Superintendent.³¹⁶

About the time of Richmond's withdrawal, Mr. and Mrs. Willson were transferred to the Willamette station, and the Nisqually station was aban-

doned. Of all the points at which mission work had been undertaken, it had proven to be the most dismal failure.³¹⁷

JASON LEE SUPERSEDED

The earliest indication of a critical attitude on the part of the Board toward the administrative management of the Oregon Mission is found in an action on October 22, 1841, approving a report of the Oregon Committee:

as much of . . . [the order for goods] seems to be designed for purposes of trade, and as the creation of a trading establishment in connection with any of our Missions would give them too much of a commercial aspect, and as this would be likely to prejudice the minds of those we especially desire to benefit, if not indeed to secularize the minds of the missionaries . . . [the committee recommends]:

That the order be met only so far as it embraces articles for the supply of the Mission family.³¹⁸

The year 1841-42 was financially the most difficult that the Missionary Society had ever experienced. Danger was impending during the months of 1839 when the "great reinforcement" was being recruited but Lee's passionate missionary appeals were winning ready response and some members of the Board felt that a great missionary advance would challenge the Church to largely increased giving. The Board, however, was actuated more by uncalculating enthusiasm than by missionary statesmanship. The managers sent out the reinforcement without accurately estimating the expenditures it would involve.

The time soon came when it was imperative for an accounting to be made. With its borrowing limit reached and drastic retrenchment already enforced in the South America missions,* the cost of maintaining the Oregon Mission became an acute issue. The hope that the enthusiasm inspired by Jason Lee's intensive missionary campaign would insure continuation of large receipts for its support had proved illusory. The length of time required for the reinforcement to reach Oregon, to get an expanded program under way, and to return reports was not fully realized even by Board members—much less by contributors—and much impatience developed. As a result, the new springs of giving stimulated by Lee soon dried up at their source. Drafts in larger amount than the Board had reckoned on came and had to be met. On January 27, 1843, the Board's Oregon Committee estimated that the amount "of monies expended on [the] Oregon Mission from the commencement till the present time, Jany. 20, 1843, . . . [was] \$103,365.08."³¹⁹ At a meeting of the Board a few days later George Lane, the Treasurer, offered the following resolution:

* See I, pp. 349f., 356.

Whereas, from all the intelligence received from Oregon, it appears that the number of Indians in that territory, is much smaller than we had been led to suppose—and

Whereas the few tribes, or fragments of tribes which are found there appear to be fast wasting away by disease and

Whereas, their constant removal from place to place and the influence exerted over them by the Catholic priests, render them extremely difficult of access, and

Whereas the prospect of the Mission, when viewed in the more favorable light, does not appear to warrant so large an expenditure as is necessary to sustain the number of people now employed in that mission, and

Whereas other doors appear to be opening with vastly more promising fields, the cultivation of which will require many men and large sums of money, therefore

Resolved, that the Oregon Committee be instructed to enquire into the expediency of reducing the number of missionaries and laborers in Oregon by recalling or dismissing them as circumstances may determine.³²⁰

While finance played a major part in the decision to replace Lee other influences and conditions affected the situation. Members of the Board, anxious for word concerning progress of the mission following arrival on the field of the large contingent of new missionaries, and pressed by contributors demanding information, were keenly disappointed that reports failed to come through promptly and regularly. It must be, they decided, that the Superintendent was indifferent and negligent. If Lee failed in not fully realizing the importance of getting full information to the Board as quickly as possible, and at frequent intervals, the members of the Board were equally blameworthy in not realizing his situation—the multiplicity and weight of responsibilities growing out of the immediate situation resting upon him—and in not reposing complete confidence and faith in their Superintendent.

Another major factor was the dissatisfaction among the missionaries expressed in letters sent to the Board—particularly by Gustavus Hines*—and in the complaints made on their return to the East by Dr. White, W. W. Kone, and J. P. Richmond.† Altogether, these several factors led the members of

* Gustavus Hines for some time apparently maintained an extremely critical attitude toward Lee's administration of the mission. In a letter dated March 15, 1843, addressed to the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society, he charged that (1) "the sending of goods . . . for . . . purposes of traffic" with the settlers had wrought "great injury to the mission"; (2) "the mercantile operations" were conducted at a loss; (3) "four fifths of the people" attribute no other purpose to the mission than "mere speculations"; (4) the "general farming operations are no less objectionable" than the "mercantile proceedings"; (5) there is no call for the continuance of "extended missionary operations in Oregon," among either Indians or white settlers. (Gatke, "Document of Mission History," *The Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (1935), 171ff.) In his later years, after Lee's death, his attitude changed and he warmly commended Lee and his constructive plans for Indian evangelization.

† Dissatisfaction with Lee's administration of the mission was by no means universal among the missionaries. In an undated letter, presumably written at about the same time as that of G. Hines, David Leslie wrote: "I suppose an ordinary mind would feel somewhat perplexed at the discrepancy of opinion entertained & expressed relating to your missionaries & their work in Oregon . . . I do most deeply regret the course taken by some who have been appointed to this mission,—And I will venture here to opine, that the ready cooperation & prompt exertion of all the missionaries to sustain the mission & carry into effect the plans of the Superintendent each labouring diligently in his respective place may secure as happy results, as change in the Superintendency." Ms. in possession (1940) of Lewis Judson, Salem, Ore., as quoted by R. M. Gatke, *op. cit.*, pp. 61f.

the Board, apparently without an exception, to the conclusion that Jason Lee should be superseded as Superintendent. At an earlier date suggestion had been made by the Board that "a Special Agent" should be sent to Oregon to take over administration of the mission and on March 10, 1843, a resolution was adopted stating:

we still adhere to the opinion that a Special Agent or new Superintendent should be sent to Oregon; and do therefore recommend to the Bishop, if a suitable man can be obtained for such agency, to appoint and send him out with necessary instructions.³²¹

At a meeting of the Board on August 23, in the course of a statement to the managers, Bishop Elijah Hedding said that his object in attending "was to obtain the opinion of the Board in relation to the propriety of sending an Agent to Oregon, or . . . [of sending] a Superintendent in place of Bro. Lee." By formal motion the Board declared that they adhered to the action recorded in the spring, and in a second motion stated that the rule requiring ten years' service of a missionary going to Oregon would not apply in the case of the agent or Superintendent "that the Bishop contemplates now sending."³²²

At the meeting of September 20, 1843, the Bishop informed the Board that he had appointed the Rev. George Gary of the Black River Conference as Superintendent, and that Gary was willing to go and to remain four or five years. He also expressed confidence that Gary was a man "in every way suited to the work."³²³ At a later meeting the new Superintendent was given specific instruction

to dispose of the farm at Willamette, the saw and grist mills, the various Articles of Mdze, the Blacksmith & Cabinet makers shops, & to discharge from the service of the Mission, all surplus hands in its employ at his earliest convenience, unless on his arrival he should find sufficient reasons for delaying to carry any part of these instructions into effect, in which case it shall be his duty to give the earliest information to the Board with his reasons for such delay.³²⁴

The reason for superseding Lee, as announced to the Church, was chiefly the "conflicting and unsatisfactory reports" of the mission, which seemed to call "for a thorough and impartial investigation of its condition." Care was taken to give assurance that Lee had been replaced not because of "any loss of confidence in his moral and religious character, or of his entire devotion to the interests of the Oregon Mission." In his statement, the Secretary of the Society softened the terms of the instructions given Gary, stating that he had been given "discretionary power, if, in his judgment, the interests of the mission shall require it, to curtail the secular department of the mission," adding that he would be happy to learn "that the prospects are such . . . as to call for enlargement, rather than retrenchment."³²⁵

Gary promptly made necessary arrangements and started on his voyage, via Cape Horn, arriving at Oregon City on June 1, 1844.

JASON LEE RETURNS EAST ; HIS VINDICATION AND DEATH

It was extremely unfortunate that the first definite information of his recall* was conveyed to Lee not by word from the Board but indirectly by Marcus Whitman. Writing on October 27, 1843, to Secretary Pitman, Lee said:

I have seen Dr. Whitman, who informs me that he saw Bro. [Edward R.] Ames your western secretary, and Bro. Ames informed him that I should be called home. Be it so.³²⁶

The report was soon after confirmed by a letter from the Board, dated January 3, 1843. Disconcerting as this word was to him, he hoped that personal conference and full information might reinstate him in the Board's confidence. Information also had reached him that the joint occupancy convention of 1827 between the United States and Great Britain was soon to be terminated by Congress and he felt that renewed representation of the claims for mission land titles should be made. With these considerations in mind, on December 25 he boarded the *Columbia*, arriving in Honolulu Bay on February 27, 1844.³²⁷ Here even more shocking intelligence reached him. From Dr. Ira L. Babcock, who had been in Hawaii for six months for his health, he received word that without having been given a hearing before the Board he had been superseded as Oregon Mission Superintendent, and that his successor was on his way to Oregon to replace him.³²⁸

Astounding as was the news to him, Lee was not overwhelmed. After conferring at some length with Dr. Babcock and Gustavus Hines—temporarily in Hawaii—he determined to continue his journey. The only possibility immediately available was a small Hawaiian government schooner, with accommodations for one passenger, scheduled to leave for Mexico the next day. Leaving his daughter, Lucy Lee, in the care of Gustavus Hines, whom he appointed as her sole guardian, he embarked on February 28,³²⁹ and on April 8 landed at San Blas. He crossed Mexico by stagecoach and took passage from Vera Cruz on a mail packet for New Orleans. Thence he continued by Mississippi River steamboat to Pittsburgh, then by stage to New York, where he arrived on May 27 after five months of continuous travel.³³⁰

* Jason Lee had received late in September, 1843, a letter from Charles Pitman, Corresponding Secretary of the Board, charging him with delinquency in not making regular full financial reports, and with lack of order and system in his administration; also intimating that a Special Agent might be sent to investigate conditions and report to the Board. Under date of October 13 Lee made vigorous reply, stating that financial reports were the responsibility of the mission steward, not of the Superintendent; that he had faithfully labored to the full extent of his ability and strength; and that he had repeatedly written letters to the Board and to the Bishop for "information, and instruction, on important points" which had not been answered. He further stated that he was decidedly in favor of the sending of a Special Agent. That the Board had any intention of sending an Agent to supersede him as Superintendent apparently did not occur to him until Marcus Whitman conveyed the information to him.

At New York Lee found General Conference in session, its members—including officials of the Missionary Society—completely absorbed in the conflict over slavery. Unable to gain a hearing, he proceeded to Washington where he was assured by President John Tyler of the early passage by Congress of an Oregon bill in which the mission land claims would be respected. His conference with Senator Thomas H. Benton of Missouri was also reassuring, but when he returned to New York City, although he was “treated with the utmost kindness and respect” by the Board, he sensed “a deep prejudice . . . against the Oregon Mission”^{*} and against himself.³³¹

Beginning in the afternoon of July 1, and continuing through several sessions, the Board of Managers met in conference with Lee. The Corresponding Secretary stated that the purpose was to afford him opportunity to make a complete statement concerning his administration of the Oregon Mission. It developed that the charges made against him by dissatisfied members of the mission which had led to the Board’s precipitate action included statements that he had squandered mission funds and had made use of missionary money for private speculation. Board members complained also that he had failed to make regular report concerning mission progress and property. Lee’s statement in defense was dispassionate and detailed.³³² He was modest in regard to his own abilities and achievements but stood his ground, making no concessions to the charge of maladministration:

When the Board sent out its last large reinforcement, its object in my view and I believe in theirs was, that Methodism should spread throughout Oregon; for what purpose else, I ask, did so large a number of laymen go out? If it was only to form one or two stations, it appears to me that both the Board, and myself as their agent, must have taken leave of our senses. If my associates had stood firm to their post, and persevered willingly in the work consigned them,† I have not a doubt but far more favorable accounts would have reached you from that distant country. The plans, I assert [were] well formed and had I been sustained the object would have been accomplished.³³³

He replied in detail not only to the major charges made against him, but also to the minor complaints of dissatisfied associates. So satisfied were the members of the Board with his matter-of-fact statement that they declared by resolution, on motion of Nathan Bangs, their full confidence in the integrity

^{*} Lee was forthright and utterly frank in a letter to G. Hines: “I think your letter [to the Missionary Society] has done more than anything else to bring about this state of feeling. From your letter they seem to have got the following impressions,—that our sawmill [at Salem] sinks \$10 per day,—that our store [at Oregon City] makes ‘many’ had debts which will never be paid, that it is a great vortex swallowing up mission money . . . that goods can be got at Van[couver] at *half* what we can sell for . . . that the Indians are a ‘doomed race,’ &c., &c., &c.”—Letter, Oregon Historical Society Manuscript Collection, quoted in full by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 243ff.

† Lee declared that some who were sent out in 1839 did not possess the qualifications necessary for missionary service and averred that before the Lausanne reached its first South American port of call some desired to turn back. Some of the wives had never given full approval to missionary service—the appointments having been made despite Lee’s insistence that no man should be appointed unless his wife desired to go. In at least one instance the candidate was not physically fit: “I allude,” Lee said, “to Bro. [James] Olley—he never was capable of doing more than the work of half a man.”—Jason Lee, final statement to the Board, C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

of his character and their great indebtedness to him for "his indefatigable labors, his great privations & hardships" and for "whatever of good . . . [the mission] may have accomplished."³³⁴

Lee was deeply wounded by the Board's loss of confidence in him and by its action in displacing him as Superintendent of the mission, but his heart was in Oregon and his concern for the Indians and his tender affection for his only child left behind in Hawaii led him to announce his willingness to return in a subordinate capacity and serve under Gary's superintendency. Apparently there was sentiment in the Board for his reappointment, but the Treasurer (George Lane) was adamant. He asserted that there were yet in Oregon as many missionaries as the Board had funds to support and that it would be inexpedient to reappoint Lee until the new Superintendent had submitted his report. His motion to this effect prevailed.³³⁵

The Board's series of meetings with Lee³³⁵ concluded, he turned his face toward Stanstead, his early home. En route he attended the sessions of the New Hampshire and the New England Conferences where he received affectionate ovations from friends who loved and trusted him. He was given an appointment at the New England Conference at his own request as "Agent of the Oregon Institute," hoping that he might be able to raise much needed funds for the institution. But his life's work was ended. In Stanstead, in November, pale and emaciated, he preached his last sermon.³³⁶ On February 7, 1845, he addressed the following letter to Treasurer Lane:

The effects of a severe cold have been gradually destroying my constitution for the last six months. I have had a cough, but it did not affect the lungs. . . . I have been confined to my bed for several weeks. I do not think I receive any benefit from medical aid; and unless some favorable change should take place very soon, I see no other prospect than a few weeks will number me with them that are gone before. I have written the above that my friends may see where I am, and how I am. I trust some will pray for me, and others write to me. I am admonished that I must close; but rest assured, beloved brethren, for me to live is Christ, to die is gain. Farewell,—be faithful, then we'll meet in heaven.³³⁷

On the following day (Feb. 8, 1845) he wrote in similar vein to Gustavus Hines and his wife from whom he had received no word since he left them in Hawaii, twelve months before. His greatest concern was for his "dear little one":

Let her have if possible a first rate education. But above all do not neglect her religious education, my Dear Brother & Sister. I must hold you responsible under God to train that child for Heaven.³³⁸

On March 13, 1845, death came to Jason Lee. In his forty-second year the strong man was laid low and on March 15 his wasted body was buried in the little cemetery at Stanstead, to be removed sixty-one years later and reinterred (June 15, 1906) in the Lee Mission Cemetery at Salem, Oregon.³³⁹

OREGON INDIAN MISSION LIQUIDATED

George Gary* arrived in Willamette Valley (June 1, 1844) under instruction from the Board to liquidate a large part of the Oregon Mission and he lost no time in getting the process under way. As soon as possible after his arrival he convened (Monday, June 3) the missionaries in council at the Manual Labor School at Chemeketa.† In opening the meeting the Superintendent stated "the views of the Board of Managers" as he understood them: (1) the missionaries "erred . . . [as] to the prospects of benefiting the Indians of . . . [the Oregon] territory," and "these improper views . . . [inspired in] the Board . . . too high hopes" of results to be achieved; (2) "these mistaken views . . . led the Board into too heavy appropriations" of money and personnel; (3) the Board feared that the program had been too secular in character; (4) the Board was "afflicted" by lack of information concerning the mission's "fiscal and spiritual condition[s]"; (5) the Board wanted full and explicit information on these points; (6) the Board faced "the necessity of [immediate] retrenchment"; (7) there could be no further overdrafts—"we . . . [were] authorized to draw for [\$5,000.] . . . but as a number have left [the] . . . field" since that authorization, the amount must be reduced in proportion.³⁴⁰

In the course of this and subsequent council meetings, after consultations with the missionaries and consideration of opinions expressed, the Superintendent made the following decisions: (1) to dispose of all of the land claims of the mission except those at Chemeketa and The Dalles; (2) to abandon all of the Indian mission stations except at these two places; (3) to sell "the mill and [live]stock and other mission property"; (4) to dismiss the laymen connected with the mission,‡ except H. B. Brewer at The Dalles. In accordance with these decisions disposal of property was immediately begun. The mission farm, buildings, and cattle at the Clatsop station were sold, and also the mills and goods of every description at Chemeketa and Willamette Falls. All of the cattle were purchased by Hamilton Campbell, the mechanic at Chemeketa, and the mission store at the falls by George Abernethy who also "bought up at a discount all the debts of the French settlers, to whom . . . goods had been sold on credit."³⁴¹

* George Gary (1793-1855), a native of the state of New York, was admitted on trial in the New England Conference in 1809 and appointed as junior preacher to Barre Circuit, Vermont. He is said to have been the youngest man, up to 1910, ever received into an American Conference (James Mudge, *History of the New England Conference* . . . , p. 76). In 1813 he transferred to Genesee Conference. In 1818, at twenty-five years of age he was appointed Presiding Elder of Oneida District. For forty-five years he served in the itinerant ministry—sixteen years as a Circuit preacher; twenty-three as Presiding Elder; and six as a missionary. Six times he was elected as delegate to the General Conference. He was characterized as unassuming and unassuming; calm, deliberate, and firm; a safe counsellor and a persuasive preacher. For obituary, see *Gen'l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Ch.*, V, 560ff.

† The persons present were: David Leslie, Gustavus Hines, A. F. Waller, George Abernethy, Alanson Beers, Hamilton Campbell, and L. M. Johnson.

‡ The proposal to the laymen was to pay transportation expense to the United States or, if they chose to remain in Oregon, to pay each the equivalent of passage in mission property. All but one,

Within a few days after his arrival in the Willamette Valley Gary recorded a strongly negative judgment with regard to the importance and value of the Indian Manual Labor School:

Thurs. 6 [June, 1844] . . . All agreed the Indian community had not been benefitted by any one who had left the school and returned to the various walks of life. If they have distinguished themselves . . . it is for their depravity. Four only have left the school regularly. Some . . . have run away and many have died. . . . Runaways have been punished as criminals. The most of them have taken their stolen budget and when found have been brought back, put in chains, severely whipped, &c &c guarded and kept within a high enclosure like prisoners. . . . In some instances the consent of the parents of these children has been bought that their children may attend school.³⁴²

Expression of opinion differed concerning what should be done with the school. At a general meeting of missionaries and members held on June 26, Gary announced that he had decided to close the school and dispose of the property. His decision by no means met with unanimous approval. A. F. Waller, Gustavus Hines, and W. H. Willson were not in agreement, but the decision was in harmony with the policy adopted by the Board, and Gary adhered to it. He offered the entire property—schoolhouse and land, except the parsonage and the mills—to the trustees of the Oregon Institute for \$4,000., less than half the cost of the building. The trustees disposed of their property on Wallace's Prairie for \$3,000. and accepted Gary's offer.* By this transaction the Manual Labor School became the Oregon Institute. The transfer of the property from the mission to a board of trustees of an independent institution obliterated the mission title to the land.³⁴³

These transactions completed, Gary sent an account to the Board reporting proceeds from the sale of mission property: † the Indian Manual Labor schoolhouse and two sections of land, \$4,000.; sawmill, gristmill, and fixtures, \$6,000.; cattle, horses, and growing crops, \$4,610.25; central station farm, \$5,000.; farm at Clatsop, \$6,000.; total, \$25,610.25.³⁴⁴

The dismissal of the laymen, with the exception of H. B. Brewer, left only four missionaries, other than the Superintendent, in the mission. But this

Dr. Ira L. Babcock, elected to stay and "property to the amount of \$800 to \$1,000 was disbursed to each family."—H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 349; "Diary of Rev. George Gary." Charles H. Carey, Ed., *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, XXIV (1923), 1 (March), 96f.

* What Lee intended, and what the Board desired after hearing Lee, "was to continue the Mission Manual Labor School, gathering in all the Indian children possible from near and far, and, while the Manual Labor training system was having a more thorough test, await the action of the government in the passage of a land bill for Oregon. . . ." This, says H. K. Hines, is what "should have been done." (*Op. cit.*, pp. 422f.) Lee hoped, as a part of the government support he sought, that Congress might provide an endowment for the Indian school which would make it possible for the institution to serve the educational needs of a wide area.—C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 228f.

† By the time the process of liquidating the mission had proceeded to this point Gary noted a decided change of attitude in the community. In June, 1844, he noted "a strong prejudice against the Mission as a powerful monopoly, especially in view of the number and location of sections of land to which it . . . laid claim" (*loc. cit.*). On October 26 he wrote: "There is a great and sudden change in the current of feeling . . . in reference to our Mission. . . . Now as our business closes up . . . we are ruining the country." To this observation he added a reflection of his own: "Almost everyone, or at least quite a proportion of those who have been in this region for two or more years and are well off have received their foundation or start from the mission."—*Ibid.*, pp. 175f.

was more than Gary considered necessary, and he notified A. F. Waller that it was not needful for him to remain in Oregon. About this time H. K. W. Perkins, who had found it impossible to approve the liquidation of the major portion of the Indian work, notified the Superintendent that he purposed to withdraw and either return to his former Conference or go to England. Reluctantly acceding to Perkins' withdrawal, Gary informed Waller that he might stay, which he decided to do. He was placed in charge of The Dalles station, taking the place of Perkins.³⁴⁵

No further change in personnel occurred until the fall of 1845, when the brig *Chenamus*, scheduled to sail early in September for Boston, offered accommodations for a few passengers. Feeling that there remained little more for him to do toward fulfilling his commission, Gary was eager to return to the United States. However, as Gustavus Hines' departure had been delayed more than a year, the Superintendent offered him a choice between assuming the superintendency of the mission or taking advantage of the opportunity of passage. Hines' record of his decision reads:

This, after a night of the utmost solicitude, brought me to the conclusion to close up my missionary labors, and leave the scene of toil and danger, and set my face towards my native land.³⁴⁶

On September 13 the *Chenamus* crossed the Columbia bar. In addition to his own family, Hines had in his care Lucy Anna Maria, Jason Lee's little daughter.* The *Chenamus* encountering delay at Honolulu, Hines engaged passage on the *Leland*, bound for New York via Canton. The ship sailed on October 15, and discharged her passengers at New York on May 4, 1846.³⁴⁷

One Indian station of the Oregon Mission yet remained in Methodist hands—Wascopam at The Dalles—and the question of how to dispose of it caused Gary no little perplexity. Finally, he entered into negotiations with Marcus Whitman. Against the strong protests of Waller and Brewer, then in charge of the station, Gary offered to transfer the entire property free to the American Board, including the mission house and farm, the barn, and the land claim of 640 acres—reserving only the livestock and farming tools for which he asked \$600.—providing the Board would agree to continue the mission. The offer was accepted and in September, 1847, the last of the Indian missions established by Jason Lee was taken over by missionaries of the American Board. The *Chenamus*, on which Gustavus Hines had taken passage, carried a letter from Gary requesting the Board to relieve him as Superintendent. A successor was appointed and in July, 1847, Gary sailed for the United States.³⁴⁸

In October, 1845, through a statement in the *Christian Advocate* the liquida-

* Not until they landed at New York did Gustavus Hines and Lucy Anna Maria learn of the death of Jason Lee, fourteen months previously.

tion of "the secular work" of the Oregon Mission was announced to the Church:

We are glad to announce to the friends who have so liberally contributed to our missionary treasury, and sustained the Board in the midst of the great pecuniary embarrassments of 1842 and 1843, that brother Gary has fully justified the high expectations entertained by the appointing Bishop, and the Missionary Board, of his ability, firmness, and zeal, as fitting him for the work committed to him. . . .

The mills, farms, manual labor school house, and the personal property attached to them, have been sold The debts due to the mission, chiefly for goods purchased of the steward, have also been sold; and although a heavy discount has been allowed, it is probable that the purchasers have given as much as they are worth, and the mission will escape the odium of litigation concerning temporal matters, with the people to whom they are sent to minister in 'spiritual things.' . . .

. . . For the future, then, we shall confine ourselves in Oregon to our proper calling, disencumbered of worldly concerns, and free from the injurious imputations of avarice and ambition,* which must necessarily present a great barrier to ministerial influence and success.³⁴⁹

Those who so severely criticised the Oregon Mission and Jason Lee's relation to its development viewed it in limited and faulty perspective. That the sending out of so large a reinforcement in 1839-40, at so heavy expenditure when the credit of the Missionary Society was already impaired by the national economic crisis, was a case of mistaken judgment on the part of the Superintendent of the mission, Bishop Hedding, and the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society, there can be no question. Superficially viewed, Jason Lee's call for a largely increased personnel in 1839 seems unreasonable in the light of some of his earlier statements. In March, 1836, preceding the sending out of the first reinforcement, he had written:

I was fully satisfied before we left the U.S. [evidently by what he saw of the Indians on the first part of the Oregon Trail] that our church, and others, had their expectations too much excited in respect to this Mis[sion] and that they must necessarily meet with a great disappointment, but I am now convinced, that it will be greater than I then anticipated.³⁵⁰

Why then, two years later, did he plan for such an extensive expansion of the mission? Was his judgment unstable, wavering from one extreme to another? Or, was Frances Fuller Victor right in asserting that his fervent mis-

* This type of disparaging reference to the Oregon Mission continued to be made at intervals for several years. In a public address made in 1846 Stephen Olin, successor of Willbur Fisk as president of Wesleyan University, said: "The mission became odious to the growing population, with whose interests and designs, good or bad, it came into perpetual conflict as an unwieldy, overshadowing, intermeddling, many-handed business establishment." (*The Works of Stephen Olin*, II, 427.) The *Christian Advocate* in 1848 said editorially: "We hope the times of mismanagement and misrule are over, and we may confidently expect, that for the time to come the mission in Oregon will fulfil the purpose of the Church in its establishment. It is now reduced to the proper limits of its original purpose

. . . The Missionary Board will be no longer subjected to the imputation of being land jobbers and speculators Our preachers will now go to the people as men entirely devoted to the one work of 'saving souls'; and we may expect the success which has always attended such preachers. . . . There is no 'Flat-head enthusiasm' now. 'We seek right ends by right means.'—*Christian Advocate and Journal*, XXIII (1848), 4 (Jan. 26), 14.

sionary appeals were merely a cloak for purely materialistic colonizing ambitions?

This latter assumption is incredible. Who fully acquainted with the evidence can doubt the sincerity of Lee's religious motive or his moral integrity? On the contrary it seems evident that the strength and depth of his religious conviction offer the explanation. Later on in the same letter from which the quotation above is taken, he wrote:

That the Indians are a scattered, periled, and deserted race, I am more and more convinced; for it does seem, that unless the God of heaven undertake their cause, they must perish from off the face of the Earth, and their name be blotted out from under heaven. God grant that a remnant may be saved, as trophies of the Gospel of Christ, and for a seed to serve him.³⁵¹

That a remnant could be saved, and that such a spiritual achievement would be worth whatever it might cost, was his hope and conviction. The "Great Reinforcement," and the expense incurred, seemed to Frederick V. Holman, of the Oregon Historical Society, "to have been the result of unusual, but ill-directed, religious fervor and zeal."³⁵² Whether one agrees with this judgment largely depends upon his criterion of values. In any event the fact must be kept in mind that the expedition as sent out exceeded Lee's specifications; also that poor judgment was used by those responsible for the appointment of the ministerial members of the reinforcement. Justification has been abundant of Lee's confidence that the time would come when the missionary cause would receive

an amount in Dollars and Cents, more than equal to the entire amount of *principal*, and interest, of all that has been expended for *Oregon*; from *Oregon* itself; as the fruits of Missionary labor³⁵³

GENERAL SUMMARY: INDIAN MISSIONS

Between August, 1819, when the Ohio Conference officially approved the sending of a missionary to the Wyandot, and the division of the Church in 1844, the Methodist Episcopal Church established missions among some thirty-five Indian tribes in sixteen states and territories, exclusive of Upper Canada but including the Oregon country. Altogether, fifteen Annual Conferences sponsored missionary work among the Indians for longer or shorter periods of time, and not less than 214 preachers were given Indian mission appointments.* This number does not include fifteen or more Indians who were received into Conference membership and given missionary assignments among their own people.

The *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Missionary Society* (1840-41)

* Many of these ministers held Indian missionary appointments for one year only.

stated that "there had been gathered into . . . [the] several domestic missions . . . [exclusive of the Oregon Mission] two thousand three hundred and forty-one Indians as church members. . . ." ³⁵⁴ The *General Minutes* for 1844 give the total Indian membership of the Societies in the Indian Mission Conference alone as 2,992. ³⁵⁵ There were Indian members also in a number of other Conferences—including the Oneida, 80; Rock River, 130; North Ohio, 5; Michigan, 338; Mississippi, 115; Holston, 109; a grand total of 3,769.

COMPLICATING CONDITIONS IN INDIAN MISSION WORK

In any attempt to form a fair judgment concerning the programs and permanent values of Indian missions consideration must be given to certain complicating and hindering factors.

High government officials, with few exceptions, were actuated by noble and worthy ideals of relationship between the State and the Indian tribes, and most of the federal laws and regulations were framed to protect their rights. The several government commissions appointed to formulate agreements and treaties also, as a rule, were composed of honorable men who sought to conserve justice and to promote the welfare of the Indians. Difficulty in the realization of these ideals and aims came chiefly at three points. The first was a lack of comprehension on the part of the representatives of each race of the philosophy of life, the social ideals, the societal structure, and the mores of the other. The second was the seeming impossibility of the enforcement of the laws and the faithful execution of compacts after they had been made. Most of the major conflicts came about as a result of the ignoring or open violation of existing laws and treaties by white citizens.* History of the relationship between the federal and state governments and the Indians during the period under review is full of examples of shameless, systematic exploitation and repeated breaking of treaties solemnly entered into. A third factor was the lack of any comprehensive, over-all, settled policy on the part of the government. ³⁵⁶ Change of administration, frequently occurring, almost certainly meant changes in policy in relationship with the Indians, both in the matter of legislation and in the application of laws and the interpretation of treaties. A compact always was represented to the Indians as embodying a promise of "the Great Father" in Washington, whose word was enduring. Why that word should be contradicted and superseded within a few years in another proffered compact urged—and even forced—upon them was beyond their comprehension.

A basic fact affecting white-Indian relationships in all their aspects was

* One of the first of an interminable series of treaty violations was reported by President George Washington to the United States Senate on Aug. 22, 1789, little more than a year after the adoption of the Constitution, the President stating that "the treaty with the Cherokees has been entirely violated by the disorderly white people on the frontiers of North Carolina."—1 Congress, First Session, *Annals of Congress*, I, 66.

of course the steadily growing population pressure, with all that it involved in land ownership, speculation, and control. With every decade the frontier moved irresistibly farther west,* always with those in authority failing to realize how rapidly or how far it would go.

The first suggestion of Indian removal to the west of the Mississippi apparently was made by Jefferson in 1805. It would be impossible for the Indians, he believed, to remain in areas contiguous to white settlements without being demoralized by contact with the worst elements of the white population. Nor did he see any probability of their assimilation. If removal could be effected amicably it would be mutually advantageous. This point of view became largely determinative of government policy during subsequent decades.³⁵⁷ While the Indians knew nothing of land titles as they were defined by the whites, possession of the land by the tribe, or Nation, was to them a sacred thing, an inviolable right.† They were deeply rooted in the land of their fathers. Dearer to them than life itself was the place of the graves of their ancestors. To be dispossessed of it was a loss for which no amount of the white man's silver could compensate.³⁵⁸ In addition, the physical sufferings attending forced removal left scars in their memories never obliterated and engendered suspicion and hatred of the white man that were passed on from generation to generation.

The means used by agents of the government in procuring agreement to and signing of treaties were often despicable. Resort to cajolery, bribery, and use of unlimited quantities of whisky was common practice. Although seeming to be pliable subjects of such practices, even those who were thus victimized thereafter had little respect for their seducers. Frequently treaties were concluded only with a fraction of a Nation. Almost always in a tribe there were rival chiefs, and government agents often contented themselves with securing the signature of one or more principal chiefs, leaving others with their followers discontented and rebellious.³⁵⁹ In some instances the irritation of the minority faction persisted for years, causing their permanent alienation from white influence.

Unsettled conditions among the Indians seriously hindered the continuity essential to a successful ministry in preaching and teaching. The hunting and trapping season, and again the season for ingathering of wild herbs, roots,

* L. F. Schmeckebier: "While the government recognized the validity of the Indian title it was often powerless to enforce the rights of the Indians against the frontier settlers, and many of the conflicts resulted from unlawful trespass by the whites and the recourse to force by the Indians."—*Op. cit.*, p. 5.

† "The old men sat in council . . . mourning over their fate from Monday morning until Tuesday night. They sat and talked all night long . . . They had thought for years past that there would be no hope for them only by their conduct pleasing the white people so well that they would not wish them to move away. This they had endeavored to do, had made up their minds to encourage schools, attend to agriculture, and examine the religion of the Bible; but they now saw it would be all in vain. . . . They said the President had offered to build them schoolhouses and a meetinghouse beyond the Mississippi; but if they went they should abandon the whole, build their own council house, and worship the Great Spirit in their own way."—Letter, *Missionary Herald*, XXVII (December, 1831), 387.

and other foodstuffs for drying, involved long absences from home. In these latter processes children as well as adults participated, causing irregular school attendance. Among the "wild" Indians security and stability were more or less jeopardized by intertribal wars. Certain tribes were hereditary or traditional enemies. For example, war might break out at almost any time between the Chippewa and the Sioux, or between the Kansas and the Shawnee. Intertribal treaties which government agents and missionaries were instrumental in negotiating had little effect in preventing or minimizing warfare.³⁶⁰ These various conditions were also aggravated by the frequent moves caused by the steady white settlement advance. Again and again missions were founded and schools established only to have the projects disrupted by forced removals.³⁶¹

The white traders, as a class, were probably the greatest obstacle to the success of missionary work among the Indians. There were noteworthy exceptions, men of probity and in some cases of Christian character, motivated more by a purpose of serving the Indians than by desire for commercial gain. But these men were the exception. General Thomas Gage declared in 1767 that most Indian traders were "as wild as . . . the People they deal with, and by far more vicious and wicked . . ." Too often the goods sold to their unwitting customers were of cheap and inferior quality and the selling price extortionate. For valuable pelts and furs they often gave in exchange tawdry ornaments and cloth of the cheapest kind.³⁶² Many traders habitually plied their victims with drink until they were not responsible for their transactions. The chief stock in trade of many was whisky and they made it their business to develop in their customers an appetite that could only be satisfied by continuous drinking.³⁶³ The Indian agent at Green Bay stated that during his four years' residence among the Menomoni he knew of "no quarrels, disturbances, or murders" that did not have their origin in whisky.³⁶⁴ John Beach, agent for years among the Sauk and Fox, reported that when he first became acquainted with the tribes (1832), "he never saw a confirmed drunkard among them," whereas in 1842, except when they were on their hunting expeditions, "the whole nation, without distinction of rank, age or sex . . . [exhibited] a continual scene of the most revolting intoxication."³⁶⁵

The government early recognized the evil effect of the liquor traffic among the Indians and beginning in 1802 adopted measures for its control but the laws and regulations were never adequately enforced.³⁶⁶ In some instances the Indian chiefs themselves used means more effective than those of government in controlling the traffic. Joseph Tracy quotes from a letter of a Choctaw chief:

Brothers, The first law I have made is, that when my warriors go over the line among the white people, and buy whisky and bring it into the nation to buy up the

blankets and guns and horses of the red people, and get them drunk; the whisky is to be destroyed. The whisky drinking is wholly stopped among my warriors. . . . ³⁶⁷

The practices of disreputable traders were made worse in many localities by the presence on the fringe of the Indian settlements of a degraded and criminal class of whites—harpies, swindlers, professional gamblers, and prostitutes—who made their precarious living by preying upon the Indians.

The Indians of this agency [Illinois] were cursed by a predatory class of white men on the Missouri side of the line, who shamelessly persisted in clandestinely bringing whiskey into the country to filch from them their little annuity and other property.³⁶⁸

In his *Indian Removal*, and in *The Last Trek of the Indians*, Foreman gives many similar examples.³⁶⁹ In time, some of the states east of the Mississippi passed laws designed for protection of the tribes within their borders but following removal to the West abuses were renewed. No sooner were the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek settled in their new locations than the liquor traffic was re-established on a large scale among them. Following the removal of the Cherokee it was said that "there had been more drunkenness in the tribe during . . . six months than for . . . six years preceding. . . ." ³⁷⁰

People of this class knew well that the missionaries strongly opposed them and all their activities and they in turn did everything within their power to prejudice the Indians against the missions and to undermine the missionaries' influence with the tribes. In many cases in which tribes or factions of tribes developed antagonistic attitudes toward mission schools or Christian preaching opposition could be directly traced to activities of lawless whites.

Popular histories in the past have commonly emphasized brutality and treachery as predominant traits of Indian character. Concerning white brutality they have said little. But in the total perspective of white-Indian relations it may be questioned whether brutal, murderous activities of the Indians exceeded in number those of the white population. The *Annual Report* of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1856 carried this objective generalization:

With reference to his [the Indian's] true character, erroneous opinions very generally prevail. He is, indeed, the victim of prejudice. He is only regarded as the irreclaimable, terrible savage, who in war spares neither age nor sex, but with heartless and cruel barbarity subjects the innocent and defenceless to inhuman tortures, committing with exultant delight the most horrible massacres. . . .

As a man he has his joys and his sorrows. His love for his offspring is intense. In his friendships, he is steadfast and true, and will never be the first to break faith. His courage is undoubted, his perception quick, and his memory of the highest order. His judgment is defective, but by proper training and discipline, his intellectual powers are susceptible of culture and can be elevated to a fair standard. He can be taught the arts of peace, . . . ³⁷¹

Surprise attacks of Indians upon settlers—many of whom had located upon lands for which red men claimed the right of sole occupancy—accompanied by acts of savage cruelty were innumerable. Likewise there were countless attacks of white men upon Indians, beginning with the earliest white settlements on the Atlantic coast and continuing almost to the close of the nineteenth century. Many of these are unrecorded. Others, such as the “Bulltown Massacre” of 1772 and the “Sand Creek Massacre” a century later (1864), are matters of authentic historical record, and in these and other records may be found accounts of atrocities as repulsive as any charged against Indians.³⁷² General Nelson A. Miles pronounced the Sand Creek atrocity “perhaps the foulest and most unjustifiable crime in the annals of America.” Indian agents, whose residence among the tribesmen for years at a time gave them unrivaled opportunity for acquaintance with white-Indian relations, testify of many inexcusably brutal incidents. In all too many cases individual Indians were shot from ambush or in open attack without any evidence whatever of having committed offense.³⁷³ Arthur St. Clair, the first governor of the Northwestern Territory, declared that while white men complained loudly of every misdemeanor, however trifling, committed by the Indian, and demanded immediate reparation, they daily perpetrated atrocious wrongs against them for which few were ever brought to justice.³⁷⁴

Treachery, all but universally attributed to the Indian as a trait peculiar to the race, finds no lack of illustration in white warfare against redskins. A notorious example is the method used in 1838 by General John Tipton and Col. A. C. Pepper in making prisoners of the Indiana Potawatomi for forced removal. They were summoned by Pepper to a council which was sheer pretense and when, assuming good faith, about one hundred were assembled they were made prisoners by a white posse recruited for the purpose. Within a few days 714 had been imprisoned.³⁷⁵ Information concerning such acts of deceit passed by word of mouth from tribe to tribe and tended to create suspicion concerning the motives of the whites.

The work of missionaries was rendered all but insuperable by the easily understood tendency of the Indians to identify Christianity with white men. In their thought it was “the white man’s religion.” Chief Mononcue, of the Wyandot, put the matter simply :

white men cheat Indians ; take their money, skins, and furs, for a trifle. Now your good Book forbids all this. Why not then do what it tells you ? Then Indians would do right, too.³⁷⁶

Just as white people commonly included all Indians in a single classification, declaring “the only good Indian is a dead Indian,” so the Indians had a tendency to look upon the missionaries as of like character with the whites who deceived them, lied to them, and defrauded them. For this how could they be

blamed when some who professed to be Christians were guilty of the self-same offences for which the missionaries condemned Indians? How can we be sure, the Indians asked, that the white man's God is any better than the practices of His followers? Two white Christians in an Indian settlement on the St. Clair River (Canada) became drunk, quarrelled, and engaged in fight. "[H]ow can I," said the Indian chief to Peter Jones and Thomas Smith the next day, "who have grown old in sins and drunkenness, break off from these things? Nor can it be expected when white men themselves are as bad as the Indians."³⁷⁷ The farther removed Indians were from "civilized life," Nathan Bangs observed, the easier it was to reach them with the Gospel:

proximity to the white population . . . [and] intermingling with them for purposes of traffic, instead of bettering their condition, have made it far worse, and furnished them with an argument against Christianity of peculiar point and force. . . . the introduction of ardent spirits . . . gambling, and . . . those diseases to which they were . . . [previously] strangers. These . . . have debased their minds, corrupted their morals, impoverished their tribes, thinned their ranks, and hardened them against the truths of the gospel.³⁷⁸

The mass of unchristianized life in the white settlements paralyzed the missionaries' efforts. Ready enough to admit their own deficiencies and evils, after witnessing the heartlessness of the whites, their vices, and the contrasts between wealth and poverty which prevailed among them, the verdict of many of the more thoughtful Indians was a preference for their own forms of aberration and excess.

As has frequently been the case in Christian history the attempt to evangelize the American Indians represented a conflict of radically different cultures. Throughout the early period Christian missionaries, in common with others, were almost totally lacking in understanding or appreciation of Indian culture. Even the idea that the Indians possessed anything worthy of being considered a distinctive culture was wholly strange to them—much less a realization that it was the outgrowth of a long racial experience, a dearly treasured part of their life that had inherent moral and spiritual values. Customs, ceremonies, and other methods of instruction, many of which had definite moral and spiritual values, used in the education of the young, were unknown or disregarded by the missionaries. To them, as to other white people, the Indians were "savages" and "heathen."³⁷⁹

A term in universal use was "the poor Indian," a composite of pity and condescension—frequently also of contempt. Evangelization was a process of telling—seldom, if ever, of listening. An Indian chief in Upper Canada, after listening patiently to a white man, phrased an idea common to many of his fellows in these words:

Brothers! the Great Spirit made us all. He made the white man, and he made

the Indian. When he made the white man he gave him his way of worship written in a book

. . . when the Great Spirit made the Indian, he gave him instructions in regard to his way of worship . . . altogether different from that of the white man.³⁸⁰

But the white man did not perceive what the chief was saying. Rare was the missionary who realized that teaching to be most effective requires a mutuality of open-mindedness and receptivity between pupil and teacher.

Lacking the attitude of mutual sharing of spiritual insight and apprehension, the prevailing insistence in Indian evangelization was on weaning the individual man or woman or child as fully as possible from the mores and religious rites and ceremonies of his tribe and race. Toward the Indian's religious ideology the prevailing attitude was negative; a feeling that it was necessary to destroy such beliefs as he possessed rather than to recognize elements of worth in them and build upon them.

At the same time there was no possibility of full integration of the individual into the culture of Christian society. Some few cases offered exceptions but in general the convert lost status with his native group and did not fully gain status with his adopted group. He was formally acknowledged as a Christian by the Church but there was no Christian community commensurate with that which he was leaving of which he could become fully a part. Some of the missions were established on the borders of white settlements in which there were churches whose services he was free to attend but in them he did not feel entirely comfortable and his discomfiture was more or less shared by the congregation. Rarely was he socially accepted by the group.

The concept of salvation which dominated Indian evangelization during the period was almost wholly individualistic. It was not sufficiently broad and inclusive to embrace the individual in his total relationships as a human being or to lead the missionaries patiently to attempt the transformation of Indian culture by showing appreciation of and encouraging such elements as might be found to have positive value.

The impact of white civilization in general, apart from the influence of Christian missions, was steadily undermining and causing the disintegration of the Indian culture. The consciousness that much of the meaning and value of the world of their fathers was being destroyed intensified the determination of many to hold on to what was left. In the case of many converts to the Christian faith a latent devotion to their own culture lingered on as a sense of loss of a priceless possession. This feeling was aptly described in the words of a Digger Indian chief quoted by Ruth Benedict. Ramon was a Christian and a leader among his people in the improved ways of living of the white man such as the cultivation of peaches and apricots on irrigated land. But he still cherished some of the old customs—the preparation of acorn soup and

the grinding of roots of the mesquite and other native plants, "the health of the desert," he called them. One day he broke in with this profound observation:

In the beginning . . . God gave to every people a cup, a cup of clay, and from this cup they drank their life. . . . They all dipped in the water . . . but their cups were different. Our cup is broken now. It has passed away.³⁸¹

On which Ruth Benedict comments:

These things that had given significance to the life of his people, the domestic rituals of eating, the obligations of the economic system, the succession of ceremonials in the villages, possession in the bear dance, their standards of right and wrong—these were gone, and with them the shape and meaning of their life. . . . he had in mind the loss of something that had value equal to that of life itself, the whole fabric of his people's standards and beliefs. There were other cups of living left, and they held perhaps the same water, but the loss was irreparable. . . .

Ramon had had personal experience of the matter of which he spoke. He straddled two cultures whose values and ways of thought were incommensurable. It is a hard fate.³⁸²

Another hindering factor in Methodist Indian missionary work was the inflexibility of the itinerant system. Ministry to the Indians was a highly specialized task. To be in any large degree successful, knowledge and skills that the average Circuit Rider did not possess were required. This fact was not fully recognized, or if realized by some was not given sufficient attention to cause a modification of the itinerant system. In numerous cases the tenure of a missionary with an Indian mission was for one year only. Some missionaries were given Indian mission appointments for a series of years, but during that time were shifted from one mission to another. James B. Finley served the Wyandot Mission for six years but for three of the six he was a Presiding Elder as well as Superintendent of the mission. The continuity of William Johnson's term of service to the Kansas Mission likewise was interrupted. A noteworthy exception to the general rule was Dr. Alexander Talley whose term of seven consecutive years with the Choctaw Mission was ended only by a breakdown in his health. Five different senior preachers were appointed to the Shawnee Mission during the twelve years 1832-44. During the same period the Delaware Mission was served by four different men as senior preachers. The frequent changes not only bear testimony to the rigidity of the itinerating principle but also to the lack of realization of the extent to which the evangelization of a particular Indian tribe was a task requiring specialized knowledge and skill. Many of the missionaries were young, untrained volunteers and except in a few cases a preacher was not continued in charge of any one mission for a sufficient length of time fully to acquaint himself with the special demands made upon him by the particular situation in which he was working.

In beginning their preaching all missionaries were dependent upon interpreters. Most of them continued to use interpreters although some found themselves compelled to fall back upon the "jargon" used by many Indian traders—an exceedingly crude and corrupt form of spoken communication, wholly inadequate for accurately conveying basic Christian meanings.³⁸³ Few sufficiently mastered the language of the tribe to whom they ministered to preach fluently in the vernacular. In this William Johnson of the Kansas Mission, Daniel Lee,* H. K. W. Perkins, and J. H. Frost of the Oregon Mission were exceptional.³⁸⁴ Indians available for assisting missionaries as interpreters were few, and for the most part were men of very limited education. Very few had any theological training whatsoever. Some were antagonistic to Protestant missions and deliberately vitiated the missionaries' messages.³⁸⁵

The frequent change of appointment inherent in the itinerancy had the unfortunate effect of influencing many of the missionaries to be content with the use of "jargon" in preaching and teaching, a serious hindrance to effectiveness as Indian religious teachers. Some, however, as H. K. W. Perkins,† lamented the lack of missionaries who had had philological training.³⁸⁶

The practical difficulties that in this period confronted the Indian missionary who made a serious effort to communicate the Christian message were well stated by Alfred Brunson:

No man can be found . . . among our Indians, whose language is unwritten, who understands the aboriginal tongue, unless he was born or raised from infancy among them—in which case he has *no education*; and if so, he is deficient in the English—he is therefore defective, as an interpreter. But should a possible case occur, of an interpreter understanding perfectly both languages, yet there is not in the Indian tongues words suited to express the ideas of *our* religion correctly. Their words and ideas on religious subjects were formed in accordance to *their own* religion. What, then, is to be done? Why, if the interpreter is not a good *English* scholar, so as to understand the idiom of language, and thus be able to *coin* words suited to the ideas to be conveyed, or to adopt a suitable imagery to explain the words already in use, then I must learn the language myself, so as to do these things. . . . the language I am to learn is not *written*. I have no learned man to instruct me. I must learn it by hearing and speaking it, and by writing as I go along. To know the different tenses of verbs, the different numbers, persons, and cases of nouns, I must hear them spoken in them all, and that repeatedly, and then use my judgment as to their different terminations. But all this must be done before I can preach to this people with the same advantage with which I could do it to a community of infidels, speaking my own language, on the first

* Daniel Lee made what was probably the first attempt to compile a Chinook-English dictionary. This preceded by several years the effort of H. H. Spalding in his mission to the Nez Percé.

† H. K. W. Perkins: "By sending to these fields [Oregon] those who have no relish—not to say capacity—either natural or acquired, for . . . [philological] pursuits, the funds of the Missionary Society are spent, and but little effected."—Letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVIII (1843), 6 (Sept. 20), 22.

day of my arrival among them. These difficulties . . . are equally hard to overcome, whether west of the Rocky Mountains, in Africa, or the East Indies.³⁸⁷

The lack of a teaching literature was keenly felt by many of the missionaries. In seeking to account for the lapse into indifference of the large proportion of the converts of the revival of 1842 at the Wascopam station, H. K. W. Perkins wrote:

We have had nothing as yet to put into their hands of a book kind . . . Oral instruction has an effect for a time, but it is soon forgotten, and the mind left vacant, and unfurnished with any source of knowledge, a relapse into indifference is pretty sure to be the consequence.³⁸⁸

The extent of financial support of mission schools by tribes and by well-to-do individuals among the Indians affords convincing evidence of interest in education under Christian mission auspices. The amount of assistance given by the Indians themselves varied widely, in accordance with existing conditions of the tribes. Wealthy Cherokee and Choctaw freely contributed money or stock as partial compensation toward school expenses. Generous and large appropriations were made from annuity funds provided by the United States government under treaties for the cession of tribal lands—usually at the instance of the government but always with agreement of the Indians.³⁸⁹ William H. Brockway estimated that the Chippewa and Ottawa of Michigan during the years 1836–44 paid \$56,000. for missionary and school purposes, of which \$11,200. was paid to Methodist missions. For a part of this period the Kewawenon Mission was wholly supported by the Indians themselves.³⁹⁰

It cannot be said that unanimity favorable to missionary efforts prevailed among the Indians. In every tribe there were those who were antagonistic to all missionary activities. In some of the tribes—such as the Kansas, as has already been indicated—the anti-Christian party was dominant. In others it was composed of a comparatively small minority. In almost every tribe there were discerning chiefs who recognized the inevitability, under prevailing conditions of white-Indian contact, of the passing of the modes and customs of Indian life and culture. In some instances the initiative in the founding of missions—particularly the establishment of mission schools—was taken by the Indians themselves, and some parents expected and desired that their children would embrace Christianity.* On the other hand there were cases in which boys and girls, on leaving their homes for enrollment in boarding schools, were strictly enjoined not to accept the white man's religion.³⁹¹ In general, it should be said that the opposition to christianization constituted a

* Some writers have stated in generalized terms that coercion was used in mission schools in efforts to destroy native Indian beliefs and to effect evangelization of mission school pupils. John Collier's statement, "the main means of persecution [of Indian religious beliefs, ceremonies, and practices] was . . . to immolate the Indian children in boarding schools and there compel them to join Christian churches" (*The Indians of the Americas*, p. 234), is gross distortion. There were instances of emotional pressure being used in school assemblies and revival meetings but this was not generally prevalent practice.

significant retarding factor in Indian evangelization. More significant still was the stolid indifference and lethargy that were widely prevalent.

The Indian missions program was further complicated by scarcity of missionary candidates. In the earlier years, when the program was less extensive, volunteers were not wanting. When it became widely expanded, and particularly after about 1830, numerous appointments were each year left "to be supplied." A committee of the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society in 1841 credited the decrease in number of volunteers chiefly to "an unhappy despondency respecting Indian missions." This, the committee believed, was principally due to the fact "that politically there seemed to be no power to protect or preserve the Indians," which deepened a long-standing, and all too prevalent impression that the Indians were irretrievably "doomed to speedy extermination."

Undoubtedly the perils and physical difficulties involved in work among the Indians also were deterrents. Sickness and deaths were frequent in mission families. Serious ill health was specially prevalent in the Oregon Mission. The extensive circulation of the *Christian Advocate* throughout the Church after 1830 acquainted preachers and people everywhere with existing conditions.

William Case, John Clark, Thomas Johnson, Alexander Talley and others wrote of privations and sufferings they were called upon to endure, and other hardships that were the common lot of Indian missionaries. On one canoe trip from Lake Superior to the Mississippi River John Clark "made twenty-one portages . . . where both canoe and baggage must be carried . . ."—one nine miles long and several others from two to three miles. Baggage was carried by means of "portage collars," straps of leather—a wide strap passed across the forehead, with narrower straps at each end, fastened around the load to be carried.

The load rests on the small of the back . . . On this bundle a second one is placed, resting against the back part of the head, to prevent its being drawn back by the weight of the first. . . my jaws would crack, my neck grow stiff, and every bone, and sinew, and muscle of my head was put to the test. But so it was, and so it must be, in order to perform my journey . . . ³⁹²

Alfred Brunson spent the entire summer of 1838 on the Upper Mississippi River and its branches, among the Chippewa and Sioux, usually drinking river water, sleeping most of the time on the ground, and inhaling "the malaria incident to the river bottoms." When he returned to his home, he records:

my face was so marred from mosquito bites, and so sun-burnt and weather-beaten, and, withal, my clothes were so mangled and dirty that my wife did not know me at a few rods' distance. When I told her that I had been in close contact with the In-

dians, she, knowing their habits, declared that I should not come near her till I was cleaned up; so she brought out some clean clothes, provided me a tub of water in the wood-shed, and I underwent a thorough scrubbing from head to foot, my infected garments being hung upon the garden fence till they could be put into hot suds³⁹³

A generation or two earlier a description of the Indians' needs and the narration of such experiences would have challenged the religious zeal and spirit of adventure of young itinerants, but people of the eastern, southern, and middle states were now beginning to develop more fondness for creature comforts and to shun the extreme privations of life among the Indians on the frontier. Even after being persuaded to volunteer for the service, some, on further thought, would decide not to accept their appointments.³⁹⁴

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN INDIAN MISSION SCHOOLS

Educational theory and method in Indian mission work during the period 1820-44 were not clearly defined or well developed. Supervision was lacking. Education was recognized as a primary objective and schools were assumed to be necessary but the Church had no central organization whose function was to formulate theory and principles, determine curricula, and supervise school practice. The Missionary Society did not consider this to be its responsibility. The nearest approach it made to educational supervision was in its several administrative decisions to consider farmers, mechanics, and teachers as regular missionaries and to assume their support; and to approve certain schools of the manual labor type as mission schools. Nor did the Conference Missionary Societies exercise this general function.

One result was that the individual missionary was often left to his own resources. He may have had no experience or training as a teacher—as was usually the case—and may have preferred preaching to teaching, but the Indians' preference for schools, and the fact that in many instances practically the sole support for a mission came from the Indian annuities or government appropriation, left him no choice but to conduct a school as best he could.

Certain practical questions of policy, principle, and method which arose in connection with the program of the first missions established were still unsettled at the close of the period. Effective means of weighing results and determining policy were lacking.

One such problem concerned the medium of education. Should the English language or the native vernacular be the chief medium of instruction in the schools? Or, should both be used? Alfred Brunson stated the question in this way: "should [the children] be educated in the English language or have their native tongue reduced to system, and books be printed out of which to teach them?" He was clear in his conclusion:

with me the chief thing was the use of education to them. Their business transactions must be mainly with the whites. There were no books or literature in their mother tongue, and but little, if any, could ever be expected; while, if they learned to speak, read, and write the English language, they would be prepared for intercourse with the whites, and the whole literature of the whites would be open and accessible to them.³⁹⁵

William H. Goode reached the same conclusion, but for a somewhat different reason:

the true policy is to educate the Indians in English solely. Language stands closely identified with habits and prejudices, cherishes and keeps them alive. These must be removed before any permanent change can be wrought in their condition and character.³⁹⁶

There were others with whom different considerations were conclusive. Some, of whom Thomas Johnson was one, emphasized the fact that only a small proportion of Indian children were enrolled in Christian schools and if the Indians were ever to be christianized, literature must be provided in the Indian vernaculars as a means of evangelization:

We have been engaged through the winter, (all the time we could get,) in translating some parts of the Scriptures into the Shawnee language, and have succeeded in forming an Indian alphabet, by which the Indians, who knew nothing of letters before, are able to read the talk of the Great Spirit in their own language in a few days.³⁹⁷

A related problem concerned the relative effectiveness of white and native preachers and teachers in christianization of the Indians. "In looking to the future," said John Clark, "it is a question of absorbing interest to me, as to the safest and most efficient plan for elevating these children of the forest, intellectually, morally, and spiritually." "Are we to depend mostly, under God," he kept asking, "upon a *White*, or *Native* agency?" He early decided that he would place his dependence upon native teachers and preachers and began reaching out for the most capable and best trained young Indians he could find. A few but not many of the missionary leaders emulated his example.

John Clark's insight went farther:

If we are to depend upon a native agency to conduct our schools, and give moral and religious instruction to the thousands . . . we cannot open an Indian school to[o] soon, at some central point, for giving such instruction to well selected Indian youths as will qualify them for such labor.³⁹⁸

Another question that again and again came to the fore when new missions were established was whether first effort should be for immediate individual conversion and christianization or for civilization of the tribe. By some it had always been contended and the principle acted upon that Indians "must be

first civilized, before they could be christianized." To this, J. B. Finley took exception:

A man must be christianized, or he never can be civilized. He will always be a savage until the grace of God makes his heart better, and then he will soon become civil and a good citizen.³⁹⁹

This was the opinion of Thomas Johnson, as also of Dr. Alexander Talley.* Johnson was firm in his conviction that if the missionary would master the tribe's vernacular so as to be able to preach to them in their own language he would succeed, for "the Gospel is adapted to all conditions of men."

This was the dominant view of the managers of the Missionary Society:

We wish . . . to impress upon all concerned the importance of communicating to these natives, *first of all*, the gospel of Jesus Christ. Every attempt to convert them to Christianity, through the slow process of civilization, has been a failure. Those aboriginal missions which have prospered most have been conducted on the principle of first converting them to Christianity, by presenting the gospel directly to the heart, producing a radical change there, and then a reformation of life has followed, together with the blessings of civilization and the domestic arts. And this order we hope will never be reversed.⁴⁰⁰

It was partly because a majority of the managers had come to the conclusion in 1844-45 that this point of view was being ignored that the Oregon Mission was liquidated. However, there was always an influential minority in the Board who held that the problem of civilization and christianization was not one of "either-or," but of "both-and," and that the processes should be carried on simultaneously.

Yet another practical question was whether the schools to be maintained should be day schools, the pupils living at home with their parents; or boarding schools, the children taken from their home environment with living quarters provided for them in dormitories. The day schools had certain very real disadvantages. For one thing there was no way for the school to control attendance. As one missionary said, "the pupils came when they wanted to, and most of the time they didn't want to." Also, the cost per pupil was high, particularly in the case of the minor, isolated tribes, since only a small proportion of the children could be induced to enroll. Usually, only lower-grade elementary instruction was provided.

The effect of the boarding school was to educate the pupil away from the life of the tribe and to erect a wall of separation between him and his family and tribal associates, making him a stranger to his own people. Henry R. Schoolcraft recorded in his *Personal Memoirs* severe stricture on the boarding school procedure:

* See pp. 135f.

a kind of literary institute of much too high a grade, where some few . . . [children] are withdrawn and very expensively supported, and undergo a sort of incarceration for a time, and are then sent back to the bosom of the tribes, with the elements of the knowledge of letters and history, which their parents and friends are utterly unable to appreciate, and which they, in fact, ridicule. The instructed youth is soon discouraged, and they most commonly fall back into habits worse than before, and end their course by inebriety, while the body of the tribe is nowise bettered.⁴⁰¹

J. B. Finley tried two types of education in his work with the Wyandot at Upper Sandusky. Local Indian community schools were maintained and, as a variant of the boarding school, boys and girls were placed in white families distant from the reservation and enrolled in white community day schools. At a Wyandot council, held in September, 1832, James Harryhoot, a Christian chief, according to John Emory, evaluated the two types of schooling:

[The local community school] was well attended, and the pupils acquired the art of reading readily; but it was discovered that they understood but very little of what they read; and with the native scholars this appeared to be a general difficulty. a considerable number [of children] were sent off and placed in various families, with schools convenient, where they could hear nothing but English spoken. This plan had the desired effect upon such as remained any length of time . . . and we sincerely regret that it has since been entirely abandoned.⁴⁰²

Experience with these two types of institutional education led some missionaries to question whether it might not be better to discard all the paraphernalia of institutional education as developed among the whites and place reliance wholly upon the contagion of Christian personality. In an interesting letter written in 1829 to Mr. Coe, a Congregational missionary, President Andrew Jackson seemed to attribute the success of David Brainerd among the Indians to two factors—his personal influence and his declaration of the “truths . . . [of the Bible] with simplicity and earnestness.” He comments:

There was no preparation of buildings or outlays. In one year he had gathered a church of true believers. Their manners immediately reformed; they became industrious and cleanly, and built houses, and schools, and tilled the land. All this was a *consequence*, and not a *cause* of Christianity.⁴⁰³

Bashford was impressed with the coincidence of the rapid spread of tuberculosis and the sudden transition of the Oregon Indians from life out of doors to life in houses and the confinement of children in schoolhouses studying books. His conclusion was that the missionaries should reconcile themselves to a more gradual process of change, with “provision for more outdoor life, and less hastening and crowding of the Indians into schoolhouses and dwelling houses.”⁴⁰⁴

Consensus of judgment among the missionaries was lacking concerning content and method of religious teaching in the several types of schools.

Should the Bible be used as the textbook? How can the Bible be best taught? Should major emphasis be placed upon doctrinal instruction by the use of the catechism? What type of group meeting is most effective in developing the spiritual life of pupils in the school? At the Asbury Mission school, Isaac Smith and Daniel G. McDaniel seem to have placed chief reliance upon catechetical instruction as a means of awakening the religious interest of the pupils and leading them "to the *knowledge of salvation by the remission of sin.*"⁴⁰⁵ At the great Indian Camp Meeting at Wascopam in 1840 "the great and most important facts of revelation," Lee and Frost relate, were rehearsed in Biblical order, "beginning with accounts of the creation . . . the fall of man . . . the promise of Christ . . . the history of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and his sons . . . the coming of Christ"—his life, death on the Cross, resurrection, and second coming.⁴⁰⁶

Not only content and method but also the time factor presented a problem. There were too few teachers and the monopolization of the teachers' time by the required tool subjects—writing, reading, and arithmetic—especially in the elementary grades, left them slight opportunity for teaching religion in the day schools. Where preaching was permitted the preaching service usually was supplemented by a Sunday-school session. E. T. Peery describes the procedure followed at the Delaware Mission:

The Sabbath is occupied, first by Sabbath school in the morning in which we teach all old and young, who wish to learn to read the translations of Scripture, and hymns in their own language. At the close of these instructions follows a sermon by the missionary through an interpreter, then an intermission of half an hour, which is followed by a sermon, or exhortation, or both by natives; and prayer and praises conclude the service of the day. . . .⁴⁰⁷

William Case was impressed with the value of occasional periods of intensive religious instruction, continuing over three or four days. He tells of one such period when about one hundred Chippewa were enlisted in "a course of instruction" for four consecutive days. By the aid of two interpreters the congregation was taught "to memorize the commands, the Lord's prayer, and other portions of the Scriptures" in the Chippewa language:

The interpreter pronounces a sentence in the Indian, when the whole assembly together repeat it after him. This method of instruction was commenced last fall on Grape Island, with about one half of the tribe, (the others being gone to their huntings in the north,) and it succeeded so well, that now, on the return of the hunters, we proceeded to teach the remainder of the tribe in the same way.⁴⁰⁸

POSITIVE RESULTS IN INDIAN MISSIONS

Under the conditions described only a limited degree of success in Indian mission work was possible. However, it is a serious mistake to say—as has sometimes been stated—that Indian missions during the period under review

were a failure. Elsbree characterized the early Indian missions as a "virtual failure," and various secular historians so considered them.⁴⁰⁹

It cannot be denied that a large proportion—perhaps a majority—of those accounted as converts by missionaries soon lapsed into their earlier attitudes and habits and, of those remaining, that many could not be said to be more than nominal adherents with slight modification of character and conduct. With some, Christian symbols and concepts were merely superimposed upon superstitions, beliefs, and practices previously held.⁴¹⁰ Belief in magic, common among Indians of many tribes, resulted in a tendency to regard Christianity as a means of procuring food and clothing and a magical way of deliverance from danger, illness, and other forms of suffering.* Many, not finding in it the miraculous power which they had anticipated, turned again to their pagan practices.⁴¹¹ But this is by no means the whole story.

Merely from the standpoint of improvement wrought in physical conditions of living of many of the Indians, the missions and the personal influence of the missionaries must be credited with no mean order of achievement. In 1827 James Gilruth testified to the change that had taken place within a few years among the Wyandot. When he had previously visited them, during the War of 1812, most of their places of habitation consisted of a few poles tied together and covered over with bark, while others were rude cabins of small logs overlaid with bark. In and about these were parts of slaughtered game, many times in a state of decomposition—the cabins disorderly and filthy. Continuing his account, he says :

There are now many excellent hewed log houses, with shingle roofs and brick chimneys; on entering which the visitor is often delighted with the cleanliness of the house and furniture. There are many farms of several acres each, . . . enclosed with excellent rail fence, and well cultivated. The face of things in general wears an appearance of increasing industry, and attention to the business of civilized life.⁴¹²

This striking change Gilruth attributed chiefly to the influence of the Methodist mission. In numerous instances where missions were maintained over a period of years—whether Baptist, Congregational, Episcopal, Moravian, Presbyterian, or Methodist—a similar change might be seen to have occurred. The final Missionary Society report of the period (1844) stated—what was a matter of general recognition—that among many of the Indian tribes improvement in living conditions and more intelligent and diligent agricultural operations, as well as increase in the number and quality of schools under native control, were to be seen. The report concluded :

* J. W. Bashford: "One day an Indian asked [H.K.W.] Perkins for a coat; Perkins replied, 'You must work and earn one.' 'O,' said the neophyte, 'I was told that if I took your religion, and prayed for what I wanted to have, I should get it. If I am to work for it, I can earn a coat at any time of the Hudson's Bay Company.' . . . Thus the Indians were perverting the most important means of promoting the spiritual life and were using prayer as magic to obtain food and clothing without work."—*Op. cit.*, pp. 154f.

Under circumstances like these . . . [the Board is] induced to believe, that these missions promise much more extended success and permanent good than we have yet realized.⁴¹³

As might perhaps be expected officials and Indian agents were disposed to consider the schools "unquestionably the best product of mission activities."⁴¹⁴ That Church missions rendered an educational service of immense value is fully established. Missionaries were pioneers in Indian education, laying the foundation for all that has been since accomplished. Before any considerable achievement could be registered in school education it was necessary for the spoken languages to be reduced to writing, a painstaking task requiring long, patient, and exacting labor, by far the largest part of which was done by missionaries.

A second necessary step was the preparation and printing in the vernacular of the textbooks and supplementary teaching materials for schools. Again, a large part of this required work was done under missionary auspices. Third was the establishment and maintenance of schools. In this also missions made the largest contribution.

The United States government was slow to recognize its responsibility for Indian education. When the obligation was finally acknowledged it was unwilling at first to undertake the founding and management of any kind of educational institution as a government function. Without the readiness of the Churches to establish and conduct schools the transition of the Indians from a hunting economy to a settled agricultural life, necessitated by the shrinking frontier, and their advance in the arts of civilization, slow as it was, would have been still more retarded.

The little neighborhood or district schools established by many of the missions in beginning their work, by any kind of educational standard were poor affairs. The buildings were one-room structures, crudely furnished; the schools elementary in every sense of the word. The teachers were young preachers or lay persons with little training—some entirely self-educated. The studies were reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic—these four subjects and no more. But it must be remembered that pioneer schools among the white settlers answered to this same description. The teachers had many problems. Attendance was irregular; pupils came and went as they pleased. Schools were organized by consent of the Indian leaders; sometimes, but by no means always, at their request. Despite the favorable attitude of some of their chiefs, many parents were indifferent to the education of their children; others, bitterly opposed. Under circumstances such as these, progress was necessarily slow but little by little a foundation for Indian education was being laid.⁴¹⁵

The development of the idea of manual labor or industrial arts schools

for the Indians represented a definite educational advance. Credit for pioneering in this direction is due to the Rev. Gideon Blackburn, a Presbyterian minister and missionary, who established two schools among the Cherokee—the first in 1804, the second in 1807—where he worked out experimentally a plan of industrial education. The plan was approved by the American Board and recommended to the government.* It was adopted and was made the basis of the educational scheme outlined in Calhoun's circular.⁴¹⁶

Finley undoubtedly purposed the development of a school in accordance with government recommendations for he says he did everything he could to get the Wyandot to accept a school "on the manual labor principle," and "to lay the foundation for a large school by which to instruct the nation."⁴¹⁷ He found it necessary, however, to begin with three small schools—the first in his own house—but in the fall of 1822 a school was established which grew rapidly and within a year boys were being "taught the art of farming, and the girls house-work, sewing, knitting, spinning, cooking, &c."⁴¹⁸ Bishop McKendree visited the school in June, 1823, and showed his keen interest by working side by side with the Indian boys in the corn field.⁴¹⁹ With Finley the purpose of direct, immediate evangelization was foremost, whereas at Brainerd while conversion and Christian character were ultimate objectives at least equal emphasis from the beginning was placed on instruction and practice in manual labor and agricultural processes† "to form . . . [the pupils] to habits of industry, and to give them a competent knowledge of the economy of civilized life."⁴²⁰ It remained for the Shawnee Manual Labor School to demonstrate much more fully than any earlier Methodist institution‡ the type of school envisioned by the Brainerd experiment.

The project of its establishment was decided upon at a meeting of ministerial and lay brethren held at the old Shawnee mission station, and recommended to the ensuing Missouri Annual Conference. . . . On the first of June, 1838, the board at New-York . . . resolved to sustain it. And on the 20th of the same month, the authorities at Washington expressed their satisfaction with the plan, and pledged themselves to aid in carrying it out.⁴²¹

At the date of this report (1842) the school had ninety-eight Indian children enrolled, of whom fifty-eight were boys. There were four teachers, four me-

* See p. 114.

† Martha L. Edwards: "So astonishing was the economic success of . . . [the Brainerd] institutions that by 1824 the jealousy of the Indians was aroused, with the result that . . . it was found necessary to reduce the secular activity of the missionaries and to concentrate upon intellectual and religious instruction."—"Government Patronage of Indian Missions, 1789-1832," p. 16.

‡ Even before the founding of the Shawnee Manual Labor School, Methodist missionaries were encouraged to maintain farms or gardens as a part of mission operation. John Dunbar, a Presbyterian missionary, comments in his "Journal" on this difference between Methodist and Baptist missions. "The Methodist Board allow their missionaries at . . . [their] stations to cultivate a farm, and raise their own provisions, and to give the children that attend their schools, their dinners, or even their entire board . . . ; but the Baptist Board . . . instruct . . . [their missionaries] to give their whole labor to communicating religious instructions, etc., cultivating no more land than is sufficient for a garden. . . . Which mode is, on the whole, preferable, is perhaps not easy to decide."—"Letters . . . Presbyterian Mission . . . ,"
Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society . . . , XIV, 587f.

chanics, and a farm overseer employed. Between five and six hundred acres of land were cultivated. There were also a gristmill and a sawmill. In addition to book studies, agriculture, and horticulture, the boys were given opportunity for training in such trades as shoemaking, blacksmithing, and carpentry. The girls were taught to spin, weave, sew, knit, wash, and cook.⁴²² Religious services were held for the pupils and religious instruction was given in a Sunday school associated with the school.

The Fort Coffee Academy, a second school of the same general type, provided higher training in manual work for pupils who had completed the primary grades of the elementary district schools. Six hours of the school day were devoted to study and recitation and two and a half hours to manual labor in shops or on the farm.⁴²³

These schools, and to a lesser extent the district schools, were significant not only in the education of individual pupils but also in their long-range effect through the lives and influence of numbers of educated men and women on tribal life and on the Indian economy—the process of gradual accommodation and conformity of the tribes to the patterns of white civilization.*

The missionaries' confidence in the dependability of professed sudden conversion† unquestionably led them to overestimate the permanent results of some of the revivals held among the Indians.‡ The schools, also, as agencies of evangelization, had serious limitations. The pupils were not sufficiently numerous; the period of instruction not sufficiently long, the curriculum not sufficiently broad, the instruction not thorough enough, to make the schools to any large extent successful in christianizing the Indian communities.⁴²⁴

With all due weight given to these qualifying statements it is still true that positive values of great significance accrued from the Indian missions—some imponderable, others definite and specific. Not least in significance was the personal influence of the missionaries, acquaintance with numbers of whom gave the Indians a totally different idea of the white man than they had previously held. Many had thought of the whites as their hereditary enemies who had no other purpose than to prey upon them, to defraud them in all their dealings with them, and to dispossess them of their land. The missionaries also contributed to more friendly relations between Indians and

* To some historians and other scholars—notably John Collier—this, it perhaps should be said, was not a gain but a disservice, both to the Indians and to the entire human race. Says Collier: "the Indian record is the bearer of one great message to the world. Through his society, and only through his society, man experiences greatness; through it, he unites with the universe and the God, and through it, he is freed from all fear." (*Op. cit.*, p. 28.) Collier, however, idealizes the Indian society, wholly ignoring morally and spiritually negative aspects of Indian culture and life. The net result is a distorted picture of the values inherent in the Indian social structure.

† J. W. Bashford: "The missionaries . . . still believed in the possibility of the immediate salvation of the Indians . . . But they also believed in the more rapid transformation of the pagan character and of pagan civilization than New Testament experience, with its examples of lust invading Christian households and of drunkenness at the Lord's Supper, warranted."—*Op. cit.*, pp. 156f.

‡ The most striking example was the series of Camp Meetings at The Dalles, Ore., 1840–42, with report of hundreds of Indians converted, of whom only a few remained faithful.

whites and to better and more understanding relations between the Indians and government. In some instances they were the means of alleviating and even putting an end to intertribal warfare. They aided the Indian councils in establishing helpful regulations and laws. Some missionaries who lived among the Indians for a number of years came to be venerated and beloved by entire tribes. Harriet Stubbs, sister-in-law of John M'Lean, a teacher among the Wyandot whom they called "the pretty red-bird," came to be regarded as "angel-messenger," and an idol of the nation.⁴²⁵ William Johnson, Schoolcraft declared, gained "almost unbounded influence" among the Kansas Indians.⁴²⁶ So influential and beloved was Alexander Talley among the Choctaw that he has been called "the apostle of the Choctaw Nation."⁴²⁷

The missionaries of the several evangelical Churches were influential in lessening the ravages of the liquor traffic among the Indians, in persuading their leaders to take measures against it, and in causing the federal government to enact laws for its regulation.⁴²⁸ In their aid toward the mitigation of an evil that threatened the extermination of entire tribes they rendered an invaluable service.

In 1832 Nathan Bangs, in his history of the beginnings and early progress of Methodist Indian missions, asked, "who that has traced it with candour and attention but must acknowledge the good hand of God?" After more than a century his verdict must still be considered valid: "Nothing indeed can more powerfully demonstrate the power of the Gospel than the effects it has produced on the hearts and lives of the . . . [Indians]."⁴²⁹

The *Annual Reports* of the Missionary Society during this period repeatedly emphasize the moral and social gains resulting from missionary activities. The *Eighth Annual Report* (1826-27) speaks of the spread of agriculture and the establishment of civil law among the Cherokee as influenced by the mission. The *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report* (1843-44) recurs to this same topic, declaring that as one result of the spread of Christianity in the Nation the Cherokee were more and more turning from the chase and becoming a pastoral and agricultural people. Also:

as the gospel has changed their *moral* and *social* condition, so also have its collateral and indirect influences changed their *civil* and *political* institutions.⁴³⁰

James Gilruth comments on the concern developed among the Christian Wyandot for high standards of conduct:

They watch over one another's moral conduct with a strictness seldom found in our best societies. Every deviation from the path of rectitude is noticed, and they never give up the offender until he is cured, or by his stubborn and sinful conduct he has forfeited his religious standing among them.⁴³¹

Similarly Bishop Elijah Hedding testifies to the moral change effected by

the Upper Canada Mission in the lives of Indians on Grape Island, Bay of Quinte. From habits of drunkenness, almost universal among both men and women, "they became sober and regular in their lives"; from a condition of miserable poverty, getting scanty support by hunting and fishing, they "became farmers and learned mechanical trades," persevering in sobriety and industry.

Strongly negative views were expressed concerning results of the Oregon Mission. George Gary wrote in his "Diary" shortly after his arrival in Oregon that he had not found any adult Indians in the Willamette Valley "that appear to lead a religious life, not one in society." And Stephen Olin in his "Review of the Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Missionary Society" (1846) declared that the mission had "inflicted painful disappointment upon the [missionary] society and its supporters" and asserted that of the 500 Indians who became members of the mission church none "now remain."⁴³² But both of these were shortsighted judgments. Writing fifty-seven years later, H. K. Hines stated that he had been acquainted, during the intervening period, with many of the converts—not less than a score of whom were still holding "the beginning of their confidence steadfast . . ." He tells of one young man, named William McKendree, who accompanied John C. Fremont on his second expedition, attending Fremont to Washington, and in the summer of 1845 returning overland to Oregon with the emigration of that year. When in 1856 Hines became acquainted with him, he was "a stable, intelligent, trustworthy man." Removing later with his tribe to the Warm Springs Reservation he maintained a Christian character, living a humble and exemplary life, and about 1894 dying "as the Christian dies."⁴³³

Some of the most effective of the missionaries among the several tribes were themselves full-blooded Indians, converted under the ministry of white missionaries and trained as ministers of the Gospel. Of all white missionaries, William Case was one of the most successful in raising up native converts as effective missionaries. One of Case's converts was John Sunday:

Though at the time of his conversion he was entirely ignorant of letters, he . . . acquired, by dint of application, a considerable knowledge of language . . . [an ability to] read very well, and . . . [to write] an intelligible hand. From the time of his conversion he . . . manifested an ardent zeal in the cause of Christ, has devoted himself most assiduously to the labor of bringing his brothers to the knowledge of salvation . . . and of building up believers in the most holy faith.⁴³⁴

Becoming associated with John Clark in his missionary work on the upper peninsula of Michigan, in 1832 Sunday was sent to Kewawenon to found a mission.* Here he proved himself to be a man of strong Christian character,

* See pp. 154, 154n., 155f.

discouraged by no obstacles.⁴³⁵ At Kewawenon and several other mission centers he rendered for years faithful and efficient service.

Turtle Fields, a Cherokee, in his early life a warrior—for a time fighting under General Andrew Jackson in the Creek War—was admitted on trial in the Tennessee Conference in 1827. He became a zealous and useful preacher, “instrumental in turning many of his brethren . . . to the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ.” Another Cherokee minister was Young Wolfe, received on trial in the Tennessee Conference in 1829. He became a popular preacher in the language of the Cherokee. Emigrating to the West with his Nation, he continued as a successful preacher throughout his life. A like career was that of William McIntosh, also a Cherokee, admitted to the Indian Mission Conference at its first session. A devout Christian and an able preacher, he rendered acceptable service among his people until his death in 1858.⁴³⁶ Eneas, son of a Potawatomi mother and a Kickapoo father, for some years assisted Jerome C. Berryman as an interpreter. Berryman says of him:

he was ever going about doing good [O]ften, when it was not practicable for me to accompany him, he has gone alone from house to house, and from wigwam to wigwam, teaching and preaching to the people about Jesus [M]any whole evenings have I sat . . . with the deepest interest, and received his report of what he had said and done through the day⁴³⁷

Jim Henry, a half-breed chief, was a participant in the Creek War of 1836. He gained the reputation of being a fierce fighter and was characterized in the *Army and Navy Chronicle* as “a fiend in man’s shape.” In later years in the Indian Territory he was converted, admitted into the Indian Mission Conference as James McHenry, and became an influential religious leader among the Creek Indians.⁴³⁸

These who have been named were a few only of many Indian Methodist preachers brought into a vital Christian experience and lives of usefulness among their fellows through the work of the missions. And they were only a part of a still larger number—including skilled mechanics, teachers, lawyers, doctors, and nurses who became benefactors of their race and of humanity.

IV

The Methodist Way

"LET us take a nearer view . . .," said John Wesley on August 24, 1744, in a sermon preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, before the university, a nearer view "of that great work of God among the children of men, which we are used to express by one word, Christianity; not as it implies a set of opinions, a system of doctrines, but as it refers to men's hearts and lives."¹

Taking "a nearer view" of Methodism—that great work of God among the children of men in Great Britain and America during the latter part of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century—not as a system of doctrine or as a Church, but "as it refers to men's hearts and lives," we find ample justification for using "the Methodist Way"* as a definitive term. For, as has been often stated, Wesley did not purpose primarily to set in motion an organized movement, or to formulate a doctrinal system, or to found a Church. Twenty years after the sending of his first missionaries to America—in 1789, two years before his death—he prefixed to the statement, in the *Minutes*, of "God's design" in raising up the Methodist preachers, "Not to form any new sect." Always his dominating concern was how he might carry on "the work of God," how most effectively "beget, preserve, and increase the life of God in the souls of men."† In meditation and study, discussion with his preachers in Conference, and experimentation, the Methodist Way was gradually evolved.²

Wesley's attitude during these years was fully shared by Francis Asbury. The organization of an independent Church at the Christmas Conference seems to have made at the time little impression upon his mind, as is indicated by the casual and brief reference to it in his *Journal*. But he had brought with him to America a conviction that the Wesleyan itinerancy as developed in Great Britain was the best method in existence of propagat-

* It is more than incidental that the first definitive term applied to the Christian religion was simply "the Way." Repeatedly the chronicler of the Book of Acts uses the term. Once he quotes Paul as saying, "But this I confess unto thee, that after the Way which they call a sect, so serve I the God of our fathers . . ." (Acts 24:14, American Standard Version.) Before the religion of Jesus had been systematically developed as a body of doctrine; before it had taken fully organized form as a Church; even before the disciples were called Christians, His religion was known simply as "the Way."

† See Vol. I, xv.

ing the Gospel. His mind was "fixed to the Methodist plan." His experience during the intervening years, in which he had given it thorough testing, had convinced him that it was adapted as no other plan could be to existing conditions in the New World. By the time the Church was organized he had become determined to enforce it to the letter and no power or influence could swerve him from his purpose. As Bishop his conviction remained unchanged throughout the thirty-one years of his administrative responsibility.

SPIRIT AND METHOD OF THE ITINERANCY

In spirit and in method the itinerancy in early American Methodism was a missionary system, if one ever existed. Within twenty-five years of the organization of the Church it had covered the settled part of the new nation with a network of Circuits by which the preached Gospel was brought within hearing of the most remote settlements—south, west, and north—of the entire country.

An incessant itinerant, Wesley originally designed that no Methodist preacher should be settled in any one place. He embodied in the regulations by which the itinerants were governed the injunction: "Let every Methodist preacher consider himself as called to be, in point of enterprise, zeal, and diligence, a home missionary, and to enlarge and extend as well as keep the Circuit to which he is appointed."³

Immediately following his arrival in America, Asbury insisted on extensive missionary journeys. Boardman and Pilmoor alternated in preaching in Philadelphia and New York and made short missionary tours into adjacent regions, but this was not enough to satisfy Asbury.⁴ In the *Minutes* of the first American Conference (1773) an express time limitation was set down in the record:

New York, Thomas Rankin, to change in four months.
Philadelphia, George Shadford, to change in four months.⁵

AN ITINERANT MINISTRY

Thus, with the first Conference we find a "time limit" formally imposed. The following year the same provision was applied to all the appointments.* In 1775 the regulation "to change in one quarter" was made obligatory in some cases and "to change . . . at the end of six months" in others.⁶ Within a few years the six months' limit became the general rule.⁷ The General Conference of 1804 made a regulation to the effect that no minister other than "presiding elders, supernumeraries, [and] superannuated and worn-out

* The rigid "time limit" that was enforced did not meet with approval of all the preachers. Joseph Pilmoor perhaps offered the most strenuous objection: "When God is pleased to make me *useful* in any place I should be glad to continue, but the Connection to which I belong does not admit of it, and therefore I must, for the present, submit. Perhaps a time may come, when I shall be more at liberty to follow the convictions of my own conscience, and to walk according to my judgment in the exercise of my ministry."—"Journal," ms., Sunday, Nov. 4, 1770, p. 61.

preachers" should remain in the same Station "more than two years successively."⁸

Beginning with the Circuits formed by Strawbridge in Maryland about 1769 and by Asbury in and around New York City in 1771-72, year after year by dint of the most intensive and severe exertion the circle of itinerancy widened until the extension of Circuits matched the ever expanding frontier.* Time and again an emigrant from the East or Southeast, thinking that he had left civilization far behind, was amazed to receive a call from a Methodist itinerant before he had made his clearing or finished chinking his cabin.†

The Circuit Riders called themselves "horseback men." This they were of necessity. Most of them knew no other method of conveyance. There were few established roadways when the federal government was organized, and not a well-paved road in the entire country. Stagecoach routes as a commercial enterprise with regular schedules were not inaugurated until 1783, when a Massachusetts blacksmith established a through passenger service from Boston to Hartford, with a branch line to New Haven and the boat to New York.⁹ Travel by water via the ocean, rivers, and lakes afforded the most convenient and ready transportation, but neither stagecoach nor ship served the purpose of the Circuit Rider. Under necessity of conforming to a fixed schedule, for him there was no alternative to horseback travel over rough trails and through uncharted forests. The French writer C. F. Volney complained that in his journeys in 1796-97 he found scarce three miles of roadway on cleared land.¹⁰ And this applied to the road from Boston to Richmond, in a long-settled part of the country. What must have been the hazards and difficulties of travel on the trails and traces followed by the Circuit Riders over wilderness stretches and through uncleared forests with only occasional patches of cultivated land?

Only when he became physically incapable of constant horseback riding did Asbury, the most indefatigable itinerant of them all, resort at intervals to a carriage.‡ Coke itinerating in Virginia in 1785 almost lost his life in an attempt to ford a swollen stream between Alexandria and Colchester. The current swept his horse from under him, and both were carried some distance by the rushing waters.¹¹

* On redistribution of population following the Revolutionary War, see Vol. I, 75ff.

† "Obviously . . . a 'settled' pastorate, a 'regular' clergy, trained through years of preliminary education—could not possibly meet the moral exigencies of such an unparalleled condition. . . . A religious system, energetic, migratory, 'itinerant,' extempore, like the population itself, must arise; or demoralization, if not barbarism, must overflow the continent."—Abel Stevens, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* . . . , I, 26.

‡ The change was made with much misgiving: "*Wednesday*, 21 [September, 1785]. . . . I received my wagon for forty-four pounds. Will it not bring me into trouble in travelling, and in getting horses? . . . *Sunday*, 6 [November, 1785]. . . . I found the means of conveyance by my carriage, or Jersey wagon, would not do. . . . *Wednesday*, 9. I was under considerable exercise of mind about my carriage; I at length resolved to decline travelling in it, and buying a second-hand sulky, left it to be sold. I now travelled light and easy . . ." (*Journal*, I, 500f.) Twenty-five years later, feeble with age and sorely afflicted, he still found it necessary in order to get safely across the mountains and streams in midwinter to exchange the sulky for a saddle.—See *Journal*, III, 350, 351.

Not until 1806 did Congress appropriate funds for a national road west from Cumberland, Maryland, and its construction was so slow that it did not reach Wheeling, Virginia, until 1820. In 1816, following his election to the episcopacy, Robert R. Roberts, with his wife and young nephew, traveled from Baltimore to their former pioneer home at Shenango in the northwestern part of Pennsylvania, using Bishop Asbury's carriage, and his traveling trunk which they filled with their clothing and bedclothes. They found the mud so deep in several places on the newly graded but uncompleted turnpike across the mountains that, although the carriage was drawn by two horses, Mrs. Roberts and the boy frequently had to get out and walk.¹² But none of these things moved Roberts who might well have been denominated a Missionary Bishop, so ardent was his zeal and so sacrificial were his episcopal labors. Nor did these things move others of the Circuit Riders who incessantly pressed on that they might fulfill that which they had "received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God."

A BROTHERHOOD OF POVERTY

The missionary spirit of the itinerancy was exemplified by the early American Methodist preachers in their manner of life and work. They neither asked nor received assurance of fixed remuneration for their services. As the Seventy went out "into every city and place" carrying "neither purse, nor scrip," so the itinerants after them fared forth on their long and hazardous journeys. Without money wherewith to provide for themselves either food or lodging they no less truly than Francis of Assisi espoused poverty as their bride.

On entering the Traveling Connection every preacher knew that he would receive no assured support. Although the second Annual Conference (1774) agreed that every Traveling Preacher was "to be allowed six pounds Pennsylvania currency, per quarter and his travelling charges besides," this did not signify that he was guaranteed the amount but that this was the limit of what he might receive.¹³

By "travelling charges" was meant necessary expenses incurred in crossing rivers by ferry (ferriages), horse-shoeing and provender "for themselves and horses."¹⁴ A preacher was permitted to retain his horse as his personal property in case the Circuit should provide one for him, which was rather the exception than the rule.¹⁵ In many cases the itinerant was under the necessity of buying a mount for himself. In other instances—particularly in New England—ministers made the round of their extensive Circuits by walking from one appointment to another.¹⁶

Within a short time "quarterage," rather than "allowance," became the more common term. The seriousness with which the itinerants viewed the

regulations governing quarterage, made by themselves in Annual Conference, is indicated by the question and answer recorded by the Conference of 1779, "*In what light shall we view those preachers who receive money by subscription?**" [Ans.] As excluded from the Methodist connection."¹⁷

The 1780 Baltimore Conference provided for an equal allowance for wives in the action: "They shall receive an equivalent with their husbands in quarterage, if they stand in need."

The Christmas Conference (1784) established a regular annual salary. Question thirty-seven read: "What shall be the regular annual salary of the *Elders, Deacons, and Helpers?*" The answer recorded was: Twenty-four pounds (Pennsylvania-currency) and no more." Note here the strict limitation, "and no more."¹⁸ A few of these ministerial charter members of the Church were men with families and for their benefit this supplementary provision was added:

And for each preacher's wife [conditional on need] \$64.† And for each preacher's child, if under the age of six years, there shall be allowed \$16; and for each child of the age of six, and under the age of eleven years, \$21.33cts.

To this account of the proceedings Jesse Lee adds:

This rule for allowing a support for the children was not pleasing to our societies in general; and as there were many objections raised against it, the Conference in 1787 resolved, that no allowance should be made in future for the children of our married preachers.¹⁹

The action fixing the salaries of the Traveling Preachers at \$64. was reaffirmed by the General Conference of 1792. Responsibility for determination of need was placed upon the Quarterly Meeting with the explicit provision, according to Jesse Lee, "if they were not in want, they were to have no claim for money."²⁰

Previous to 1792 preachers were not permitted to make a charge or to receive a gift for performing the marriage ceremony but the General Conference of that year modified the rule by providing that preachers might accept money, if offered to them, but must not make a charge. All gifts thus received were to be placed in the hands of the stewards to be divided equally among the preachers who had not received their quarterage in full. Where the full allowance had been received the money was to be "disposed of at the discretion of the district conferences."²¹

No further change affecting support of Traveling Preachers was made until 1800, when the General Conference adopted the following regulations:

* In the Congregational and Presbyterian churches in the older regions of the country pew rents were the chief dependence for ministers' salaries. "On the frontier subscription lists were most generally the means used to finance the church." Leonard J. Trinterud, *The Forming of an American Tradition, A Re-Examination of Colonial Presbyterianism*, p. 204.

† In 1796, however, the allowance was made absolute.

1. The annual salary of the travelling preachers shall be eighty dollars and their travelling expenses.
2. The annual allowance of the wives of travelling preachers shall be eighty dollars.
3. Each child of a travelling preacher shall be allowed sixteen dollars annually, to the age of seven years, and twenty-four dollars annually from the age of seven to fourteen years; *nevertheless*, this rule shall not apply to the children of preachers whose families are provided for by other means in their circuits respectively.²²

These regulations make unmistakably clear the fact that the fraternity of Circuit Riders was by intent and in actuality a brotherhood of poverty.

However inconceivably meagre the amounts may seem in terms of total specified allowances the mere figures by no means tell the whole story.* The picture may readily be filled out by details from numerous sources. Appointed to the Caswell Circuit in North Carolina in 1789 after two years of missionary itinerating in East Tennessee, Thomas Ware wrote :

At the close of conference, I set out for my field of labour, poorly clad and nearly penniless, but happy in God. In the Holston country there was but little money, and clothing was very dear. My coat was worn through at the elbows; and I had not a whole under garment left; and as for boots, I had none. But my health was good, and I was finely mounted. . . . But I was not without friends.²³

Asbury seldom made mention of the hardships of the itinerants whom he yearly sent out to their widely scattered Circuits but his *Journal* for April, 1790, has a single sentence which carries a volume of meaning. Having crossed the mountains from North Carolina into Tennessee he made this terse comment :

I found the poor preachers indifferently clad, with emaciated bodies, and subject to hard fare; yet I hope they are rich in faith.²⁴

Another significant sentence is found in the bequest of a Circuit Rider who died in 1793: "I will that my wearing apparel be carried to the General Conference at Baltimore next; and that the same be distributed among the Preachers that have most need of it."²⁵

Additional illustrations may readily be supplied from diaries of the preachers. In the most matter-of-fact way Elijah Woolsey told of his experience during his first year (1792) on his Circuit in northern New York :

I met with hard fare, and many trials. . . . Provisions were scarce, and of the homliest kind. In some instances our greatest luxuries were roasted potatoes. . . .

* In all denominations at this period stated ministerial salaries were comparatively low and support precarious. In the Presbyterian Church presbyteries were long baffled by the problem of arrears in salaries. In 1768 Second Church, Philadelphia, one of the strongest of city churches, called James Sproat as minister, promising him £ 250., plus a manse and free firewood but he "fared no better than his brethren," many of whom "were serving in the smaller churches for £ 100. . . . in the matter of arrears on his salary."—L. J. Trinterud, *op. cit.*, pp. 131, 203.

Sometimes I had no bed to lie on, nor blanket to cover me in the coldest weather. My saddle-bags were my pillow, and my great coat my 'comfortable.' . . . Notwithstanding . . . I formed some new classes within the bounds of the circuit, and added to the church eighty-eight hopeful members.²⁶

Jacob Young described his situation as he "began to think about" going to the Limestone Circuit, Kentucky District, at the Western Conference of 1805:

On examining my clothing, I found that my shoes were nearly worn out; they would neither keep my feet warm nor dry. My old cloak was too thin for that very cold winter. Having got but little quarterage the preceding year, my money was exhausted. I was at a loss to know what to do. But man's distress is God's opportunity. A strange lady came at the right time, and handed me a dollar. Solomon Goss gave me four or five dollars. Some other friends, unknown to me, sent a few dollars more. I went and bought me a pair of shoes, a piece of heavy cloth, and employed a Miss Thankful West to make me an overcoat for one dollar. By the time my garments were all in order, my money was all gone.²⁷

These snapshots and others like them document Asbury's declaration, "We must suffer *with* if we labor *for* the poor." The itinerants during these years ministered to multitudes of the pioneers who experienced "common hardships, a common poverty, . . . [and] utter inability to get anything more out of life than coarse food, coarse clothes, and a rude shelter."* Preachers and people were on a level of equality, and it was in large part because of this that the itinerants so readily found an open door to the hearts of the many.

The General Conference of 1800 advised the Circuits "in general to purchase a lot . . . in each circuit, and to build a preacher's house" furnished "at least with heavy furniture," and where this was not possible "to rent a house for the married preacher and his family, when such were stationed upon their circuits."† This action, however, offered little or no immediate alleviation of the financial difficulties of the married preachers.²⁸ The Circuits were slow to respond and many years passed before any considerable number provided parsonages for their ministers. William Capers states that in 1810 "except the parsonage-house in Georgetown . . . and a poor hull of a house in Wilmington . . . the only parsonage-house in the three States of North and South Carolina and Georgia was in Charleston."²⁹

The economic lot of the Circuit Riders was more straitened than appears at first glance because of the fact that only a minority ever received in full

* Of other denominations the Baptist preachers were in spirit and method most closely akin to the Circuit Riders. James B. Taylor gives biographical data of 118 Virginia ministers, the majority of whom were farmer-preachers who worked their land on weekdays and preached on Sunday. (*Lives of Virginia Baptist Ministers*). A typical example of the farmer-preacher type is Luke Williams, licensed in 1820. He settled on a Missouri quarter section in 1820, built a cabin, planted a garden and a field of corn, and started to preach on Sundays in all of the frontier settlements within reach—even "to the extreme western frontiers." He asked sanction of no missionary society and accepted no financial support from the churches which he organized.—Rufus Babcock, Ed., *Memoir of John Mason Peck* . . . , pp. 139f.

† It is of interest to note that this action was initiated by Thomas Coke who, Nathan Bangs says, "always manifested a lively interest in the welfare of the preachers and their families."—*History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, II, 96.

their annual allowances. The deficiencies of the members of the Western Conference were recorded in the *Minutes*. In 1804, for example, of forty-six preachers thirty-four reported deficiencies ranging from \$2. to \$107.³⁰

William McKendree kept a meticulous record of "moneys received from 1799 to 1804 inclusive." For the year ending October 1, 1801, although his allowance was \$80. he received for the first quarter only \$3. and the second quarter \$2. During this first year as Presiding Elder in the West he received only about \$20., doubtless less than it had cost him to travel from Virginia to Tennessee. The next year receipts amounted to \$43.67, a deficiency of \$36.33. In receipts he included all gifts of articles of clothing and miscellaneous donations.³¹

The attempts of the Conferences to adjust the deficiency claims of the preachers created extreme difficulty. This is illustrated by the "Report of the Committee of Claims" at the 1803 session of the Western Conference. Deficiencies reported by Asbury and ten of the sixteen Conference members totalled \$319.45, toward which there was available for distribution \$153.09. The committee prefaced its report with the following statement :

We the Committee, judge it proper under the present circumstances; to take the whole of our brethren's, deficiencies into consideration, and considering them as suffering Brethren, we judge it proper to make them equal in their loosing [their proportionate share]; in order to which, we have examined their accounts, and now present you with the following statement; expecting, at the same time that the Conference, will inspect, correct, or ratify, as they may judge proper.³²

Gradually after the turn of the century the general economic level in the newer sections of the country heightened but the improvement was not reflected in a marked increase in ministerial support.³³ On some of the Circuits a generous disposition was manifest. Thomas Smith had the good fortune to serve for two years a Circuit in Virginia where, he testified, the people were "exceedingly kind," and paid him "all the Discipline . . . [allowed]."

He wrote :

Their presents to me have been large and many. Some would give me five dollars, some ten, some twenty, some fifty. On leaving the house of brother C. Sympkins he put a piece of paper in my hand, saying, "Brother Smith, accept a small present." I did so; and after taking leave of the family, and riding a short distance, I thought I would look at my small present, when, lo, it was a hundred dollar note!³⁴

But experiences of this kind were exceptional. The prevalent conception among people in the West, even in the second and third decades of the century when many had become quite prosperous, seemed to be that their attendance upon preaching services was in itself sufficient compensation for the minister. Writing in 1816 Timothy Flint declared that in the West "no

minister of any Protestant denomination, to my knowledge, has ever received sufficient living two years in succession."³⁵

In some regions, particularly in the South and West, monetary remuneration to ministers was opposed on the ground that it constituted the payment of "wages" for preaching the Gospel.* A missionary in Georgia of the American Home Missionary Society wrote that

If he were to assert his claim, his right to any such assistance, his motive, and ministerial character and call, would be instantly called in question. . . . They call it preaching for money.³⁶

Resulting from these and other influences and causes, as in the earlier decades the support of Methodist Circuit Riders continued on a poverty level. The General Conference of 1816 increased the salary† for an unmarried man from \$80. to \$100. and actual traveling expense; for a married man an additional \$100. for his wife.³⁷ But as before there was no assurance that the amount would be paid in full. When Thomas A. Morris‡ entered the ministry in his twenty-second year (1816) he sold his "little farm and invested the funds for safe-keeping, so as to go wherever appointed . . . not incumbered with any worldly business." He kept his "private accounts . . . with great care" and relates that during the first twelve years of his ministry he received in salary about \$1,700. and about \$300. in marriage fees and gifts, an average of \$166. per year.

This was to pay house rent, buy fuel and provisions, and clothing for the entire family, entertain company, educate the children, pay doctor's bills, public and private charity, and provide myself with books, and horses, and riding equipment for the circuit, etc.³⁸

During and for several years following the economic depression of 1819-22 the needs of many of the preachers were acute. In 1823 Bishop Enoch George urged that the constitution of the Missionary Society should be so amended as to make possible appropriation of part of its income toward making up "the ordinary deficiencies of the preachers." The committee of the managers to whom the proposal was referred reported that in their judgment such a diversion of its funds "would greatly impair the energies [of the Society] and totally defeat its objects."³⁹

The year 1830 was accounted "a good year" financially. The allowances of

* This opposition was due at least in part to Baptist influence. Among the Baptists a deep-seated prejudice against the payment of salaries to preachers "prevailed generally throughout the denomination in the early years of the nineteenth century."—William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, I, *The Baptists, 1783-1830*, 36.

† The salary of the Bishops, as before, continued to be the same as that of the Traveling Preachers. There were no high-salaried men in the ministry. Ezekiel Cooper, appointed by the General Conference of 1800 "editor and the general book-steward," was "allowed for his services two hundred and fifty dollars annually, clear of all expenses . . ." (*G. C. Journals*, I, 45.) The annual salary of Nathan Bangs as "general book steward" (publisher and general manager of the Book Concern), as fixed by the General Conference of 1820, was \$1,200.—*Ibid.*, p. 226.

‡ For biographical note see Vol. I, 226n.

all the Methodist preachers in Kentucky—eighty-three pastors, six Presiding Elders, about a dozen superannuates—and the claims upon the Kentucky Conference of four Bishops totalled \$17,340.35½, less than \$175. each. On these claims only \$7,754.75½ was paid, considerably less than one-half. From various sources an additional amount of \$501.75 was received and divided among the most needy.⁴⁰

In 1840 Asa Kent who had been in the ministry of the New England Conference for thirty-eight years computed his Disciplinary allowances for the entire period. They amounted to \$7,560. He had received in quarterage \$3,628., a deficiency in payments of \$3,932.⁴¹

Some of the preachers, moved by what seemed to them to be stern necessity, undertook to supplement their allowance by operating farms,* usually with results unsatisfactory both to their Circuits and themselves. Jacob Young tried various expedients in his effort to support his family—entering into partnership in the operation of a store, farming, carrying on a teamster business—all to no profit.

These incessant labors exhausted my physical and intellectual energies. My sermons soon became both dry and dull . . . the people soon began to complain—as well they might. They said I had given way to a craving desire after riches. All these things led me into many foolish and hurtful lusts, piercing my soul through with many sorrows.⁴²

Robert R. Roberts had a somewhat similar experience with a mill which he began to build in 1806 while serving the Shenango (Pennsylvania) Circuit, Baltimore Conference. His reason for building, as stated many years later, was: "As I had but little support from quarterage, I thought my family could be maintained by a mill, and I should be better able to travel without anxiety." Such time as he could spare from the duties of the Circuit was spent in the work of construction. But some of his parishioners felt that it required more of his energies and time than the best interests of the Circuit allowed. Although for a time its operation seemed profitable his final conclusion was that it had been an unfortunate venture. It "embarrassed my mind," he wrote, "and took up my attention; and . . . eventually proved a [financial] loss."⁴³

The experience of Peter Cartwright was of a quite different nature. At his decease he left a substantial estate. From the time of his marriage (1808) to his death (1872) he had but two places of residence, both farm homes. In only three years of his ministry of more than a half century did he receive his meagre salary in full. His homes were centrally located in relation to his

* The typical frontier Baptist preacher was a self-supporting farmer preacher. In Kentucky it seems to have been the custom of Baptist churches "to get up, and pay annually a subscription for their pastors," but this custom did not generally prevail in the denomination.—W. W. Sweet, *op. cit.*, I, 36f.

work on his successive Circuits and Districts and by his labor on his farms he was able materially to supplement the deficiencies of his salary.

As a family grew up about him its members became factors in the matter of the common support of his house-hold, and the surplus earnings . . . were invested in the cheap lands of early times, so that, at the time of his death, he left to his widow and the eight children who had grown to maturity, an inheritance . . . [valued at \$40,000].⁴⁴

Ezekiel Cooper, who also was a man of keen business acumen and withal extremely frugal, at his death left an estate of \$50,000. But in their possession of financial means at their decease Cartwright and Cooper were exceptions among early American Methodist preachers. Most of them died, as they had lived, in poverty.* Bishop Asbury's possessions, willed to McKendree, consisted of a horse, a pack saddle, and three valises of clothes, books, and papers.⁴⁵

Charles Elliott asserted that the absolute impossibility of the great majority of the early itinerants' saving any money or accumulating any property had certain very real spiritual compensations. The itinerancy, he suggested, constituted "a sheriff's sale" of all earthly things that pertained to him in this world. It shattered "into fragments every thing out of which an idol could be made." It cut him wholly "loose from the world." It prepared him to live a heavenly life, "without even a shred of the earthly, the sensual, or the devilish."⁴⁶ Asbury's *Journal* makes it clear that he expected his preachers literally to despise the riches of this world and it was doubtless considerations such as these that influenced him not to be deeply concerned over the lack of stable financial support for the ministry. He had had abundant opportunity to observe the moral havoc wrought by state support of the ministry of the Established Churches and he was determined to avoid anything even remotely resembling a similar evil in the Methodist Church.†

There were, however, some among the itinerants who viewed in a different light than Asbury the severe deprivations, including some wholly unnecessary hardships, which in many cases undermined the health and shortened the lives of preachers. One was Thomas Ware, who wrote:

I thought our system too severe. It called us in youth to sacrifice all means of acquiring property, and threatened to leave us dependent on the cold hand of

* Freeborn Garretson inherited a "patrimonial estate . . . amply sufficient to yield him a comfortable maintenance." (Nathan Bangs, *The Life of the Rev. Freeborn Garretson . . .*, p. 151.) He also married a woman of considerable wealth. During his entire ministry of more than fifty years he accepted no salary except in a few instances when it was urged upon him, and then he distributed it to needy preachers or to Conference funds.

† In 1779 the Legislature of Virginia alienated the glebes of the Episcopal parishes and withdrew from the clergy the annual stipend of sixteen thousand-weight of tobacco. Bishop William Meade declared that "nothing could have been more injurious to the cause of true religion in the Episcopal Church, or to its growth in any way, than the continuance of either [state] stipend or glebes. . . . As it was, together with the glebes and salaries, evil ministers disappeared and made room for a new and different kind."—*Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia*, p. 49.

charity for our bread in old age. Some plead that we had no asylum for our sons, so that, while we were travelling and preaching to others, they had none to take care of them; and they said they must locate to preserve them from ignorance and crime. And the fact that there was no provision made for superannuated men, induced many to forsake the itinerant ranks in order to provide, while they had health and strength, against absolute want in time of infirmity and old age. And who could blame them? To me it appeared in vain that we should ever hope to perpetuate the itinerant plan, unless the wants of the preachers were better supplied, and some security given them that in advanced life, or when their powers should be prostrated, their bread and their water should be sure.⁴⁷

To Thomas Coke also it was unmistakably clear that neglect to plan for decent support of the ministry was a shortsighted and mistaken policy, a serious defect in the itinerant system. In 1795 at Camden, South Carolina, Coke lodged at the house of a Methodist layman who had formerly been "an eminent and successful traveling preacher," which led him to record a lament that so many able married preachers were forced to locate "merely for want of support for their families":

I am conscious it is not the fault of the people; it is the fault of the Preachers, who, through a false and most unfortunate delicacy, have not pressed the important subject as they ought upon the consciences of the people. I am truly astonished, that the work has risen to its present height on this continent, when so much of the spirit of prophecy,—of the gifts of preaching,—yea, of the most precious gifts which God bestows on mortals, except the gifts of his only-begotten Son and his Spirit of Grace, should thus miserably be thrown away. I could, methinks, enter into my closet, and weep tears of blood upon the occasion.⁴⁸

That Coke's effusive statement was more than mere passing sentiment is evidenced by the fact that a year later he wrote Ezekiel Cooper offering to contribute from his personal funds £ 60. per year toward "the help of our married ministers, till there be a regular and sufficient supply [support] for them." He authorized Cooper, in case he should find any "valuable man" about to locate because he was married or about to be married and lacked support, to offer to him in his (Coke's) name £ 20. a year "till such time as a regular and sufficient support be provided" if he would continue in the ministry, and to "go as far as to assist three ministers on this plan."

When another twelve months had passed (December 18, 1798) Coke again wrote to Cooper on this subject:

But you may depend upon it, my dear brother, that the work will never flourish as extensively and permanently as we could wish till you have further provision for a married ministry; and this will never be the case till the traveling preachers take that business up in a way they never hitherto have done. It is contrary to the word of God and the reason of things to suffer the married preachers to drop off as they do for want of food for themselves and families. It is a most crying evil, and will ruin the work of God in America if some remedy be not devised.⁴⁹

The problem of support for Traveling Preachers who had become "worn out" in the strenuous service of continuous Circuit riding had early become acute. In the *Minutes* of the Christmas Conference, for the first time, the name of a Traveling Preacher—LeRoy Cole—is entered as "laid aside," and the seventy-second question raised was: "How can we provide for superannuated preachers, and the widows and orphans of preachers?" The plan adopted* proved wholly inadequate to supply maintenance for the steadily increasing number of superannuates. This also greatly burdened the mind of Coke. He saw what did not seem apparent to most of the preachers: that it was unjust for the Church to encourage men to wear themselves out in sacrificial service and not to provide a measure of security for their old age. He also perceived, with Thomas Ware, that this would increasingly act as a deterrent to entrance into the ministry.

The General Conference of 1796 authorized the establishment of "a chartered fund, to be supported by . . . voluntary contributions,"† the income of which would be used primarily for the relief and maintenance of superannuates and the widows and orphans of preachers—a fund destined through the decades to render significant assistance but which provided no immediate help.⁵⁰

A regrettable fact is that much of the deprivation, both of the superannuates and the Circuit Riders—so extreme in many cases that it involved lack of sufficient clothing, food, and other necessities to maintain the health of the preacher, his wife and children—as the years went on had become quite unnecessary. One of the chief difficulties was that the Methodist Societies had no systematic plan of ministerial support. In many communities, especially after the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were people willing to contribute if called upon to do so. In Columbus, Georgia, in 1836, the Conference reported a deficiency of \$1,851. in preachers' salaries. In two days Lovick Pierce, who at the time was living in Columbus, raised the entire amount by personal solicitation and "for the first time in the history of the Church . . . in Georgia . . . every deficiency in salary [was] provided for."‡

On the basis of his experience as Presiding Elder Nathan Bangs declared his conviction that

* This first plan was called the "Preachers Fund." It was collected from the Traveling Preachers—\$2.67 on admission to the Annual Conference, and \$2. annually thereafter. The maximum payment to a superannuate was fixed at \$64. and to a widow or child, \$53.33. After the establishment of the Chartered Fund the plan was dropped.

† In his "Diary" under date of Oct. 7, 1796, Ezekiel Cooper notes that he and "Brother Haskins, Dickens, [and] McClaskey" had agreed upon the principles of incorporation of the "Chartered Fund," and that Haskins had "drawn up an instrument for the charter."—G. A. Phoebus, Compiler, *Beams of Light on Early Methodism in America*, p. 223.

‡ There were other similar demonstrations of people's willingness to share their substance when appealed to. "There was no necessity . . . of so great lack in the support of our preachers," Heman Bangs testified. His two assistants on the Circuit became ill and "were in want of the necessities of life." He found that there was a deficiency of \$380. As he made the round of the Circuit he presented the situation to the Societies in turn and when he came to the next Quarterly Meeting took with him \$348. "More was added afterwards, so that at the close of the year there was a deficiency of only twelve dollars . . ."—*The Autobiography and Journal of Rev. Heman Bangs* . . . , pp. 37f.

if suitable measures were pursued, the full amount of all demands might be collected every year, and thus the hearts of our hard working preachers and of their widows and orphans, who now receive only about one third of their allowance, would be made to rejoice.⁵¹

LIMITATIONS OF THE CIRCUIT RIDER SYSTEM

Although the itinerant Circuit System undeniably had been a chief means of the missionary expansion of Methodism there were a few leaders of the Church who perceived serious weaknesses other than its failure to provide living support for the ministry. In this also Nathan Bangs was one of the first to recognize what was perhaps its most serious defect. In 1813 he was appointed Presiding Elder of the Rhinebeck District, New York Conference, with one Station and eight large Circuits extending over a large part of the Hudson River Valley and a considerable area of Connecticut. The District this year reported 3,735 members. After surveying his field Bangs stated this conclusion to his preachers:

You might as well go home and go to sleep, as to preach in the manner you do, so far as building up Methodism is concerned. You may indeed be instrumental in the awakening and conversion of sinners; but while you preach once in two weeks in a place on week-days and Sabbaths, and are absent from your appointments all the rest of your time, though sinners may be awakened, yet, during your absence, other denominations, who have their stated ministrations every Sabbath, and whose ministers are constantly among the people, will gather the principal part of them into their churches, and thus you lose all your labour, so far as the Methodist Episcopal Church is concerned.⁵²

The missionary plan of extending Circuits over the widest possible area, Bangs contended, "was ill calculated to build up churches and establish congregations."⁵³ Under the Station plan, he declared,

the preachers could more fully and effectually discharge *all* the duties of pastors, in overseeing the temporal and spiritual affairs of the Church, such as visiting from house to house, attending upon the sick, burying the dead, meeting the classes, and regulating sabbath school, tract, and missionary societies. And who will say that these things are not as important to the well being of the Church, or the prosperity of true religion, as it is 'to preach so many sermons'?⁵⁴

Such arguments as these were reinforced by a growing demand on the part of laymen for more intensive ministerial service. That Bangs did not stand alone in his conviction and that changing conditions in all parts of the country were forcing consideration of alteration of the fixed order was clearly evident. However, Asbury and others did not agree. In his "Valedictory Address" to McKendree, August 5, 1813, Asbury said:

Alas for us! out of seven hundred traveling preachers, we have about one hundred located in towns, and cities, and small, rich circuits,

Continuing, the aged Bishop warned his successor against what seemed to him a threat to the integrity of the itinerancy—the development of “two orders of preachers,” Circuit itinerants and settled pastors.⁵⁵

The change was strongly resisted by the older Presiding Elders, trained in the Asbury tradition, and the shift toward a stationed ministry made slow progress.* Difficulties of a practical nature were a material factor. Always there had been a shortage of preachers and to divide large Circuits suddenly into a dozen or more Stations would require greatly increased numbers. Preachers were simply not available. Moreover, the Station churches demanded men of superior intellectual and educational qualifications and the supply of such men was limited. While Station appointments were coveted, particularly by men with families, preachers accustomed to preparing one or two sermons on a round of a three or four weeks' Circuit found themselves in difficulty when two sermons were required each week.

With the passing of a decade the importance of a pastoral ministry had so impressed itself upon the Church that the General Conference of 1824 adopted the following resolution:

That the superintending preachers be instructed so to lay out their work that there may be sufficient time allowed each preacher for the faithful and extensive discharge of all his pastoral duties in promoting family religion and instructing the children.⁵⁶

This action undoubtedly gave evidence of a changing mind within the Church. In 1832 in an article in the *Christian Advocate* a leading minister wrote:

We may *preach* like angels; but if we are not *faithful* and *impartial* in our pastoral labors among the people we shall do little or no lasting good. The word will be like water spilled upon the ground, or others will gather the fruit of our labors. If we do this, the people will support us.⁵⁷

In some Conferences the issue assumed an acute form. The Kentucky Conference in 1834–35 had twelve Stations and forty-one Circuits. Despite the fact that the Circuits still constituted a large majority of the pastoral charges the tendency toward increase in the proportion of Stations is stated by Redford to have been deemed by the Conference “subversive” of the system by which the Church had gained its great success. At the Conference of 1835 a resolution framed by a committee of seven of the most influential members was adopted in the following form:

* Nathan Bangs reported but little accomplished during the four years he remained on the Rhinebeck District. But 33 years later he took satisfaction in writing: “In that region of country, such have been the blessed effects . . . that instead of one district we now have four; instead of twenty-five preachers . . . we have one hundred and twenty-nine; and instead of 4,718 members of the Church, the number returned on the Minutes for 1817, we now have 18,142; and instead of being compelled to preach in private houses, school-houses, and barns . . . we now have commodious churches . . . in every city, and in almost every village and considerable settlement”—*The Present State, Prospects, and Responsibilities of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . .*, p. 74.

That the Bishop and Presiding Elders, in the arrangement and supply of the circuits and stations within the bounds of this Conference, be respectfully requested to connect with each station, as early as practicable, a sufficient number of appointments to constitute them, in fact, circuits, to be formed of places not previously occupied, or of such appointments, belonging to contiguous circuits, as may be agreed upon by the parties interested, in accordance with the provisions of the Discipline.⁵⁸

The tendency toward an increasing proportion of Stations, however, continued—regarded by Redford as “certainly disastrous to both the towns and rural districts.” In 1837 an attempt was made by three of the Presiding Elders to persuade the Conference to adopt a resolution requesting the Bishop “to dissolve all the stations (the cities excepted), and in their stead to form small circuits, consisting of from ten to twelve appointments [each]” This resolution, however, failed of adoption.⁵⁹ The relative merits of the Circuit System versus a stationed ministry continued to be debated as a live issue throughout the entire period, but year by year the proportion of Stations steadily increased. By 1844 even the newer Conferences had some Station appointments and in the older and stronger Conferences many of the appointments in the larger cities and some of those in the towns were Stations.

A WAY OF EXPERIENCE

The Methodist Way is a way of experience. To Wesley the vital center of the Christian religion was a conscious, dynamic, verifiable experience.* In this is to be found explanation of the fact, often overlooked, that when Wesley by the hand of Coke sent the Articles of Religion and the Prayer Book of the Church of England to the American Methodists he did not make acceptance of the Articles a condition of membership† and omitted from the Prayer Book the order of confirmation by which persons are admitted into full membership in Churches of the Anglican Communion.

No element in the Wesleyan heritage was more wholeheartedly accepted and more faithfully declared than the emphasis on religion as experience. It was this that gave the untrained itinerant preachers confidence and boldness, that clothed their message with power, and that constituted the secret of their hold upon the masses. It made religion a tangible thing, readily understand-

* George A. Gordon: “Let it be said once for all that Wesley brought the whole Christian world back to religion as experience in the face of a dead theology and of a dead ceremony; he made religion a living, creative, glorious reality, and the thought and determination and affirmation of Wesley have gone round the world.”—Sermon, “Religion as Experience,” as quoted by George Croft Cell, *The Rediscovery of John Wesley*, p. 73.

† Abel Stevens: “The ‘Articles of Religion’ and the ‘General Rules’ are both parts of the constitutional law of American Methodism; but the General Rules still prescribe the ‘only condition’ of membership, and mention not the Articles or any other dogmatic symbols. Conformity to the doctrines of the Church is required as a functional qualification for the ministry, but Church members cannot be excluded for personal opinions while their lives conform to the practical discipline of the Church;”—*The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century Called Methodism*, II, 448.

able by all, that could be put to the test of daily living. In his own consciousness the seeker could find the certitude of his pardon, adoption, and sonship in the family of God.

As in England Wesley's preaching of experiential religion had been regarded as something new and strange and unbelievable and the preachers denounced as wild enthusiasts, fanatics, and men "not quite right" in their minds, so also in America. William Watters, who first heard the Methodists preach in July, 1770, records the impression made upon his mind:

I . . . could not conceive what they meant by saying, we must be born again, and, though I thought but little of all I heard for some time, yet dared not despise and revile them as many then did. . . . to hear . . . [several of my old acquaintances] all declare as with one voice, that they knew nothing of heart religion . . . till . . . they heard the Methodists preach, utterly confounded me While I was marvelling and wondering at these unheard of things that those strange people were spreading wherever they came, and before I was aware, I found my heart inclined to forsake many of my vain practices⁶⁰

In some parts of the country, particularly in New England, the empirical doctrines of the Methodists aroused overt opposition. In 1790, John Lee* was appointed to serve the New Haven Circuit. He refers in a casual way in his "Journal" to the antagonism which he met in some places:

TUESDAY [June] 8th. We rode to Doctor Hawley's at a place called Stepney, where my brother Jesse preached, and I gave an exhortation.

The next day we had meeting at one Mr. Hurd's; and the day following we rode to Stratford, where at night I preached to some hundreds of people. While I was speaking, some of the inhabitants were very busy out of doors: they fired off three cannon, played the fife, &c. &c.

THURSDAY July 1st. I rode back to Stamford In that place I met with no opposition; but all spoke well of me; which is seldom the case in other places where I have been.

TUESDAY 6th. I rode to Fairfield, where an old man visited me, and told me that he was coming to the Court-House, where I was to preach, to bear witness against the deceivers. At dark I went to the Court-House, and a good many people came together. When the people were lighting the candles for meeting, the old man came in He went down in the midst of the congregation, and, with a very loud voice, said, 'I don't mean to disturb the congregation tonight,' (repeating it two or three times) 'but I have come to bear my faithful testimony against the doctrine of these men. . . .' By that time the house was all in an uproar, and the old man went out of the house. The tumult began to increase; and a man coming in at the other door, walked across the house, cursing and swearing, and abusing me in a very shameful manner. Such a tumult I never saw before. . . . I went to a widow woman's house and preached a short sermon. The rioters were there, but they made little or no disturbance.⁶¹

* John Lee (1770-1801) was admitted on trial to the traveling ministry in 1788 (*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 30).

In 1795 the parents of Charles Giles* migrated from Connecticut to Madison County, western New York. Within a few years, among others, "a man singular in some things," came and settled in the neighborhood. He was known to be a Methodist, a people of whom "no one seemed to know any good," who were generally thought to be "irregular and unauthorized" and given to sowing erroneous doctrines, disturbing churches, and deceiving people. Within a brief time several Methodist preachers, one after another, learning that a man belonging to the Methodist Church resided in the neighborhood, sought him out and with his assistance made engagements to preach. With one or two exceptions "they were illiterate men, possessing only a common share of native talent" but "they appeared to walk with God" and "they spoke from the deep emotions of their own hearts," plainly and forcibly, telling "what they knew and how they felt." As a result these "poor obscure men" were the means through whom Charles Giles, his father—who, he says, had been an infidel—his mother, sisters and brother, "and almost the entire neighborhood, together with many in the adjoining settlements, became subjects of the blessed work."⁶²

CONVERSION

One and only one condition was required of those who sought admission to the Methodist Societies—"a desire to flee from the wrath to come and be saved from their sins." With John Wesley the starting point of the Christian life was a sense of sin and a desire for deliverance and with this position the early American Methodist leaders were in full agreement. This principle was central and basic in their whole thought and plan of evangelism.†

Deliverance from the guilt and power of sin was to be achieved, the Circuit Riders declared, by conversion, in which the sinner through the operation of the Holy Spirit experienced immediate contact with God in the forgiveness of his sins and assurance of his salvation.‡ This direct experience of God they held to be basic and necessary. God with us, Christ in us, the Spirit of God guiding us, they proclaimed, is the Christian Way, the inestimable privilege

* Charles Giles (1783-1867), born in Connecticut, was admitted on trial in the Philadelphia Conference in 1805 (*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 122). He served successively in the Philadelphia, New York, Genesee, Oneida, and Black River Annual Conferences as pastor and Presiding Elder. He became widely known as a man of erudition and intellectual power, and as a brilliant preacher.—Matthew Simpson, Ed., *Cyclopaedia of Methodism*, p. 412.

† B. F. Tefft: Contrast this "with the order pursued by those who make opinions, a confession, a creed, the starting-point and center of their operations. The course taken is substantially identical in all the religious denominations which arose out of the Lutheran Reformation. As they all make the subscription to articles of faith the final and indispensable qualification to church membership . . . so they all lay the foundation of every society they form on the basis of a creed. . . . In the *Congregational Year-Book*, for example, for the year 1858, the subjoined directions are given for the formation of new societies of that order: 'Determine first,' says this annual expositor of their system, 'whether there are individuals enough who would fellowship each other in *doctrine and covenant* to constitute a church. Secondly, whether there is, or is likely to be, a population from which, with the divine blessing, a self-sustaining and prosperous church can be gathered. . . .'"—*Methodism Successful, and the Internal Causes of Its Success*, p. 406.

‡ It is significant that early editions of the *Discipline* use the term "awakened" as synonymous with "conversion." The 1789 *Discipline* added to the section, "On the Instruction of Children," "Let the Elders, Deacons, and Preachers, take a list of the names of the children; and if any of them be truly awakened, let them be admitted into Society."—P. 30.

and supreme need of all persons everywhere. Than this nothing else can take the place.

Go to church twice a day; go to the Lord's table every week; say ever so many prayers in private; hear ever so many good sermons; read ever so many good books; still, 'you must be born again': None of these things will stand in the place of the new birth; no, nor any thing under heaven.⁶³

First and last the emphasis of the preachers was upon need for conversion, interpreted as a personal experience by which the sinner was enabled to say: "old things have passed away, all things have become new"; "whereas I was blind, now I see"; "I know that I have passed from death unto life." It was this close, vital, intensely personal demand which caused early Methodism to attract crowds to its meetings in the log cabins, the barns, the wayside inns, and under the open sky in the forest clearings of the new settlements of the South and the West. In the intimacy of its appeal, its directness, and its pointed application, preaching in the older Churches had nothing which could compete with it. In contrast to the formalism and externalism of the Established Churches it answered in a unique way to a felt need of the pioneer settlers of the American frontier.

In time a tendency developed among the American Methodist preachers to insist upon conversion as a *precondition* of admission to church membership, but at no time was there Disciplinary basis for such insistence. Wesley's long-continued, often agonizing, struggle for the inward witness certainly would have prevented him from assenting to the imposition of any such requirement. And this also was true of many of the early Circuit Riders for in numerous instances their spiritual experience had much in common with that of Wesley.

Stephen R. Beggs tells of a Presiding Elder who criticized him for admitting into full membership "seekers of religion after they had given satisfactory evidence that they desired to flee from the wrath to come and be saved from their sins," even though they had met with a Class for six months and were recommended for full membership by their Class Leader. The Presiding Elder contended that none should be admitted who were unable to profess conversion. Shortly afterward Bishop L. L. Hamline caused the following statement to be published in the *Christian Advocate*:

Our rules do *not* require that persons received into our church profess conversion, and in more than half our bounds they are often received without conversion. Possibly there may be fifty thousand such, marked 'S' on our class-books, as 'seekers'; and in harmony, too, with our Discipline, which makes 'a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and be saved from sin,' duly 'manifested' the only condition. But is there nothing in the Discipline to be set off against these terms of membership? The Class is one thing. Here the catechumens mingle with the more mature in grace, enjoy their prayers, and from them, with God's blessing, learn

the way. But we can not safely receive and retain members who refuse to visit the classroom. If they become incurably neglectful, let their names, by due forms, be taken from the class and Church records.⁶⁴

Conversion experiences of the early Methodists presented a wide variety of types. The early religious experiences of both Francis Asbury and Thomas Coke offer certain elements of contrast to that of Wesley.* Asbury had, he says, "no deep convictions"; no consciousness of having "committed any deep known sins." He believed that "On a certain time when . . . [he was] praying in . . . [his] father's barn . . . the Lord pardoned . . . [his] sins and justified . . . [his] soul," but he was "reasoned . . . out of this belief" by his companions and apparently while still in this state of uncertainty began his remarkable preaching career† which extended over a period of fifty-three years.⁶⁵

Thomas Coke, after taking his degree of "Doctor in the Civil Law" in June, 1775, though not possessing "any particular religious zeal" accepted a curacy in Devonshire. The influence of Thomas Maxfield and that of an untutored Methodist laborer‡ awakened in him an evangelical interest which was further deepened by the reading of Alleine's *Alarm to the Unconverted*. While yet only seeing "men as trees walking" he began to extend his parish ministries among the sick and poor and to expound Methodist teachings on his round of pastoral calls and in weeknight meetings in the homes of his people. His growing concern for his own salvation and his increasingly zealous efforts to bring religious comfort and reassurance to his infirm and aged parishioners were reciprocal in their influence on his religious experience:

After preaching pardon to others for two whole years, and mourning for it himself, with many temptations and fears, he walked one evening to preach in the country, and while unfolding the great truths of redeeming love, the Lord suddenly broke into his soul, and so filled him with 'the comforts of the Holy Ghost, that he thought every other person in the room had felt the same. All his doubts and clouds were removed in a moment, and he instantly felt a power to call God his father, by the spirit of adoption, in a manner he had never done before.⁶⁶

There were many, however, whose journals and autobiographies give evidence that the authors suffered extreme travail of soul—even as Wesley himself—before they found satisfying peace and joy. William Watters,§ after hearing the Methodists preach, became much distressed in mind. His concern became such that he "feared lying down or closing . . . [his] eyes lest . . . [he] should open them in hell"; his eyes ran "down with tears" and

* See Vol. I, xvf.

† The period of Asbury's preaching career is reckoned from the time when he began as a Local Preacher, about five years before his admission to the British Conference (1768), to his death on March 29, 1816.

‡ See Vol. I, 105.

§ For biographical note see Vol. I, 58n.

his "heart was ready to burst asunder with sorrow"; his sins became "a burthen too heavy to be borne"; he spent his time "mostly in the solitary woods alone, some times on . . . [his] knees, and sometimes on . . . [his] face, prostrate before the Lord"; for "three days and nights eating, drinking, and sleeping, in a measure, fled from . . . [him], while . . . [his] flesh wasted away and . . . [his] strength failed" Finally came the deliverance which in such anguish he had sought :

This memorable change took place in May, 1771, in the twentieth year of my age, in the same house (not the same room) where I was born a child of wrath, I was also born a child of grace. . . . And he hath put a new song in my mouth, even praise unto our God. Many shall see it and fear and trust in the Lord.⁶⁷

Philip Gatch was converted under the preaching of Nathan Perigo, one of Robert Strawbridge's converts. The parents of Gatch were members of the Church of England, "though destitute of experimental religion." During later childhood and early adolescence Philip had a tender conscience, "feared the Lord, and had a great desire to serve him; but knew not how." In January, 1772, in his seventeenth year he heard Perigo preach for the first time. He describes himself as alarmed by the prayer and the sermon, "stripped of all . . . [his] self-righteousness" and feeling himself to be "altogether sinful and helpless." After about five weeks he again heard Perigo "and felt con-founded under the word." His cry "was day and night to God for mercy." On April 26, 1772, while attending a prayer meeting, he says :

. . . I bowed myself before the Lord, and said in my heart, If thou wilt give me power to call on thy name how thankful will I be! Immediately I felt the power of God to affect me body and soul. It went through my whole system. I felt like crying aloud. God said, by his Spirit, to my soul, 'My power is present to heal thy soul, if thou wilt but believe.' I instantly submitted to the operation of the Spirit of God, and my poor soul was set at liberty. I felt as if I had got into a new world. . . .

Ere I was aware I was shouting aloud, and should have shouted louder if I had had more strength. . . . A grateful sense of the mercy and goodness of God to my poor soul overwhelmed me.⁶⁸

Ezekiel Cooper "very early in life . . . had divine impressions" but at the same time felt ignorant of "the things of God." About his thirteenth year, "a remarkable impression" was made on his mind by a sermon preached in the neighborhood of his home by Freeborn Garrettson. He "wished to be a Christian" but "knew not what to do" and had no instructor. Having no religious opportunities and hearing no preaching he was "by degrees led captive into wickedness." In his eighteenth year through a sermon which he heard, "the way of life" was made so plain to him that he formed a determination "to seek the salvation of . . . [his] soul." A period of struggle ensued during which

he continued in an unsettled frame of mind until after about a year his determination was renewed to give himself to God and His service.

For months I went bowed down in mourning before the Lord, believing there was mercy for me, but not knowing how to secure it. By night I walked the fields in meditation, and brokenness of heart; or, when all were sleeping, would frequently pour out my soul in supplication. In the spring and summer seasons I made the woods my constant resort, walking and meditating, or reading and praying, sometimes prostrate on my face.

Failing to find mercy he grew slack in his diligence and his concern decreased. Provisionally a book of sermons was put into his hands which again stirred his soul.

Between this last stir and my deliverance my sorrows were overwhelming. My heart was ready to burst asunder with inexpressible anguish. . . . At length my bitterness of soul rose to its extremity. . . . My pain of mind was more than I knew how to express.

One day, as I was walking alone in the woods, I felt great encouragement. I knelt down and prayed fervently. Presently I had an opening to my mind of the infinite fullness of Christ, and of the willingness of the Father, through his Son, to receive me into his favor. . . . I laid hold of the promise, felt my burden remove, and a flood of peace, love, and joy break forth in my soul. I was now enabled to call Christ Lord, by the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven. I am assured, to the present moment, that at that time the Lord forgave me all my sins, and owned me for his adopted child.

Within a few months he formed "acquaintance with the Methodists," joined Society, and somewhat later was appointed Class Leader.⁶⁹

In a letter written to Edward Dromgoole on January 19, 1778, John Hagerty,* who entered the Methodist Traveling Connection at the Fluvanna Conference of 1779, gives a vivid account of his conversion. He says that he had had "some conviction for sin" from his earliest years but not until he heard John King and Robert Williams preach, in his twenty-third year, was he "forced to cry out in the bitterness of . . . [his] soul 'Lord save or I perish.'" For about a year he continued to be in deep spiritual distress. He describes the culmination of his long period of seeking for peace:

On Monday my distress was deepened and on Tuesday I thought my heart would break On Wednesday I thought I could believe the Lord would deliver me. I went to class meeting and soon after we begun my Brother broke out in praising God which greatly encreased my distress. It was impress on my mind to kneel down and pray[.] I resisted it but it returned the second time. I thought if I did not it would be the last time that the Lord would strive with me which caused me to cry mightily to the Lord for deliverance. I was in a short time

* John Hagerty (1747-1823), a native of Maryland, was one of John King's converts. He was ordained both deacon and elder at the Christmas Conference. He was appointed to New York City in 1785 and the following year was designated as Presiding Elder. Forced on account of the serious illness of his wife to locate in 1793, he continued to preach in and about Baltimore, as often as circumstances permitted, until near the time of his death.—M. Simpson, Ed., *op. cit.*, p. 423.

enabled to lay hold on Jesus Christ and found salvation by simple faith. I believe He removed my sins as far from me as the east is from the west. I do not know if I have felt anything contrary to love since.⁷⁰

Within a few days of her seventeenth birthday, October 3, 1809, Lucy Richards, daughter of a Local Preacher, attended a Camp Meeting. "Elder Vanest," she reported,

came to . . . [sister P. and me] and desired to know whether we had come to seek religion. I told him we had. He said we must give up the world, with all its pomps and vanities, and especially that we must give up our hearts to God. He also made several other remarks, which led us to deep searchings of heart, by which I saw something of the depravity that reigned within,—pride, obstinacy, unbelief, the love of the world, &c., &c.

That evening in response to the invitation "given to all who desired to be made the special subjects of prayer" she went to the altar but failed to find "pardoning mercy, . . . [and] returned to the tent disconsolate." The account in her *Memoirs* continues:

On Friday my distress and anxiety greatly increased, so that, at times, I could not refrain from crying aloud for mercy; nor could I even walk without being supported by my friends. I confessed my sins, and mourned over my depravity. . . . I heard every sermon with deep attention, and entered the prayer circles with an earnest desire to find salvation; but all, apparently, to no purpose. . . .

In the evening I again tremblingly approached the altar, and resolved, if mercy were to be found by so vile a sinner, never to leave it till God had spoken peace to my soul. . . . I continued [for nearly three hours] in the same posture, without experiencing the least mitigation of mental anguish. I now thought, what shall I do? . . . both preachers and people have prayed till they are weary. *They* are happy, but *I* am miserable. Must I remain so for ever, and perish without hope? Surely, 'the sorrows of death compassed me, and the pains of hell gat hold on me.' . . . I pleaded for mercy, and cried, "Lord, save, or I perish!" But if I perish, I perish at thy feet. To thee I give up all—soul, body, and spirit.' The God of love was pleased for Christ's sake to accept the offering, and soon my soul was filled with peace. . . . What a memorable hour! O, to be raised from such a depth of sin and misery into the favour and image of God, and into the fellowship of his saints! The transition was indeed indescribable; the joy unspeakable.⁷¹

These five autobiographical statements of conversion experience,* typical of many—perhaps the majority of adult conversions—find their explanation in part in the evangelistic technique used by many of the preachers, inherited in part from British Wesleyanism and in part from the Edwardean Awakening—particularly those who specialized in revivalistic preaching. It consisted

* It should be recognized that the diaries and autobiographies of the religious are not in themselves a sufficient basis for an understanding and evaluation of the religious experience of an individual or a group. The manner of expression and terminology in vogue within the group play a large part, though unconsciously, in shaping the statements. There is also a tendency for the diarist to lay undue stress upon what is exceptional rather than upon the usual, even though the latter may be the more significant. Ideally these autobiographical statements should be supplemented by observation of the same persons—descriptions of actions, and conversational and chance statements, when they are off their guard and free from self-consciousness.

of an effort to develop an agonized feeling of utter unworthiness combined with an overwhelming sense of guilt and fear of eternal torture. Thus was created a mounting tide of emotion—in many an intense and prolonged inner struggle—that would finally break in surrender of the will followed by profound emotional release.

Only as these factors are recognized is it possible to understand what at this distance in time, with the wide contrast in theological point of view that the passing of more than a century has brought, seem to be at points crude, almost superstitious, introspective descriptions; excessive feelings of guilt; and unreal, almost hysterical expressions of feeling.

An instantaneous, cataclysmic conversion often has been described as the typical Methodist experience. Among examples is that of John Lee, who believed himself to have been instantaneously converted on July 13, 1787, in his seventeenth year. After a period of conviction and "broken hearted" penitence he left the house of "the widow Heath" where a Methodist meeting had been held and went into the woods alone. Here he

fell upon his face and wept, and mourned, saying '*Save, Lord, or I perish.*' While he was thus praying, as he expressed it, 'I saw the Comforter coming to my relief, and it greatly pleased me, and the Comforter said unto me, the Lord has heard thy prayer, and changed thy heart, *go in peace and sin no more*; and immediately I arose from the earth and rejoiced in spirit.'

"Thus," adds Jesse Lee, "was his mourning turned into joy in a moment."⁷²

An experience somewhat similar was that of Orceneth Fisher, who in a ministerial life of more than fifty years (1821–79) rendered heroic service in helping to establish Methodism in Texas and on the Pacific Coast, and has left an account of the manner of his conversion. His earliest religious impressions were received when he was about seven years old. Later, sometime before his seventeenth year he became deeply convinced of sin.

This conviction was the direct work of the Spirit of God upon my heart while at work by myself in the field. Such a flood of light all at once, (while I was musing) poured into me as fully revealed to me what I was, w[h]ither I was going, and what must be the fearful consequences if I still refused to be reconciled to God! I stood amazed, confounded, bewildered, and greatly terrified. I could not work, I could scarcely see for a time! . . . I tremble[d] in myself, and resolved to give myself to God at once and enter into his service.⁷³

In contrast to these cases a study of the diaries and autobiographies of the early Methodists will show that many conversions were a process of gradual transition extending over weeks or months, sometimes over years. One of the most interesting accounts of the inner religious life from childhood to early manhood is that of William Capers. His first religious awakening occurred at a Camp Meeting in his sixteenth year:

At this meeting I became clearly convinced that there was an actual, veritable power of God's grace in persons . . . known to me, by which they were brought to repentance and a new life; . . .

He felt a desire that he "might become a partaker of the benefit" yet he kept aloof.

I was conscious of no painful conviction of sin; no working of godly sorrow; no extraordinary sense of guilt; no action of repentance.

But as he was going to bed that night he was suddenly arrested with the thought of his spiritual responsibility.

I fell on my knees and continued all night in prayer to God. Returning home, I occupied myself, for several weeks, with nothing else but devotion. My whole time was given to reading the Scriptures, meditation, and prayer. And yet while I never distrusted the certainty of the great truths . . . there was no one point of time at which I was enabled to realize their fulfillment in my own case.

Feeling himself "at the best . . . but a servant, not a son" he became remiss in his devotions and participated in social pleasures and in recreation which he felt to be serious indiscretions. Two years later he left college and became a student of law. In this same year he was much influenced by the conversion of his sister and brother-in-law. One evening while under this influence his father engaged him in conversation:

he expressed himself in a few brief words, to the effect that he felt himself to have been for a long time in a backslidden state, and that he must forthwith acknowledge the grace of God in his children, or perish. His words were few but they were enough. I sank to my knees and burst into tears at the utterance of them, he read the 103d. Psalm, and then he kneeled down and prayed as if he felt indeed that life or death, heaven or hell, depended on the issue. That was the hour of grace and mercy—grace restored to my father . . . and mercy to me God had visited me indeed. The flinty rock had been smitten, and gave forth water; and I, even I, had access to a throne of mercy for the Redeemer's sake. Blackstone was laid aside and the Bible became again my one book.⁷⁴

Shortly afterward he united with the Methodist Church, laid aside his frills and ruffles, and became an Exhorter.*

The religious experience of Robert R. Roberts, elected to the episcopacy in 1816, seems to have been a process of gradual growth during childhood, reaching its culmination in his fourteenth year (1792), unattended by any highly emotional or cataclysmic elements. He reports simply:

One day about sunrise in the month of May, I was in a corner of the fence praying, when, I humbly trust, my sins were pardoned, and God, for Christ's sake, accepted me. Before that time, I had frequently had sweet intimations of the goodness and mercy of the Lord. My heart was tender, and I felt as if I could love God and his people. But yet, until that morning, my mind was not at rest.

* For further particulars on the religious experience of William Capers, see p. 319.

Then everything seemed changed. Nature wore a new aspect, as I arose and went to my work with cheerfulness; though, I own, I did not then know whether I had received all that I should look for in conversion. I never had such alarming views of my condition as some have experienced. My mind was gradually opened; and although I had always led a moral life, I firmly believed that my heart must be changed. Owing to my youth I cannot now remember the precise day of my conversion, though the scene as it occurred that morning, has ever been deeply printed on my memory.⁷⁵

The conversion experiences of Capers and Roberts, and many others which were in the same category, differed not only in their gradualness but also in their evenness and in absence of violent emotional agitations. But the more significant fact is that the end result in attitudes and character cannot be differentiated from the other types described.

The time factor in conversion was not regarded by the early Methodist leaders as an element of prime importance. Considered to be far more essential were the reality and quality of the experience, evidence that the seeker had come into saving contact with God as shown by change in conduct and character. But among some a tendency gradually developed to magnify the significance of sudden conversion and to insist that unless the professing Christian could testify to instantaneous transformation, indicating the precise time and place, the experience was lacking in genuineness. In Class meetings the members often were pressed to describe the exact circumstances of the great change, a practice that discouraged some, and with others tended to result in artificiality of form—if not hypocrisy—in the testimonies that they offered. This is not to say that Class Leaders consciously urged their members to testify to a particular type of experience which they did not actually possess, but rather that the continual holding up of that type as something supremely to be desired and the listening to the oft-repeated testimonies of others to its possession tended to make imaginative persons think that their own experience corresponded to that which had been made familiar by frequent repetition.

The case of Thomas A. Morris presents certain factors differing from any thus far described. From early childhood "he took a deep interest in every thing pertaining to the worship of God" but his parents though devoted Baptists did not "encourage their children to make a public profession of faith in Christ." As a result Morris during his early adolescent years "stifled his convictions of sin," lost his desire to become a Christian, "learned many evil practices," and became skeptical of religion. In his eighteenth year he again began "to take the general subject of religion under more serious consideration, and to form resolutions to break off from his worst sins." In his nineteenth year, after much reflection, he resolved "to halt no longer between two opinions, but to consecrate his service fully to the living God."

As soon as this great decision was reached, he fell on his knees, and, for the first time in his life, tried to pray. . . . As he did so now, his feelings were peculiar and awful. His chief difficulty was the want of that pungent conviction which is so necessary in the process of conversion; nor could he exercise that simple trust in Christ as the only and sufficient Savior. For about six months he sought religion in secret, carefully concealing his purpose and state of mind from his friends.

In the summer of 1813 at a Camp Meeting a sermon by David Young on the "Parable of the Sower" deepened his religious feeling.

From that time he sought with increased diligence and earnestness; secret prayer was his constant refuge; conviction increased, godly sorrow was deepened, and the hope of final success began to revive.

He borrowed a Methodist *Discipline*, studied it and compared it with the New Testament, and finally decided to unite with the Church, which he did in August, 1813. His religious convictions now became intensely deepened.

A sense of guilt as a sinner against God, and the fear of the wrath to come, caused him now many sleepless nights, spent mostly in an agony of prayer, sometimes in his chamber, and sometimes on the cold ground, in the dark and silent woods. This great mental distress, however, gradually subsided, as he, by faith, slowly apprehended Christ and the glorious provision he had made for sinners.

For a time his faith and emotions alternated between confidence and doubt, light and darkness. While in this state of mind and heart the minister on the Guyandot Circuit, Ohio Conference, where Morris held his membership, appointed him a Class Leader. Shortly afterward he began holding prayer meetings among his neighbors; on February 1, 1814, was given an Exhorter's license; and in March a license to preach. In November, 1815, with approval of the Presiding Elder, he was engaged by the Rev. John Dew "to take employment as his colleague" on the Guyandot Circuit. From this account given by his biographer, the Rev. John F. Marlay, it seems apparent that his conversion was a process of gradual change as under the influence of the Spirit and participation in Christian activities he was led step by step into full assurance of his acceptance with God. His experience is an excellent illustration of the principle enunciated by Jesus: "If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know . . ."—a principle often acted upon by the preachers in enlisting recruits for the ministry.⁷⁶

Psychologists of the latter years of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries concluded on the basis of scientific investigation that conversion is predominantly an adolescent phenomenon.* It is to be noted at this point that extant Methodist diaries and autobiographies seem to confirm their findings. With few exceptions the preachers whose journals are in existence

* Sydney G. Dimond as a result of his study concluded that conversion in the British Wesleyan Revival was largely an adult phenomenon.—*The Psychology of the Methodist Revival* . . . , pp. 164f.

experienced conversion before they were thirty years of age, a majority before they were twenty. It would be a mistake however to infer from this that a majority of all Methodist conversions occurred in early life. In Circuit revivals and Camp Meetings many thousands of persons were converted concerning whose age no data exist. It seems safe to assume that in the frontier revivals a majority of the converts were of mature age since many had lived for years in unchurched settlements without opportunity of hearing the Gospel message.

What actually takes place in the inner life of one who experiences a religious awakening only the subject himself can describe. What his description connotes to another person whose interest is scientific or philosophical is less important than what it means to him, his family, his neighbors, and to society. Language is at best an imperfect medium for conveying meanings, and the degree of its inadequacy varies in proportion to the range of the person's knowledge and his expertness in its use. The final test of a conversion experience is in its fruits.

In other words, the essential characteristic of Christian conversion is the completeness of the transformation, its resulting maturity and strength of character. The questions to be asked in judging the authenticity of conversions in early American Methodism, as in every other era and sphere of Christian history, are such as these: in what did the changes consist? Did fear, disquiet, anxiety, disharmony in personal relations, anger, malice, jealousy, hatred, cruelty, selfishness, give place to faith, confidence, joy, sympathy, peace, love, gentleness, meekness, unselfishness, and a purpose to live a life of service? To what extent has the whole character and mode of life of the professedly converted person been changed? Judged by these tests many of the criticisms of narratives of Methodist conversion seem pointless. The evidence of decisive change in characters and lives is too clear to be gainsaid.* Not only to the subjects of the experience but also to others (1) the very self was profoundly changed; (2) the change seemed "not to be wrought by the subject but upon him" by a power greater than himself; (3) the subject's whole world acquired new meaning; (4) the change included a new sense of freedom and power, an enlargement of the self, and attainment of a higher level of life both in a spiritual sense (relation to God) and in relations with others.⁷⁷

* A better comment on strictures on Methodist conversions could scarcely be made than that of Leslie F. Church concerning animadversions on the diary records of Wesleyan converts in Britain: "The crisis was of supreme importance to the individual concerned, and since it changed the rest of his life he can be forgiven for dwelling on the small details which seem to a later generation boring and egocentric. A fair estimate can only be obtained by considering the life as a whole. What kind of a man did the converted person become? Did he remain self-centred or did the transformation send him out to 'brother all mankind'? In the majority of cases the answer would be that the 'conversion' affected his whole life afterwards. . . . The fact that his personal journal, so often, spoke less of his subsequent service is surely to the writer's credit. To record one's own good deeds is not the habit of a real Christian. This means, then, not only that such journals must be read in their entirety, but also that they must be considered in their proper setting and, wherever possible, checked by external evidence of a life well-lived."—*The Early Methodist People*, p. 113.

Early Methodist revivalism was open to criticism, as we later emphasize, at the point of excessive emotionalism. That many of the conversion experiences possessed marked emotional content is undisputed. Emotion plays a significant part in most, if not all, of the major experiences of life. The important question was whether in a particular case the emotional factor was disproportionate, with the ethical and volitional factors crowded into the background, or perhaps given no part whatever. The fatal weakness of this type of conversion was that when the high tide of emotion had passed—as it was certain to do, sooner or later—little, if anything, that was vital remained. Even worse, in many cases the passing of the intense emotion resulted in a feeling on the part of the convert that he had been deluded, and in an accompanying reaction against all religion.

In what was probably a majority of cases Methodist conversions had significant ethical content.* Many of the adult converts—particularly on the frontier—were hardened characters, some addicted to vice and crime of the most serious kinds. For these, conversion was a complete life-changing process. Drunkards became sober men. Wife-beaters were changed into affectionate husbands. Gamblers forsook the gaming table to engage in honest employment. Usurers and drivers of hard bargains gave up their dishonest practices. Highwaymen who made their living by assaults on emigrant wagons turned from violence to peaceful pursuits. And that such changes as these were wrought appeared, as Wesley declared, “not from their shedding tears,” nor “falling into fits,” nor “crying out,” but “from the whole tenor of their life, till then, many ways wicked; from that time holy, just, and good.” Many were the persons who went out from Methodist meetings not only with new songs in their mouths, but with new purposes in their hearts, and with power to live in accordance with their new ideals.

PERFECT LOVE

The Methodist Way in Christian experience is not fulfilled in conversion. A conscious experience of sins forgiven and of acceptance with God is the first stage, but only the first. The second is the experience of wholeness, or as Wesley phrased it, the experience of becoming not “almost Christians” but “altogether Christians.” This the early Methodists insisted: that the experience of perfect love, equally with the experience of conversion, is a basic and central requirement of Christianity as an ethic of life.†

More often than not sanctification (holiness; perfect love; perfection) is

* One hundred and thirty-two conversion experiences described in John Wesley's *Journal*, Volumes I-V, have been studied by Sydney G. Dimond. In this number Dimond found 89.4 per cent in which the emotional content was stressed and 92.4 per cent in which a distinct ethical element was described. (*The Psychology of the Methodist Revival*, p. 163.) It is unfortunate that there does not exist among the primary sources of information on early American Methodism a parallel to Wesley's penetrating, analytical description of conversions in the Wesleyan revivals.

† For definition of perfect love, see Vol. I, xxiii f.

principally discussed by theologians as a creedal article. Their chief interest is in sanctification as a doctrine. But the American Circuit Riders were much more concerned with it as an inestimable and necessary element of Christian experience in its fullness and richness—the final and irrefutable evidence of the free grace of God in Jesus Christ. This experience Wesley had held, sometimes was instantaneous: in a moment by a simple act of faith the great gift was bestowed, the heart cleansed of all evil tempers, and perfection in love wrought in the soul. With others the experience was gradual, a growth in Christlikeness over a period of weeks or months or years, but still in its final consummation the free gift of God.

Under the various names by which it was designated the experience was presented and the importance of its realization urged by the preachers. Considering the variety of terms used in Wesley's writings it is not strange that there was a lack of clarity and some contradictions in their presentation. "I know that . . . [the early preachers] always, from the beginning of their ministry," wrote Nathan Bangs, "held it prominently before their hearers, not only as a privilege, but as a duty, to be 'holy in all manner of conversation.'" In 1793 Asbury recorded in his *Journal*:⁷⁸

I have found by secret search, that I have not preached sanctification as I should have done: if I am restored, this shall be my theme more pointedly than ever, God being my helper.

"Restored" evidently referred to restoration to physical health, since he went on to state that he had been "sick upwards of four months" although he had not permitted illness to interfere with itinerating, having ridden "not less than three thousand miles."⁷⁹

In 1811, writing to Thomas Coke, he said, "I hope you excel me in everything that is good. O let us preach inward and outward holiness in all its branches."⁸⁰

Testimonies to the experience are numerous in journals and autobiographies. On March 28, 1761, in his twenty-fifth year, the coveted gift came to Richard Whatcoat:

Suddenly I was stript of all but love. I was all love, and prayer and praise. And in this happy state, rejoicing evermore, and in everything giving thanks, I continued for some years; wanting nothing for soul or body, more than I received from day to day.

Twenty-nine years later he wrote, "I Bless God For almost an uninterrupted peace and Communion with God" through the course of the last year.⁸¹

Thomas Rankin's *Life* contains numerous expressions of his longing for holiness, for full conformity to God's will, of desire to love God with "all . . . [his] soul, mind, and strength," of prayer to be filled "with all the fulness of

God." Finally he found it possible to record an instantaneous answer to his petitions :

I was meeting with a few Christian friends, who were all athirst for entire holiness, and after several had prayed, I also called on the name of the 'Deliverer' While these words were pronounced with my heart and lips, 'Are we not, O Lord, the purchase of thy blood? let us then be redeemed from all iniquity,' in a moment the power of God so descended upon my soul, that I could pray no more. . . . The language of my heart every moment was, 'O what has Jesus done for me!'⁸²

Like Wesley, Asbury guarded himself against definitely claiming the experience of perfect love. Repeatedly he expressed his longing of soul for entire devotion and deeper spirituality. On shipboard, looking forward to his missionary service in America, he wrote :

As to my own mind, I long and pray, that I may be more spiritual. But in this I comfort myself that my intention is upright, and that I have the cause of God at heart. But I want to stand complete in all the will of God, 'holy as he that hath called me is holy, in all manner of conversation.' At times I can retire and pour out my soul to God, and feel some meltings of heart. My spirit mourns, and hungers, and thirsts, after entire devotion.⁸³

In *Francis Asbury, the Prophet of the Long Road*, one of the best of the several studies of Asbury's life and work, Ezra S. Tipple expresses the judgment that "no man ever lived who more steadfastly yearned after holiness than Francis Asbury. Early and late, . . . everywhere and always, he hungered for holiness."⁸⁴

On at least two occasions he seemed to be on the verge of asserting the fulfillment of his longing :

Tuesday, 14 [June, 1774]. My heart seems wholly devoted to God, and he favours me with power over all outward and inward sin.

[October, 1791.] . . . I am afraid of losing the sweetness I feel: for months past I have felt as if in the possession of perfect love; not a moment's desire of anything but God.⁸⁵

Benjamin Abbott, who dated his conversion precisely as having taken place on October 11, 1772, after about two years of intensive, remarkably successful evangelistic service in New Jersey, resolved to seek the higher grace of sanctification. His house was a preaching place, Abbott says, and when Daniel Ruff came and preached "in the morning, in family prayer, he prayed that God would sanctify us soul and body."

I repeated these words after him, 'Come, Lord, and sanctify me, soul and body!' That moment the Spirit of God came upon me in such a manner that I fell flat to the floor. I had not power to lift hand or foot, nor yet to speak one word; I believe I lay half an hour, and felt the power of God running through every part

of my soul and body, like fire consuming the inward corruptions of fallen, depraved nature. When I arose and walked out of the door, and stood pondering these things in my heart, it appeared to me that the whole creation was praising God . . . and I felt a love for all the creatures that God had made, and an uninterrupted peace filled my breast.⁸⁶

In the evening of February 6, 1801, in his twenty-third year, in a company of his Christian friends, Nathan Bangs knelt in prayer. He says:

I felt an unusually earnest spirit of devotion. . . . When I commenced [praying], my emotions deepened, my desire for a pure heart became intense, and my faith grew stronger and stronger. My supplications were importunate, so that I know not how long I continued to pray. When I ceased I sank down into an inexpressible calmness, as lying passive at the feet of God. I felt relieved and comforted, as though I had been 'cleansed from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit.' I had no extraordinary rapture All my inward distress was gone. . . .

I here simply relate the facts as they occurred. The change in my nature was as evident to me as had been my justification. Whatever name others may attach to this gracious experience, I believe I was then sanctified by the Spirit of God mercifully given unto me.⁸⁷

What proportion of Methodist converts went on from the first to the second stage of experience in the Methodist Way it is impossible to determine. In reporting Camp Meetings Asbury and others sometimes stated both the number of converts and of those "sanctified."

Monday, [November] 10 [1806]. . . . I received a letter from Daniel Hitt, giving an account of the Long-Calm camp-meeting, in Maryland; it held from the eighth to the fourteenth of October; five hundred and eighty were said to be converted, and one hundred and twenty believers confirmed and sanctified.⁸⁸

Specific estimates of comparative numbers are too few to furnish a basis of comparison. From such scanty records as exist it seems clear that the total who professed to have been made perfect in love was a minority only, both of preachers and people. This is the judgment of Nathan Bangs, one of the most dependable of early Methodist historians:

But did they [the preachers] all profess to enjoy . . . [the experience of holiness]? They did not; nor did the members of the Church. Some did, both among preachers and people; but I believe a majority did not. Many of the preachers preached it more as a theory, than as something which they knew from their own experience; while all, who were rightly instructed, and were sincere believers in its attainableness, professed to be 'groaning after it.' This, I believe, has been the general state of the Church from its beginning,

To this statement Bangs adds the comment, "This lack in the ministry and the membership was always a defect painfully manifest."⁸⁹

One obvious reason why only a minority professed perfection in love was that not all who sought the experience attained to it. On February 1, 1783, Thomas Haskins wrote in his "Journal":

[I] have felt but little access to God for these several days past. . . . My soul mourns under a sense of her impurity before her God. Oh when shall I feel an end of sin in my soul, and the kingdom fully fixed within.⁹⁰

While pastor at Raleigh, North Carolina, Melville B. Cox recorded in his "Journal" his intense longing:

I do not think that I am sanctified, but I am 'groaning for it.' I want a *holy heart*. And He who has begotten the struggle for it, I trust, will grant it unto me. *I want to know all that a man can know of God and live . . .*

Shortly afterward, writing to his brother in April 21, 1831, he said:

I am not sanctified. Of this I am *certain*. But I am still seeking for it, and by the grace of God, I will till I die. I have, however, some power over even the 'motions of sin.' When tempted I pray, and am generally *immediately* delivered.⁹¹

Not all who claimed the experience of perfect love exemplified it in practice. Wesley acknowledged this in stinging words. Some, he said, who professed it "made the very name of Perfection to stink in the nostrils."⁹² Asbury likewise was keenly aware of deficiencies of character and conduct in some of his preachers but he passed on them no such severe strictures as did Wesley.⁹³

While some quite evidently made extravagant claims, others were mistaken in their interpretation, and still others were plain imposters, there were too many whose humble, sincere testimony to the experience and whose lives verified their words for it either to be ignored or denied. This, certainly, their character and daily conduct demonstrated: that there is an experience of God's grace and saving power available for those who seek it with all their hearts which expresses itself in a quality and degree of love far above the level of life as lived by the ordinary Christian.

Sanctification as exemplified in the lives of the early Methodists had its negative side. All of the ordinary worldly pleasures forbidden by the *Discipline* they forswore without complaint: dancing, the theater, games of all sorts, the reading of novels,* ornaments of dress—even frills, ruffles, and gay ribbons—and the use of snuff and tobacco. These deprivations were inwrought with the Methodist tradition as it had been handed down to them: theirs not to reason why, but implicitly to obey, and obey they did, particularly all those who professed holiness. But it is a mistake to assume that they were sour or gloomy, or that their religion made them morose or melancholy.†

* The book lists of some of the preachers included romance and history as well as sermons and theology. "Wesley himself," W. E. Sangster reminds us, "was never completely incarcerated, inasmuch as he went to a concert occasionally in the eventide of his life He actually left a Shakespeare annotated in his own hand. But an effort was made to cover these 'delinquencies.' One of his successors at the Chapel in City Road, John Pawson, burned the Shakespeare as a thing 'which tended not to edification.'"—*The Path to Perfection* . . . , p. 91.

† A majority of the preachers possessed common sense as well as piety. Edward T. Taylor one Sunday morning when Jenny Lind happened to be present was preaching a sermon on amusements. Robert Collyer tells of the incident: "I am not sure he knew she was there . . . [but] paid a glowing tribute to 'the sweetest singer that ever alighted on our shores,' and to her modesty and charity. The sweet singer was leaning forward listening in delight, when a very tall man sitting on the pulpit stairs rose up slowly. When Father Taylor had come to the close of his eulogy the stranger

Too many of the Methodists, in common with a majority of non-Methodists—religionists and people of no religion—were characterized by a lack of aesthetic appreciation. Like Wesley and Calvin, Asbury was oblivious of the beauties of nature. His *Journal* has numberless complaints of the difficulties imposed by swamps, mud roads, and mountain trails but few words of appreciation of the rhododendron, azalea, and magnolia that in spring and summer turned the roads and trails into a path of glory. It is a striking illustration of the blind spots in human nature at its best.

ASSURANCE

By the Methodists assurance—the witness of the Spirit—was generally believed to be an integral element of the experience of conversion and of perfect love. Assurance was the culmination in the conversion experience of many, as recorded in their journals. Of these, two examples must suffice. William Capers writes:

A love-feast was held on Sunday morning at 9 o'clock. . . . I first found myself strongly affected on seeing one and another refused admission by the preacher at the door At first I felt as if I too had no right to be there. It was a meeting for Christians only, and without the witness of adoption I could not claim that title. . . . Was there any thing lacking to me which Christ could not give? . . . And why was I so long without the witness of adoption, except only for my unbelief? Faith that should trust him to bestow his grace, would honor him more than the unbelief that doubted of his doing so much. All this and much more was presented to my mind in an instant, and I felt an indescribable yearning after faith. Yes, I felt much more: there came with it such a prevailing apprehension (or should I not call it manifestation?) of Christ as a present Saviour, *my present Saviour*, that to believe seemed to imply no effort. I could not but believe. I saw it, as it were, and I felt it, and knew it, that Christ was mine, that I had received of the Spirit through him, and was become a child of God.⁹⁴

Benjamin Abbott testifies that his experience of perfect love was soon followed by complete assurance.

In three days God gave me a full assurance that he had sanctified me, soul and body. *'If a man love me, he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him,'* John XIV, 23. Which I found day by day manifested to my soul, by the witness of his Spirit.⁹⁵

Occasional entries in the journals of early preachers indicate that some failed to realize the full assurance that they held out to others as the privilege of all who with repentance and faith accept the promise of the Gospel. Under date of March 4, 1790, William Colbert recorded this almost despairing plaint in his "Journal":

wanted to know whether a person who died at one of Jenny Lind's concerts would go to heaven. The old man glared at him some moments—not many—and then said: 'A good man will go to heaven, sir, die where he may, and a fool will be a fool wherever he lives, though he sits on my pulpit stairs.'"—*Father Taylor*, pp. 27f.

I felt weak in body, and thought sometimes that I should not live long, and what was still worse I felt destitute of hope, tho I know not, that I have wilfully sin'd against God, but this I am by grace determined to do—to serve the Lord whether I am damn'd or saved.⁹⁶

In much the same strain John Kobler wrote on August 5, 1794:

[W]hat are all these toils to me if I could but enjoy the life of God in my soul. . . .

I have employed every moment of late in feeding others with the rich provision of the Gospel—and spent my strength by endeavoring to bring them to the fountain of the water of life, but alas my own soul has been starving, even with the food in my hands—and famishing as in a land where there is no water.

Lord what madness is this. My eyes run down with tears, while I write the melancholy account.⁹⁷

The character of Benjamin Lakin* was marked by humility and earnest desire to live a holy life, entirely devoted to the will of God. His "Journal" reveals his habit of constantly probing his spiritual condition and being often troubled by inner conflicts and doubts. Though he sought the experience of perfect love, he lacked assurance of having attained the object of his seeking:

Thursd. Oct. 1 [1795]. My mind is much conf[u]sed, and under sore temptation to disbelieve the Doctrine of Christian perfection.⁹⁸

Full assurance, in fact, was not by all Methodists regarded as essential to salvation.† Allen Wiley, in 1847, in a Pastoral Address to the Indiana Conference, stated:

That there is a possibility of being pardoned and regenerated without the direct witness of God's Spirit that we are in a gracious state, we will not deny; but that this witness is usually concomitant with these great blessings we most firmly believe, and it should be looked for as the blessed privilege of all who are born of God. . . . [We] express a fear that many of our people—perhaps the larger part of them—live a great portion of their time in this state of comparative darkness and uncertainty, and in a state of discomfort, in consequence of this uncertainty about their spiritual condition.⁹⁹

That large numbers of men and women, of whom probably a majority had

* Benjamin Lakin (1767–1849), born in Maryland, in 1776 removed with his widowed mother to the Redstone country in southwestern Pennsylvania where in his twenty-fourth year he was converted, it is believed under the preaching of Richard Whatcoat. As in the cases of many others of the early American itinerants he began preaching under a Presiding Elder before joining Conference. At the Holston Conference of 1795 he was admitted on trial and appointed to the Green Circuit. When about to be married, in 1798, he was located. But his urge to preach was so strong that after two years he asked to be made effective and at the first session of the Western Conference, in October, 1800, he was ordained deacon and appointed to the Limestone (Ky.) Circuit. When the Ohio Conference was formed in 1812 he was a charter member, continuing as a diligent, faithful minister until he became a supernumerary in 1817. His superannuation occurred the next year. He was frequently called upon to supply pulpits while superannuated.—*Gen'l Minutes*, IV, 385; W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* . . . , VII, 267ff.; W. W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783–1840*, IV, *The Methodists*, 202f.

† It was not so regarded by John Wesley. Note his extended statement in his well-known letter to Thomas Rutherford, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge (1745) and later Archdeacon of Essex (1752), written on March 28, 1768: "I have not for many years thought a consciousness of acceptance to be essential to justifying faith."—*Letters*, V, 359.

little or no formal education, many lacking in culture and refinement, should confidently assert that they knew their sins forgiven—some boldly adding that they had been made perfect in love—outraged the sensibilities of both the social and intellectual elite. Undoubtedly the noisy self-sufficiency reflected in many of the assertions, together with their frequency of repetition, did much to discredit Methodist testimony in the thinking of some serious-minded persons who were not basically unfriendly to religion. But neither these deficiencies nor their unfortunate results invalidate the reality of the experience. The experience of assurance was too vital in the lives of too many people, and too far-reaching in its effects on their characters and lives, to be denied on merely superficial or incidental grounds. In their emphasis upon it and its exemplification in the lives of hosts of humble, sincere men and women the Methodists did much to replace a barren religious formalism by a genuine personal experience of communion with God.

AGENCIES OF EVANGELISM

Various instrumental agencies were utilized by the Methodists as means of evangelism. Of these the Camp Meeting was the most spectacular and largely because of this fact has commonly been regarded as the principal means.* In 1810 Jesse Lee wrote :

Indeed these meetings have never been authorized by the Methodists either at their general or annual conferences. They have been allowed of; but we as a body of people, have never made any rules or regulations about them; we allow our presiding elders and travelling preachers to appoint them, when and where they please, and to conduct them in what manner they think fit.¹⁰⁰

By every test the most important and fruitful agency was the day-by-day, month-by-month, and year-by-year preaching of the Circuit Riders. Despite the thousands assembled for some of the great Camp Meetings with hundreds of conversions, far more people were reached with the Gospel message and brought to decision by the itinerants' sermons preached in the cabins, barns, and chapels scattered everywhere throughout the land. The preachers expected religious awakenings as the normal result of their everyday preaching and were sorely disappointed when they did not occur.†

Conversion and sanctification were terms sparingly used by Asbury in his *Journal* but he constantly preached searching, pointed, and moving sermons,

* William Warren Sweet: "[Many] . . . have assumed that the camp meeting represented about all there was of religious influence and activity in the West. Yet, as a matter of fact, the camp meeting was never recognized as an official Methodist institution. There was never any legislation concerning it; the name *camp meeting* does not occur in any of the General Conference *Indices*. There are no rules in the *Discipline* to govern it. It was widely used, but always as an extra occasion in the economy of Methodism. Preachers never answered any formal questions concerning it in the Quarterly Conference. Gradually there grew up certain ideas as to how camp meetings could best be organized and regulated, and camp meeting manuals came into circulation, but none of them was ever officially adopted by any church body."—*Revivalism in America* . . . , pp. 131f.

† Conversions were also expected and frequently occurred in the Class meetings and prayer meetings which followed the preaching services.

and he looked for evident results. Of this almost every page of the *Journal* affords proof. In Cornwall, Connecticut, on Saturday, July 23, 1791, he spoke to about one hundred and fifty hearers on I Peter 3:15. He records: "I had openings of mind . . ." On the following Wednesday in New Britain the people, in general, appeared unfeeling. Nevertheless, he exhorted and prayed with them and was persuaded that some were "not far from the kingdom of God." On Thursday, August 18, he experienced "a gracious season at Stoney-street [the city unnamed], amongst sinners, seekers, and believers . . ." On Monday, the twenty-ninth, in New York he "had an acceptable time, and some gracious movings." On Monday, September 5, at Monmouth, New Jersey, he noted "some stir among the people," and at Long Branch he was informed that within eighteen months "nearly fifty souls . . . [had] professed conversion." At "C - - - 's" on Friday, the sixteenth, he reported that "some [were] under awakenings."¹⁰¹

Ten years later the record is much the same. At the Kentucky Conference, Ebenezer, Tennessee, October 2-4, 1801:

On *Friday* and *Saturday evenings*, and on *Sabbath morning*, there was the noise of praise and shouting in the meeting-house. It is thought there are twenty-five souls who have found the Lord; they are chiefly the children of Methodists—the children of faith and of many prayers.

And on other occasions:

Sabbath day, 11 [October, 1801]. . . . I spoke from Isa. lvii. 6, 7, and I Cor. vii, 1. We had some quickenings.

Monday, 23 [November, 1801, Georgia]. We went forward to the widow Stuart's, . . . a cold day, but a blessed meeting which held eight hours; several were converted, and a society was formed, consisting of fifteen souls. . . .

Tuesday, 24. . . . Our meeting continued three hours, and four souls professed converting grace.¹⁰²

Another decade passed, bringing to the Bishop "weakness of body," and days and nights "of great pain and disquietude," but purpose, faith, and fruit of the message remained unchanged.

NEW-YORK.—*Sabbath*, 30 [June, 1811]. . . . I hastened to Plattsburg . . . the word was great by the power of God, although delivered in weakness of body: . . .

OHIO.—*Sabbath*, 8 [September, 1811]. I preached, and others preached, and there were . . . not a few deep and sound conversions.

MARYLAND.—*Sabbath*, 29 [March, 1812]. Easter Sunday. I was three hours reading, praying, preaching, and meeting the society, white and coloured; it was a day of God and of his power.¹⁰³

After preaching "six or seven years" William Watters testified that he "seldom preached in . . . [his] neighborhood but what . . . [God] bore wit-

ness to the word of his grace, and gave . . . [him] seals to . . . [his] ministry."¹⁰⁴

In his "Journal" for January, 1790, Thomas Morrell* stated:

On the 4th of this month a revival began in the prayer meetings, and on the 12th it broke out in the Church & continued with some small intermissions until the latter end of February, in this time about 200 joined Society, perhaps about 400 . . . were converted in 8 weeks, many of those joined afterwards & from this revival we may date the prosperity of our Church in New York—very few of them fell away—the most continue faithful members to this day. Feb. 1794.

In May, 1799, Morrell was appointed to the Light Street Church in Baltimore, with Fell's Point as an out appointment, where he served for two years. When he left he reported 1,315 members, an increase of 333, "most of whom," he said, "we have reason to believe were converted to God."¹⁰⁵

In a letter dated June 20, 1800, presumably written to Asbury, George Kinard wrote:

On the sabbath after you left here [Duck Creek, Delaware], about one hundred and nine came forward, and begged to be admitted to our society. They were directed to meet two days after, to be taken in; when they, and six others, joined society; many of whom were soundly converted to God, and the principal part of the others deeply penitent, and seeking for mercy; since which two others have applied, making in all one hundred and seventeen souls, in and about this little village. We had previously joined fifty souls since the commencement of the New-Year, making in the whole one hundred and sixty-seven: so that we have now about three hundred members in this small town, and the work still going on.¹⁰⁶

Many other letters offer similar testimony concerning the results of the itinerants' weekday and Sunday preaching, and their ministrations in Quarterly Meetings. John Brodhead† wrote on May 18, 1801, that at the little town of Athens, Connecticut, he had preached "on Tuesday to a large congregation in the open air," awakening such interest that he was solicited "to preach again the next day, read the rules, and form a class." He did so "and eighty-three came forward and joined society." William Colbert wrote on November 26, 1802, that at the first Quarterly Meeting of the year on the Albany (New York) Circuit "three professed to experience sanctification, and two to be justified," and that at another Quarterly Meeting at Salis-

* Thomas Morrell (1747-1838) was admitted on trial in 1787 and appointed to the Elizabethtown (N. J.) Circuit. He served in the American Revolution and was severely wounded in the battle of Long Island. Converted in 1783, he soon afterward began preaching and became an "eminently useful" minister, laboring principally in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. He preached "as one having authority"; and God owned his word to the edification of the church, and conversion of many souls."—*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 669.

† John Brodhead (1794-1838) was this year (1801) Presiding Elder of the New London (Conn.) District. A native of Pennsylvania, he was admitted on trial to the traveling ministry in 1794 and assigned to the Northumberland (Pa.) Circuit. The next year he was appointed to the Readfield (Maine) Circuit. For forty-two years he served in the ministry in New England. He had also a distinguished career in civic and political life. Bishop Elijah Hedding characterized him as "an extensive reader," a "close thinker," and "an able minister of the New Testament."—W. B. Sprague, *op. cit.*, VII, 239ff.

bury, while "nothing very remarkable" occurred at the time, preachers later told him they believed it to have "been a means of an hundred souls being converted." Writing from the "Alexandria District," September 18, 1803, Daniel Hitt,* the Presiding Elder, reported that at "Berkley . . . a large concourse of people" were present and that "ten or twelve professed to find him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write." He continued :

When I returned to the neighbourhood of Rector-town, I found the good seed sown springing up, and bearing the precious fruits of repentance, faith, and holiness, . . . the society had increased nearly three times the number it had been formerly.¹⁰⁷

The *Journal* of Heman Bangs affords evidence that his ministry from week to week bore abundant fruit in conversions :

September 20 [1840].—Preached in the morning at Duane St. [New York City] and in the afternoon and evening at my own church—afterwards, prayer-meeting. Several mourners were at the altar; God did own His word.

November 1 [1840].—. . . A full house, and a good prayer-meeting in the evening. Several deeply penitent at the altar; among them an aged, grey-headed man.

November 8 [1840].—Our prayer-meeting in the evening was attended with divine power. Twelve persons were at the altar for prayers.

November 15.—In the afternoon preached to a multitude of people on perfect love, and God was in His word. In the evening preached again on the fruits of perfect love: the power of God was present in the prayer-meeting that followed, and several found the Lord.¹⁰⁸

Examples of religious awakenings under the influence of the day-by-day preaching of the Circuit Riders might be indefinitely extended. Enough have been cited effectively to contravene the popular tradition that the Methodist Church during its first three-quarters of a century recruited its membership chiefly by sweeping people "off their feet by tidal waves of uncontrolled emotion." Such was not the case either in Britain or in America.¹⁰⁹

"All religions which move men profoundly and make them able to endure the world's crucifixions," says Rufus M. Jones, "have some method of bringing God and men together in a face to face experience." It was precisely this that the Circuit Riders attempted and had no small success in achieving. Their primary concern was not for theological arguments or, as Jones says concerning the Quakers, for "sermons which began and ended on the level of logic—or 'knowledge about.'" Quakers and Methodists had this in common :

* Daniel Hitt (? -1825), a native of Virginia, was admitted on trial in 1790 and assigned to the Lancaster (Pa.) Circuit. In 1792 he traveled the Ohio Circuit and in 1796 was appointed Presiding Elder over a District which included nearly the entire Methodist area west of the Alleghenies. In 1808 he was elected Assistant Book Agent, and from 1810 to 1816 served as principal Book Agent. In 1816 he was again appointed Presiding Elder, continuing to serve in that capacity, with the exception of one year, until his death. He was a man of heroic mold and shunned no post, no matter how laborious or severe, to which he was assigned.—*Methodist Magazine*, IX (November, 1826), 439f.; W. B. Sprague, *op. cit.*, VII, 184f.

both "were eager for a direct 'knowledge of acquaintance'—an experience which made their hearts burn with a sense of the Divine Presence."¹¹⁰

That the Circuit preachers' weekday meetings always brought crowds of people together is, however, a mistaken idea. Asbury occasionally mentions preaching to great companies, as at Charlestown, Virginia, on Sunday, August 30, 1801, where he says he "preached under the shady oaks to perhaps fifteen hundred people," and at "Rockingham quarterly meeting, held in Harrisonburg" on September 5 and 6, where many "came from far, although the heat was very great." But he also refers to other occasions when few attended, as at Augusta, Georgia, on November 13, where, he says, "congregations are small," and at an unnamed location on December 9, where he "preached to a few people in a solitary place amongst the pines."¹¹¹ Of all the early Circuit Riders Thomas Haskins is most frequent in complaint of a paucity of hearers. His "Journal" for January, 1783, has entries stating that at four different appointments he preached "to a few"; on January 27, 1785, that he rode five miles to Jesters and "nobody came."¹¹² Frequently, also, preachers had to contend against apathy and spiritual deadness. Many times they were tempted to succumb to discouragement because their most earnest efforts seemed only to be met by indifference. Appointed to the Long Island (New York) Circuit in 1789, on Tuesday, June 9, at Comb's, John Lee found the twenty persons who came together "rather dull and flat in religion." At his appointment on Monday, the twenty-second, finding four women present to hear him preach where but two had attended when he was there before, he recorded in his "Journal" "if our congregation should continue to increase in this manner, we may have a good company of hearers after a while." He found "most of the meetings" during the week beginning July 1 rather dull. In the course of the week beginning July 19 he preached several times but "complained of much deadness among the people, and of too little life in preaching to them."¹¹³ In November he was transferred from Long Island to the New Rochelle Circuit.

Second in importance as a means of evangelism in early American Methodism was what may be broadly termed revivalism. Revivals of religion have been a recurrent phenomenon throughout the entire history of Christianity, periods when tides of new spiritual energy have been released with regenerative effect both in the lives of large numbers of individuals and in society. Revivalism cannot therefore be said to be peculiar to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, much less to American evangelicalism. What can be said is that in its modern form it is distinctive of American Protestantism. Nothing can be found in European Christianity which corresponds in form, prevalence, or effects to the American revivals of the period of which we write.¹¹⁴

In his study of American revivalism William Warren Sweet distinguishes two distinct types. "Presbyterian-Congregational revivalism" was based on Calvinistic doctrines. It could be expected to be successful only among people well "instructed in 'the truths of the Bible'" and "carefully taught by catechizing." Because of this limitation it had only a restricted appeal, and offered salvation to the few. The second type, which prevailed among the Methodists and to some extent among other sects, was predominantly Arminian in emphasis and offered salvation to all* without restriction.¹¹⁵

The earliest Methodist revivals occurred in local Societies and in groups of Societies of a Circuit, frequently in connection with Quarterly Meetings, sometimes spreading from Circuit to Circuit over a wide area.†

At the Conference of 1775 William Watters was appointed to the Frederick Circuit, Maryland.¹¹⁶ Two months after beginning his work on the Circuit he wrote:

In July we were blessed with a gracious revival in the lower part of the circuit, which spread all around and continued increasing to the end of my stay. . . . There was not a week for a considerable time but what there were more or less happily brought to know the Lord, frequently two or three at a meeting. . . . This flame not only spread amongst poor sinners, but amongst professors also I spent six months in this circuit, and believe that scores were added to the Lord, of such as were saved from sin.¹¹⁷

The nationwide revival of religion which began about 1798 and continued throughout the first decade of the nineteenth century—particularly the Great Awakening in the West—has been associated in popular thought with the rise of Camp Meetings. But the most significant feature of the awakening was the uncounted number of revivals in local communities. It was the quickening of religious interest in the local centers that made possible the great assemblies of thousands of people at the Camp Meetings. The Methodist records give evidence of hundreds of revivals on Circuits in the West, South, and East in which scores—in some cases hundreds—of conversions were registered. Shadrach Bostwick, Presiding Elder in Connecticut, in December, 1799, wrote of "some of the most glorious times" that he had ever seen in New England:

At our Middle Haddam quarterly meeting . . . the Lord came down in mighty power! Many were struck and fell from their seats prostrate upon the floor, crying in bitter agonies, some for converting, and others for sanctifying grace! The New-London friends carried the flame into the city, and this brought on a quickening there; about sixteen members joined in one day, and many more in the circuit.

* W. W. Sweet: "The preachers of the Great Awakening sought to reach all classes of men; slaves as well as masters; poor as well as rich; ignorant as well as learned. They knew no social distinctions. To them all were on the same plane; all were sinners and in need of a Saviour, whose grace alone availed. Thus the revivals were a great leveling force in American colonial society; they sowed the basic seeds of democracy more widely than any other single influence."—*Op. cit.*, p. 41.

† For accounts of early Circuit revivals consult Vol. I, Index, "Revivals."

Wilson Lee wrote from Baltimore on December 30, 1800, that in Frederick Circuit about 332 had professed to find peace with God and in Montgomery 330. Continuing, he said, "the work of God is still going on in power, in both . . . circuits." Jonathan Jackson, Presiding Elder, on June 5, 1802, wrote from Caswell, North Carolina, of a glorious revival in the Roanoke Circuit:

At a quarterly meeting at Malory's meeting-house, it was the most awfully glorious season that I ever saw among sinners. I judged the congregation was about fifteen hundred. There were few sinners but what were stricken with the power of God; and many of the saints of the Most High shouted as if they had taken the kingdom.

From Iredale, North Carolina, Daniel Asbury reported on September 8, 1802, there had not been such a glorious revival on the Yadkin Circuit¹¹⁸ since its beginning. These reports were indicative of what was taking place on Methodist Circuits from west to east and from south to north.

As Stations became more numerous a modified form of the Circuit revival was developed in which morning, afternoon, and evening meetings, usually for a series of four days, were held in one church. Credit for originating the "four days' meeting" in September, 1827, is given by Nathan Bangs to the Rev. John Lord of the New England Conference who in that year was Presiding Elder of the Danville District. The period of revival was gradually lengthened from four to ten days, and later to an indefinite period.¹¹⁹ As the time span was lengthened, the number of meetings each day was decreased from three to two—afternoon and evening. On January 1, 1826, Heman Bangs—then pastor at New Haven, Connecticut—began a "protracted meeting" which continued for ninety-eight nights. In the course of this meeting one hundred and seventy persons professed conversion and "a multitude of backsliders . . . [were] reclaimed."¹²⁰ From about this time "protracted meetings" increased as a favored method of revival effort, in some sections of the Church tending to supersede Camp Meetings.

Since they were exclusively evangelistic in purpose and method Camp Meetings may properly be said to have been the most distinctive agency of revivalism of the early period.* Peculiarly adapted to the conditions of frontier life, they had their most extensive development in the New West immediately preceding and during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. So remarkable were their evangelistic results that within a few years they had spread throughout the entire Church.

Asbury's first participation in a Camp Meeting occurred in October, 1800. He refers to it in his *Journal* as "a sacramental solemnity":

Monday, 20. We came . . . to Drake's Creek meeting-house at the close of a sac-

* On the origin of Camp Meetings and particulars concerning the part played by them in the rise of Methodism in the West and South, consult Vol. I, Index.

ramental solemnity, that had been held four days by Craghead, Hodge, Rankin, M'Gee, and Mr. Adair, Presbyterian officiating ministers; . . . It is supposed there are one thousand souls present, and double that number heard the word of life on *Sunday*.

Asbury preached on "the work of God." McKendree and Whatcoat, who were traveling with him, also preached. Various features of the meeting were "of deep interest" to him. He mentions the fires "blazing here and there [which] dispelled the darkness, and the shouts of the redeemed captives, and the cries of precious souls struggling into life . . ." He found in it much to commend and nothing to criticize.¹²¹

Asbury makes no further mention of the Camp Meeting until September, 1802, and even then his reference is brief:

Friday, 17. I attended a camp-meeting [near Jonesborough, Tennessee] which continued to be held four days: there may have been fifteen hundred souls present . . . We had a shaking, and some souls felt convicting and converting grace. The heat, the restless nights, the water, or, it may be, all these combined made me sick indeed.¹²²

But from this time on his interest in Camp Meetings as an important agency of evangelism grew apace. Within a few months he was commending their use in Georgia and the Carolinas and urging the establishment of a camp ground in Maryland for the use of the Annual Conference.¹²³ In August, 1804, he wrote Zachary Myles that the Methodists "were about to introduce Camp-Meetings in the State of Jersey and New-York."¹²⁴

By 1805 his enthusiasm for them was unbounded. In South Carolina, on December 12, he wrote:

Some of my northern letters have come: they bring good news; camp-meetings at Albany, New York; at Lebanon, Vermont; in the New-Hampshire districts; all successful. But O, the wonders of Doctor Chandler's report! He says his authority bids him say, that at Duck Creek camp-meeting five hundred souls; at Accomack camp-meeting four hundred; at Annessex chapel, in the woods, two hundred; at Somerset, Line chapel, one hundred and twenty; at Todd's chapel, Dorset, two hundred; at Caroline quarterly meeting, seventy-five; all, all these profess to have received converting grace!¹²⁵

That Camp Meetings in their earliest stage on the frontier were boisterous, and were accompanied by disorderliness and irregularities of various sorts is unquestioned.* Sweet asserts that the Presbyterians among whom they arose "threw . . . [them] overboard because of their distrust of innovations and

* It has been charged by some critics that Camp Meetings were often scenes of sexual debauches stimulated by the excess of emotion that characterized them. (See Herbert Asbury, *A Methodist Saint, The Life of Bishop Asbury*, p. 254.) The charges are made without substantiating evidence and are obviously grossly exaggerated. Hangers-on who came to the assemblies with no intention of attending the religious services, some of whom engaged in gambling, horse trading, and whisky selling, were unquestionably more responsible for such sexual irregularities as may have occurred on the periphery of the Camp Meetings than was the emotionalism of the meetings.

their inability to control . . . [them]."¹²⁶ Asbury who was not over-fearful of innovations if he believed they could be effectively used to advance God's work was no friend of disorder. Shortly after he became convinced that Camp Meetings could be so used he gave attention to the development of means by which they could be brought under strict control. Evidence of this is seen in his letter written in 1804 to Daniel Hitt, Presiding Elder of the Alexandria District, Baltimore Conference :

I wish you to be singularly careful of order: sixteen or twenty men as watchmen, to have their hours of watching. I would have them to bear long, white, peeled rods, that they may [be known?] by all the camp, and be honored. Let them be the most respectable elders among the laity. Keep the preachers, travelling and local, listed; and call all upon duty. I believe, after we have established the credit of camp-meetings and animated the citizens, we must storm the devil's strongholds.¹²⁷

Within a few years the Camp Meeting was developed into a carefully planned, well-organized institution,* administered with "the utmost pains taken . . . that no disorderly conduct be allowed on the ground by either night or day."¹²⁸

Year by year the number of Camp Meetings steadily increased until by 1811 Asbury estimated that between four and five hundred were held annually.¹²⁹ By the year of his death (1816) the number had increased to six hundred or more. They were of various kinds, ranging from the mass assemblies of as many as ten thousand people from wide areas, sometimes from a radius of two hundred or more miles, to small local meetings attended by three or four score families. While all had some characteristics in common no single description accurately portrays all types.

It early became common practice to associate a Camp Meeting with the fourth Quarterly Conference of each Circuit. These were known as "annual" or "yearly Camp Meetings." In 1820 James B. Finley, at that time Presiding Elder of the Lebanon District, Ohio Conference, "wound up" his year's work "with a round of Camp Meetings," not less than five being held, at one of which "the gathering of the people was immense."¹³⁰

Occasionally the pastors of two or three contiguous Circuits would join together in conducting a union Camp Meeting. James Gilruth tells of one such in his "Journal":

Tusd June 9 [1835]. . . . About 10 our camp meeting closed. . . . This camp M. . . . was the joint labour of Ann Arbour, Tecumseh, & Ypsilanti cir-

* Charles A. Johnson: "On successive frontiers it passed through a boisterous youth, characterized by a lack of planning, extreme disorder, high-tension emotionalism, bodily excitement, and some immorality; it then moved to a more formalized stage distinguished by its planning, more effective audience management, and notable decline in excessive emotionalism. In this institutional phase the meetings were smaller in size, and highly systematized as to frequency, length, procedure of service, and location."—"The Frontier Camp Meeting: Contemporary and Historical Appraisals, 1805-1840," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXVII (1950), 1 (June), 98.

cuits—there were it was supposed between 40 & 50 converted—some also professed sanctification—¹³¹

In some sections of the West almost every Circuit had a Camp Meeting ground within its bounds. Asbury records under date of September 24, 1809:

In Miami district [Ohio Conference] seventeen camp-meetings in the year: in Scioto circuit four; Hockhocking two; Deer Creek two; Mad River three; White Water two; Cincinnati two; and White two.¹³²

Six days later he adds, "that the list may be complete, seventeen camp meetings for Indiana district." S. R. Beggs tells of having attended during the Conference year 1825–26 four Camp Meetings, "two on my own [Circuit], one on Connersville Circuit, and the other one mile east of Indianapolis."¹³³

Throughout the South Camp Meetings were numerous. Bennett writes of vast numbers attending meetings in 1825 and 1827 in Suffolk, Isle of Wight, and Gates Counties in Virginia, and in various sections of eastern North Carolina. He quotes Allen Bernard as saying that in 1827 a meeting at Williams' camp ground in Suffolk County, Virginia, excelled in its results any that he had ever attended elsewhere:

We have never been able to ascertain the exact number that professed religion at this meeting, but the fruits of it are seen among us to the present day. Some of the most influential people of Suffolk were converted there, and afterward joined our church.¹³⁴

What is believed to have been the first Camp Meeting in New England was held at Haddam, Connecticut, in 1802. The site was a level field, with no trees or tents, with seats for about one hundred persons. It was a three-day meeting, with thirty or more conversions. Two years later, September 14–17, 1804, a second Camp Meeting was held near New Haven. Others followed: two in 1805, one in 1806, and a third in 1809 in conjunction with the Annual Conference at Monmouth, Maine. During the next three decades many were held in all parts of New England. Most largely attended was the Boston District Camp Meeting at Marshfield, Massachusetts, August 18–22, 1823, with forty-seven ministers of six denominations, and 10,000 persons present in the course of the week.¹³⁵

During the earlier years groves and tents afforded the only shelter for the attending crowds but within this period a beginning was made in the purchase of permanent camp grounds and the erection of various types of buildings—both cottages and auditoriums. David Sullins describes "a shed" built on a camp ground at Cedar Springs, Tennessee. It was "one hundred and twenty feet long and seventy-five feet wide, with wings on hinges. When these wings were down, it was a great house; and when up, would seat two thousand." He speaks also of family shelters—"rude shacks made of logs,

many of them with bark on. There were no fire-places. Beds were scaffolds along the sides. . . . All floors were dirt, covered with straw."¹³⁶

Camp Meetings were used by the missionaries to the Indians as effective means of evangelism both in the missions east and west of the Mississippi. In a letter written in the fall of 1831 to the *Christian Advocate* D. C. M'Leod said that in his last tour through the Cherokee Nation he held three Camp Meetings. He stated that probably never before had there been "so large an assemblage of people convened in the nation, upon a religious occasion" as on a new camp ground in Tennessee. At another Camp Meeting at "Chattooga," also in Tennessee, he had "witnessed some of the most powerful conversions that . . . [he had] ever beheld." Thirty-five persons at this, and thirty-nine at the other two meetings, had joined the Church on probation.¹³⁷

At each of the Kansas Indian Missions west of the Mississippi a Camp Meeting was usually held each year. Concerning them E. J. Stanley wrote:

There was something about them—the outdoor life, the hospitality and sociability manifested, the simplicity of the service, the echoes of the songs, sermons, and prayers through the groves, and the fervor and enthusiasm of the worshipers—that seemed to suit the Indian nature. Many who did not attend the regular mission services would flock to these meetings, where they witnessed wonderful displays of the Divine power and were awakened and converted.¹³⁸

Camp Meetings continued to be regarded with favor throughout the present period as one of the most successful agencies of evangelism. However, by the fourth decade of the century, the high tide of interest in them in some quarters seems to have begun to recede.* Appointed in 1829 to the Monongahela Circuit, Pittsburgh Conference, Robert Boyd wrote:

When I took charge of this Circuit I found our oldest and best members, . . . discouraged about holding camp meetings any longer, and by pretty general consent it was decided that we would not hold any that year; so I labored diligently in the ordinary work during that Fall and Winter, receiving a few into the Church, but expelling more.¹³⁹

THE EMOTIONAL FACTOR IN METHODIST EVANGELISM

Early Methodist revivalism in all of its several forms at times was characterized by extreme emotionalism, sometimes even becoming frenetic. In some meetings the preaching, prayers, and singing of hymns were accompanied by abnormal physical effects, the most common being the "jerks," as they were called; falling to the floor, the body becoming rigid and the mind insensible or nearly so; barking; screaming; and dancing. William

* An attempt made by Lorenzo Dow to introduce Camp Meetings in England met with failure. In 1807 the British Wesleyan Conference adopted the following statement: "It is our judgment, that ever supposing such meetings to be allowable in America, they are highly improper in England, and likely to be productive of considerable mischief. And we disclaim all connexion with them."—*Minutes of the Methodist [British] Conferences . . .*, II, 403. See also George B. Griffith, "Camp-Meetings," *The Ladies Repository*, XXXVI (February, 1876), 114ff.

Capers describes the "jerks" witnessed at Camp Meetings in "Rembert's settlement," Georgia, in 1802 and 1803:

In some instances, persons who were not before known to be at all religious, or under any particular concern about it, would suddenly fall to the ground, and become strangely convulsed with what was called the jerks; the head and neck, and sometimes the body also, moving backwards and forwards with spasmodic violence, and so rapidly that the plaited hair of a woman's head might be heard to crack. This exercise was not peculiar to feeble persons, nor to either sex, but, on the contrary, was most frequent to the strong and athletic, whether man or woman. I never knew it among children, nor very old persons.¹⁴⁰

Other examples of abnormal bodily effects were seen at the two Camp Meetings mentioned above by Capers:

In other cases, persons falling down would appear senseless, and almost lifeless, for hours together; lying motionless at full length on the ground, and almost as pale as corpses. And then there was the jumping exercise, which sometimes approximated dancing; in which several persons might be seen standing perfectly erect, and springing upward without seeming to bend a joint of their bodies.¹⁴¹

John Stewart says that in 1819 at a Camp Meeting held "at the forks of the Muskatatack, near Brownstown" (Indiana), following a sermon preached by Bishop Robert R. Roberts from the text, "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?" that "mysterious exercise the *jerks* prevailed to some extent."

This exercise was to us unaccountable. I have often, on that and other occasions, seen persons under the influence of the jerks go through exercises beyond all comprehension. It would seem impossible for any one to pass through such exercises and live. For example, women, under this influence, would remain upon their feet for hours, the whole form convulsed from head to feet, throwing the body to and fro, so that the head would almost touch the floor, both forward and backward. The hair would soon become disheveled, and the violence of the motions was such that it would crack like a whip-lash. When, after hours of this kind of violent exercise, the influence passed off, they experienced neither soreness nor fatigue.¹⁴²

It is to be noted that these "exercises" and prostrations were not confined to the white and Negro congregations but occurred also in connection with evangelistic meetings held in isolated places attended by small groups of Indians. D. M. Chandler, missionary to the Chippewa at Kewawenon on Lake Superior, wrote in a letter to John Clark:

On the last evening of the year a watch-meeting was held, which was crowned with displays of grace. The holy fire burned more and more, until a resistless power came upon the brethren, many of whom were cast helpless on the floor; and one heathen was wallowing in agony for the space of an hour, when he found deliverance through faith in Christ, and immediately joined class.¹⁴³

The assumption sometimes made that these extreme emotional states, ac-

accompanied by violent bodily agitations, were an evidence of primitive culture and occurred only among the ignorant and illiterate is without foundation in fact. The further assumption that hyper-emotionalism, with violent physical accompaniments, was peculiar to the revivalism of the frontier—particularly to the Camp Meetings of the West—is equally baseless.*

The examples of extreme emotional excitement, with abnormal physical accompaniments, cited from Methodist revivals were paralleled by occurrences in the Great Awakening (1734-44) in New England, in revivals in other eastern regions, and elsewhere.† Under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards large numbers of people were stirred to the very depths of their souls:

They wept, they turned pale, they cried aloud. Some fainted, some fell into convulsions, some suffered thereafter from impaired health and some lost their reason.¹⁴⁴

Revivals during the same period in various parts of New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and on Long Island, New York, were characterized by persons "crying out," "falling down," "fainting," and "strange convulsive agitations of the body."¹⁴⁵

The population of New England, it is agreed, as also that of New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and Long Island, was not "a primitive population within any sound meaning of the word," nor were the people living under pioneer conditions.

And above all the Puritan pulpits were, in the main, centers of intellectual, moral and spiritual virility. . . . Here is a population of stability, one would say, that could not under such restraint be easily swept from the moorings of rational control.¹⁴⁶

Phenomena similar to those which characterized Camp Meetings on the western frontier accompanied both Whitefield's and Wesley's evangelistic meetings in various parts of England and particularly in Wales.‡ In America

* An example of this assumption is the following statement by John Allen Krout and Dixon Ryan Fox: "The Western revivals, unlike the quiet return to religion in Eastern villages early in the nineteenth century, were marked by phenomena which seemed distinctively American. . . . [The people] . . . lived in perennial fear of dangers—the caprices of Nature, Indian attacks, the scourge of starvation, illness without benefit of medical aid. The terrors of hell they found easy to imagine. Most of them were lonely, especially the women, starving for human contacts and exciting incidents. Some were exiles from civilization: weaklings and criminals, who lacked self-control and fell easy victims to cumulative suggestion. Out of such lives came the emotional extravagances of the frontier revivals, miraculous to some, fantastic to others."—*The Completion of Independence, 1790-1830*, pp. 170f.

† Similar physical effects occurred about the middle of the nineteenth century among German colonists on the Volga River in Russia. Following the Seven Years' War in Germany (1756-63) thousands of Germans from Hesse, Saxony, and other German provinces emigrated to the open steppes along the Volga. Included among the emigrants were farmers, tailors, craftsmen, and students. In 1857 two Separatist pietistic evangelists sponsored evangelistic meetings "in which ecstatic disorders became rife. Some . . . went into trances, saw visions, and uttered predictions. Strange bodily agitations seized many, while others fell in convulsions, threw themselves on the floor, and screamed."—Hermann Dalton, *Geschichte der Reformierten Kirche in Russland*, as quoted by George J. Eisenach, *Pietism and the Russian Germans in the United States*, p. 60.

‡ The sect of "Jumpers," an offspring of Wesleyan revivalism, encouraged manifestations of collective hysteria. (Elie Halévy, *A History of the English People in 1815*, p. 367.) A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1799 describes attending a meeting of the sect held at Caernarvon, Wales. The chapel was entirely destitute of pews. The service began with an exciting exhortation, followed by the singing of a psalm. "In the middle of this psalm, we observed part of the assembly . . . jumping

they characterized revivals in all regions of the country, East even as West, the Southeast as well as the Northwest Territory and Canada.

One of Wesley's first missionaries, Joseph Pilmoor, came into contact with extreme emotional manifestations soon after his arrival in America:

[Monday, June 8, 1772]. In the evening I had much conversation with some who think they are called to preach and are as hot as fire but it is dreadfully *wild* and *enthusiastic*. . . . there is much danger from those, who follow a heated imagination rather than the pure illumination of the Spirit, and the direction of the Word of God. Wherever I go I find it necessary to bear my testimony against all wildness, shouting and confusion, in the worship of God, and at the same time to feed and preserve the sacred fire which is certainly kindled in many hearts of this country. . . . But it is hard to stem the current, and convince ignorant fiery men, that the Infinite Jehovah is much more pleased with the gentle melting of a broken heart, and the pious breathings of humble love, than all the noise and clamor in the world.¹⁴⁷

Pilmoor's ministry, it should be recalled, was confined to the Atlantic coast region.

Since the itinerants emphasized the experimental nature of the Christian faith it was inevitable that the emotional element should be prominent in Methodist revivals. Their primary purpose was not to inculcate doctrine but to awaken the conscience and move the will to action. Sin to them was intensely real, and its punishment certain. By some, hell was vividly portrayed and its torments described in lurid terms. Did not the apostle say, "Knowing, therefore, the terror of the Lord, we persuade men"? On one occasion Valentine Cook, widely known as a preacher of emotional power, was preaching from the text, "Because there is wrath, beware lest he take thee away with a stroke; then a great ransom cannot deliver thee." Suddenly an excited hearer called out, "Stop! Stop till I can get out of this place!" Cook paused in his sermon and said, "Let us pray for that man." Before the man could get beyond hearing he "sank to the earth and began to cry aloud for mercy."¹⁴⁸

As in the Great Awakening, sometimes deliberate attempts were made to lead people to decision through fear.* Jesse Lee tells of falling in with a man on one of his itineraries whom he recognized as having been to hear him preach:

these preachers [said the man] speak louder than our ministers, and raise their heads, and spread their hands, and hollow, as though they were going to frighten

in small parties of three or four together, and lifting up their hands, beating their breasts, and . . . [gesticulating wildly]. The women . . . appeared more vehement than the men. . . ." The meetings were held twice a week, Wednesdays and Sundays.—LXIX (July, 1799), Part II, 579.

* This was one of the most serious of the charges made against the preaching of Edwards and those who collaborated with him in carrying on the Great Awakening. Ola Elizabeth Winslow says of the preaching of Gilbert Tennent: "His one theme was hell-fire and damnation. He raged, shouted, stamped, roared, and set nerves on edge beyond endurance. . . . Conversion was not to be the beginning of a new life; it was a scramble to safety, and the way led through bedlam."—*Jonathan Edwards, 1703-1758, A Biography*, pp. 189f.

the people. I told him it would be well if they could frighten the people out of their sins.¹⁴⁹

Concerning Lee's tendency to appeal to the emotions, his biographer says: He would excite them in some way. He would make them weep, if he could; bringing his fine voice, warm affections, and glowing eloquence to bear upon this result, with strong and earnest intensity. If he failed in this, he would essay to alarm them with deep and solemn warning of words and manner; and, if all failed, he would shake their sides with some pertinent illustration or anecdote; and then, having moved them, seek, by all the appliances of truth, earnestness, and affection, to guide their stirred-up thoughts and sympathies to the fountain of living waters. A dull, drowsy congregation, was an abomination in the holy place that made everything desolate.¹⁵⁰

Jesse Lee, himself, states that at the first Camp Meeting ever held on the Eastern Shore, in Delaware, in July, 1805, "the noise occasioned by the cries of the distressed and the shouts of the saints, was heard at the distance of three miles." He adds, "Surely the Lord was in that place."¹⁵¹

Benjamin Abbott, who attracted crowds of people to his meetings and did much to extend Methodism throughout New Jersey, considered extreme emotional manifestations as in no way unusual,* regarding them as manifestations of the power of God.¹⁵² Commenting on Abbott's preaching Asbury said that his "words came with great power" and that under their influence "people fall to the ground . . . and sink into a passive state, helpless, stiff, motionless."¹⁵³

Asbury's attitude toward such abnormal emotional expressions was similar to Wesley's.* He endured rather than encouraged them. Preaching on June 2, 1788, "at Clark's" in North Carolina, he wrote, "I feel life among these people—preaching and praying is not labour here: their noise I heed not; I can bear it well when I know that God and Christ dwells in the hearts of the people." To him the emotional manifestation was not the test of God's working in the soul. He declared that any person who could not through changed behavior give evidence "of the convincing and converting power of God might be mistaken; falling down would not do."¹⁵⁴

Many of the Circuit Riders shared Asbury's attitude. Referring in his

* Alfred Brunson cites examples of the "falling exercise" in which persons exercised apparently superhuman strength, and states as his opinion that the strength was produced "in some mysterious way . . . by the influence of the Divine Spirit upon . . . [the] constitutional temperament."—*A Western Pioneer* . . . , I, 62ff., 175f.

* In some of Wesley's meetings "persons trembled from head to foot: others, fell down and cried out with a loud and bitter cry; whilst others became speechless, and seemed convulsed as if in the agonies of death." As regards Wesley's attitude toward these manifestations Dr. John Whitehead, his physician and biographer, wrote: "Mr. Wesley himself, at first knew not how to judge of these extraordinary things; but when he found that most of the persons so affected, held fast their confidence, and walked worthy of their christian calling, *adorning the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things*, he could not deny that there was a real genuine work of grace upon their minds. He did not however consider agitations, visions, or dreams, as any evidence of a true conversion to God; but as adventitious or accidental circumstances, which from various causes might, or might not, attend it; and this view of them, he thought perfectly consistent with Scripture." (*The Life of the Rev. John Wesley* . . . , II, 101f.) See Wesley's own statement in his letter to Thomas Rutherford, March 28, 1768, in *Letters*, V, 366ff.

"Journal" to a Quarterly Meeting "in the R Valley" on June 14, 1794, John Kobler mentions a member of the Society who assumed to prophesy and "tell others what state they are in," declaring that her utterances were "the working of the Spirit of God." Kobler* told her that "it was enthusiasm," and begged her to cease or she would be the means of doing immense harm in the Society.¹⁵⁵

William T. Utter in his *History of the State of Ohio* says that while the responsiveness of their audiences to the vigorous preaching of the early itinerants in that state made many of the Methodist meetings noisy, "certain rules of decorum were insisted upon and the preachers, in general, did not encourage extravagances." Both ministers and laymen, he states, seem to have been puzzled by the "religious frenzy which took the form of 'jerks' or other 'exercises . . .'"¹⁵⁶ Peter Cartwright testifies that the "Methodist preachers generally preached against . . . extravagant wildness," adding that he did so in his own ministry. Thomas L. Douglass, for many years an outstanding leader of Methodism in Tennessee, referring to an extensive revival in the Nashville District in 1821, remarks with approval that it had been "the least mixed with what are called irregularities or extravagances" of any that he had ever known. "We have had nothing of what is called the *jerks*, or *dance*, among us."¹⁵⁷

Shouting, jumping, and falling down "exercises" in religious meetings so disconcerted Robert R. Roberts as a young preacher that he was frequently unable to proceed with his sermon.¹⁵⁸

When in 1810 Nathan Bangs was first appointed senior preacher in New York City he was much disturbed by the prevailing lack of discipline in the revival meetings.

I witnessed a spirit of pride, presumption, and bigotry, impatience of scriptural restraint and moderation, clapping of the hands, screaming, and even jumping, which marred and disgraced the work of God.

After taking counsel with his colleagues and some of the laymen he called "a general society meeting," read the General Rules, and stated his views "fully and frankly as to the unseemly practices" which he considered "derogatory to the character of the Church." This gave offense to many of those implicated, some of whom demanded retraction. But Bangs stood his ground, insisting that he "was conscious of the Divine approbation" of the course he had taken. His firmness went far toward putting a stop to the unseemly practices.¹⁵⁹

* Although Kobler in common with the majority of the Circuit Riders placed definite limits on emotional expression he seems to have been inclined along with many others to consider emotional effects, particularly the shedding of tears by members of the congregation, a measure of the effectiveness of his preaching. "Frid. 13 [February, 1795] I preached at Bro. Cs from the 'highway' mentioned by Isaiah. The house was crowded with souls, and the word of God ran thro their hearts like fire. O what a time was this for power. . . . tears ran like streams from the eyes of saints and sinners." Again, "Mond. 12 [February, 1797]. . . . I preached, and the Lord made it a memorable time. Every person present was in tears."—"Journal," unpagcd ms., Books II, III.

The influence of revivalism on the life and character of the people, great as it was, undoubtedly was weakened by predominance of the emotional factor. Emotion is an integral element of all true religion. But the Christian religion has intellectual and volitional content as well as emotional and its vitality, strength, and enduring quality suffer when a reasonable balance as between these elements is not maintained. In too many cases conversions that occurred in the overheated atmosphere of revivals in which the emotional was overstressed were not lasting.* When after a few weeks the feeling subsided the state of the convert was worse than it had been before his awakening.†

A WAY OF FELLOWSHIP

Fellowship was of the very warp and woof of the Methodist Way in early American Methodism. Granting all of truth that can rightfully be said to inhere in the characterization of Methodism as individualistic the fact remains that in practice it was essentially social. Always and everywhere fellowship was stressed. Its most characteristic institutional forms and agencies were means of creating, developing, deepening, and expressing Christian fellowship.

Every Methodist Society by its earliest definition was "a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness." The members of the Society were united to "help each other to work out their salvation." Precisely and definitely stated this was the aim and purpose of organization.

That "the community of believers would be the most effectual support of individuals, who, separate and alone, were without strength, but united, might become powerful," says Richard Green, was clearly evident to Wesley. "In fellowship, strength would be gained, and the feeble and lonely would be sheltered and cheered."¹⁶⁰

There were three primary organized units of fellowship within the Church, the Society itself—which during the early decades was in the great majority of cases a small compact group; the Class; and the Band. The chronological sequence usually was a Class formed first, followed by the organization of the Society, and later by the formation of Bands—the smallest unit—within the Class or Classes. This order, however, was not prescribed and not in-

* Herbert W. Schneider: "The Great [Edwardean] Awakening proved to be very temporary. Desperate means seldom accomplish permanent results. Certainly an atmosphere of emotional tension is of necessity a transitory phase of human experience; it is physiologically impossible to live long on that level. When the inevitable reaction came, it left the Puritan philosophy in a much more precarious position than ever, since the next generation not only failed to see its force, but was in addition taught to be more cautious and cool in its religious affections. New England, instead of making religion the business of life, gladly returned to the life of business, and has ever since kept itself comparatively aloof from great awakenings."—*The Puritan Mind*, pp. 125f.

† John Mason Peck, astute and discriminating Baptist missionary, analyzed the means used to induce emotional excitement and evaluated the procedure. His conclusion in part was that while "from the fruits occasionally manifested, . . . [he had] no doubt that genuine convictions and saving conversions do sometimes follow such confused and disorderly meetings, yet it must be confessed that most of these cases prove false—worse than worthless."—R. Babcock, Ed., *op. cit.*, p. 201.

variably followed. Sometimes the Society was first organized, to be followed by division into Classes.*

The basic principle dictating the formation of the several types of fellowship groups was stated by Coke and Asbury in their "Notes" on the *Discipline* :

The *social principle* is one of the grand springs in the soul of man. It was not the design of christianity to annihilate this principle, but the very contrary—to improve it, to spiritualize it, and strengthen it. O then let us exercise it in spiritual intercourse, as we well know that one part of our heavenly felicity will flow from friendship and union with our brethren the redeemed of the Lord to all eternity!¹⁶¹

The Bishops specifically based the formation of Classes on Christian fellowship as indispensable in the life and work of the Church :

We have made many remarks in the course of our work on the necessity of christian fellowship: but this cannot be carried on to any considerable advantage without stated solemn times of assembling. The meetings held for this purpose must have a name to distinguish them. We call ours *Class-meetings*¹⁶²

The statement went on to emphasize the end in view in the formation of Classes. "[It] is *the thing itself, christian fellowship* and not the name," they said they contended for, adding a declaration that they had seldom met with anyone who had much devotion to God who had not been united "in close Christian fellowship" within a Society.¹⁶³

THE CLASS

From the beginning the Class was regarded as an essential part of every American Methodist Society.¹⁶⁴ Every Society had its Class† and, as stated, in innumerable cases the Class preceded the organization of the Society. It was the seedbed from which the Society grew. Regular attendance of members was required‡ and non-attendance was ground for expulsion from Society membership.¹⁶⁵ An attendance roll was kept by the Class Leader, and every member was marked "A," "P," or "D"—absent, present, or distant. During the earlier years admission was only by ticket, which was renewed quarterly by the preacher or, if a member was delinquent, withheld.

The threefold purpose of the Class was: Christian fellowship; Christian witness through personal testimony; collection of contributions.

* It would appear from the letter of Thomas Taylor to Wesley (April 11, 1768) and the statements of Jesse Lee and of Nathan Bangs that the organization of the John Street Society in New York preceded the formation of a Class. (Vol. I, 15; Jesse Lee, *A Short History of the Methodists* . . . , pp. 24f.; Nathan Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, I, 50.) It seems probable that in Philadelphia a Class preceded the organization by Thomas Webb in 1767 of the Society "that came to be known [later] as St. George's." "How long the Class existed prior to 1767, if it did exist prior to that date, . . . has never been determined."—Francis H. Tees, *The Story of Old St. George's* . . . , pp. 17, 19.

† R. W. Dale: "Methodism made one striking and original contribution to the institutions of the Church, in the Class-meeting. Never, so far as I know, in any Church had there been so near an approach to the ideal of pastoral oversight as the Class-meeting, in its perfect form, provides; and it also provides for that communion of saints which is almost as necessary for the strength and joy and the harmonious growth of the Christian life as fellowship with God."—Quoted by Leslie F. Church, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

‡ As discipline began to grow lax in the Societies many of the members did not attend Class meetings and yet were not expelled.—See C. L. Goodell, *The Drillmaster of Methodism* . . . , p. 44.

Christian fellowship, Wesley had felt, was sadly lacking in the Church of England:

Look east or west, north or south; name what parish you please: Is this Christian fellowship there? Rather are not the bulk of the parishioners a mere rope of sand? What Christian connexion is there between them? What intercourse in spiritual things? What watching over each other's souls?¹⁶⁶

In the beginning, in order that the Leader's responsibility for calling upon the members in their homes might be met, and for the sake of intimacy of fellowship of the group, membership in the Class was limited to twelve persons but, for lack of efficient leaders, the limitation was soon removed. In its ideal and its experience of fellowship the small Class resembled a Christian family, as it has frequently been called, a sharing of Christian aspirations and longings, of hopes and fears, of achievements and failures. In it, in many cases, the fellowship of believers was no longer merely an ideal; it was a reality. The church thus became more than an association or company of persons who held membership in a Society; it was compacted together—a *κοινωνία* in the fullness of the apostolic use of the term.

This was not always true. In some cases the meetings were stiff and formal, and lacking in vitality. And doubtless in all, at times, there was more or less of the mingling of the important and the petty, the vital and the irrelevant.

In narration of personal testimony the meetings were sometimes free and informal, each member participating as he felt moved to speak. At other times the leader gave direction to the meeting by addressing each person in turn, asking specific and direct questions concerning his spiritual condition.* Some leaders used a part of the time in offering general counsel or in exhortation or in expounding a text. Coke and Asbury seem to have felt in 1798 that there was too much of a tendency to do this, warning that while Scripture exposition has its value "the most profitable exercise of any is a free inquiry into the state of the heart."¹⁶⁷ And if the testimonies of the Class meetings in time tended to take on a stereotyped form, becoming ends in themselves and lacking vital inner meaning, it was not because the Bishops were unaware of this danger, against which Wesley himself had specifically warned.†

When present the preacher usually acted as leader of the Class, especially in the examination of the members as to their Christian experience and moral

* Writing in 1851, John Miley felt there had come to be "a great want of specificness, of directness and point." He held that the Class Leaders' questions "should be diversified; [and] interrogations should be made upon the various points of Christian experience." The proper method, he asserted, "should mainly be a free, familiar, catechetical, conversational mode," such as prevailed "in their earlier history."—*Treatise on Class Meetings*, pp. 202ff.

† John Wesley: "Neither are words or phrases of any sort [amongst the distinguishing marks of a Methodist]. We do not place our religion, or any part of it, in being attached to any peculiar mode of speaking, any quaint or uncommon set of expressions. The most obvious, easy, common words, wherein our meaning can be conveyed, we prefer before others, both on ordinary occasions, and when we speak of the things of God."—"The Character of a Methodist," *Works*, VIII, 340.

behavior. Asbury endeavored to meet as many Classes as possible on his long rounds. On Monday, June 29, 1795, in New York he "began meeting the women's classes." On Sunday, July 5, in the afternoon, after assisting in the sacrament "at the new church," he "met the black classes" and in the evening after preaching met two men's Classes. The next day he met nine Classes, and records, "I have now spoken to most of the members here, one by one."¹⁶⁸

Class leading came to have almost the status of a vocation. Many Class Leaders held office for the greater part of a lifetime. They were virtually sub-pastors, not only meeting their Classes in weekly session but visiting the sick and those who absented themselves, accepting the office as a sacred trust and devoting themselves with fidelity to the nurture and the cure of souls. A Leaders' meeting was held on some Circuits—on the larger Circuits several meetings—at which the Class Leaders presented their reports, paid the money they had collected to the stewards of the Society, and considered proposals for admission to or exclusion from the Society. Class meetings often served as a first door of entrance to the ministry. Young men who evidenced an especial aptitude for prayer, fervent testimony, or exhortation were discovered and invited to use their gifts in a larger way.

THE BAND

The editions of the *Discipline* from 1785 to 1844 gave more explicit and detailed directions concerning the Band and Band meetings than concerning the Class.* These directions were taken over without change from British Wesleyanism. As originally constituted the Bands were an inner fellowship of the Society composed of members who were zealously striving after Christian perfection. Each group had not fewer than five or more than ten members: men, women, married and unmarried persons in separate Bands. Everything said in the weekly meetings was to be held in strictest confidence. The rationale of the Band was based upon intimate Christian fellowship and confession of sins. The "Rules of the Band Societies" as first drawn up on December 25, 1738, state the design of the Band meeting to be "to obey that command of God, *Confess your faults one to another, and pray for one another, that ye may be healed . . .*" Coke and Asbury thus commented on the purpose:

The heart of man *by nature* is such a cage of unclean birds, that few are to be found who will lay before their brethren all its secret movements, unless the love of God be the ruling principle of their souls. And even then they are not called upon to exercise this confidence, except towards a small confidential company of true believers like themselves. When bands can be formed on this plan (and on no other do we form them) they become one of the most profitable means of grace

* The *Discipline* of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, beginning with 1854 omitted the section on the Band; that of the Methodist Episcopal Church beginning with the edition of 1856.

in the whole compass of christian discipline. There is nothing we know of, which so much quickens the soul to a desire and expectation of the perfect love of God as this. It includes in it all the spiritual benefits of social intercourse. For these little families of love, not only mutually weep and rejoice, and in every thing sympathize with each other, as genuine friends, but each of them possesses a measure of 'that unction of the Holy One,' (I John ii. 20.) which teaches all spiritual knowledge. And thus are they enabled to 'build up themselves (and each other) on their most holy faith,' Jude 20. and to 'consider *one another*, to provoke unto love and good works,' Heb. x. 24.¹⁶⁹

In the Band meeting all persons were expected to speak in turn in utter frankness declaring "freely and plainly the true state of . . . [their] souls, with the faults . . . committed in thought, word, or deed, and temptations . . . felt since . . . [their] last meeting." Some one person was asked to act as leader and was expected "to speak his own state first, and then to ask the rest in order, as many and as searching questions as may be, concerning their state, sins, and temptations."

Certain questions were expected to be asked all persons desiring admittance to Band membership.* These questions, it was provided, should be asked "as often as occasion offers," but four must be asked at every meeting:

1. What known sins have you committed since our last meeting?
2. What temptations have you met with?
3. How was you delivered?
4. What have you thought, said, or done, of which you doubt whether it be sin or not?¹⁷⁰

The first *Discipline* of American Methodism has a number of references to the Band:

Q[uestion]. 17. When shall we admit new Members?

A[nswer]. In large Towns, admit them into the Bands at the quarterly Love-Feast following the Quarterly-Meeting.

Q. 19. What can be done to encourage meeting in Band?

A. 1. In every large Society, have a Love-Feast quarterly for the Bands only. 2. Never fail to meet them once a Week. 3. Exhort every Believer to embrace the Advantage. 4. Give a Band-Ticket to none till they have met a Quarter on Trial.

"To renew the Tickets quarterly, and regulate the Bands" was included as a part of the responsibility of the Assistant.† He was also specifically directed

* Included among the questions were these:

"1. Have you the forgiveness of your sins?"

"5. Has no sin, inward or outward, dominion over you?"

"6. Do you desire to be told of your faults?"

"8. Do you desire, that every one of us should tell you, from time to time, whatsoever is in his heart concerning you?"

"10. Do you desire, that in doing this, we should come as close as possible, that we should cut to the quick, and search your heart to the bottom?"

"11. Is it your desire and design, to be on this and all other occasions, entirely open, so as to speak every thing that is in your heart without exception, without disguise, and without reserve."

† For definition of the designation "Assistant," and the early legislation concerning his duties, see Vol. I, Index, "Assistant."

to see that every Band Leader should have a copy of the "Rules of the Bands," and that as soon as there were as many as four men or women "Believers in any Place" they should be put into Bands. As a reminder of duty every member was asked, "Do you never miss your Class or Band?" and every preacher, "Do you meet . . . the Leaders and Bands if any?"¹⁷¹

Despite the efforts of Asbury,* and some others of the early leaders of the Church, Bands never became extensively organized and by 1844 had practically disappeared. The reason is not far to seek. The Band program as prescribed involved too great emphasis on confession. Confession, says William James, "is part of the general system of purgation and cleansing which one feels oneself in need of, in order to be in right relations to one's deity."¹⁷² But the weekly rehearsal before one's fellows of transgressions and faults is soon likely to take on a semblance of parading one's delinquencies, inevitably tending to a kind of mock humility. To many, also, who were suspicious of anything that smacked of "popery" a meeting that placed chief emphasis upon confession undoubtedly seemed too much like apeing Roman Catholic practice.

OTHER MEANS OF FELLOWSHIP

Of other means of Christian fellowship than these primary institutional units the Quarterly Meeting—in the first years of American Methodism held in conjunction with the Quarterly Conference†—was one of the most important.

The Quarterly Meeting program seems to have varied somewhat in different regions, although the general order was much the same in all. Albert M. Shipp describes briefly their character as held in South Carolina:

The brethren from twenty to forty miles around assembled together. The congregations on these occasions were accordingly very large, and the meetings always continued two days, and often three or more. At these meetings all the traveling preachers connected with the circuit preached one after another in regular succession; and on some occasions the local preachers lengthened out the services with additional discourses and exhortations. To these sermons and exhortations the love-feast was added; but this, after the preachers received ordination (1784), was sometimes superseded by the sacrament. Their public worship was, therefore, sometimes protracted to six or seven hours in length, but even in these cases the congregations manifested no impatience.¹⁷³

Philip Gatch supplies additional particulars of Quarterly Meetings which he attended in southern Ohio after his migration to the state in 1798. Numbers in attendance were astonishing. Even women would walk twenty or thirty

* Francis Asbury: "Friday, [October] 21 [1791]. . . endeavoured to impress the necessity and expediency of band-meeting, on men and women, both married and single."—*Op. cit.*, II, 137.

† For Quarterly Conference, its origin, history, and changing functions, see Vol. I, 52f.; also this volume, p. 359. While the Quarterly Conference and the Quarterly Meeting were quite distinct, although coincident as to time and place, Asbury and other early leaders of the Church frequently used the terms "Quarterly Conference," "Quarterly Meeting," and "Quarterly Meeting Conference" synonymously.

miles to be present. Three families acting as hosts would provide for fifty to a hundred or more people. The house at night was given over to the women who would sleep on beds, or on pallets strewn on the floor. The barn provided sleeping accommodations for the men in the haymow or on mattresses of straw on the threshing floor.

Fridays were always strictly observed as fast-days. Preaching began on Saturday morning at 10 or 11 o'clock, and in the afternoon a short service was held, after which the Quarterly Conference was convened. At night there was again preaching, generally by the junior preacher of the circuit; or prayer-meetings were held at several convenient points in the neighborhood. On Sunday morning the love-feast was held, conducted by one of the preachers; and about 11 o'clock the principal sermon of the quarterly meeting was preached by the Presiding Elder, followed by a sermon, it might be, by one of the other preachers, and then perhaps by an exhortation. The sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper were usually administered at the close of the morning services, though sometimes deferred till the afternoon. At night there was again preaching—generally followed by prayer-meeting, exhortation to repentance, collects for penitent seekers, and stirring hymns¹⁷⁴

An account by William H. Milburn of a meeting held on his first Circuit presents some interesting variations. This was in a pioneer's home—"a double log cabin, with a door communicating between the two rooms, the women occupying one, the men the other," both when meetings were held and for sleeping. Puncheon slabs resting on four legs provided seats. Those for whom there was not space in the house stood beneath the trees or lolled on the grass. In the afternoon of Saturday, following a sermon by the Presiding Elder at eleven o'clock, "the conference of official members was held." A second sermon and exhortation closed Saturday's program. The first cockcrow on Sunday morning provided the signal for rising. A huge fire in the capacious fireplace, fed by logs four to eight feet long, supplied heat for cooking the substantial breakfast. At eight o'clock came the Love Feast to which only members of the Church were admitted. At eleven the doors were thrown open to all. The ordinance of baptism preceded the sermon which in turn was followed by "the communion of the Lord's Supper." A sermon in the evening closed the meeting and by daybreak on Monday morning "all were riding off on their several ways."¹⁷⁵

At some Quarterly Meetings hundreds of people were in attendance. In a letter from New England John Brodhead, the Presiding Elder, says that in the fall of 1800 about 1,500 people attended a Quarterly Meeting on the Vershire (Vermont) Circuit.

Credit is commonly given to Joseph Pilmoor for the introduction of the Love Feast, as used by Wesley,* among American Methodists. "On March

* See Vol. I, xxxv, xxxvii, 55.

23, 1770, we had," he says, "our first American love-feast in Philadelphia and it was indeed a time of love."¹⁷⁶ Seven weeks later Pilmoor was in New York City:

Sun. 13 [May, 1770]. In the evening, I was greatly enlarged at the *love feast*. It is the first that has been kept by the Methodists in N. York, and the Lord was remarkably present¹⁷⁷

In the John Street Society this occasion apparently marked the beginning of the custom of quarterly Love Feasts since, following a visitation of the New York Classes near the end of July, 1771, Pilmoor wrote: "In the evening we had our Quarterly love-feast."¹⁷⁸

In time the Love Feast became a generally recognized and highly valued expression of fellowship in American Methodism. In an article in the *Christian Advocate* in 1838 the writer stated that Love Feasts were held "on each circuit and station" only in connection with the quarterly visits of the Presiding Elder, while in the cities they were sometimes held more often "under the direction of the preacher in charge."¹⁷⁹

Only members of the Society and those known to be seekers were admitted to Love Feasts, and that on presentation of a printed ticket which constituted their certificate of membership. The procedure followed in the meeting, as described by Nathan Bangs, was:

After singing an appropriate hymn, and prayer, a small piece of bread and a little water are taken by each person as a token of Christian fellowship, and then some time, usually about one hour, is spent for each one who chooses to relate his or her experience and enjoyment of divine things. A collection is then made for the benefit of the poor, when the assembly is dismissed, after singing and prayer, by the benediction.¹⁸⁰

Prayer meetings were of wider influence and significance in the life of the Church because they outnumbered Quarterly Meetings and Love Feasts, reached a wider circle of people, and were more frequently held. They are first mentioned in the *Discipline* in the third edition (1787) where, under duties of preachers, the direction is given: "Wherever you can, in large Societies, appoint prayer-meetings." In the eighth edition (1792) this was changed to read:

The Preacher who has the charge of Circuit shall appoint prayer-meetings wherever he can in his Circuit.¹⁸¹

Even earlier Joseph Pilmoor had given the prayer meeting a recognized place in the Methodist Societies through his inauguration in Philadelphia of the "Intercession" at St. George's on December 8, 1769. There were doubtless small, informal meetings of Methodist believers for voluntary prayer as early, or possibly earlier, but Pilmoor's formal intercessory service made the prayer

meeting a definitely recognized feature of the Methodist calendar. He makes frequent mention of the subject in his "Journal"—one, for example, on November 23, 1771:

I had the presence and blessing of the Lord, especially at the Intercession. I have regularly kept up *this meeting* both here [New York] and in Philadelphia since my arrival in America, and have abundant reason to bless God for the immeasurable benefits he has from time to time bestowed on us.¹⁸²

During the early years the "Intercession" was regularly held on Friday, usually in the daytime but occasionally in the evening. Gradually the evening prayer meeting became an established custom in many Societies.¹⁸³

During the two months of 1790 (July 20–September 27) that Richard Whatcoat spent in Philadelphia he held numerous prayer meetings. During the three weeks, August 21–September 11, he records holding seven meetings in the homes of the people.¹⁸⁴

Prayer meetings were sometimes maintained by laymen, held in their own and in neighbors' homes. Peter Pelham, in letters from Greene County, Ohio, to Edward Dromgoole gives interesting accounts of such meetings. On May 15, 1809, he stated that prayer meetings were "kept up on Sunday afternoons at different places," and at a meeting held at his house on the preceding evening "there were between 40 and 50 present and a comfortable time." On April 16, 1810, he wrote:

We have had very happy times of late in waiting on God at the Meeting House, and our prayer meetings, which we keep up regularly twice a week; Every Sunday Evening at my House and Wednesday Evening at Br[other] Sales.' Two Souls have profes'd to find the Lord at one of our me[e]tings at my House not long since.¹⁸⁵

The Methodist emphasis on fellowship and its cultivation through the various means that have been set forth did much to enrich the life of the Church. But it did still more. It was one of the principal forces on the wide American frontier in developing the sense of community in public life—an influence which has been all too generally disregarded by historians in general. During the early decades of the new nation, particularly in the new settlements of the West and Southwest, means of social fellowship were few. Clubs and organized societies—other than some secret fraternal orders of which there was considerable popular fear and distrust—were almost nonexistent. The spirit of neighborliness was widespread but it lacked organized form. The fellowship of the Methodist Societies did much to supply this lack. It provided the social cement which fused the scattered settlers of many localities into compact groups.

The population of many localities was made up of numerous disparate elements. Since the experience of fellowship in the Methodist Societies was not

only one of social togetherness, but at the same time of a group fellowship with and loyalty to a Higher Power, differences of national origin, folkways, and social and political tradition were transcended and all together became conscious of being a part of the new democratic community which was America.

Many of the frontier settlements were a strange mixture. As Thomas M. Eddy wrote in 1857:

Once a week . . . [Methodism] brought together in the class-meeting the descendants of Cavalier and Roundhead, the New-Englander and the Southerner, the 'Yorker' and 'Eastern shore' man, the Teuton and the Celt. The leader was one of their own number, a neighbor and a friend. They met on the floor of equality, and without constraint. Freely and frankly they conversed upon the subject of religion; told of outward fightings and inward fears . . . They sang the same songs, bowed meekly at the same mercy-seat, called each other brother and sister, and as they did so, they felt the fraternal emotion in the very depths of the heart. With that feeling passed away national and sectional prejudices, and thus they became 'many in one.'¹⁸⁶

During the early decades by far the larger proportion of meetings—the preaching services, Class meetings, prayer meetings, even the Quarterly Meetings, were in the cabins of the members. This made for a closer, more neighborly and familiar, more sociable intermingling. Inevitably not only the parents but also the children shared the fellowship experience. Young people who otherwise would not have been drawn together became intimately acquainted, intermarriages between different racial strains took place, and settlements became in a real sense neighborhoods.

The Methodist meetings, as we have seen, included wider groups than the local neighborhood Society. The Quarterly Meetings brought together individuals and families from the several Societies of the widely extended Circuits. Frequently as many as a dozen or even a score of scattered settlements would be represented—some coming on horseback or in wagons for a distance of twenty, thirty, as many as forty miles. For two days at a time these families of distinctive traditions, cultures, creeds, and customs participated in the intimate fellowship of the Love Feast, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and the prayer meeting, that again engendered within them the sense of community in a new and larger sense.

In considering the significance of these contributions to public life it should be remembered that the local organizations of the denominations that penetrated the frontier—particularly the Baptists and Methodists—in many localities antedated all forms of local political organization. In numerous instances the pioneer settlement possessed a Methodist Society some years before it had a township or county government, or a local judicatory of political government.

The catholicity of Methodism was yet another factor which made for the

development of community. The first *Discipline* contained this question and answer :

Q. 47. Shall Persons who continue to attend Divine Service and partake of the Lord's Supper with other Churches, have Liberty at the same time to be Members of our Society?

A. They shall have *full* Liberty,* if they comply with our Rules.¹⁸⁷

The doors of Methodism swung wide—sufficiently wide to admit people of whatever religious affiliation who were seeking the Way of life through Christian fellowship.

A WAY OF DISCIPLINE

In early American Methodism the Methodist Way was a way of discipline. The example of the Holy Club—because of the strictness of whose discipline Wesley and his associates were first called “Method-ists”—was taken over by the Movement in America and rigorously maintained for about five decades. When, six months after his arrival, Asbury heard that many were offended because he had denied them admission to Band meetings and Class meetings, he wrote :

But this does not trouble me. While I stay, the rules must be attended to; and I cannot suffer myself to be guided by half-hearted Methodists. An elderly Friend told me very gravely, that ‘. . . the Quakers and other dissenters had laxed *their* discipline; that none but the Roman Catholics kept it up with strictness.’ But these things do not move me.¹⁸⁸

Thomas Rankin's first recorded impression of American Methodism after his arrival was :

From what I see and hear, and so far as I can judge, if my brethren who first came over had been more attentive to our discipline, there would have been, by this time, a more glorious work in many places of this continent.¹⁸⁹

This was not a reflection upon Asbury, but of some who preceded him. Between him and Rankin there was no difference of opinion concerning the necessity—if Methodism was to be true to its tradition—of close adherence to its disciplinary rules. Early and late Asbury made this clear. “[I] Spoke plainly on the nature of our society, and the necessity of discipline,” he wrote on June 24, 1776 :

I told them we could not, would not, and durst not allow any the privileges of members, who would not come under the discipline of the society.¹⁹⁰

Throughout his long ministry he never yielded to popular pressure or permitted himself to be influenced by ridicule. Thirty-seven years later, in August,

* John J. Tigert: “it is at least doubtful—though the inquiry would be more curious than profitable—whether members of other communions are not today entitled to recognition [as members] among the Methodists should they seek it.”—*The Making of Methodism . . .*, p. 48.

1813, three years before his death, in his "Valedictory Address" to William McKendree, he said:

You know, my brother, that the present ministerial cant is, that we cannot now, as in former apostolical days, have such doctrines, such discipline, such convictions, such conversions, such witnesses of sanctification, and such holy men. But I say that we can; I say we must; yea, I say we have.¹⁹¹

In the traditional emphasis among Methodist writers on "the one condition" required for admission to the Church a second requirement has often been overlooked: that the "desire . . . to be saved from their sins" must be evidenced by willingness to submit to a prescribed discipline. Men and women who presented themselves as candidates for church membership were plainly told that, no matter what the customs of their neighborhood were, they must abstain from evil of every sort, more especially that "most ordinarily practiced": Methodism intended the reform of the nation and reformation was expected to begin at home.

LAY DISCIPLINE

By interest or mere curiosity multitudes of people were led to attend Methodist meetings. The direct, forceful preaching of the Circuit Riders strongly appealed to a wide range of hearers. But the Church reserved its privileges of membership for those who were willing to accept the responsibilities of fellowship. To become a member in full standing the candidate was required to undergo a period of trial and instruction, in the beginning two months, in 1789 extended to six months. Continuing on trial for the minimum time specified did not in itself insure membership. The applicant might be continued on trial for an indefinite period and if his conduct or experience proved unsatisfactory he was excluded.

Question 16 of the first *Discipline* read: "How shall we prevent improper persons from insinuating [themselves] into the Society?" The answer was:

1. Give Tickets [of admission to Class] to none till they are recommended by a Leader, with whom they have met at least two Months on Trial. . . .
3. Give them the Rules the first Time they meet.¹⁹²

Many of those received on probation were "dropped" or "excluded," never attaining the full status of church membership. During the first five decades of American Methodism failure regularly to attend Class meeting meant loss of membership. A formal charge of delinquency was not required. The mere record of non-attendance was enough. The names of those repeatedly absent were unceremoniously dropped.¹⁹³ William Burke had the names of more than one hundred persons stricken at one time from the membership rolls of the Danville (Kentucky) Circuit, and there are innumerable accounts of the removal of the names of lesser numbers.¹⁹⁴

While the Class stood first of all as an expression of Christian fellowship it also had a well-defined disciplinary function. In its beginning Wesley had instructed the Class Leaders to "make a particular inquiry into the behaviour of those whom . . . [they] saw weekly" and he records that they did so.¹⁹⁵ The custom was carried over into the American form of the Class meeting.

When a member of the Church attended his Class it was the custom and expectation that he respond to the questioning of the Class Leader.* For these interrogations there was no prescribed form but they were quite certain to be of such a searching nature that no man could make particular answer without bringing his conduct to the bar of judgment of his conscience.

Every week he goes there to submit his heart, his experience, his life, to the same searching examination. Every day of every week is spent under the recollection that, at the appointed time, he is to go and give of himself this strict account.

As a result, "he soon finds that the regular duties of the classroom have established upon him a habit of self-scrutiny, which operates not daily or weekly only but every hour of every day and week."¹⁹⁶

Swearing, fighting, brawling, drinking, Sabbath-breaking, "uncharitable conversation," failure to pay debts, causing dissension, and indulgences and excesses of various kinds were specifically forbidden, while violation of the generally recognized moral code in numerous particulars not mentioned was equally subject to penalty. Special concern was expressed regarding fraudulent business transactions—"particularly . . . dishonest insolvencies"—and political bribery of any kind. For violations of the Church law against all such misdemeanors a regular judicatory was provided and a well-established order of trial procedure prevailed both for lay members and for ministers.¹⁹⁷ Quarterly Conference records afford evidence that lay members were brought to trial, and in many cases expelled from the Church, for the misdemeanors listed in the *Discipline* and for others not specifically mentioned. Among the grounds of trial named in the records reprinted by Sweet in *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840*, IV, *The Methodists*, are the use of deceit "in the sale of a mare," "immoral language," "lying," drinking "too fre[e]ly of Ardent Spirits," and conversation judged to be "unchristian, imprudent, and Censurable."¹⁹⁸

In their insistence that the Church must have a discipline, and maintain that discipline as a condition of church membership, Wesley, Asbury, and other Methodist leaders were exercising sound moral insight. A century before Wesley's time John Milton had written, "there is not that thing in the world of more grave and urgent importance throughout the whole life of

* "So exacting were the class meetings that one member became so restless that he left the room by way of the chimney. Hatless, he jumped on the back of his horse and rode five miles without stopping. When he reached home, his wife inquired if the Indians were after him. His answer was 'Worse than Indians.'"—John Carr, *Early Times in Middle Tennessee*, pp. 128f., quoted by W. B. Posey, *The Development of Methodism in the Old Southwest, 1783-1824*, p. 118.

man, than is discipline."¹⁹⁹ Precisely this the early Methodist leaders steadfastly believed, and the effect of their teaching and practice on individual character and community life abundantly validated their judgment. The acceptance of the discipline imposed by the Church made the early Methodists a people apart, "in the world but not of the world," but there can be no doubt that it was to them a source of strength.

To de Tocqueville in 1835 extent of control of manners and morals by the American Churches presented a paradox. They had relinquished state authority, and were divided and sectarian, yet their influence seemed to him to be stronger than that of the Established religion of Europe where the Churches had back of them the power of the State and its legal machinery.²⁰⁰ All of which really went to prove the evangelical contention, that the moral control of the Spirit buttressed by church discipline is stronger and more effective than the statutes and legal penalties of government.

Beginning in the second decade of the century there were frequent complaints of increasing laxity of discipline. This was a subject of extended comment by the special Committee of Safety of the 1816 General Conference. The committee reported that their study led them "to fear that the Discipline . . . [had] not been uniformly, faithfully, and impartially enforced in all parts of the work."²⁰¹ The Pastoral Address of the Bishops to the General Conference of 1824, written by Enoch George, bore witness to their concern over what appeared to them to be a growing laxity* in discipline.²⁰² A series of resolutions adopted by the 1836 General Conference, ordered transmitted to every Annual Conference, specified particulars in which directions of the *Discipline* were not attended to.²⁰³

While many undoubtedly maintained the spirit and standards of the older days it is evident that the stringency of disciplinary requirements was lessening, formalism in the Church was increasing, and that something of the distinctive character of early Methodism was being lost. Some years later Abel Stevens, in assessing the gains and losses of Methodism through the decades, expressed the judgment that above everything else the Church had suffered "from the relaxation of discipline."²⁰⁴

However, expulsions from membership for violation of rules still continued. Samuel D. Ferguson, missionary to the west end of Long Island, re-

* No general agreement of opinion existed as to the causes of the relaxed lay discipline. In reply to a letter on the subject from Richard Reece, a fraternal delegate from the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of 1824, William McKendree named two circumstances which in his opinion had had considerable influence. One, he felt, was the extension of the field of labor of the Church over a vast expanse of territory "where the inhabitants are collected from nearly all the civilized nations of the world, and where the emigration from one State to another is perpetual," making it extremely difficult "to establish and preserve the discipline of the Church as effectually as might be done in a condensed and permanent state of society." The second circumstance, he declared, was the youth and inexperience of the ministry. "Most of the preachers . . . enter the Connection very young, Locations are frequent; consequently . . . [there are] comparatively very few men of age and experience" The Church was compelled, he felt, to commit the charge of Circuits and Districts, including the administration of discipline, to young men of too limited experience for such responsibility.—Robert Paine, *Life and Times of William M'Kendree*, II, 76f.

porting in 1824 to the Missionary Society, stated that some members had given evidence of not having counted the cost when they united with the Church, four of whom had been expelled, and that three who found "the way too narrow for them to walk in," had withdrawn.²⁰⁵ John Bunch, appointed to the North and South Santee Mission, South Carolina Conference, in 1834 wrote to the *Christian Advocate* :

I have expelled 10 or 12 for Sabbath-breaking and other sins; and I must say it has had a good effect upon the Sabbath-breakers in general; and I now hope the Church will be able to put it down among them, by close attention to *Discipline*.²⁰⁶

The "Minutes" of the Quarterly Conferences of the Carrollton Circuit, Illinois Conference, from September, 1839, to May, 1850, contain data concerning five disciplinary cases.²⁰⁷ While the number of church trials steadily decreased there were numerous cases in the decades following the division of the Church in 1844.

MINISTERIAL DISCIPLINE

While the preachers took it upon themselves to enforce effective discipline among the laity they were even more strict in the enforcement of a self-imposed ministerial discipline. The spirit of self-discipline which prevailed within the ministry is well expressed in a letter written on May 23, 1803, by the youthful William Ryland to Daniel Fidler, an older and more experienced preacher :

My Brother, you must certainly bear in mind my Ignorance, Inexperience &c yet you hardly venture to give me one word of Instruction, Exhortation or Reproof. Oh write me more freely, do not spare me, tell me what you think is amiss in any part of my Conduct or Conversation. Depend upon it if anything can make your letters more welcome it is that plainness I request.²⁰⁸

William Capers declares that the preachers—particularly the younger ministers—were seldom together without giving one another a proof of Christian love in some correction, possibly the pronouncement of a word, or an article of dress, or something more serious in spirit or manners. We were always, he says, "watching over each other . . . for good," and continues :

It was a delicate duty, but we deemed ourselves bound to the discharge of it, on the principle of helping each other, in view of our acknowledged imperfections, the sacredness of our work, and the confidential character of our relations to each other.

The principle, unfortunately, was wholly negative in its application. Any least word of commendation or praise was studiously avoided for, it was believed, pride was the "preacher's greatest bane" and there could be no danger "of being too humble."²⁰⁹

The preachers' self-imposed discipline touched every aspect of his inward and outward life. It involved constantly "walking closely with God," using "all the means of grace" and enforcing "the use of them on all other persons." More specifically it included systematic use of time; daily prayer at specified hours; daily reading of some part of the Scriptures, with meditation thereon and "immediately practicing" what was learned; ordering "conversation aright"; being temperate in all things and denying oneself "every useless pleasure of sense"; and the practice of fasting.

The advised, though not required, daily schedule included seven hours for study and devotions: from four to five in the morning and from five to six in the evening, meditation, prayer, and reading the Scriptures; from six in the morning till twelve—allowing an hour for breakfast—reading, study, and devotion. Regular periods of fasting were recommended, though the frequency and precise form were left to the individual. Different Annual Conferences had different regulations, and special days of fasting and prayer were frequently voted. In 1808 the New England Conference voted unanimously that "all Fridays in the year [be kept] as days of fasting or abstinence . . ." ²¹⁰ In a letter to Thomas Coke on September 2, 1811, Asbury wrote, "We have revived weekly fasting, and recommended two general fasts annually." ²¹¹

There were undoubtedly instances in which the rigor of approved discipline was unduly severe. Abel Stevens believed this to be true in the case of George Pickering*:

Method was perhaps his strongest mental habit, and it comprehended nearly every detail of his daily life. . . . His personal habits had the mechanical regularity of clock-work. During his itinerant life he devoted to his family, residing permanently at one place, a definite portion of his time; but even these domestic visits were subjected to the most stringent regularity. . . . If business called him to the town of his family residence at other times than those appropriated to his domestic visits, he returned to his post of labor without crossing the threshold of his home.

On one occasion during his scheduled period of absence a daughter lost her life under especially distressing circumstances. Though word was sent to him he did not permit himself to vary his schedule and was not present at her funeral, though but a few miles distant. ²¹²

In examination of the character of Joshua Taylor at the 1803 session of the New England Conference Pickering advanced the objection "that he was

* George Pickering (1769-1846), a native of Maryland, was admitted on trial in 1790 and continued in the traveling ministry until his death, at that time "the oldest effective Methodist preacher" in the Connection. He served as a member of all the General Conferences of the Church, with the exception of two, during forty years. In physical appearance he "was tall, slight, erect," and walked "with a steady elastic step," "His distinguishing traits of mind were penetration, clearness, decision, a tenacious memory, an inventive genius, a prompt yet cautious judgment, prudence, a peculiar quaintness of humor, and an elevated taste." He was a popular preacher, cheerful and self-sacrificing to an exceptional extent.—See James Mudge, *History of the New England Conference* . . . , pp. 46f.; *Gen'l Minutes*, IV, 116f.

not sufficiently austere in order to govern some that he had to deal with” Taylor agreed that the objection “was well founded.”²¹³

In other cases useful men shortened their period of service and the duration of their lives by excessive fasting in combination with physical over-exertion. James Foster, a Virginian who entered the itinerancy in 1776 and in 1786 was appointed Presiding Elder over a District including Georgia and a large part of South Carolina, is said by Philip Gatch to have “destroyed his constitution” by too severe fasting. He was compelled finally to retire in 1787, spending his last years in a condition “of mental prostration.”²¹⁴

In bald outline the disciplinary schedule might seem to have required a wholly staid and somber attitude toward life—men who were stern, severe, and unbending, devoid of human qualities, denying themselves all innocent pleasures of leisure and fellowship. Such an assumption—often made by unfriendly critics of religion—utterly belies the fact. Systematized as their lives were, the Methodist Circuit Riders, with few exceptions, were genial, hearty, optimistic, companionable men whose visits to the settlers’ cabins were anticipated as occasions of wholesome, pleasurable association. Some were excellent storytellers, who regaled the family groups with jokes, droll stories, and exciting tales of Indian adventures. Henry Smith, whose invariable custom it was to rise at four o’clock in the morning to pray and read his Bible, gives in his autobiography an interesting sidelight on his hours of relaxation :

I found the people remarkably kind and sociable. Many pleasant hours we spent together by the side of our large log fires in our log cabins, conversing on various subjects; but religion was generally our delightful theme. Our hearts were sometimes made to burn within us while we talked of Jesus and his love. It is true, some of us smoked the pipe with them, but we really thought there was no harm in that, for we had no anti-tobacco societies* among us then;²¹⁵

By their own action in the Christmas Conference (1784) the preachers prescribed for themselves an annual examination of character and conduct in Conference session. This procedure soon came to be known as “the passing of character.” It was, in effect, the testing of the system of discipline as to its extent and result in the case of every man. The examination was conducted in secret session behind closed doors.† The journals of the preachers and the

* The use of tobacco by preachers, both smoking and chewing, in the tobacco-growing South was almost universal (Vol. I, 84), and seems to have been common in the North. Benjamin Abbott speaks of sitting in the kitchen where he was being entertained at the New York Conference of 1790, “smoking . . . [his] pipe, being tired of confinement in Conference so long.” (S. A. Seaman, *Annals of New York Methodism* . . . , p. 115.) Alfred Brunson writes (1822) of “walking back and forth before the door, and taking . . . [his] usual smoke of the pipe. (*Op. cit.*, I, 267.) The Indiana Conference in 1836 passed a resolution “that during the session of this conference none of its members is to use tobacco or defile the floor by spitting, and every brother is particularly requested to avoid it.” (William Warren Sweet, *Circuit-Rider Days in Indiana*, p. 70.) Again in 1843 the Indiana Conference resolved “that by precept and example we will use our influence to prevent the use of tobacco in our houses of worship.”—*Ibid.*, pp. 320f.

† The rule requiring closed-door sessions during the examination of character began to be relaxed about 1828. Even earlier it was sometimes amended to allow attendance of Local Preachers. The New England Conference, influenced by the protest of laymen, held few if any secret sessions after 1839.—See J. Mudge, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

Minutes of the early Conferences testify that it was not a matter of mere routine. John Kobler tells of the Annual Conference held at Mabry's, in Virginia, in November, 1784:

All was union. All was love. This did not arise from . . . the want of strictness, for I can testify without reserve that it was the most searching time (individually) that ever I saw. C[h]aracters . . . [were] strictly examined separately. The smallest wound was probed to the bottom, and where the cause had merited it, our Hon[orable] Father [Asbury] did not withhold his hand from reproof.²¹⁸

The detail of scrutiny of conduct in the examination is evidenced by the Minutes of some of the early Conferences. In the case of Anthony Houston, a candidate for elder's orders at the Western Conference of 1807, the judgment was recorded that he had "acted somewhat imprudently by conversing with a young woman." As "nothing criminal" had been alleged against him he was elected to the office of elder.²¹⁷ At the 1810 Western Conference William Burke, Presiding Elder, proposed that a special committee be authorized in the case of James Blair, junior preacher on the Shelby Circuit, on trial for the second year. A committee appointed for the examination reported two days later:

We the Committe appointed to Examine into the case of J. Blair are of opinion . . . that he has been guilty of imprudent Conduct but their are so many Palliating Circumstances that we are of Opinion that he did not So act designedly and give it as our opinion that he shall be Repremanded before the Conference by the Presedent and be advised to act with more Caution for the future.²¹⁸

No immediate action was taken, and the case was brought up in the 1811 Conference session. Fourteen specifications not given in the *Minutes* had been presented at some juncture in the proceedings by William Burke. Of these, the Conference confirmed the report of the committee as regards the third charge; held, on the fourth charge, that Blair was guilty of imprudent conduct; on the fifth expressed the opinion that Blair's conduct "was highly imprudent"; on the sixth voted "his conduct improper"; and on the thirteenth "voted him guilty." Certain "Palliating Considerations" were stated. Finally, "after duly & deliberately weighing all . . . charges & circumstances taken together," the Conference voted Blair's "Suspension from all official services in our Church."²¹⁹

Definite methods of procedure in the administration of discipline were prescribed, the specific method to be followed depending upon the nature of the misdemeanor of which the preacher was accused. Penalties also were prescribed. In the interval between sessions of the Annual Conference* it was the prerogative of the Presiding Elder, in case of accusation brought against

* The term "Annual Conference" was not used previous to 1816. Following the General Conference of 1792 the term used was "District Conference," changed in 1796 to "Yearly Conference." See p. 127.

a preacher in his District, to convene a committee of investigation composed of Traveling Preachers, and if the accused was deemed guilty, to suspend him from the exercise of all ministerial functions until the ensuing Annual Conference. Penalties imposed, following formal trial by the Conference, included (1) suspension for a temporary period, or (2) expulsion from the ministry and membership of the Church, or (3) (after 1836) compulsory location.²²⁰

Trials of ministers were numerous, often necessitating the lengthening of sessions of Annual Conference beyond the usual period of one week. In his list of 988 itinerants received into full connection from 1769 to 1806, Jesse Lee states that twenty-one were expelled. Nathan Bangs' compilation of 2,468 preachers received into full connection, 1769-1828, lists fifty-seven as having suffered the penalty of expulsion.²²¹

The first apostate after the organization of the Church appears to have been Beverly Allen, elected to elder's orders at the Christmas Conference and commissioned to introduce Methodism into Georgia. He was "a man of extraordinary talents and zeal," who for "a flagrant crime" suffered expulsion in 1792.²²²

Grounds of expulsion were numerous and widely varied. The charges in some cases were vague and indefinite. In his absence from the Mississippi Conference session of 1825 Zechariah Williams who had "labored five . . . years on some of . . . [the] largest circuits" of the Conference was deposed from the ministry on the allegation that "he was guilty of impropriety and imprudence."²²³ No more definite specifications appear. At the Kentucky Conference session of 1822 Aquilla W. Sampson was expelled on charges "in reference to some transactions on account of books he had sold during the year."²²⁴ Elijah Sinclair suffered expulsion from the South Carolina Conference on the charge of having become involved in speculation.²²⁵

In 1820 Joshua Randall was expelled from the New England Conference for "holding and propagating doctrines inconsistent with . . . acknowledged [Methodist] standards."²²⁶ James Mudge states that there "was an expulsion that same year for retailing ardent spirits, one the following year for dishonorable and unchristian conduct on the subject of matrimony, another for deception and dissension."²²⁷ At the 1835 Mississippi Conference Jonas Westlund was convicted of "dishonest insolvency and falsehood" and expelled. He appealed to the General Conference which sustained the charge and verdict.²²⁸ Of seven church trials in which members of the Annual Conference were involved, of which full accounts are given in *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840*, IV, *The Methodists*, two were acquitted, three suspended for one year, and two expelled. The charges were "breach of marriage contract," "immorality [falsehood], contumacy, and unministerial conduct," "mal-

administration," "fraud, immorality [misrepresentation] and falsehood," and "adultery." Of the cases, two were for adultery; both of the accused made a confession of guilt and were expelled.²²⁹

While an earnest attempt was made by preachers in conducting trials to adhere strictly to formal legal procedure there is evidence that in some cases serious injustice was done. At the 1803 session of the Western Conference Benjamin Young was appointed a missionary to Illinois. He was accused by John Sale and others of "having said that he composed a certain song, when in truth he did not," that he had the misfortune of having his horse's thigh broken, when "no such accident had occurred," and that while still unordained he had performed baptism. With these charges pending, "after a plain talk, and Hopeful promises," he was admitted on trial, ordained both deacon and elder, and appointed a missionary to Illinois.²³⁰ But the following year he was brought to trial on the old charges. William McKendree, then a Presiding Elder, is said by Jacob Young, older brother of Benjamin, not to have had a favorable opinion of the young missionary and to have held that he had been "guilty of immoral conduct." He was accordingly expelled from the Church. His expulsion was thought by Jacob Young to have been a grievous wrong. He had done nothing, he said, "worthy of expulsion, or even of great censure . . ." In this opinion he was strengthened the next year.

Bishop Asbury being then present, gave it as his opinion, that Benjamin had been wrongfully expelled, and made an attempt to have the case reconsidered, but was overruled by the Conference.²³¹

An even sadder case was that of William Burke,* one of the most widely known and faithful of the Methodist pioneer preachers, for years the secretary of the Western Conference and the first Presiding Elder of the Ohio District. Of him the historian Allan Nevins has written, "there was hardly a settlement in the Ohio Valley where he had not preached or a cabin where he had not stayed, his pockets empty, his mind full." In 1813, weakened by excessive toil and having obtained appointment as postmaster of Cincinnati, he sent a letter to the Conference asking for the supernumerary relation.²³² His request was granted but charges were filed against him for having treated the Presiding Elder "with contempt," and, although the *Minutes* of the Ohio Conference have no record of the action, the Conference apparently voted to suspend him for one year. For the proceedings the next year (1814) we are dependent upon Jacob Young's† account:

There were several very troublesome cases to attend to, and the Bishop [Asbury] was too unwell to give them that attention they deserved. The Rev. William Burke . . . now came up to have his case adjusted. Burke's case was handled very in-

* For biographical note see Vol. I, 147.

† During the years 1812-14 Jacob Young was Presiding Elder of the Ohio District, Ohio Conference.

judiciously. . . . He submitted to it [his suspension] cheerfully, and, as he thought, had suffered the penalty of the law. He came and took his seat as usual. Asbury being sick, and M'Kendree not there, the acting president [John Sale] did not know how to manage the case, but requested Burke to retire. . . . His controversy with the elder was about a very small matter, involving nothing like immorality, and by bad management on the part of the Conference, more than on Burke's part it terminated in his expulsion from the Church. I had a perfect knowledge of this entire case from first to last, and rejoice to leave it as my dying testimony that the conference was more to blame than William Burke.²³³

The matter was not settled the next year but came up again in 1818 at which time the Conference voted to suspend Burke "from all official services in the M.E. Church untill he give full satisfaction to this Conference." No mention is made of the case in the *Journal* of the 1819 session but in that for 1820 it is stated that Burke had "continued to preach and administer the sacraments in op[p]osition to the authority of the . . . Church," and the Conference voted that he "be expelled . . . for contumacy."²³⁴

For sixteen years William Burke lived as a faithful, zealous layman, continuing to preach whenever and wherever opportunity offered. When, in 1836, General Conference met in Cincinnati, a letter expressing his greetings and his love for the brethren was presented. On the initiative of McKendree a resolution was passed recommending the Ohio Conference at its next session to restore Burke "to his former ministerial standing." This action was taken and in 1836 Burke became a superannuate of the Ohio Conference.²³⁵ In the division of the Church he became a member of the Kentucky Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South. In 1845 he was made a supernumerary, and in 1846 was given final superannuation.²³⁶

A phase of ministerial discipline which had extremely unfortunate results in the lives of some preachers and also in the life of the Church was the unwritten law of celibacy. While some preachers married after a few years in the ministry* it was a rule "as inexorable as death" that no itinerant should marry until he had traveled at least four years.²³⁷

The tradition of celibacy was strong both in British and American Methodism. Wesley advised his preachers against marriage and was impatient with those who failed to follow his counsel—even though he himself did not abide by the rule—and Asbury with better reason was insistent that the young preachers should not take unto themselves wives. His own reasons for not doing so were cogent and conclusive, and applied with almost equal pertinency to other Circuit Riders:

* At the Conference of 1783 eleven preachers' wives were named "to be provided for," which would seem to indicate that at least eleven of the eighty itinerants were married men and that sixty-nine were, as Abel Stevens says, "practically bound to celibacy, the necessity of their hard lot." (*History of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . .*, II, 114.) William Warren Sweet: "of the sixty-one preachers [of the Ohio Conference at its organization in 1812] twenty-two were married men." (*Circuit-Rider Days Along the Ohio . . .*, p. 34.) In some other Conferences the proportion was even less. In the Virginia Conference, for example, in 1809 only three of the eighty-four preachers were married.—Francis Ashury, *Journal*, III, 297.

Amongst the duties imposed upon me by my office was that of travelling extensively, and I could hardly expect to find a woman with grace enough to enable her to live but one week out of the fifty-two with her husband; besides what right has any man to take advantage of the affections of a woman, make her his wife, and by a voluntary absence subvert the whole order and economy of the marriage state, by separating those whom neither God, nature, nor the requirements of civil society permit long to be *put asunder*? it is neither just nor generous.²³⁸

Nevertheless, the rule worked a hardship. The journals of the preachers reveal in naive phrase how hard it was for even consecrated ministers to deny the demands of the heart and of the flesh. Instance for a single example, the "Journal" of Benjamin Lakin:

Thursd. 4. [February, 1796]. Was much exercised about Marrying, an object persented herself before my mind, many delights appeared in that state of life; But I believe I can serve God and be more useful in my present state.

March Wed. 21. [1798]. Was humbled before God as I intended to alter my state of life, a subject which has some time laid with weight on my mind, and now the providence of God has opened the way and has directed me to a person with whom I Believe I can live comfortably.

Thursd. 12. April [1798]. Was this day married to Betsey Roye, and had the testimony from above that it was acceptable in the sight of my heavenly Father—and God made it a day of consolation to my soul.²³⁹

Lakin was that year serving the important Lexington (Kentucky) Circuit and preachers were scarce but when the Conference met his name was included in the list of those "under a location." In his case the relation was temporary. When the Western Conference convened in its first session at Bethel Academy in Kentucky in October, 1800, he was restored to the list of effective preachers, ordained deacon, and appointed to the Limestone (Kentucky) Circuit.²⁴⁰

But for the large majority of young Circuit Riders entrance into the marriage relationship did not work out this way. Literally hundreds were permanently located—among the number many of the most capable and promising.* While a goodly number, such as Edward Dromgoole, continued to serve acceptably as Local Preachers, the ministry of the Church was greatly weakened and its progress seriously retarded.

AN ORGANIZED WAY

The Methodist Way makes maximum use of what was characterized in the preceding volume as "the supporting power of organization."† In this particular the Wesleyan heritage was not only accepted at full value but further developed and expanded by early American Methodism. The Band, the Class,

* In addition, many young men who felt called to the ministry and who were otherwise well qualified were refused admittance because they were already married.

† See Vol. I, xxxiv.

and the Society, the primary units of fellowship within the Church, were organized groups. Their spiritual significance lay in the fact that each was a means of exemplifying, developing, and enriching Christian fellowship, but their effectiveness as means was due in no small part to their closely knit organization. Apart from these primary units, all of which were taken over without change from British Wesleyanism, the organizations of American Methodism represented a gradual development.

THE QUARTERLY CONFERENCE

Under date of December 22, 1772, Asbury records in his *Journal*:

I then proceeded to J. D.'s; and the next day set off for J. P.'s to attend our quarterly meeting. Many people attended, and several friends [members] came many miles. I preached from Acts XX, 28: We afterward proceeded to our temporal business²⁴¹

The "temporal business" was of no slight importance. Appointments of preachers for the ensuing quarter (or possibly for four or six months) were made. The character of each itinerant was examined and passed upon. And, finally, questions of moment for the whole Church were considered and answered. This business session of the meeting constituted the Quarterly Conference—the first, so far as recorded, held in America—and it held within itself the germ of all the Conferences later developed, District, Annual, and General.

Quarterly Conferences* continued to be regularly held but strange to say their composition and functions, as such, were not defined by the Christmas Conference or by the General Conference of 1792. Not until 1848 was a section specifically on the Quarterly Conference incorporated into the *Discipline*, although the General Conference of 1804 under the duties of the Presiding Elder specified that he was to call together, at each Quarterly Meeting,

a quarterly meeting conference, consisting of all the travelling and local preachers, exhorters, stewards, and leaders of the circuit, and none else, to hear complaints, and to receive and try appeals.²⁴²

DISTRICT CONFERENCE

The General Conference of 1792 specified that "District Conferences" should be held annually at a time to be fixed by the Bishop, to include "not fewer than three, nor more than twelve" Circuits. A formal order of business was prescribed, including eighteen questions to be asked and answered.²⁴³ Except in name these were Annual Conferences and beginning with the 1816 edition of the *Discipline* were so called. With this change no Disciplinary specifications concerning the District Conference remained.

* For a description and characterization of the early Quarterly Conferences, see Vol. I, 52f.

The General Conference of 1820, on motion of William Capers, instituted District Conferences to be composed of the Local Preachers of each Presiding Elder's District who had been licensed "for two years." Many of the Local Preachers had long been dissatisfied because of lack of representation in the councils of the Church, not being eligible for membership either in the Annual or the General Conference. Partly as a gesture of appeasement the District Conference was created. It was directed to "inquire into the gifts, labours, and usefulness of each [Local] preacher" in the District, and under certain conditions was clothed with power "to license proper persons to preach and renew their license," and "to recommend suitable candidates to the annual conference for deacons' or elders' orders in the local communion for admission on trial in the travelling communion, and to try, suspend, expel, or acquit any local preacher in the district against whom charges may be brought" ²⁴⁴

But for reasons that would seem obvious the District Conference as thus constituted satisfied no one. It set the Local Preachers, many of whom were as well qualified as most of the Traveling Preachers, off by themselves in an organization without power to influence legislation on Church polity or policy. Yet influential Traveling Preachers, such as Nathan Bangs, characterized it as "a startling innovation."²⁴⁵ In 1836 it was discontinued by General Conference.*

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The Annual Conference in the sense in which the term has since been used did not exist prior to 1792. The body which exercised the electoral, disciplinary, and legislative powers of the Methodist Episcopal Church between the Christmas Conference (1784) and the General Conference of 1792 was simply a yearly assembly of the Traveling Preachers which met in sections and included within itself the functions of both the Annual and the General Conference.† From 1785 to 1787 there were three sections each year; in 1788, six; and in the Conference year 1791-92, seventeen. No legislative enactment was complete until it had been voted upon by all the sectional assemblies. A majority of the total vote was required. The Minutes were recorded as of one Conference.²⁴⁶

Breaking sharply with British precedent, the American Conferences from the first asserted competence to manage their own affairs. In accordance with the British example, followed by Thomas Rankin, the Delaware Conference of 1779‡ gave Asbury—whom they recognized as "General Assistant"—the

* Not until 1872 was the District Conference reconstituted in essentially its present form by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church; in 1870 by The Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

† For particulars of these early Conferences see Vol. I, 159ff., 109ff., 121ff., 123, 126, 132f., 158, 160, 173.

‡ See Vol. I, 63f.

decision of all questions introduced and debated in Conference. But the democratic spirit of the American preachers was not long content with an order that placed so great a degree of authority in the hands of one man. Beginning with the Conference of 1792 majority rule of the preachers present was asserted and thereafter exercised. Ultimate sovereign power was recognized as residing in the members of Conference.²⁴⁷

What was involved for the itinerants in the early days in attending Annual Conference in the West has been thus graphically portrayed:

the traveling preachers collected . . . from Holston, Natchez [Mississippi], Opelousas [Louisiana], Missouri, [Indiana,] Illinois, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, covering a vast field of labor—an immense theater for missionary enterprise. . . . Many of these had been toiling on the frontier settlements, and had come hundreds of miles to Conference, fatigued with travel, enfeebled by affliction, exposure and labor; bare of clothing; in money-matters almost penniless—really itinerant, houseless wanderers—but they brought cheering intelligence of opening prospects, of religious revivals, and growing spiritual prosperity.²⁴⁸

If the Methodist itinerant could be said to have had a church home in the sense that lay men and women have such, the Annual Conference was his church. Its membership list was the only church roll on which his name appeared. It was the bar before which every year he stood to be judged, the tribunal which in approval or censure passed upon his character and his work. Annually at its session—in the early days usually without consultation or intimation*—he received the assignment to his field of labor which he was in conscience bound to accept without complaint or right of appeal. When the inevitable time arrived that he became a “worn-out preacher” his name was entered upon its roll as a superannuate and when his life’s course was ended its journal was the archive in which his life’s record was enshrined.²⁴⁹

The Conference sessions were times of relaxation and refreshment, conducted in a manner that made them of no little spiritual and educational value. The recorded Minutes reveal little of their deeper significance. They were not—as has often been the case in the latter days—devoted almost exclusively to routine Conference business, but were more given over to “conversations on the work of God,” as Asbury’s *Journal* reveals. That was the precedent set by Wesley and it was followed for many years. Referring to the Confer-

* Asbury for the most part seems to have been inflexible in following this rule but in later years there were exceptions. Tobias Spicer records that he took occasion “to converse freely” with his Presiding Elder, Peter Moriarty, about his trials and difficulties. “I told him I had a very hard circuit, . . . that I had not much time to study, very few books, and no means by which to procure any more; my clothing was poor, and I could not get any better . . . I desired he would use his influence to get me appointed . . . to a better circuit. The good old man embraced me in his arms, and talked like a kind father;”

“At the ensuing Conference [1813] I was appointed to Saratoga [N. Y.] Circuit. . . . at that time . . . considered the most desirable circuit in the whole district.” (*Autobiography of Rev. Tobias Spicer* . . . , pp. 40f.) Heman Bangs also relates that in 1817 the Presiding Elder asked him at Conference where he would like to go the next year. “A strange question, I thought, to put to a traveling preacher; I have very seldom been asked the question since. They generally send me just where they please.”—*Op. cit.*, p. 36.

ence held at Granville, Massachusetts, in September, 1798, he says: "We had many weighty and deliberate conversations on interesting subjects, in much plainness and moderation."²⁵⁰

A principal cause of weakness in all of the Annual Conferences throughout the period (1784-1844) was the continual change in personnel caused by the high mortality rate and by location. Many located because of ill health and as many more because of marriage and inability to support a family on the income allowed married preachers. In his address to the General Conference of 1816 McKendree bemoaned the misfortune of the Church in having a ministry in so many regions which was "always in its infancy, and sometimes very deficient in numbers in consequence of location."²⁵¹

Abel Stevens asserts that of "the fifteen preachers received on trial at the Conference of 1784, a third retired from the itinerancy in less than three years" and "nearly another third in about five years."²⁵² Thomas Ware states that during its first decade, "reckoning from 1784," the Church lost from the Traveling Connection by location no less than 290 preachers, of whom many were of "the most commanding talents."²⁵³ Of the fifty-five men admitted on trial at the Annual Conferences of 1801, according to James Mudge, twenty-nine retired from the ministry within ten years. During the quadrennium 1837-40 five hundred and forty-six located, more than one-fourth of the whole number of Conference members in the first year of the quadrennium.²⁵⁴

The strain on the morale of the Annual Conferences and the weakening of the ministry by the heavy proportion of locations constituted an irreparable loss and seriously retarded the progress of the Church.

GENERAL CONFERENCE

On November 1, 1792, wrote Jesse Lee,

the first regular general conference* began in Baltimore. Our preachers who had been received into full connection, came together from all parts of the United States where we had any circuits formed with an expectation that something of great importance would take place in the connection in consequence of that conference.

After a brief running account of the proceedings Lee continued:

At that general conference we revised the form of discipline, and made several alterations. The proceedings of that conference were not published in separate minutes, but the alterations were entered at their proper places, and pub-

* The Christmas Conference designated itself "the General Conference" in contradistinction to the Annual Conferences previously held, (Vol. I, 99.) However, Lee's designation of the General Conference of 1792 as "the first regular" General Conference has been accepted by Abel Stevens and others who have considered the Christmas Conference merely a "general convention" of the preachers. By some the Conference of 1787 has been regarded a General Conference. On this see Vol. I, 111n.

lished in the next edition of the form of discipline, which was the eighth edition.²⁵⁵

By the turn of the century dissatisfaction with the mass-meeting type of Conference was expressed by representative leaders of the Church. The time and expense involved in travel made it impracticable for more than a few members of the frontier Conferences to be present, whereas those near the seat of General Conference could attend without inconvenience. Of the 129 members present at the opening of the 1808 Conference one hundred were from four of the seven Annual Conferences. Two Conferences (Philadelphia and Baltimore) had almost exactly one-half of the total number, thereby representing virtually a balance of power on any issue presented. When the proposal for a representative General Conference was rejected by a majority of seven of those voting, a group of representatives of the New England and Western Conferences who had been elected as delegates withdrew from the session, proposing to return to their homes.²⁵⁶ This protest was decisive. After consultations, the proposal was reconsidered and adopted by almost unanimous action.*

Of great importance was the decision to constitute itself the sole lawmaking body of Methodism, an action that has never been successfully challenged. Its unique powers as delegated included full authority "to make rules and regulations for the Church under . . . [certain designated] limitations and restrictions." In other words, it was endowed with all powers not specifically denied to it.† The limitations came to be known as "the Restrictive Rules."²⁵⁷

In the light of the Wesleyan doctrinal heritage the adoption of such a theological strait-jacket as the first Restrictive Rule‡ was an anomalous action, not easily understood. Wesley had not hesitated to reduce the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England to twenty-five, nor to edit those which he retained. Neither he nor the Christmas Conference prescribed their acceptance as a condition of church membership, or subscription to them as a condition of admission to the Traveling Connection.²⁵⁸

Their adoption as a detailed body of divinity by the Church of England in the sixteenth century, in the opinion of an Episcopal historian, was "foreign to her genius" and "contrary to her history and traditions."²⁵⁹ When the Protestant Episcopal Church was organized they barely escaped being set aside en-

* For statement on constitutional developments, 1784-1812, and a brief résumé of the legislation of the 1808 General Conference, see Vol. I, 159ff.

† The contrast with the Congress of the United States is interesting. Congress has only such powers as are granted to it by the Constitution while the General Conference has all powers not denied to it.

‡ Nolan B. Harmon, Jr., suggests that the first Restrictive Rule may not have been intended to be absolute. "There may be a question as to whether in the First Restrictive Rule 'any new standards' or 'rules of doctrine contrary to our present existing and established standards' are two co-ordinate expressions. Or does the latter expression, 'rules of doctrine contrary,' and so forth, modify and explain what 'new standards' are? If the latter point of view is held, then a General Conference might or may establish a 'new' standard so long as this new standard does not become a rule contrary to the present existing and established standards. If the above expressions, however, are co-ordinate, then nothing whatever in the way of doctrine which might be considered 'new' could, or can ever be, put into Methodist discipline and practice by a General Conference."—*The Organization of the Methodist Church* . . . , p. 101.

tirely but were finally formally adopted, although subscription to them was not prescribed.*

Buckley in his *Constitutional and Parliamentary History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, after commenting on Wesley's expurgation of "the leaven of ritualism, Calvinism, and Romanism" from the thirty-nine Articles, makes the further comment:

it must be admitted that . . . [the twenty-five Articles] do not contain special reference to some of the most precious doctrines held by the Founder of Methodism and by the Churches that derive their existence from the preaching, teaching and examples of those whom he instructed.²⁶⁰

The "established standards of doctrine" have been generally acknowledged to be the Articles, Wesley's first *Fifty-two Sermons*, and his *Notes on the New Testament*. Other than the Articles, however, the standards were not formally enumerated either in the Restrictive Rules or elsewhere in the *Discipline*. Fortunately or unfortunately—according to the point of view one may hold—since they were not so enumerated the works which constituted the standards gradually became more and more unfamiliar, on which fact Tigert makes this pertinent comment:

The doctrinal uniformity of American Methodism, and its freedom from controversy and heresy, could receive no more striking illustration than in this fact that the Church suffered to drop out of notice the standards to which there never arose occasion for serious appeal.²⁶¹

The anomaly of limitation of General Conference membership to ministers, which placed in the hands of the clergy absolute legislative authority, has been elsewhere commented upon.† It has been described by Nolan B. Harmon in these terms:

the preachers were the authority for the church, its ultimate sovereign power. . . . [They] . . . could have met in conference or convention at any time before 1808 and have done away their church or changed any of its forms had they so chosen. They were absolute and final in all matters touching what they would have called their 'connexion.' And to this day, while the church has seen fit since those early years to place laymen as well as preachers in the Annual Conferences [and in the General Conference], all traveling preachers, being *ipso facto* Annual Conference members, yet enjoy the right inherent in such membership—that is, to be sovereign constitutional electors and directors of their church.²⁶²

While the Methodist itinerants preached a more democratic gospel and

* S. D. McConnell: When the American [Episcopal] Church was organized a wish "widely prevailed to omit the Articles altogether. Their importance was deemed so subsidiary that they were set aside until all else was settled.

" . . . What binding force upon belief they may carry, each decides for himself. . . . They have never exercised any appreciable influence upon the life or belief of this Church. Like all contemporary Confessions, they have largely ceased to be intelligible."—*History of the American Episcopal Church*, pp. 275f.

† See Vol. I, 251ff.

were in general more liberal in their political views than the clergy of other denominations the Baptists and Presbyterians were more democratic in granting a place to laymen in church government, and freely charged that Methodists, because of the form of organization of the General and Annual Conferences, were subject to a "spiritual aristocracy."* But no denomination emphasized more strongly the importance of the individual or put more stress on participation by every member in the life and work of the local Society. Everyone was expected to take part by praying, testifying, and sharing in the religious and social activities of the local church. This emphasis upon individual participation exercised a strong democratic influence upon the members.

PRESIDING ELDERSHIP

The Thirteenth Article of Religion enumerates as the essential marks of a Christian Church three requirements and implies a fourth: (1) "a congregation of faithful men"; (2) the preaching of "the pure Word of God"; (3) "the sacraments duly administered according to Christ's ordinance"; and an ordained ministry. When the Articles were sent to America by Wesley the Methodist Societies had the first and the second of these essentials and his action in ordaining Coke, Vasey, and Whatcoat was designed to supply the third and fourth and thus make possible the organization of "a visible Church of Christ."

Thomas Ware, who was a member of the Christmas Conference, states that after organization the Conference "proceeded to elect a sufficient number of elders to visit the quarterly meetings, and administer the ordinances." He then adds, "This it was that gave rise to the office of presiding elders among us."²⁶³

The Circuits in the 1785 *Minutes* are for the first time arranged in groups, each group preceded by the name of a preacher designated "Elder." The first *Discipline* (1785) specifies as the duties of an elder: "To administer the Sacraments of Baptism and The Lord's Supper, and to perform all the other Rites prescribed by our Liturgy." The second *Discipline* (1786) adds:

To exercise within his own district, during the absence of the Superintendents, all the powers invested in them for the government of our Church. Provided that he never act contrary to an express order of the Superintendents.²⁶⁴

The statement of duties was further expanded in the third *Discipline* (1787). The General Conference of 1792 sanctioned the name Presiding Elder† and defined the duties of the office in detail in substantially the form

* A specially virulent attack was that of J. R. Graves, a Baptist preacher of Tennessee, in a book entitled *The Great Iron Wheel; or, Republicanism Backwards and Christianity Reversed*, which led to much bitter controversy.

† The title "Presiding Elder" first appears in the official documents of the Church in the plans for the ill-fated Council. (See Vol. I, 160, 160n.) For chronology of the term see J. J. Tigert, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

continued throughout the period ending with the division of the Church and many decades thereafter. The duties as defined made the Presiding Elder in effect a sub-Bishop, intimately related to every phase of the life and work of the Church. In a letter to James Quinn while he was a Presiding Elder Asbury said:

You will be eyes, ears, mouth, and wisdom, from us to the people; and from the people to us. You will be in our stead, to supply our absence. 'Tis order, 'tis system—under God—that hath kept us from schism, and heresy, and division, . . .

You will be planning all the year. You will collect all the information you can for the . . . [Bishops]. *Know men and things well.*²⁶⁵

Asbury was an astute judge of the capabilities of men and he made comparatively few mistakes in his appointments of Presiding Elders. As they had power to "change, receive, and suspend Preachers" in the interim between Conference sessions the younger men inclined to look to them for counsel and guidance. The history of the part they played in the development of Methodism during the period of its most rapid expansion in America has never yet been written but there can be no doubt that credit for much of its growth was due to their heroic and indefatigable efforts.

EPISCOPACY

Since the episcopal office, as such, did not exist in British Wesleyanism and the Christmas Conference did not undertake to define its functions, its prerogatives and powers were necessarily a gradual development. The analogy of Wesley's relationship to the British Societies naturally dominated Asbury's thinking* but he had a very different constituency to deal with and this, together with the fact that he had no such commanding personality as Wesley, interfered with his ambitions in attempting to shape the office according to his ideas. When the administration of the Conferences became a burden too great to be borne he proposed the election of assistant Bishops, even going to the length of nominating three men of his choice, Jesse Lee, Francis Poythress, and Richard Whatcoat. But the preachers wanted no such office. When in 1800 Whatcoat was elected to the episcopacy with full powers, Asbury did not recognize him as being on a parity with himself.

Until 1808 Asbury made all the annual appointments of preachers—practically without consultation—decided all appeals from Annual Conferences; exercised the power of veto on ordinations voted by the Conferences; and until 1804 could unite any two or more Annual Conferences or establish new Conferences.²⁶⁶

But McKendree's election as Bishop changed the situation. Whatever his ambition or purpose, the widened geographical spread of the Church and its

* For comment on Asbury's unwillingness to concede to Coke, his senior in office, equal power with himself, see Vol. I, 108n., 116, 117f., 117n.

greatly increased membership had made it impossible for Asbury to continue to act as "General Superintendent" in the same sense. Moreover, as Tigert says, finally in William McKendree "Asbury found his match."²⁶⁷ He was a man of independent judgment, fully disposed from the beginning to assert his constitutional equality with his revered senior. When both Bishops were present at a Conference—as was expected in all cases—he always shared in the presidency. Asbury continued to prepare the preliminary draft of the appointments. McKendree then made such changes as were deemed desirable after consultation with the Presiding Elders, although to the last Asbury refused to participate in council meetings with the elders. No later Bishop possessed the control over every activity of the Church that Asbury had exercised.

Following the election of Enoch George and Robert R. Roberts to the episcopacy in 1816 a supervisory plan was adopted which included (1) the division of episcopal administration of the Conferences among the Bishops; (2) change of administrative supervision annually; (3) assignment of administrative responsibility for a Conference during the year of his presidency to the presiding Bishop; and (4) attendance, as far as possible, of all of the Bishops as counselors or assistants at as many Conferences as they could reach.²⁶⁸

The Church was thoroughly committed to the principle of an itinerant general superintendency, including the attendance of all of the Bishops at all of the Conferences and their joint sharing of administrative responsibility. The principle was reluctantly abandoned only when attendance became a practical impossibility.

A PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

Methodism did not make the disastrous mistake of assuming that the nation could be renewed and revitalized from the top by appealing to the elite and the privileged.* The American Movement was true to its Wesleyan heritage in addressing itself to society as a whole. It scorned neither the rich nor the poor; neither the distinguished nor the outcasts among men. The love and grace of God, it maintained, was freely available for all, whatever their rank or circumstances of life. As a result it became in America as in England a true People's Movement.²⁶⁹

That Methodism made converts only among the ignorant and the poor is a popular fallacy, zealously fostered for generations in literary circles. So Van Wyck Brooks in *The World of Washington Irving*:

* Woodrow Wilson: "When I look back on the processes of history, when I survey the genesis of America, I see this written on every page: that the nations are renewed from the bottom, not from the top; The utility, the vitality, the fruitage of life does not come from the top to the bottom; it comes, like the natural growth of a great tree, from the soil, up through the trunk, into the branches to the foliage and the fruit. The great struggling unknown masses of the men who are at the base of everything, are the dynamic force that is lifting the levels of society."—*The New Freedom*, pp. 79f.

the Methodists and Baptists, despised by the planters, were making multitudes of converts. These evangelical sects appealed to the less cultivated classes, and they thrived especially in the frontier regions, North Carolina, Georgia, and the turbulent West.²⁷⁰

If he and others had consulted the records they would have found that the Methodists thrived not only in "North Carolina, Georgia, and the turbulent West," but likewise in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York. Between 1802 and 1812, the earlier part of the period of which he wrote, the Methodist white membership of the South Carolina Conference (including Georgia, South Carolina, and a part of North Carolina) increased from 9,256 to 20,863; that of the Western Conference from 7,738 to 29,093; the Virginia Conference from 13,099 to 19,157; the Baltimore Conference from 12,513 to 21,300; the New York Conference (including in 1812 the Genesee Conference) from 11,458 to 30,855. Only the Philadelphia Conference, according to the statistical record, showed a decrease and this was apparent rather than real, due to change in Conference boundaries.²⁷¹ Methodism, in fact, covered the nation and in every region, save New England where it had a late start, exhibited phenomenal growth.

Nor was the increase, as has so often been assumed, drawn only from one social group. In a unique sense early American Methodism was a Church of the common people but its membership, even during its first decades, was not limited to any one class nor confined to persons of any one or two occupational groups. Its rural constituency was proportionately large but it also had many congregations in towns and cities.

Asbury refers often to preaching among the poor, as on December 9, 1794: "Preached at William's meeting-house [Virginia]. . . . a poor people . . ." and on April 13, 1795, "We came in the evening to the house [in North Carolina] of a poor, honest man. . . . we can embrace the poor cabins, and find shelter." But many of his meetings were attended by the well-to-do:

January 3 [1773]. Rode to Baltimore, and had a large congregation . . . at the Point. Many of the principal people were there

Saturday, 3 [April, 1773]. . . . Several rich people attended the preaching the last three days, and did not seem displeased with the plain truths of the Gospel.²⁷²

As with Asbury, so with other itinerants. Ezekiel Cooper, appointed at the Conference of 1786 to Trenton (New Jersey) Circuit, records:

[June 26, 1787.] We had a company of poor, simple hearers together, and I endeavored to speak accordingly;

Wednesday, 27 . . . at Speedwell Furnace. I had to preach to a number of workmen, who generally, at such places, are very wicked.²⁷³

On Coke's third episcopal visit to America he recorded the comment that

in Halifax County, Virginia, where four years earlier he had "met with much persecution" because of his anti-slavery agitation, "almost all the great people of the county came in their chariots and . . . carriages" to hear him.²⁷⁴ Many of "the great people," in fact, came to hear not only the Bishop, but also John King, Robert Williams, Thomas Rankin, Francis Asbury, Thomas Ware, and others of the itinerant preachers, and of the many some remained to pray and eventually to cast their lot with the Methodists. Among the most widely known were General Hardy Bryan of Virginia and North Carolina, one of Thomas Ware's converts*; James Rembert of South Carolina, "a man of much wealth"; Richard Bassett, governor of Delaware; Henry D. Gough, at whose palatial home, Perry Hall,† near Baltimore, the parley preceding the Christmas Conference was held; General Christopher Lippett of Rhode Island; and Pierre Van Cortlandt of New York, the first lieutenant governor of the state, re-elected seventeen times, and president of the New York constitutional convention.²⁷⁵

In many communities in the East and South the first appointments for Methodist preaching were in the homes of obscure people—poor and without social standing. In other localities immediate access was had to the community as a whole. Thomas Smith states that in Delaware peninsula the more wealthy and influential portion of the population "embraced Methodism at its rise" in that region.²⁷⁶ Writing to a friend in 1827 from Wilkes County, Georgia, Stephen Olin said that the year had been a glorious one for many parts of the state, with a great revival of religion, and added, "What is singular, the subjects of the work are generally the first in their wealth and standing in the community."²⁷⁷ William Stith, judge of the Superior Court, in the middle district of Georgia, was a Methodist and a personal friend of Jesse Lee.²⁷⁸ The wife of Governor John Clark of Georgia was a loyal member of the Methodist Church. When William Capers was appointed to Milledgeville in 1823 the governor's mansion, fully furnished, was tendered to him for a residence while a parsonage was being built.²⁷⁹

A Massachusetts teacher, who had gone to Alabama to teach, in 1832 wrote to her former pastor that the Methodists in Tuscumbia were "by far the most influential part of [the] community." She expressed a fear that the members of the Church in general were too wealthy "to keep pace with religion."²⁸⁰ At the 1835 session of the Georgia Conference one of the men received into the ministry was Alexander Speer, who had been Secretary of

* Ware states that General Bryan was "a barrister at law"—whose establishment included more than thirty persons, white and black—who with his wife drove to the New River meeting in a coach attended by servants.—*Sketches of the Life and Travels of Rev. Thomas Ware . . .*, pp. 164f.

† William Black of Nova Scotia described Perry Hall as "the most spacious and elegant building" he had seen in the United States, and reported the owner to be worth one hundred thousand pounds. "He has built [on his estate] a neat stone meeting-house, entertains the circuit preacher, and at times preaches himself. And thus he continued to act during the . . . war, at the risk of his immense estate."—Matthew Richey, *A Memoir of the Late Rev. William Black . . .*, pp. 135f.; *The Life of Mr. William Black . . .*, in Thomas Jackson, Ed., *The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers*, III, 160.

State in South Carolina. The next year John W. Glenn,* a judge of the Inferior Court, became a member of the Conference.²⁸¹

The first Annual Conference following the organization of the Church, convened in April, 1785, was held in the home of Green Hill, a member of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina in its first, third, and fourth sessions; also a member of the Assembly from Franklin County.²⁸² At the Conference held in May, 1788, in the Holston country, among the converts were General Russell and his wife—a sister of Patrick Henry. In 1793 Asbury refers to the general as having been “for a few years past . . . a living flame, and a blessing to his neighborhood.”²⁸³ For years after his death his widow, invariably referred to by Asbury as “Sister Russell,” made her “mansion” a haven of refuge for travel-worn Circuit Riders, as also a preaching place—“a light-house shining afar among the Alleghanies.”²⁸⁴ One of the outstanding laymen of Tennessee Methodism was H. R. W. Hill who accumulated a fortune as a Nashville merchant and in cotton brokerage in New Orleans. He provided a home for Bishop McKendree; and later, when Bishop Soule came to the South, presented him a house and farm near Franklin, Tennessee.²⁸⁵

The settlement and development of the Northwest Territory has been aptly characterized by William Warren Sweet as “one of the great epic chapters of America’s history.”²⁸⁶ In no part of the nation did Methodism take on the character and proportions of a true People’s Movement in a more marked way than in its component states. The first Methodist Society in Ohio was founded in Clermont County in 1797, ten years after the enactment of the Northwest Ordinance. Forty-seven years later, when the Church divided, the two Annual Conferences of the state reported 343 Traveling Preachers, 725 Local Preachers, and 101,060 lay members.²⁸⁷ The first governor of the state was a Methodist Local Preacher. Edward Tiffin (1766–1829), elected governor by an almost unanimous vote of the Constitutional Convention, in 1790 experienced conversion. Within a few weeks—eight years before John Kobler undertook to establish a Circuit among the scattered settlements north of the Ohio River†—without waiting for ecclesiastical sanction of any kind, he gathered about himself a substantial group of settlers of Berkeley County upon whom he urged acceptance of the faith which had so recently brought peace to his own soul. Soon he began to hold religious services, preaching wherever opportunity offered. Learning of his activities, on November 19, 1792, Asbury ordained him as a local deacon.²⁸⁸ Here is afforded a glimpse into the unwritten history of the phenomenal development of the Methodist Move-

* One of the sons of Alexander Speer became a Supreme Court Justice in Georgia, and another a professor in the University of Georgia. The descendants of John W. Glenn have maintained the Methodist tradition. The Glenn Memorial Church at Emory University was named in honor of his son, Wilbur Fiske Glenn, also a Methodist preacher.—Edmund J. Hammond, *The Methodist Episcopal Church in Georgia* . . . , pp. 62f.

† See Vol. I, 146.

ment, the way in which lay converts on their own initiative took it upon themselves to publish the Gospel of the free grace of God.

In a Methodist revival at Lebanon, Ohio, under the leadership of John Collins, in 1811, twelve men—the most of whom were prominent and influential citizens—professed conversion. One of the twelve was John M'Lean who, after serving for some years as a member of Congress,* was appointed to the United States Supreme Court. "He remained an active and consistent member [of the Church] during his whole public career," widely honored as a distinguished public servant and as a Christian.²⁸⁹

The expansion of Methodism in Indiana was less spectacular than in Ohio but still remarkable in extent and the sturdy character of its growth. In the forty-three years between the holding of the first Methodist meeting in the Territory† and the close of our period an aggregate membership of 63,029 had been built up, a development representing all kinds and classes of the state's population. Farm folk constituted a large majority, but there were also many townspeople. In accounting for the growth of Methodism in Vincennes, the territorial capital of Indiana, John Stewart mentions the influence of D. Bonner whose "rectitude in business and . . . activity and consistency as a Christian" commanded respect far and wide. He names also several other businessmen whose ability, generosity, and stedfast Christian witness contributed to the upbuilding of Methodism in the state.²⁹⁰ B. F. Tefft tells of spending a Sunday in Indianapolis in 1844 and attending a Bible class at Roberts' Chapel of which Governor James Whitcomb was the teacher. Paris C. Dunning, his successor in the governorship, was also a Methodist and later represented the United States as ambassador at the Prussian Court, where he held "weekly class-meetings, to which he . . . [invited] all his American visitors, and such of the representatives of other foreign countries as seem[ed] to be at all religiously inclined . . ." ²⁹¹

In the beginnings of Methodism in New England the Circuit Riders first found a hearing among the people who were unreached by the formal methods and erudite written sermons of the clergy of the Standing Order. A pamphlet printed in Norwich, Connecticut, in 1800 described the Methodist Societies as made up "of the most weak, unlearned, ignorant and base part of mankind."²⁹² But fifty years later S. G. Goodrich, a Congregationalist, writing of the Methodists of Ridgefield, Connecticut, said they were "as respectable as those of any other religious society in town."²⁹³ In 1833 Worcester members applied for the use of the Town Hall as a meeting place. "Of the eighteen Methodists who signed the petition, four were machinists, two were carpen-

* Returning to his Ohio home, while a member of Congress, he learned that one of the band of twelve had fallen into sin and had been expelled from the Church. Summoning the remaining ten, M'Lean guided the group in calling upon the backslider and leading him to repentance and renewed faith.—Maxwell P. Gaddis, *Brief Recollections of the Late George W. Walker*, pp. 110f.

† See Vol. I, 153.

ters, one a manufacturer of cotton cloth, one a laborer, three farmers, and one a shoemaker."²⁹⁴ This kind of representative cross section of the population was probably characteristic of New England Methodism as a whole in the thirties and forties.

The lay leaders of the Methodist Societies, particularly the Local Preachers and the Class Leaders, were in many cases in closer contact with the rank and file of the membership than were the preachers. The Circuit Rider on a two weeks', four weeks', or six weeks' Circuit had slight opportunity for intimate acquaintance with his parishioners. In the intervals between the preacher's visits a Local Preacher, if there was one associated with the Society, took the place of the Circuit Rider in preaching to the people, and the Class Leader met the Class. These two were at hand and usually conducted the prayer meeting. They attended the Sunday school and more often than not taught classes. They called in the homes and prayed with the sick. When death came to a member of a church family usually the Local Preacher was asked to conduct the funeral service. The Class Leader sustained an intimate relation to every member of his class. He was their father confessor in the best sense of the word.

The records reveal that frequently the initiative for the formation of a Society was taken by a layman. The Circuit Riders were constantly searching for new preaching places and established scores of them every year. But often a faithful man or woman, living in an isolated settlement without religious services, hearing that a Methodist preacher had established a Society in a settlement ten, twenty, or thirty miles distant, sought him out and invited him to add yet another point to his Circuit. The invitation was eagerly accepted and not infrequently the earnest Christian who had accepted the invitation found himself appointed as Class Leader.

"The external husk of any religious movement," writes Rufus M. Jones, "is obvious and describable, the inner core is indescribable, and is missed by all except those who are initiated."²⁹⁵ The external peculiarities of the early Methodists—their methodical ways, their extemporaneous preaching, the emotional features of many of their meetings, their plainness of dress—in other words, "the external husk" of the movement, have impressed most secular writers. The distinctive experience, the immediate sense of God, the inspiration and strength which were the fruit of Christian fellowship, the new dynamic for living—these constituted the "inner core" of the Methodist Movement. This inner core for a large proportion of the members was found in the meetings for which lay men and women were responsible—above all in the Class meeting. In this fact, again, is found evidence that Methodism was in reality a true People's Movement.

V

The Methodist Message

IN his last conversation with them before His crucifixion Jesus told the Twelve that when the Spirit of Truth should come He would bring conviction to the world "as to Sin, and as to Righteousness, and as to Judgement."¹ In every great revival of religion this declaration has been verified, not least of all in the Wesleyan Revival in Great Britain and America. In recounting the progress of the Movement in the New Republic we have seen that "conviction . . . as to Sin," as to moral and social righteousness, and the judgment of God against sin and the sinner was not only an essential element of the Methodist message but also constituted the framework of the living Church which the Circuit Riders, under God, called into existence.²

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MESSAGE

The early ministers were preachers, not writers. Their literary remains were few and for the most part fragmentary. A large proportion of the written sermons have not been preserved. For these reasons it is difficult to generalize with assurance concerning the form and content of the preached message. Certain general characteristics, however, stand out clearly.

PRIMACY OF EXPERIENCE

In the preface to his keen, objective study entitled *John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism*, Maximin Piette, the Belgian Roman Catholic scholar, asserts that Methodism "occupies in every way a unique position, by reason of the primacy which it has accorded to religious experience." The Movement, he suggests,

is a reaction against the antinomianism of the Lutherans; it is a reaction against the absolute decrees of Calvinism; it is a realization of free research within the limits of a single powerful organization of discipline.³

Above everything else this characteristic was most prominent in Methodist preaching. Always the Circuit Rider's appeal was: Come and see; test the word which I declare unto you, whether it be of God. To every man, what-

ever his past life had been, however deep his involvement in sin and his despair of recovery, a present salvation was confidently offered. While many others were engaging in speculations concerning the divine "decrees," and laboring to justify reprobation, unconditional election, and final perseverance, the Methodist preachers in simple, pointed, warm, and animated sermons were declaring, "whosoever will may come." Their conceptions of God and His ways with men were doubtless often expressed in crude and narrow terms but whenever in sermon or journal one comes upon their primary idea of the free, unlimited, effective grace of God available to all, one glimpses anew the power and appeal of the sublime, ever new, truth that a living Father is constantly extending the offer of forgiveness and redemption to the repentant sinner.

Much of the success of the itinerants lay in the fact that they could confidently assert: That which I declare unto you, I myself have seen and felt and experienced. The sermon was not a species of theorizing or philosophizing; it was personal testimony, a witnessing to that which had become most real and precious in the preacher's own life. Often the recital of his own experience formed the substance of his discourse.

The secret of the Edwardean Revival, Herbert W. Schneider has suggested, lay in the spiritual victory which Jonathan Edwards, after intense inner struggle, won on the battlefield of his own soul. "On January 12, 1723," Edwards testifies, "I made a dedication of myself to God, and wrote it down; giving up myself and all I had to God; to be in the future in no respect my own." The Gospel he preached at Northampton "was neither a product of scholastic and theological learning nor a philosophical reflection on the general moral problems of his time; it was a fruit of his own inner struggles." He was a learned man and his sermons bear testimony to his power of intellect. But, says Schneider,

underneath his learning and his dialectical skill, there was a direct, personal acquaintance knowledge. In Jonathan Edwards religion was essentially a kind of private experience . . . The Gospel of divine sovereignty, of election, of predestination, and of the Covenant of Grace . . . was now transferred to the inner life of the soul.⁴

AN ETHICAL GOSPEL

Methodist Circuit Riders were concerned about sin in an abstract sense but they were even more concerned about *sins*. They felt that an eternal warfare was being waged between God and the Devil and that the conflict was in evidence in every community in which they preached. They called upon their hearers to repent of their sins and to enlist on the side of God in the struggle. They felt they were accomplishing nothing in their preaching so long as conscience was unreached and hearts unmoved.

The itinerants stressed the cardinal New Testament virtues that are the foundation stones of wholesome, happy family life and good citizenship, and urged obedience to the Ten Commandments and the Beatitudes. A Christian life, they declared, is evidenced by the fruits of the Spirit: gentleness, love, compassion, patience, purity, honesty, temperance, thrift, and charity. The preaching related itself to the daily life of the people, showing them what was required to make crooked paths straight and to provide plain ways in which to walk.*

Many of the itinerants in rebuking the prevalent sins of the time were definite and even personal in their application. Preaching in 1806 at Maysville, Kentucky, on the Ohio River—the landing place of most of the emigrants to the upper part of the state—William McKendree, then a Presiding Elder, enlarged on the sin of extortion. Coming to his application McKendree said:

Yes, . . . it frequently happens, that some take the advantage of the poor emigrant . . . that has removed to your fine country to become your neighbour and fellow-citizen; you sell him your corn or other produce at a double price, and the corn, when it is only worth fifty cents to the bushel, you can ask a dollar; ah! and receive it too of the poor man who has to grapple with misfortunes to support his family!

As the preacher proceeded to press the subject further one auditor could stand it no longer. Rising in his seat he called out, "If I did sell my corn for a dollar a bushel I gave them six months to pay it in." McKendree calmly bade the objector to sit down, assuring him that he was not addressing his sermon exclusively to him.⁵

Nathan Bangs on one occasion preached on the text: "Thou art weighed in the balances and art found wanting." In the course of his sermon he enlarged on the drinking habits of the settlers, and observed that there were some who were not content to drink at home and in taverns but also carried bottles in their pockets. At that point a man who was standing near drew a bottle from his coat and brandishing it in the air exclaimed, "You are driving . . . at me." Three or four men instantly arose and approached the offender with the intention of putting him out of the cabin but Bangs intervened, asking them to be seated. As he tells the story:

They sat down, but this only seemed to enrage the man still more. He kept on swearing, with his clenched fist directed at me; but I continued my discourse unmoved by his threats, until I finally called on the God of Daniel, who delivered him from the lions, to deliver me from this lion-like sinner, when suddenly he

* Wesley's injunction on preaching was familiar to every itinerant: "I design plain truth for plain people; Therefore, of set purpose, I abstain from all nice and philosophical speculations; from all perplexed and intricate reasonings; and, as far as possible, from even the show of learning . . ."—Preface, *Sermons, Works*, V, ii.

escaped out of the door and fled; his two companions followed him, and we ended the meeting in peace.⁶

James Axley,* widely known for his direct and fearless manner of preaching, on one occasion sat on the platform observing the congregation while a young preacher delivered a rather pointless sermon. Axley followed with an exhortation. He began by saying that it was a painful duty for a minister to reprove misconduct and sin wherever he saw it but he felt it to be his duty and he was about to attend to it. He proceeded to rebuke in turn a man who had left the church in the midst of the sermon and later returned noisily, distracting the attention of the congregation; a sixteen-year-old girl who had been "giggling and chattering all the time the brother was preaching"; a man who "just as soon as the brother took his text, . . . went sound asleep, slept the whole time, and snored"; ending each rebuke by saying that it was not that person he had in mind. By this time the congregation was aroused to a high pitch of expectancy, waiting for the miscreant whom the preacher had in mind to be pointed out—none more curious than Judge Hugh L. White, for many years a member from Tennessee of the United States Senate, who was sitting on the front seat vigorously chewing an enormous quid of tobacco and spitting tobacco juice on the floor. Pointing his long forefinger directly at the judge, Axley continued:

And now I reckon you want to know who I do mean? I mean that dirty, nasty, filthy tobacco-chewer, sitting on the end of that front seat[;] see what he has been about! Look at those puddles on the floor; a frog wouldn't get into them; think of the tails of the sisters' dresses being dragged through that muck.⁷

Some time later in a group of lawyers and literary men in Knoxville, Tennessee, Judge White is said to have remarked that Axley had brought him "to a sense of . . . [his] evil deeds, at least a portion of them, more effectually than any . . . [other preacher he had] ever heard."⁸

Such close, direct preaching was unpopular with people who did not want to hear sermons that disturbed their consciences and in time a tendency developed among some itinerants to preach only soothing, comforting sermons.

In spite of opposition to theological Calvinism a strong note of Puritanism permeated Methodist ethical teaching. The preachers denounced dancing, card playing, and theater attendance almost as strongly as drunkenness, gambling, and profanity.

Robert Boyd says that during the early period of his ministry it was his

* James Axley (1776-1838), a native of Virginia, was admitted on trial in the Western Conference in 1804 and appointed to the Red River Circuit. In 1811 he was appointed Presiding Elder of the Wabash District, continuing in the office on various Districts until 1821. In 1821 he was supernumerary and the next year, having married, he located but as a Local Preacher continued to preach frequently. Peter Cartwright said of him: "if there was sometimes a slight tendency to severity in his reproofs, it was not from the workings of an impulsive or hasty spirit, but from a regard to his own honest convictions of duty."—*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 122, 131, 211, 397.

invariable custom to take "a firm stand for God and the whole truth" and, not considering possible consequences, to denounce sin of every kind wherever it was found.*

In the process of time I saw this was unpopular, and subjected me to many temporal disadvantages; and some preachers that I regarded as greatly my superiors discouraged me, telling me that I would get along better and do more good if I would let these things alone, and preach the Gospel. To some extent I had gradually yielded; trying to live a little more for a good name and my temporal advantage. In the trying and honest hour of deep affliction [circa 1823] and death staring me full in the face, I saw that I had erred in this direction. I improved this pure light, and promised God that if I should again be permitted to stand on the walls of Zion, I would lift up a warning voice, not sparing tipling, nor any vain and sinful conformity to the world in dress or behavior, nor even the *sin of slavery*.⁹

What the early Methodist itinerants failed to realize, in common with other religionists of their time, was the all-pervasiveness of sin—that not only individual human nature is contaminated by sin but also that sin infects corporate society and all of its institutions. They lacked the insight to perceive that sin not only corrupts the individual but that it becomes crystallized in many human institutions where it wreaks largescale destruction of human virtues and values, and that it is transmitted from generation to generation through social tradition. Their failure to recognize and declare that the judgment of God reaches beyond the individual in his immediate personal relations and rests upon the unregenerate institutional and corporate life of society was one of the principal retarding influences in the accomplishment of their purpose to reform the nation.

BIBLE PREACHING

Wesley enjoined his preachers to be men of one Book, an injunction which they conscientiously followed—the American itinerants as faithfully as their predecessors. An entry in Pilmoor's "Journal" reads:

Wed. 21 [November, 1771.] Being fully convinced of the vast importance of the Holy Scriptures and how necessary it is for the people to understand them in order to their present and future happiness I began to expound the first General Epistle of St. John. . . . I shall if God permit, continue it every Wednesday evening while I stay in New York.¹⁰

Asbury's conception of his vocation as a minister was first of all to preach "the Word of God." To prepare himself for the task he read the Bible through again and again. He studied it in the original Hebrew and Greek. He mem-

* Robert Boyd (1792-1880) was born in Pennsylvania of Presbyterian parents. He was received on trial in the Baltimore Conference in 1815 and appointed to the Monongahela Circuit. In 1825 he was transferred to the Pittsburgh Conference. He became a superannuate in 1860.—See Robert Boyd, *Personal Memoirs; Gen'l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Ch.*, 1880, pp. 242f.

orized innumerable verses that he might never lack a quotation with which to reinforce an appeal or give point to an argument. Much of his effectiveness in preaching grew out of his familiarity with the Bible. Henry Boehm said of Whatcoat, "He was a man of one book . . . and such was his knowledge of the Scriptures that he was called 'a concordance.'"¹¹

The statement of a fellow minister concerning James Quinn might have been made with equal propriety of scores of the early preachers:

He was mighty in the Scriptures, mostly because their truths deeply affected his own heart. But he had [also] studied them so as to be well acquainted with the great system of salvation which they revealed. He fortified every part and point of his sermons with Scripture well chosen, and quoted with the strictest accuracy.¹²

Some of the preachers carried their dependence on the text of the Bible to such a length that it must inevitably have become a limiting influence. Although William Gassaway was known as an able preacher it was said of him:

He read scarcely any book but the Bible, but this he studied closely and with much prayer, and he was accordingly a mighty man in the exposition of scriptural truth. He repudiated all commentaries on the holy Scriptures, so far as his own practice was concerned, on the ground that God had said, 'If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and he shall receive the needed wisdom.'¹³

The richness and strength of the Christian message as it was preached was in some cases delimited by extreme literalness of Biblical interpretation. There was wide difference between preachers in this respect. James Gilruth narrates a discussion with J. F. Davison in which the latter maintained that hell consists in "a 'consciousness of sin, & a sense of God's wrath'" while he, Gilruth, held "that there is an actual lake of fire & brimstone." The ground of his argument was:

1. Because we have [no] warrant from Scripture to conclude that the language describing the place of punishment is figureative. But rather that it is historical describing things as they are. 2. That all Matters of pure revelation are to be understood (absolutely) as described; for we possess no means by which these things can be farther investigated than what is revealed of them: And that to give them any other meaning is to charge the revealer with falsehood.¹⁴

The same general tendency in interpretation finds illustration in James B. Finley's method of presenting the Christian revelation to his Wyandot congregation:

In my address I tried to give them a history of the creation; the fall of man; his redemption by Christ; how Christ was manifested in the flesh; how he was rejected, crucified, and rose from the dead, and was seen by many; that in the presence of more than five hundred he ascended up into heaven; that he com-

manded his people to wait at Jerusalem for the Holy Spirit; and as we are sitting, so were they, when it came down on them like mighty wind, and three thousand were converted to God that day. At this they made the whole house ring with exclamations of wonder, (*waugh! waugh!*) and said, 'Great camp meeting.'¹⁵

Identically the same method of presentation, with even more detail, was used by Daniel Lee in preaching to the Indians at Wascopam during the great Camp Meeting of 1840.*

Despite the limitations which characterized Bible preaching and teaching great service was rendered by the itinerants in opening the Scriptures to the masses. The Bible was little known and less understood by a large proportion of the population. By the Circuit Riders' preaching, interest in it was created, many were given at least an elementary acquaintance with its teachings and were led to read and study it for themselves.

DOCTRINAL CONCERN

Despite the Methodist disavowal of a creedal basis for church membership an evident concern for right doctrine prevailed generally among the preachers. The struggle against Deism in the latter years of the eighteenth century was led chiefly by the Methodists, in association with Baptists and Presbyterians, aided to a limited extent by Congregationalists and Episcopalians.¹⁶

One of many who expressed strong concern for the maintenance of Methodist doctrine was Jesse Lee. In his *Short History* he says:

I was appointed this year [1790] to the town of Boston, in order if possible to establish the Methodist doctrine and discipline, and to raise up a people for the Lord.¹⁷

Asbury was accustomed, in some of the early Annual Conferences, to examine the preachers on their soundness of doctrine. Stith Mead tells of the procedure followed in one of the 1792 Conferences, held in a log cabin with twelve preachers present.

Third Day. All were examined by the Bishop as to their confession of faith and orthodoxy of doctrine; two were found to be tending to Unitarianism. The Bishop requested all the members of the Conference to bring forward as many texts of Scripture as they could recollect to prove the personality of the Trinity, and especially that of the Holy Ghost. The two preachers recanted their errors, and were continued in fellowship. Bishop Asbury preached from Titus II. 1, 'But speak thou the things that become sound doctrine.'¹⁸

In the "passing of character" of effective elders in Conference session questions were sometimes raised concerning their doctrinal teachings. At the 1827 Illinois Conference when the name of James Scott was called some members objected to doctrines which he had emphasized, and

* See pp. 240f., 278.

it was, in motion resolved that a committee of five be appointed to wait on Bro. Scott & obtain his views on certain doctrines by him advanced & report to this Conference

The Conference having received the report, after discussion voted that consideration "be postponed until the next annual examination . . . before the Conference" and that Scott "be admonished . . . not to disseminate his particular views on the points of doctrine referred to" His character was then "further examined & passed." In the 1828 session of the Conference the report was called up and "after some discussion . . . was on motion indefinitely pos[t]poned."¹⁹

In commenting on significant services rendered by individual preachers the early historians frequently emphasize their concern for the maintenance of sound doctrine. David R. M'Anally, writing of Jesse Greene,* who united with the Tennessee Conference in 1817, says that he was

superior as a preacher of strong and sound doctrine. He devoted himself to doctrinal studies, and became very able and successful in assaulting errors and defending the faith of Methodism. . . . In the discussion of questions involving the freedom of the will he attained distinguished success, and was regarded as the strong doctrinal preacher of the conference.²⁰

One of the principal reasons for the establishment of "The Indiana Asbury University," the charter of which was granted by the legislature in 1837, was concern for Methodist doctrine. The report of the committee appointed by the Indiana Conference to consider the advisability of establishment of a Methodist institution in the state is of historical significance:

When we examine the state of the literary institutions of our country, we find a majority of them are in the hands of other denominations (whether rightfully or otherwise, we do not take it upon ourselves to determine)—whose doctrine in many respects we consider incompatible with the doctrines of revelation, so that our people are unwilling (and we think properly so) to send their sons to those institutions. Therefore we think it very desirable to have an institution under our own control from which we can exclude all doctrines which we deem dangerous; though at the same time we do not wish to make it so sectarian as to exclude or in the smallest degree repel the sons of our fellow citizens from the same.²¹

THEOLOGICAL CONTENT

What was the essential theological content of the Methodist message as it was preached by the Circuit Riders? Having reviewed the general characteristics of their preaching, consideration of the content of the message is now in order. What was the substance of their exhortations and extempo-

* Jesse Greene (1791-1847), after six years in the Tennessee Conference, transferred (1823) to the Missouri Conference (*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 303, 428). He was one of several instrumental in establishing the first Indian missions in Kansas. (Consult p. 173.) For detailed biography see *Life, Three Sermons, and Some of the Miscellaneous Writings of Rev. Jesse Greene*, Mary Todd Greene, Ed.

aneous sermons? What were the essential religious truths which they enforced?

A chief factor in early Methodist preaching making for effectiveness in bringing about conversions was that the rank and file of the itinerants, men of little or no schooling, kept close to the few saving elementary truths of the Gospel. They did not possess the erudition to range far afield in their preaching. The books of published sermons, mostly by the more prominent leaders of the Church, contained discourses on a wide range of topics. But this wide variety of subjects was not characteristic of the Circuit Riders in general. They confined themselves chiefly to the essential doctrines of grace.

Seldom did the man who was inquiring 'What shall I do to be saved?' hear a Methodist preacher, without bearing away with him the precise answer. The lost condition of the soul by nature, repentance towards God, faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, justification, sanctification, the witness of the Spirit—such truths seemed to make up the alphabet out of which the very syllabification of their discourses was formed; so that it may be said, with but little qualification that whosoever heard an ordinary Methodist sermon, however casually, thenceforward knew most, if not all, of the doctrines of grace.²²

Of the distinctive doctrines preached by Methodism none was peculiar to it. To those acquainted with the basic doctrines of the Reformation there was nothing new in the teaching of the Methodist itinerants. To be sure they were in uncompromising and direct conflict with Calvinism on predestination and freedom of the will, the teaching of which had neutralized and obscured the doctrines of justification and assurance, but with this exception the difference lay, as Abel Stevens says, in the Methodists' "giving greater prominence, more persistent inculcation to truths which . . . [Protestantism] held in common" ²³

There is substantial agreement concerning the doctrines given chief emphasis. Asbury, in the course of the funeral sermon of Whatcoat, speaks of the "soundness of his faith" on "the doctrines of human depravity, the complete and general atonement of Jesus Christ, the insufficiency of either moral or ceremonial righteousness for justification in opposition to faith alone in the merit and righteousness of Christ, and the doctrine[s] of regeneration and sanctification."²⁴ In his autobiography Tobias Spicer attributes the great success of Methodism during the early decades to the prominence given its distinctive doctrines:

The free-agency of man, general atonement, free salvation, justification by faith, entire sanctification . . . , and the necessity of final perseverance And these doctrines were the constant theme of our early preachers ever since I can remember. And these are their themes, to a very great extent, at the present day [1851].²⁵

Thomas Ware,* called upon in 1793 as Presiding Elder to defend Methodism at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, where "the current of opposition was very strong," tells of preaching the kind of discourse "which may be regarded as a sample of the manner by which Methodist preachers had to introduce themselves among the people of the New-England states."

I . . . endeavored to suit my remarks to the circumstances of the case; and for this purpose selected the words of our Lord to Martha, Luke X, 41, 42

I then took occasion to show in what Christian perfection, as believed by the Methodists, consists, and how it must be obtained; that the soul, to be saved, must . . . be quickened, regenerated, and sanctified; and that, being sanctified it was raised above the influence of those worldly passions and feelings which seemed so much to trouble Martha. This one thing is needful—essentially so—in the estimation of Him who cannot err. Other things may be desirable; as health, reputation, friends, competency, &c. But they are not essential to the salvation of the soul. Their absence may occasion suffering for a season, which, however, may be compensated in another world. But what will compensate a man for the loss of his soul? Mary *chose* this better part. It became hers, not of necessity, but by choice.

Here I took occasion to explain and defend the doctrines of Methodism respecting the universality of the atonement, the free offer of salvation to all men, and those other points by which they [the doctrines of Methodism] are contradistinguished from Calvinism, the creed professed by the standing order in that section.²⁶

Writing in 1857 on the "Influence of Methodism upon the Civilization and Education of the West" Thomas M. Eddy, who entered the ministry in 1842, listed the doctrines made prominent by the early preachers:

They taught that all men were conceived and born in sin, and are very far gone from original righteousness. As clearly did they teach that 'Jesus Christ, by the grace of God, tasted death for every man'; that the Son of God 'died for all'; Then followed the doctrine of the personal responsibility for this redeemed manhood. The will was free; choice was the heritage of every man. . . . Then came the grand doctrine of spiritual regeneration; the soul was to be newly created and reëndowed. . . . This was essential to eternal life; without this conversion, . . . 'none can enter into the kingdom of God.' And pushing still further, they insisted that this change must be a manifested fact. To him who received it, it should be a matter of personal consciousness; for God had promised the direct witness of his Spirit to its genuineness, and that the soul was insecure until this divine witness was obtained. . . . they guarded against enthusiasm by stating the apostolic doctrine of the 'fruit of the Spirit' attesting the work of the Spirit.²⁷

UNIVERSAL REDEMPTION

The early preachers gloried in the fact that they were Arminians. The great contribution of Arminius was to redeem the doctrine of grace from the hamper-

* For biographical note see Vol. I, 49n.

ing restrictions and unethical interpretations by which it had been crippled by Calvinism and to restore faith in a God of love who wills all men to be saved, has provided for their salvation, and longs to see them use their God-given freedom to comply with the necessary conditions. Arminius himself had not taught his doctrine of universal redemption with such unction and power as it was preached by the Methodist Circuit Riders. To them it was simply incomprehensible that by virtue of an eternal, unchangeable, irresistible decree of God, one part of mankind are infallibly saved, and the rest infallibly damned. And against this, which seemed to them a monstrous doctrine, they brought to bear all the Biblical texts, logical arguments, oratorical skill, and emotional fervor they could command.

Thomas Ware's mother was "a firm believer in the Presbyterian faith" but early in life he decided that he was one of those whose "minds . . . cannot digest the doctrine of decrees as set forth in the system of Calvinism." He "knew very little of the Methodists," but he "had heard many things said against them."

It had been said that . . . [they] were bringing shame upon the whole Christian world by preaching up free will, and causing men to err and even blaspheme against the doctrine of divine decrees; that they maintained that all were redeemed and might share alike in the blessings of the gospel-feast; and that one of these preachers, mighty in words, would, were it possible, deceive the very elect.

These reports created in Ware's mind "a desire and determination" to hear Methodist preaching, and when in 1779 Caleb B. Pedicord came to Mount Holly, New Jersey, he went to hear him. His text was Luke 24.45-47:

Soon was I convinced that all men were redeemed and might be saved—and saved *now*, from the guilt, practice, and love of sin. With this I was greatly affected, and could hardly refrain from exclaiming aloud, "This is the best intelligence I ever heard."²⁸

Soon after this Ware joined the Methodists and began to preach the glad tidings of free salvation.

Jesse Lee tells of a minister of the Standing Order at Greenwich, Connecticut, giving a lecture "for the singers" in which he said that "no man ever yet sang forth the praises of God aright, but what was brought to be as willing for God to *damn him* as to *save him*." Lee took it upon himself to answer the minister.

At night, I preached at doctor Hind's on Rom. ix. 22. Here I endeavored to show the unreasonableness of predestination; and how the people had fitted themselves for destruction; and yet, God had much long-suffering towards them. I further told them a minister ought to pray the people, in Christ's stead, to be reconciled to God, warn them of their danger, and weep over them, and let them know that the Lord was not willing that they should be damned; but that they

should come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved. I also endeavored to show how unreasonable it was for a minister to say that God was willing to send his hearers to hell; and that they should bless God for sending them there.²⁹

Many of Lee's sermons were of this same general tenor. Preaching at Weston, Connecticut, in the summer of 1789,

he stated and defended these propositions, as the doctrine of the text: I. That all men are called to forsake their sins. II. That with this call, the gracious power of obedience is given to the sinner. And III. That men are called before they are chosen. This was a point-blank shot at Calvinism, and took effect in the very centre of its creed, if we may judge from the effects upon its defenders who were present. They were ill at ease during the sermon;* and at its close, betrayed their dread of its influence.³⁰

Preaching at Newburyport, Massachusetts, "at the court-house
. . . greatly crowded in every part," Lee had an attentive hearing.

I spoke with more than common liberty; I felt a love for precious souls, and maintained that Christ had died for all; and that the Lord was willing to save them all. I bore a public testimony against particular election, and showed the cruelty of absolute reprobation. The Lord seemed to open the hearts of the people to receive the truths that were delivered.³¹

"I . . . had great freedom," writes Freeborn Garrettsen, June 28, 1790, at Farmington, Connecticut, "in showing that Christ tasted death for every man, and that as the way was opened, if they did not repent they would justly be damned."³²

For several years (1799-1806) before his admission to Conference E. F. Newell taught school. As a layman he made it his custom to visit families in the neighborhood of his school and talk, sing, and pray with them.

Pleasant and profitable were the seasons that I enjoyed in visiting from house to house and recommending pure, experimental religion to *all*. This was new doctrine to them; for election and reprobation had been taught there most rigidly. But great joy filled my heart whilst I opened my Bible and showed them that *whosoever* calls upon God in humble prayer shall be saved; for the same God over all, is rich in mercy unto all that call upon him,—all are invited to look and live, and whosoever *will* may take of the waters of Life *freely*.³³

JUSTIFICATION AND REGENERATION

Although he differentiates between them Wesley frequently joins justification and regeneration together. That the preachers often speak of them as if they are one and the same is therefore readily understandable. However, to confuse justification with regeneration, Wesley says, is a mistake:

* Leroy M. Lee: "The Baptist minister started up, and immediately commenced an attack upon the Preacher; the Congregationalist reached the door with a bound, turned, and gave notice that 'he should set himself in order against the next Sabbath-day to expose the errors the people had just heard.' The former was rebuked and silenced by two old men who were present; the latter was suffered to depart as quietly as his own hasty spirit would allow."—*The Life and Times of the Rev. Jesse Lee*, p. 229.

But though it be allowed, that justification and the new birth are, in point of time, inseparable from each other, yet are they easily distinguished, as being not the same, but things of a widely different nature. Justification implies only a relative, the new birth a real, change. God in justifying us does something *for* us; in begetting us again, he does the work *in* us. The former changes our outward relation to God, so that of enemies we become children; by the latter our inmost souls are changed, so that of sinners we become saints. The one restores us to the favour, the other to the image, of God. The one is the taking away the guilt, the other the taking away the power, of sin: So that, although they are joined together in point of time, yet are they of wholly distinct natures.³⁴

James Mudge in his *Handbook of Methodism* gives a clear, brief statement of justification:

By the term justification we mean to indicate that sovereign act of the grace of God by which he forgives the believing sinner and treats him as though he had not sinned. It does not mean that we are made just or pronounced just. It is not a judicial act at all. We are pronounced guilty, and then in sovereign mercy the penalty is remitted, we are freely pardoned, and *treated* as if we were just. It is full forgiveness of sins, and restoration to Divine favor.³⁵

"I was enabled to be close," says Asbury under date of Sunday, July 21, 1793, "in preaching on Matt. xviii, 3: 'Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.'"

I showed that the being converted here mentioned, is the same word which in other places is translated, 'born again'; answering to the new creation and resurrection. In this discourse I took occasion to show the miserable state of the unconverted, both present and future, and the exercises that converted souls do, and must pass through;—that they must be made as little children, wholly dependent on God; possessing meekness of spirit, and freed from the guilt, power, and nature of sin.³⁶

To become a Christian, in the Methodist tradition, is to experience God. In his sermon on the text, "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found," Luther Lee says,

To find God . . . , is to obtain an experimental knowledge of him. It is to undergo the change called regeneration.

It implies pardon, the forgiveness of sins, justification.

It implies reconciliation to God; peace with God.

It brings with it the favor of God, communion with God.

To seek and find God, is to be brought into such a relation to him that we dwell in God and he in us.

It is to be like God.³⁷

WITNESS OF THE SPIRIT

Workman contends that in Wesley's appeal to experience, especially by his doctrine of assurance, central and basic in his teaching, is to be found "the

historic work and place of Methodism. Once let it as a church lose this note, and its historic justification has perished."³⁸

No fundamental statement of doctrine was more clearly or definitely enunciated by Wesley than that of assurance:

The testimony of the Spirit is an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God directly witnesses to my spirit, that I am a child of God; that Jesus Christ hath loved me, and given himself for me; and that all my sins are blotted out, and I, even I, am reconciled to God. . . .

. . . I do not mean hereby that the Spirit of God testifies this by any outward voice; no, nor always by an inward voice, although he may do this sometimes. . . . But he so works upon the soul by his immediate influence, and by a strong, though inexplicable operation, that the stormy wind and troubled waves subside, and there is a sweet calm; the heart resting as in the arms of Jesus, and the sinner being clearly satisfied that God is reconciled, that all his 'iniquities are forgiven, and his sins covered.'³⁹

In this and many other equally clear and specific statements Wesley declared that it is the privilege of the believer to know that his sins are forgiven.

Wesley recognized the possibility of self-deception at this point of Christian experience. He observed among his converts some, he was inclined to believe, who imagined that they had a direct witness which they did not in reality possess. To assist seekers to guard themselves against being deceived he emphasized certain Scriptural marks and rational deductions by which one could satisfy himself that he was not mistaken and that he was truly in the favor of God. In no case did he consider the witness claimed by an individual infallible. Writing to "John Smith" on December 30, 1745, he said:

'Infallible testimony' was your word, not mine: I never use it; I do not like it. . . . If, then, the question be repeated, 'In what sense is that attestation of the Spirit infallible?' any one has my free leave to answer, In no sense at all. And yet, though I allow that some may fancy they have it when in truth they have it not, I cannot allow that any fancy they have it not at the time when they really have. I know no instance of this.'⁴⁰

Wesley went even further. As a protection against sheer individualism he provided in the Class meeting a social court of appeal.

In his system of class-meetings the basal principle of individual experience was saved from excess by the correction given through the experience of others, as well as by the spiritual obedience demanded by the whole organization and framework of his societies. Individual experience is thus balanced by connexionalism. In an effective practical fashion the experience of the whole church is brought to bear upon the isolated feelings of the separate member.⁴¹

As in England, so also in America. The doctrine of the witness of the Spirit was bitterly assailed in sermons, pamphlets, and letters in religious periodicals. Methodist preachers were called "babbler," "novices in divinity,"

and "teachers of absurd doctrines." One of the chief charges was that to profess to have the witness of the Spirit savors of spiritual pride and constitutes an effrontery to real Christians. As late as the fourth decade of the nineteenth century the *Christian Spectator*, a quarterly review published at New Haven, printed an article entitled "John Wesley and the Witness of the Spirit," critical of the Methodist interpretation of the doctrine.⁴²

Assurance, as other Methodist doctrines, usually was preached not so much in terms of enforcing a creedal article as in terms of practical life and experience. Asbury, arriving on Saturday at "brother Mooring's, in Surry," Virginia, on Sunday, December 1, 1793, preached on the text, "Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith; prove your own selves. . . ." (2 Cor. 13.5), using this outline:

I. Such as profess to have experienced religion should examine whether they have not let some fundamental doctrines slip.

II. Examine into the nature and effects of faith—it is the substance of things hoped for, in a penitent state; and the evidence of things not seen, in a justified state.

III. They should know themselves, whether they are seekers, believers, or backsliders.

IV. They should prove themselves, to themselves, to their ministers, the world, and the church of God.

V. That if they have heart-religion, Christ is in them—the meek, loving, pure mind of Christ.⁴³

PERFECT LOVE

While none of the doctrines of Methodism was more faithfully preached during the earliest decades than Wesley's teaching of holiness, regarding none was there such wide variety of definition. Wesley himself was principally responsible for this. By what name shall it be called? He used no less than five different terms: holiness, sanctification, perfection, Christian perfection, perfect love. He used also descriptive phrases: "the mind that was in Christ"; "renewal of our heart after the image of Him that created us"; "the life of God in the soul of man," and numerous others. While this diversity in terminology emphasized the richness and fullness of the concept it increased the difficulty of clear and exact definition. As a result Methodists have never fully agreed concerning either the significance of the experience or its theological formulation.

Certain constituent elements of Wesley's conception are unmistakably clear. (1) Salvation through Christ is intensive as well as extensive. All of man as well as all men may be saved. We dare not limit the grace or the power of God in its application either to the individual or to humanity. (2) While Wesley applied various labels in his exposition of the doctrine the vital core always was love. "Entire sanctification, or Christian perfection," he says, "is

neither more nor less than pure love—love expelling sin and governing both the heart and life of a child of God.”⁴⁴ Of the several descriptive terms which he used Wesley preferred “perfect love.” (3) The predominant emphasis in Wesley’s conception is positive. While it has profound negative consequences perfect love first of all and above all is constructive, objective, outgoing. The “true picture of Christian perfection,” Wesley said, is the thirteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians.⁴⁵

Despite differences in interpretation the early American preachers seem generally to have emphasized these same elements of Wesley’s conception. Timothy Merritt, in the first issue of the periodical, *Guide to Christian Perfection*, of which he was editor, answers the question “What is Christian Perfection?” in these words, quoting Wesley:

What is, then, the perfection of which man is capable, while he dwells in a corruptible body? It is the complying with that kind command, ‘My son, give me thy heart.’ It is the ‘loving of the Lord his God, with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his mind!’ This is the sum of Christian Perfection; it is all comprised in that one word—LOVE. The first branch of it is the love of God; and as he that loves God loves his brother also, it is inseparably connected with the second, ‘Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.’ Thou shalt love every man as thy own soul—as Christ loved us. ‘On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets;’ these contain the whole of Christian perfection.⁴⁶

In a sermon on “Christian Perfection,” Noah Levings,* under the head of the “nature and extent of the perfection required of us in the Word of God,” says:

It is the perfection of our *love* to God and all mankind. . . .

. . . the divine command is ‘Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and thy neighbor as thyself.’ ‘Upon these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.’ Nothing short of this is required; but when this perfect love of God and man is exercised, the utmost demands of the law, as to moral obedience, are met and answered; for ‘love is the *fulfilling* of the law.’ ‘He that loveth another *hath fulfilled* the law.’⁴⁷

He specifies other elements which make up Christian perfection but indicates that in his thinking love is the heart of the matter. So also Elmore Yocum† in his sermon, “Perfect Love”:

The true standard is laid down by the apostle [John] in the words . . . *perfect love*; not perfect obedience to the law of works; not even perfect *legal* obedience to the

* Noah Levings (1796–1849) was admitted on trial in the New York Conference in 1818 and appointed to the Leyden Circuit. He continued in the pastorate until 1844 when he was elected Financial Secretary of the American Bible Society, a position which he filled until his death. He was an able preacher and “eminently popular and successful” in all the work of the ministry.—*Gen’l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Ch.*, IV, 327f.

† Elmore Yocum (1806–98) was admitted to the Ohio Conference on trial in 1829 and appointed to the Brunswick Circuit. After serving several large Circuits, he was appointed Presiding Elder of Mount Vernon District (1838–41) and then of Wooster District (1841–45). In 1849 he transferred to the Wisconsin Conference and was appointed Presiding Elder of the Plattville District (1849–53). He retired in 1897, completing a ministry of sixty-eight years. For obituary see *Gen’l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Ch.*, Fall, 1899, pp. 444f.

moral law; not perfect knowledge; but perfect conformity to the evangelical law of the Gospel, which is *love*. 'Love is the fulfilling of the law.'⁴⁸

In the little manual, *The Way from Sin to Sanctification, Holiness, and Heaven*, which the author, Tobias Spicer, says "contains the outlines of those truths I have believed and taught nearly half a century," he emphasizes that "entire sanctification implies more than regeneration." The language of 1 Thessalonians places the conversion and "the genuineness of . . . [the] Christian character" of those brethren to whom the epistle was addressed "beyond all doubt." Nevertheless, Spicer says:

They needed yet a greater work of grace to be effected by the Holy Spirit, which should *transform* them *entirely* or *wholly* to the image of God; in other words, they needed *entire sanctification*—a pure heart that loves God perfectly,—

'A heart in every thought renew'd,
And full of love divine;
Perfect and right, and pure and good,
A copy, Lord, of thine.'⁴⁹

The last two sermons preached by Bishop Robert R. Roberts, on January 1 and 8, 1843, were on the subject of holiness. The first was from the text, "He that loveth pureness of heart, for the grace of his lips, the King will be his Friend" (Proverbs 22.11), and the second from the words of Jesus, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Matthew 5.8). In these sermons he set forth the doctrine of Christian perfection, or purity of heart, "its nature, necessity and attainableness in this life."⁵⁰

The greatest lack in the early Methodist teaching of the doctrine of perfect love was the failure to interpret its social implications. In none of the articles, books, or sermons on the subject, so far as we have been able to find, is its communal significance set forth clearly and fully. In most it is not even hinted. Robert W. Dale of Birmingham in his trenchant way called attention to Methodism's failure in this particular:

There was one doctrine of John Wesley's—the doctrine of perfect sanctification—which ought to have led to a great and original ethical development; but the doctrine has not grown; it seems to remain just where John Wesley left it. There has been a want of the genius or the courage to attempt the solution of the immense practical questions which the doctrine suggests. The questions have not been raised—much less solved. To have raised them effectively, indeed, would have been to originate an ethical revolution which would have had a far deeper effect on the thought and life—first of England, and then of the rest of Christendom—than was produced by the Reformation of the sixteenth century.⁵¹

As the decades passed the preaching of holiness tended to become the concern of a special group within the Church rather than of the Church as a whole. An emphasis was placed on being "separate" from the world which en-

gendered a partisan spirit. In 1839 a monthly periodical was established, exclusively devoted to the cause of Christian perfection, "the first publication of the kind ever commenced either in the Methodist Episcopal Church, or the Wesleyan Conference in Great Britain."⁵² From about this time sanctification tended toward becoming a cult rather than a crusade.

PREACHING METHOD

The rules for preachers as adopted by the Christmas Conference included specific counsels on preaching method:

4. Always suit your subject to your audience.
5. Choose the plainest texts you can:
6. Take care not to ramble but keep to your text, and make out what you take in Hand.
7. Take care of any Thing aukward or affected either in your Gesture, Phrase, or Pronunciation.⁵³

These were practical, common-sense injunctions and it is not surprising that people often said of the Circuit Riders that theirs was "sensible preaching," meaning that it made sense. It dealt with ideas familiar to them or, if not always familiar, with concepts within the range of their understanding. The preachers' vocabulary was made up of plain words. Their figures of speech were those which the people themselves used in everyday conversation. The problems discussed were real to them. Even when the sermons dealt with fundamental doctrines the exposition was not abstract or academic but was clothed in homely, colloquial language readily understood.

EXTEMPORANEOUS PREACHING

The Methodist itinerants were ready preachers. Bishops and Presiding Elders in charge of Quarterly Meetings and Camp Meetings expected every minister present to be ready to preach anytime on an hour's—even a moment's—notice. Contemporary records contain many incidents of the presiding officer announcing at the close of a late afternoon service, without consulting the preacher concerned, that Brother A would preach at the evening meeting; and at the end of the evening service that Brother B would preach tomorrow morning. Peter Cartwright was undoubtedly correct in his assertion that the majority of the "western people wanted" preachers who "could mount a stump, a block, or [an] old log, or stand in the bed of a waggon, and, without note or manuscript, quote, expound, and apply the word of God to the hearts and consciences of the people."⁵⁴

A weakness in the practice of extemporaneous preaching was the tendency it developed in some preachers to rely on readiness of speech as a substitute for preparation. They were content to continue as they had begun, merely to

exhort. They did nothing to build up their hearers in the Christian faith. Lacking thought and substance their exhortations only stirred the emotions of their congregations. If many of the Congregationalists and Presbyterians went to such an extreme in endeavoring to perfect their writing style and to express their doctrines in precise form that their sermons became mere lifeless literary compositions, some Methodists and Baptists so erred in neglecting concentrated thought and study that their sermons consisted chiefly of noise and empty sound.* John Mason Peck, the Baptist missionary leader, characterized such preachers as "mere declaimers" and likened them to "the blind horse in a mill, [for they] go round and round on the few Scriptural ideas they profess."⁵⁵

The oft-repeated statement that the early Methodist itinerants were all extemporaneous preachers is, however, erroneous. More than a few Methodist ministers like Wesley himself wrote most or all of their sermons before preaching them. Epaphras Kibby,† who never used manuscript or notes in the pulpit, wrote most of his sermons in full before they were preached. Abel Stevens says that his preaching was characterized by

vivid illustrations, always abundant, chaste, and appropriate; his reasoning . . . strikingly perspicuous, direct, and conclusive; his language remarkable for both elegance and force.⁵⁶

To his custom of writing his sermons Stevens ascribes the fact that "rich and correct diction . . . eminently characterized even his impromptu addresses." Some preachers made an outline and wrote in detail only those parts on which they felt exact statement was specially important. Joshua W. Downing‡ explained his method in a letter to Abel Stevens:

I do not write my sermons; I write only a full analysis. You seem to have supposed that all my sermons are written and committed. . . . I have not written out a sermon for more than a year.⁵⁷

The reading of sermons met with general disapproval both among Methodist preachers and laymen. Reading sermons, Cartwright declared, was productive of no good effect among the people.⁵⁸ Despite the negative sentiment a tendency developed among a few of the Circuit Riders to experiment with

* Wesley warned against the enlistment of men whom he described as "forward youths who neither speak English nor common sense." In his pastoral address "To the Societies at Bristol," written in October, 1764, he urged them not to "encourage young raw men to exhort among you. It does little good either to you or them."—*Letters*, IV, 271f.

† Epaphras Kibby (1777–1844) was admitted on trial at the Granville (Mass.) Conference in 1798 and appointed to the Sandwich Circuit. He served in the traveling and local ministry for fifty-four years, through his labors gathering multitudes into the Church. For obituary see *Gen'l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Church*, 1865, pp. 60f.

‡ Joshua Wells Downing (1813–39) was received on trial in the New England Conference in 1835 and stationed at Randolph, Mass. His third and last appointment, in 1838, was to the Bromfield Street Church in Boston, "one of the largest and oldest of the Methodist churches in New England."—Elijah H. Downing, *Remains of Rev. Joshua Wells Downing, A.M.*, . . . , pp. 11ff.

the method, particularly in New England where the custom was almost universally prevalent. At the Conference held at Wilbraham, Massachusetts, in 1826 this trend was given consideration. A resolution was offered that it would be highly improper and injudicious to the work of God in which we are engaged to introduce the practice of reading sermons in our congregations; but on special occasions, when the evidence of important truth depends on a series of close and connected argumentation it may be at option of the speaker to read or to extemporize.

The question was divided, the first part carried, and the second part defeated by a vote of 46 to 20.⁵⁹

Jesse Lee who is said to have delivered between eight and nine thousand sermons

never read or memorized his sermons, seldom committing any thing more of them to paper, than merely the leading ideas, or general propositions. He thought, and very justly thought, that the method of reading sermons, or of delivering them from memory, had a tendency to dampen the ardour of devotion, and to prevent the speaker from availing himself of those thoughts, which suddenly arise in his mind, and which often produce the greatest and most beneficial effect in the hearer's mind. He, therefore, after previously digesting the outlines of a sermon, entered the pulpit in the name of the Lord, confiding in the aids of the Holy Spirit to assist his powers of invention as well as delivery, and he was seldom disappointed in either.⁶⁰

Public speakers in general at this period were given to a bombastic, highly inflated style of speech. The tendency prevailed not only among ministers but also among lawyers, politicians, and public officials.⁶¹ From this tendency the Circuit Riders were not free. Added to this was the disposition of some to use a figurative, pietistic vocabulary that did more to conceal than to make plain the realities of religious experience and the moral requirements which the Gospel inculcates. The early historical sources have many examples of the extent to which a tumid style obscured meaning. Lewis Skidmore, Presiding Elder on the James River District in Virginia, in reporting the work on his District (1825-26) wrote:

The Lord of Hosts has been with us, and the Master of Assemblies in our midst. His strong arm has been made bare, and the fortifications of wickedness have been awfully shaken. . . . Some [of our ministers] with the deep and acute reasoning of a learned Paul, have reduced to silence the clamorous reasoners of this world; some with a courageous Peter have gone with dauntless step to Sinai's smoking brow, and with intrepid arm have seized and hurled with might and skill the reddened bolt among the gazing crowd; and others, Apollos like, with strains sweet and soft as the notes of David's harp, have softened down the multitudes to tears. Thus have we seen the men of God preaching the everlasting gospel, with a blazing torch just lighted from the divine altar, until scores of stubborn foes have been brought to bow at the foot of the bleeding Cross.⁶²

DRIVE FOR DECISION

Wesley's first Conference (1744) set a pattern for preaching that became a basic element in the Wesleyan tradition. The concise outline recorded in answer to the question, "Which is the best general method of preaching?" furnished a simple guide kept constantly in mind by every Circuit Rider:

1. To invite. 2. To convince. 3. To offer Christ. 4. To build up. And to do this in some measure in every sermon.⁶³

Methodist preaching as a result was characterized by effort to effect immediate decision. The preachers showed the old prophet's urge to bring the people to action. "How long halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him." They aimed at direct results, at a verdict in the mind and heart of every hearer. At every preaching service it was their custom to extend an invitation to seekers or, as it was often phrased, "to draw in the net." If there was no response to the invitation preachers felt that their sermons had failed. With decision uppermost in their minds they addressed themselves principally to the conscience and the heart. Their sermons were more concerned with persuasion than with indoctrination; hortatory rather than informative, argumentative, or closely reasoned discourses.

A contemporary says that the preachers' "aim at direct results was the secret of one half the success of Methodism," an overstatement though a significant opinion.

Men actuated and thrilled by such a purpose—how could they be otherwise than eloquent and demonstrative? It would make ordinary talents extraordinary, and convert weakness itself into strength.⁶⁴

In this particular Methodist preaching was sharply in contrast with the preaching of the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians, and more akin to that of the Baptists.

TYPES OF SERMONS

To what extent was variety in form characteristic of the sermons of the early American itinerants? Asbury supplies in his *Journal* considerable incidental information concerning his preaching.* In mentioning a particular sermon, for example, he adds in many cases a descriptive phrase which sheds light on the manner of his delivery.

April 24 [1772]. I preached at Philadelphia with freedom and power.

April 25 [1772]. Preached to the people with some sharpness.

* Asbury identifies the texts of 183 of his sermons. A large majority (142) were from the New Testament.

Thursday [June], 18 [1772]. After preaching twice at New-mills with great liberty and life, I returned to Burlington

Frequently he mentions the effect of his preaching upon himself :

Wednesday [May], 13 [1772]. Preached at three o'clock on, 'Behold I stand at the door and knock.' O, what a time of satisfaction and power was this to my own soul!

Perhaps less often he refers to the effect of the sermon on the hearers :

On *Wednesday* [January 27, 1773] there was a moving among the people while I preached at N. P.'s

Friday, March 5 [1773]. Went to J. O.'s, where we had a melting time; and the people seemed much affected both in the day and in the evening.

He uses different introductory phrases in referring to his sermons, most often, "I preached on . . .," quoting the text. Frequently, however, he says, "I enlarged on . . ." or "I enforced . . ." Although he usually quotes and locates the text very seldom does he state a subject or topic. In many cases he accompanies the statement of the text with a brief outline or scanty notes. Of the few instances in which topics are specified one is a sermon preached on January 17, 1773, "on the barren fig tree." He says,

I first showed that it was applicable to the Jews; and, secondly, to the Protestant Church; at the same time described the barren fig-tree as—: one without leaves—or, one without blossoms—or, one without fruit—or, one that did not bear so much fruit as another might bear.⁶⁵

It will be seen, however, that the information which Asbury supplies is an insufficient basis for classification of the sermons into types or kinds of discourse represented in his preaching. The same is true of most of the journals of the early Methodist preachers. They give surprisingly little information concerning prevailing sermonic forms.

The first textbook on homiletics by an American Methodist author, Daniel P. Kidder's *Treatise on Homiletics*, was not published until 1864.⁶⁶ He suggests five general classes of sermons: (1) expository; (2) hortatory; (3) doctrinal; (4) practical; (5) miscellaneous or occasional. Some earlier books by other than Methodist authors suggest an even simpler classification: (1) textual (analytical); (2) topical; (3) expository. In the preface to the volume, *Sermons on Miscellaneous Subjects by the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Senior Preachers of the Ohio and North Ohio Conferences*, published in 1849, Edward Thomson, the first president of Ohio Wesleyan University, describes the thirty-nine sermons as "doctrinal, hortatory, practical, and historical." In four of the earliest published volumes of

Methodist sermons selected for examination* examples may be found of all of the five classes named by Kidder.

Expository discourses, the first class, include "all sermons and lectures which are specially devoted to exegesis of Scripture, whether in single or connected passages."⁶⁷ There are not many exegetical sermons in these four volumes. One of the few is a discourse by Bishop Thomas A. Morris on the text, "But sanctify the Lord God in your hearts: and be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, with meekness and fear." 1 Peter 3.15. The sermon is developed under the three obvious divisions: the Christian's duty; the Christian's hope; and the Christian's privilege.⁶⁸ For American preachers the era of expository preaching had not yet come. Within a few decades the rapid development of methods and results of modern Biblical learning would bring to the preachers of a later generation previously unrealized possibilities of opening up to their hearers fuller significance of the Bible text.

Hortatory sermons, the type of preaching which consists chiefly of exhortation, prevailed more generally than any other form among the Methodists. John Angell James, of Birmingham, England, in *An Earnest Ministry*, in explanation of the need for and support of hortatory preaching, writes:

All of our hearers know far more of the Bible than they practice; the head is far in advance of the heart; and our great business is to persuade, to entreat, to beseech. . . . We have to overcome a stout resistance and to move a reluctant heart.⁶⁹

The reiteration of the vital truths and the basic demands of the Gospel by the early preachers had great value, as has been emphasized, but repetitious exhortations on what was obvious constituted a serious weakness of this type of preaching.

The doctrinal discourse was a prevalent type of preaching throughout Methodism, although it was more frequent in the East than on the frontier and in the South where Methodist doctrines were less subject to attack. Examples of Methodist doctrinal preaching are to be seen in the sermons, "Character and Mission of Jesus Christ," by John P. Durbin; "The Nature and Design of the Atonement," by Laban Clark; and "The Nature and Necessity of the New Birth," by Timothy Merritt.⁷⁰ The distinctive contribution of the Methodist itinerants in the area of doctrinal preaching lay in their taking a sermonic form traditionally cold and unemotional and transforming it into an instrument of spirit and life.

Practical discourses may be defined as sermons which "specially . . . [aim]

* The four books are: (1) *Sermons on Miscellaneous Subjects*, named above; (2) *The Methodist Preacher*; containing twenty-eight sermons on Doctrinal and Practical Subjects; (3) *Sermons on Various Subjects*, by Bishop T. A. Morris; and (4) *The Works of Stephen Olin*, I, *Sermons and Sketches*.

at the enforcement of some Christian duty, or to secure the practice of some Christian obligation or privilege."⁷¹ An example is Olin's sermon on "The Religious Training of Children."⁷² Abel Stevens felt that at the close of the early period the Methodist pulpit was seriously deficient as to the variety of its practical preaching. "Precisely here," he wrote, "lies the great defect of our present ministrations, and it needs plain dealing and speedy correction."⁷³ Hortatory sermons were more easily prepared and required less intellectual exercise. These reasons, he felt, were partly responsible for the over-emphasis on this type of preaching, a tendency which resulted in a serious dearth of practical instructions in the details of Christian duty.

Under the head of miscellaneous discourses may be included sermons preached on special occasions, such as at a funeral or the dedication of a church, and others that may not be appropriately classified in any of the other groups. President Olin's sermon, "Life Inexplicable Except as a Probation," preached at the funeral of Mrs. Catherine Garrettson, is an excellent example of the type of funeral discourse customary during the period.⁷⁴ It was a doctrinal sermon into which were interwoven illustrations from Mrs. Garrettson's life and tributes to her character as an example of Christian womanhood.

The early Methodist itinerants cannot be justly accused of being men with single-track minds. In reviewing these volumes of published sermons one cannot but be impressed with the wide variety of subjects of which they treat, ranging from discourses on personal religion, such as "Prayer," "Repentance and Faith," and "Acceptable Worship," and on moral themes like "The Evils of Intemperance," and "The Influence of Moral Principle," to sermons on citizenship and civic righteousness. Catholicity and wide diversity in subject matter are likewise indicated by the preachers' choice of texts as cited in their journals.

DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSY

The right of protest was an element in the Methodist heritage deeply cherished by the early itinerants. Wesley's refusal to consent to silence* in the face of edicts of King, Bishop, or Pope provided a precedent which the Circuit Riders were not slow to follow. They were not disposed to invite controversy but neither were they hesitant, when challenged, to make vigorous reply. Nathan Bangs, one of the most able defenders of the Arminian theological tenets, declares that he was led into controversy against his inclinations but that he and his fellow ministers "were compelled to be polemics at times, however we might prefer to go on our usual course of preaching the common truths of religion."⁷⁵

* John Wesley: "If any man, bishop or other, ordain that I should not do what God commands me to do, to submit to that ordinance would be to obey man rather than God."

In beginning his ministry in New England Jesse Lee hesitated because of his distaste for theological controversy either to converse or preach upon the differences between the Methodists and the Standing Order. When urged "to take a text and preach . . . [his] principles fully," he demurred, saying that he preferred to preach on subjects that would do his hearers the most good.⁷⁶ But New England people were accustomed to doctrinal disputation and fond of it and his reluctance to define his theological position was misinterpreted. The pulpits rang with denunciation of the Methodists and their doctrines, which were declared to be unscriptural, dangerous, and subversive of the Gospel of Christ. The charges were re-echoed by people in their homes and on the streets to such an extent that prejudice and antagonism were widely engendered. Under these circumstances Lee felt that but one course was left to him.

If he hesitated, it was construed into fear to avow his principles; if he remained silent, it was a surrender of his faith; if he declined a discussion, it was because his doctrines were so unsound he was afraid to avow them.⁷⁷

Thus he was gradually led to adopt a policy of offense, an aggressive presentation of Methodist doctrinal teachings.

Doctrinal controversy was not confined to New England, though in the early days it was more pronounced there than elsewhere. In 1784, in a letter to Wesley, in which he described the progress of Methodism in Virginia and the Carolinas, Asbury stated that among the converts even "a few Presbyterians and Baptists" had been "lifted out of the Calvinian and Antinomian quicksands." Reuben Ellis, writing in 1786 from the Yadkin [North Carolina] Circuit to Edward Dromgoole, says that:

One Obstacle in our way [is that] here as in other places there are a great many Baptists, & Presbyterians, who have fill'd the Peoples heads with Predestination. They have opposed pretty warmly sometime past, but at present they are pretty quick.—Indeed the Baptist Preachers, in these parts, are (from as best I can learn) grossly Ignorant of Controversy. So they can't do much.⁷⁸

Benjamin Lakin while living as a superannuate in Woodford County, Ohio, in 1819, reported the people so stirred up by Baptist preaching against Arminianism that he considered it necessary to preach a sermon on Arminian doctrine.⁷⁹

Many Camp Meetings in the West constituted a meeting ground for people of different denominations and for the most part sectarianism was completely submerged, while Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian preachers in turn presented urgent evangelistic appeals. But if perchance the Baptist or Presbyterian found himself called to enlarge upon a Calvinistic interpretation of a text a Methodist preacher could be depended upon to follow at the earliest

opportunity with an impassioned emphasis upon full salvation freely offered to all.*

New England settlers on the Western Reserve were thoroughly imbued with New England Calvinism. Missionaries from the East were numerous throughout the region. They were aggressive in promulgation of Calvinistic theology and active in opposition to Methodism. Finley states that a "Calvinist minister was stationed in almost every town, and the Presbyterian influence was so great that Methodism could scarcely live." Controversy became rife which, according to Finley, "waked up the popular mind, and . . . resulted most favorably to the Methodist cause."⁸⁰

The union of the Barton W. Stone and the Alexander Campbell forces in Kentucky in 1832 led to an era of intense controversy in the West. Their representatives went about among the churches wherever they could secure a hearing, urging the formation of "Union Societies." Their plea for the rejection of human creeds and the union of all Christians on the single platform of the Bible found sympathetic response in the minds of many people and numerous proselytes were made among Methodists. While in other parts of the nation most of the Annual Conferences reported large gains in membership in 1830-31, the Kentucky Conference showed a decrease of 1,579.⁸¹ The propagandists' fondness for disputation and their tendency to magnify the importance of such minor issues as the mode of baptism resulted in continued and intensified controversy between them and the Methodists over a period of many years. Writing in 1840 Nathan Bangs stated that Methodist preachers had been called upon, especially during the eighteen twenties, "to sustain a new warfare" of defense against doctrinal assaults.

Whether it was from jealousy of our rising prosperity, or from a real belief that our doctrines were dangerous to the souls of men, other denominations, more particularly the Calvinists, seemed to rally to the charge against our ministry, the economy of our Church, and our modes of carrying on the work of God.† Hence

* Albert M. Shipp tells of a Camp Meeting in South Carolina attended by Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists. A Presbyterian minister, Mr. Bennett, and George Dougherty, a Methodist, were appointed to preach on Sunday. "Mr. Bennett opened with a discourse on Rom. viii. 29, 30, and from the text advanced the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism. Mr. Dougherty followed with a discourse on the same text. After a clear exegesis in correction of the erroneous interpretation and misapplication of the passage, he advanced in thunder-peals the doctrine of a free and full atonement, and urged, with prodigious energy, an immediate compliance with the conditions of salvation. The power of God came down, and one universal cry for mercy was heard all through the vast concourse of people."—*The History of Methodism in South Carolina*, pp. 330f.

† In 1823 a member of the Congregational church of Haverhill, N. H., was dismissed from membership for joining "with the Methodists in belief and practice," a system, the letter of dismissal declared, "we consider unscriptural and dangerous to the prosperity of Zion." (Otis Cole and Oliver S. Baketel, Eds., *History of the New Hampshire Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, p. 148.) Jonathan Ward, a pastor of the "Standing Order" in New Milford, Conn., charged Methodist preaching with being "not only erroneous, but dangerous and subversive of the gospel of Christ." (Jonathan Ward, *A Brief Statement and Examination of the Sentiments of the Wesleyan Methodists, or the Followers of Rev. John Wesley*.)

One especially bitter onslaught, written by clergymen, was issued in 1831, entitled *Letters on Methodism* (Brookfield, Mass.: Lewis Merriam, 1831). It contained many accusations wholly without foundation. The New England preachers were so aroused by it that Timothy Merritt was asked by vote of the Conference to "confute it, on the ground that 'although it can not be supposed that such unchristian and uncharitable and libelous publications will gain credit generally in an intelligent community, yet as they are published and circulated by clergymen, and as they are circulated among

a spirit of controversy was infused into the sermons which were delivered by our preachers, much more than formerly, the necessity for which was urged from witnessing new modes of attack. . . . Our preachers felt it to be their duty to unravel the sophistry of these arguments

Frequently unjustly denounced, he said on one occasion:

we felt called upon to make a full and fair statement of our doctrinal views, and to defend ourselves against . . . manifest perversions of our real, published, and acknowledged sentiments.⁸²

Light on the prevailing situation is shed by an action of the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society. In July, 1830, a communication was read from the American Tract Society, "offering certain tracts under certain limitations" to the Missionary Society for distribution through its missions. The letter was referred to a committee consisting of John Emory, Nathan Bangs, and D. M. Reese. At the September meeting the committee through its chairman, John Emory, presented a report in the form of a letter to the American Tract Society expressing the judgment that the "friends of the 'Tract Society of the M[ethodist] E[piscopal] Church,' ought not to cast on the Amer[ican] Tract Society the burden of supplying Methodist Mission stations with tracts." The report continued:

however friendly the views and intentions . . . of the Amer[ican] Tract Society may be; the attitude taken at present so extensively, & by such seeming concert, by a large portion of that part of the periodical and other public presses under the patronage and influence of the denominations chiefly concerned in the Amer[ican] Tract Society, in hostility to the doctrines and economy of the Methodist Episcopal Church is such that while such a course is persisted in, it becomes us rather to rely on our own resources, in patient and humble dependence on that gracious Providence in which we trust, and which hitherto hath helped us.⁸³

The report* was adopted by the Board.

While the doctrinal debates between Arminians and Calvinists had a certain value in clarifying theological opinion and increasing information concerning the differentiation in belief between the two groups, they rendered religion a disservice in engendering bitter feeling and antagonistic partisan attitudes within neighborhoods† and even within families. An unfortunate

those who are strangers to us, and especially as a reply to these publications would afford a suitable opportunity to show the spirit of those who have combined against us and prevent, by a suitable exposure of their plans and designs against Methodism, a repetition."—James Mudge, *History of the New England Conference* . . . , pp. 102f.

* The American Tract Society, it should be said, claimed to be noncontroversial: "The . . . Society brought into existence to supply the new settlements with wholesome reading, early adopted the policy that in its literature 'there should be nothing of the shibboleth of the sect; nothing to recommend one denomination, or to throw odium on another; nothing of the acrimony of contending parties against those that differ from them.'"—*Proceedings of the First Ten Years of the American Tract Society*, pp. 11ff., as quoted by Peter G. Mode, *The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity*, p. 112.

† In some communities in New England fraternal relations between Congregationalists and Methodists were such that Methodists were permitted to use Congregational meeting houses for preaching services. For some years preceding 1843 Methodist meetings were regularly held in the Congregational church and the Horse Meadow, North Haverhill, N. H. About 1831 the town of

effect often was that of blinding both the disputants and the general public to the large area of agreement between them in some of the most essential matters of religion.

The wave of Adventist excitement* which swept much of the country in the late thirties and early forties made numerous converts among Methodists. In general Methodist preachers opposed the movement, but a number of members of the New England Conferences became advocates of its teachings and engaged actively in propagandizing, some even leaving their work as pastors to hold Adventist meetings. This led to intense controversy, particularly in Maine where at the 1843 Conference some eight or ten preachers "were called to account," of whom one was suspended and all reprovved by vote of the Conference.⁸⁴

EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS

Integral and fundamental in the Methodist heritage was a vital interest in education and a deep concern for the establishment of schools throughout the length and breadth of the nation. By its action the Christmas Conference made certain that this interest and concern should be voiced by every preacher. It made its own in adapted form the regulation which eighteen years before Wesley had caused to be written into the British *Minutes*:

Preach expressly on Education. 'But I have no Gift for this.' Gift or no Gift, you are to do it, else you are not called to be a *Methodist* Preacher. Do it as you can, till you can do it as you would. Pray earnestly for the Gift, and use the Means for it.⁸⁵

METHODIST ATTITUDE TOWARD EDUCATION

The charge, often repeated—particularly in general histories—that American Methodism during its early decades was hostile to education is a serious misrepresentation. Thomas M. Eddy, writing in 1857, called attention to what he characterized as "this . . . historic injustice." "Methodism," he said, "has been studiously represented as the enemy, or at least the neglecter of education," while what it had done had been "denied or concealed."⁸⁶

That here and there a preacher spoke of education in disparaging terms is undoubtedly true. † In so doing some few itinerants ignored the obligation laid upon them by the General Conference but their negative influence was far

Center, N. H., voted to allow the Methodists to use the Congregational church "four times a year" and somewhat later "nine times a year."—O. Cole and O. S. Baketel, Eds., *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 152.

* The founder of Adventism, popularly known in the earlier years as "Millerism," was William Miller (1782-1849). Basing his prediction on Daniel 7.14, he declared that the second coming of Christ and the end of the world would occur on April 23, 1843. Lecturers traveled far and wide over the country, exhibiting charts and diagrams purporting to demonstrate the accuracy of the prediction. As the announced date drew near the excitement in many places became intense, some people even selling their property and devoting their entire time to preparation for the confidently expected event.—Stephen Allen and W. H. Pilsbury, *History of Methodism in Maine, 1793-1886*, pp. 122f.

† "The obstinate and ignorant oppose," wrote Asbury in a letter to Coke, "among preachers and people; while the judicious in Church and State admire and applaud."—J. W. Etheridge, *The Life of the Rev. Thomas Coke, D.C.L.*, p. 233.

more than counterbalanced by the official attitude of the Church and by the pleas and sacrificial labors of wiser men.

Even before the formal organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church Asbury's zeal for education had found expression in the establishment of Ebenezer Academy in the southern part of Brunswick County, Virginia—the center of the evangelistic successes of Robert Williams and George Shadford in 1773–76.* The school was founded, it is believed, between 1780 and 1784—the precise date unknown.⁸⁷ The burden of the school's financial support rested heavily on Asbury's shoulders† and brought from him the sorrowful lament that “people in general care too little for the education of their children.”⁸⁸

The interest of Thomas Coke in education led him to urge, as a part of the plan for the organization of the Church, the founding of a school similar in plan to Kingswood in England.‡ General interest on the part of preachers and people was demonstrated by the Christmas Conference endorsement, individual subscriptions to the amount of nearly five thousand dollars, and generous Conference collections year after year for its maintenance. Its destruction by fire on December 7, 1795, was widely deplored.§

In 1789, at the second Conference held in Georgia, a principal subject of discussion was the need for establishing a school and it was voted to purchase five hundred acres of land and to raise a subscription for buildings, “to be paid in cattle, rice, indigo, or tobacco.”⁸⁹

In 1791 Asbury drew up an elaborate plan for a Churchwide system of education which proposed the establishment of at least one school within the bounds of each Conference,|| and prepared a prospectus, in the form of an address to the Church, recommending them.⁹⁰

That this action represented a fixed purpose and not merely a momentary impulse, soon forgotten, is evidenced by the fact that the next year while resting for a day at the home of Edward Dromgoole in Brunswick County, Virginia, he turned his attention again to the plan and “formed a constitution for a . . .

* See Vol. I, 31f., 59f.

† Ebenezer Academy as a result of local efforts to “wrest . . . [control] wholly out of . . . [Methodist] hands,” ceased to be under the jurisdiction of the Church.—Francis Asbury, *Journal*, II, 367f.; Jesse Lee, *A Short History of the Methodists* . . . , pp. 197f.

‡ Cokesbury, although almost universally spoken of as a college, in practice was never anything more than a school on the Kingswood plan. Emory says, “This was the plan agreed on between Dr. Coke and Mr. Ashury, and is so stated by Dr. Coke in his *Journal* of November 14, 1784. The institution never was incorporated as a college.” (*A Defence of “Our Fathers,”* . . . , pp. 93f.) As regards incorporation, however, Emory's statement is erroneous. (See p. 404n.). Ashury brought the case before the New York Conference, September, 1794, and says, “At this conference it was resolved, that nothing hut an English free day-school should be kept at Cokesbury.”—*Op. cit.*, II, 243.

§ Asbury's comment, “Would any man give me £10,000 per year to do and suffer again what I have done for that house, I would not do it,” has been misconstrued by some who have interpreted it as evidence of a lack of appreciation of education. Instead it is a somewhat petulant reflection of Asbury's disagreement with Coke on the kind of institution most needed, as is indicated by the sentence which immediately follows: “The Lord called not Mr. Whitefield nor the Methodists to build colleges. I wished only for schools—Doctor Coke wanted a college.”—*Op. cit.*, II, 287.

|| The particular term used by Ashury was “district school,” hut at that time the Annual Conference was called a “District Conference.” (See p. 359.) The plan “may be found in the Minutes for 1791, and is dated, ‘Near Salem, New-Jersey, Sept. 16, 1791.’”—J. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[conference] school, which, with a little alteration," he wrote, "will form a general rule for any part of the continent."⁹¹ Scattered at intervals through Asbury's three-volume *Journal* are succinct references to schools which were the fruit of the Bishop's ambitious plan, proving that it was something more than a paper scheme. As one example:

We have founded a seminary of learning called Union School [Uniontown, Pennsylvania]; brother C. Conway is manager, who also has charge of the district: this establishment is designed for instruction in grammar, languages, and the sciences.⁹²

The educational interest and concern of the first resident Methodist Bishop in America became the concern of the whole Church. Each General Conference from 1792 on urged the founding of schools. The action of the General Conference of 1820 read:

1. *Resolved*, by the delegates of the annual conferences in General Conference assembled, That it be, and it is hereby recommended to all the annual conferences, to establish, as soon as practicable, literary institutions, under their own control, in such way and manner as they may think proper.
2. *Resolved*, . . . That it be the special duty of the episcopacy to use their influence to carry the above resolution into effect,* by recommending the subject to each annual conference.⁹³

Various Annual Conferences, within which schools had not been previously established, both in the older states and on the frontier, were prompt in putting into effect this General Conference action. In 1824 the Cazenovia Seminary, Cazenovia, New York, was opened under the patronage of the Genesee Conference. At first only boys were enrolled as students but soon the school was made coeducational and before the end of the first year 150 pupils were in attendance. Fourteen of the graduates of its first decade became college presidents. Of graduates over a longer period four became Bishops of the Church and four, governors of states. Many others later filled positions of high distinction in Church and State.⁹⁴

In addition to academies and other schools previously mentioned literally scores of institutions were started,† many of which because of lack of endowment, unfortunate location, poor administration, or other reasons, within a few years were compelled to close. At a time when there was general in-

* Bangs states that the action of the General Conference met with "unreasonable opposition" and "apathy" which considerably retarded the effort of the Church "to raise the standard of education."—*History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, III, 107.

† Consult Vol. I, 222. Academies which were successfully maintained over a considerable period included: Mount Bethel Academy, Newberry County, S. C. (1797-1820); Wesleyan Seminary, New York, N. Y. (1819-24), which became the White Plains (N. Y.) Academy (1824-40); Tuscaloosa (Ala.) Academy (1827-?); Maine Wesleyan Seminary, Readfield, Me. (1827-), now, 1950, Kent's Hill Preparatory School; Norwalk (Ohio) Seminary (1833-48); Newbury (Vt.) Seminary (1833-68); Amenia (N. Y.) Seminary (1835-74); Cokesbury (S. C.) High School (1836-45); Falley Seminary, Fulton, N. Y. (1836-68); Gouverneur (N. Y.) Wesleyan Seminary (1837-68); Centenary Institute, Summerfield, Ala. (1840-45); Berea (Ohio) Seminary (1840-46); Rock River Seminary, Mount Morris, Ill. (1840-78).—See A. W. Cummings, *The Early Schools of Methodism*, pp. 426ff., 143ff.

difference regarding education of girls, and some active opposition, numerous "female seminaries" were projected under Methodist auspices.*

The General Conference of 1796 in addition to urging the founding of schools took occasion to state the educational objective of the Church in a recommended "Plan of Education." First, all of its "seminaries of learning" were to be *religious* schools:

The first object we recommend is to form the minds of the youth, through divine aid, to wisdom and holiness; instilling into their tender minds the principles of true religion, speculative, experimental, and practical, and training them in the ancient way, that they may be rational, Scriptural Christians.

Every opportunity should be utilized, the statement continued, for instruction of the students "in the great branches of the Christian religion." All pupils should "be kept at the utmost distance . . . from vice in general" and "in particular from softness and effeminacy of manners." Early rising should be insisted upon, and play prohibited "in the strongest terms." For recreation such employments should be utilized "as are of the greatest public utility, *agriculture* and *architecture*—studies more especially necessary for a new-settled country." Caution was urged against turning these employments into drudgery, but making them "pleasing recreations for the mind and body." In teaching the languages only those authors should be read "who join together the purity, the strength, and the elegance of their several tongues." The importance was urged of providing for every school "a choice and universal library." Specific rules and regulations for the schools were given.⁹⁵

The action of the General Conference and of Annual Conferences in establishing schools was in accordance with the time-honored historical tradition that the education of children was the responsibility first of the parents and then of the Church. In the meantime, public sentiment in favor of the extension of educational opportunity to all the children of all the people in a system created and administered by the people themselves was gradually developing. This was destined in time to bring into existence the free public school system of America, the most notable educational reform of the age. Since the development involved relieving the Churches of responsibility for the administration and financial support of education and placing it in the hands of the State a degree of conflict was inevitable. Some Churches strongly opposed the transition, and a few—notably the Roman Catholic Church—maintained that the education of its children was solely the responsibility of

* John B. M'Ferrin lists five schools for young women under the fostering care of one Annual Conference—the Tennessee: (1) Montesana, Huntsville, Ala.; (2) Tuscumbia Female Academy; (3) Gallatin Female Academy; (4) Murfreesboro Female Academy; (5) Fulton Female Academy. (*History of Methodism in Tennessee*, III, 423f.) A like interest was shown by some other Annual Conferences.

the Church. The Methodist Church, because of its sympathy with political democracy, readily accommodated itself to the change. The sentiment which prevailed widely in the Church at large was given expression in an action by the Kentucky Annual Conference of 1840:

Resolved, . . . that we highly approve the object and action of the Legislature of Kentucky, in its recent attempt to establish an effective system of common-school instruction within the limits of this commonwealth; and we respectfully recommend that all our ministers and people, in every part of the State, extend their countenance and encouragement to the furtherance of the object of the Legislature and people of Kentucky, in the successful establishment of the excellent common-school system now in course of organization throughout the State.⁹⁶

THE CHURCH FOUNDS COLLEGES

Methodism's educational concern early extended into the field of higher education. The first three attempts to establish and maintain institutions of college grade were unsuccessful.* In December, 1822, Augusta College at Augusta, Kentucky, sponsored by the Ohio and Kentucky Conferences, was chartered by the Kentucky Legislature with full authority to confer degrees. A preparatory classical school was opened in 1822, and college instruction begun in 1825. A competent faculty was procured and soon the college halls were thronged with students. Difficulties growing out of the division of the Church in 1844 resulted in the closing of the institution in 1849. In the meantime it had rendered an invaluable service in providing collegiate training for a large number of young men who otherwise would have been deprived of opportunity for higher education.⁹⁷

On September 15, 1827, Madison College, Uniontown, Pennsylvania, under the sponsorship of the Pittsburgh Conference, opened its doors with the inauguration of Henry B. Bascom as president. Bascom had ambitious plans for the institution and applied himself energetically to their promotion. But he did not meet with immediate success in procuring endowment, and income from tuition was insufficient to provide funds for expansion and support of the faculty. In 1829 Bascom resigned as president and three years later the institution was closed.⁹⁸

Initiative in the founding of McKendree College was taken by Edward R.

* The first was Cokesbury at Abingdon, Md. Credit for first suggesting the institution belongs to John Dickens who in 1780 "framed a subscription paper" and broached his plan to Asbury (Abel Stevens, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* . . . , II, 41). The Christmas Conference formally approved the proposal. Asbury and Coke were in disagreement concerning the academic level, the latter insisting upon a college. The General Assembly of Maryland passed an act of incorporation on Jan. 26, 1794. A provision of the charter granted the right of conferring degrees, such as are "common to England and America." Heavy indebtedness, and destruction of the building by fire a year later, prevented further development of plans for the college. (See p. 401; also William Hamilton, "Some Account of Cokesbury College," *Methodist Quarterly Review*, XLI [1859], 2 [April], 173ff.) A second Cokesbury, established in Baltimore soon after the burning of the first, also was destroyed by fire in December, 1796. The third institution, Asbury College, Baltimore, opened in 1816, was maintained for only a few years.—*The Methodist Magazine*, I (1818), 3 (March), 109f.; William Warren Sweet, *Methodism in American History*, pp. 208ff.

Ames—later a Bishop of the Church—who in 1828 opened a Methodist seminary in Lebanon, Illinois. In 1830 Bishop McKendree donated to it 480 acres of unimproved land and the name of the institution was changed to McKendree College. Public opposition to the establishment of colleges was so strong as to constitute a serious obstacle to procurement of a charter. Several applications had been rejected by the legislature. Finally by uniting their forces the Baptists, Congregationalists, and Methodists secured the passage of a bill chartering three colleges: Shurtliff (Baptist); Illinois (Congregational); and McKendree. Only by overcoming what seemed to be insurmountable financial difficulties was the college able to survive. Gradually, by heroic efforts of friends and members of the faculty, it gathered strength and finally became one of the permanent educational institutions of Illinois.⁹⁹

So uppermost was education in the thinking of many of its members that on the first day of the first session of the newly organized Indiana Conference (1832) a committee was appointed to consider and report on the establishment of a Conference college. In their report the committee stated:

We . . . think that seminaries and colleges under good literary and moral regulations are of incalculable benefit to our country, and that a good conference seminary would be of great and growing utility to our people.

Approval of the report led ultimately to decision by the 1836 Conference to establish a college. The name decided upon was the Indiana Asbury University. In the fall of 1837 instruction was begun, thereby starting the institution on its distinguished educational career. In 1884 the name was changed to De Pauw University.¹⁰⁰

The Methodists of Virginia and the Carolinas in 1830 established Randolph-Macon College, first located at Boydton, Virginia, later moved to Ashland.¹⁰¹ Stephen Olin, president, wrote in December, 1835, to Bishop Andrew:

Our number of students is one hundred and three. . . . About half of the students are members of the Church. . . . Professors are generally able and trustworthy. . . . Many of our young men believe that they are called to preach. Fifteen or twenty of them, I confidently expect, will enter the itinerant field, and their number embraces much talent as well as sound piety.¹⁰²

Other notable Methodist colleges founded during the period 1820-44* include: Centenary College, Jackson, Alabama; La Grange College, La Grange, Alabama, 1831; Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, 1831; Emory and Henry College, Emory, Virginia, 1838; Wesleyan Female College, Macon, Georgia, 1839; Worthington Female College, Worthington, Ohio, 1839; and Wesleyan Female College, Wilmington, Delaware, 1841.

* By 1860 the Methodists stood second among denominational groups in number of colleges. Of 180 church colleges in the U. S. forty-nine were under Presbyterian and thirty-four under Methodist auspices.—Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War* . . . , p. 69.

Methodism lagged far behind the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in provision for the institutional instruction and training of its preachers. Widespread suspicion and fear of theological schools prevailed among both preachers and laymen. They were thought of by many as mills for the making of preachers* and their graduates were looked upon as machine-made ministers. It was feared that theological seminaries, if established, might substitute academic training for what was considered to be the one indispensable qualification—the call of God, reinforced by experimental and practical piety. That the objection to theological seminaries was not in opposition to the study of theology, as such, is evident from the content of the courses of study prescribed by Annual Conferences for all candidates for the ministry.†

An acquaintance with the Greek and Hebrew languages was regarded by many preachers as an important element of ministerial training as is attested by the number of Circuit Riders who succeeded in acquiring a reading knowledge of both as a part of their self-education. A thorough knowledge of the Bible was considered indispensable. The curricula of academies and colleges included the classics and Bible courses and in view of this the generally prevalent opinion was that graduation from a Methodist academy, or certainly from college, afforded adequate academic training for a preacher. Even so eminent a leader of the Church as Nathan Bangs, as late as 1840, held substantially this view.

While, in our opinion, *the science of the word of God* should be a paramount branch of instruction in our literary institutions [academies and colleges], we desire not to be understood as recommending the establishment of 'Theological Seminaries,' in the common acceptation of the term; that is, for the special purpose of educating men for the work of the gospel ministry.¹⁰³

However, there were many who did not share Bangs' point of view. Among these were Stephen Olin and Abel Stevens, both of whom favored the establishment of Methodist theological schools.¹⁰⁴ In the New England Conferences many of the preachers and laymen as early as 1833 expressed their interest in the founding of "a theological institution." A convention held in the Bromfield Street Church, Boston, in April of that year issued an "Address

* William Warren Sweet: "The first committee on education appointed by the Indiana Conference in 1832, embodied in their report this statement . . . : 'We are aware that when a Conference Seminary is named some of our preachers and many of our people suppose we are about to establish a manufactory in which preachers are to be made. But nothing is farther from our views'"—*Circuit-Rider Days in Indiana*, p. 62.

† The course first presented to the Missouri Conference, and later to the Illinois Conference (1827) by Bishop Roberts and "ordered . . . spread on the journal," included in the general field of theology: Wesley, *Sermons*; Watson, *Theological Institutes*; Law, *Serious Call*; Benson, *Sermons*; Fletcher, *Checks and Appeal*. (*Journals of the Illinois Conference*, in W. W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840*, IV, *The Methodists*, 302ff.) The course presented to the Philadelphia Conference in 1833 by Bishops Hedding and Emory included: Watson, *Biblical and Theological Dictionary*; Porteus, *Evidences of Christianity*; Watson, *Theological Institutes*; and Wesley, *Sermons*. Also included for study but "not to be held indispensable . . . for admission into full connection": Fletcher, *Works*; Baxter, *Reformed Pastor*; and Paley, *View of the Evidences of Christianity*, and *Natural Theology and Moral Philosophy*.—See *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VI (1833), 37 (May 10), 147.

to the Ministers and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in New England" which earnestly advocated the measure. The convention led to the organization of the "Wesley Institute Association" and to the opening of subscription lists. Agitation continued year after year. In 1840 the New England, New Hampshire, and Maine Conferences recorded favorable action, in the last-named Conference being unanimous.¹⁰⁵ These actions led to the establishment of the first theological school in American Methodism, the Newbury Biblical Institute,* in which theological instruction was begun in 1841.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AND SUNDAY SCHOOLS

The early American preachers did not fully share Wesley's concern for the religious instruction of children. Few, if any, realized to the same extent as he that the future of the Methodist Movement depended upon the religious education of the children.†

The first *Discipline* in answer to the question, "But what shall we do for the *Rising Generation*? Who will labour for them?" contains these injunctions:

Let him who is zealous for God and the Souls of Men begin *now*.

1. Where there are ten Children whose Parents are in Society, meet them at least an Hour every Week:
2. Talk with them every time you see any at home:
3. Pray in Earnest for them:
4. Diligently instruct and vehemently exhort all Parents at their own Houses:
5. Preach expressly on *Education*.¹⁰⁶

The fourth edition of the *Discipline* modified these first injunctions in some particulars, the most important being this direction:

Let the elders, deacons, and preachers take a list of the names of the children; and if any of them be truly awakened, let them be admitted into society.¹⁰⁷

Unfortunately, these injunctions seem to have been honored more in the breach than in the observance. That Asbury had a care for the salvation of children as well as adults is clear from various statements in his *Journal*. An entry of special interest in relation to their religious instruction occurs under date of January, 1801:

Monday, 12. [South Carolina] . . .

I felt deeply affected for the rising generation. Having resolved to catechise the children myself, I procured a Scripture catechism, and began with brother Horton's; to this duty I purpose to attend in every house where leisure and opportunity may permit.¹⁰⁸

* In April, 1847, this school became the Concord Biblical Institute, which opened with three professors and seven students. In 1867 the Institute was transferred to Boston and renamed the Boston Theological Seminary. See William F. Warren, "Founding and Earliest History of the School of Theology of Boston University," in A. W. Cummings, *op. cit.*, pp. 369ff.

† See Vol. I, xxxi; II, 18.

But this is a lone reference—evidently “leisure and opportunity” infrequently attended the aging Bishop.

That some few of the preachers gave attention to the teaching of children is evident. Concerning Henry Burchet (Birchett), who served on the Lexington (Kentucky) Circuit during the Conference year 1791–92 and the next year on the Salt River Circuit, Stevens says:

He was among the first preachers in the West who took a deep interest in the rising generation. In every neighborhood, where it was practicable, he formed the children into classes, sang and prayed with and catechised them. In this work he had a peculiar aptitude, and was remarkably successful.¹⁰⁹

In this same year of 1791 Jesse Lee records in his “Journal” that on Saturday, the thirteenth of August, he rode to Lynn, Massachusetts, “and met the children,” with “nearly forty of them together.”¹¹⁰ How many of the preachers followed the practice of organizing catechetical classes and meeting them occasionally it is impossible to determine from extant records. M’Ferrin believes that many “of the first preachers,” so far as time between their preaching appointments permitted, “taught from house to house, and encouraged parents to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.”¹¹¹

Appointed in 1810 as senior preacher on the New York [City] Circuit, Nathan Bangs proposed to his colleagues a plan for catechising the children of the Methodist churches of the city—“a practice,” he says, “which, as far as I know, had never been attempted here” He continues:

Accordingly I gave notice that on a given afternoon I would meet all the children who would attend, furnish them with our ‘Scriptural Catechism,’ and give them lessons to learn. At the time appointed there were not less than three hundred children assembled in the Forsyth-street Church, to whom I gave the Catechism, and pointed out the method by which they should study it. I continued this practice during the two years I remained in the city, and some of my colleagues followed my example. I have since found many of those children, now grown to maturity, members of the Church, and eminent for piety, living witnesses for our highest doctrines of holiness.¹¹²

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century so-called “Sunday schools” were of three principal types: (1) schools whose dominating purpose was that of teaching underprivileged children to read and write, many of which used the Bible as the textbook—a continuation of the earlier type;* (2) interdenominational schools, principally or exclusively for religious teaching; (3) denominational schools for religious instruction.

The first Methodist Sunday school in Philadelphia is said to have been organized in 1814 in connection with Union Church. It “commenced with

* See pp. 14–18.

thirty scholars and six teachers" and was held in a room of an academy next door to the church. Despite numerous difficulties the work expanded until there were seven schools in different places, five of them connected with Union Church.¹¹³ Beginning in 1816 the McKendreean Female Sabbath School Society of Baltimore sponsored Methodist Sunday schools. The Society was so successful in extending its work that at its eleventh annual meeting (1827) it was able to report:

The society consists of six schools, fifteen superintendents, one hundred and eighty teachers, who attend alternately, and four hundred and fifty scholars.

In 1816 a Union Sunday school was established in Troy, New York, with a Presbyterian layman as superintendent, and Presbyterian, Episcopal, Baptist, and Methodist teachers; its sessions were held "in the old court house." The Methodists became dissatisfied because the Presbyterians had majority control and in 1817 the Methodist pastor and members organized their own school. For ten years it met "in the red school-house," and then moved to the basement of a new Methodist church.¹¹⁴

Only scant information exists on Sunday schools in the West during the first quarter century. The first in Kentucky is believed to have been an interdenominational school organized in Frankfort in 1819, under Presbyterian auspices, in the home of Mrs. Elizabeth Love.¹¹⁵ M'Ferrin states that previous to 1818 "no move had been made in the [Tennessee] Conference for the organization of Sunday-schools," and he was not aware of the existence of any up to that time "west or south of Pittsburgh."¹¹⁶ In 1819 Mrs. Jane T. Trimble (then living with her son in Hillsboro, Ohio), "seeing the great need of Sunday-school work, gathered up a class of little girls" to whom she taught Bible lessons. "Soon a Bible-class of young men was undertaken," five members of the class later becoming ministers.¹¹⁷ George Ekin* claimed to have organized a Sunday school "in the Holston country" in 1813.¹¹⁸

Missionaries in Upper and Lower Canada were active in organizing Sunday schools. In 1822 William Case, in charge of the Upper Canada District, wrote:

We have more than forty sabbath schools, and one thousand scholars. These . . . promise much to the prosperity of the rising generation, both in a civil and religious point of view. . . . One man, who has a large family of children, a few days since observed to me that, 'since sabbath schools began, he had had no trouble in the government of his family.'¹¹⁹

By 1824 the moral value of Sunday schools had come to be so generally recognized that the Upper Canada Parliament made a government grant of

* George Ekin (1782-1856), born in Ireland of Presbyterian parents, emigrated to America in 1810 and in 1811 was received on trial in the Western Conference. From 1812 to 1824 he was a member of the Tennessee Conference. In the latter year he transferred to the Holston Conference, continuing in its membership until his death.—R. N. Price, *Holston Methodism* . . . , II, 421ff.

£150. for the "use and encouragement of Sunday Schools," and of "indigent and remote settlements" for the purchase of books and tracts for "moral and religious instruction."¹²⁰

The beginning of the third decade of the century witnessed a rising tide of interest in the religious education of children. Previous to 1820 the Church had provided very few teaching materials for the special use of Sunday schools.* Joseph Hillman states that when the Methodist Sunday school was organized in Troy, New York, in 1817 "no Sunday-school books" were available for use and the program was limited to reading a chapter of the Old or New Testament, an opening and closing hymn, and a prayer at the beginning and end of the session.¹²¹ The Ohio Conference of 1821 "ordered that the book Agent at Cincinnati be directed to prepare a Primmer containing suitable lessons for the early education of children, to be printed, in connection with our catechism, and that a committee of five be appointed . . . to examine the work before its publication."¹²²

A decided impetus was given to the extension of religious instruction of children by the General Conference of 1824:

as far as practicable, it shall be the duty of every preacher of a circuit or station† to obtain the names of the children belonging to his congregations; to form them into classes for the purpose of giving them religious instruction; to instruct them regularly himself, as much as his other duties will allow,—to appoint a suitable leader for each class who shall instruct them in his absence—, and to leave his successor a correct account of each class thus formed with the name of its Leader.¹²³

This action influenced an increasing number of preachers throughout the Church to give time and effort to teaching children, forming classes for instruction, and organizing Sunday schools. E. F. Newell, appointed in 1828 to Kennebunk, Maine, states:

In Kennebunk Port we organized for the purpose of raising a [Sunday] school. The enemies tauntingly remarked, 'The Methodists can't get up a Sunday School and sustain it.' But we selected our teachers—gave them class papers—advised them to go through the whole place—search out all the little children and youth, and advise with their parents and guardians to send them to some Sabbath School. . . . The next Sabbath more than 30 united with us in a School . . .¹²⁴

On April 2, 1827, the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in New York City, with Nathan Bangs as Corresponding Secretary. The objective of the Society as stated by its constitution was:

to promote the formation, and to concentrate the efforts, of sabbath schools connected with the congregations of the Methodist Episcopal church, and all others

* A list of books for which in 1817 James B. Finley owed the Western Book Concern included 36 *Lessons for Sabbath School Learners*; 12 *Sabbath School Tracts*; and 12 *Hints for Sabbath Schools*.—See W. W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840*, IV, *The Methodists*, 698f.

† In 1828 the phrase, "to form Sunday schools," was inserted after the word "station."—*Discipline*, 1828, p. 58.

that may become auxiliary; to aid in the instruction of the rising generation, particularly in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and in the service and worship of God.¹²⁵

The Society also engaged in the distribution of lesson materials and books and tracts on Sunday school work, and initiated a periodical for children, the *Child's Magazine*.¹²⁶

The organization of the Sunday School Union was cordially approved by the majority of Methodists. Within four months it had received the sanction of the Philadelphia, New York, New England, and Genesee Conferences—all whose sessions had been held since its organization.¹²⁷ By some friends of the American Sunday School Union* within the Methodist Church and protagonists in other Churches the formation of the Union met criticism and no little opposition.† Some Methodist Sunday schools remained in affiliation with the American Sunday School Union as late as 1838. However, the new organization fully justified itself by its fruits. Within three years (1827–30) the enrollment of pupils in Methodist Sunday schools increased from at most a few thousand to an estimated 150,000.

While the rate of progress was marked Church leaders were not satisfied. In their address to the General Conference of 1832 the Bishops stated that they “witnessed with deep regret the moral and religious condition of many of the children” committed to the Church’s charge by baptism.¹²⁸ Martin Ruter in a letter to the *Christian Advocate* called attention to the fact that 150,000 pupils in the Sunday schools represented only one Sunday school member to every four Church members.

Do we wish to see the morals of the community improved by the diffusion of Scriptural holiness over these lands? Here then is a field, vast in extent, white and ready to harvest, pleasant in its aspect, and vastly important in its character, in which all our preachers, both local, travelling, and superannuated, and multitudes of our people, old and young, may labor abundantly, and with abundant success.¹²⁹

Conditions affecting Sunday schools were widely variant in different parts of the country. John L. Jerry, missionary in Hamilton County, east Florida, stated (October, 1834) that the Alachua Mission of which he had charge recently had three schools but all had closed “owing to the distance many of the scholars have to come, and for want of sufficient teachers.”¹³⁰ With seventeen preaching places and eighty-three church members, the Fort Edwards Mission, embracing a part of three counties in Illinois, reported in

* The American Sunday School Union was organized in 1824 in Philadelphia, with auxiliary local societies in nearly all evangelical denominations.

† For criticisms expressed by the *New York Observer* see *Christian Advocate and Journal* (1827), 36 (May 12), 142f. “Reasons for forming a Methodist Episcopal Union,” an address by the managers in defense of the organization, appeared in the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, I (1827), 33 (April 21), 130f.

March, 1834, but one Sunday school with forty-five pupils.¹³¹ But in this same year (1834) the Committee on Sunday Schools of the Philadelphia Conference stated that the Conference had 234 Sunday schools with 2,556 teachers and 14,071 pupils.

Sabbath Schools are reported from almost every Circuit and Station in the Conference. . . .

. . . a great number of Bible classes have been formed the past year.¹³²

At the General Conference of 1836 the Bishops repeated their lament:

In many places we fear that sabbath schools are either entirely neglected, or but partially attended to; while in others . . . [they] are suffered to languish for want of that attention to their interests which their importance demands.¹³³

Implicit in the Bishops' statement is a charge of neglect on the part of many preachers—a charge borne out by some pastors themselves. In a letter to the *New York Evangelist* a correspondent quotes a pastor whose name is not given as saying:

On every circuit I have travelled, I have exerted myself to the utmost to get up Sabbath schools and form libraries. I have always succeeded without difficulty. They have flourished while I have stayed to look after them. But I have soon been . . . appointed to new fields of labor. And in *every* instance my successor has manifested no sort of interest or concern for a single school I had formed—never visited one of them—delivered no encouraging addresses—made no inquiries respecting the managers or teachers—number of scholars—. . . or even mentioned them in their prayers. . . . The consequence is, my schools have dwindled into nothing, and worse than nothing.¹³⁴

On March 20, 1833, three organizations—the Bible Society,* the Tract Society,† and the Sunday School Union—were united under one organization. By the middle thirties the Sunday School Union division of the new organization had become administratively ineffective and by 1840—according to Nathan Bangs—it was “defunct.” His explanation is that the attempt at amalgamation was “injudicious” and that the decline of the Sunday School Union was due to this action.

The decline of the parent Sunday School Union could not do other than weaken the effectiveness of the auxiliary Unions and even many of the schools, although Bangs minimizes the negative influence.¹³⁵

A clarion call to the Church was sounded by the General Conference of

* The Bible Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was authorized by the General Conference of 1828 (*G. C. Journals*, I, 358). The Society was organized in accordance with this action. The General Conference of 1836 recommended the dissolution of the Bible Society division of the combined organization and soon after it was discontinued.—Lewis Curts, Ed., *The General Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church from 1792 to 1896*, pp. 103, 120; *G. C. Journals*, I, 497.

† The “Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church” was organized in 1817 for the purpose of publishing and distributing religious tracts. For a number of years the work was carried on energetically, and a variety of tracts widely circulated. Amalgamation with the Methodist Sunday School Union not proving to be a success responsibility for tract publication was transferred to the Methodist Book Concern.—N. Bangs, *op. cit.*, III, 55f.

1840 in behalf of the Sunday school cause. The legislation enacted marked the beginning of a new era in the relation of the Church to children and youth. The Sunday School Union which had been reorganized preceding the General Conference session was given official recognition. The General Conference recommended, "where the general state of the work will allow," the appointment of a special agent to travel throughout the bounds of each Annual Conference "for the purpose of promoting the interests of Sunday-schools." Preachers were urged, as a special duty, to form "Bible classes wherever they can, for the instruction of larger children and youth."¹³⁶

The 1840 edition of the *Discipline*, as a result of General Conference action, contained an entirely new section in answer to the question, "What shall we do for the rising generation?" "Let Sunday schools be formed in all our congregations where ten children can be collected for that purpose." Preachers were directed "to see that this be done." They were bidden "to preach on the subject of Sunday schools and religious instruction in each congregation at least once in six months." Each Quarterly Conference was constituted "a Board of Managers having supervision of all the Sunday schools and Sunday school societies within its limits."¹³⁷

Up to this time Sunday schools had developed apart from the Church. They were organized and maintained by church members but the institution was not an organic part of the Church.* Its curriculum was not officially planned. As regards program of teaching each separate school was a law unto itself. The greatest significance of the legislation of 1840 was that the General Conference began the process of bringing the Sunday school under the aegis of the Church, the first step toward making it the Church school.¹³⁸

Throughout the early decades of the Sunday school the session seems usually to have consisted of the memorization and recital of Bible verses, the catechism, and hymns.† Although schools were divided into age-group classes very little attempt was made toward gradation of materials of teaching other than providing a children's catechism. A foregleam of what was to come years later is contained in the Episcopal Address of 1844:

Although it is matter of rejoicing that a great amount of good has been accomplished by . . . [Sunday school instruction], it is believed that much more might be done with a system better adapted to the capacities of the subjects of instruc-

* This situation was not peculiar to the Methodist Episcopal Church. Writing some years after the close of the early period John M'Clintock says, "there is no other [Church], we believe, which has so distinctly recognized the Sunday school in its legislation, and has so closely incorporated it with the whole system of its ecclesiastical and pastoral work."—"The Sunday School in its Relation to the Church," *Methodist Quarterly Review*, XXXIX (1857), 4 (October), 515.

† The McKendree Female Sabbath School Society in its *Seventh Annual Report* (1824) states that in the Lombard Street school, with fifty to sixty regular attendants, "of Scripture, Catechism, and Divine Songs, twenty-eight thousand nine hundred and fifty-six verses have been rehearsed, and eight hundred and fifty-six words, with their definitions." In school No. 3, with forty-five punctual attendants, "thirty-five thousand, eight hundred and seventy-one verses of Scripture, Catechism, and Divine songs; also, two thousand and eighty-six words with their definitions" have been committed to memory.—*The Youth's Instructor and Guardian*, II (1824), 2 (February), 45ff.

tion, and with books suitable to different classes in the several stages of development.¹³⁹

During the period 1784–1840, as is evident from the preceding review, ministry to childhood was the weakest and most inadequate part of the Church's program. Methodism failed to develop any comprehensive or generally accepted plan of religious education of its children. It was not highly successful in integrating them into the life of the Church or in training them in churchmanship.* Multitudes of children and youth experienced conversion, as our study has indicated, and from their ranks came most of the ministers of the Church. But many failed to develop a sense of vital relationship to the Church or a consciousness of corporate relationship through the Church to the Kingdom of God.

In its first quadrennium (1840–44) the reorganized Sunday School Union was handicapped by lack of funds for promotion of its program and of full-time leadership. The General Conference of 1844 remedied the situation by providing for a source of income† and by electing, as "Editor of Sunday School Books and Tracts," Daniel P. Kidder,‡ missionary to Brazil (1837–40), widely known throughout the Church, a man of energy, administrative ability, and literary skill. On June 24 he was also elected, by the Board of Managers, Corresponding Secretary of the Sunday School Union. A new era in the relation of the Church to the religious education of children and young people had been inaugurated.¹⁴⁰

WORSHIP AND HYMNODY

The action of the American Methodists in discarding "The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America" which Wesley had prepared and sent by the hand of Coke represented both gain and loss. There could be no doubt concerning Wesley's intention as regards its use:

I have prepared a liturgy little differing from that of the Church of England, . . . which I advise all the Travelling Preachers to use, on the Lord's day, in all the congregations, reading the Litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days.¹⁴¹

* Wesley omitted from the Liturgy which he sent to America the order of confirmation of the Church of England and included no office corresponding to it. Nor was one provided by the Christmas Conference.

† Sunday schools were urged to contribute "at least one cent per quarter for each teacher and scholar," one half to be used for the purchase of tracts and the other half to be forwarded to the treasurer of the Sunday School Union for the promotion of its work.—"Journal of the General Conference, 1844," p. 113, in *G. C. Journals*, II.

‡ Daniel P. Kidder (1815–91), born at Darien, N. Y., was received on trial in the Genesee Conference in 1836. The next year he was appointed missionary to Brazil. (See Vol. I, 353ff.) Returning in 1840, he transferred to the New Jersey Conference where he served in the pastorate until his election as editor and Corresponding Secretary of the Sunday School Union. During his twelve years as editor he "compiled and edited more than 800 books." In 1856 he was elected professor of Practical Theology in Garrett Biblical Institute, and in 1871 to the same chair in Drew Theological Seminary. When in 1880 the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized he became its first Corresponding Secretary. Failing health obliged him to resign in 1887 and in 1888 he became a superannuate.—Matthew Simpson, Ed., *Cyclopaedia of Methodism*, pp. 513f.; *Gen'l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Ch.*, Spring, 1892, p. 104.

Asbury, and doubtless at least some of the American itinerants, made a sincere effort to conform to Wesley's purpose, but with little success. Others would have none of it. Lee's account is informative:

At this time the prayer book, as revised by Mr. Wesley, was introduced among us; and in the large towns, and in some country places, our preachers read prayers on the Lord's day: and in some cases the preachers read part of the morning service on Wednesdays and Fridays. But some of the preachers who had been long accustomed to pray extempore, were unwilling to adopt this new plan. Being fully satisfied that they could pray better, and with more devotion while their eyes were shut, than they could with their eyes open. After a few years the prayer book was laid aside, and has never been used since in public worship.¹⁴²

Nor did the people take to the use of the Prayer Book with unanimity. To many of them the reading of prayers seemed lacking in reality—the prayers themselves did not seem real—and for the Circuit Rider who preached extemporaneously to read the service made him seem to be acting out of character. Accustomed to freedom and spontaneity in worship the congregation could scarcely feel otherwise than that to him it was merely a dead form—a suspicion that would have gone far toward robbing the entire service of reality, and therefore of meaning and influence.

Wesley's idea of using both extempore prayer and a Litany represented a course of wisdom, permitting a large degree of freedom in worship and at the same time assuring a degree of order and dignity. Discarding the Liturgy entirely—the word disappeared from the *Discipline* in 1792—left the Church without a formal order of worship. The nearness and genuineness of devout Christian fellowship experienced in the Society meetings made up in part, but not wholly, for the lack of participation in corporate worship of which the Sunday Service was such a rich and meaningful expression.* From this lack the Church has never fully recovered.

The extensive use of the Wesley hymnbook compensated in certain particular ways for the weakness of the public services at the point of corporate worship. The Methodists were a singing people and during the early years used the hymns of the Wesleys almost exclusively. Many of the hymns most frequently sung were so familiar that preachers and people were able to sing them from beginning to end from memory. "[N]early every soul of them," Peter Cartwright says, "sing our hymns and spiritual songs."¹⁴³

Congregational hymn singing was recognized by the Circuit Riders as one of the most effective elements of revival technique. Music is essentially emotional and the preacher found it to be a chief means of producing and communicating religious feeling. Provided the hymns were carefully selected they reinforced and effectively inculcated the message of his sermon.

* For a detailed discussion of the Sunday Service see Nolan B. Harmon, Jr., *The Rites and Ritual of Episcopal Methodism*, ch. III.

By singing out at the top of his voice the sentiments and ideas which the revivalist desires to instill into him, each member of the audience suggests them to himself, in the technical meaning of that phrase. And he also at the same time passes on the suggestion to his neighbor. The whole audience thus acts upon each individual in the audience and so acts and reacts upon itself, thus spreading the desired suggestion by geometrical progression.¹⁴⁴

Revivalism—particularly the early Camp Meeting—was responsible for the introduction and continued use through many years of a type of religious songs, many of which could only be fittingly characterized as the crudest doggerel. They seriously lessened the dignity, order, and spiritual vitality of worship.¹⁴⁵

While many of both preachers and people gave ready approval to the innovation of revival songs there was marked reluctance and on the part of some long-continued opposition to the introduction of choirs and of instrumental music in the churches. The first use of an organ in a Methodist church is stated to have been in 1836, in the Chestnut Street Church of Portland, Maine.¹⁴⁶ This despite the fact that organs were installed in Methodist chapels in England in Wesley's lifetime.* In 1842 bitter controversy arose in the Society at Dover, New Hampshire, over the use of instrumental music. Other causes contributed to the disaffection and in 1843 some sixty persons withdrew from the church—"many of them persons of prominence and influence."¹⁴⁷ The 1843 Erie Conference adopted a resolution asserting

that in the judgment of this Conference, instrumental music in our Churches is incompatible with our discipline on the subject of singing, and always to be discontinued.¹⁴⁸

"After the Scriptures," declared James Martineau, "the Wesley Hymn-book† appears to me the grandest instrument of popular religious culture that

* While not in general use among the Wesleyans in England there is record of at least three in use before Wesley's death, one being "the instrument erected in the New King Street Chapel, Bath, soon after its opening in 1779."—John S. Simon, *John Wesley, the Last Phase*, pp. 138f.

† The hymns of the Wesleys were early published in the United States in several editions. Much obscurity has prevailed concerning the earliest official editions, and many erroneous statements have been made in books on Methodist hymnology. The first official hymnal, *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, formed a part of the *Sunday Service of the Methodists of North America* sent to America by Wesley in printed sheets, which was adopted by the Christmas Conference. It did not meet with general approval. A reprint of the *Pocket Hymn Book*, widely popular in England, was issued in 1790 with an address "To the Members and Friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church" by Bishops Thomas Coke and Francis Ashury. It was the second official hymnal. Not being protected by copyright it was reprinted by various publishers. In 1802 it was revised and reissued by Ezekiel Cooper, book steward, under the copyright title, *The Methodist Pocket Hymn Book, revised and improved; Designed as a constant Companion for the Pious of all denominations. Collected from various Authors*. It was the third official hymnal. In 1808 a *Supplement to the Methodist Pocket Hymn Book, compiled under the direction of Bishop Asbury, and published by order of the General Conference*, the fourth official collection, was issued separately and also bound up with the *Pocket Hymn Book*. The latter form was known as "The Double Hymn Book." Nathan Bangs did not have a high opinion of the "revised and improved *Pocket Hymn Book*" (see *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, III, 133f.). Others also were dissatisfied and as a result the fifth official hymnal was ordered by the General Conference of 1820, *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the Methodist Episcopal Church, principally from the collection of the Rev. John Wesley* (1821). Hymns which had been altered were restored to their original form and additional hymns included. With a supplement of ninety hymns prepared by Nathan Bangs, it was reissued in 1836 and continued in use up to the close of the period.—*The Christian Advocate*, LX (1885), 18 (April 30), 270; Robert G. McCutchan, *Our Hymnody* . . . , pp. 9f.

Christendom has ever produced."¹⁴⁹ That its service to early American Methodism was immeasurable is beyond dispute. In hundreds of frontier settlements devoid of other group meetings of any kind the inspiration of song in Class and Society meetings brought spiritual renewal and strengthening of morale to numberless lives.

There is a type of mind which can detach itself from the crowd and stand aloof from the influence of community singing; but that type is rare, and there is a point at which even the most arid and academic intellectual must realize the possibility of lofty and cleansing inspiration in the praises of God in the great congregation.¹⁵⁰

The religious teaching values of the Wesley hymnal were also beyond estimate. It has been well described as "a manual of popular theology" which it was for multitudes of the lay people of early American Methodism. Arius popularized his doctrines in ancient Alexandria, A. W. Harrison suggests, by composing ballads for "Sailors, millers, and travellers."

They can hardly have been as effective in controversy as were Charles Wesley's hymns against the harsher elements of Calvinism.

The direct argumentative assault on the doctrine of a limited atonement was not nearly as effective as the indirect influence of the reassuring hymn,

For all, for all, the Savior died,
For all, my Lord was crucified.¹⁵¹

The rank and file of the Methodist membership probably learned more theology from singing the hymns than from listening to sermons. The spoken word often went in one ear and out the other but many of the hymns with their Arminian interpretation of Gospel truths found an abiding place in the memories of the people and, kept alive by frequent reiteration, became a living, enduring faith.

No more effective testimony to the catholicity and the essential oneness of the Church with the Apostolic faith could be asked or given than is to be found in the hymns of John and Charles Wesley. Grounded in Christian doctrine, and a readily understandable exposition of the spiritual significance of the historic creeds, when caught up into the life and faith of early American Methodism they were as nothing else could be the means of identifying the Church with the historical movement which had its rise in the life and teaching of Jesus Christ.

VI

Men With a Mission

"I look upon all the world as my parish," wrote John Wesley in a letter to James Harvey, on March 20, 1739:

thus far I mean, that in whatever part of it I am I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty to declare, unto all that are willing to hear, the glad tidings of salvation. This is the work which I know God has called me to; and sure I am that His blessing attends it. Great encouragement have I, therefore, to be faithful in fulfilling the work He hath given me to do. His servant I am; and, as such, am employed according to the plain direction of His word—'as I have opportunity, doing good unto all men.' And His providence clearly concurs with His word, which has disengaged me from all things else, that I might singly attend on this very thing, 'and go about doing good.'¹

Not by his own preference or choice did Wesley enter upon this ministry. "God thrust us out, my brother and I," he declared, "against our will, to raise up a holy people." First and last, from the beginning of the Methodist Movement to the end of his long and fruitful life, this was his *apologia pro vita sua*. It was not man's doing, not the Church's program, not ecclesiastical arrangement of any kind, but the will of God by which he and his preachers were constrained, "raised up," "thrust out." On the day that he began his eighty-fifth year, answering his own question concerning the means by which he had been sustained throughout his long career, he declared that it had been solely by "the power of God."²

A CALLED MINISTRY

This sense of being sustained in the work to which he had been called by God characterized Asbury and many of the early American preachers. The first sermon which Asbury preached after his ordination as Bishop was from the text, "Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ." Sustained by the conviction that this was his God-given mission, from the time of his arrival in America thirteen years previously he had ceaselessly traveled the wilderness trails of the New World, everywhere

preaching the Gospel. Reassured of his mission by his election as Bishop, he intensified his plans. His inner spiritual compulsion was unthwarted by opposition, obstacle, misinterpretation and misrepresentation of his purpose and plans. Throughout his ministry he continued to labor under physical disabilities so continual and severe that they make the record of his life and labors an almost incredible narrative of the power of an invincible will over bodily weakness, suffering, and disease.³

The conviction that the preaching of the Gospel is a ministry divinely given to specially chosen persons early became so inwrought in the Wesleyan tradition that the early American Methodists insisted no man had a moral right to Conference membership unless he was convinced that he was called of God.* As a means of assuring themselves that candidates were truly called, at the Christmas Conference in answer to the question "How shall we try those who think they are moved by the Holy Ghost to preach?" three marks were prescribed as tests: (1) Did they "know God as a pardoning God" and "desire . . . nothing but God"? (2) Had they gifts as well as grace for the work? (3) Were people "truly convinced of Sin, and converted to God by their Preaching"? As long as they concur in anyone, the Conference declared, these marks are accepted as evidence that "he is called of God to preach."⁴

VARIED FORMS OF THE CALL

The call to preach came in widely varying form to the early Circuit Riders, many of whom left a graphic description of the way in which it was experienced. William Watters, the first American-born Traveling Preacher, almost immediately after his conversion engaged actively in evangelistic work:

On the Lord's day we commonly divided into little bands, and went out into different neighbourhoods, wherever there was a door open to receive us; two, three, or four in company, and would sing our hymns, pray, read, talk to the people, and some soon began to add a word of exhortation.

Soon he had gathered together a small Class and was appointed as Class Leader. Many people began to invite him into "their neighbourhoods and houses" and he found "that God had indisputably owned and blest . . . [his] feeble endeavours in the conversion of several in different neighbourhoods." He gave himself up "to be disposed of as . . . [God's] infinite wisdom should see best," but recorded as his "deliberate opinion" that if ever he was to become a preacher he "must be one of the Lord's own making." Finally in 1772

* A. H. Redford: "On Sunday of the [Kentucky] Conference [1835-36] . . . Bishop Andrew preached previous to the ordination of the deacons. . . . With him a divine call to the work of the Christian ministry was essential. 'No man taketh this honor to himself, but he that is called of God.' . . . No man, however brilliant his talents—however anxious he may be to build up the Church, or to accomplish good—has the right to become a preacher unless God calls him to the work. In God, and in him alone, is vested the authority to call men into this high and holy office; nor has the man whom he chooses any right to refuse."—*Western Cavaliers* . . . , pp. 153f.

at twenty-one years of age, seventeen months after his conversion, he became "fully persuaded of . . . [his] call to the Ministry" and accepted the invitation of Robert Williams to "set out with him" as a Traveling Preacher.⁵

To Nathan Bangs the impression that he "must preach the Gospel" came with great force, following his profession* of sanctification:

being more deeply sensible than ever of my deficiency in the qualifications requisite for so responsible a work, I dared not yet to yield to the impression, though it followed me by day and by night. Nor did I open my mind to any one respecting it, lest it might be imputed to vanity or pride. I prayed much that God would show me plainly my duty. One day, as I was walking the road, in deep meditation upon this subject, a sudden ray of divine illumination struck my mind like a flash of lightning, accompanied with the words, 'I have anointed thee to preach the Gospel.' I sank to the ground, and cried out, 'Here am I!'⁶

While a student at Brown University Willbur Fisk gave thought to the ministry as possibly offering the greatest opportunity for usefulness. Upon graduation, confronted with the necessity of deciding what profession he should follow and without "sufficient assurance that he was 'inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon him the office of the ministry in the Church of Jesus Christ,'" he began the study of law. But his mind was ill at ease. In 1817, during a revival at Lyndon, Vermont—the home of his parents—he was led to make confession of "dereliction from early principles and purposes" and formed a "determination to return to Him 'from whom he had deeply revolted'." "He was now filled anew 'with peace and joy in believing,'" and felt "a renewed conviction of duty to preach the Gospel." But he refused to make up his mind "instantaneously or rashly." He weighed carefully every consideration. His final reflections he formulated as a dialogue between his Divine Master and himself. He was convinced that the injunction, "Go preach the Gospel," was laid upon him, and in April, 1818, he accepted appointment from the Presiding Elder to Craftsbury Circuit, Vermont District, New England Conference.⁷

Thomas A. Morris believed that the call to the ministry is a part of the Christian system "plainly taught in the Sacred Scriptures." The evidence by which he was convinced that he was called to the ministry he summarized as follows:

1. As soon as I began to enjoy the comforts of religion, I felt a desire to recommend it to others, which I did first privately. But this did not satisfy my mind; I desired to proclaim it to the multitudes, and this desire increased until it nearly engrossed all my thoughts by day and night, so that even in my sleep I appeared to be generally at some religious meeting, praying and exhorting.
2. Without any solicitation on my part the brethren urged me to go forward in the work of the Lord publicly.
3. The fear that I would be confounded in consequence

* See p. 317.

of my extreme diffidence was overcome by the power of faith to a great extent. . . . 4. My early efforts to exhort and preach were followed by a great blessing on my own soul. 5. My conscience bore me witness that I was in the path of duty 6. The pious part of the community thought I ought to proceed I formed some new societies, and received scores of new members into the old ones. . . . 7. . . . The Lord gave me many . . . witnesses on the Marietta Circuit [who said 'that under my preaching they were awakened for the first time, . . . and had been saved']. . . . 8. . . . two of these witnesses, after living happily for some months, died shouting victory to the last. Since that time I have not doubted that God called me, unworthy as I am, to the work of the ministry, though I have feared often that, through unfaithfulness, my commission was forfeited.⁸

THRUST OUT AGAINST THEIR WILL

Some felt definitely that they were called to preach but for one reason or another were reluctant and resisted the call. Only under pressure were they prevailed upon to enlist in the ministry. At eighteen years of age Thomas Smith* felt that he ought to preach but he was engaged in a business enterprise which offered flattering prospects of financial gain and sought to quiet his conscience by the reflection that probably many other men were similarly exercised. For more than twelve months he struggled against his inner conviction but again and again became agitated in mind.

I, therefore, resorted to God for direction. Three painful days and nights I fasted and prayed, at which time my mind was decided. I did religiously and conscientiously believe I was moved by the Holy Ghost to minister in holy things, and to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ. However, I thought it proper to open my mind to the band of which I was a member; and hoped that in that case, as well as in all others, they would be plain and honest with me. They assured me that they had long been of the opinion that God had called me to the work of the ministry, and advised me to apply to the quarterly meeting conference for permission to preach. I did so; and after the usual examination, I was duly authorized to preach God's holy word so long as my life and conversation comported with the same.⁹

One who held out for several years against strong conviction was Robert R. Roberts. When he was about eleven his father's house was made a preaching point on the Redstone Circuit—his parents and older brothers and sisters having united with the Church—and the boy came under the influence of Class and prayer meetings, as well as sermons. Of serious mind and an

* Thomas Smith (1776-1844) was born in Kent County, Md., and was baptized in the Anglican Church, of which his parents were members. In his ninth year, while under an impulse to commit suicide by hanging, he experienced conversion and felt that his soul "was let into the liberty of the children of God." In May, 1798, he was appointed by the Presiding Elder to travel the Caroline [Del.] Circuit as junior preacher. At the 1799 Conference held in Philadelphia he was "received as remaining on trial" and appointed to Flanders Circuit, New Jersey. In 1814, because of ill health he located, but in 1818 he was readmitted to the Traveling Connection. In 1822 illness caused him to become a supernumerary, in which relation he continued until his death. His obituary characterizes him as "a kind friend, a superior pastor, and an acceptable and useful preacher," who "preached the gospel plainly, purely, fully, and zealously."—David Dailey, Compiler, *Experience and Ministerial Labors of Rev. Thomas Smith* . . . , pp. 9, 10ff., 23, 38, 179, 182, 187; *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 595f.

avid reader, young Roberts perused such Methodist literature as Fletcher's *Checks to Antinomianism*, and *The Appeal*, and Wesley's *Sermons*. By the time he was fifteen he occasionally occupied himself in constructing sermon outlines and preaching to such groups of children as he could get together to listen. At eighteen he had become seriously impressed with the thought that he should preach the Gospel. But as he was diffident, distrustful of his ability, and embarrassed in the presence of older people, he kept his impression to himself. When in 1798 the first Methodist Society was formed at Shenango, Pennsylvania, where the family had recently settled, he was chosen as Class Leader. Gradually he overcame his backwardness sufficiently to address the members of the Class briefly but, under a sense of lack of qualifications for what seemed to him so great a responsibility, still shrank from giving his consent to accepting license as a preacher. So strong had his conviction become, however, that at times he became so depressed in spirit he was unable to engage successfully in work of any kind. Finally, largely influenced by James Quinn, then on the Erie Circuit, still with much temerity, he gave his consent, and was given Quarterly Conference license and recommended to the Baltimore Annual Conference. In the spring of 1802, at twenty-four years of age, he was received on trial in the Baltimore Conference and appointed to Carlisle Circuit.¹⁰

The phenomenal spread of Methodism under the preaching of the Circuit Riders created a need for more and ever more preachers—a need greater than was supplied by candidates who felt themselves called to enter the ministry. As a result many of the older preachers engaged in a process of enlistment that was calculated to develop in any earnest Christian youth a sense of obligation to become an itinerant preacher. Peter Cartwright tells in his *Autobiography* of his surprise when at a Quarterly Meeting in the spring of 1802 Jesse Walker handed him a slip of paper on which was written:

Peter Cartwright is hereby permitted to exercise his gifts as an exhorter in the Methodist Episcopal Church so long as his practice is agreeable to the Gospel. Signed in behalf of the society at Ebenezer. Jesse Walker, A.P.

Cartwright says that Walker had not previously mentioned the matter to him, nor had he at any time formally attempted to exhort. He told his minister that he did not want an Exhorter's license, but he was urged to keep it and to exercise his gift in Class and other meetings. This he finally consented to do. The ensuing fall Cartwright's father moved from Logan County, Kentucky, to Lewiston County—"a new country and at least eighty miles from any circuit." Peter Cartwright applied to the Presiding Elder for a church letter for himself, his mother, and a sister. Cartwright's letter not only certified to his church membership and authority to exhort but also gave him

“authority to travel through all that destitute region, hold meetings, organize classes, and . . . to form a circuit, and meet him the next fall . . . with a plan of a new circuit”

I did not want to take it, for I saw through the solemn responsibilities it rolled upon me. I told him just to give me a simple letter of membership; that, although I did think at times that it was my duty to preach, I had little education, and that it was my intention to go to school the next year. He then told me that this was the very best school or college that I could find between heaven and earth.

This letter was Peter Cartwright's call to preach. In the fall of 1803 he met John Page, the Presiding Elder, and Jesse Walker, his pastor, with a plan for the Livingston Circuit, which he had formed. The following year he was received on trial in the Western Conference and appointed junior preacher on the Salt River and Shelby Circuit.¹¹

In somewhat the same way William McKendree seems to have been pushed into the itinerant ministry. In his thirtieth year, a few months after his conversion, his father suddenly confronted him with the question, “William, has not the Lord called you to preach the gospel?” He answered, “I cannot tell; I do not know what a call to preach the gospel implies.” When asked for an explanation of his question the father replied:

While you lay sick of the fever when the doctor and all your friends had given you up for lost I applied myself to the throne of grace, and prayed incessantly. While I was on my knees, the Lord manifested himself to me in an uncommon manner, *and gave me an assurance that you should live to preach the gospel*, and I have never lost my confidence, although you have been too careless.

Shortly afterward McKendree again became ill. He was visited by John Easter, under whose preaching he had been converted. Before leaving, Easter prayed—“not as men generally pray, but in a manner and with a zeal peculiar to himself.” He told the Lord that

‘the harvest was great, but the laborers were few’—that I [McKendree] had been urged by the Spirit, but had refused to obey. He prayed the Lord to raise me up, and thrust me into his vineyard. I recovered; and from that time I spoke more frequently and freely in public

Soon thereafter the 1788 Conference was held. What occurred is succinctly told by McKendree:

Mr. Easter requested me to fix myself and attend the Conference. I did so, and he kindly took me to his lodging. Upon his going to the Conference-room, he invited me to come up at a certain hour and see the preachers. I went accordingly, and the first thing after prayer was to read out the preachers' stations; and . . . [Asbury] announced that I was appointed to Mecklenburg Circuit, with Philip Cox.

This, I confess . . . was an unexpected shock; but . . . [Asbury's] gentle man-

ner of proceeding with the young preachers presently restored me to a degree of ease.

During the second year of his itinerancy, McKendree records, his "doubts with regard to . . . [his] call to the ministry subsided in a great measure."¹² It scarcely needs to be added that of all the Methodist preachers of his day and generation none came nearer fulfilling his ministry, in an apostolic sense, than William McKendree.

John Stewart* in *Highways and Hedges* tells of the unceremonious way in which he was thrust into the ministry by Marcus Lindsey, his pastor :

One day, as the congregation was assembling for preaching [at my father's house] brother Lindsey took me out one side and sat down on a log; and after talking with me a little while, he handed me a license to exhort, and said, 'You must go and do the best you can.' I tried to excuse myself, but he insisted, and that day announced four appointments for me, each of which I was to fill every four weeks.

Stewart did not immediately succeed as an Exhorter. In Lindsey's absence in attending General Conference Thomas A. Morris—who was "supply pastor" on Lindsey's Circuit—took Stewart around the Circuit with him and at each appointment, after preaching, called on him to exhort but at every attempt he "had less and less liberty, until . . . [he seemed to himself] to be completely shut up." Finally before the round of the Circuit was completed he "mounted . . . [his] horse and fled for home." But on the way he fell in with Lindsey, who had returned from General Conference, and "told him the whole story." Lindsey comforted him by narrating his own experience. He, himself, "had started too soon—his way closed up—he waited until it opened, and then went forward." He concluded by saying, "John, you are called to the work of the ministry, but the time has not come. Keep yourself unencumbered and in due time the way will be clear." So it proved.† Having been licensed to preach, on March 1, 1817, he was appointed assistant preacher on the Letart Falls Circuit, and at the ensuing session of the Ohio Conference was received on trial as a Traveling Preacher.¹³

* John Stewart (1795–1876) was born in Sussex County, N. J. In his twenty-second year he became a probationary member of the Ohio Conference. In 1819 he volunteered "for pioneer missionary work," was transferred to the Missouri Conference and appointed to the Blue River (Ind.) Circuit. In 1822 he was retransferred to the Ohio Conference in which he continued an active member until his superannuation in 1866. The story of his life, *Highways and Hedges* . . . , written at the request of the Ohio Conference, is one of the best of numerous autobiographies of early American Methodist preachers and is a valuable primary source of information on Methodism in Ohio, 1800–65. For obituary, see *Gen'l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Ch.*, 1876, p. 132.

† John Stewart's experience was paralleled by that of numerous other preachers. Elijah M. Bosley (1811–40), for many years a prominent member of the Kentucky Conference, was a son of pious Methodist parents. As a child he "gave his heart to God," and early became an active Christian. In his twenty-second year at a Camp Meeting he was bidden by his Presiding Elder to preach. He demurred, saying, "I have no license." "I will give you a license," the Presiding Elder replied. He made an attempt and failed. He was "mortified and discouraged" but his mentor said to him, "Well, Elijah, you must try again, tomorrow." In his second effort he improved. Successive efforts brought further improvement; he was soon licensed to preach, and at the Kentucky Conference of 1833 was admitted on trial and appointed to the Somerset Circuit.—*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 226, 229; A. H. Redford, *op. cit.*, pp. 352ff., 356.

While the exact form of "the Call" differed widely, as these many examples give evidence, a basic element was common to all. In every case, in the final analysis, the preacher had an experience of God that he felt under compulsion to proclaim. He could not keep it to himself. He shared the apostle's realization, "woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel!" Under this compulsion the Methodist itinerant did not wait for a call from an organized church or even for an invitation from an individual or group who wanted to see a church organized in their community. He went to the high-ways and the hedges to call the people.

The man who goes into the world to propagate religion because he enjoys it in his own experience—who goes out, in a word, to propagate that experience itself—waits not for a call from any people, but goes because he feels that he is sent. . . . He does not wait for the people to call him. He goes out and calls the people.¹⁴

This in essence was the Circuit Riders' mission. It was this that made them missionaries. More than anything else it explained the phenomenally rapid spread of Methodism.

A CAUSE TO DIE FOR

Asbury's call to his preachers, as that of Wesley before him, was to a difficult and hazardous service. A part of their duty would be to go to people who did not want to hear them, to communities where people of influence and authority would oppose and harass them. They would be obliged to travel wilderness trails in all kinds of weather, to make long journeys without assurance of food or of a roof over their heads at night. They must take up their cross—if they were to be true to their calling—not in the petty sense in which the phrase is so often used in religious circles in these latter days, but in its original meaning of a life sacrificed. And just this they did. They went forth in the face of all species of difficulty and hardship, often under a sense of threatening danger and impending tragedy but unmoved by every variety of peril and opposition. This finds frequent expression in their letters and journals. William Case, appointed in 1808 missionary to Upper Canada, wrote in his "Journal":

I must . . . leave them [his brethren and friends at Chatham] and that without much prospect of seeing them again in this world, but I make the sacrifice willingly. For though I would gladly live and die with them, yet, for the Gospel of Christ's sake I freely, yea gladly leave them, though dearer to me than everything else on earth. We parted in great affection with many tears and prayers for each other's welfare.¹⁵

They fully realized that enlistment might mean the shortening of life. Some of the American preachers endured the privations of the itinerancy without

diminution of strength or impairment of health, but they were exceptions.* So fraught with peril to health was the itinerancy that almost one-half of the preachers whose deaths were recorded previous to 1800 had died before reaching the age of thirty. Nor did the danger lessen to any marked extent in the later decades of the period for by its close (1844) still approximately one-half of those who had fallen had died before thirty-three.¹⁶

The long list of Circuit Riders who died in their twenties or early thirties of pulmonary diseases brought on by excessive labor and exposure carries the names of many who had they lived would have rendered noteworthy service to the Church. Of these a typical example was Francis Acuff, a Virginian, received on trial in 1793 and the next year appointed to the Holston Circuit. Before his twenty-fifth birthday he died in Kentucky (August, 1795). Abel Stevens described him as a young man of "extraordinary talents and great devotion [who] won universal affection."¹⁷ Another was Richard Neely, born in North Carolina in 1802, who in his seventeenth year was received on trial in the Tennessee Conference.¹⁸ He was largely instrumental in beginning Methodist missionary work among the Cherokee. In 1825 his health failed and on February 22, 1828, he died.†

A DISTINCTIVE MINISTRY

John Wesley, declares John S. Simon, his biographer, materially modified the eighteenth century British estimate of the clergyman.‡ Correspondingly it is not an exaggeration to say that the early Methodist Circuit Riders changed the prevailing American conception of the minister. For the Methodist

* Laban Clark (1778-1868), who occupied "prominent positions in the New York and New York East Conferences," was a member of eight "General Conferences" and president of the Board of Trustees of Wesleyan University (Middletown, Conn.) from its organization in 1831 to 1868 (S. A. Seaman, *Annals of New York Methodism* . . . , p. 187). Mark Trafton (1810-1901), who at his decease was the oldest itinerant in New England, also lived to enter his ninety-first year (James Mudge, *History of the New England Conference* . . . , p. 97). Ebenezer F. Newell (1775-1867) at the time of his death was ninety-one years and six months old (*ibid.*, p. 109). Peter Van Nest (1759-1851), in spite of exhausting labors, when past ninety still "went about doing good." (John Carroll, *Case and His Cotemporaries*, I, 73, 81f.) Epaphras Kibby (1777-1865), thrust out as an itinerant in his twenty-first year by Asbury with the words, "Go, . . . my son, and God be with you; Do the best you can; an angel can't do better," survived until his eighty-eighth year (J. Mudge, *op. cit.*, p. 60). Joshua Soule (1781-1867), who served in the episcopacy for forty-three years, lived to the age of eighty-six.—*Ibid.*, pp. 61f.

† A few only, of many others, may be mentioned. Henry Birchett, a Virginian, admitted on trial in 1788, volunteered for missionary service in Kentucky, died after having been in the ministry between five and six years (Nathan Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, II, 18f.). James King, received on trial in 1794, traveled extensively through the states of Georgia and South Carolina, dying in Charleston in 1797 at about twenty-five years of age (*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 52, 79). Greenup Kelly, a Kentuckian, had "traveled only three years" when, in 1830, he died at the age of twenty-three (*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 547; II, 85, 115; A. H. Redford, *History of Methodism in Kentucky*, III, 374f.). James Mudge tells the tragic story of deaths of nine Circuit Riders of the New England Conference between January, 1796, and January, 1821, whose average age was twenty-six years and the average length of whose ministry was six and one-third years.—*Op. cit.*, pp. 85f.

‡ John S. Simon: "As a consequence of Wesley's self-denying work, there arose in England a new ideal of the Christian minister. . . . As he rode into a village and took his stand on the green, and then, after preaching, set his face towards the storms that howled among the hills, those who looked at him saw a new aspect of clerical life. They would compare him with their own parish minister, and would be lost in amazement. They would learn that here was a man who had ridden over the wretched roads out of sheer love of their souls, a man who received neither fee nor reward for his work, who lived upon a small private income and continually gave away large sums of money to the poor; a man who had deliberately and cheerfully cut himself off from all hope of advancement in the Church, and was content with the approval of his conscience and the commendation of Christ."—*Revival of Religion in England in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 289f.

ministry was sui generis. There was none other like it. It was distinctive in its character, its method, and its program.

Modern secular writers have persistently caricatured the Methodist preacher—to such an extent that their misrepresentations have created in fact a false picture even in the minds of many Methodists. Not all itinerants wore the same garb* but there was sufficient general resemblance to make the Circuit Rider a marked man in every community. When he rode into a village or was seen astride his horse on a frontier trail even children pointed him out as a Methodist preacher. But personal appearance was a superficial difference,† at least in importance of numerous distinctive characteristics.

PRACTICE OF PRAYER

Traditionally, Fletcher of Madeley has been known as the saint of early Methodism but if constancy in prayer is to be regarded as the badge of saintliness Francis Asbury must be counted as sharing this distinction. It was the British Wesleyan theologian W. H. Fitchett who wrote of Asbury: "Prayer was woven into the very fibres of his life."¹⁹ He was the living disproof of Johnson's remark to Boswell that to take literally the Scriptural command "be instant in prayer" would be to become a maniac. In February, 1782, he wrote in his *Journal*, "I make it a note to spend an hour, morning and evening, in meditation, and in prayer for all the circuits, societies, and preachers."²⁰ And by that he did not mean collectively, but individually.

For years he prayed for each of his preachers by name daily; at every conference he prayed privately over each name on the list of appointments; on his rides he prayed ten minutes each hour, and he records that there were few minutes in the day in which his thoughts were not absorbed in prayer.²¹

As few men in the history of the modern Church, Asbury was literally "a man of prayer."[‡]

Not all of the early itinerants followed their leader's example in their

* Jesse Lee: "The Superintendents [Coke and Asbury], and some of the Elders, introduced the custom of wearing gowns and bands, but it was opposed by many of the preachers, as well as private members, who looked upon it as needless and *superfluous*. Having made a stand against it, after a few years it was given up, and has never been introduced among us since."—*A Short History of the Methodists* . . . , p. 107.

† When Joshua Marsden, a British Wesleyan preacher, visited the New York Conference in 1802 he commented on the lack of clerical costume, stating that "many of them had not a single article of black cloth," and that neither of the Bishops was "dressed in black." (Abel Stevens, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* . . . , IV, 186.) The garb most commonly used included a "round-breasted coat, long vest with the corners cut off, short breeches, and long stockings." (Allen Wiley, "Methodism in Southeastern Indiana" (in the *Western Christian Advocate*), *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXIII [1927], 1 [March], 35.) The New England Conference of 1825 declared by resolution that it was "expedient that all members of this Conference be uniform in the fashion of their coats" and that "single-breasted coats with plain rolling collars be worn." (J. Mudge, *op. cit.*, p. 90.) The 1839 Indiana Conference asked that the "preachers return to the original plainness of dress" and that they wear "the round-breasted or plain frock coats."—William Warren Sweet, *Circuit-Rider Days in Indiana*, p. 75.

‡ H. K. Carroll: "When perplexed with momentous questions; when his own wisdom seemed unequal to the demand upon it, when unjustly assailed and wrongly accused, when misunderstood and misrepresented by friends and foes alike, when in peril of life and confronted by death, when his manifold burdens seemed greater than he could bear, he had recourse to prayer and poured out his soul before God."—*Francis Asbury in the Making of American Methodism*, p. 118.

prayer habits but one is impressed by the number whose lives were marked by prayerfulness. Again and again in biographies and in articles on the lives of the Circuit Riders one comes upon statements similar to the tribute paid by Andrew Hunter to Peter M. M'Gowan, one of the lesser known pioneers:

Brother McGowan was one of the most holy men it was ever my privilege to know. He 'prayed without ceasing.' I have occupied the same bed with him and have been waked in the silent hours of the night by him as he talked to God in whispers by my side. I have heard him for half hours at a time . . . in the stillness of the night offering fervent prayers to God for the preachers and people of his district.²²

TIRELESS ENERGY

The tirelessness of the Circuit Riders has become proverbial. Wesley's record of five thousand miles' travel a year hither and yon over the British Isles was a familiar story to every American itinerant and it never lost its challenge. More than a few of them equalled or excelled it for some years of their ministry. In miles traveled per year Asbury considerably exceeded Wesley, averaging—it is estimated—more than six thousand.

The extent of his journeys, during his ministry of forty-five years, in the United States alone, was equal, upon an average, to the circumference of the globe every four years! and this by private conveyance, . . . over the worst roads, in the infancy of the nation. During the last thirty-two years of his life, he presided in two hundred and thirty-four Annual Conferences, and ordained about four thousand persons in the traveling or local ministry.²³

McKendree's labors were no less strenuous than those of Asbury. When not engaged in Conference sessions it was his usual habit to travel and preach almost every day. His biographer records his rest days for eleven months of 1810-11: November, none; December, two; January, two; February, none; March, two; April, none; May, none; June, none; July, none; August, two; September, none.²⁴

The unwearying ardor of Asbury and McKendree was equalled by that of scores of humble itinerants whose unrecorded labors have long since been forgotten. Typical of many is the record of John A. Grenade, admitted on trial in the Western Conference in 1802. He was appointed in 1803 to the Holston Circuit. The senior preacher having been transferred to another appointment Grenade was left without assistance on a Circuit which embraced a large portion of East Tennessee. His rides were long and the mountainous roads difficult and dangerous. So numerous were the demands made upon him, and so intense was his zeal for God and for the welfare of the people that within three years he wore himself out.

His zeal carried him beyond his strength, and under his indefatigable labors and exposures in the new settlements his health failed and he located.

The tireless energy of the Circuit Riders deeply impressed President William Henry Harrison. He had been a witness of their labors in the West for nearly forty years, he declared, and he looked upon them as "a body of men, who for zeal and fidelity in the discharge of the duties they undertake, are not exceeded by any others in the world . . . They are men whom no labor tires, . . . no danger frightens in the discharge of their duty."²⁵

INNER DRIVING POWER

A third characteristic of the Circuit Rider was the inner driving power which impelled him onward. His eye was upon the farthest outpost of the frontier and toward reaching it his whole energy was expended. He had to go. Nothing could avail to stop him.

There were of course some exceptions. In the "Journal" of Thomas Haskins there are numerous entries stating that rain or snow prevented him from keeping a preaching engagement:

Sat. 22nd [February, 1783] . . . this being a rainy day was prevented from travelling and preaching

Wed. 4 [May, 1785] The season being inclement did not venture out till evening ²⁶

But Haskins was not a typical Circuit Rider and did not last long in the itinerancy. For one who was deterred by wind or rain or snow from meeting his Circuit appointments there were a hundred who defied the elements and all other obstacles at whatever cost. If it had not been so the Church could not have been built with the rapidity and strength that characterized frontier Methodism; there could not have been a Liberia Mission or an Indian Mission Conference or an Oregon Mission. It was this spirit of the Circuit Riders which most strongly impressed Theodore Roosevelt and prompted him to pay high tribute to them—"nameless and unknown men who perished at the hands of savages, or by sickness and in flood and storm" ²⁷

How much the determined spirit of the early itinerants contributed to the success of Methodism is illustrated by the remark of a citizen of New Orleans when William Winans encountered difficulty in finding a preaching place:

if you give the Methodists a foothold, they are forever fastened upon you; for they will live on parched corn and sleep on the bare floor, rather than give up an appointment.

The statement was prompted by Winans' persistent efforts to procure a public place for preaching when in 1813 he had been appointed to New Orleans, with an appropriation of \$30. as a missionary allowance. He encountered end-

less difficulty but, refusing to admit defeat, finally succeeded in renting a room which he used "as a schoolroom and a place for preaching."²⁸

A PREACHING ORDER

The Methodist itinerancy was unique in its emphasis upon preaching. It was in fact a Protestant preaching order. Everywhere and always preaching had priority over all other ministerial activities. Preaching, and ever more preaching, was the rule of the order. Asbury and his corps of Circuit Riders believed that the nation could actually be reformed and the world saved by the "foolishness of preaching."

In accordance with this rule they were wholly indifferent to any fixed order of time and place. In nothing, says Jonathan Crowther, did the Wesleyan preachers maintain so little uniformity as in their hours of preaching. And this was quite as true in America as in England. In some cases preaching was at seven in the morning and six in the evening; in others at nine in the morning, half-past one, and six; in still others at half-past ten, at two, and at six. Always the time was determined by the convenience of the people who were to be reached.

Thomas Haskins mentions preaching at almost all hours of the day. A few of many examples are cited:

Sunday [Nov] 10th [1782] Set of [f] about 8 . . . this morning and rode about 10 miles to . . . Presbury's preaching house. About 10 . . . preached to a few from 1 Thess. 7.8

Thursday [December] 12th In the evening preached to a few . . .

Tuesday [January] 7th [1783] Rode about 4 miles to Wm. Hyatts. at 12 . . . preached . . . from John 7.17²⁹

In 1775 Asbury writes of often preaching three times a day, particularly on Sundays. He preached in the morning, at noon, at various afternoon hours, and in the evening. Thirty years later, though noting that his body "failed a little in these exercises," he still continued his custom. He speaks regretfully of the fact that the "intendant of the city [Charleston, South Carolina]" had forbidden "prayer-meetings with the blacks before the rising sun" and evening meetings later than nine o'clock.³⁰

James Gilruth tells of a Quarterly Meeting held on Saturday and Sunday, August 2-3, 1834, attended by several preachers:

Sat Aug 2. . . . Preached at one P.M. from Matt. XXII. 39. with some liberty. after which I held QM. confarence Br. Church Preached at ½ past 5 after which held a short prayer meeting. . . .

Sund Aug 3d— Br. Samuel Bibbins. preached at 11 At 5 P.M. Br. Church preached a short discourse & After he had finished I preached through an interpreter to the Indians³¹

A week later Gilruth attended a Camp Meeting. On Saturday he preached at eleven o'clock, at four and "again at candlelight . . . with some power." On Sunday a "Br Newson" preached at eight in the morning, Gilruth at eleven; "Br E Day" at three in the afternoon, and Gilruth again at night. On Monday morning he arose at sunrise, called the congregation together, baptized a number of children, gave an exhortation, and closed the Camp Meeting.³²

Not only did the Circuit Riders preach at all hours of the day, but in all kinds of places, wherever a congregation could be gathered together. Joseph Pilmoor records a somewhat typical experience:

Fri. 10 [July, 1772] . . . As I did not know one person in the town [Annapolis, Maryland] I was at a loss how to proceed to get a place to preach in; but while we were at dinner in the Coffee-house, a young storekeeper came in who expressed a desire to hear, and readily went with me about the Town to look for a convenient place—As we walked along I observed a very large Tree in a fine piece of ground where many people might stand in the shade—We made application and readily obtained leave of the owner, to preach under it that night—So I sent the Bell-man round the Town to inform the inhabitants, and at seven o'clock had a fine congregation, and most of them behaved remarkably well.³³

A month later Pilmoor writes of preaching "in the Playhouse . . . to a lovely congregation of serious hearers."³⁴ Thomas Haskins also mentions making use of "the play-house" at Annapolis for want of a more suitable place of worship but characterizes his congregation as "a careless sett."³⁵

Asbury preached in all sorts of situations, the place seemingly being a matter of indifference if only he might bear witness to the love and grace of God. "My present mode of conduct," he wrote on July 29, 1776, "is . . . to preach in the open air every other day."³⁶ Hundreds of times—probably even thousands—he preached in the homes of Methodist converts, whether a palatial Perry Hall or the floorless room of a backwoods log cabin. On one day we find him holding his service in "the preaching house," on the next preaching "in the woods," perhaps on the third day in a barn, and on the fourth in the church of some denomination other than Methodist. Heman Bangs tells in his *Journal* of preaching in "the Free-Mason's hall," in "the Court House," "in a Factory to a goodly number," "in the Presbyterian meeting-house," "in a Baptist meeting-house," and "in the old Town House."³⁷

CIRCULATION OF LITERATURE

Wesley's counsel concerning the circulation of religious literature as a means of fulfilling the Christian ministry was not lost upon the American preachers. Its importance was emphasized in the tenth edition of the *Discipline* (1798):

The propagation of religious knowledge by means of the press, is next in importance to the preaching of the gospel. To supply the people therefore, with the most pious and useful books, in order that they may fill up their leisure hours in the most profitable ways, is an object worthy of their deepest attention of their pastors.³⁸

The Circuit Riders made theirs a distinctive ministry by the attention they gave to the distribution of books, particularly on the frontier. Their fixed custom was to carry an assortment of books in their capacious saddlebags.* Following the conclusion of their weekday services they not only exhibited them but "resolutely crowded . . . them" upon the people. In a single year on a Missouri Conference Circuit where he received only \$25. cash salary Jerome C. Berryman sold books to the amount of \$600.³⁹

it was difficult to find a preacher anywhere from whom the standard works of the Church might not be purchased. They carried them . . . to their meetings, to the homes of the rich, and to the cabins of the poor. Our books were thus scattered everywhere.⁴⁰

In this way the works of Wesley, Fletcher, Joseph Benson, Adam Clark, Richard Watson, Nathan Bangs, and other Methodist writers were placed in the homes of the people wherever Methodist Societies were formed. Pamphlets and tracts were strewn far and wide. From Mobile, Alabama, John R. Lambuth wrote in April, 1827, to the Missionary Society:

I have had . . . some thousands of tracts, which I have scattered in town and country, . . . in . . . prison, hospital, theatres, grog shops, and elsewhere; and I have good reason to believe that some good has been done through this medium.⁴¹

The books distributed were not limited to strictly religious subjects. Works of biography, history, ethics, philosophy, and travel were also circulated. The cultural influence exerted by Methodism's nationwide spread of good literature in a period when means of distribution were limited has never been appraised but that it had significant moral and intellectual effects is beyond dispute.

PREPARATION AND TRAINING

While the vast majority of the early itinerants were unschooled it is a serious error to assume that they were entirely lacking in preparation and training for their work as preachers and pastors. Their qualifications as ministers have been frequently misrepresented. From the contemporary period down to the present it has often been said that they were chiefly or wholly illiterate and ignorant men.† Any such statement overlooks the fact that

* Books were sent to Presiding Elders and pastors on consignment by the Book Concern, and they were allowed a commission on sales which was a source of income in addition to salary. As they were held responsible for books lost and for collections from purchasers the net result sometimes was loss rather than gain.

† Samuel G. Goodrich in his widely circulated *Recollections of a Lifetime* (1856) says that

firsthand observation and experience are the ultimate bases of knowledge and are essential to the development of the intellectual life. If the Methodist itinerants lacked formal academic or institutional training—as most of them did—their constant contacts with people of all classes, their wide opportunity for observation and insight into human nature, their broad sympathies and their powers of argumentation gained through continual speaking made up in no slight measure for the lack.*

SELF-EDUCATED MEN

Many of the preachers were diligent students and in a period when academies and colleges were few and far between and theological schools available for the training of Methodist preachers nonexistent the attainments in learning of some of the Circuit Riders were such as to put to shame the intellectual poverty of many modern preachers. With his limited background of schooling in England†, Francis Asbury by diligent study attained a reading knowledge of Latin and mastered Hebrew and Greek sufficiently to read the Old and New Testaments in the original tongues. Captain Webb habitually read the Greek New Testament. Joseph Pilmoor says he studied Hebrew because of “a desire to be more extensively useful . . . and more effectually promote the glory of God.” In April, 1770, he wrote in his “Journal”:

Mon. 23. Spent the morning in reading my Hebrew Bible and was glad to drink in the truth from the pure fountain of the Patriarchs and Prophets without the least danger of human invention. The afternoon, I devoted to Fox's Acts and Monuments.

In December, 1771, he records resuming his study of Greek which he “had been obliged to drop for some time”⁴²

John Kobler, whose English orthography as evidenced by his manuscript “Journal” left much to be desired, nevertheless read the New Testament in Greek and frequently inscribed the texts of his sermons in the “Journal” in the original tongue. William Thatcher,‡ appointed in 1797 to the Litchfield (Connecticut) Circuit, the beginning of a ministry which extended over almost half a century, not only acquired “extensive general knowledge” but

Methodism chiefly used “illiterate propagandists.” Curiously, however, in a statement made soon after, he says, “I suspect it will be difficult to find in the originators of any sect or creed, a more profound knowledge of human nature, or a more sedulous employment of human agencies, than are to be discovered in the early promoters of Methodism.”—I, 197, 199.

* William Warren Sweet: “Most of the preachers who followed the moving population westward were men of little education; but to say that they were ignorant men is far from the truth. They were uneducated in the same sense that Abraham Lincoln was uneducated; but, like Lincoln, they became educated men in the truest sense of the word.”—*Methodism in American History*, p. 147.

† See Vol. I, 35.
‡ William Thatcher (1769-1856), a native of Connecticut, “born again in his twenty-first year,” was admitted on trial in the New York Conference in 1797. He was superannuated in 1846, having spent his entire active ministry in the northeastern states. His preaching was characterized by Abel Stevens as “always lively, instructive, and impressive.”—*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 72; III, 438; A. Stevens, *op. cit.*, III, 442.

also "considerable proficiency in the original languages and exegesis of the Scriptures."⁴³ William Ryland, a member of the Baltimore Conference, described by William Pinkney as "the greatest pulpit orator he had ever heard," was not only a master of the English language but proficient also in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.⁴⁴

There were a few college graduates among the early preachers. One of the first was Samuel K. Jennings, a Local Preacher, said to be a graduate of Rutgers College, class of 1785. The early sources supply almost no additional information concerning him. He stood high in Asbury's esteem.⁴⁵ John Emory in 1804 graduated from Washington College (Maryland). Willbur Fisk graduated with distinguished honor from Brown University in 1815 and in 1820 received from his alma mater the degree of Master of Arts—the first college graduate among the Methodist preachers of New England.⁴⁶ Stephen Olin was a graduate of Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont. He was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity by the University of Alabama and two other colleges in 1834, and later received the degree of Doctor of Laws.⁴⁷ Robert Seney (1797–1854) graduated from Columbia College, New York City, in 1817. He was received on trial in the New York Conference in 1820 and for thirty years was active in the pastorate, serving some of the most important appointments.⁴⁸

Among the earliest graduates of Wesleyan University who entered the ministry were Benjamin F. Tefft, class of 1835, Daniel P. Kidder, '36, and Erastus Wentworth, '37. The two latter became foreign missionaries.⁴⁹ Of 153 graduates of Augusta College (Kentucky) from 1829 to its suspension in 1849, thirty-one became ministers.⁵⁰

Peter P. Sandford (1781–1857), an exceptional preacher, achieved such standing in the ministry that he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the "University of the City of New York."⁵¹ Martin Ruter applied himself with such energy to study that although he had attended only an elementary school he was made principal in 1818 of the New Market (Massachusetts) Wesleyan Academy. Asbury College, Baltimore, conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts, and Transylvania University (Kentucky) the degree of Doctor of Divinity.⁵² John P. Durbin (1800–76), like Ruter, was an eager, diligent student. For a time, while pastor at Hamilton, Ohio, he attended classes at Miami University. Later, when appointed to Cincinnati, he was admitted to Cincinnati College where he received the degree of Master of Arts, without having taken a B.A.⁵³

By far the larger proportion of those who gained recognition as intellectually able and effective preachers were self-educated men who by diligent study acquired some knowledge of church history and theology—particularly Arminianism—and an intimate acquaintance with the writings of Wesley and

Fletcher, and the controversial pamphlet literature produced in large quantity by Wesley and contemporary British Wesleyan leaders. A few also gained a respectable acquaintance with general history and the popular philosophical treatises of the period. The separate books of Wesley's fifty-volume *Christian Library* were imported from England and passed from hand to hand until worn to shreds.

The rate of progress in self-education made by many of the Circuit Riders was amazing. Jerome C. Berryman says of George McNelly that he

could not read a hymn nor a chapter in the Bible when he commenced preaching, yet besides becoming well acquainted with his own language [English] he . . . mastered the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, and made himself a fine scholar⁵⁴

Melville B. Cox, Methodism's first missionary to Africa, although he had enjoyed but "few advantages of [school] education," and was seriously handicapped by ill health, by his zeal in study attained an unusual ability to express himself in clear, forceful English equalled by few high school graduates and no considerable proportion of college graduates.⁵⁵

WIDE READERS

The range of Asbury's reading, considering his crowded schedule, was all but incredible.* He made it his fixed purpose to read one hundred pages a day. Jesse Lee kept a record of the titles of books and pamphlets read during some periods of his ministry, noting also the number of pages of each. From May, 1791, to August, 1792, he read—in addition to the Bible—more than five thousand pages.† John G. Jones found "on the cover of a memorandum book for 1825" belonging to William Winans, "in his own handwriting," the following note:

I have account of having read, since I began to travel, in 1808, up to this date [January 24, 1825], 318,095 pages of various sizes, from royal quarto to small 24mo, besides occasional reading, and many books of which I dare not set down the number of pages. This, of the books of which I have account, makes an average of 50 pages per day; and yet, alas! how little do I know! Of the above

* Of the many books read by Asbury, he specifically mentions in his *Journal* titles of more than one hundred. The following partial list illustrates the wide range of subjects: Biography, *Life of Calvin*, *Life of John Bruen*, *Life of De Renty*, *Life of Colonel Gardiner*, *Marshall's Life of Washington*; History, Robertson's *History of Scotland*, Burnet's *History of his own Times*, *History of the French Revolution*, Rollin's *Ancient History*; Theology, Fletcher's *Checks*, Edwards on the *Affections*, Osterwald's *Christian Theology*; Biblical, Hammond's *Notes on the New Testament*, Luther on Galatians, Watson's *Apology for the Bible*, Wesley's *Notes on the New Testament*; Sermons, Watt's *Sermons*, Blair's *Sermons*, Knox's *Sermons*; Travel, Keyser's *Travels in Switzerland*, Park's *Travels in Africa*; General, Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, *Dawn of Universal Peace*, Josephus. For a more extended list see Francis Asbury, *Journal*, III, Index, "Books . . .," pp. 479f.

† Lee's reading included: *The Saint's Everlasting Rest*; Fletcher's *Works*, Vols. I and II; *Preacher's Experience*; Barclay's *Apology for the Quakers*; Sellon's *Answer to Coles*; Wesley's Funeral Sermon by Whitehead; *The Christian Pattern*; Mrs. Rowe's *Devout Exercises*; *A View of Religion*, by Hannah Adams; Garretton's *Experience*; Sweeting's *Narrative*; *Marks of a Work of God*, by Edwards; Hammet's *Appeal*; Wesley's *Notes*, Vols. I, II, and III; Aristotle's *Works*; Tappan's Election Sermon.—Leroy M. Lee, *The Life and Times of the Rev. Jesse Lee*, pp. 265f.

number of pages, 30,000 have been in the Bible and commentaries on that Book

He states also that he had read the Bible through *nearly one hundred times*.⁵⁶

Many of the early preachers—in terms of the reading customs of the period—deserve to be known as widely read men. One finds in the journals of some of the lesser known such statements as that of John H. Pitezel, missionary to the Chippewa of northern Michigan*:

My daily reading was the holy Scriptures, the Old Testament in the English, by course, and a portion of the Greek New Testament. Among the miscellaneous reading, for the year, were, added to our periodicals, Olin's Travels in Egypt, Arabia . . . ; and, in connection, . . . Robinson's Biblical Researches in Mount Sinai . . . ; Stephens' Central America; Lanman's History of Michigan; Bancroft's History of the United States, the first two volumes,

This morning I finished reading through, by course, the Greek Testament. . . . [I] was in my twenty-fourth year before I knew the Greek alphabet. All the assistance I have received from a teacher, has been some fractions of four or five weeks, by an ordinary linguist.⁵⁷

Above all other books Methodist preachers were readers of the Bible. Their minds were steeped in Biblical lore. Thomas Ware says of Samuel Row:

He had the most tenacious and retentive memory of any man I ever knew He thought, as he used sometimes to say, if the Bible were lost, he could replace by his memory the four Evangelists, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, and the greater part of the Epistle to the Hebrews.⁵⁸

While the case of Samuel Row was exceptional, many committed to memory favorite chapters and verses of Scripture, and the majority when dealing with inquirers or with theological controversialists were seldom at a loss for an apt quotation. The Bible to them was more than a repository of texts—it was God's word, the manual of their faith, next to prayer a constant source of daily strength for daily need.

A TUTORIAL SYSTEM

The Circuit System made possible the association of young, immature, untrained recruits with older, religiously seasoned, intellectually mature preachers who served as their counsellors and guides. Losses by death and location were so heavy that it was not always possible to do this but in many cases raw recruits profited greatly by the counsel and kindly correction of their senior colleagues. When the Circuit plan made it possible to travel together it was common practice for the younger man to rehearse his current sermon as the two rode side by side.

* See pp. 159f.

The service rendered in this way was quaintly stated by Wilson Lee, Presiding Elder of the Baltimore District, in a letter written on March 18, 1801, presumably to Asbury:

I humbly hope you will make as general a change as you can in this district, in order that the men who are fully in the work, may spread the flame, and the preachers, who have not got fully into the spirit, may get into the fire; and that all, who are good hands to draw the line and keep rules, may move on through the district.⁵⁹

Nathan Bangs was led into the itinerancy by Joseph Sawyer,* who determined to initiate him by taking him around the Circuit. First, Sawyer insisted the novitiate must exhort after each sermon that he preached. On the fifth day he urged him to preach.

I consented to try I took for my text the words, 'One thing I know, that whereas I was once blind, now I see.' I went blundering on, as I thought, from beginning to end, though Mr. Sawyer said I preached a good sermon. Among other blunders I made a very palpable miscitation or misapplication of a passage from Milton. I immediately perceived my mistake, but could find no ready way of correcting it. I tried hard, but only made it worse. I sank into the quagmire of my confusion, and sat down, covered with humiliation and shame. No sooner was the meeting concluded than I set off, profoundly chagrined, to get my horse. The preacher, suspecting my purpose, hastened toward me and asked me where I was going. 'For my horse,' I replied, 'and then for home, as I have disgraced the cause of my God and killed the Church here!' The good man comforted me, and persuaded me to relinquish my design. I wept bitterly over my infirmities. We kept on around the circuit. I tried to preach several times, and again had good success. Thus was I trained, experimentally; it was the only ministerial preparation practicable to one under my circumstances.⁶⁰

In a few cases fathers in the faith who for one reason or another had located or superannuated encouraged young men to come to them for instruction and counsel. Shadrach Bostwick,† admitted on trial in 1791, early became widely known for the evangelistic and intellectual power of his sermons. Stevens characterizes his discourses as "systematic, profound, luminous, and often overwhelming."⁶¹ When, in 1805, it became necessary for him to locate he established a home within the bounds of the Cuyahoga (Ohio) Circuit. Alfred Brunson wrote that he was "a father to me, and to all young preachers who traveled the circuit. He was, in fact, a professor . . . in our 'Brush College,' and his house was a theological school, where he gave many lectures and model sermons." Brunson felt that his fatherly attitude, his illustrative stories, and his keen analysis of Biblical problems taken together fully equalled in helpfulness "a lecture course in a modern theological school."⁶²

William Capers relates a colloquy in which he engaged with "that most

* See Vol. I, 183.

† See Vol. I, 198.

godly man and best of ministers," William Gassaway.* Capers had but recently concluded that he "was called to preach." To him it appeared necessary for his success as a preacher that he should turn aside from "riding the Circuit" to pursue "a regular course of divinity studies . . . without interruption for several years, till . . . [he] had acquired a sufficient fund of knowledge for preaching." His mentor urged Capers to continue with him, accompany him in visiting and conversing with the people, studying and preaching, and preaching and studying, from day to day, assuring him that in following this plan he would become a better preacher. Gassaway admitted that by attending a training institution

he might learn more theology, and be able to compose a better thesis, but insisted he would not make a better preacher. In this argument he insisted much on the practical character of preaching: that to reach its end, it must be more than a well-composed sermon, or an eloquent discourse, or able dissertation. It must have to do with men as a shot at a mark; in which not only the ammunition should be good, but the aim true. The preacher must be familiar with man to reach him with effect. And the force of preaching must largely depend, under the blessing of God, on the naturalness and truthfulness of the preacher's postulates; arguing to the sinner from what he knows of him, the necessities of his condition, appealing to his conscience, and recommending the grace of God.⁶³

Sometimes the younger preachers were ingenious in devising means of aiding one another when the assistance of an elder associate was not available. Brunson also tells how he and Calvin W. Ruter† cooperated in improving one another's preaching when they were associated in an extensive revival in the spring of 1819.

Ruter and I spent much time together, and preaching alternately, we agreed to criticise each other's sermons, friendly, and for our mutual benefit. No one step in my life contributed so much to correct my language in public speaking as this. It put me upon my guard, in the use of words, as well as ideas, and it assisted me greatly in overcoming the ensnaring and unmeaning man-fearing spirit⁶⁴

The Circuit System had significant concomitant training values. The widely separated preaching places, requiring a considerable part of each day in the saddle, gave the Circuit Riders abundant opportunity for meditation and re-

* William Gassaway entered the itinerancy in the South Carolina Conference in 1788. After serving the Edisto, Bush River, and Little Pee Dee Circuits, having married he found it necessary to locate to provide support for his family. In 1801 he re-entered the Traveling Connection but in 1813 he again located. However, he continued to preach—"to the end of his life . . . a zealous and holy minister of the Gospel."—*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 30, 237; Albert M. Shipp, *The History of Methodism in South Carolina*, pp. 191-198.

† Calvin W. Ruter (1794-1859), a native of Vermont, was received on trial in the Ohio Conference in 1817 and appointed to the Steubenville Circuit. In 1820 he transferred to the Missouri Conference and in 1824 (as a superannuate) to the Illinois Conference where in 1826 he again resumed preaching. In 1830 he was restored to the effective list and in 1832 became a charter member of the Indiana Conference, assigned to Indianapolis. He was secretary for six years (1825-31) of the Illinois Conference and also for six years (1832-37) of the Indiana Conference. As one of the outstanding members of the Indiana Conference he took an active part in the founding of Indiana Asbury (De Pauw) University. In his later years he was register of the United States Land Office at Indianapolis. For memoir see *Gen'l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Ch.*, 1859, p. 274.

hearsal of their sermons in thought. The numerous congregations enabled them to develop and perfect their sermons in the process of preaching them through repetition six, eight, or even twelve or more times on the round of their Circuits. Dr. Robert Baird* styled this "a grand advantage" and "an inestimable means of improvement":

[It] enables the preacher to improve what seemed faulty, and to supply what seemed deficient in the preceding effort. No men . . . become readier or more effective preachers. . . . in point of forcible and effective delivery they far surpass, upon the whole, preachers who have passed through the colleges.⁶⁵

Whatever the limitations of the tutorial method in the preparation and training of ministers—for it is freely granted that it possessed serious limitations—it did not suffer from the disadvantage which so often attends academic training, that of separating the preachers from the content and ways of thinking of the members of their congregations. They shared the form and manner of thought and speech of those to whom they sought to bring the Good News of the Gospel. It was for this reason, declared Timothy Flint, the Congregational pioneer preacher and educator, that they were able to do so "great and incalculable good." He wrote of them:

They speak the dialect, understand the interests, and enter into the feelings of their audience. They exert a prodigious and incalculable bearing upon the rough backwoods men; and do good, where more polished, and trained ministers would preach without effect. No mind but His, for whom they labor, can know how many profane they have reclaimed, drunkards they have reformed, and wanderers they have brought home to God.⁶⁶

COURSE OF STUDY

No attempt was made by the Church during the early decades to furnish guidance to candidates for the ministry. Except for such counsel as he received from older ministers in planning his reading and study each man was left to his own resources. A long step in advance was taken by the General Conference of 1816 when the Committee on Ways and Means, Nathan Bangs, chairman, proposed the authorization of a regular course of study for all candidates. The report of the committee as adopted made it "the duty of the bishop or bishops, or a committee which they may appoint in each annual conference, to point out a course of reading and study proper to be pursued by candidates for the ministry," and of the Presiding Elders to put

* Robert Baird (1798-1863), Presbyterian clergyman, a native of Pennsylvania, graduate of Princeton Seminary (1822), for five years was principal of the Princeton Academy. In 1829 he became general agent of the American Sunday School Union, during his five years' service traveling over all the settled parts of the United States and founding thousands of Sunday schools. In later years he became an officer of the American and Foreign Christian Union, laboring in the United States and France in the interest of the development of Protestantism among the French people. He was the author of numerous books in English and French, one of the best known being *Religion in the United States of America*, 1843.—*Dictionary of American Biography*, A. Johnson and D. Malone, Eds., I, 511f.

it into effect. No candidate was to be received into full connection, the measure provided, unless he could give satisfactory evidence of having studied the course.⁶⁷

The Annual Conferences were slow in giving effect to the new legislation. In the 1833 Philadelphia Conference Bishops Emory and Hedding presented a plan for "a special two years' course of study for the candidates for deacon's orders." It was unanimously approved by the Conference and later considered and approved "by other conferences till it became general, and received the sanction of all the bishops."⁶⁸

Emory's plans for the course of study were comprehensive and far-reaching:

It has long been my conviction that our course of study for preachers should be the *same* in *all* the Conferences; that it should be more simple and Methodistical than it has been in some of them . . . and the measures for examination to be more efficient. . . . I shall hope that we may agree to recommend to the next General Conference the extension of it to *four* years . . . by which means also the course may be made more comprehensive, and elders be trained up who will be prepared to advise and examine others on doctrine, discipline, and government, as well as on language, history, geography, etc.⁶⁹

In the 1826 Tennessee Conference Thomas Maddin, stating that many preachers had been admitted into full connection "without due attention to the course of study prescribed for them," proposed by resolution that no candidate should be admitted until he had "given satisfaction to the Conference of having attentively pursued the course of study prescribed by the Conference, and obtained a knowledge of the English grammar." The resolution was adopted but on the next day was reconsidered and withdrawn and in place of it the Bishops were requested to furnish "the Conference with a course of reading and study, and that such revised course be entered on the journal."⁷⁰

The net effect of the various plans was an examination that in too many cases was merely perfunctory. Some committees felt that the course prescribed by their Conferences presumed to cover too much ground—more in fact than the young Circuit Riders could possibly encompass. John G. Jones testified (1831) that the Annual Conference committees

would not examine . . . [the candidates] on the books named in the course, but gave them a superficial examination on doctrines and biblical history and Church government.⁷¹

At the 1831 session of the Mississippi Conference Benjamin M. Drake sponsored a resolution, adopted by the Conference, asking for revision of the course of study and extension to four years. On May 8, 1832, in General Conference Drake moved to amend the *Discipline* so as to divide the course of reading and study into four parts "suitable to the four years' probation

required by the Discipline." The motion was laid on the table and apparently was not again taken up for consideration.⁷²

Obvious as was the need there were many who were not in favor of the advance. Meanwhile some of the Conferences continued to register complaint concerning the inadequacy of the prevailing plan. At its 1839 session the Kentucky Conference confessed in a resolution that "undergraduates, in some instances, appeared before the Committee of Examination with but a superficial knowledge of the books in the course, and sometimes without having *read* more than one-half of them," and in 1841 it declared that an imperious demand rested on the Church "to elevate the standard of ministerial education, in order to maintain an influence in society."⁷³

At the General Conference of 1844 the Bishops for the first time appointed a "Committee on Course of Study." On June 6 the committee reported, amending the action of 1816 in two important particulars. The Bishops were given responsibility for determining a course of reading and study for candidates for the ministry in all Annual Conferences, and the course was extended to four years.⁷⁴

SIFTING PROCESS

Conviction that he was called to preach by no means assured admission of the candidate on trial. One is impressed by the proportion of men who were refused admission. The names listed in many of the Conference *Journals* as not admitted bear silent witness to the operation of a rigorous sifting process.

Previous to the Fluvanna Conference (1779) the period of trial had been one year but at this Conference the question was asked, "What shall be done with the preachers who were upon trial last year?" and decision was made to continue them on trial for a second year. Two years later at the Conference of 1781 this action was reaffirmed, "considering how young they are in age, grace, and gifts," with the proviso that in case of unanimous approval of a candidate the requirement of a second year might be waived.⁷⁵

According to Jesse Lee's computation, from 1773 to 1806 there were 251 preachers admitted on trial who were not admitted into full connection, not including a few "who never went to their circuits." His comment is that some "stopped through weakness of body, and some through discouragement and many on the account of family concerns."⁷⁶ Strangely, he omits mention of adverse action of the Annual Conference which in many cases was the deciding factor.

In the interim between Annual Conference sessions the Presiding Elder not infrequently exercised his authority to discontinue a preacher on trial. Jacob Young tells of one such case:

I completed my first round . . . [of the West Wheeling Circuit]. About this

time, my colleague came on. He made a very indifferent appearance. His clothes were ragged and dirty. He was a very young man, and a very ignorant one. The people pitied him, took him to Cadiz, and clothed him well from head to foot. He soon began to conduct himself improperly, and the presiding elder dismissed him, and sent him home.⁷⁷

There are numerous records of discontinuance at the close of the first year on trial such as this of the South Carolina Conference of December, 1818:

Thirteen were admitted on trial Three of the number admitted last year were found to be incompetent, and were dropped⁷⁸

Asbury was zealous in guarding the door of admission. On occasion when he thought a committee on admission was showing poor judgment or that the Conference itself was inclined to act hastily or unwisely he did not hesitate to interpose his veto. A case in point was that of the eccentric Lorenzo Dow,* who applied for admission on trial in September, 1796, at the New England Conference. Asbury was unfavorably impressed by his eccentricities and he was not admitted. In 1797, he again made application—this time in Asbury's absence—and was again rejected. Permission, however, was given him "to travel under the direction" of the Presiding Elder and when at the close of the year he presented his application for the third time, he was received on trial.⁷⁹

While Asbury's judgment was not infallible he seldom made a mistake in evaluating the qualifications of a man for the ministry. His analysis of personality and character was keen, discriminating, and penetrating. An example is his estimate of Ira Ellis,† admitted on trial in 1781:

Ira Ellis is a man of quick and solid parts. I have often thought had fortune given him the same advantages of education, he would have displayed abilities not inferior to a Jefferson or a Madison. But he has, in an eminent degree, something better than learning—he has undissembled sincerity, great modesty, deep fidelity, great ingenuity, and uncommon power of reasoning. . . . He is a good man, of most even temper,⁸⁰

Serious errors were sometimes made by Annual Conferences in appraising

* Lorenzo Dow (1777-1834), when finally admitted on trial in 1798, was appointed to the Cambridge (Mass.) Circuit. During the year he was transferred to Pittsfield, where his tireless labors met with remarkable success, 180 persons being added to the Circuit membership. In 1799 he was sent to the Essex Circuit and in 1800 his name disappears from the *Minutes*. He was never received into full connection. He took sudden departure from his Circuit under a "divine impression" that he must preach in Ireland. Beginning in 1803 he traveled extensively through the South and the Southwest, for a time laboring in cooperation with Jacob Young and other Circuit Riders. "His manner and appearance excited great curiosity,—and his startling and eccentric statements were widely circulated."—Matthew Simpson, Ed., *Cyclopaedia of Methodism*, p. 309; A. Stevens, *op. cit.*, II, 460f.; IV, 55, 62, 201, 406.

† Ira Ellis (1761-1841), a Virginian, was admitted into full connection in 1783, and appointed to the Tar River (Va.) Circuit. After preaching on several Circuits in Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, he was sent to Charleston, S. C., where he continued until February, 1790. He then returned to Virginia where he was appointed a Presiding Elder. In 1792 he succeeded James O'Kelly as Presiding Elder in the South District of Virginia. In 1795 he was married and located. In 1829 he removed to Kentucky, where for years, as in Virginia, he labored zealously as a Local Preacher.—Francis Asbury, *Journal*, III, 180f.; John Atkinson, *Centennial History of American Methodism* . . . , pp. 333ff.

and rejecting candidates. At the end of his first year on trial, Henry B. Bascom met with a cold reception from many members of the Ohio Conference, some going so far as to object to his continuance for a second year. He was, however, continued and appointed to the extensive Guyandot Circuit, including a large area of wild, rough country in western Virginia "lying along and between the Guyandotte and Great Kenhawa rivers." Here he traveled three thousand miles and preached four hundred times, receiving in support \$12.10.

He had labored faithfully; no neglect of duty, no crime or heresy was charged against him; . . . [Yet] . . . when the vote was taken on admitting . . . [him] into full connection, a majority was opposed to him, and he was rejected.

The Conference did agree, however, to give him another year of trial and though deeply wounded in spirit he accepted appointment as junior preacher on the Mad River Circuit with Moses Crume as senior preacher. At the year's close objections to his admission were renewed but by the interposition of Bishop McKendree, who agreed to transfer him to the Tennessee Conference, he was admitted and transferred.⁸¹

Alfred Brunson also met with repeated rebuffs in seeking admission to the itinerant ranks. He had served as a volunteer in the War of 1812 and after return to his home his license as an Exhorter was renewed. But when he applied to the Quarterly Conference for a license to preach he met the objection that "no man could be a Christian and be a soldier." He made a second application on April 15, 1815, and was granted a license. In the summer of 1816 he "offered . . . [himself] to the presiding elder, Jacob Young, for the itinerancy" but was refused on the ground that "having a family . . . [he] could not get a support on any circuit . . . [within] reach." He considered the practice of law as an alternative profession but "something within whispered so loudly that . . . [he] *must* itinerate, that . . . [he] could not possibly content . . . [himself] in any thing else." He engaged in such employment as he could find, studied diligently, and filled Sunday appointments as a Local Preacher. In midsummer of 1817 he again offered himself for the traveling ministry, this time to James B. Finley, who had succeeded Young as Presiding Elder, "but with no better success than before." In the late fall, however, the pastor of Brunson's home Circuit persuaded Finley that he must be given an opportunity in the regular ministry and as a result Finley gave him "a few appointments in Huron County, Ohio," where in January, 1818, he began to preach. By diligent effort he succeeded in forming a four weeks' Circuit of twenty-four appointments, two hundred miles around. Recommendations for admission on trial were presented to the 1818 Ohio Annual Conference but, Brunson asserts, because of Finley's representations that he was "proud, self-conceited, . . . and . . . [probably would be] hard to govern and

control," and also "on account of the size of . . . [his] family—three children—the Conference thought it not best to receive . . . [him]." But Brunson would not be daunted. He again served as a Local Preacher, filling such engagements as were offered. Having preached for four years he was entitled, according to the usage of the Church, to deacon's orders and at the Ohio Annual Conference of 1819 he was ordained and employed on the Erie (Pennsylvania) Circuit. Here his record was such that, finally, at the Ohio Conference of 1820 he was admitted on trial, approval being grudgingly given by Jacob Young, who previously had so consistently opposed him.⁸²

While the *Journals* of the Conferences seldom state reasons for rejection of candidates, in a few cases the basis is indicated. At the Lynn, Massachusetts, Conference of 1805, one is said to be "pious, [but] unimproved, impatient of reproof, not acceptable," and is ordered to "desist from traveling." Comments occasionally recorded on candidates received furnish some indication of qualities of personality and character required for acceptability. At the same Lynn Conference another is judged "useful, firm, perhaps obstinate, contentious, well meaning." A third is pronounced "acceptable, useful, zealous—perhaps indiscreetly so—sincere, ingenious." At the 1813 Genesee Conference the notation concerning Peter Jones is: "aged twenty-four, converted at nine years, two or three years improving . . . studious and promising abilities." Nathaniel Reeder is described as "a humble, zealous, and useful man, possessed of improvable qualities." Elijah Warren is pronounced "pious, extraordinary gifts, one of the best of men."⁸³

NOT ALL WERE ASSETS

Not all the men admitted into full connection were assets to the Methodist ministry. The deficiencies and delinquencies of those who missed the mark were of various sorts. Some were not only unschooled but crude and uncultured. Others were narrow, bigoted, and fanatical, warped by prejudices and inexcusable ignorance. While the majority exemplified a heroic spirit of self-sacrifice, there were others who over-emphasized their abilities, were zealous for place and power,* and critical and censorious in their attitude toward their brethren.

Certain men seemed vastly more solicitous about where they were to go than how they could serve and benefit the people where they might be appointed. . . . Some, in their over-estimate of themselves, pleaded that their gifts had not been duly appreciated, or that they had been shut up in narrow places where they

* John M'Clintock: "I know . . . that the Methodist ministry affords few inducements to worldly, ambitious spirits; but, with all this, I have found the same petty jealousies, the same pursuit of individual aims, the same lust of power, the same envy of superior talents, among Methodist preachers, that I should have expected to find among 'the potsherds of the earth.' Where then, alas! shall I look for purity? Into my own heart? Eheu! What a den of thieves has that heart been!"—"Diary," in George R. Crooks, *Life and Letters of the Rev. John M'Clintock* . . . , p. 83.

had not room for the exercise of them. Others, having located their families on a farm or in some village, would seek an appointment near by, and demand it even to the detriment of the work. . . . These are some of the things that have ever embarrassed the superintendents, and clogged the wheels of our itinerancy.⁸⁴

In a few instances preachers became obsessed by some peculiar theological aberration which they persisted in propagating despite all attempts at correction by their brethren and superior officers of the Church. Every apostolic undertaking recorded in the history of Christianity has suffered from the teaching of some misguided Hymenaeus or Philetus "whose word eats like a gangrene."⁸⁵ To this rule early American Methodism was no exception although such cases were relatively very few. "It seems indeed providential," says Abel Stevens, "that, uneducated, enthusiastic, not to say superstitious, as not a few of . . . [the early preachers] were, their individual weaknesses and eccentricities so rarely touched their public work."⁸⁶

RANGE OF TEMPERAMENT, PERSONALITY, AND GIFTS

A more or less prevalent idea has long existed that all early American Circuit Riders conformed to one peculiar type, an idea far from the truth. Asbury appreciated individuality in his preachers. John Bangs tells that when he and his brother Joseph were ordained deacons on May 20, 1815, the venerable Bishop, then within a few months of his death, prayed: "O Lord, grant that these brethren may never want to be like other people."⁸⁷ Asbury considered social conformity a moral weakness and this doubtless was in his mind but it is also reasonable to interpret his petition as an expression of desire that the two young preachers whom he had just ordained to the ministry should cultivate their individual capacities and gifts.

William Thatcher, characterizing the members of the New York Conference of 1787, says, "we were all plain men, plain enough."⁸⁸ So doubtless they were—as also the members of all the Annual Conferences—plain in dress and in demeanor, but they were at the same time a fairly representative cross section of the population and possessed within their group as a whole a wide range of temperament, personality, and native gifts.

In temperament Francis Asbury—much better than Wesley himself—suited the predominant American character and post-Revolution conditions. This was clearly evident to the British Wesleyan scholar W. H. Fitchett: "He had no class prepossessions. He belonged to no political school. He had no stubborn High Church bias. [He was able to hold] . . . together, . . . the Methodist Societies in America during the . . . [Revolutionary War] . . . by force of the wise gentleness that love teaches."⁸⁹ His strength, and his influence with preachers and people inhered more than in anything else in his humility and love.

On January 9, 1785, two weeks after his election as Bishop, he wrote in his *Journal*:

I feel nothing but love. I am sometimes afraid of being led to think something more of myself in my new station than formerly.⁹⁰

Like Paul, every day his anxiety and care were for "all the churches." Like him he could say:

who is weak without my being weak? Who is led astray without my burning with indignation?⁹¹

Incessantly traveling, preaching daily, carrying on an extensive correspondence with Circuit Riders in all parts of the country, he yet found time almost every day to make pastoral calls on humble people: the sick, the aged, the wayward.

Monday, [November] 14 [1796]. I must needs call and see my old friends, Wood Tucker and wife, and talked a little, prayed, and parted. We then went forward, calling on Richard Graves, an old disciple.

Monday, [November] 21 [1796]. I visited, perhaps for the last time, mother Maybury, who is aged and swiftly declining. I also visited brothers B. and D., and then rode once more to Robert Jones's, in Sussex County.⁹²

The concern which he felt for churches and people he sought to lay upon the heart of every preacher and Presiding Elder. Writing in 1812 to James Quinn, then Presiding Elder of the Muskingum District, Western Conference, he said:

You will care for every circuit, every society, every preacher, every family and every soul in your charge. You will be planning continually to extend and establish the Church of God in your section.⁹³

Richard Whatcoat was a man of much the same spirit as Asbury, one of the kindest and most gentle of men. He won the respect of preachers and laymen by his kindness, his devotion, and his ability in reconciling ecclesiastical controversies. He thoroughly believed in and exemplified the Wesleyan teaching of perfect love. The quality of his temper is revealed in a letter written to a complaining preacher, evidently disposed to withdraw from the Church because of slight or hurt he had received. He wrote to him:

I hope I shall always give you some cause to look upon me as your friend and brother . . . I should be sorry to wound or grieve you in any measure; but why such haste, my brother? Did you come to this part of the world, purely to recover your health? or did you come to reform our Church? . . . It appears to me that we have more need to unite all our forces, and use all our ability to unite, build up, and strengthen these who do stand, also to purge the floor, than to make rents in the body; it is easier to make a breach than to mend one; it is easier to separate than unite. . . . As to the cruelties (if they may be called so) that I have met with, they are not worthy to be named, when compared with the blessings I

have received. . . . My dear brother, while we see diabolical spirits in others, and hear invectives thrown out, let us take heed that they do not enter into us. May the good Lord bless you with the mind that was in Christ.⁹⁴

Whatcoat was of extremely limited education. Judging by his "Journal" one might think him to have been scarcely literate: many words in common use misspelled; capitalization and punctuation without rule or reason. Yet his preaching is said to have been impressive; "his words well suited, well weighed, pithy, solid, and expressive."

Some of the early American preachers, in contrast to Asbury and Whatcoat, were distinguished for exceptional preaching ability. A sermon preached by William McKendree at the General Conference of 1808 has been generally credited with determining his election as Bishop. Robert Paine, his biographer, says that when the Conference of 1808 convened

none but his recent colleagues and Bishop Asbury were aware of his powers as an orator and a divine — powers which had been matured by self-denial, close study, and the constant practice of earnest, prayerful, evangelical sermonizing amidst the hardships and dangers of a hardy pioneer life.

He was appointed to preach in the Light Street Church on Sunday, May 16. His sermon,* according to Nathan Bangs, "had such an effect on the minds of all present, that they seemed to say, with one accord, 'This is the man of our choice, whom God hath appointed to rule over us.'" Paine also states that "Bishop Asbury, who was present, was heard to say that the sermon would make him a bishop."⁹⁵

The testimony of O. F. Dana, written in response to a request for early recollections of Methodism in Wisconsin Territory, is typical of a number of statements from authentic sources concerning the genius as preachers of some of the Circuit Riders:

one impression . . . has pursued me through life and seems absolutely ineffaceable. . . . the impression that the power and genius of . . . [Salmon] Stebbins† made upon me the first time I ever heard him speak.

* McKendree's text was Jer. 8, 21, 22. Most of the General Conference delegates were present. "His introduction appeared tame, his sentences broken and disjointed, and his elocution very defective. . . . but when he came to speak of the blessed effects upon the heart of the balm which God had prepared for the healing of the nations, he seemed to enter fully into the element in which his soul delighted to move and have its being, and he soon carried the whole congregation away with him into the regions of experimental religion.

" . . . The congregation was . . . overwhelmed At first, sudden shrieks, as of persons in distress, were heard in different parts of the house, then shouts of praise, and in every direction sobs and groans. The eyes of the people overflowed with tears, while many were prostrated upon the floor or lay helpless on the seats."—Nathan Bangs, as quoted by Robert Paine, *Life and Times of William M'Kendree* . . . , I, 197f.

† Salmon Stebbins (1795–1882) entered the Traveling Connection at the New York Conference of 1822. His first appointment was the Stowe (N. Y.) Circuit. He was one of the charter members of the Troy Conference. His ministry for fifteen years was principally in central and northern New York, his appointments including Saratoga, Watervliet, Schenectady, and Albany. In 1837, together with J. R. Goodrich, Milton Bourne, and two other Troy Conference members, he transferred to the Illinois Conference and was appointed Presiding Elder of the Milwaukee District. He was a charter member of the Rock River Conference. In 1848 he located.—*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 374, 390; II, 469, 504; V, 261; "Journal of Salmon Stebbins, 1837–1838," in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, IX (1925), 2 (December), 188n.

. . . I was then fresh from an Orthodox University and from listening to the discourses of one of the greatest thinkers of his day . . . I was disposed to have little respect for the intellectual calibre of Methodist preachers in general [The preacher] walked abstractedly into the house and taking position behind a plain table, immediately commenced the services[.] . . . It seemed as though he was as unconscious of the presence of human beings as if he were still pursuing his way through the forest and meditating his discourse[.] . . . the first word from that wonderful voice arrested my attention . . . for nearly an hour there seemed crowding for utterance a succession of the sublimest thoughts that the soul of man can conceive or the heart sustain[.] Never in my life had I been so surprised, so exercised[.] so exhausted[.] . . . At times he was as if inspired and power was given him to strike into depths of thought and feeling to which the soul is all unused[.] . . . He had a power of climax and cumulative force that was simply astounding[.] The fertility of his brain seemed inexhaustible[.] . . . He was indeed a great force[.] I revere him and I dearly love him.⁹⁶

Much more widely known as a preacher of great oratorical power was Henry B. Bascom.* From 1824 to 1838, says William H. Milburn,

his career as a preacher of righteousness was unexampled in the country since the days of Whitefield. He . . . charmed and entranced all classes by his sermons and lectures, arousing, convincing, persuading, overthrowing men's refuges of lies, leading them to penitence, faith, and a holier life, setting in splendid array the arguments and proofs which vindicate the claims of Christ's truth and Church; shaming men out of scoffs and jeers and supercilious cant of so-called philosophic unbelief;⁹⁷

Milburn also supplies a vivid description of Bascom's sermonic style:

Arguments, illustrations, appeals, warnings, entreaties, rebukes, promises, came rushing from his lips with the stupendous speed of a cataract. . . . The gestures were few but expressive, the voice not musical, but singularly distinct and far reaching, and in the transport of his excitement his dark eye burned with an almost intolerable splendor. . . . The reasoning and imaginative powers, under the sway of the most intense emotions, acted as one, and his torrent-like impetuosity carried his hearers along, unresisting, amazed, spell-bound. So far as I know, nothing like it has been heard in this country. At times the whole congregation would rise to their feet, not knowing what they did, nor where they were.⁹⁸

On the occasion of the thirteenth anniversary meeting of the Missionary Society Bascom preached the sermon, using as his text Isaiah 29. 13-24. The Annual Report characterized it in these words:

The discourse was in defence of Christianity; and for vigour of thought, af-

* Henry B. Bascom (1796-1850), born in Hancock, Delaware County, N. Y., was received on trial in the Ohio Conference in 1813. Through the influence of Henry Clay he was made chaplain to Congress in 1823. In 1827 he was elected president of Madison College (Pa.), in 1829 agent for the American Colonization Society; in 1832 professor of moral science in Augusta College (Ky.); and in 1842 president of Transylvania University (Ky.). He was five times elected to General Conference (1828-44). In 1846 he became editor of the *Quarterly Review*, Meth. Episc. Ch. S., and in 1850 was made a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.—M. M. Henkle, *The Life of Henry Bidleman Bascom* . . . , p. 11, *passim*; William H. Milburn, "Henry B. Bascom, D.D., LL.D.," *Methodist Quarterly Review*, LXV (1883), 2 (April), 206.

fluence of language, richness of imagery, beauty of illustration, soundness of argument, cogency of reasoning, extensiveness of range, depth of learning, and impressiveness of delivery, was superior to anything we have heard for some time.⁹⁹

Willbur Fisk's* abilities were in marked contrast to those of Bascom. Less eloquent, his sermons also had none of the impetuosity and little of the histrionic quality of Bascom's preaching. Yet his utterances were marked by a fervor, dignity of manner, depth of thought, and compelling conviction that deeply moved his hearers. Writing of him with evident restraint William E. Huntington says:

His power resided in a well-balanced mind, a kind heart, a fervent desire to do good, and a broad outlook upon the world with its crying need of the light and blessings of Christianity.¹⁰⁰

Noteworthy as were the services of Fisk as a preacher and educator, his supreme contribution to the Church and world lay in the beauty and strength of his life and character. As probably no other man he was in many of his qualities of personality the Fénelon of early American Methodism. Many of those who had close personal relations with him "were literally at a loss to mention one moral defect that marred the perfect beauty of his nature."

Serene, cheerful; exempt from selfishness, pride and vanity; tender, yet manly in his sensibilities; . . . maintaining the purest, and yet the most inelaborate piety, a piety that appeared to believe and enjoy and do all things good, and yet to 'be careful for nothing'; . . . [his] humility was profound, and surrounded him with a halo of moral loveliness. . . . It was his rare moral character, even more than his intellectual eminence, that gave him such magical influence over other minds, and rendered him so successful in the government of literary institutions.¹⁰¹

Superior to Willbur Fisk in preaching power, Stephen Olin† was also a more profound thinker, with a wider intellectual grasp. Like Fisk, from

* Willbur Fisk (1792-1839) was born in Brattleborough, Vt. He was admitted on trial in the New England Conference in 1818, and assigned to the Craftsbury Circuit. His second appointment (1819) was to Charlestown, Mass. (*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 303, 317, 336.) His education, his evident intellectual ability, and pleasing personality soon attracted wide attention. He was chosen as the first principal of Wilbraham Academy (1825), and the first president of Wesleyan University (1830). He was proposed for the presidency of Vermont University, elected president of La Grange College, Alabama, elected to a professorship in the University of Alabama, was proffered the position of General Superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada (1828), and while absent in Europe was elected Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church (1836), all of which offices he declined. As comparatively few men he exemplified the Wesleyan teaching of Christian perfection.—Joseph Holdich, *The Life of Willbur Fisk, D.D.*, pp. 18, 164, 221, 387f., *passim*.

† Stephen Olin (1797-1851), a native of Vermont, after acting as principal of Tabernacle Academy, Abbeville District, S. C., for about three years, was admitted on trial in the South Carolina Conference in 1824 and appointed to the Charleston (S. C.) Circuit. (*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 430.) He was at this time in such feeble health that he was only occasionally able to preach. In 1826 he accepted appointment as professor of Belles Lettres in Franklin College, Georgia. He occupied the chair for four years, 1826-28, 1831-33. In March, 1834, he was inaugurated as president of Randolph Macon College, Virginia. In hope of restoration of his health he spent the years 1837-40 in foreign travel. Elected president of Wesleyan University in 1839, on his return to America he found himself unable to assume the duties of the office. By 1842 his health was such that he felt justified in undertaking the presidency. He continued in the position until his death on August 16, 1851.—William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* . . . , VII, 685ff.; A. W. Cummings, *The Early Schools of Methodism*, pp. 177ff.

youth he was plagued with ill health. Without this handicap undoubtedly he would have attained national fame as a scholar. He was intellectually ambitious and contemplated preparation of a history of philosophy, four or five octavo volumes in extent. A contemporary pronounced him by "mental constitution, by his habits of thinking, and by . . . education, . . . the fittest man ever raised up by early American Methodism for the preparation of standard works, not only in the history of philosophy, but in the practical departments of intellectual and moral science."¹⁰² One of his closest personal friends, Bishop James O. Andrew, wrote of him as a preacher :

I regarded Dr. [Stephen] Olin as among the very best preachers I ever listened to. He took in all the great bearings of his subject almost intuitively. Although there was no formal announcement of any division of the text, yet the most admirable order and arrangement were manifest throughout the whole discourse. He seemed not only to grasp the whole range of important truth in his theme, but the keys to the human understanding and heart seemed to be in his hands; and as he proceeded in his masterly delineation of truth, and his cogent and almost resistless application of it to human conduct and motive, you felt so entirely absorbed in the preacher's mighty theme, that you never thought to ask whether he was an orator according to the canons of that art. You had no time nor heart to make any such inquiry. You felt that the preacher, forgetting himself, had brought you, mind, heart, and conscience, into an audience with your God; and in that august presence it would have seemed profane impertinence to ask or think of such matters as style or gesture. While his sermons were clear, able, and logical, and masterly expositions and defenses of the great doctrines of Christianity, and were such sermons as only a scholar could have preached, yet was there no affectation of learning.¹⁰³

John Emory,* who suffered accidental death less than three years after his election to the episcopacy by the 1832 General Conference, was one of the most versatile of men of his time. He received a classical education, early gave himself with ardor to the study of law, and before he reached his majority attained recognition in his chosen profession. His resolution of character is shown by his determination to enter the ministry against the strong opposition of his father, who not only refused him the use of a horse to ride his first Circuit but would not hear him preach or receive letters from him. In addition to his scholarly and well-trained mind he possessed a unique combination of qualifications for efficient ministerial service. As a preacher he had unusual self-possession, clearness and comprehensiveness of thought.

* John Emory (1789-1835), a native of Maryland, was received on trial in the Philadelphia Conference in 1810 and appointed to the Caroline Circuit. (*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 186.) In 1812 when Asbury called for volunteers for missionary service in Canada he offered himself, but the Bishop had other plans for him. In 1817 he wrote "A Reply" to a pamphlet by Bishop White entitled "Objections against the Position of a Personal Assurance of the Pardon of Sin by a direct Communication of the Holy Spirit." In 1818 he was sent as a representative of his Church to the British Wesleyan Conference. In 1824 he was elected by General Conference assistant Book Agent (Publishing Agent) and in 1832 was elected to the episcopacy. While driving from his home to Baltimore in 1835, he was thrown from his carriage with such force that he died without regaining consciousness. His untimely death was deeply mourned by the entire Church.—M. Simpson, Ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 340f.; R. Paine, *op. cit.*, II, 152ff.

While he lacked the natural eloquence of McKendree and Bascom, and the "massive pulpit power" of Joshua Soule and Enoch George, he possessed an ease and attractiveness of manner that invariably assured the sympathetic attention of an audience. His sermons were persuasive and forceful in style, and characterized by a precision of language all too infrequent among evangelical preachers of his day. As a doctrinal controversialist he was unusually able and in Conference debate pre-eminent. He had a way of cutting through extraneous verbiage and presenting his arguments so logically and convincingly that he almost invariably won his point. He had the unusual distinction of election to General Conference six years after his admission on trial to the Traveling Connection.

Although for a number of years William Capers* was regarded as the most popular preacher in the South, he was pre-eminently a man of action. But he was at the same time "a man of keen and quick observation, of profound and original reflection." It was his invariable custom to preach extemporaneously, never writing his sermons or using notes in any form:

his preparation concerned itself principally with the substance, very remotely with the form, probably never with the mere verbiage of the sermon. His ordinary practice discarded divisions and subdivisions altogether. His method of treatment was peculiarly *his own*; A very special fluency in utterance, the intuitive perception of the right words, ease of movement, refinement and elegance of manner, and a chaste and finished delivery, characterized his preaching.¹⁰⁴

The memorial tablet in the Washington Street Methodist Church, Columbia, South Carolina, under the pulpit of which his body lies, bears this tribute:

He was the Founder of the Missions to the slaves On the plantations of the Southern States. To shining abilities Which rendered him universally popular As a Preacher, He united great simplicity and Purity of character. 'The righteous shall be in everlasting Remembrance.'¹⁰⁵

Elijah Hedding† lacked the intellectual depth of Olin, the brilliancy of Bascom, and the popular personal qualities of Capers, but he possessed a

* William Capers (1790-1855), born in South Carolina, was admitted on trial at the 1808 South Carolina Conference when he had been but five months on trial as a member of the Church. His first appointment was to the Wateree Circuit. From 1821 to 1824 he was engaged in missionary service among the Creek Indians. In 1825 he edited the *Wesleyan Journal*, which was merged the next year with the *Christian Advocate*. He was chosen by the 1828 General Conference to represent the Methodist Episcopal Church at the British Wesleyan Conference. At the South Carolina Conference of 1829, while Presiding Elder of the Charleston District, Capers was made Superintendent of missions to the slaves, a work in which he took great interest (see Vol. I, 269). Important educational positions were offered him: the professorship of Moral Philosophy and Belles Lettres in Franklin College, Georgia; the presidency of La Grange College, Alabama; also that of the University of Louisiana, and of Randolph Macon College, Virginia, all of which he declined. In 1846 at the first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, he was elected Bishop.—W. B. Sprague, *op. cit.*, VII, 454ff.; William Capers, "Autobiography," in William M. Wightman, *Life of William Capers* . . . , pp. 11f., *passim*.

† Elijah Hedding (1780-1852) was born in Dutchess County, N. Y., and admitted on trial by the New York Conference of 1801. His first appointment was to the Plattsburg Circuit. By change of Conference boundaries in 1805 he became a member of the New England Conference. In 1807 he was appointed Presiding Elder of the New Hampshire District, and in 1808 elected as one of seven delegates to General Conference. Much against his will, in 1824 he was made a Bishop.—*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 95, 100; Davis W. Clark, *Life and Times of Rev. Elijah Hedding* . . . , pp. 43, 81ff., 128, 158, 170f., 300ff.

simplicity and strength of character that impressed everyone who came into contact with him. Children loved him, his brethren honored him, and a great number of people—members of the Churches and the general public alike—highly respected him.

The logical and analytic powers of Hedding's mind were of a high order. He seemed to be able to penetrate quickly and almost intuitively to the very heart of any sort of problem presented to him in conversation or in Conference session. As few men he was able also to read human character. Rarely was he deceived in his estimate of men, an ability that served him well in making appointments year after year to hundreds of Circuits and Stations. He was distinguished by a mastery of ecclesiastical law which not only made him an able presiding officer but also gained for him renown throughout the Church as an authority on Methodist law and discipline. The most complex legal problems failed to perplex him and his judicial decisions were almost invariably accepted as authoritative and final.

Hedding was a thorough student of theology and was considered one of the most able Methodist theologians of his generation. He was not regarded as a popular preacher but his sermons possessed substance and depth.

His delivery was slow and his action deliberate. He never stormed or ranted in the pulpit or in exhortation; but spoke with the dignity, earnestness, and feeling of one who was called to deliver a message of life or of death . . . to frail, sinful, dying men.¹⁰⁶

No one who knew Elijah Hedding doubted the reality or depth of his religious experience. He was a man of rare humility. When elected to the episcopacy, so great was his feeling of unworthiness that he long hesitated to give his consent to ordination, and after continuing eight years in the office strongly urged that he be allowed to resign. He consistently declined to profess sanctification, although he seemed never to lack the confidence of faith nor a sense of the divine presence.¹⁰⁷

Of the early Circuit Riders many were pre-eminently evangelists. Wherever they were appointed, revivals of religion were sure to occur. Of Methodist revivalists none was more unusual than Benjamin Abbott,* pronounced in the *Minutes* of the 1796 Conference "one of the wonders of America, no man's copy, an uncommon zealot." During his labors as a Local Preacher he was instrumental in establishing Methodism in a number of communities in New Jersey and in largely increasing the membership in numerous other places where foundations had been laid earlier.¹⁰⁸ Appointed in 1789 to the Dutchess (New York) Circuit, by the close of the next year "the one circuit had ex-

* Benjamin Abbott (1732-96), a native of Long Island, N. Y., was converted in his fortieth year under the preaching of Philip Gatch. After laboring as a Local Preacher for sixteen years he was admitted on trial to the Traveling Connection in 1789. His final appointment was in 1794 to the Cecil (Md.) Circuit.—*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 33, 34, 55, 68.

panded into *four*, and the *ten* members had multiplied into nearly one thousand and four hundred."¹⁰⁹

Another of the early evangelists, who was at the same time influential in laying educational foundations, was Hope Hull* whose evangelistic ministry on the Washington (Georgia) Circuit—extending over six or more counties—was so successful that it permanently established Methodism in the whole region. During ten years of itinerant labors, “carrying the Gospel where it had seldom or never before been preached, organizing new societies,” and strengthening weak churches previously organized, he

had seen enough of the people to convince him that education was what they needed most, next to religion; and . . . he commenced a school in Wilkes County, composed of pupils of both sexes, and of all ages, from infancy to manhood; and thus he divided his time between teaching and preaching.¹¹⁰

For many years Hope Hull was a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of Georgia and to his active labors in its behalf the University owed much.

Peter Cartwright,† in many ways a typical example of pioneer Circuit Riders, became one of the most widely known of early American Methodist preachers. An excellent characterization is that of Frederick J. Jobson, British Wesleyan preacher who visited the United States in 1857:

Peter Cartwright, [is] a tall, robust man, whose physiognomy and speech both betray a mingling of primitive simplicity with a large touch of humor. His flesh, solid as marble, his rough and determined air, bespeak a man of intrepidity and habituation to fatigue. Yet the signs of good humor and kindness are not wanting, for his mouth, eyes, and mobile cheeks show a sympathetic and tender nature. His head is strong, and reposes firmly upon large and robust shoulders; his forehead is large, and covered with a forest of gray hair. His eyes, of very deep color, gleam like two fires under the bristling eyebrows, and the two wrinkles seen at the corners present a marked feature in his physiognomy. . . . At times, to sharpen his darts and make them more penetrating, he assumes derisively a tragic tone and air; then, after having related some anecdote which convulses his auditors with laughter, while nothing of his own solemn gravity is lost, he falls upon his antagonist with an irresistible vigor and crushes him with sarcasm. Is he

* Hope Hull (1763-1818), a native of Maryland, entered the itinerancy at the 1785 Baltimore Conference and was appointed to Salisbury, N. C. His second appointment was to the Pee Dee Circuit in South Carolina. For one year, 1792-93, he traveled the Hartford (Conn.) Circuit. Other than these years the whole of his ministry was given to Georgia. In 1795 he was located.—*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 23, 25, 46, 58.

† Peter Cartwright (1785-1872), one of many pioneer Methodist preachers born in Virginia, removed with his parents in 1791 to Kentucky. In his youth for a brief time he engaged in horse racing and gambling, in the midst of which he fell under deep religious conviction, gave his race horse to his father, his cards to his mother, who burned them, attended a Presbyterian sacramental meeting and was converted. He joined the Church of his mother and in 1801 was licensed as an Exhorter. At the Western Conference of 1804 he was admitted on trial and assigned to the Salt River and Shelby (Ky.) Circuit, beginning an itinerant career of sixty-five years—fifteen years as a Circuit Rider and fifty years as a Presiding Elder. He was thirteen times elected to General Conference. He was given the superannuate relation at eighty-five years of age by the Illinois Conference of 1869. In his response to the Conference he said: “I feel very awkward now . . . to cut loose from the regular traveling work. I do not want to stagnate.”—*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 122, 131; *Gen'l Minutes, Meth. Episc. Ch.*, 1873, pp. 115f.; M. H. Chamberlin, “Rev. Peter Cartwright, D.D.,” *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1902*, Publication No. 7, pp. 48f.

aroused by the presence of numerous opponents, he sends forth, stroke upon stroke, keen arguments, arrows lively and burning like lightning; then, with voice unchecked as a tempest in the woods, he bursts out in oburgations and reproaches in such force as to overbear his antagonists and fill his hearers with a kind of terror.¹¹¹

Cartwright's early ministerial life involved much sacrifice and hardship, which he endured as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. He never complained, never felt sorry for himself. He was an able administrator and in the councils of the Church one of the most influential of her ministers. For many years he was active in public affairs in Illinois. He was one of the founders in 1827 of the Illinois State Historical Society. The *Journal* of the Illinois House for 1832-33 shows that he was "particularly interested in schools, roads, educational legislation and . . . internal improvements." As a churchman, although opposed to theological schools, he was active in the founding and promotion of Church academies and colleges and the circulation of religious literature. He invariably carried books and pamphlets for sale in his saddlebags and asserted that he had placed \$10,000. worth of books in the homes of the people and that they had done more good than all his preaching.¹¹²

James B. Finley,* who had some outstanding characteristics in common with Peter Cartwright, was even more than the latter a typical son of the wilderness. His father, Robert W. Finley, a graduate of Princeton College, was for many years a Presbyterian missionary in North Carolina, the Redstone country, and Kentucky. Later, in conjunction with his pastorate, he conducted a high school, "the first school of the kind in the state [Kentucky]." In his father's school young James received a thorough training in Greek, Latin, and English which later stood him in good stead. About 1796 the family removed from Kentucky to the Scioto Valley in the Northwest Territory. Despite his home influence James was inclined to an adventurous life, given to hunting and life in the forests, fond of hazardous exploits, fearing neither savage men nor beasts. Drawn wholly by curiosity he was led to attend the Cane Ridge Camp Meeting. What he there saw and heard made upon him a compelling impression from which there was no possible escape. Although on the second day he fled from the scene, before he arrived at his home he had experienced a radical conversion which was the means eventually of his forsaking his dogs and his guns and entering upon a long

* James B. Finley was of Scotch, Welsh, and English descent. An intrepid preacher, when on Cross Creek Circuit, Ohio Conference, in 1814, he preached 32 times each round, once every day and twice on Sunday, and met 50 Classes. His life as a backwoodsman, hunter, and trapper during his youth in the Northwest Territory gave him numerous points of contact with the Indians and fitted him for effective work as a missionary among them. His several published works, including *Sketches of Western Methodism*, *History of the Wyandott Mission* . . . , *Life Among the Indians* and *Memorials of Prison Life*, constitute a mine of information on pioneer Methodism in the Northwest Territory. For biographical data consult p. 118, this volume; his *Autobiography* . . . , W. P. Strickland, Ed., pp. 39ff., *passim*; a brief sketch in *Dictionary of American Biography*, A. Johnson and D. Malone, Eds., VI, 389f.

and successful ministry. He was of stalwart frame, resourceful and courageous, dismayed by no hardships, indefatigable in labor, and a convincing preacher of the Gospel. His fondness for the out-of-doors, knowledge of the love of the forest, skill as a hunter, early association with Indians and acquaintance with their way of life exceptionally fitted him for an Indian missionary* career.¹¹³

Among the early American Methodist preachers there were not many who established a reputation for sagacity in business and financial affairs. One of the few exceptions was Ezekiel Cooper.† He possessed an unusually retentive mind and accumulated such an immense fund of accurate factual information that he became known among his associates as a "living encyclopaedia."‡ He was regarded as one of the most able of Methodist preachers in public debate, and "seldom advocated a measure [in General Conference] that did not prevail." In the Conference of 1808 in which William McKendree was elected Bishop by ninety-five votes, the remaining ballots were divided between Cooper and Jesse Lee.

Cooper's exceptional business ability was demonstrated in his administration of the affairs of the Methodist Publishing House for six years (1799-1805). When he took over the Concern it had "not a dollar of cash in hand," was heavily in debt, and without bank credit. There were many sums due from preachers and others, some of long standing, of which Asbury wrote, "[We] might as well [try to] climb to the moon as attempt to get some of those debts [paid]." Under Cooper's management the institution's debts were paid, its capital stock increased from "almost nothing" to \$45,000., and the extent of its sales immensely widened.¹¹⁴

From the standpoint of academic training no Methodist minister of the entire early period received more extended or thorough intellectual preparation than William Nast.§ Following confirmation in the State Church of Germany, and study under a private tutor, he attended the theological Seminary at Blaubeuren, where the major studies were the Greek and Latin classics and Hebrew. After a four-year course he studied philosophy and

* For account of Finley's work with the Wyandot see pp. 116, 118ff.

† Ezekiel Cooper (1763-1847), a member of an Anglican family, was a native of Maryland. At Asbury's urgent request he began preaching on the Carolina (Del.) Circuit a few weeks before the Christmas Conference convened in December, 1784. He was admitted on trial in 1785 and assigned to the Long Island (N. Y.) Circuit. During this year he also preached at intervals at Wesley Chapel (John St. Church). Thus began a ministry which extended over a period of sixty-two years.—*Gen'l Minutes*, I, 23, 24; George A. Phoebus, Comp., *Beams of Light on Early Methodism in America*, pp. 12ff., 21, 27.

‡ Like Peter, the Apostle, Ezekiel Cooper was also an inveterate fisherman. During his elderly years his walking-cane was also a fishing rod. Returning one day from an angling expedition, having caught nothing, a fellow minister chided him for his poor success. "Never mind," replied Cooper, "although I have caught nothing while watching my line, I have finished the outlines of one or two sermons."—A. Stevens, *op. cit.*, III, 134.

§ William Nast (1807-99) was born in Stuttgart, Germany. He chose the ministry as a profession but early came to the point where he was not willing for the sake of a living, honor, and ease, to preach "the Articles of Religion of the Lutheran Church, which rationalism had taught . . . [him] to reject . . ." He accordingly renounced the ministry. He was finally led to renew his dedication. He was received on trial in the Ohio Conference in 1835 and appointed as "German Missionary." (*Gen'l Minutes*, II, 354, 356.) Thus began a long and distinguished career in the Methodist Church.—Adam Miller, *Experience of German Methodist Preachers*, pp. 79ff. For account of the early years of his ministry in the Ohio Conference consult Vol. I, 274ff.

theology in the University of Tübingen. At the conclusion of his philosophical studies he found himself "thoroughly divorced from evangelical faith." He "determined to devote his life to art, science," and literature and with this purpose in mind came to the United States. Here evangelical influences re-awakened his earlier religious interest and after three years of what he described as "a terrible penitential struggle" deliverance came to him on January 17, 1835. Fourteen days later he was licensed to preach.

As missionary evangelist, author, and editor he rendered immense and varied service to Methodism and American Christianity in general. He translated many religious books from English into German. Among a number of volumes which he wrote were *Das Christenthum und Seine Gegensätze* (1883) and a commentary, also in German, on the New Testament. He was a man of great humility of mind, utterly free of cant, and to a remarkable degree an exemplar of brotherly love.¹¹⁵

While the men whose personality and ministry we have attempted objectively to characterize will be seen to have represented a wide range in temperament and native gifts they had this in common: they all believed themselves to be set in a certain sense between men and God. They were utterly convinced that theirs was a mission of reconciliation: to bring men into a consciousness of God and to beget and increase the life of God in the souls of men. Wide readers as many of them were, they were students of men more than of books. From their day-by-day intimate relations with people they came to have a deep knowledge of the human heart, an understanding that enabled them to see into the souls of the men and women to whom they preached and to understand their deepest concerns and needs. Their sermons possessed not only a keen probing quality but also a positive moral content that shaped the consciences and put life and strength into men's moral fiber. Such sermons ill deserve to be called mere ranting, as they have been termed by certain secular critics who have found nothing in early American Methodism to commend. Some of the preachers undoubtedly deserved to be called "ranters," but they were the exception and were not suffered to remain long in the ranks.

A less severe criticism is made by James M. Miller who charges that the preachers commonly used an "oratorical style . . . well suited to appeal to the emotions," which was chiefly dependent for impression "upon sound and images." This was "employed . . . with telling effect in sonorous cadences and soul-searing figures" by those whose purpose was "to chastise and terrify" their hearers.¹¹⁶ This statement, also, misrepresents the dominating purpose of the Circuit Riders and does slight justice to sermons that relieved the deadly monotony, provided emotional release, and changed the course of the lives of many thousands of men and women.

"Father" Taylor's pungent comment on the preaching of the New England exponent of transcendentalism—that it would take as many of Emerson's sermons to convert a man as it would quarts of skimmed milk to make him drunk—throws a flood of light on the character of his own and many other Methodist preachers' sermons. They had converting power. They proved in numberless cases their ability to change men and to infuse their hearts and minds with a new dynamic. One of the three friends of Job sought to encourage him by the reassurance:

You have . . . set many right, and put strength into feeble souls; your words have kept men on their feet, the weak-kneed you have nerved.¹¹⁷

It was just this service that was desperately needed by men and women on the American frontier, beset with endless difficulties and facing constant peril, without the security afforded by a stable, organized society. And this service was rendered to a remarkable extent by the preaching of the Methodist Circuit Riders. It was because the preachers from the beginning of the Movement, in the tradition of Wesley, concentrated on the changing of the character and way of living of men as a means of creating in them a dynamic for godly living that early American Methodism became primarily a saving power, a force for moral reform, rather than a theological system.

INFLUENCE ON THE NATIONAL LIFE

What, now, finally shall be said concerning the influence of Methodism in the life of the New Republic during the first six decades of its history? In what ways and to what extent was the stated purpose of early American Methodism to reform the nation realized during the first period of its history?

On objective historical grounds, says C. H. Dodd, it cannot be confidently affirmed "that the Church has been, always, everywhere, and undeniably, an instrument of human progress."¹¹⁸ On ideal grounds the Christian Church—every branch of the Church—has been in modern times, as from the beginning of Christianity, on the defensive. Admitting this, Doctor Dodd asserts that the basic contribution of the Church as a means of human progress is its preaching of the Word of God which in its proclamation "becomes an actual factor in history, shaping it in the direction of the divine purpose." "My word," declared Isaiah, "shall not return unto me void; but it shall accomplish that which I please and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."¹¹⁹

A fortiori, then, the Word of the Gospel, which declares not what God will do in the last days, but what He has done in sending His Son, is an actual factor in history, through which the divine action in Christ becomes effective. The Church in proclaiming this Gospel is the instrument of a divine intervention in history

which is not limited by the unworthiness of the instrument. 'We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God and not of ourselves.'¹²⁰

The continuous, faithful preaching of the Gospel by the Circuit Riders on their tireless itineraries throughout the length and breadth of the land, let it then he said, was a means by which the redeeming purpose and power of God in the incarnation and earthly ministry of Christ was mediated to the people of the nation.

The Methodist preaching of free grace for all mankind exerted a powerful double influence. It contributed to the development of national unity by its action as a powerful leveler of society. In so doing it aided significantly in the creation of a true democracy. In the Methodist meetings to which men and women from all classes were drawn all were spiritually equal and this realization of equality was carried over into the common life of the total community.

A corollary of the doctrine of free grace was the worth of every man for whom Christ had died. This insistence on the worth of the individual was a potent influence in developing a sense of wholesome self-respect and self-confidence, equipping men and women to take their part in public affairs and make their contribution to community life.

The missionary activity of the Methodists in ministering to foreign language groups constituted still another significant contribution to national unity. William Dean Howells in *Years of My Youth* tells of his acquaintance with a few German families, of his pleasure in their acquaintance, and of his interest in their German ways and customs. But he says he never met them socially in any of the American homes he frequented. The cleavage between people of American lineage and the German immigrants and their children was absolute.¹²¹ This was also true of the Scandinavians—the Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes—and the native American stock. As the years passed Methodism did much to break down these racial and nationalistic barriers. While the Germans and Scandinavians maintained their native-language local churches, Annual Conferences, and church literature, because of their common faith and religious customs spiritual sympathy and feelings of neighborliness developed between them and native-born Americans. Members of the younger generation gradually began to mingle socially and intermarriage between the groups became more and more common.

Methodism's part in the moral redemption of the frontier represented one of its most significant and far-reaching services to the nation. By no one, perhaps, has this been better set forth than by Theodore Roosevelt:

In the hard and cruel life of the border with its grim struggle against the forces of wild nature and wilder men, there was much to pull the frontiersman down.

If left to himself, without moral teaching and moral guidance, without any of the influences that tend toward the uplifting of man and the subduing of the brute within him, sad would have been his, and therefore our, fate. From this fate we have been largely rescued by the fact that together with the rest of the pioneers went the pioneer preachers; and all honor be given to the Methodists for the large proportion of these pioneer preachers whom they furnished.

. . . It is easy for those who stay at home in comfort, who never have to see humanity in the raw, or to strive against the dreadful naked forces which are clothed or hidden and subdued in civilized life—it is easy for such to criticize the men who, in rough fashion and amid grim surroundings, make ready the way for the higher life that is to come afterwards. . . .

These pioneers of Methodism had the strong, militant virtues which go to the accomplishment of such great deeds. Now and then they betrayed the shortcomings natural to men of their type; but such shortcomings seem small indeed when we place beside them the magnitude of the work they achieved.¹²²

The basic, central element of the Methodist Movement was its emphasis on vital personal religion, its insistence upon an inner experience of the saving grace and power of God in the life of the individual. But this experience was not considered to be an end in itself. It must be verified by its fruits and among them were many forces and qualities of character which made for moral, social, and political progress in the life of the nation.

Despite its lack of an academically trained ministry, Methodism was also a potent intellectual force in the formative early decades of the New Republic. The several denominations with their regular preaching services, their numerous periodicals, and their facilities for the publication and circulation of books together constituted the most far-reaching and powerful intellectual influence in the nation.¹²³ In the distribution of literature Methodism especially played a prominent part—many believe the leading part. In vast areas of the new West where cities with bookstores were non-existent, postal service uncertain, and libraries unknown, the saddlebags of the Methodist Circuit Rider brought good books into every community. In 1820 the Western Methodist Book Concern was begun at Cincinnati with one of the first printing presses west of the Allegheny Mountains. With its regional periodicals established one after another beginning with the *Western Christian Advocate* in 1834, the Church kept pace with the advancing frontier, contributing enormously not only to the moral and religious life of the people but also to the development of regional culture and to the formation and growth of civic institutions.

The missionary passion of Methodism, its unique plan of Circuit preaching, its zeal for reaching the most remote and isolated settlements with the preached Word, made it second to no other Church in its contribution to this total influence, particularly on the advancing frontier. Writing from Kansas in reference to the part taken by religion in frontier progress a correspondent of the *Episcopal Recorder* said:

It is here that I cannot but recognize great good in the efforts of the Methodists in these vast regions of the West. They have done this work almost alone. They have done it at a less expense and a wiser economy of means than any other Protestant communion has as yet known. They have accompanied it with a religious literature which has sometimes been the only literature within hundreds of miles of the spot where it was cast. They have thus cultivated a taste for letters, no matter how rude, by which all the enthusiasm of religious conviction has been used as the motive power by which the farmer's boy, or the girl at the mill, is enabled to acquire the process of reading in print that language in which Shakespeare and Milton, as well as the translators of the Bible, wrote.

Continuing, the correspondent said that beyond this Methodism had done more than "any other human agency" to impress the minds of the people with spiritual realities as over against the purely material, and the values of religion as contrasted with "the merely human and worldly."¹²⁴

The readiness of Methodist preachers and many lay men and women to labor and give sacrificially for the establishment and maintenance of schools and colleges throughout the nation was an evidence of the social vitality of the Movement. If there were comparatively few Methodist ministers who made conspicuous contribution to the intellectual leadership of the nation there were many who invested much of their interest and effort in the building of educational institutions out of which the intellectual leadership of succeeding generations came.

Inestimable also was the total influence in American society of the vast number of local Methodist Societies in cities, towns, villages, and open country—many of the latter outposts of Christian civilization on far frontiers—each of which contributed to keeping alive and in some measure actually exemplified in its local community the New Testament ideals of love, service, and human brotherhood.

At no time in Christian history has saintliness been produced in wholesale quantities, a fact which the founders of Methodism might well have pondered in launching their stated purpose to reform the nation by spreading "scriptural holiness over the land." If as the decades passed effort to achieve their end by this means tended to weaken, it remained true to the very end of the period that here and there, now and then, there was a man or woman in a local Methodist Society concerning whom people said: "he reminds me of Jesus"; "he has the spirit of the Master"; "the love of God is manifest in every word and act of his life." And the light of those lives shone afar, illuminating many a dark corner, alike in rural slums and crowded cities of America, on slave plantations of the South, in the Indian Territory and Oregon, in South America and Africa.

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55. John B. M'Ferrin, *History of Methodism in Tennessee*, III, 152ff. On opposition to Sunday schools see also H. C. Trumbull, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

56. John Richard Green, *History of the English People*, IV, 149f.
57. Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, I, *The Colonial Mind*, 274.
58. Cf. Evarts B. Greene, *The Revolutionary Generation, 1763-1790*, pp. 310ff.
59. Alexander Hamilton, *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, Henry Cabot Lodge, Ed., II, 401, 408; Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization: 1606-1865*, II, 606.
60. Gilbert Chinard, *Thomas Jefferson, The Apostle of Americanism*, pp. 88f., 128ff., 501f., 516f.; Dumas Malone, *Jefferson, the Virginian*, pp. 178, 188, 221, 228, 236ff.
61. D. Griffiths, *Two Years' Residence in the New Settlements of Ohio . . .*, p. 80.
62. J. B. McMaster, *op. cit.*, V, 380f.
63. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson*, ch. IV, "Background for Revolution."
64. V. L. Parrington, *op. cit.*, II, *The Romantic Revolution in America*, p. 145.
65. George Bancroft to Brownson, Sept. 21, 1836, in Henry F. Brownson, *Orestes A. Brownson's Early Life*, pp. 180f.
66. Cf. A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 43. Schlesinger quotes Martin Van Buren (*Autobiography*, p. 255) as believing that "to labour for the good of the masses was a special mission assigned to him by his Creator and no man was ever better disposed to work in his vocation in season and out of season."
67. Carl Russell Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850*, p. 165.
68. E. R. Taylor, *Methodism and Politics, 1791-1851*, pp. 27ff.
69. *Life of Mr. George Shadford written by himself in The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers*, Thomas Jackson, Ed., III, 211.
70. John Firth, Compiler, *Experience and Gospel Labors of the Rev. Benjamin Abbott . . .*, pp. 35f.
71. Abel Stevens, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, III, 349ff.
72. Ezekiel Cooper, "Diary," in G. A. Phoebus, Compiler, *Beams of Light on Early Methodism in America*, p. 200.
73. Jacob C. Meyer, *Church and State in Massachusetts from 1740 to 1833*, p. 137.
74. Samuel G. Goodrich, *Recollections of a Lifetime . . .*, II, 83.
75. William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley . . .*, III, 246.
76. Willbur Fisk, *A Discourse, Delivered Before the Legislature of Vermont*, p. 35.
77. A. Brunson, *op. cit.*, I, 43.
78. E. Warriner, *Old Sands Street*, quoted in S. A. Seaman, *op. cit.*, pp. 187ff.
79. J. G. Jones, *op. cit.*, II, 225. Cf. A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 355: "The evangelical sects in many states were predominantly Democratic. . . ."
80. Macum Phelan, *A History of Early Methodism in Texas, 1817-1866*, p. 16.
81. John Stewart, *Highways and Hedges, or Fifty Years of Western Methodism*, p. 143.
82. T. Ware, *Sketches of the Life and Travels of Rev. Thomas Ware . . .*, p. 180.
83. James Mudge, *History of the New England Conference . . .*, p. 97.
84. James Leaton, *History of Methodism in Illinois from 1793 to 1832*, pp. 147ff.
85. Leroy M. Lee, *Life and Times of the Rev. Jesse Lee*, pp. 461, 488.
86. A. Stevens, *op. cit.*, III, 400; James E. Armstrong, *History of the Old Baltimore Conference . . .*, pp. 133f.
87. A. H. Redford, *History of Methodism in Kentucky*, III, 313.
88. A. Brunson, *op. cit.*, II, 140, 142.
89. R. N. Price, *Holston Methodism . . .*, III, 319ff.
90. J. Pilmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 30; E. B. Greene, *op. cit.*, pp. 319ff.; J. B. McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 97ff.; J. Franklin Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*, p. 76.
91. William Myles, *Chronological History of the People Called Methodists . . .*, p. 142.
92. J. Pilmoor, *op. cit.*, pp. 14f.

93. Francis Asbury, *op. cit.*, I, 138f.
94. *Ibid.*, pp. 175, 179.
95. E. Cooper, *loc. cit.*, p. 34.
96. Eric M. North, *Early Methodist Philanthropy*, pp. 57f.
97. John Allen Krout, *The Origins of Prohibition*, p. 63.
98. Adam Hodgson, *Remarks during a Journey through North America in the Years 1819, 1820 and 1821 . . .*, pp. 74ff.; Basil Hall, *Travels in North America . . .*, I, 260f.
99. Robert Emory, *History of the Discipline . . .*, p. 211.
100. *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 12.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
102. Francis Asbury, *op. cit.*, I, 387f.; II, 260, 261; III, 391.
103. *Discipline*, first edition, p. 10.
104. *Ibid.*, third edition, pp. 17, 19; fourth edition, p. 18.
105. *Ibid.*, fifth edition, p. 48.
106. *Ibid.*, sixth edition, sec. XXXIV, p. 49; ninth edition, p. 81.
107. This note appeared in the *Minutes of the General Conference* of 1796, and was appended to the General Conference statement in the tenth edition of the *Discipline*, p. 171.
108. Adam Seybert, *Statistical Annals*, p. 463; *Digest of Accounts of Manufacturing Establishments in the United States and of their Manufactures*, Fourth Census, p. 29.
109. N. Bangs, *op. cit.*, II, 328.
110. *G. C. Journals*, I, 106, 117.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 168.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 239.
113. *Ibid.*, pp. 314, 354, 359.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 422. As a tract the General Conference Address long since has been out of print. It may be found in full in Henry Wheeler, *Methodism and the Temperance Reformation*, pp. 81ff.; N. Bangs, *op. cit.*, IV, 87ff.
115. H. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 101f.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 103; N. Bangs, *op. cit.*, IV, 398.
117. "Journal of the General Conference, 1844," pp. 81, 99, 141, and "Debates in the General Conference, 1844," pp. 60, 194f., in *G. C. Journals*, II.
118. J. B. Finley, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
119. "Mission Record Book," pp. 14f., 22f.; Cornelius J. Brosnan, *Jason Lee, Prophet of the New Oregon*, pp. 83, 284f.
120. George Prentice, *Wilbur Fisk*, p. 184.
121. E. F. Newell, *Life and Observations of Rev. E. F. Newell . . .*, p. 199.
122. Jacob Young, *Autobiography of a Pioneer . . .*, pp. 423f.
123. Davis W. Clark, *Life and Times of Rev. Elijah Hedding . . .*, pp. 425f.
124. Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher*, W. P. Strickland, Ed., 213f.
125. *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 9, 73; Francis Asbury, *op. cit.*, I, 340, 346, 393; III, 162.
126. N. Bangs, *op. cit.*, II, 167n.
127. For detailed documentation of these statements see J. A. Krout, *op. cit.*, pp. 140ff.
128. *First Annual Report . . . of the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance*, pp. 4, 7.
129. *Second Annual Report . . . of the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance*, p. 59; J. Mudge, *op. cit.*, p. 298.
130. N. Bangs, *op. cit.*, IV, 43f.
131. *Ibid.*, pp. 44f.
132. J. B. M'Ferrin, *op. cit.*, III, 438f.
133. *Minutes of the Indiana Conference* in William Warren Sweet, *Circuit-Rider Days in Indiana*, p. 147. For Methodist temperance sentiment in Ohio see William T. Utter, *The History of the State of Ohio*, Carl Wittke, Ed., II, *The Frontier State, 1803-1825*, p. 383.

134. A. H. Redford, *Western Cavaliers* . . . , pp. 303f.
135. *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VI (1832), 48 (July 27), p. 189; J. A. Krout, *op. cit.*, pp. 113f., 118.
136. John Wesley, *Letters*, V, 130.
137. *Ibid.*, VIII, 259.
138. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda J. Gage, Eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, I, 81.
139. Jane Hoskens, *Autobiography*, Friends' Library, I, "The Life of that Faithful Servant of Christ, Jane Hoskens, a Minister of the Gospel . . . ," pp. 469ff.
140. John Atkinson, *The Beginnings of the Wesleyan Movement in America* . . . , Second Period, ch. VII; John Lednum, *A History of the Rise of Methodism in America* . . . , p. 43; Francis H. Tees, *The Story of Old St. George's* . . . , p. 19.
141. Abel Stevens, *The Women of Methodism* . . . , p. 218; F. H. Tees, *op. cit.*, p. 19; J. Lednum, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
142. A. Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 226, 248; Francis Asbury, *op. cit.*, II, 353; J. Lednum, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
143. Henry Smith, *Recollections and Reflections of an Old Itinerant*, p. 252; *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 150.
144. Francis Asbury, *op. cit.*, I, 26, 30, 57f., 91, 95, 99, 146, 172, 177, 184; II, 245.
145. George Coles, *Heroines of Methodism* . . . , pp. 194f.
146. John Allen Krout and Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Completion of Independence, 1790-1830*, p. 258. For Baptist Mite Societies see Oliver W. Elsabee, *The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790-1815*, p. 80. Asbury was chiefly responsible for the maintenance of "mite societies" among the Methodists. After his death many asked who would promote the cause: "A few pious females [in New York City] associated together, and answered the question by forming a 'Female Mite Society.'"— . . . *The Life of Mrs. Mary W. Mason*, Anon., p. 75.
147. Abel Stevens, *Supplementary History of American Methodism*, pp. 89ff.
148. N. Bangs, *op. cit.*, IV, 49ff.
149. Anon., . . . *The Life of Mrs. Mary W. Mason*, pp. 111, 143, 188, 229f., 207, 209.
150. Charles Francis Adams, Ed., *Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife Abigail Adams* . . . , pp. 149f.
151. E. C. Stanton, S. B. Anthony, and M. J. Gage, Eds., *op. cit.*, I, 70ff.
152. Quoted by Arthur M. Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, p. 135.
153. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Bible and Church Degrade Woman*.
154. Melvin T. Copeland, *The Cotton Manufacturing Industry of the United States*, Harvard Economic Studies, VIII, 6.
155. Robert F. Wearmouth, *Methodism and the Common People of the Eighteenth Century*, p. 182.
156. *Operatives Magazine*, II, 100, quoted by Edith Abbott, *Women In Industry, A Study in American Economic History*, p. 129.
157. F. J. Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
158. Michael Chevalier, *Society, Manners, and Politics in the United States*, pp. 137f.
159. E. Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 283; Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States*, I, 395ff.
160. J. B. McMaster, *op. cit.*, V, 122.
161. Seth Luther, quoted by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., art., *New Republic*, June 3, 1946; *American State Papers*, Finance, IV, No. 662, 28ff.; Harriet H. Robinson, *Loom and Spindle* . . . , p. 31. Miss Robinson says that she worked in a Lowell mill, when ten years old, as a "doffer," from "five o'clock in the morning until seven in the evening, with one-half hour for breakfast and for dinner," for two dollars a week.
162. *Paterson Intelligencer*, July 29, 1835; *Newark Daily Advertiser*, July 28-30, August 10, 1835.
163. Matthew Carey, *Appeal to the Wealthy of the Land, . . . on the Character, Conduct, Situation and Prospects of Those Whose Sole Dependence for Subsistence is on the Labour of their Hands*, pp. 13ff.

164. Mary R. Beard, *The American Labor Movement, A Short History*, pp. 16f.; George A. Tracy, *History of the Typographical Union*, pp. 19ff.
165. J. B. McMaster, *op. cit.*, V, 84; John R. Commons *et al.*, *History of Labour in the United States*, I, Part I, David J. Sapos, 69, 110.
166. M. R. Beard, *op. cit.*, pp. 19ff.; G. A. Tracy, *op. cit.*, pp. 19ff.
167. J. Leander Bishop, *History of American Manufactures from 1608 . . .*, II, 361, 358, 347.
168. Statistics prepared by John P. Bigelow, Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, quoted by J. L. Bishop, *op. cit.*, II, 409; F. J. Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
169. J. R. Commons, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, I, 15, 306f., 350ff., 424.
170. *Ibid.*, pp. 395, 478ff.; Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States . . .*, p. 109.
171. J. B. McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 101.
172. M. R. Beard, *op. cit.*, pp. 44f.; C. R. Fish, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
173. *The New York Evening Post*, No. 10542, June 13, 1836, p. 2. Bryant had become editor-in-chief of the *Evening Post* in 1829 and continued as its editor until his death in 1878.
174. D. R. Fox and J. A. Krout, *op. cit.*, p. 374; Harry J. Carman, *Social and Economic History of the United States*, II, 49. For example, at Fall River, Mass., in 1826, of 612 operatives only 38 were foreign-born.
175. Alonzo Potter, *Political Economy . . .*, p. 263.
176. Albert Post, *Popular Freethought in America*, pp. 69f., 87f.; R. W. Leopold, *Robert Dale Owen, A Biography*. Harvard Historical Studies, XLV, pp. 85ff.; W. R. Waterman, *Frances Wright*, ch. VII. For the attitude of the British Wesleyans, see J. Ernest Rattenbury, *Wesley's Legacy to the World . . .*, pp. 215, 226f.
177. Horace Mann, *Census of Religious Worship*, Parliamentary Papers, 1852-53, LXXXIX, 168ff., quoted by Robert F. Wearmouth, *Methodism and the Working-Class Movements of England, 1800-1850*, pp. 24f.
178. J. Pilmoor, letter to John Wesley, *Arminian Magazine* (London), VII (1784), 4 (April), 223f.
179. *Ibid.*; Francis Asbury, *op. cit.*, I, 16f., 42.
180. J. Pilmoor, *op. cit.* (Jan. 27, 1771), p. 72.
181. E. Cooper, *loc. cit.*, p. 26; *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 26.
182. "First Record Book of the John Street Society," pp. 72ff.
183. *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 31.
184. Abram E. Brown, *History of the Town of Bedford, Middlesex County, Massachusetts from its earliest settlement to the year of our Lord, 1891*, pp. 31f.; Alice Earle, *Customs and Fashions in Old New England*, pp. 87ff.; *Idem*, *The Sabbath in Puritan New England*, ch. V.; Carter G. Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830 . . .*, Introduction, sec. V, "Social Distinctions," pp. xlfff.; Anon, *The "Negro Pew,"* pp. 79f.
185. Marcus W. Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783 . . .*, p. 61.
186. Joseph Travis, *Autobiography of the Rev. Joseph Travis, A.M. . . .*, pp. 101f.
187. *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 299.
188. G. G. Smith, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 258; A. Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 58; also Charles C. Jones: "It is best that both classes [blacks and whites] worship in the same building; that they be incorporated in the same church, under the same pastor, having access to the same ordinances, . . . and at the same time . . . the two classes forming one pastoral charge, one church, one congregation." (*The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States*, p. 274.) The author was a Presbyterian minister, a pastor in Savannah, who became professor of ecclesiastical history in the Columbia (S. C.) Theological Seminary, and later Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Domestic Missions, Philadelphia. For situation in Virginia see James C. Ballagh, *History of Slavery in Virginia*, pp. 113ff.
189. G. A. Phoebus, Compiler, *op. cit.*, pp. 252ff.
190. Stephen Olin, *The Life and Letters of Stephen Olin . . .*, I, 104.

191. William M. Wightman, *Life of William Capers . . .*, pp. 391ff.
192. J. Pilmoor, *op. cit.* (Aug. 9, 1772), p. 170.
193. Charles H. Wesley, *Richard Allen, Apostle of Freedom*, p. 12.
194. S. A. Seaman, *op. cit.*, p. 157.
195. Jesse Lee, *op. cit.*, pp. 270f.
196. C. H. Wesley, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
197. Jesse Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
198. C. H. Wesley, *op. cit.*, pp. 79f. This statement was drawn up by a special committee of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church.
199. Herbert Aptheker, *The Negro in the American Revolution*, pp. 27ff. On the basis of extensive study of primary sources, which he lists, the author says: "one may say in full confidence that the number of Negroes who served as regular soldiers . . . was, at a conservative estimate, five thousand . . ." p. 41.
200. William E. B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, pp. 197ff.
201. Francis Asbury, *op. cit.*, II, 231.
202. C. H. Wesley, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Articles of Association of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of the City of Philadelphia in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1820. *Letter of Attorney*, Book No. 5, p. 458.
203. A. Stevens, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . .*, IV, 260ff.
204. Charles Spencer Smith, *A History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Bethel), pp. 15, 16, 174; John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom, A History of American Negroes*, pp. 161f., 225, 305; Carter G. Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church*, pp. 76f.
205. Articles of Agreement, Art. VIII, in John J. Moore, *History of the A.M.E. Zion Church . . .*, p. 23.
206. This account is based principally on Christopher Rush's *A Short Account of the Rise and Progress of the African Methodist Episcopal [Zion] Church in America*, and J. J. Moore's book. See also C. G. Woodson, *op. cit.*, pp. 78ff.; N. Bangs, *op. cit.*, III, 95ff.
207. J. B. McMaster, *op. cit.*, V, 184.
208. *Ibid.*, pp. 186ff., 192; VI, 76ff.; C. G. Woodson, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830 . . .*, Introduction, sec. III, "The Free Negro Before the Law," pp. xxivff.
209. *Christian Advocate and Journal*, VIII (1834), 47 (July), 187; J. B. McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 231; William Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery . . .*, pp. 404ff.
210. M. Chevalier, *op. cit.*, p. 360.
211. Thomas Hutchinson, *History of the Colony and Province of the Massachusetts-Bay*, Lawrence Shaw Mayo, Ed., I, 374n.; George H. Moore, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, pp. 1ff.
212. G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, I, 24.
213. See Elizabeth Donnan, art., "The New England Slave Trade After the Revolution" in the *New England Quarterly*, III (April, 1930).
214. E. B. Greene, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
215. Edward R. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, ch. I.
216. R. Paine, *op. cit.*, I, 97ff.
217. *The American Historical Record*, Benson J. Lossing, Ed., I, 312; M. W. Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783 . . .*, p. 35; *Idem*, art., "Slavery and Conversion in the American Colonies," *American Historical Review*, XXI (1916), 504ff., 516; David Humphreys, *An Account of the Endeavours used by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to instruct the Negro Slaves in New York*, pp. 4f.; John Spencer Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina*, pp. 45-56.
218. Lorenzo J. Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776*, p. 259.
219. D. Humphreys, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
220. All population statistics earlier than the census of 1790 are estimates, and various sources do not agree. See Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager, *The Growth of*

the American Republic, p. 129. For New Jersey see Henry Scofield Cooley, *A Study of Slavery in New Jersey*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, IX-X, 30f.; E. B. Greene, *op. cit.*, p. 67; E. B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790*, pp. 17, 50, 63, 72, 91, 116, 126, 141, 159, 176, 182.

221. John Wesley, *Journal*, Feb. 12, 1772, V, 445f.

222. *Idem*, *Thoughts upon Slavery*, in *Works*, XI, 70. This and all following references in this volume to John Wesley's *Works*, other than his *Journal* and his *Letters*, are to the Standard Ed., "With the last corrections of the Author." Compare with this statement of Wesley the declaration of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney in the Dred Scott Case (1857): Negroes were not intended to be included within the declaration of human rights of the Declaration of Independence. "They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order . . . and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; . . ."

223. *Idem*, *Letters*, Feb. 24, 1791, VIII, 265. The original of this letter is in the library of Drew University.

224. T. Coke, *op. cit.*, pp. 62ff.

225. G. A. Phoebus, Compiler, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

226. Francis Asbury, *op. cit.*, I, 187, 374, 379f., 482; II, 326, 367; III, 7. For other statements in the *Journal* bearing on Asbury's attitude toward slavery see II, 246, 293; III, 12f.

227. Daniel Curry, art., *Methodist Quarterly Review*, XXXII (January, 1850), 79; Nathan Bangs, *The Life of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson . . .*, p. 40; R. Paine, *op. cit.*, I, 100.

228. Philip Gatch, "Journal," ms.; letter to Edward Dromgoole, Feb. 11, 1802, in William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840*, IV, *The Methodists*, 152, 155.

229. Frederick Bonner, letter to Edward Dromgoole, in W. W. Sweet, *op. cit.*, IV, 170f. This is one of a collection of selected letters, reprinted from the Dromgoole Papers in the Historical Manuscript Collection of the University of North Carolina Library.

230. Peter Pelham, letter to Edward Dromgoole, pp. 172ff. For the entire letter and other correspondence between Pelham and Dromgoole see W. W. Sweet, *op. cit.*, IV, 166 *et seq.*

231. J. Lee, *A Short Account of the Life and Death of the Rev. John Lee . . .*, p. 126.

232. W. Goodell, *op. cit.*, chs. VIII, IX, X; William Warren Sweet, *Methodism in American History*, p. 231f.

233. William V. Wells, *The Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*, III, 187.

234. John Adams, *Works*, Charles Francis Adams, Ed., letter to Robert J. Evans, X, 380.

235. T. Coke, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, I, 499; Worthington C. Ford, Ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, II, 211f., XI, 62, 62n., 24f.

236. Francis W. Hirst, *Life and Letters of Thomas Jefferson*, p. 120; Thomas Jefferson, *Works*, I, 77. Jefferson's anti-slavery convictions and activities are summarized in Dumas Malone, *Jefferson, the Virginian*, pp. 122, 141, 187, 228, 264ff., 413ff. See also W. S. Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South*, pp. 61f.

237. St. George Tucker, *A Dissertation on Slavery with a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of it in the State of Virginia*, pp. 27f. The reference quoted was to Article 1 of the Virginia Bill of Rights.

238. Van Wyck Brooks, *The World of Washington Irving*, p. 105.

239. V. L. Parrington, *op. cit.*, II, *The Romantic Movement in America*, 114ff., 123f.

240. For a chronological conspectus of colonial and state legislation on the slave trade and on slavery, see W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870*, pp. 201-288. On the proposed action in the Kentucky Constitutional Convention, see John Mason Brown, *The Political Beginnings of Kentucky*, pp. 227ff. On the act of 1807, see W.E.B. Du Bois, *op. cit.*, pp. 94ff.

241. A. Nevins, *op. cit.*, I, 415f.

242. J. B. McMaster, *op. cit.*, V, 94; J. F. Jameson, *op. cit.*, p. 23; W. B. Posey, *The Development of Methodism in the Old Southwest, 1783-1824*, p. 94.
243. H. S. Cooley, *op. cit.*, pp. 23ff.
244. William Warren Sweet, *Story of Religions in America*, pp. 420f.
245. *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 12.
246. Jesse Lee, *A Short History of the Methodists . . .*, p. 72.
247. *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 12; Holland N. McTyeire, *A History of Methodism . . .*, p. 375.
248. *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 18.
249. *Discipline*, first edition, 1785, pp. 15ff.
250. Jesse Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
251. T. Coke, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Samuel Drew, *The Life of the Rev. Thomas Coke . . .*, pp. 133, 136f., 180ff.
252. Jesse Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
253. *Ibid.*
254. Lucius C. Matlack, *The Antislavery Struggle and Triumph in the Methodist Episcopal Church*, pp. 60f.; T. Coke, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
255. Francis Asbury, *op. cit.*, I, 495.
256. T. Coke, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
257. *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 24. William M. Gewehr, in *The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790*, p. 248, says: "To have enforced . . . [the rules] would have disrupted the Church . . ." This is merely Gewehr's opinion.
258. *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 24.
259. John Woolman, *A Journal of the Life, Gospel Labours, and Christian Experiences of that faithful Minister of Jesus Christ*, p. 110.
260. R. F. Wearmouth, *Methodism and the Common People of the Eighteenth Century*, sec. 2, ch. 2.
261. John Wesley, *Journal*, III, 45.
262. Cf. J. D. Paxton, *Letters on Slavery . . .*, pp. 175f.
263. E. R. Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 76; Jesse Lee, *A Short Account of the Life and Death of the Rev. John Lee . . .*, p. 125.
264. Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonics*, pp. 258, 519ff.; E. R. Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 64ff., 70f. For detailed description of the procedure of visiting committees, see Isaac Sharpless, *Quakerism and Politics*, "How the Friends Freed Their Slaves," pp. 159-179. On March 1, 1780, a bill for the gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania, providing that thereafter no child born in the state should be a slave, was enacted.
265. Romans 7:19.
266. Patrick Henry, letter (1773), in J. F. Jameson, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
267. Francis Asbury, *op. cit.*, II, 247.
268. John Kobler, "Journal," II, unpagcd ms.
269. *Discipline*, first edition, 1785, p. 17.
270. State trials, 1771-1777, p. 82, as quoted by K. L. Little, *Negroes in Britain, A Study of Racial Relations in English Society*, p. 182. The Somerset judgment applied also to Ireland. In 1778 a similar decision was rendered by the Scottish judges.
271. Cf. G. W. F. Mellen, *An Argument on the Unconstitutionality of Slavery, Embracing an Abstract of the Proceedings of the National and State Conventions on this subject*. In Massachusetts in 1806 Chief Justice Parsons stated that "in the first action involving the right of the master which came before the Supreme Judicial Court after the establishment of the Constitution, the judges declared that, by virtue of the first article of the Declaration of Rights, slavery in this State was no more." (IV, *Mass. Reports*, 128, as quoted by G. H. Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 209f.) This decision did not, however, in actual fact end slavery in Massachusetts.
272. *Minutes of the General Conference*, 1796, appended to the ninth edition of the *Discipline*, 76f. This statement was included without change, except for minor alteration in the wording, in the tenth edition of the *Discipline* as Section IX, "Of Slavery," pp. 169ff., and also in the eleventh edition, pp. 63ff., without change. John N. Norwood (*The*

Schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church 1844 . . .) thinks that this new legislation may have been stimulated, in part at least, by the influence of the secular abolition societies which at this time were variously active and succeeded in generating strong opposition in different quarters.

273. *G. C. Journals*, I, 40, 41; C. B. Swaney, *Episcopal Methodism and Slavery . . .*, p. 18.

274. *G. C. Journals*, I, 44; *Discipline*, eleventh edition, 1801, pp. 64f.

275. *G. C. Journals*, I, 41.

276. Quoted by L. C. Matlack, *The Antislavery Struggle . . .*, p. 65. The address in full may be found in Charles Elliott, *History of the Great Secession . . .*, pp. 843f.; also W. P. Harrison, Compiler and Editor, *The Gospel Among the Slaves . . .*, pp. 145ff.

277. Francis Asbury, *op. cit.*, III, 7.

278. *Discipline*, twelfth edition, Part II, sec. IX, "Of Slavery," pp. 215f.; *G. C. Journals*, I, 60, 61, 62f.; cf. William L. Duren, *The Trail of the Circuit Rider*, pp. 200ff.

279. *G. C. Journals*, I, 93; *Discipline*, fourteenth edition, pp. 220ff. John N. Norwood (*The Schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church 1844 . . .*, pp. 18f.) is incorrect in stating that the General Conference "eliminated from the Discipline every syllable on slaveholding among private members." See C. Elliott, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

280. *G. C. Journals*, I, 93. That such a censored edition was published is questioned. No copy is now known to be in existence. James R. Joy, custodian of the Methodist Historical Society of New York, says: "The censored edition as authorized probably was not issued."

281. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

282. *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 169ff.; Gross Alexander, *et al.*, *A History of the Methodist Church, South . . .*, p. 8.

283. *G. C. Journals*, I, 205; W. W. Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 640.

284. Kenneth E. Barnhart, "The Evolution of the Social Consciousness in Methodism," p. 81. A Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago Divinity School, 1924.

285. *Discipline*, twenty-second edition, pp. 189f.; *G. C. Journals*, I, 294.

286. *G. C. Journals*, I, 337.

287. *Ibid.*, p. 475.

288. *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (1836), 43 (June 17), 171.

289. Stephen Allen and W. H. Pilsbury, *History of Methodism in Maine, 1793-1886*, p. 108.

290. *G. C. Journals*, I, 447.

291. *Ibid.*, p. 446; for discussion on the resolutions, see L. C. Matlack, *The Life of Rev. Orange Scott . . .*, pp. 88ff. Charles Elliott says, "As there were no official reports of the speeches . . . little reliance can be given to those reports in . . . Scott's Life, [which were] taken from the Philanthropist."—*Op. cit.*, p. 162.

292. L. C. Matlack, *The Antislavery Struggle . . .*, p. 134.

293. Address of the Bishops, 1840, p. 135, in *G. C. Journals*, II.

294. "Journal of the General Conference, 1840," p. 60, in *G. C. Journals*, II.

295. *Ibid.*, pp. 34f., 129, 167, 171; W. L. Duren, *op. cit.*, pp. 203f.

296. W. W. Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 587.

297. *Ibid.*, pp. 641f.

298. *Ibid.*, p. 653. Bennett's history closes with the year 1828. From his account it does not appear that the Virginia Conference adopted any legislation on the subject of slavery during the interim 1819-1828.

299. R. Paine, *op. cit.*, I, 215f. The author says, "The Rev. Wm. Burke is our authority for this incident."

300. Quoted by J. B. M'Ferrin, *op. cit.*, II, 261.

301. R. Paine, *op. cit.*, I, 288.

302. J. B. M'Ferrin, *op. cit.*, III, 160ff.; W. E. Arnold, *op. cit.*, II, 66ff.

303. *Journal of the Ohio Conference*, 1812-26, in W. W. Sweet, Ed., *Circuit-Rider Days Along the Ohio . . .*, pp. 108f., 158.

304. C. Elliott, *op. cit.*, p. 903ff.

305. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
306. J. Mudge, *op. cit.*, pp. 280f.
307. *Ibid.*, pp. 281, 287f.
308. Thomas Haskins, "Journal," ms., April 1, 1783; April 4, 1785.
309. J. Kobler, *op. cit.*, II.
310. David Dailey, Compiler, *Experience and Ministerial Labors of Rev. Thomas Smith . . .*, George Peck, Ed., p. 113.
311. Ms., "Minutes of Harford Circuit, Md.," in possession of Baltimore Historical Society, Baltimore, Md. The "Minutes" as a whole cover the period Aug. 10, 1799—Aug. 14, 1830.
312. *Ibid.*
313. A. H. Redford, *The History of Methodism in Kentucky*, I, 260; Asa E. Martin, *The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky Prior to 1850*, pp. 34f. A Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University.
314. A. E. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
315. Charles Elliott, *South-Western Methodism, A History of the M. E. Church in the South-West . . .*, p. 16.
316. *Zion's Herald* (Oct. 31, 1838) and ms. "Journal of the New England Conference" June 5, 10, 11, 12, 1839, quoted by J. N. Norwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 37f.
317. *Annals of Congress*, 9 Congress, 2 session, pp. 1266ff.; Mary S. Locke, *Anti-Slavery in America . . .*, pp. 148ff.; J. H. Franklin, *op. cit.*, pp. 152f.; W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade . . .*, pp. 108ff.
318. The literature dealing with this transition is immense and it is impossible to cite any two or three best works. Among the more important are J. B. McMaster, *op. cit.*, V, 227ff.; Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*; Ernest L. Bogart, *Economic History of the American People*.
319. J. B. M'Ferrin, *op. cit.*, III, 373.
320. See S. Allen and W. H. Pilsbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 104ff.; *G. C. Journals*, I, 139, 169f, II, Reply to Address from Wesleyan Methodist Conference, 1840, 153ff. See also the Pastoral Address, General Conference, 1836, in N. Bangs, *op. cit.*, IV, 258ff.
321. A. H. Redford, *op. cit.*, II, 297.
322. John C. Calhoun, *Remarks on the States Rights Resolutions in Regard to Abolition*, in *Works*, III, 180.
323. Leonard Woolsey Bacon, *A History of American Christianity*, pp. 276ff.
324. A. H. Redford, *op. cit.*, III, 344; W. M. Wightman, *op. cit.*, p. 296; V. L. Partridge, *op. cit.*, II, *The Romantic Revolution in America*, pp. 170f. An extensive literature was produced on the Bible and slavery. For a review of the pro-slavery and anti-slavery arguments on the ground of Biblical teaching see W. S. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 218ff.
325. C. R. Fish, *op. cit.*, pp. 283f. On "The ethnological justification of slavery" see W. S. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, ch. VI. See also Henry Wilson, *op. cit.*, III, 702ff.
326. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma, the Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, I, 86.
327. Thomas R. Dew, "Professor Dew on Slavery," in Anon., *The Pro-Slavery Argument; as Maintained by the Most Distinguished Writers of the Southern States . . .*. This also includes "Harper's Memoir on Slavery" and William Gilmore Simms' essay on "The Morals of Slavery." See also T. C. Thornton, *An Inquiry into the History of Slavery . . .*, Parts I, II, and III.
328. L. C. Matlack, *The Antislavery Struggle . . .*, p. 82.
329. *Minutes of the First Twenty Sessions of the Erie Annual Conference . . .*, 1836-1855, p. 20.
330. L. C. Matlack, *op. cit.*, pp. 82f.
331. S. A. Seaman, *op. cit.*, p. 262; Lucius C. Matlack, *History of American Slavery and Methodism . . .*, pp. 259ff.
332. Robert Boyd, letter, *Zion's Watchman*, Aug. 17, 1839, quoted by L. C. Matlack, *op. cit.*, pp. 265f.
333. L. C. Matlack, *op. cit.*, pp. 272ff.

334. *Ibid.*, pp. 254f.; J. N. Norwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 39f.; William Warren Sweet, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War*, p. 21.
335. L. C. Matlack, *The Antislavery Struggle . . .*, p. 83. Resolutions of the Philadelphia Conference were directed specifically at lectures by Orange Scott and George Storrs.
336. *Christian Advocate and Journal*, editorial, VIII (1834), 48 (July 25), 190; XII (1837), 13 (Nov. 17), 50; L. C. Matlack, *op. cit.*, p. 110. See also C. Elliott, *History of the Great Secession . . .*, pp. 174, 919ff.
337. A. H. Redford, *op. cit.*, I, 282.
338. *Virginia Pamphlets*, II, George P. Scarburgh and fifteen others, "An Address to the People of the County of Accomac," quoted by C. B. Swaney, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
339. Peter Cartwright, *Fifty Years as a Presiding Elder*, W. S. Hooper, Ed., pp. 49f.
340. J. B. M'Ferrin, *op. cit.*, II, 467.
341. R. N. Price, *op. cit.*, III, 224, 231f., 236, 286f.
342. *Ibid.*, p. 299.
343. William Birney, *James G. Birney and His Times*, p. 405.
344. H. Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 164.
345. *The Liberator*, I (1831), 1 (Jan. 1), 4.
346. Amos A. Phelps, *Lectures on Slavery and Its Remedy*. Others joined their advocacy of immediate emancipation with proposals for extensive colonization. See J. D. Paxton, *op. cit.*, pp. 155ff., 170ff. For a criticism of "Abolitionism" by a prominent anti-slavery advocate, see William Ellery Channing, *Slavery*, ch. VII. On the nature and extent of opposition to abolitionism, see W. Goodell, *op. cit.*, ch. XXXIII *et seq.*
347. G. H. Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844*, p. 235.
348. *Zion's Herald*, VII (Dec. 28, 1836), 206.
349. *Ibid.*, VIII (March 29, 1837), 49; (April 5, 1837), 53.
350. Cf. G. H. Barnes, *op. cit.*, pp. 90ff., 241f.
351. *Zion's Herald*, VI, Extra (Feb. 4, 1835); Extra (April 8, 1835). The "Appeal" and the "Counter Appeal" both may be found also in C. Elliott, *op. cit.*, pp. 858ff.
352. L. C. Matlack, *The Antislavery Struggle . . .*, pp. 90ff. The Bishops' Address, in full, is in C. Elliott, *op. cit.*, pp. 898ff.
353. Quoted by L. C. Matlack, *The Life of Rev. Orange Scott . . .*, p. 173.
354. *Idem*, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism . . .*, pp. 255, 294, for use of term "radicals."
355. *The True Wesleyan*, November, 1842, as quoted by L. C. Matlack, *op. cit.*, pp. 309, 320.
356. L. C. Matlack, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection* (Part II of *The History of American Slavery and Methodism . . .*), pp. 332ff., 338.
357. *Ibid.*, pp. 301ff., 336f., 344, 348f.
358. J. N. Norwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 53f.
359. G. Alexander, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
360. "Journal of the General Conference, 1840," *passim*, in *G. C. Journals*, II.
361. "Journal of the General Conference, 1844," p. 33, and "Debates in the General Conference, 1844," pp. 18-52; Appendix, p. 240, in *G. C. Journals*, II.
362. "Debates in the General Conference, 1844," p. 100, in *G. C. Journals*, II. For a brief summary of the course of the debate see L. C. Matlack, *The Antislavery Struggle . . .*, pp. 156ff.
363. "Debates in the General Conference, 1844," pp. 54, 55, in *G. C. Journals*, II.
364. "Journal of the General Conference, 1844," pp. 75, 82, 83f., in *G. C. Journals*, II.
365. This is the conclusion of the thoroughly objective study by Professor John P. Norwood (*The Schism in the Methodist Episcopal Church 1844 . . .*, p. 75).
366. See G. Alexander, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
367. "Journal of the General Conference, 1844," p. 109, in *G. C. Journals*, II.
368. Quoted by A. Nevins, *op. cit.*, I, 533, from the *N. Y. Journal of Commerce*, in *Washington Union*, May 5, 1850.

II

INDIAN MISSIONS EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI, 1820-44

1. Nathan Bangs, *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, IV, 294.
2. 3 (U. S.) Statutes at Large, pp. 516f.; Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs, Its History, Activities and Organization*, p. 39; Martha L. Edwards, "Government Patronage of Indian Missions, 1789-1832," ms. unpublished, Ph. D. dissertation, ch. VII.
3. *The Methodist Magazine* (June, 1820), III, 226f.
4. Evelyn C. Adams, *American Indian Education . . .*, p. 33; Jedidiah Morse, *Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs . . .*, Appendix, Table No. I, pp. 361-374; Appendix, p. 74; pp. 31f., 29.
5. Much testimony to this effect is contained in the writings of missionaries among the Indians. *E.g.*, J. B. Finley, *History of the Wyandott Mission . . .*, p. 46.
6. 3 (U. S.) Statutes at Large, p. 516; *American State Papers*, Indian Affairs, II, 200f.
7. L. F. Schmeckebier, *op. cit.*, p. 268; *American State Papers*, Indian Affairs, II, 201.
8. Nathan Bangs, *An Authentic History of the Missions . . .*, pp. 41ff.; *G. C. Journals*, I, 186; E. C. Adams, *op. cit.*, ch. pp. 33f.
9. M. L. Edwards, *op. cit.*, ch. VII.
10. J. B. Finley, *op. cit.*, pp. 257ff.; Emil Schlup, "The Wyandot Mission," *Ohio Archeological and Historical Publications*, XV, 174.
11. *Minutes, B. M.*, III, 84ff.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 202f.
13. *Twenty-second Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1840-41), pp. 18f.
14. *Minutes, B. M.*, IV, 218.
15. *Fourteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1832-33), p. 7.
16. J. B. Finley, *op. cit.*, p. 97. Finley says this was "the first quarterly meeting ever held among the Indians."
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 107f.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 110f.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 115ff.; J. B. Finley, *Autobiography; or Pioneer Life in the West*, W. P. Strickland, Ed., pp. 357ff.; letter to Joshua Soule, *Methodist Magazine*, V (January, 1822), 29ff.; E. Schlup, *loc. cit.*, XV, 169ff.
21. J. B. Finley, *op. cit.*, pp. 358f.
22. *Idem, History of the Wyandott Mission . . .*, p. 119; *Methodist Magazine*, V (January, 1822), 29ff.
23. *Methodist Magazine*, V (January 1822), 188f., 191f., 193.
24. *Fourth Ann. Rep., M. S.* (1822-23), p. 12.
25. *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 410; J. B. Finley, *op. cit.*, p. 118; *Methodist Magazine*, V (May, 1822), 191.
26. The Rev. Charles Elliott, letter, quoted in *Fourth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1822-23), Appendix, pp. 15ff.
27. *Methodist Magazine*, VI (October, 1823), 395f.; Robert Paine, *Life and Times of William M'Kendree*, II, 52f.
28. *Fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1823-24), Appendix, p. 27; *Ibid.*, pp. 30f.; *Methodist Magazine*, VI (October, 1823), 396; *Minutes, B.M.*, I, unpagcd ms.
29. J. B. Finley, *op. cit.*, p. 232; *Fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1823-24), p. 6; *Eighth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1826-27), 230ff.
30. *Rep., M.S.* (1834-35), p. 12.
31. *Eighth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1826-27), 224f.; E. C. Gavitt, *Crumbs from My Saddle Bags . . .*, pp. 160, 176; *Twelfth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1830-31), pp. 6f.; *Thirteenth Ann.*

Rep., M.S. (1831-32), p. 5; *Fifteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1833-34), p. 11; *Sixteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1834-35), p. 12.

31. Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, pp. 50f.; J. B. Finley, *op. cit.*, pp. 324ff.

32. *Eighth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1826-27), p. 5. The *Ninth* (1827-28), *Twelfth* (1830-31), and *Thirteenth* (1831-32) *Annual Reports* also contain important data on the mission program.

33. *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 546. The appointment reads "P. Elder, and Superintendent of the Wyandot mission," but Finley himself says, "I continued at the Wyandott mission till the fall of 1827 . . ." (*Autobiography . . .*, p. 274).

34. John Emory, Oct. 16, 1832, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VII (1832), 11 (Nov. 9), 41. Emory's long letter gives a full account of the proceedings of the council meeting.

35. *Tenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1828-29), p. 5; Thomas Thompson, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, IX (1835), 31 (March 27), 122.

36. In the classification of Indian groups the term "family" is used not in the sense of blood relationship but as differentiating linguistic stocks, *i.e.*, families of speech. The adoption of language for scientific purposes as the basis of distinction and classification of North American Indians became fixed as a result of J. W. Powell's monograph on "Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico."—*Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of [American] Ethnology*, 1885-86, and D. G. Brinton's *The American Race: A Linguistic Classification and Ethnographic Description of the Native Tribes of North and South America*.

37. J. Morse, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 152; Clark Wissler, *Indians of the United States . . .*, pp. 126ff.; Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions . . .*, p. 37.

38. Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 355, 360.

39. O. P. Fitzgerald, *John B. McFerrin, A Biography*, pp. 63f.

40. G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 371ff.; Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, pp. 166f.

41. John Collier, *The Indians of the Americas*, pp. 205ff.; George F. Mellen, art., "Early Methodists and Cherokees," *Methodist Review Quarterly (South)* (July, 1917), p. 479; F. W. Hodge, Ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, I, 162.

42. J. Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 153; Edmund Schwarze, *History of the Moravian Missions among Southern Indian Tribes of the United States*, ch. VII, pp. 61-82.

43. *The Panoplist*, III (July, 1807), 85; III (March, 1808), 475, as quoted by Oliver W. Elsbree, *The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790-1815*, pp. 72f.

44. J. Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Robert S. Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees . . .*, pp. 16ff.; ch. VIII.

45. John B. M'Ferrin, *History of Methodism in Tennessee*, III, 207.

46. Enoch George, letter, *Methodist Magazine*, V (December, 1822), 476; N. Bangs, *An Authentic History of the Missions . . .*, pp. 137f.; Anson West, *History of Methodism in Alabama*, pp. 384ff.

47. *Seventh Ann. Rcp., M.S.* (1825-26), Appendix, p. 35.

48. *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 455; J. B. M'Ferrin, *op. cit.*, III, 269f.

49. *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 553; II, 88.

50. *Eighth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1826-27), Appendix, pp. 26f.

51. Edmund J. Hammond, *Methodist Episcopal Church in Georgia . . .*, pp. 65ff.; Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal*, pp. 229f.; J. Collier, *op. cit.*, pp. 206f.; L. F. Schmecke-bier, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

52. 4 (U. S.) Statutes at Large, pp. 411f. Presidents James Monroe and John Quincy Adams supported the policy of voluntary emigration but Andrew Jackson determined to use force if necessary to effect removal.

53. J. Collier, *op. cit.*, pp. 206f.; D. C. M'Leod, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, V (1831), 50 (Aug. 12), 198; J. Tracy, *op. cit.*, pp. 249ff., 226f. On certain minor details M'Leod and Tracy do not agree.

54. On the entire incident and details see *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's*

Herald, VI (1831), 5 (Sept. 30), 19; VI (1831), 7 (Oct. 14), 26; G. Foreman, *Indian Removal*, pp. 234ff.; J. Collier, *op. cit.*, pp. 207f. For a defense of the general policy and administrative acts of President Andrew Jackson in relation to the Cherokee Indians, see Martin Van Buren, *Autobiography*, John C. Fitzpatrick, Ed., *Annual Report*, 1918, American Historical Association, 1918, II, ch. XXII.

55. J. B. M'Ferrin, *op. cit.*, III, 371ff.

56. Editorial, *The Cherokee Phoenix*, Aug. 19, 1829, quoted by G. W. Hinman, *The American Indian and Christian Missions*, pp. 50f. A file of this periodical is in the Huntington Library, Pasadena, California.

57. *Twelfth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1830-31), p. 7.

58. J. B. M'Ferrin, *op. cit.*, III, 443; R. N. Price, *Holston Methodism . . .*, IV, 228f.; *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 301.

59. T. Stringfield, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, IX (1835), 36 (May 1), 142; *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 365.

60. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 430.

61. James S. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Ann. Rep. of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part I, pp. 120-123; G. Foreman, *Indian Removal*, ch. XXI; Thomas V. Parker, *The Cherokee Indians with Special Reference to their Relations with the United States Government*, ch. IV, "The Treaty of New Echota."

62. J. S. Mooney, *loc. cit.*, pp. 129f. Joseph Tracy, confirming the estimate of 4,000 deaths, nevertheless asserts that the removal, if done at all "probably could not have been done better. . . . less injury was done by accident or mistake, than could reasonably have been expected."—*Op. cit.*, pp. 371f.

63. Evan Jones, letter, *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, XVIII (September, 1838), 236, extracts of which are quoted by G. Foreman, *Indian Removal*, pp. 286ff.; also by L. F. Schmeckebier, *op. cit.*, pp. 36f. Evan Jones' correspondence presents a contemporary, eyewitness description.

64. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 510, 601; *Twentieth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1838-39), p. 10.

65. Quoted by J. Collier, *op. cit.*, pp. 209f.

66. *Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1842-43), pp. 30, 31.

67. *Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1843-44), p. 59.

68. C. Wissler, *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 148f.

69. J. Morse, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 182.

70. J. Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 84f., 109.

72. *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 457.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 487, 522; John G. Jones, *A Complete History of Methodism . . . Mississippi Conference . . .*, II, 81.

74. N. Bangs, *Authentic History of the Missions . . .*, p. 152.

75. J. G. Jones, *op. cit.*, II, 34, 81.

76. J. Tracy, *op. cit.*, pp. 165f.

77. J. G. Jones, *op. cit.*, II, 167, 170ff.; *Methodist Magazine*, XI (September, 1828), 353.

78. *Eleventh Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1829-30), p. 7; N. Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, IV, 63f.

79. L. F. Schmeckebier, *op. cit.*, p. 92; Choctaw Agent Ward, report to the Secretary of War, Dec. 8, 1830, *U. S. Senate Document No. 512*, II, 52, quoted by G. Foreman, *Indian Removal*, p. 41n.

80. G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 27ff.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

82. N. Bangs, *Authentic History of the Missions . . .*, pp. 15ff.; J. Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 239; S. H. Babcock and J. Y. Bryce, *History of Methodism in Oklahoma*, I, 23.

83. Masholatubbe, *et al.*, to Jackson, Dec. 23, 1830, "1830 Schools" (Choctaw), Office of Indian Affairs; *U. S. Senate Doc. . . .*, II, 205, 474, quoted by G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

84. *Nashville Banner and Nashville Whig*, Aug. 9, 1830, p. 2, col. 5; *The Democrat*,

- Huntsville, Ala., Aug. 26, 1830, p. 3, col. 5; *Jackson [Tenn.] Gazette*, Aug. 4 and Aug. 9, 1830, p. 3. These references are cited by G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 24ff.
85. G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 40f.
 86. *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 102f.
 87. John Emory, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, VIII (1833), 17 (Dec. 20), 66.
 88. C. Wissler, *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 151.
 89. J. Morse, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 146.
 90. William Capers, "Journal," *Methodist Magazine*, V (June, 1822), 232.
 91. William M. Wightman, *Life of William Capers . . .*, pp. 233ff.
 92. W. Capers, *loc. cit.*, V, 272; W. M. Wightman, *op. cit.*, p. 241.
 93. *Third Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1821-22), unpagcd ms.; W. M. Wightman, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
 94. William McKendree, letter, *Methodist Magazine*, V (April, 1822), 155; *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 388; W. M. Wightman, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
 95. N. Bangs, *An Authentic History of the Missions . . .*, 117-126, *passim*.
 96. *Fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1823-24), p. 7.
 97. See Annie H. Abel, "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi River," in *Annual Report*, 1906, American Historical Association, I, 235-450.
 98. A. West, *op. cit.*, p. 377.
 99. N. Bangs, *An Authentic History of the Missions . . .*, p. 134.
 100. *Ninth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1827-28), p. 9. This disproves Wightman's statement that "from first to last, the Asbury mission school . . . received not a dollar of the government appropriations."—*Op. cit.*, p. 245.
 101. *Eleventh Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1829-30), p. 6. See also *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, IV (1830), 29 (March 19), 114.
 102. N. Bangs, *op. cit.*, p. 136; *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 55.
 103. Eneah Micco and others to the Secretary of War, April 8, 1831, "Creek Emigration," Office of Indian Affairs, *U. S. Senate Doc. . . .*, II, 424, quoted by G. Foreman, *Indian Removal*, pp. 107ff.
 104. G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 110ff.
 105. Crawford to Poinsett, May 11, 1838, *U. S. House Document, No. 452*, quoted by G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
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 107. *American State Papers*, Military Affairs, VII, 952, as quoted by G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
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 111. Jesse Walker, letter, Oct. 25, 1825, *Seventh Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1825-26), Appendix, pp. 36f.
 112. J. Walker, letter, *Methodist Magazine*, IX (December, 1826), 477.
 113. *Journals of the Illinois Conference*, in W. W. Sweet, *op. cit.*, IV, 296f.
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 115. *Journals of the Illinois Conference*, in W. W. Sweet, *op. cit.*, IV, 310.
 116. G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
 117. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 10; W. W. Sweet, *op. cit.*, IV, 302.
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 119. Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher*, W. P. Strickland, Ed., p. 283.
 120. *Minutes, B. M.*, II, 59.

121. C. Wissler, *op. cit.*, pp. 108ff., 112.
122. J. Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 25f.
123. N. Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, IV, 46f.; *Eleventh Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1829-30), pp. 7f.; *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 32.
124. 7 (U. S.) Statutes at Large, p. 343.
125. *Twelfth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1830-31), p. 8.
126. *Ibid.*; *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 71, 109, 156; Dan Barnes, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VII (1833), 19 (Jan. 4), 74.
127. John Seys, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, VIII (1833), 17 (Dec. 20), 66; VIII (1834), 31 (March 28), 122.
128. George Gary, letters, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, IX (1835), 24 (Feb. 6), 94; IX (1835), 38 (May 15), 150; *Sixteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1834-35), p. 10.
129. *Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1843-44), p. 67.
130. *Minutes, B.M.*, II, 140; *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 148; *Fourteenth Ann. Rcp., M.S.* (1832-33), p. 7; Davis W. Clark, *Life and Times of Rev. Elijah Hedding . . .*, pp. 406f.
131. J. Clark, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VII (1832), 5 (Sept. 28), 18; 12 (Nov. 4), 42; N. Bangs, *op. cit.*, IV, 121ff.; P. S. Bennett and James Lawson, *History of Methodism in Wisconsin*, pp. 13f.; Elizabeth Wilson, *Methodism in Eastern Wisconsin*, Section One, 1832-50, pp. 14f.
132. *Fifteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1833-34), p. 11; B. M. Hall, *The Life of Rev. John Clark*, pp. 92f.
133. B. M. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 133ff., 138f.
134. George White, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, IX (1835), 48 (July 24), 190; B. M. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 142f., 153; E. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 19. The exact date of the organization of the Class is uncertain.
135. B. M. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 170f.
136. C. Wissler, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 97ff.
137. B. M. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 168ff.; E. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
138. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 427; "Journal of Salmon Stebbins, 1837-1838," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*, IX (1925), 2 (December), 202.
139. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 426, 503; P. S. Bennett and J. Lawson, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 56.
140. 7 (U. S.) Statutes, pp. 550, 551, as cited by G. Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, p. 332.
141. Henry R. Colman, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVIII (1844), 47 (July 3), 186.
142. C. Wissler, *op. cit.*, pp. 97ff., 159; G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
143. *Journal of the Ohio Conference*, 1823, in William Warren Sweet, Ed., *Circuit-Rider Days Along the Ohio . . .*, p. 233.
144. J. B. Finley, *History of the Wyandott Mission . . .*, pp. 212ff.
145. *Ibid.*, pp. 215, 228ff.
146. *Journal of the Ohio Conference*, 1824, in W. W. Sweet, *op. cit.*, p. 256; *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 169, 222.
147. *Ninth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1827-28), Appendix, p. 9.
148. *The Detroit Courier*, as quoted in B. M. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 91f., 95, 98.
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150. B. M. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 106f.
151. John Clark, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, VIII (1833), 7 (Oct. 11), 26.
152. John Clark, letter to Mrs. Mary Mason. This letter, hitherto unpublished, is in the files of the Division of Home Missions, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
153. John Clark, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, VIII (1833), 16 (Dec. 13), 62.
154. J. Clark, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, VIII (1834), 33 (April 11), 130.
155. *Fifteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1833-34), p. 11.

156. *Sixteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1834-35), p. 13.
157. John Clark, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, IX (1834), 14 (Nov. 28), 54.
158. J. Clark, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, IX (1835), 45 (July 3), 178.
159. *Sixteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1834-35), pp. 12f.
160. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 269; B. M. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 136f.
161. J. Clark, letter, Sept. 5, 1834, to Mrs. Mary Mason, in the files of the Division of Home Missions.
162. B. M. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 157ff., 164f.
163. B. M. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 173; J. Clark, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (1836), 38 (May 13), 150.
164. B. M. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 161ff., 174ff., 179.
165. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 427.
166. *Minutes, B.M.*, III, 68ff.; B. M. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 185f.
167. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 565, 656; *Twentieth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1838-39), p. 8.
168. *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 386; John H. Pitezel, *Lights and Shades of Missionary Life . . .*, p. 38.
169. *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 532; *Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1843-44), pp. 64f.; G. W. Brown, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVIII (1844), 38 (May 1), 149; J. H. Pitezel, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 36, 37, 70, 75.
170. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 363.
171. Alfred Brunson, *A Western Pioneer . . .*, II, 62f.
172. *Ibid.*, p. 91; *Eighteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1836-37), pp. 10f.; *Nineteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1837-38), p. 7.
173. A. Brunson, *op. cit.*, II, 134.
174. *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 137; *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVIII (1844), 30 (March 6), 118.
175. A. Brunson, *op. cit.*, II, 63f.
176. James Mooney, art., in *Handbook of American Indians . . .*, F. W. Hodge, Ed., I, 888; Chauncey Hobart, *History of Methodism in Minnesota*, p. 15; A. Brunson, *op. cit.*, II, 78f.
177. A. Brunson, *op. cit.*, II, 95.
178. C. Hobart, *op. cit.*, pp. 20f.
179. *Ibid.*, pp. 22f.; *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 7, 387, 388. It is possible that one or more of the preaching places of the Indian missions were taken into "the regular work." Concerning this no authentic information has been found.
180. C. Hobart, *op. cit.*, pp. 25ff.; A. Brunson, *op. cit.*, II, 201; *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 91, 387, 654.
181. *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 186, 284, 387, 531.
182. J. Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 76; J. Mooney, *loc. cit.*, I, 166.
183. *First Annual Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, for the year 1854, Appendix No. 8, "Sketch of Calumet County" by Thomas Cammuck, I, 104f.
184. J. Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 210.
185. I. McCoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 559f.
186. James B. Finley, *Sketches of Western Methodism . . .*, pp. 496ff.; "Journal of Salmon Stebbins, 1837-1838," IX, 203.
187. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 504, 590; E. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
188. *Twentieth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1838-39), p. 9.
189. *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 9.
190. *Twenty-first Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1839-40), p. 8; P. S. Bennett and J. Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
191. *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 91, 186.
192. *Ibid.*, pp. 284, 500.
193. James R. Goodrich, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVI (1841), 17 (Dec. 8), 66.

194. *Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1843-44), pp. 63f.; *Minutes, B.M.*, IV, 360f.
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196. N. Bangs, *An Authentic History of the Missions . . .*, pp. 170f.; W. Case, letter, *Methodist Magazine*, VI (June, 1823), 233f.
197. *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 447f.
198. W. Case, letter, *Eighth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1826-27), Appendix, pp. 31f. The letter appears also in *Christian Advocate and Journal*, I (1827), 30 (March 31), 118.
199. *Gen'l Minutes*, I, 504.
200. *Eighth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1826-27), p. 7.
201. W. Case, letter, June 30, 1826, *Eighth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1826-27), Appendix, pp. 33ff.
202. Editorial, *Christian Advocate and Journal . . .*, V (1831), 50 (Aug. 12), 198.
203. *Fourteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1832-33), p. 12. See also *Fifteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1833-34), p. 12.
204. *Thirteenth Ann. Rep. M.S.* (1831-32), p. 11. See also letters of William Case, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, IV (1830), 27 (March 5), 106; 31 (April 2), 122; 48 (July 30), 190; V (1831), 50 (Aug. 12), 198. Also letter, Gilbert Miller, *Christian Guardian*, quoted in *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VI (1832), 33 (April 13), 130.
205. C. Wissler, *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 148f.; J. Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 200f.
206. J. Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
207. G. Foreman, *Indian Removal*, pp. 197f.; J. G. Jones, *op. cit.*, II, 307, 360f.; *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 400.
208. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 436; J. P. Sneed, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XI (1837), 20 (Jan. 6), 78.
209. G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 203; L. F. Schmeckebier, *op. cit.*, pp. 96f.
210. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 127; *Journals of the Illinois Conference*, in W. W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840*, IV, *The Methodists*, 366; *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VI (1832), 34 (April 20), 134; *Thirteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1831-32), p. 9; N. Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, IV, 58f.
211. *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 196, 281, 282, 283, 531f.; *Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1842-43), p. 340.

III

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2. *Minutes, B.M.*, Oct. 20, 1830, II, 80f.; Joshua Soule, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VIII (1832), 10 (Nov. 2), 38.
3. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 125f.; S. H. Babcock and J. Y. Bryce, *History of Mcthodism in Oklahoma*, I, 23f.
4. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 226.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
6. S. H. Babcock and J. Y. Bryce, *op. cit.*, I, 34ff.
7. "Journal of the General Conference, 1844," pp. 46, 94, in *G. C. Journals*, II.
8. W. H. Goode, letter from *Western Christian Advocate* reprinted in *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIX (1845), 33 (March 26), 129.
9. S. H. Babcock and J. Y. Bryce, *op. cit.*, I, 50ff.; W. H. Goode, *Outposts of Zion . . .*, pp. 176f.; Henry C. Benson, *Life Among the Choctaw Indians and Sketches of the South-west*, pp. 240ff.
10. *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 537.

11. Thomas A. Morris, letter, "Letters from the Indian Missions in Kansas by Rev. William Johnson and other Missionaries" in *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1923-1925*, XVI, 269.
12. S. H. Babcock and J. Y. Bryce, *op. cit.*, I, 22.
13. Mary Greene, *Life, Three Sermons, and Some of the Miscellaneous Writings of Rev. Jesse Greene*, pp. 47f., quoted by William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840*, IV, *The Methodists*, 503n.
14. Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, pp. 277f.
15. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 82f.; William Johnson, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, V (1831), 49 (Aug. 5), 194.
16. Thomas Johnson, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VI (1832), 24 (Feb. 10), 94; *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 125.
17. Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions . . .*, pp. 412, 423.
18. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 359; Thomas Johnson, letters, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (1836), 35 (April 22), 138; *ibid.*, XI (1837), 33 (April 7), 130; William Johnson, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (1836), 47 (July 15), 186; J. J. Lutz, "The Methodist Missions among the Indian Tribes in Kansas," in *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906*, IX, 196f.; E. R. Ames, letter, *Western Christian Advocate*, IX (May 13, 1842), 14, as quoted by W. W. Sweet, *op. cit.*, IV, 513. The dates given in William Johnson's letter, doubtless authentic, are not in agreement with the Lutz article.
19. T. Johnson, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, IX (1835), 49 (July 31), 194; Z. A. Mudge, *The Missionary Teacher: A Memoir of Cyrus Shepard . . .*, pp. 85ff.; I. McCoy, *op. cit.*, p. 346.
20. W. Johnson, letters, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIII (1839), 34 (April 12), 136; XV (1841), 26 (Feb. 10), 102.
21. W. Johnson, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XV (1841), 31 (March 17), 122; *Twenty-third Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1841-42), pp. 26f. Most of the letters referred to above have been reprinted in *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1923-1925*, XVI, and in W. W. Sweet, *op. cit.*, IV, 501ff.
22. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Information respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States: collected and prepared under . . . the Bureau of Indian Affairs . . .*, VI, 543f.
23. G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 54.
25. J. J. Lutz, *loc. cit.*, IX, 166f.; Martha B. Caldwell, Compiler, *Annals of Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian Manual Labor School*, p. 8. This book of 120 pages, a condensation of a manuscript of 465 pages, contains details which for lack of space have not been herein incorporated. Unfortunately the book lacks documentation. The secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society (1939) states in the Introduction that it represents an attempt "to bring together all available sources in a history of the mission" (p. 5).
26. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 83.
27. H. K. Hines, *Missionary History of the Pacific Northwest . . .*, p. 188.
28. *First Ann. Rep. of the Missouri Conference Missionary Society in Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VI (1831), 10 (Nov. 4), 38; Nathan Bangs, *An Authentic History of the Missions . . .*, p. 168.
29. T. Johnson, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VI (1832), 24 (Feb. 10), 94; *Fourteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1832-33), p. 7.
30. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 225; J. J. Lutz, *loc. cit.*, IX, 170; T. Johnson, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XI (1836), 16 (Dec. 9), 62; M. B. Caldwell, Comp., *op. cit.*, p. 16.
31. J. J. Lutz, *loc. cit.*, IX, 172ff.
32. *Minutes, B.M.*, III, 121ff., 127, 129; *Twentieth Ann. Rcp., M.S.* (1838-39), pp. 10f. See also the "Bishops' Address," General Conference of 1840, pp. 140f., in *G. C. Journals*, II; Nathan Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, IV, 368f.

33. J. J. Lutz, *loc. cit.*, IX, 174.
34. *Twenty-first Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1839-40), p. 10.
35. United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1840, p. 18.
36. E. J. Stanley, *Life of Rev. L. B. Stateler, or Sixty-Five Years on the Frontier* . . . , pp. 104f.; J. J. Lutz, *loc. cit.*, IX, 169f.
37. E. T. Peery, letter, "Letters from the Indian Missions in Kansas by Rev. William Johnson and other Missionaries," in *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1923-1925*, XVI, 253f.
38. Edward R. Ames, letter, to the editor of the *Western Christian Advocate*, IX (May 13, 1842), 14, reprinted in W. W. Sweet, *op. cit.*, IV, 513.
39. Jerome C. Berryman, "A Circuit Rider's Frontier Experiences" in *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1923-1925*, XVI, 220.
40. J. C. Berryman, letter, *Western Christian Advocate*, X (Dec. 1, 1843), reprinted in W. W. Sweet, *op. cit.*, IV, 527f.
41. *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 537; J. C. Berryman, *loc. cit.*, IV, 527f.
42. Clark Wissler, *Indians of the United States* . . . , pp. 69ff.; Grant Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, pp. 17ff., 34, 52, 182.
43. J. J. Lutz, *loc. cit.*, IX, 203.
44. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 170.
45. T. Johnson, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VII (1833), 38 (May 17), 150.
46. *Fifteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1833-34), pp. 9f.
47. T. Johnson, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XI (1836), 16 (Dec. 9), 62.
48. J. J. Lutz, *loc. cit.*, IX, 204; E. T. Peery, *loc. cit.*, XVI, 254.
49. L. B. Stateler, "Journal," as quoted by E. J. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
50. T. Johnson, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (1836), 35 (April 22), 138; E. J. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
51. J. J. Lutz, *loc. cit.*, IX, 204.
52. E. J. Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 83; William Patton, letter, "Letters from the Indian Missions in Kansas by Rev. William Johnson and other Missionaries," in *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1923-1925*, XVI, 257; *Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1842-43), p. 26.
53. *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 537; *Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1843-44), p. 54.
54. J. J. Lutz, *loc. cit.*, IX, 168.
55. H. R. Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, VI, 542; J. C. Berryman, "A Circuit Rider's Frontier Experiences," in *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1923-1925*, XVI, 213.
56. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 226.
57. J. C. Berryman, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, IX (1835), 29 (March 13), 114.
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59. J. C. Berryman, *loc. cit.*, XVI, 217. An informing and discriminating account of Ke-en-e-kuk's sect may be found in Isaac McCoy's *History of Baptist Indian Missions* . . . , pp. 456ff.
60. J. C. Berryman, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, IX (1835), 29 (March 13), 114. See also *Advocate*, X (1836), 35 (April 22), 138; XI (1836), 16 (Dec. 9), 62.
61. J. J. Lutz, *loc. cit.*, IX, 210.
62. *Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1842-43), pp. 26f.; *Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1843-44), pp. 54f.
63. James Mooney, in Frederick W. Hodge, Ed., *Handbook of American Indians* . . . , II, 228.
64. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 226.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 292, 422; III, 101.
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69. *Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1843-44), p. 54.
70. U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1844, p. 444.
71. *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 290; J. J. Lutz, *loc. cit.*, IX, 214.
72. J. J. Lutz, *loc. cit.*, IX, 214f.
73. G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 193f.
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77. *Twenty-third Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1841-42), p. 27; *Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1843-44), p. 55.
78. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 407, 537.
79. P. M. M'Gowan, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (1836), 52 (Aug. 19), 206.
80. G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 66ff.
81. *Nineteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1837-38), p. 8.
82. John Harrell, letters, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIV (1840), 32 (March 27), 126; XV (1840), 17 (Dec. 9), 66; XVI (1841), 19 (Dec. 22), 74.
83. *Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1843-44), pp. 59f.; *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 537.
84. J. Harrell, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIV (1840), 32 (March 27), 126; T. Johnson, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal . . .*, VII (1833), 38 (May 17), 150.
85. Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830-1860*, Preface, pp. 7f.; *idem*, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, p. 15; *idem*, *Indian Removal*, ch. VII; S. H. Babcock and J. Y. Bryce, *op. cit.*, I, 18f.
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87. I. McCoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 39ff., 197; Emory J. Lyons, *Isaac McCoy: His Plan of and Work for Indian Colonization*, Fort Hays Kansas State College Bulletin, XXXV, No. 17, History Series No. 1, ch. III.
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91. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 83, 126.
92. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 170f.; *Fourteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1832-33), p. 6.
93. J. Harrell, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, IX (1835), 39 (May 22), 154; *Seventeenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1835-36), p. 8; *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 358, 434.
94. J. Harrell, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIII (1839), 35 (April 19), 138.
95. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 435, 603; III, 22, 317; *Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1842-43), pp. 30f.
96. S. H. Babcock and J. Y. Bryce, *op. cit.*, I, 41f.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
98. W. H. Goode, *op. cit.*, pp. 40f.
99. Lt. J. R. Stephenson, letter, to Gen'l. George Gibson, April 1, 1831, Office of Indian Affairs, *Document 1*, pp. 352ff., as cited by G. Foreman, *Indian Removal*, p. 42; N. Bangs, *An Authentic History of the Missions . . .*, pp. 161ff.; *Thirteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1831-32), p. 6; S. H. Babcock and J. Y. Bryce, *op. cit.*, I, 23.
100. Alfred Wright to David Greene, letter, Jan. 10, 1832, "Missionary Records," Andover-Harvard Theological Library, LXXII, No. 137, as quoted by G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 58n.
101. *Fifteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1833-34), pp. 8f.
102. Alexander Talley, letters, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*,

- VI (1831), 13 (Nov. 25), 50; VII (1832), 11 (Nov. 9), 42; VIII (1833), 14 (Nov. 29), 54.
103. A. Talley, letters, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, VIII (1834), 31 (March 28), 121; VIII (1834), 48 (July 25), 189; IX (1835), 20 (Jan. 9), 78.
104. A. Talley, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, VIII (1834), 4 (July 25), 189.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
106. *Idem*, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, IX (1834), 7 (Oct. 10), 26.
107. John G. Jones, *A Complete History of Methodism . . . Mississippi Conference . . .*, II, 316f., 340; *Seventeenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1835-36), p. 6.
108. C. J. Carney, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (1836), 36 (April 29), 142.
109. *Minutes, B.M.*, IV, 33.
110. *Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1842-43), pp. 29f.; *Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1843-44), pp. 56f.; George W. Hinman, *The American Indian and Christian Missions*, pp. 126f.; W. H. Goode, *op. cit.*, pp. 38f.; J. C. Berryman, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIX (1844), 14 (Dec. 11), 71.
111. W. H. Goode, *op. cit.*, pp. 41ff., 124; H. C. Benson, *op. cit.*, pp. 63ff.; S. H. Babcock and J. Y. Bryce, *op. cit.*, I, 38ff.; *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 422.
112. *Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1843-44), pp. 61f. See also H. C. Benson, *op. cit.*, pp. 186f. Benson says the date of opening the school was February 9. Note: The *Missionary Society Report* also gives Feb. 9 for date of opening school.
113. W. H. Goode, *op. cit.*, pp. 145f.
114. H. C. Benson, *op. cit.*, p. 221; W. H. Goode, *op. cit.*, pp. 153, 170f.
115. H. C. Benson, *op. cit.*, pp. 198f.
116. For boundaries of the treaty area assigned to the Creek, see Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs . . .*, pp. 93ff.
117. Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes*, pp. 152ff., 163ff.; *idem*, *Indian Removal*, Book Two, "Creek Removal," pp. 107-177.
118. Joshua Soule, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VIII (1832), 10 (Nov. 2), 38.
119. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 126.
120. A. D. Smyth, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, VIII (1834), 30 (March 21), 118.
121. G. Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier, 1830-1860*, p. 142; I. McCoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 507ff.
122. P. M. M'Gowan, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (1836), 23 (Jan. 29), 90; X (1836), 34 (April 15), 134.
123. S. H. Babcock and J. Y. Bryce, *op. cit.*, I, 29.
124. G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 143; *Eighteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1836-37), p. 7.
125. J. Harrell, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XI (1837), 32 (March 31), 126.
126. J. Harrell, letters, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XII (1837), 16 (Dec. 8), 62; XII (1838), 44 (June 22), 174; XIV (1840), 20 (Jan. 3), 78.
127. *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 317, 422; *Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1842-43), p. 31.
128. *Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1843-44), p. 60.
129. *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 317, 422, 537; *Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1843-44), pp. 57f.; Horace Jewell, *History of Methodism in Arkansas*, p. 113.
130. W. H. Goode, *op. cit.*, pp. 210f.
131. L. F. Schmeckebier, *op. cit.*, pp. 91f.; G. Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, p. 308.
132. *Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1843-44), pp. 60f.; *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 537.
133. G. Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 308ff.
134. 20th Congress, 1 Session, House Document 139, reprinted in Archer Butler and Dorothy P. Hulbert, Eds., *Overland to the Pacific . . .*, IV, *The Call of the Columbia, Iron Men and Saints Take the Oregon Trail*, 3ff.
135. Ross Cox's *Adventures on the Columbia River* is an account of the author's six years' residence and travels among the Indian tribes of the Pacific Northwest containing

much detailed information concerning the tribes and a "Journal" narrating many of his experiences.

136. Review, *Adventures on the Columbia River*, by Ross Cox, in *The Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review*, XIV (1832), 3 (July), 281.

137. Nathan Bangs, "Report of the Committee on Missions" at General Conference, 1832, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VI (1832), 42 (June 15), 166.

138. F. W. Hodge, Ed., *op. cit.*, II, 917f.; John M. Canse, *Pilgrim and Pioneer, Dawn in the Northwest*, pp. 17f.

139. Daniel Lee and J. H. Frost, *Ten Years in Oregon*, p. 308; F. W. Hodge, Ed., *op. cit.*, II, 750f.

140. Samuel Parker, *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains . . .*, p. 76; Peter Ronan, *Historical Sketch of the Flathead Indian Nation from the year 1813 to 1890 . . .*, pp. 17ff.

141. F. W. Hodge, Ed., *op. cit.*, I, 713.

142. C. Wissler, *op. cit.*, pp. 182, 186, 187.

143. F. W. Hodge, Ed., *op. cit.*, II, 866; Gustavus Hines, . . . *Oregon: its History, Condition and Prospects . . .*, pp. 99ff.

144. Mrs. Willbur Fisk, original letter to Samuel Luckey, October, 1839, in Wesleyan University Library, Middletown, Conn.

145. Willbur Fisk, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VII (1833), 30 (March 22), 118.

146. William Walker, Jr., letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VII (1833), 27 (March 1), 105; A. M'Allister, Presiding Elder, 1831-32, St. Louis District, Missouri Conference, letter, *ibid.*, 37 (May 10), 146; E. W. Sehon, letter, *ibid.*, 37 (May 10), 146; Robert Campbell, letter, *ibid.*, 37 (May 10), 146; D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 109ff.; Cornelius J. Brosnan, *Jason Lee, Prophet of the New Oregon*, pp. 3ff.

147. *Minutes, B.M.*, II, 174.

148. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

149. *Ibid.*, pp. 200f.

150. *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 152.

151. C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

152. *Minutes, B.M.*, II, 206.

153. *Zion's Herald*, IV (Dec. 18, 1833), 254, as quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 39f.

154. Z. A. Mudge, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

155. *Christian Advocate and Journal*, VIII (1834), 23 (Jan. 31), 91; *ibid.*, 35 (April 25), 139; Jason Lee, letter, *ibid.*, 26 (Feb. 21), 101; Samuel Dickinson, letter, *ibid.*, 34 (April 18), 134.

156. Cyrus Shepard, letters, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, VIII (1834), 43 (June 20), 170.

157. Jason Lee, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, VIII (1834), 42 (June 13), 166.

158. Z. A. Mudge, *op. cit.*, pp. 83f.

159. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

160. Jason Lee, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (1835), 10 (Oct. 30), 37.

161. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 123. Primary sources of information on the journey are numerous, rich in various details, and altogether make it possible to reconstruct the exact trail followed. They include in addition to Daniel Lee's "Journal," the "Diary" of Jason Lee, the "Oregon Record Book," the memoirs of Cyrus Shepard in Z. A. Mudge, *op. cit.*, Samuel Parker's *Journal . . .*, and letters from Jason Lee and others to the *Christian Advocate and Journal* and to *Zion's Herald*.

162. Jason Lee, letter, June 29, 1834, to Willbur Fisk, quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

163. Jason Lee, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, IX (1834), 6 (Oct. 3), 22.

164. Jason Lee, "Diary," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, XVII (1916), 3 (September), 258.
165. G. Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Ross Cox, who tells of spending several weeks during 1812 (Nov. 10–Dec. 18) and the entire winter of 1813–14 among the Flathead, substantiates Lee's statements (*op. cit.*, pp. 102f.; pp. 118ff.). See also James W. Bashford, *The Oregon Missions, The Story of How the Line Was Run Between Canada and the United States*, p. 43.
166. Jason Lee, *loc. cit.*, XVII (1916), 3 (June), 142.
167. *Ibid.*, pp. 242, 255.
168. Z. A. Mudge, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
169. J. K. Townsend, "Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains," in R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels . . .*, XXI, 228f.
170. Jason Lee, *loc. cit.*, XVII (1916), 3 (September), 258.
171. *Ibid.*, p. 262.
172. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
173. C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
174. Jason Lee, *loc. cit.*, XVII (1916), 3 (September), 264.
175. *Ibid.*, p. 266.
176. Cyrus Shepard, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (1835), 12 (Nov. 13), 46. See also W. H. Gray, *A History of Oregon, 1792–1849, Drawn from Personal Observation and Authentic Information*, pp. 159ff.; H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 91ff.; G. Hines, *Oregon, Its History, Condition and Prospects . . .*, p. 12; D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 127. Daniel Lee emphasizes the remoteness of the Flathead, the smallness of the tribe, their "vicinity to the Blackfeet," and the desirability of access to more than one tribe.
177. Jason Lee, letter to Willbur Fisk, March 15, 1836, quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
178. Cyrus Shepard, letter, *Zion's Herald*, VIII (July 13, 1836), 11; H. H. Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States of North America*, XXIV, *Oregon, Vol. I, 1834–1848*, 64. Hereafter, in this volume, this work will be referred to as *History of Oregon*. The author of this work was Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor, who became an assistant to H. H. Bancroft in 1878. This has been known to historical scholars and others since the date of its publication. The work is noteworthy for its wide range of actual information and its utilization of a large number of primary sources but is marred by a prejudicial attitude toward religion in general—particularly toward the motives and moral character of Jason Lee and other Methodist missionaries—by superficial and contradictory observations concerning Methodist religious teaching and practice, and by an underestimate of Indian culture and character. On Mrs. Victor's authorship of the *History of Oregon* see Edward G. Bourne, *Essays in Historical Criticism*, p. 36n., and William Alfred Morris, "The Origin and Authorship of the Bancroft Pacific States Publications. A History of a History," *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, IV (1903), 4 (December), 287–364.
179. Jason Lee, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (1835), 10 (Oct. 30), 37f.
180. John McLoughlin, "Copy of a Document, Found Among the Private Papers of . . . John McLoughlin," *Transactions of the Eighth Annual Reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1880*, p. 51.
181. *Zion's Herald*, X (Feb. 6, 1839), 22, report of address given in Boston, as quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
182. Jason Lee, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (1835), 10 (Oct. 30), 38; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 79f.
183. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 128f.; C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 75; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 79f.
184. Jason Lee, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XI (1836), 2 (Sept. 2), 6.
185. Jason Lee, letter, to W. Fisk, dated Feb. 6, 1835, quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 73. See also letter, Cyrus Shepard, *Zion's Herald*, VI (Oct. 28, 1835), 170.
186. C. Shepard, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (1835), 12 (Nov. 13), 46.
187. Jason Lee, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (1835), 10 (Oct. 30), 38.

188. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 84; G. Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
189. C. Shepard, *loc. cit.*, X (1835), 12 (Nov. 13), 46.
190. W. Fisk, letter to the *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VII (1833), 30 (March 22), 118.
191. J. McLoughlin, *loc. cit.*, p. 50. On the question of the basis for, and extent of, McLoughlin's influence over Jason Lee, see H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 91f., 452f.
192. J. Lee, letter, under date of Feb. 6, 1835, to W. Fisk, quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 73f.
193. C. Shepard, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (1836), 52 (Aug. 19), 206.
194. C. Shepard, letter, *Zion's Herald*, VIII (July 19, 1837), 114.
195. "Mission Record Book, Willamette Station . . .," *Oregon Mission*, p. 17.
196. Z. A. Mudge, *op. cit.*, pp. 197ff.
197. C. Shepard, *loc. cit.*, VIII (July 19, 1837), 114; G. Hines, *Oregon: its History, Condition and Prospects . . .*, p. 26; C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 75ff.; Z. A. Mudge, *op. cit.*, p. 217; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 182. Cf. S. Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 176ff.; Robert Moulton Gatke, *Chronicles of Willamette, the Pioneer University of the West*, pp. 39ff.
198. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
199. Jason Lee, letter to Missionary Society, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XI (1836), 2 (Sept. 2), 6; letter to Willbur Fisk, March 15, quoted in full by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 78ff.; "Mission Record Book," p. 10; J. W. Bashford, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
200. *Minutes, B.M.*, III, 9; *Christian Advocate and Journal*, X (1835), 16 (Dec. 11), 62.
201. *Minutes, B.M.*, III, 11f.
202. *Ibid.*, pp. 15f.
203. *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 35, 55; *Gen'l Minutes*, II, 386, 388, 464.
204. *Minutes, B.M.*, III, 38f.; A. J. Allen, Compiler, *Ten Years In Oregon . . .*, pp. 20ff., 49; D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 146f.
205. *Eighteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1836-37), p. 9.
206. "Mission Record Book," p. 31; Theressa Gay, *Life and Letters of Mrs. Jason Lee, First Wife of Rev. Jason Lee of the Oregon Mission*, pp. 53ff.; A. J. Allen, Comp., *op. cit.*, pp. 65ff.
207. David Leslie, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XII (1837), 18 (Dec. 22), 70; H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 118f.
208. "Mission Record Book," p. 34; D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 150f.
209. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 151ff.; H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 120f.
210. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 152f.
211. "Mission Record Book," pp. 25f.; D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 144ff.; Philip H. Edwards, "Diary," as quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 85; J. M. Canse, *op. cit.*, pp. 131ff.; W. A. Slacum, address at Philadelphia on Dec. 4, 1838, as reported in the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIII (1839), 20 (Jan. 4), 77; W. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 155ff. Of all the accounts, that of Gray is most illuminating on certain important aspects of the enterprise.
212. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 144; "Slacum's Report on Oregon, 1836-7," *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, XIII (1912), 2 (June), 175-224; C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 218ff., 286ff.
213. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 151; G. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 29f.
214. G. Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 236.
215. Jason Lee, "Diary," *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, XVII (1916), 3 (December), 404f.; J. Lee to D. Lee, dated "Wallahwallah," April 25, 1838, in Oregon Historical Society Manuscript Collection, quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
216. H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 344.
217. *House Report No. 101 (Supplemental Report), Appendix H., H.R., 25 Congress, 3 Sess.*, pp. 4f. The Memorial is printed in full in H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 136ff., and in C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 220ff.

218. J. Lee, letter to Caleb Cushing, *House Report No. 101 (Supplemental Report), Appendix H., H.R., 25 Congress., 3 Sess.*, pp. 3f.

219. Jason Lee, "Diary," *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, XVII (1916), 4 (December), 416; "Mission Record Book," p. 35; T. Gay, *op. cit.*, p. 78. Details of the overland journey are given by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 93ff.

220. Jason Lee, letter to D. Lee, in C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 94ff.

221. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

222. Jason Lee, "Diary," *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, XVII (1916), 4 (December), 426.

223. *Peoria Register and North Western Gazetteer*, reprinted in *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIII (1838), 13 (Nov. 16), 49. For additional details of means used to reach Jason Lee with news of his wife's death see D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 153f.; T. Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 86ff.

224. Jason Lee, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIII (1838), 14 (Nov. 23), 54. Particulars concerning the death and interment of Anna Maria Pitman Lee may be found in T. Gay, *op. cit.*, pp. 84ff.; "Mission Record Book," p. 36; A. J. Allen, Comp., *op. cit.*, p. 93; D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 153f. Burial was in the fir grove near the mission house where eleven months before the marriage vows had been taken. Later the remains were re-interred in the Lee Mission Cemetery at Salem, Ore.

225. *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIII (1838), 12 (Nov. 9), 46.

226. *Minutes, B.M.*, III, 140.

227. *Ibid.*, pp. 144f.; *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIII (1838), 18 (Dec. 21), 70. See also *Twentieth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1838-39), pp. 12f.

228. Accounts of many of the meetings are contained in the current issues for the period of the *Christian Advocate* and of *Zion's Herald*. For a detailed summary of the campaign see C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, ch. VII; *Minutes, B.M.*, III, 145.

229. Joseph Holdich, *Life of Willbur Fisk, D.D.*, p. 434; C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 114ff.

230. Jason Lee, letter to Caleb Cushing, *House Report No. 101 (Supplemental Report), Appendix H., H.R., 25 Congress., 3 Sess.*, pp. 3f.

231. *Minutes, B.M.*, III, 167, 367.

232. Nathan Bangs, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIII (1839), 36 (April 26), 143.

233. Jason Lee, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIV (1839), 2 (Aug. 30), 7.

234. Francis H. Grubbs, Compiler, *Memorial Souvenir [of] . . . Jason Lee*, pp. 71f.

235. *Ibid.*, p. 70; *Zion's Herald*, X (Aug. 14, 1839), 131.

236. *Minutes, B.M.*, III, 169, 179.

237. *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIV (1839), 5 (Sept. 20), 19. The Board's record of the sailing is in *Minutes, B.M.*, III, 152f., 183.

238. *New York Journal of Commerce* (Oct. 9, 1839), p. 4, as quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

239. *Minutes, B.M.*, III, 182f.; editorial, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIV (1839), 9 (Oct. 18), 34; H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 206ff.; *Zion's Herald*, X (Oct. 9, 1839), 163.

240. G. Hines, *Oregon: its History, Condition and Prospects . . .*, p. 45; J. M. Canse, *op. cit.*, pp. 174f.; George Abernethy, "Journal of the Voyage from Oahu to Vancouver," *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XV (1841), 38 (May 5), 149; C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 160ff.; H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 206ff.

241. *House Report No. 101 (Supplemental Report), Appendix H., H.R., 25 Congress., 3 Sess.*, pp. 3f.; Jason Lee, letter to Caleb Cushing, Jan. 17, 1839, quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 225ff.

242. Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Territory*, p. 94; W. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 193ff.; C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

243. *Minutes, B.M.*, III, 171.

244. *Ibid.*, pp. 178, 180.

245. *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 208. There is no evidence in the *Minutes* that the Memorial was suggested by Jason Lee. The motion for authorization was made by Nathan Bangs and the Memorial was prepared by a committee of five members of the Board.

246. Jason Lee, "Diary," *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XV (1841), 24 (Jan. 27), 94; G. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 80f.; J. W. Bashford, *op. cit.*, p. 172. Bashford states that Lee, on behalf of the Oregon Americans, entered into "an informal treaty of commerce" with the Hawaiian government.

247. Francis Norbert Blanchet, *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon, 1838-1878*, in *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*, Clarence B. Bagley, Ed., I, 21.

248. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 214ff.

249. Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, IV, 374.

250. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 318. For the Catholic version of these developments see F. N. Blanchet, *op. cit.*, in Clarence B. Bagley, Ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 73ff.

251. H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 171ff.

252. D. Leslie, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIV (1840), 39 (May 15), 154.

253. H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

254. D. Leslie, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XV (1840), 7 (Sept. 30), 26.

255. Jason Lee, "Diary," *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVI (1841), 2 (Aug. 25), 5.

256. H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 215ff.; G. Hines, *A Voyage Round the World . . .*, p. 90; A. J. Allen, Comp., *op. cit.*, pp. 123f.; D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 226. This latter account, it is evident, was written by J. H. Frost who as a member of "the great reinforcement" had just arrived in Oregon.

257. T. J. Farnham, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

258. Jason Lee, "Diary," *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVI (1841), 2 (Aug. 25), 5.

259. A. J. Allen, Comp., *op. cit.*, p. 131. White's biographer shed no light on the exact nature of the difficulties. J. M. Canse, *op. cit.*, p. 237; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 196f.; *Minutes*, B.M., III, 288ff.; J. W. Bashford: "He fell into some misconduct with women, resigned under charges and returned East."—*Op. cit.*, p. 117.

260. G. Hines, *Oregon: its History, Condition and Prospects . . .*, ch. XXI; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, ch. XII; J. M. Canse, *op. cit.*, pp. 272ff.; Albert Atwood, *The Conquerors, Historical Sketches of the American Settlement of the Oregon Country . . .*, pp. 148ff.

261. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 248, 303; C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

262. G. Hines, *Oregon and Its Institutions*, pp. 159f.; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 201; Charles Henry Carey, Ed., "Diary of Rev. George Gary," *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, XXIV (1923), 1 (March), 86f.; H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 250f.; R. M. Gatke, *op. cit.*, pp. 55ff.

263. G. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 138ff.; R. M. Gatke, *op. cit.*, ch. IV.

264. Mrs. Jason Lee, letter, March 11, 1841, to Osmon C. Baker, *Zion's Herald*, XIII (Sept. 14, 1842), 146.

265. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

266. *Ibid.*, p. 256; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 190.

267. G. Hines, *Oregon: its History, Condition and Prospects . . .*, pp. 122f.; Jason Lee, final statement before the Board of Managers, July 1-10, 1844, Oregon Historical Society Manuscript Collection, pp. 66-95, as quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

268. H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 243ff. See also D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

269. A. J. Allen, Comp., *op. cit.*, pp. 138f., 144f., 168ff.; D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 257; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, ch. X; W. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 214ff.

270. C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

271. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, ch. XV; W. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

272. G. Hines, *Oregon: its History, Condition and Prospects . . .*, pp. 94f.

273. Jason Lee, "Diary," *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVI (1841), 2 (Aug. 25), 6.
274. G. Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
275. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Archives, "Abenakis and Oregon Indians," V, 248 (Doc. 76) as quoted by A. B. and D. P. Hulbert, Eds., *Ovcrland to thc Pacific . . .*, V, *The Oregon Crusadc, Across Land and Sca to Oregon*, 78n.; Jason Lee, "Diary," *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVI (1841), 2 (Aug. 25), 6.
276. H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 226f.
277. T. J. Farnham, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
278. H. K. W. Perkins, "Journal," *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XV (1840), 9 (Oct. 14), 33. See also D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 182ff.
279. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 187, 189.
280. *Ibid.*, pp. 190ff.
281. *Ibid.*, pp. 244f.; Jason Lee, "Diary," *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVI (1841), 2 (Aug. 25), 6.
282. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 248f., 250f.; C. Wilkes, *op. cit.*, IV, 409. Wilkes writes disparagingly of the Indians of the vicinity, declaring that it "is not to be expected that the missionaries could be able to make much progress with such a set . . ."
283. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 255.
284. H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 257ff., 269ff. For an account written from an entirely different angle, in which the part taken by Lee is not mentioned, see G. Hines, *op. cit.*, ch. IX.
285. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 261. Cf. H. K. W. Perkins, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVIII (1843), 5 (Sept. 13), 408f.
286. A. J. Allen, Comp., *op. cit.*, pp. 125f.; C. Wilkes, *op. cit.*, IV, 378.
287. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 264ff.
288. H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 350, 360f.
289. *Ibid.*, pp. 251f.; D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 329f.
290. Alvin F. Waller, letter to Fuller Atchinson, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVIII (1843), 13 (Nov. 8), 50. See also letter, A. F. Waller, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVII (1842), 19 (Dec. 21), 74.
291. J. Lee, final statement before the Board of Managers as quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 268; A. F. Waller, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVII (1842), 19 (Dec. 21), 74.
292. N. Bangs, report, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIII (1838), 18 (Dec. 21), 70. For sharply contrasting points of view concerning these developments see W. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, ch. XXXVIII, and H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 203ff.
293. For an account of the Waller-McLoughlin land claim controversy see C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, Appendix III, pp. 291ff. Frances Fuller Victor maintains that Jason Lee was as fully implicated in the transactions as A. F. Waller and, in effect, that he (with Waller and others) "turned the sanctified gold of their supporters into personal profit," but supplies no evidence that Lee in any way profited. (H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 203ff.) See also J. W. Bashford, *op. cit.*, pp. 216ff. Bashford emphasizes the fact that Lee, against the majority of the Americans, supported McLoughlin's claim (p. 218), and that his support of McLoughlin in the controversy was one of the reasons for the opposition of members of the mission to him (pp. 224f.). In the end Waller's claim was invalidated by his removal from Willamette Falls to The Dalles and McLoughlin's petition for a land title went before Congress with no rival claimant.
294. H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 253ff.
295. S. Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
296. James Birnie, letter, quoted by H. K. W. Perkins, "Journal," *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XV (1840), 9 (Oct. 14), 33.
297. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 232f.
298. *Ibid.*, pp. 234f., 269, 278ff., 292f.
299. *Ibid.*, pp. 294f.

300. *Ibid.*
301. C. Wilkes, *op. cit.*, IV, 344.
302. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 298.
303. *Ibid.*, p. 310.
304. C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 173; *Twenty-seventh Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1845-46), p. 35.
305. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 307f.; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 187; S. A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days in Oregon History*, II, 421.
306. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 309.
307. *Ibid.*, pp. 313, 316.
308. *Ibid.*, pp. 322ff., 329f.
309. *Ibid.*, p. 311; Jason Lee, final report before the Board of Managers as quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 258.
310. David Leslie, letters, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIV (1840), 39 (May 15), 154; XV (1840), 7 (Sept. 30), 26.
311. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 231f.
312. John P. Richmond, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVI (1841), 4 (Sept. 8), 13.
313. *Ibid.*
314. *Ibid.*
315. *Ibid.*
316. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 323; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 188f.; Jason Lee, final report before the Board of Managers, as quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
317. H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 296.
318. *Minutes, B.M.*, IV, 58.
319. "Oregon Committee Minutes," unpagcd.
320. *Minutes, B.M.*, IV, 212f.
321. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
322. *Ibid.*, p. 282.
323. *Ibid.*, p. 286.
324. *Ibid.*, pp. 292f.
325. C. Pitman, letter, Nov. 24, 1843, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XVIII (1843), 16 (Nov. 29), 62; *Twenty-fifth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1843-44), p. 21.
326. Jason Lee, letter, Oct. 13, 1843, with a postscript dated Oct. 27, to C. Pitman, quoted in full by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 206ff.
327. G. Hines, *A Voyage Round the World . . .*, pp. 201f.
328. *Ibid.*, pp. 202f.; C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 230f.
329. G. Hines, *A Voyage Round the World . . .*, pp. 203f.
330. H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 304f. Details of the journey across Mexico may be found in C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 238ff.
331. Jason Lee, letter to G. Hines and wife, July 1, 1844, in Oregon Historical Society Manuscript Collection, quoted entire by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 243ff.
332. Jason Lee, final statement before the Board of Managers, as quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 246ff.
333. *Ibid.*, pp. 246ff.
334. *Minutes, B.M.*, IV, 369ff., 373.
335. *Ibid.*, pp. 372f.
336. *Zion's Herald*, XV (July 17, 1844), 114; H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 314ff.; *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 494.
337. Jason Lee, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIX (1845), 30 (March 5), 119.
338. J. Lee to G. Hines, letter, Oregon Historical Society Manuscript Collection, pp. 107f., as quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
339. D. Lee, obituary notice, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XIX (1845), 37 (April 23), 148; J. H. Philp (Stanstead, P.Q.), letter, *Zion's Herald*, CXI (Aug. 23, 1933), 794. D. Lee gives the date of death as March 12, but Philp states that the original burial

record of the Stanstead Circuit reads March 13. See also F. H. Grubbs, *Comp., op. cit.*, p. 8.

340. C. H. Carey, Ed., *loc. cit.*, XXIV (1923), 1 (March), 79f.; H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 348f.

341. H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 349; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 221f. Disposal of the farms was authorized by the Board on Dec. 17, 1844. See *Minutes, B.M.*, IV, 394.

342. C. H. Carey, Ed., *loc. cit.*, XXIV (1923), 1 (March), 84f.

343. H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 350ff., 421ff.; G. Hines, *Oregon and Its Institutions*, pp. 160f.

344. *Minutes, B.M.*, IV, 404f.

345. C. H. Carey, Ed., *loc. cit.*, XXIV (1923), 1 (March), 104, 2 (June), 157, 160; H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 360f.

346. G. Hines, *Oregon: its History, Condition and Prospects . . .*, p. 244; H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 362f.

347. G. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 254f., 316.

348. H. K. Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 363ff.

349. Editorial, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XX (1845), 11 (Oct. 22), 42.

350. Jason Lee, letter to Willbur Fisk, as quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

351. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

352. Frederick V. Holman, *Dr. John McLoughlin, the Father of Oregon*, p. 60.

353. Jason Lee, letter to the Board, Oct. 13, 1843, as quoted by C. J. Brosnan, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

354. *Twenty-second Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1840-41), p. 19.

355. *Gen'l Minutes*, III, 603.

356. H. R. Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs . . .*, pp. 318f. Schoolcraft's characterization was harsh but not unfair. "Legislation for [the Indians,]" he said, "is only taken up on a pinch. . . . a mere expedient to get along with the subject; . . . taken up unwillingly, and dropped in a hurry. This is the Indian system. Nobody knows really what to do . . ."

357. J. Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 82f.; N. Bangs, *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, IV, 6ff.

358. *Fifteenth Ann. Rep., M.S.* (1833-34), p. 8.

359. Alfred Brunson, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XII (1837), 7 (Oct. 6), 26; N. Bangs, *op. cit.*, IV, 62.

360. Alfred Brunson, *A Western Pioneer . . .*, II, 106ff., 205; William Johnson, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal*, XV (1841), 31 (March 17), 122.

361. Sherman Hall, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VI (1832), 39 (May 25), 154; G. Foreman, *Last Trek of the Indians*, pp. 153f.; Frederic L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier, 1763-1893*, pp. 275ff.

362. W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, III, 320f.; Thomas Gage, *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State, 1763-1775*, C. E. Carter, Ed., I, 124; John A. Adams, "The Indian Trader of the Upper Ohio Valley," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XVII (1934), 3 (September), 163ff.

363. Joseph Badger, letter, *Panoplist and Missionary Magazine United*, I (1809), 9 (February), 428; D. Lee and J. H. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

364. Colonel Bowyer, quoted by J. Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

365. John Beach, "Sauk and Fox Letter Books," Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, as quoted by G. Foreman, *The Last Trek of the Indians*, p. 142; I. McCoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 251f.

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North-Western Territory, p. 384; Thomas Johnson, letter, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, VII (1832), 2 (Sept. 7), 6.

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371. U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1856, pp. 22f.

372. Alexander S. Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, R. G. Thwaites, Ed., pp. 128-149 and *passim*.

373. U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1851, p. 229.

374. J. Burnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 323f.

375. Irving McKee, Ed. and Translator, *The Trail of Death; Letters of Benjamin Marie Petit*, Indiana Historical Society Publications, XIV, No. 1; "Journal of an Emigrating Party of Pottawatomie Indians, 1838," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI (1925), 4 (December), 315.

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377. William Case, letter, quoting from report of the speech of an Indian chief in the "Journal" of Peter Jones, Indian preacher, *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald*, IV (1830), 24 (Feb. 12), 94.

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IV

THE METHODIST WAY

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V

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INDEX



Index

A

- Abbott, Benjamin: 23, 353*n.*; experience of perfect love of, 316*f.*; experience of assurance of, 319; emotional preaching of, 335; as a great revivalist, 452*f.*; biographical sketch of, 452*n.*
- Abernethy, George: at Oregon Mission, 228*n.*, 233, 236*n.*, 244*n.*, 245*n.*, 258, 258*n.*
- Abolition Movement: Methodist preachers support, 85*f.*; General Conference of 1836 opposed to, 86; deplored by Ohio Conference, 89; New England Methodist preachers opposed to, 90; opposition to, in Annual Conferences, 97*f.*; publications of, 100*f.*, 100*n.*, gets under way, 101*f.*; within Methodism, 102*f.*; in England, 111
- Acuff, Francis, 426
- Adams, Abigail, 42
- Adams, Daniel: 146, 148, 148*n.*, 149, 188; biographical sketch of, 188*n.*
- Adams, John: 42, 68; opposed to slavery, 67
- Adams, John Quincy, 10, 11*n.*
- Adams, M., 147*n.*
- Adams, Samuel: 68; opposed to slavery, 67
- Adams, Thomas, 223, 228*n.*
- Adventism, 400, 400*n.*
- African Methodist Episcopal Church, 58
- African Methodist Episcopal Zion Conference, 58*f.*
- African Union Church, 59*n.*
- African Union Methodist Protestant Church, 59*n.*
- African Zion Methodist Episcopal Church, 91*n.*
- Aldrich, Reuben, 185*n.*
- Alexander, Gross, 107
- Allen, Beverly, 355
- Allen, E. J., 132*n.*
- Allen, Richard, 55, 56, 57, 57*n.*, 158
- Allen, Samuel, 191*n.*, 194*n.*
- Allen, Samuel M., 125*n.*
- Allen, William T., 102*n.*
- Allison, Martha F., 40
- America (1769-1840): economic conditions in, 9*f.*, 9*n.*; medical conditions in, 11*f.*, 13, 13*n.*; rise of democracy in, 18*f.*; prison conditions in, 25; liquor drinking in, 26*f.*, 29, 30*f.*; rise of temperance movement in, 36*f.*; position of women in, 39*f.*, 42*f.*; rise of manufacturing in, 44; labor conditions in, 44*f.*; trade unionism in, 46*f.*; caste system in, 54; treatment of Negroes in, 55, 57, 59*f.*; slavery in colonial times, 60*f.*, 61*n.*; opposition to slavery in, 67*f.*, 68*n.*; travel conditions in, 288, 289; Methodism's contributions to, 345*f.*; Methodism's influence on life in, 457-460
- American Bible Society, 95*n.*
- American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: 115, 127, 213; forbid slaveholding among their Indian missionaries, 88*n.*; missionaries of, resist Georgia Indian legislation, 130; mission to Cherokee Indians, 132*n.*; relations with Choctaw Indians, 135, 137; mission to Stockbridge Indians, 163; take over Methodist mission to Chickasaw, 168, 168*n.*; missionaries of, opposed to Indian removal, 190; given charge of Choctaw girls' seminary, 194*n.*; and Oregon work, 203*n.*, 217*n.*, 223*n.*, 236*n.*, 260; and educational scheme for Indians, 281
- American Convention of Delegates from Abolition Societies, 70
- American Home Missionary Society, 95*n.*
- American National Anti-Slavery Society, 102, 103*n.*
- American Sunday School Union, 411, 411*n.*, 439*n.*
- American Tract Society, 95*n.*, 399, 399*n.*
- Ames, Edward R., 107, 117, 171, 179, 194, 194*n.*, 199, 255, 404*f.*
- Andrew, James O. (Bishop): 32*n.*, 405, 450; slaveholding case of, at 1844 General Conference, 108*f.*, 108*n.*; on call to ministry, 419*n.*
- Anglican Church. See "Church of England" and "Protestant Episcopal Church."
- Annual Conference, the: 360-362; doctrinal concern in, 379*f.*
- Annual Conferences, actions of: and Disciplinary rules, 5; and education, 15*f.*, 17; and temperance, 27*f.*, 29*f.*, 32*f.*, 37*f.*; and

- slavery, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86-90, 95, 97ff., 104n.; and Indian missions, 117, 170, 170n., 262, 274; and salaries, 293, 295; and problems of Circuit System, 300f.; and ministerial discipline, 352ff.; prescribed ministerial course of study, 406, 406n.
- Arminius, Jacobus, doctrines of, 382f.
- Armstrong, John M., 118, 126n.
- Armstrong, William, 197
- Articles of Religion: in Anglicanism, 363; in Methodism, 301, 301n., 363, 365; in Protestant Episcopal Church, 363f.
- Assurance, in Methodism (see also "Witness of the Spirit, doctrine of"): 319-321; culmination of conversion, 319; not all attained to, 319f.; not regarded essential, 320f., 320n.
- Asbury, Daniel, 327
- Asbury, Francis: 2, 3, 4, 6, 8n., 9, 12, 12n., 15, 35, 39, 53, 56, 57, 68n., 74n., 75, 78, 79, 91n., 127, 292, 296, 305n., 319, 323, 325, 329, 330, 338, 340, 349, 352, 354, 356, 359, 368, 369, 370, 397, 401n., 415, 423, 425, 426n., 427n., 433, 434, 437, 447, 450n., 455, 455n.; and education, 15, 400n., 401f.; prison visitation by, 26; and spirituous liquors, 28, 30; appointment of women as Class Leaders by, 40f.; and slavery, 64, 65, 68, 72, 82, 83n., 87, 87n., 99, 99n.; and itinerancy, 77, 286f., 288, 288n., 291, 299f., 428; conversion experience of, 305; and perfect love, 315, 316; and "awakenings" from preaching, 321, 322; and Camp Meetings, 327f.; and emotionalism; 335, and Bands, 342, 342n.; and discipline, 347f.; and celibacy, 357f.; authority of, 360f., 366f.; and appointment of preachers, 361n., 366; and presiding eldership, 366; and the episcopacy, 366f.; and use of Bible, 377f.; doctrinal concern of, 379, 385; preaches Whatcoat's funeral sermon, 381; and preaching, 393f., 393n., 430, 431; and religious instruction of children, 407; and call to the ministry, 418f.; a man of prayer, 427, 427n.; as a reader, 435, 435n.; and acceptance of men into Conference, 442; suited to American pattern of life, 445f.
- Astor, John Jacob, 200n.
- Asylum for Lying-in-Women, 42
- Athabasca Indians, 201
- Avery, Alexander, 194n.
- Axley, James: 31, 33; illustration of preaching of, 376; biographical sketch of, 376n.
- B
- Babcock, Charles, 124n.
- Babcock, Ira L., 228n., 236n., 239, 239n., 241, 246, 255
- Badger, Joseph, 8n.
- Baird (or Beard), Alvin, 171n., 196, 196n.
- Baird, Robert: 439; biographical sketch of, 439n.
- Baker, Osmon C. (Bishop), 204n., 227
- Baker (Major), 152f.
- Bancroft, George, 22
- Bancroft, H. H.: and his account of Oregon Mission, 210, 210n., 218n., 222n., 229n., 261f.
- Band, the, in Methodism, 337, 340-342
- Bangs, Heman, 6n., 298n., 324, 327, 431
- Bangs, John, 445
- Bangs, Joseph, 445
- Bangs, Nathan: 17, 35, 37, 85, 107, 112, 204, 227, 230, 256, 298f., 299, 300n., 315, 336, 360, 396, 398f., 399, 410, 412, 439, 447; experience of perfect love of, 317; illustration of preaching of, 375f.; opposed to theological seminaries, 406; and catechising children, 408; call to ministry of, 420; introduction of, into ministerial work, 437
- Banning, H., 92
- Baptist Church: 23, 24n., 76, 115, 174, 365, 379, 405; Negro membership of, 54, 54n.; attempts liberating slaves, 64n., 67n.; and abolition, 101, 102n., 104; missionary of, among Creek Indians, 140; works among Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians, 163; mission among the Shawnee Indians, 178, 178n.; difference between Indian missions of, and those of Methodist, 281n.; preachers of, resemble Circuit Riders, 292n.; opposed to ministerial salaries, 294n., 295n.; on frontier, 346; preaching in, 391, 393; doctrinal controversy with members of, 397
- Barnes, Daniel, 146, 147
- Barnes, Jerry (slave), 92
- Barrow, David, 67n.
- Barstow, Lydia, 121f.
- Bascom, Henry B. (Bishop): 32, 32n., 88, 107, 109, 451; difficulties of, in receiving Conference membership, 443; as a preacher, 448f.; biographical sketch of, 448n.
- Bassett, (Governor) Richard, 369
- Baylies, Julia, 154, 155, 157
- Bayly, Thomas H., 80n.
- Beach, John, 265
- Beans, Scipio, 58

- Beard, Thomas, 76
 Beatty, John, 167*n.*
 Beaver, William, 167
 Beecher, Catherine E., 43
 Beecher, Henry Ward, 43
 Beecher, Lyman, 36, 36*n.*
 Beers, Alanson, 216, 217, 234, 236*n.*
 Beggs, Stephen R., 304, 303
 Belotte, J. L., 169
 Benson, Henry C., 195, 195*n.*
 Bentley, William, 23
 Benton, (Senator) Thomas H., 256
 Berryhill, Pleasant, 196*n.*, 197*n.*
 Berryman, Jerome C.: 172, 178*n.*, 180, 285, 432, 435; biographical sketch of, 180*n.*; missionary to Kickapoo Indians, 183ff.
 Bertholf, Thomas, 191*n.*, 197*n.*, 198
 Bethel Society (Negro), 57f.
 Between-the-Logs, 120, 122, 124
 Bibbins, Samuel, 430
 Bible, the: use of, by Methodist preachers, 377f.; literal interpretation of, by some preachers, 378f.; study of, by Methodist preachers, 436
 Bible Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the, 412, 412*n.*
 Big Warrior, 140
 Bigelow, Russel, 124*n.*, 125*n.*
 Biggar, Hamilton, 167*n.*
 Bird, Joseph B., 128*n.*
 Birney, James G., 102*n.*
 Birnie, James, 245, 246
 Bishops (see also "Episcopacy"): and slavery convictions, 84, 84*n.*, 103; administration of, for Annual Conferences approved, 104, 104*n.*; salaries of, 294*n.*; committed to itinerancy, 367; responsible for ministerial course of study, 439, 441
 Black, William, 369
 Blackburn, Gideon, 114*n.*, 127, 213, 281
 Blackfeet Indians, 207
 Blackman, Learner, 88
 Blair, James, 354
 Blanchet, Francis Norbert, 231, 235, 235*n.*
 Blount (Colonel), 139
 Boardman, Richard, 52, 53, 287
 Bonner, D., 371
 Bonner, Frederick, 66
 Boone, (Colonel) Daniel Morgan, 173, 174
 Boot, John F., 128*n.*, 132, 132*n.*, 134, 191*n.*
 Bosanquet, Mary, 39
 Bosley, Elijah M.: call to ministry of, 424*n.*
 Boston, John, 191*n.*
 Bostwick, Shadrach, 326, 437
 Boswell, James, 427
 Boudinot, Elias, 131
 Bourne, Milton: 157, 447*n.*; biographical sketch of, 157*n.*
 Boyce, William A., 171*n.*
 Boyd, Robert: 331; preaching technique of, 376f.; biographical sketch of, 377*n.*
 Boydston, Benjamin, 125*n.*
 Brace, Henry J., 161*n.*
 Brainerd, David, 127, 277
 Brainerd Mission, 127, 127*n.*, 281, 281*n.*
 Brewer, Henry B.: at Oregon Mission, 228*n.*, 239, 239*n.*, 241, 241*n.*, 242, 258, 258*n.*, 259, 260
 Brewton, J., 191*n.*
 Brigham, David, 195f.
 Brockway, William H.: 124, 124*n.*, 159, 272; biographical sketch of, 159*n.*
 Brodhead, John: 323, 343; biographical sketch of, 323*n.*
 Brook, J. C., 124*n.*
 Brooks, Van Wyck, 367f.
 Brooks, William, 223
 Brothertown Indians (see also "Brothertown Mission"): account of, 162f.; denominations work among, 163
 Brothertown (Deansburgh and Fond du Lac) Mission, 162-165
 Brown, Antoinette L., 44
 Brown, G. W., 159*n.*, 160
 Brown, Paul R., 98
 Brown, Rollin, 161*n.*
 Brown, Samuel, 124
 Browning, W., 177*n.*
 Brownlow, William G. ("Parson"), 25
 Brunson, Alfred: 23f., 25, 33, 271, 273f., 274f., 335*n.*, 353, 437, 438; missionary to Indians on Upper Mississippi, 160f.; biographical sketch of, 160*n.*; difficulties of, in admission to Conference membership, 443f.
 Bryan, (General) Hardy, 369, 369*n.*
 Bryant, William Cullen, 50
 Buckels, A., 124*n.*
 Buckingham, Goodwill, 98
 Bunch, John, 351
 Burchet (Birchett), Henry, 408, 426*n.*
 Burke, William: 348, 354; tried before Conference, 356f.; restored to Conference membership, 357
 Burnaby, Andrew, 63*n.*
 Burum, Peter, 88
 Bushay, Joseph, 159*n.*
 Butler, Elizur, 130
 Byington, Cyrus, 135

C

Cahbeach, John, 150, 156, 159, 159*n.*, 169

- Cahoon, C. D., 107
 Calhoun, John C. (Secretary of War) : 69, 96; relation with Indians, 116, 116*n.*, 141
 Calvin, John, 319
 Calvinism: distinction between, and Methodism, 381, 382, 383; established on Western Reserve, 398
 Cambreleng, Churchill G., 21*n.*
 Cambridge, Alice, 39
 Cammich, Thomas, 163
 Camp Meetings : 38, 321-331; in Oregon, 237, 240*f.*, 278; scene of sanctification experience, 317; doctrinal controversy at, 397*f.*, 398*n.*
 Campbell, A., 134
 Campbell, Hamilton, 228*n.*, 236*n.*, 258, 258*n.*
 Campbell, Alexander, Movement, 398
 Capers, William : 84*n.*, 85, 107, 292, 331*f.*, 351, 360, 369; among the Creek Indians, 138*ff.*; conversion experience of, 309*f.*; experience of assurance of, 319; introduction of, into ministerial work, 437*f.*; characterization of, 451; biographical sketch of, 451*n.*
 Carey, Matthew, 10, 16, 46
 Carney, C. J., 194, 194*n.*
 Carondelet (Governor), 176*n.*
 Carroll, Charles, 69
 Carter, David, 229, 241, 241*n.*
 Carter, Robert, 64*n.*
 Cartwright, Peter : 24, 24*n.*, 95, 99, 107, 153, 295*f.*, 336, 376*n.*, 390, 415; and temperance, 35, 35*n.*; at the Potawatomi Mission, 145, 145*n.*; call to ministry of, 422*f.*; characterization of, 453*f.*; biographical sketch of, 453*n.*
 Carver, Jonathan, 200
 Case, William, 85, 158*n.*, 165, 166, 167, 273, 278, 284, 409, 425
 Casey, Zadoc, 24
 Cass, (Governor) Lewis, 152
 Cass, William D., 107
 Catholic Church. See "Roman Catholic Church."
 Cayuga Indians, 146, 188
 Cayuse Indians, 223
 Celibacy in Methodism, 357*f.*
 Chamberlain, Schuyler, 107
 Chandler, Daniel M.: missionary among the Chippewa Indians, 157, 157*n.*, 159, 332
 Channing, William Ellery, 4, 7, 50
 Chapin, Calvin, 36
 "Chartered Fund," 298, 298*n.*
 Chase, Henry P., 159, 161*n.*, 162
 Cherokee Indians (see also "Cherokee Missions" and "Cherokee Mission, West") : 114*n.*, 115, 171, 281, 283; account of, 126*f.*; denominations work among, 127; Georgia state legislation directed against, 129*f.*; membership in denominational churches, 1830, 129*n.*; removal west of, 129*n.*, 131*f.*, 132*f.*, 132*n.*, 134, 190; treaties with, 115, 129*n.*, 132, 132*n.*, 263*n.*; liquor traffic among, 266
 Cherokee Mission, West, 190-196
 Cherokee Missions, 126-134
 Chevalier, Michael, 45, 60
 Chick, Mary Jane, 175*n.*
 Chickasaw Indians (see also "Chickasaw Mission" and "Chickasaw Mission, West") : 126; account of, 167*f.*; Wesley among, 168*n.*; removal west of, 168; treaties with, 168, 194
 Chickasaw Mission, 167*f.*
 Chickasaw Mission, West, 198-199
 Children (see also "Sunday schools" and "Education") : child labor in America, 45*f.*, 49; Methodist efforts at education of, 401-404; religious instruction of, 407-414
 Chinook Indians : 210, 220, 245, 246, 248; account of, 201
 Chippewa Indians (see also "Chippewa Mission") : 273; treaties with, 116, 152; account of, 151*f.*; migration of some of tribe, 160*n.*; mission to, at Sandy Lake, 161, 161*n.*, 162; mission to, at Fond du Lac (Minn.), 161, 161*n.*, 162, 162*n.*; included in Circuit, west of the Mississippi, 185, 187; support schools, 272
 Chippewa Mission : 151-160, 278; Grand Traverse Bay, 156; Kewawenon, 149, 155*f.*, 157, 158, 159*f.*, 159*n.*, 160, 160*n.*, 169, 272; Lac Court Oreille, 158*f.*, 159*n.*; Saginaw, 152*f.*, 153*n.*; Sault Ste. Marie, 149, 153*ff.*, 156*f.*, 159, 159*n.*
 Choctaw Indians (see also "Choctaw Mission" and "Choctaw Mission, West") : 126, 168, 171; account of, 134*f.*; American Board mission among, 135; treaties with, 136*f.*, 194, 194*n.*; removal west of, 136*ff.*, 136*n.*, 192; settled in the West, 192; whisky drinking among, forbidden, 265*f.*
 Choctaw Mission, 134-138, 270, 283
 Choctaw Mission, West, 192-196
 Christmas Conference (see also "General Conferences, actions of") : 414*n.*; on purpose of Methodism, 1*f.*; on religious education of children, 18; on slavery, 71*ff.*, 79, 79*n.*; prescribes salaries, 290; orders

- ministerial discipline, 353; a General Conference, 362*n.*; adopts rules for preaching, 390; on education, 400; on trial of candidates, 419
- Chubb, Rolla H., 149
- Church, the (see also "Methodist Episcopal Church" and other denominations): blamed for retarding of women's rights, 43; denounced by element of labor movement, 51; attitudes on slavery of, 61*f.*, 95*n.*, 100*n.*; as an influence on history, 457*f.*
- Church and State (see also "Civil Laws"): policy of non-interference of Methodism concerning slavery, 95; cooperation between, for Indian education, 114, 114*n.*, 115*n.*; cooperation of, in Established Churches, 296, 296*n.*; ties between, weakened European Churches, 350
- Church of England: attitude on slavery, 62; missionary work among Indians in Canada, 165; Articles of Religion and Prayer Book of, given Methodist Church, 301; fellowship lacking in, 339; Articles of Religion in, 363
- Circuit Riders (see also "Preachers," "Itinerancy" and "Preaching"): identification with the people, 3, 13*f.*; otherworldliness of, 7; achievements of, 8*n.*, 458*ff.*; social services of, 9-14; political activities of, 24*f.*, 24*n.*; and temperance reform, 33*ff.*; preach against slavery, 91*f.*; pay of, 289*ff.*, 432*n.*; Baptist preachers resemble, 292*n.*; marriage a handicap to, 297, 357*f.*; superannuation of, 298; everyday preaching of, brings "awakenings," 321*ff.*; as ordinary men, 353; distinctive appearance of, 427; tireless energy of, 428*f.*; indomitable spirit of, 429*f.*; distribution of literature by, 432, 432*n.*; as revivalists, 452*f.*; mission of, 456, 457
- Circuit System (see also "Itinerancy"): unsuited for ministry to industrial laborers, 50*f.*; handicap to Indian missionary work, 270*f.*; limitations of, 299-301
- Civil Laws: resistance to, by Methodists, 79, 130; obedience to, enjoined on Methodists concerning slavery, 94, 95; resistance to, not sustained by Tennessee Conference, 131
- "Civilization Bill," 112, 114
- Clackama Indians, 201
- Clark (Willson), Chloe A., 228*n.*, 233, 250
- Clark, Harvey, 237
- Clark, (Governor) John, 369
- Clark, John: 12, 159, 160, 164, 273, 275, 284, 332; among the Oneida Indians, 147*ff.*; biographical sketch of, 147*n.*
- Clark, Mrs. John, 148, 157
- Clark, Laban, 24, 395, 426*n.*
- Clark, (General) William, 203, 204, 204*n.*
- Clarke, John (Local Preacher), 92
- Clarkson, Thomas, 63
- Class, the, in Methodism, 321*n.*, 337, 338-340, 346, 348, 349, 349*n.*, 386
- Clatsop Indians (see also "Oregon Mission Stations"), 201, 220, 245, 248*n.*
- Claunch, J. S., 132*n.*
- Clay, Cassius M., 69
- Clay, Henry, 69, 110*n.*, 448*n.*
- Cobbett, William, 21*n.*
- Coke, Thomas: 2, 9, 12, 12*n.*, 39, 68*n.*, 73, 74*n.*, 75, 77, 91*n.*, 288, 292*n.*, 297, 315, 338, 340, 352, 365, 366, 368*f.*, 400*n.*, 401*n.*, 427*n.*; and spirituous liquor, 30; opposition of, to slavery, 64, 68, 73, 73*n.*, 82, 100; conversion experience of, 305; interest in education of, 401
- Coker, Daniel, 58
- Colbert, William, 319*f.*, 323*f.*
- Cole, LeRoy, 298
- Colleges: Indiana Asbury (De Pauw) founded, 380, 405; Cokesbury, 401*n.*, 404*n.*; Methodist Episcopal Church founds, 404-407; Methodist graduates of, 434
- Collins, J. F., 191*n.*, 194*n.*
- Collins, John, 371
- Collins, W. D., 189*n.*, 191*n.*
- Colman, Henry R., 150*n.*, 151
- Colored Methodist Protestant Church, 59*n.*
- Colored Orphan Asylum, 42
- Conference Missionary Societies, 274
- Congregational Church: 23*n.*, 115, 379, 405, 406; drinking by ministers of, 27*n.*; position of ministers of, on women active in public affairs, 40; position of Negroes in, 54; ministers of, charged with slaveholding, 88*n.*; ministers of, support abolition movement, 102*n.*; Methodist churches join on account of slavery, 105; pew renting in, 290*n.*; type of revivals in, 326; preaching in, 391, 393; doctrinal controversy with members of, 397; cooperation with Methodists, 399*n.*
- Conversion (see also "Conversion, in Methodism"): of Indians, 207, 232, 240, 241*n.*, 284; professed sudden, of Indians, 282, 282*n.*
- Conversion, in Methodism (see also "Justification and regeneration, doctrines of"): 303-314; vital element, 303*f.*; nature of,

- 308f., 309, 311; sudden conversions desired, 311; an adolescent experience, 312f.; ethical values of, 313f.; occurred in meetings, 321n.; permanency of, weakened by emotionalism, 337, 337n.
- Conway, C., 402
- Cook, Valentine, 23, 334
- Cooper, Ezekiel, 23, 26, 53, 64, 82, 294n., 296, 297, 298n., 368; conversion experience of, 306f.; characterization of, 455; biographical sketch of, 455n.
- Copway, George, 153, 157, 158, 158n., 161n., 162n.
- Corson, Robert, 167n.
- Cotton, John, 136n.
- Cox, Melville B.: 435; strives for perfect love, 318
- Cox, Philip, 423
- Crandall, Phineas, 107
- Crawford, Andrew J., 128
- Cree Indians, 152
- Creek Indians (see also "Creek Mission" and "Creek Mission, West"): account of, 138; treaties with, 141, 142, 143; removal west of, 143, 196, 196n.; liquor traffic among, 266
- Creek (Asbury) Mission, 138-143, 278
- Creek Mission, West, 196-198
- Crenshaw, Thomas, 15
- Cromwell, Joseph, 35
- Crosby, Sarah, 39
- Crowell, (Colonel) John, 140, 141
- Crume, Moses, 443
- Cryer, Hardy M., 99f.
- Cumming A., 191n.
- Cumming, David B., 132, 134, 191n.
- Cushing, Caleb, 226, 229, 237
- Cutler, Ann, 39
- D
- Dakota Indians, 152
- Dale, Robert W., 389
- Dana, O. F., 447
- Davis, (Major) W. M., 132n.
- Davidson, J. F., 378
- Day, E., 431
- Delamotte, Charles, 15n.
- Delaware Indians (see also "Delaware Mission"): 173, 187; account of, 180f.; removal west of, 181; treaties with, 181
- Delaware Mission, 170, 174, 180-182, 183, 270, 278
- Demers, Modeste, 231
- Democracy: inherent in Methodism, 2, 23n., 24n., 365; revivals sowed seeds of, 326n.; Methodism's contribution to, 346, 458
- Dew, John, 145n., 312
- Dew, Thomas R., 97
- Dickens, Charles, 45
- Dickins, John, 12n., 91n., 298n., 404n.
- Discipline in Methodism (see also "General Rules"): regard for, 4; lay, 348-351; ministerial, 351-358
- Disosway, Gabriel P., 203
- District Conference, the, 359-360, 360n.
- Doctrinal controversy, 384, 384n., 396-400
- Doctrines (see also "Experience," "Doctrines, theological, of Methodism"): as taught in Oregon Mission, 278; limited emphasis on, in Methodism, 301, 301n., 324; "established standards" of, in Methodism, 364; as taught in Wyandot Mission, 378f.; concern for, 379-380; none unique to Methodism, 381; of grace, generally preached, 381f.
- Doctrines, theological, of Methodism (see also under separate entries): universal redemption, 374, 382-384; justification and regeneration, 374ff., 384-385; witness of the spirit, 385-387; perfect love, 387-390
- Dougherty, George, 398n.
- Douglass, Thomas L., 88, 99, 336
- Dow, John G., 107
- Dow, Lorenzo: 8n., 331n., 442; biographical sketch of, 442n.
- Downing, Joshua W.: 391; biographical sketch of, 391n.
- Downing (Shepard), Susan, 215n., 216, 236
- Drake, Benjamin M., 440
- Driskill, Ambrose F., 128n.
- Dromgoole, Edward, 66, 307, 345, 358, 397, 401
- Duke, William G., 171n.
- Dunbar, John, 281n.
- Duncan, Erastus B., 191n.
- Dunkers, the, 62
- Dunlap (General), 132n.
- Dunning, (Governor) Paris C., 371
- Durbin, John P., 25, 107, 395, 434
- Dwight, Timothy, 36, 63n.
- E
- Easter, John, 423
- Easterwood, Jeremiah, 132n.
- Ebenezer Academy (Va.), 401, 401n.
- Eddy, Thomas M., 346, 382, 400
- Edney, Leven, 88
- Education (see also "Schools," "Colleges," "Sunday schools," and "Theological seminaries"): government program for Indian, 112, 114f., 114n., 272; Choctaw

- Indians' plan for, 194f.; at the Oregon Mission, 211, 212ff.; idea of "Education Family," 213, 213*n.*; missionary program of, for Indians, 274-278, 280ff.; Methodist attitude toward, 400-404; Churches' responsibility for, relinquished to State, 403f.; of Circuit Riders, limited, 432f., 433*n.*; Methodist preachers' use of tutorial system of, 436-439
- Edwards, Jonathan, 333, 334*n.*, 374
- Edwards, Philip L.: at Oregon Mission, 206, 215, 219, 222, 223*n.*
- Ekin, George: 409; biographical sketch of, 409*n.*
- Ellinger, Jacob, 128*n.*
- Elliott, Charles, 107, 121, 122, 296
- Elliott, Thomas J., 128*n.*
- Elliott, William, 15
- Ellis, Ira: 442; biographical sketch of, 442*n.*
- Ellis, Reuben, 397
- Ellsworth, Oliver, 69*n.*
- Embury, Philip, 91*n.*
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 457
- Emory, John (Bishop): 104, 125, 399, 434, 440; characterization of, 450f.; biographical sketch of, 450*n.*
- Emotionalism, in Methodism: 331-337; in conversion experiences, 314, 314*n.*; not a main factor, 324
- Eneas, 285
- England: trade union movement in, 52; and slave trade, 61; slavery in, 80*n.*; emancipates West Indians, 101*n.*; abolition movement in, 111
- Episcopacy, the, 366-367
- Episcopal Church. See "Protestant Episcopal Church."
- Equalitarianism, in Methodism, 2, 3
- Esh-qui-gonahe (Indian), 156
- Essex, James, 189*n.*, 191*n.*
- Evangelism, agencies of, 321-331: Camp Meetings, 321, 327ff.; itinerant preaching, 321, 322ff.; Class and prayer meetings, 321*n.*; revivals, 325 ff.
- Evans, George Henry, 21*n.*
- Evans, Henry, 54
- Ewing, F. Y., 223
- "Examination of character" of ministers, 353f.
- Experience, in Methodism (see also under separate entries for below), 301-321: conversion, 303-314; perfect love, 314-319; assurance, 319-321
- F
- Farmer, Richard, 92
- Farnham, Thomas J., 230, 234, 239
- Fasting, in Methodism, 352f.
- Female Benevolent Society, 42
- Female Missionary Society, 154, 155
- Ferguson, F. G., 132*n.*
- Ferguson, Samuel D., 350f.
- Ferral, John, 21*n.*
- Fidler, Daniel, 351
- Fields, Johnson, 132*n.*, 189*n.*, 191*n.*
- Fields, Turtle, 128, 128*n.*, 132, 132*n.*, 285
- Finley, James B.: 8*n.*, 10*n.*, 13, 276, 329, 410; on temperance, 33f.; asks government funds for Wyandot Mission, 116; offered appointment as Indian sub-agent, 116*n.*, 124; biographical sketch of, 118*n.*, 454; and the Wyandot Mission, 118-125, 270, 277, 281; missionary expedition to Canada of, 123, 152; doctrinal teaching of, 378f.; opposition of, to Brunson's reception into Conference, 443f.; characterization of, 454f.
- Finley, Robert W., 454
- Finney, Charles G., 102
- First Colored Methodist Protestant Church, 59*n.*
- First Day or Sunday School Society, 16
- Fish (Indian chief), 177
- Fisk, Willbur: 23, 32, 90, 104; and temperance, 34, 34*n.*; and Oregon Mission, 202f., 203*n.*, 205, 212, 215, 221*n.*, 225f., 226*n.*, 245, 261*n.*, 434; call to ministry of, 420; characterization of, 449; biographical sketch of, 449*n.*
- Fisk, Mrs. Willbur, 202
- Five Civilized Tribes (see also under "Cherokee Indians," "Chickasaw Indians," "Choctaw Indians," "Creek Indians," and "Seminole Indians"): missions among, 126-143
- Flathead Indians (see also "Oregon Mission"): 202, 207; legendary account of, seeking Gospel, 203f., 204*n.*; mission not established among, 208, 210
- Fleming, John, 197
- Fleming, Thornton, 23
- Fletcher (of Madeley), John, 39, 427
- Flint, Timothy, 11, 293f., 439
- Floy, James, 98
- Force, John, 245*n.*
- Foreign language groups, ministry to, 458
- Foster, James, 353
- Fowler, C. H., 98*n.*
- Fox Indians, 143, 183, 265
- Frazer, Bradford, 153

Frazer, Thomas, 153, 156
 Fremont, John C., 284
 Frink, Hiram W., 164, 164*n*.
 Frost, Joseph H.: 228*n*., 235, 245, 271; biographical sketch of, 245*n*.; at Clatsop Station, 245ff.; Jason Lee's report on, 249*n*.
 Frost (Beggs), Sarah R., 248*n*.
 Fry, Henry, 12
 Fugitive Slave Bill, 80*n*.
 Fullerton, Thomas M., 162*n*.
 Fulton, D. T., 132

G

Gage, (General) Thomas, 265
 Gardner, Lydia, 154, 155
 Garrett, Greenbury, 128*n*.
 Garrett, Lewis, 88
 Garrettson, Mrs. Catherine Livingston, 396
 Garrettson, Freeborn, 59, 65, 79, 82, 296*n*., 306, 384
 Garrison, William Lloyd, 77, 90, 101, 101*n*.
 Gary, George: 147, 249*n*., 284; supersedes Jason Lee at Oregon Mission, 254f., 258ff.; biographical sketch of, 258*n*.
 Gassaway, William: 378, 438; biographical sketch of, 438*n*.
 Gatch, Philip: 66, 66*n*., 342f., 353, 452*n*., conversion experience of, 306
 Gavitt, E. C., 123, 124, 124*n*., 125*n*.
 Geiger, William, 215
 General Conference, the, 362-365
 General Conferences, actions of (see also "Christmas Conference" and "Annual Conferences, actions of"): on church buildings, 5, 6; on pew renting, 6, 6*n*.; on religious instruction of children, 18, 410, 411, 412, 412f., 414; on temperance, 28ff., 32*n*., 33*n*.; on slavery, 71, 72, 78, 80-86, 95, 104, 107-111; on opening Indian missions in Oregon, 201; on itinerancy, 287f.; on salary, 290f., 292, 294, 298; on pastoral ministry, 300; on discipline, 350, 353; on Quarterly Conferences, 359; on District Conferences, 359f.; on presiding eldership, 365f.; on education, 402, 402*n*., 403, 440f.; on Bible Society, 412*n*.; on ministerial training, 439f., 440f.; on reception of preachers into Conference membership, 441ff.
 General Rules: 301*n*.; definition of, 4; on social behaviour, 4f.; role of, in Methodism, 5
 George, Enoch (Bishop), 59, 84*n*., 127, 294, 350, 367, 451
 Gervais, Joseph, 210, 246*n*.

Gibson (Anglican Bishop), 62
 Giles, Charles: 303; biographical sketch of, 303*n*.
 Gilmer, (Governor) George R., 130*n*.
 Gilruth, James, 124*n*., 125, 149*n*., 279, 283, 329f., 378, 430f.
 Glass, H. M., 132*n*.
 Glenn, John W., 370, 370*n*.
 Goode, William H., 195, 195*n*., 199, 275
 Goodrich, James R., 164, 165, 447*n*.
 Goodrich, Samuel G., 23, 371, 371*n*., 432*n*.
 Gouge, W. M., 21
 Gough, Henry D., 369
 Graves, Edward, 128*n*., 132*n*.
 Graves, Richard, 446
 Gray, Robert, 200
 Gray, William H., 217*n*., 236, 236 *n*., 238
 Great Awakening, the, 326, 326*n*., 333, 334, 334*n*., 337*n*.
 Green, John Richard, 18
 Green, Jonathan S., 203*n*.
 Greene, A. L. P., 107
 Greene, Jesse: 173, 176; as a preacher, 380; biographical sketch of, 380*n*.
 Greensky, Peter, 162*n*.
 Gregory, R., 194*n*.
 Grenade, John A., 428
 Grimke, Sarah and Angelina, 102*n*.
 Grundy, Mrs. Felix, 17f.
 Guess, George (Sequoyah), 127
 Guest, Richard, 15

H

Hagerty, John: conversion experience of, 307f.; biographical sketch of, 307*n*.
 Hall, (Capt.) Basil, 27
 Hall, Francis, 16
 Hall, Sherman, 158
 Halstead, Jesse, 164
 Hamilton, Alexander, 19, 44
 Hamline, Leonidas L., 89, 107, 304
 Hammill, Andrew, 140, 140*n*.
 Hammill, John N., 171*n*., 196*n*.
 Hankins, S. W., 132*n*.
 Hanna, J. W., 128*n*.
 Harding, F. A.: slavery case of, at 1844 General Conference, 107f., 107*n*.
 Harrell, John: 171*n*., 188, 190, 191, 198*n*.; biographical sketch of, 190*n*.
 Harrison, William Henry, 22
 Harrison, (President) William Henry, 429
 Harryhoot, James, 125, 277
 Haskins, Thomas: 91, 298*n*., 325, 430, 431; strives for perfect love, 317f.; poor example of Circuit Rider, 429
 Haven, Gilbert, 98*n*.

Hawk, M. C., 100
 Hawley, Dr., 302
 Hedding, Elijah (Bishop): 34, 84*n.*, 90, 104, 108, 204, 205, 216, 225, 227, 254, 261, 283*f.*, 323*n.*; on ministerial course of study, 440; characterization of, 451*f.*; biographical sketch of, 451*n.*
 Henderson, G. T., 128*n.*
 Henkle, Moses, Sr., 118, 119
 Henry, Jim. See "McHenry, James."
 Henry, Patrick, 78, 370
 Herkimer, William, 153, 158
 Hervey, James, 418
 Hicks, John, 120, 122
 Hickson, Woolman, 53
 Hildreth, Richard, 99*n.*
 Hill, C. G., 139
 Hill, Green, 370
 Hill, H. R. W., 370
 Hill, Whitman C., 140*n.*
 Hinds, Thomas, 136
 Hines, Gustavus: at Oregon Mission, 220, 228, 228*n.*, 233, 235, 236, 236*n.*, 237, 238, 245, 255, 258*n.*, 259, 260, 260*n.*; biographical sketch of, 238*n.*; critical of Jason Lee's administration, 253, 253*n.*, 256*n.*
 Hines, H. K., 284
 Hitt, Daniel: 317, 324, 329; biographical sketch of, 324*n.*
 Hodgson, Adam, 27, 55
 Hogan, John B., 143
 Holiness. See "Perfect love."
 Holliday, John, 155
 Holton, John, 161
 Honnis, "Brother," 123, 123*n.*
 Hooper, Jacob, 124*n.*
 Hopkins, Samuel, 74*n.*
 Hopper, Christopher, 75
 Horn, J., 191*n.*
 Horton, Jotham, 101
 Hotchkiss, David, 159*n.*, 161*n.*
 Houston, Anthony, 354
 Howells, William Dean, 458
 Huddleston, Allen, 161*n.*
 Hudson's Bay Company, 208, 210, 213, 218, 219, 219*n.*, 244, 250
 Hull, Hope: characterization of, 453; biographical sketch of, 453*n.*
 Hunter, Andrew, 199, 428
 Hurlburt, Thomas, 187
 Husted, John B., 85
 Hyatts, William, 430
 Hymnody in Methodism, 414-417

I

Indian Mission Conference, 171*ff.*, 182

Indian missions (see also other Indian mission entries below, "Indians, American," and under individual tribes and missions): initiated by Annual Conferences, 170, 170*n.*, 171; administration of, 171-173; converts of, became misfits in own society, 269*f.*, 276*f.*; difference of policy between Methodist and Baptist, 281*n.*
 Indian missions, complicating conditions of work in, 263-274; need of interpreters in, 251, 271, 275; itinerant system a handicap to, 270*f.*; language a problem in, 271*f.*, 271*n.*, 274*f.*; financial support of, 272, 274; shortage of preachers for, 273; and breakdown of Indian culture, 272, 272*n.*, 275*f.*, 282, 282*n.*
 Indian missions, positive results of, 242; 278-285: physical conditions of Indian improved, 279, 283; educational services rendered, 280*ff.*; civilization of, 282*f.*, 282*n.*; control of liquor traffic among Indians, 283, 284
 Indian missions in Upper Canada, 165-167: Grand River, 165*f.*, 166*n.*; Credit, 166; Perth and Mississauga, 166; Grape Island, 167*n.*, 278, 284; Whitby and Schoogog, 167*n.*; Cavan and Rice Lake, 167*n.*; New Market and Lake Simcoe, 167*n.*; Snake Island, 167*n.*; Yellow Head, 167*n.*; Mahjedusk Bay, 167*n.*
 Indian missions on Upper Mississippi (see also "Chippewa Indians" and "Sioux Mission"): Maquokataa, 161*n.*; Ottawa Lake, 161*n.*; Prairie du Chien, 160, 161, 161*n.*; St. Croix, 161*n.*; St. Peter's, 161*n.*, 162
 Indians, American (see also under individual tribes and missions): government program for educating, 112, 114, 114*n.*, 173, 272, 274, 280, 281; distribution of, in 1820's, 113; reasons for decline of, 114; and treaties with government, 115, 116, 125*f.*, 129*n.*, 132*n.*, 136, 141, 142, 143, 145, 152, 168, 176, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186*f.*, 187, 194, 194*n.*, 263*n.*, 263, 264, 272; Methodist work begun among, 115, 262; removal west of Mississippi of, 117, 124, 126, 129*n.*, 131*f.*, 132*n.*, 134, 136*ff.*, 136*n.*, 143, 145, 168, 169, 170, 173, 176, 181, 183, 188*ff.*, 192, 196, 196*n.*, 264, 267; state of, west of Mississippi, 172, 173; life pattern of, handicap to missions, 264*f.*; maltreatment of, by whites, 266*f.*; bad effects of whites on, 265, 267*f.*; culture of, overriden by evangelizers, 268*ff.*, 272, 272*n.*, 275*f.*; opposition of some, to evangeliza-

- tion, 272f.; physical hardships of missionaries to, 273f.; desire for education of, 274
- Ingalls, Rosman, 147*n*.
- Ingram, (Poe) Jane West, 164
- Ingram, John, 92
- Interracial relations and Methodism, 52-60
- Iowa Indians: work among contemplated, 170, 188
- Iroquois Mission, 168f.
- Irving, Washington, 97*n*., 239
- Irwin, John L., 197*n*., 198*n*.
- Itinerancy (see also "Circuit System"): spirit and method of, 287-301; time limit in, 287f., 287*n*.; necessity for, 288*n*.; poverty the companion of, 289ff.; sacrificial demands of, 425f.
- J
- Jackson, (President) Andrew, 21, 21*n*., 22, 24, 129*n*., 130, 130*n*., 133, 136, 138, 277, 285
- Jackson, Jonathan, 327
- Jackson, William, 176
- Jacokes, D. C., 159*n*., 169
- James, John Angell, 395
- James, William, 342
- Jayne, Peter, 23
- Jefferson, (President) Thomas: 19, 69, 114*n*., 264; opposed to slavery, 68, 97
- Jennings, Samuel K., 434
- "Jerks," the, 331f.
- Jerry, John L., 411
- Johnson, Cave, 69
- Johnson, Elvira, 216, 217, 218*n*.
- Johnson, John, 158, 158*n*., 161*n*., 162, 162*n*.
- Johnson, L. M., 258*n*.
- Johnson, Samuel, 427
- Johnson, Thomas: 174, 181, 182, 183, 273, 275, 276; missionary to Shawnee Indians, 177; biographical sketch of, 177*n*.
- Johnson, William: 175*n*., 177*n*., 181, 182, 271; missionary to Kansas Indians, 173ff., 283; biographical sketch of, 173*n*.
- Johnston, John, 122
- Jones, Absalom, 57
- Jones, John G., 440
- Jones, Peter (Indian), 153, 268
- Jones, Peter, 444
- Jones, Robert, 446
- Joplin, Harris G., 171*n*., 191*n*., 196*n*.
- Judson, Lewis H., 228*n*., 236*n*., 245*n*.
- Jumpers, the, 333*n*.
- Justification and regeneration, doctrines of, 384-385
- Juvenile Finleyan Mite Society, 120, 121

K

- Kalapooian (Calapooyan) Indians (see also "Oregon Mission Stations"), 202, 218
- Kamehameha III, 230f.
- Kansas Indians (see also "Kansas Mission"): account of, 173, 175; treaties with, 173
- Kansas Mission, 173-176, 283
- Kaskaskia Indians, 143
- Kavanaugh, B. T., 161
- Kavanaugh, H. H., 107
- Kavanaugh, W. B., 161*n*.
- Ke-en-e-kuk, 183f.
- Kelley, Hall J., 200
- Kelly, Greenup, 426*n*.
- Kelly, Samuel, 107
- Kennedy, John P., 69
- Kent, Asa, 295
- Ketron, W., 177*n*.
- Kibby, Epaphras: 426*n*.; preaching style of, 391; biographical sketch of, 391*n*.
- Kickapoo Indians: 143, 169, 173; account of, 183; removal west of, 169, 183; treaties with, 183, 184
- Kickapoo Mission, 180, 183
- Kidder, Daniel P.: 394, 414, 434; biographical sketch of, 414*n*.
- Kinard, George, 323
- King, David: 132, 161*n*.; missionary to Sioux Indians, 161f.
- King, George, 159*n*.
- King, James, 426*n*.
- King, John, 369
- Kingsbury, Cyrus, 127, 135
- Kinnear, David, 177*n*., 178*n*., 184*n*.
- Kirkpatrick, John, 66*n*.
- Klickatat Indians: 210, 220; account of, 202
- Kobler, John: 79, 91, 354, 370, 433; failure of, to attain assurance, 320; and emotionalism, 336, 336*n*.
- Kone, William W.: 228*n*., 233, 238, 253; biographical sketch of, 246*n*.; at Clatsop Station, 246ff.; antagonistic to Jason Lee, 248*n*.

L

- Labor: and the Church, 44-52; conditions of, in America, 44ff.; in England, 45*n*.; organization of, 46ff.; political organization of, 48ff.; and labor movement, 50f.; contributions of Wesleyanism to movement of, 52, 52*n*.
- Ladies' Union Aid Society, 42
- Lakeville Mission (Mich.), 153*n*., 169
- Lakin, Benjamin: 358, 397; fails to attain

- assurance, 320; biographical sketch of, 320*n*.
- Lambuth, John R., 432
- Lane, George, 252*f*., 257
- Lane, Lemuel, 13
- "Lane rebels," 102
- Lanius, Jacob, 188*n*.
- Lankton (Carter), Orpha, 228*n*., 233, 241
- Lausanne, the, sailing of, 228*f*.
- Leach, Frederick B., 187
- Ledbetter, Wiley, 135, 135*n*.
- Lee, Daniel: at Oregon Mission, 205, 215, 216, 217, 217*n*., 218, 219, 221, 223, 231, 239, 240, 241, 241*n*., 242, 243, 243*n*., 245, 246, 249, 250, 271, 271*n*., 379; biographical sketch of, 205*n*.
- Lee, Etherlinda, 149, 164, 164*n*.
- Lee, Jason: 34, 203; biographical sketch of, 204*n*.; and Oregon Mission, 204-262: appointed, 204; on the Trail, 206-209; locates mission, 209-212; mission strategy of, 212-213, 221; marriage of, to Anna Maria Pitman, 217*n*.; organizes joint stock company, 219, 219*n*.; sent East for missionaries, 220*ff*.; and nature of Oregon Mission, 221*f*., 222*n*., 226, 231, 245, 256*f*.; tours East in missionary appeal, 225*f*.; marriage of, to Lucy Thompson, 227; charged incapable by Dr. White, 234, 253; forms Island Milling Co., 244; superseded at Oregon Mission, 252-255; criticisms and praise of, 253, 253*n*., 256*n*.; vindication and death of, 255-258, 261*f*.
- Lee, Jesse: 17, 24, 56, 67, 73, 75, 77, 79, 82, 140*n*., 290, 302, 309, 321, 334, 355, 362, 362*n*., 366, 369, 379, 408, 415, 441, 455; opposed to slavery, 65, 65*n*., 82; emotionalism in preaching of, 335; illustrations of doctrinal preaching of, 383*f*.; preaching technique of, 392; as a reader, 435, 435*n*.
- Lee, John: 67, 302, 302*n*., 325; conversion experience of, 309
- Lee, Lucy Anna Maria, 255, 260, 260*n*.
- Lee, Luther: 101; doctrinal preaching of, 385
- Lee, Richard Henry, 69
- Lee, Wilson, 327, 437
- Leflore, Greenwood, 137
- Legaré, Hugh Swinton, 69
- Leggett, William, 21*n*.
- Leslie, David: at Oregon Mission, 216, 218, 221, 230, 233, 234, 236, 236*n*., 245*n*., 249; acting Superintendent of Oregon Mission, 231-232; biographical sketch of, 231*n*.; commends Jason Lee's work, 253*n*.
- Levings, Noah: on perfect love, 388; biographical sketch of, 388*n*.
- Lewis and Clark Expedition, 200
- Lincoln, (President) Abraham, 24*n*., 433*n*.
- Lind, Jenny, 318*n*.
- Lindsey, Marcus, 424
- Linn, (Senator) Lewis F., 229*n*., 230
- Lippett, (General) Christopher, 369
- Liquor (see also "Temperance Reform Movement"): popular medicinal use of, 35*f*., 36*n*.; adverse effect of, on Indians, 265*f*.; control of traffic of, through missions, 283, 284
- Literature: limitations set on reading of, by Methodism, 318, 318*n*.; distribution of Methodist, 431*f*., 432*n*., 459
- Livingstone, William, 69
- Lloyd, Thomas, 132*n*.
- Local Preachers: shortage of, in United States, 51, 51*n*.; service of, in England, 51; located preachers become, 358; representation of, in Conference, 360; functions filled by, 372
- Location of preachers, 358
- Locofocoism, 49, 49*n*.
- Longstreet, Augustus B., 107, 109
- Lord, John, 327
- Loughridge, Robert M., 198*n*.
- Love, (Mrs.) Elizabeth, 409
- Love Feast, the, 343*f*., 346
- Love, George W., 176
- Lovett (Indian), 139
- Luckey, Samuel, 202
- Luther, Seth, 45
- Lyman, Huntingdon, 102*n*.

M

- McAlister, Alexander, 173
- McClaskey, John, 298*n*.
- McClintock, John, 413*n*., 414*n*.
- McComas, William, 24
- McCoy, Isaac, 189
- McDaniel, Daniel G., 140*n*., 278
- McFerrin, John B., 107, 128*n*.
- McGee, John: 65; account of, 65*n*.
- McGee, Thomas, 153, 156
- McGee, William, 65
- McGowan, Peter M., 187, 197, 428
- McHenry, Barnabas, 88
- McHenry, James, 285
- McIntosh (Creek Indian Chief), 139
- M'Intosh, William, 128*n*., 191*n*., 285
- McKay, Thomas, 224, 224*n*.
- McKendreean Female Sabbath School Society, 409, 413*n*.
- McKendree, William, 284

- McKendree, William (Bishop): 6, 8, 35*n.*, 39, 59, 65, 65*n.*, 82, 83*n.*, 99, 112, 122, 127, 128*n.*, 138, 152, 153, 281, 293, 296, 299, 328, 348, 356, 357, 370, 405, 443, 451; on relaxation of discipline, 350*n.*; as Bishop, 366*f.*; and preaching on sin, 375; call to ministry of, 423*f.*; and itinerating, 428; election of, to episcopacy, 447, 447*n.*, 455
- M'Kenzie, J. W. P., 194*n.*, 198*f.*
- M'Lean, John (Judge), 116*n.*, 120, 283, 371, 371*n.*
- McLenahan, William, 23
- M'Leod, Dixon C.: missionary among the Cherokee Indians, 128, 128*n.*, 130, 132*n.*, 331
- McLoughlin, (Dr.) John, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212*f.*, 215, 217, 219*n.*, 233, 244
- M'Mahon, William, 128, 128*n.*
- McNelly, George, 435
- Maddin, Thomas, 440
- Madison, (President) James, 70
- Mann, Horace, 51
- Mansfield (Lord Chief Justice), 80
- Markham, Thomas, 181, 181*n.*
- Marksman, Peter, 158, 158*n.*, 159*n.*, 160, 169
- Marsden, Joshua, 427*n.*
- Marshall, (Chief Justice) John, 130, 130*n.*
- Martin, G. W., 128*n.*
- Martineau, Harriet, 45
- Martineau, James, 416*f.*
- Masholatubbe, 137
- Mason, James M., 80*n.*
- Mason, (Mrs. Thomas) Mary W.: 16, 154; work of, 42
- Mather, Alexander, 75*f.*
- Matlack, Lucius C.: 98; biographical sketch of, 98*n.*
- Mavity, William, 168*f.*
- Maxfield, Thomas, 305
- Mead, Stith, 379
- Mechanics Union of Trade Associations, 48
- Medical services of Circuit Riders, 11*f.*
- Meek, Joseph, 237
- Meeker, Jotham, 178
- Mennonites, the, 62
- Menomini Indians, 143, 150, 163, 265
- Menomini Mission, 150
- Merritt, Timothy: 395; and slavery, 102*f.*; biographical sketch of, 102*n.*; on perfect love, 388
- Messmore, Joseph, 166*n.*
- Methodism (see other entries below and "Methodist Episcopal Church"): purpose of, 1, 1*n.*, 5, 8, 459; and democracy, 2, 23, 23*n.*, 24*n.*, 365; social insight limited, 3*f.*, 7*f.*, 7*n.*, 377; General Rules in, 4*f.*; otherworldliness in, 7; social services of, 9-14; and concern for education, 15*ff.*, 400-414; political interest in, 23*ff.*; and temperance, 27*ff.*; position of women in, 40*f.*; not responsive to woman's rights movement, 43*f.*; and labor, 44-52; and interracial relations, 52-60; and slavery, 60-111; resistance of, to civil law, 79, 130; perfect love, in, 79, 79*n.*, 314-319; as a "Way," 286, 286*n.*; "religious experience," vital element of, 301*f.*; persecution of ministers of, 302; conversion experience in, 303-314; agencies of evangelism used by, 321-331; emotional factor in, 331-337; contribution of, to America, 345*ff.*; "established standards" of doctrine of, 364; a people's movement, 367-372; among people of influence, 369*f.*, 369*n.*; on the American frontier, 370*f.*; lay people's part in, 372; preaching method of, 390-396; and doctrinal controversy, 396-400; worship and hymnody in, 414-417; influence of, on national life, 457-460
- Methodism, characteristics of: a way of fellowship, 337*ff.*; a way of discipline, 347*ff.*; an organized way, 358*ff.*; primacy of experience, 373*f.*; an ethical Gospel, 374*ff.*; Bible preaching, 377*ff.*; a preaching order, 430*f.*; distribution of literature, 431*f.*, 432*n.*; use of a tutorial system of ministerial training, 436-439
- Methodism, message of (see also under separate entries for below and "Experience in Methodism"): 458, 459; personal testimony of "experience," 373*f.*; universal redemption, 374, 382-384; justification and regeneration, 374*ff.*, 384-385; witness of the Spirit, 385-387; perfect love, 387-390
- Methodist Episcopal Church (see also "General Conferences, actions of," "Annual Conferences, actions of," "Methodism" entries, and "Methodist Missionary Society"): and women, 39*ff.*; members of, opposed to slavery, 66, 86; secessions from, on account of slavery, 105*f.*, 105*n.*; division of, on account of slavery, 107-111; and interest in Oregon settlement, 200*f.*; and Indian missions, 262; salaries in, 290*f.*; "Chartered Fund" begun in, 298, 298*n.*; increase of Stations in, 301; the Class, in, 337, 338-340; the Band, in, 337, 340-342; the Society, in, 337; the Quarterly Meetings in, 342*f.*; the Love Feast in, 343*f.*; the prayer meet-

- ing in, 344f.; lay discipline in, 348-351; ministerial discipline in, 351-358; Quarterly Conference in, 359; District Conference in, 359f.; Annual Conference in, 360ff.; General Conference in, 362ff.; "spiritual aristocracy" in, 364f.; presiding eldership in, 365f.; episcopacy in, 366; membership in, 368, 371; outstanding members of, 369ff., 369n.; common folk in, 371f.; "holiness" group in, 389f.; Asbury's educational policy for, 401f.; Plan of Education of, 403; attitude of, toward theological seminaries, 406f.; and religious instruction of children, 407f., 410ff.; ministerial course of study prescribed in, 439-441; ministry to foreign language groups, 458
- Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, 167
- Methodist Episcopal Church, South: Indian missions under, 176n.
- Methodist Missionary Society: and slavery, 99n.; concern of, for Indian education, 112; influence of government appropriations factor in formation of, 112f.; receives government appropriations for Indian education, 115ff., 115n., 175n.; and operation of Indian missions, 170f., 262; and educational program for Indian missions, 274, 276; authorizes Oregon Mission, 204; sends second group of personnel to Oregon, 216f.; hears Lee's petition for more missionaries, 224f.; sends "great reinforcement," 226, 228f., 228n., 252; on nature of Oregon Mission, 226f.; gets legal possession of Oregon Mission property, 230; asks government for funds for Oregon Mission, 230; becomes critical of Oregon Mission, 252ff.; Jason Lee given hearing by, 256f.; liquidates Oregon Mission, 254, 258-262; constitutional amendment urged, on salaries, 294; policy of, affected by doctrinal controversy, 399
- Methodist Publishing House, 455
- Miami Indians (see also "Miami Indian Mission"), 143, 181
- Miami Indian Mission, 169
- Milburn, William H., 343
- Miley, John, 339n.
- Miller, James M., 456
- Miller, John, 13
- Miller, Joseph, 128n.
- Miller, William, 400n.
- Millice, Abraham, 182n.
- Milton, John, 349f.
- Ministry, call to, 419-425
- Missionaries (see also "Preachers"): need of more, in Oregon, 220ff.; time of, consumed in Oregon by other tasks, 221, 241, 248; retrenchment of, to Oregon Mission, 253, 254, 257; shortage of, for Indian missions, 273; Indians become, 284f.
- Missisauga Indians, 166f.
- "Mite Societies," 41
- Mohawk Indians, 146, 165f., 188
- Monocue (Indian), 120, 122, 124, 267
- Monroe, J., 184n.
- Monroe, (President) James, 10, 116
- Montgomery, James, 45, 118
- Montour, Mary, 121n.
- Moore, Ely, 21n.
- Moozoojeele (Indian), 158
- Moravian Church, 213
- Moreland, S. W., 199
- Moriarty, Peter, 361n.
- Morrell, Thomas: 323; biographical sketch of, 323n.
- Morris, George W., 128n.
- Morris, Robert, 68
- Morris, Thomas A. (Bishop): 85, 89, 108, 172, 191, 195, 294, 395; call to ministry of, 420f.
- Morse, Jedidiah, 113, 134, 138, 143, 189, 201, 213, 213n.
- Moss, Sidney W., 217n.
- Mott, Lucretia, 44
- Mudge, Enoch, 11
- Mudgett, Sophia, 149
- Mulkey, W., 194n., 199
- Myers, T., 192
- Myles, Zachary, 328

N

- Narcisse (Flathead Indian), 204n.
- Nast, William: characterization of, 455f.; biographical sketch of, 455n.
- National Trades Union, 48
- Neely, Richard C., 127, 128, 128n., 129, 426
- Negroes: segregation of, in Churches, 53f.; proportion of population in 1790, 54n.; ordination of, 56; discrimination against, in America, 55, 57, 59f.; legislation concerning rights of, as preachers, 84; group of, form own churches, 57f.; considered inferior race, 97; free, in Maryland threatened with enslavement, 105
- Nelson, John, 75
- Newbury Biblical Institute (Boston University Theological Seminary), 407, 407n.
- Newell, E. F., 34, 384, 410, 426n.
- New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, & Other Workingmen, 48

- Nez Percé Indians, 202, 217*n.*, 223
 Nichols, William P., 128*n.*
 Nisqualli Indians (see also "Oregon Mission Stations"), 201*f.*
- O
- Oakchiah, William W., 192, 194*n.*
 O'Kelly, James, 76*f.*, 442*n.*
 Olin, Stephen: 55, 107, 108, 261*n.*, 284, 369, 396, 405, 406, 434, 451; characterization of, 449*f.*; biographical sketch of, 449*n.*
 Olley, James, 228*n.*, 237, 256*n.*
 Oneida Indians (see also "Oneida Mission"): 188; account of, 146; treaties with, 151
 Oneida Mission: at Vernon, N. Y., 146; at Green Bay, Wis., 146*ff.*; at Duck Creek, 148*ff.*
 Onondaga Indians, Methodist work among, 146, 146*n.*
 Ordination: of Negroes, 56; and slaveholding, 79, 81*f.*, 83, 86, 87*f.*, 99*f.*; of Indians, 198, 284*f.*; arranged for by Methodism, 365
 Oregon: early pioneering of, 200; government of, 219*f.*; colonization of, 226*f.*, 229, 229*n.*, 238, 239; becomes U. S. Territory, 230*n.*, 235, 235*n.*
 Oregon Indians, 277
 Oregon Institute, 236, 259
 Oregon Memorial of 1838: 220, 220*n.*, 222, 222*n.*, 223*n.*, 226, 229, 229*n.*; of 1839, 230
 Oregon Mission: 273, 276, 283; 200-262: mission to Flathead Indians authorized, 202-206; headquarters located, 209-212; strategy of, 212-213, 221; schools at, 211, 213-215, 232, 235*f.*, 258, 259, 259*n.*; personnel increased, 215-220; horizon widens, 220-229; nature of, 222, 226*f.*, 231, 245, 256*f.*; the "great reinforcement" of, 225*f.*, 228, 228*n.*, 252; membership of, 226, 226*n.*; suspected of being a colonization enterprise, 226*f.*; and relations with government, 229-231; and difficulties with Roman Catholic mission, 231*f.*, 253; expanded program at, 232-252; mills at, 234, 256*n.*, 258, 261; Island Milling Co. of, contests McLoughlin's claim, 244; store at, 244*n.*, 256*n.*, 261; liquidation of, 254, 258-262; public attitude toward, 259*n.*, 261, 261*n.*
 Oregon Mission Stations: Willamette (the Old Mission), 211, 212, 212*n.*, 213-215, 218*n.*, 226, 230*n.*, 231, 232, 233-238, 241, 251; Calapooya, 218; Wascopam, 218*f.*, 226, 242, 249, 260; Willamette Falls, 225, 233, 243-245, 258; Cowlitz, 226; Clatsop, 226, 230*n.*, 233, 245, 249, 258; Nisqually, 226, 230*n.*, 233, 249-252; Umpqua, 226, 233, 238-239; The Dalles, 230*n.*, 239-243, 245, 248, 258, 260; Clackamas, 230*n.*; Chemeketa Plain, 234, 234*n.*, 258
 Oregon Provisional Emigration Society, 224*n.*
 Otherworldliness, concern of Methodist preachers, 7, 7*n.*
 Ottawa Indians, 116, 143, 152, 153, 272
 Owen, Francis A., 128*n.*
- P
- Page, John, 194*n.*, 195, 423
 Paine, Robert, 107, 128*n.*
 Pambrun, P. C., 208
 Parker, Samuel, 217*n.*, 245
 Parker, Theodore, 4, 8
 Parrish, Josiah L.: 228*n.*, 236*n.*, 245*n.*, 249; biographical sketch of, 249*n.*
 Pastorius, 77
 Paterson Association for the Protection of the Working Classes of Paterson, 46
 Pattee, A., 124*n.*
 Patterson, Samuel G., 199*n.*
 Patton, William, 182
 Paul (Flathead Indian), 204*n.*
 Paulding, James K., 97*n.*
 Pawson, John, 75, 318*n.*
 Payne, David, 56*n.*
 Peacock (Indian), 120, 122
 Peck, George, 107
 Peck, Jesse T., 107
 Peck, John Mason, 337*n.*, 391
 Pedicord, Caleb B., 383
 Peery, Edward T.: 177*n.*, 178*n.*, 181, 182*n.*, 183*n.*, 187, 278; biographical sketch of, 181*n.*
 Peery, John T., 183*n.*, 184*n.*
 Pelham, Peter, 66, 345
 Peoria Indians: 143, 173, 174, 187; account of, 185
 Peoria Mission, 170, 183, 185, 185*n.*
 Pepper, (Colonel) A. C., 267
 Perez, Juan, 200
 Perfect love, doctrine of, 18, 387-390
 Perfect love, in Methodism (see also "Perfect love, doctrine of"): aim of, 79, 79*n.*; 314-319: nature of, 315, 318; not all attained to it, 317*f.*; negative side of, 318*f.*; potentialities of doctrine, unrealized, 389; becomes a "holiness" group, 389*f.*
 Perigo, Nathan, 306
 Perkins, H. K. W.: at the Oregon Mission,

- 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 221, 223, 232, 237, 239, 241, 242, 243, 245, 260, 271, 271*n.*, 272, 279*n.*; biographical sketch of, 218*n.*
- Perkins, Jared, 107
- Perry, Moses, 136*n.*, 138, 194*n.*
- Perryman, Henry, 196*n.*, 197
- Perryman, James, 197
- Petigru, James, 69
- Pew renting, 5*f.*, 6*n.*, 290*n.*
- Phelps, Almira, 228*n.*, 233
- Phelps, Amos A., 101*f.*
- Philips, W. W., 128*n.*
- Phillips, Elmira, 228*n.*, 233
- Phoebus, William: 59; short account of, 11*f.*
- Piankashaw Indians, 143, 174, 181
- Pickering, George: 352*f.*; biographical sketch of, 352*n.*
- Pierce, George F., 107
- Pierce, Lovick, 107, 298
- Pierson, Edmund, 132*n.*
- Pilmoor, Joseph: 3, 27, 40, 287, 287*n.*, 334, 431, 433; social work of, among poor, 3; prison visitation of, 26; and Negroes, 52*f.*, 53, 55; introduced Love Feast in America, 343*f.*; and use of prayer meeting, 344*f.*; on importance of Bible study, 377
- Pinkney, William, 69, 434
- Pitzel, John H.: 159*n.*; appointed to Sault Ste. Marie Mission, 159*f.*; as a reader, 436
- Pitman (Lee), Anna Maria, 216*f.*, 217*n.*, 224
- Pitman, Charles, 255, 255*n.*
- Plumb, David, 98
- Poe, Daniel, 150, 150*n.*, 163*f.*
- Pointer, Jonathan, 118, 126*n.*, 152
- Political activity of Methodists, 22–25
- Pope, Thomas W., 161*n.*, 162
- Porter, James, 107
- Porter, John Y., 185*n.*
- Potawatomi Indians (see also “Potawatomi Mission” and “Potawatomi Mission, West”): 143, 169, 173; account of, 143; treaties with, 145, 187; removal west of, 145, 187, 267; included in Circuit west of Mississippi, 185
- Potawatomi Mission, 143–146
- Potawatomi Mission, West, 187
- Potter, Alonzo (Anglican Bishop), 50
- Poythress, Francis, 366
- Prairie du Chien Mission, 160, 161*n.*
- Prayer meeting, the, in Methodism, 321*n.*, 344*f.*, 346
- Preachers, Methodist (see also “Circuit Riders” and “Preaching”): prison visitation by, 25*f.*; women as, 39*f.*; discipline of, 351–358; use of tobacco by, 353*n.*; location of, 362; theological training of, planned, 406, 406*n.*; trial of candidates, 419; call to ministry of, 419*f.*; shortage of, 422; early deaths of, 425*f.*, 426*n.*; wearing of clerical garb opposed by, 427*n.*; practice of prayer of, 427*f.*; as self-educated men, 433–435; as wide readers, 435–436; trained by tutorial system, 436–439; condition of acceptance of, into Conference, 441*f.*; not all assets, 444–445; variety of types and gifts of, 445–457
- Preaching (see also “Preaching method of Methodism” and “Sermons”): “awakenings” from Circuit Riders’, 321, 322*f.*; small crowds hear, 325; emotional content of some, 334*f.*, 334*n.*, 336*n.*; Wesley’s injunction on, 375*n.*; on particular sins, 375*f.*; use of Bible in, 377*f.*; overuse of exhorting in, 390*f.*; drive for decision in, 393; essential part of Methodism, 430*f.*
- Preaching method of Methodism: 390–400; sometimes labeled ranting and over-emotional, 456
- Presbyterian Church: 115, 127, 365, 379, 406; liquor drinking by ministers of, 27*n.*; and attempts at liberating slaves, 67*n.*, 89*n.*; members of, in abolition movement, 102*n.*; mission among Chippewa Indians, 160; mission among Stockbridge Indians, 163; missionary work of, among Creek Indians, 197, 198*n.*; missionary of, establishes Indian schools, 281; pew renting in, 290*n.*; salaries in, 291*n.*; type of revivals in, 326; ministers of, at Camp Meeting, 328; eliminate Camp Meetings, 328*f.*; preaching in, 391, 393
- Presiding eldership, the, 365–366
- Prison reform, 25, 26
- Protestant Episcopal Church: 3, 23, 379; loses State support in Virginia, 296*n.*; Articles of Religion in, 363*f.*, 364*n.*; preaching in, 393
- Puritans: on slavery, 62

Q

- Quakers: 18, 25, 62, 70, 347; appointed women to ministry, 40, 40*n.*; opposition of, to slavery, 75, 76, 77, 100; mission among the Shawnee Indians, 178*n.*; emphasis on experience, 324*f.*
- Quarterly Conference, the, 342*n.*, 359
- Quarterly Conferences: slavery at, 92*f.*

Quarterly Meeting, the, 342f., 346
 Quapaw Indians, account of, 199
 Quapaw Mission, 199-200
 Quinn, James, 9, 366, 378, 422, 446
 Quinney (Adams), Electa, 148, 148n., 149, 188

R

Raiford, Matthew, 140n.
 Raikes, Robert, and Sunday School Movement, 14, 14n.
 Ramon (Indian), 269f.
 Randall, Joshua, 355
 Randolph, John, 49
 Rankin, James, 121n.
 Rankin, Thomas: 287, 360, 369; and desire for perfect love, 315f.; and discipline, 347
 Ransom, Ambrose, 66
 Raymond, William W., 228n., 249
 Reece, Richard, 350n.
 Reed, Henry W., 150n.
 Reeder, Nathaniel, 444
 Reese, D. M., 399
 Reform (see also "Methodism" and separate entries for below): Methodism's purpose in religious, 1f., 4, 5, 8; Methodism's participation in social reform movements, 18-60: civic and political interest and activity, 22-25, prison reform, 25-26, temperance reform movement, 26-38, women's increasing participation in Church and community, 39-44, labor movement, 44-52, slavery abolition movement, 60-111
 Rembert, James, 369
 "Removal Bill," 129, 129n., 176
 "Restrictive Rules," 363f., 363n.
 Revivals, 325ff., 333, 337
 Rhodes, Nathaniel H., 140n.
 Rice, David, 67n.
 Rice, William, 98n.
 Richards, Lucy: conversion experience of, 308
 Richmond, John P.: 228n., 253; at Nisqually Station, 249ff.; biographical sketch of, 249n.
 Riley, Richard, 127
 Rives, J. H., 197n.
 Roberts, Robert R. (Bishop): 59, 100, 108, 127, 170, 171, 289, 295, 332, 336, 367, 389; conversion experience of, 310ff.; call to ministry of, 421f.
 Robinson, Marius, 102n.
 Rockwell, T. B., 147n.
 Rodgers, G. M., 128n.
 Rogers, Cornelius, 236n.
 Rogers, Hester Ann, 39

Rogers, Robert, 128n., 140n.
 Roman Catholic Church: 347; missionaries of, to Chippewa cause dissension, 156; missionaries of, in Oregon, 231f., 253; opposes state education, 403
 Roosevelt, (President) Theodore, 429, 458f.
 Ross, John: 132, 171; biographical sketch of, 132n.
 Roszel, Sarah, 41
 Roszel, Stephen G., 41, 86, 120
 Row, Samuel, 436
 Rowles, W. P., 132n.
 Roye, Betsey, 358
 Ruble, Thomas B., 187
 Ruff, Daniel, 316
 Rush, Benjamin, 12, 16
 Russell, General, and "Sister," 370
 Ruter, Calvin W.: 438; biographical sketch of, 438n.
 Ruter, Martin, 434
 Rutherford, Thomas (Archdeacon of Essex), 15n., 320n.
 Rutledge, John, 69n.
 Ryan, Henry, 166
 Ryerson, Edgerton, 166
 Ryerson, John, 167
 Ryland, William, 24, 351, 434

S

Sac (Sauk) Indians: 143, 183, 265; work among contemplated, 170, 188
 Sacraments: administration of, to Indians, 198; administered at Quarterly Meetings, 343, 346
 Sahaptian Indians, 201
 St. Clair, (Governor) Arthur, 267
 Saint-Simon, (Count) de, 50n.
 Sale, John, 356, 357
 Salishan Indians, 201, 202
 Sampson, Aquilla W., 355
 Sanctification, doctrine of. See "Perfect love, doctrine of."
 Sandford, Peter P., 434
 Sawrey, J. T., 132n.
 Sawyer, Joseph, 437
 Scales, Nicholas D., 128, 128n.
 Scarritt, Isaac, 145
 Schermerhorn, J. F., 132n.
 Schools (see also "Education," "Colleges," "Sunday schools," and "Theological seminaries." For schools among the American Indians see accounts of the various Indian missions): theory and practice of, among Indians, 274-278; early founding of, by Methodists, 401, 402, 402n.
 Scott, Allen M., 171n., 190

- Scott, Elihu, 107
 Scott, James, 379f.
 Scott, Orange: and slavery, 101, 105n.
 Scott, (General) Winfield, 133
 Scruggs, Allen F., 128n.
 Seaman, John F., 191n., 194n.
 Sedgwick, Theodore, 21n.
 Sedgwick, Theodore, Jr., 22
 Segregation: in Methodism, 53ff.
 Sehon, E. W., 89
 Seminole Indians, 126
 Seneca Indians: 146; account of, 187f.; removal west of, 188
 Seneca Mission, 188
 Seney, Robert, 434
 Senter, William, 25
 Sermons: contents of, 8; writing of, 391; reading of, 391f.; types of, 393-396; one preached by McKendree, purportedly responsible for his election to episcopacy, 447, 447n.
 Service to seamen, 11
 Seys, John: among the Oneida Indians, 147
 Shadford, George, 22f., 287, 401
 Shaeffer, Mrs. Frederick, 40
 Shaler, Nathan T., 185n., 199n.
 Sharp, Granville, 63, 80
 Shaw, S. P., 125n.
 Shawnee Indians (see also "Shawnee Mission"): 124, 173; account of, 176, 176n.; removal west of, 176; treaties with, 176
 Shawnee Mission, 170, 174, 176-180, 183, 224
 Shepard, Cyrus: biographical sketch of, 206n., 214n.; and Oregon Mission, 206-215, 217n., 234
 Simms, T., 125n.
 Simpson, Matthew, 13, 107
 Simpson, William, 161n.
 Sims, (Dr.) J. Marion, 42
 Sin: Methodist teaching concerning, 2; Methodism blind to corporate sin, 3f., 7f., 7n., 377; concern over, 374ff.
 Sinclair, John, 66n.
 Sioux Indians, 161, 273
 Sioux (Crow Wing) Mission, 161f., 161n.
 Six Nations (see also under "Cayuga Indians," "Mohawk Indians," "Onondaga Indians," "Seneca Indians," and "Tuscarora Indians"), 146, 165, 181, 188
 Skidmore, Lewis, 392
 Slacum, William A., 219n., 220, 220n.
 Slater, Samuel, 16
 Slavens, James H., 185n.
 Slavery: in colonial America, 60f., 61n.; England's relation to, 61, 80n., 101n.; the Church undecided on, 61f., 67n.; early opposition of Methodism to, 62ff.; Wesley opposed to, 63, 64f., 100; Wesleyanism opposed to, 63, 64n., 85n., 111; Coke opposed to, 64, 68, 73, 73n., 82, 100; Asbury opposed to, 64f., 65, 68, 72, 82, 83n., 87, 99, 99n.; early moral sentiment of nation opposed to, 67f., 68n.; legislation prohibiting, 69f.; early anti-slavery societies, 71; General Conference actions on, 71, 72, 78, 80-86, 95, 104, 107-111; and Christmas Conference action, concerning, 71ff., 79, 79n.; emancipation petitions circulated by early Methodists, 74n.; Quakers abolish, among themselves, 77; and Annual Conferences, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86-90, 95, 97ff., 104n.; Methodist sentiment against, slackens, 82ff., 84n., 88f., 100; Circuit Riders preach against, 91f., and the Quarterly Conferences, 92f.; increasing economic importance of, 93f.; and policy of non-interference, 95, 95n.; rationalized as moral good, 97, 97n., 109; considered established institution, 98f., 99n., 100, 100n., 109; movement against, begins, 100-105; divergent parties in Methodism, concerning, 104f., 107, 109n., cause of division of Methodist Episcopal Church, 107-111; both North and South shared guilt of, 110f.
 Slavery and Methodism, 60-111: early opposition to, 62-67; opportunity for great reform, 67-77; compromise and struggle, 77-80; General Conference legislation, 80-86; Annual Conference actions, 86-90; local churches and slavery, 90-93; slavery's increasing economic importance, 93-94; pattern of rationalization, 94-100; the new abolition, 100-105; the first slavery schism, 105-106; deliberate division, 107-111
 Slaves (see also "Slavery" and "Slavery and Methodism"): emancipation of, ordered by Methodist Episcopal Church, 71f., 80ff.; Methodist actions on buying and selling of, 81, 83, 87, 88, 90; preaching to, 84; treatment of, laid upon Methodists, 84; Asbury's view on, 87n.; owned by preachers, 87, 99f., 99n.; John Street Society buys one to free him, 91; importation of, forbidden, 93f.; breeding of, an economic basis of southern society, 94; emancipated in West Indies, 101n.
 Smallwood (General), 22
 Smith, A. B., 236n.
 Smith, A. D., 171, 171n., 188, 190, 197n.
 Smith, Edward, 98
 Smith, George, 161n.

- Smith, Henry, 40, 353
 Smith, Isaac: 140, 278; biographical sketch of, 140*n*.
 Smith, James, 66
 Smith, Margaret J., 218, 233
 Smith, Robert D., 136*n*., 194*n*.
 Smith, Solomon H., 215, 246, 246*n*., 247, 248
 Smith, Thomas: 92, 268, 293, 369; call to ministry of, 421; biographical sketch of, 421*n*.
 Smith, William, 167*n*.
 Smith, William A., 107
 Snake, Henry, 155
 Sneed, J. P., 168
 Snethen, Mary, 7
 Social services of Methodist preachers (see also "Education" and "Preachers"): 9-14; service to seamen, 11; medical services, 11*ff*.
 Society, the, in Methodism, 337, 338, 340
 Society for Propagation of the Gospel, 62
 Society of Friends. See "Quakers."
 Somerset, James, 80
 Soule, Joshua (Bishop), 59, 108, 120, 146, 150, 170, 182*f*., 195, 196, 370, 426*n*., 451
 South America missions, 252
 Spalding, Hervey Harmon, 217*n*., 219*n*., 223, 223*n*., 271*n*.
 Spates, Samuel, 161*n*., 162, 162*n*.
 Spears, John, 128*n*., 132*n*.
 Speer, Alexander, 369*f*., 370*n*.
 Spencer (Secretary of War) J. C., 237
 Spicer, Tobias: 361*n*., 381; on perfect love, 389
 Sproats, James, 291*n*.
 Squire Gray Eyes (Indian), 122, 125, 126*n*., 152, 186
 Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 43
 Stateler, Learner B.: 194*n*., 196*n*.; missionary to Shawnee Indians, 178*n*., 179; biographical sketch of, 179*n*.; missionary to Delaware Indians, 182, 182*n*.
 Stebbins, Salmon: 150, 164; as a preacher, 447*f*.; biographical sketch of, 447*n*.
 Steele, John M., 194*n*.
 Stephens, Alexander H., 96
 Stevens, Abel, 11, 40, 90, 104, 350, 352, 381, 391, 396, 406, 426, 437, 445
 Stevenson, William, 24
 Stewart, John: 332, 371; entrance into ministry of, 424; biographical sketch of, 424*n*.
 Stewart, John (Negro), 117, 118, 121
 Stillwell, W. M., 58*n*.
 Stith, William, 369
 Stockbridge Indians, 148, 163
 Stoughtenburg, George, 216
 Strange, John, 119
 Strawbridge, Robert, 53*n*., 288, 306
 Stringfield, Thomas, 88, 100, 132
 Stubbs, Harriet, 120, 283
 Stuff, George L. S., 150*n*.
 Sullins, David, 330*f*.
 Sullivan, Isaac W., 128
 Summerfield, John, 150
 Sunday, John: 154, 284; biographical sketch of, 154*n*.; begins mission at Kewanawon, 155*f*.
 Sunday schools: 14-18; 407-414; developed among Choctaw Indians, 193
 Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 410*f*., 412, 412*n*., 413, 414
 Sunderland, La Roy, 101, 103*n*., 104
 Sweitzer, "Aunt," 53*n*.
 Sympkins, C., 293
- T
- Tacket, Pleasant, 196*n*.
 Talbot, Nathaniel M.: 177*n*., 183*n*., 184*n*., 185*n*., 187; missionary to Peoria Indians, 185
 Talley: Alexander, 13, 136*n*., 147*n*., 190, 270, 273, 276; missionary to the Choctaw Indians, 135*ff*., 192*ff*., 283
 Taunchy, John, 156, 157, 158, 159
 Taylor, ("Father") Edward T., 90, 104, 318*n*., 457
 Taylor, Gilbert D., 88, 88*n*.
 Taylor, Joshua, 352*f*.
 Taylor, Philip W., 99
 Taylor, Thomas, 338*n*.
 Tefft, Benjamin F., 371, 434
 Temperance Reform Movement, 26-38
 Tennent, Gilbert, 334*n*.
 Thatcher, William: 433*f*., 445; biographical sketch of, 433*n*.
 Theological seminaries, 406*f*., 406*n*.
 Thomas, James P., 13
 Thome, James, 102*n*.
 Thompson, James, 161
 Thompson, John, 130
 Thompson, Samuel H., 35
 Thompson, Thomas, 125, 125*n*.
 Thomson, Edward, 394
 Thomson (Lee), Lucy, 227, 228*n*., 237
 Thorne, Mary, 40
 Tibbets, Calvin, 246, 247
 Tiffin, Edward, 24, 370
 Tillamook Indians: 220, 245, 248; account of, 201*f*.
 Tipton, (General) John, 267
 Tobacco, use of, by ministers, 353*n*.

- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 60, 350
 Torrey, Alvin, 123*n.*, 165, 166, 166*n.*
 Townsend, John K., 208
 Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the, 412, 412*n.*
 Trade Unions, 46*ff.*
 Trafton, Mark, 24, 426*n.*
 Travis, John, 13
 Travis, Joseph, 54*f.*
 Trial before Conference in Methodism, 355*ff.*
 Trimble, (Governor) Allen, 116*n.*
 Trimble, (Mrs.) Jane T., 409
 Trott, J. J., 128*n.*, 130, 130*n.*
 True, Charles K., 98
 Tucker, St. George: on opposition to slavery, 68, 97
 Tucker, Wood, 446
 Tuscarora Indians, 146, 148
 Tussawalita (Indian), 191*n.*
 Tyler, (President) John, 237, 256
- U
- Umpqua Indians (see also "Oregon Mission Stations"): 210, 220; account of, 202, 202*n.*
 Union American Methodist Episcopal Church, 59*n.*
 Union Church of Africans, 59*n.*
 Union Society of Carpenters, 47
 Universal Redemption, doctrine of, 382-384
 Upper Canada: Indian missions in, 165-167, 284
- V
- Van Buren, (President) Martin, 49, 97*n.*
 Van Cortlandt, Pierre, 369
 Van Nest, Peter, 426*n.*
 Van Order, Harvey, 159*n.*
 Vann, Joseph, 129*n.*
 Vasey, Thomas, 365
 Vashon, George, 176
 Victor, Frances Fuller. See "Bancroft, H. H."
 Volney, C. F., 288
- W
- Walker, Alvin F.: 228*n.*, 243*f.*, 245, 245*n.*, 258*n.*, 259, 260; biographical sketch of, 243*n.*; conflict with McLoughlin, 244, 244*n.*, 245*n.*
 Walker, Catherine Rankin, 121*n.*
 Walker, Courtney M., 206
 Walker, Jesse: 35, 422, 423; among the Potawatomi Indians, 143*ff.*
 Walker, William, Jr.: 121, 187*n.*, 203; biographical sketch of, 121*n.*
 Walker, William, Sr., 119, 121*n.*
 Walla Walla Indians, 207
 Ward, Jonathan, 398*n.*
 Ware (Lee) Maria T., 228, 239
 Ware, Thomas: 291, 296*f.*, 362, 365, 369, 436; illustration of preaching of, 382; converted by preaching, 383
 Warren, Elijah, 444
 Wasco Indians (see also "Oregon Mission Stations"): 218; account of, 201
 Washington, (President) George: 23, 68*n.*, 263*n.*; and slavery, 68
 Watson, Richard, 95*n.*, 204*n.*
 Watters, Godfrey, 92
 Watters, William: 302, 322*f.*, 326; conversion experience of, 305*f.*; call to ministry of, 419*f.*
 Waugh, Beverly (Bishop), 99, 108, 227
 Waugh, Lorenzo, 177*n.*
 Wea Indians, 143, 174, 185, 187
 Webb, (Capt.) Thomas, 26, 91*n.*, 338*n.*, 433
 Webster, Daniel, 19
 Webster, Noah, 19
 Weelooker (Indian), 134, 191*n.*
 Weld, Theodore Dwight, 102
 Wells, Edgar, 55
 Wells, Martin, 128*n.*, 132*n.*
 Wells, Rachel, 55
 Wentworth, Erastus, 434
 Wesley, Charles, 417
 Wesley, John: 1, 4, 22, 24, 52, 64*n.*, 74, 106, 286, 318, 319, 338*n.*, 339, 343, 349, 361, 365, 366, 391, 391*n.*, 397, 400, 407, 417, 425, 426, 445, 457; and Sunday schools, 14*f.*, 15*n.*; and social ethic, 27*n.*; and women as preachers, 39; on women's rights, 43, 43*n.*; and slavery, 63, 64*f.*, 100; persecuted, 75, 76; conservative in politics, 75*n.*; visits Chickasaw Indians, 168*n.*; and itinerancy, 287, 428; on religious experience, 301, 301*n.*, 302; emphasis on conversion, 303*f.*; and "assurance," 304, 320*n.*, 386; and perfect love, 314, 387*f.*; love of reading of, 318*n.*; and emotionalism, 335, 335*n.*; and fellowship, 337; advocated celibacy, 357; and Articles of Religion, 363; on preaching, 375*n.*, 377; on justification and regeneration, 384*f.*; and right of protest, 396, 396*n.*; sends Sunday Service to American Methodists, 414, 414*n.*; the world his parish, 418
 Wesleyan Conference Societies (U. S. anti-slavery groups), 103, 103*n.*
 Wesleyan Methodist Connection in Amer-

- ica: 98*n.*, 105*n.*; formed, 105; reforms of Methodism in, 106
- Wesleyanism: 2, 366; otherworldliness in, 7*n.*; and prison visitation, 24*f.*; on spirituous drinking, 26, 27, 29*n.*; most converts to, among laboring classes, 44, 51; use of Local Preachers by, 51; contribution of, to labor movement, 52, 52*n.*; against slavery, 63*f.*, 64*n.*, 85*n.*, 111; preachers of, persecuted, 75*f.*; and non-interference in West Indian slavery, 95*n.*; purpose of, 286; emphasis on religious experience, 301*f.*; and non-acceptance of Camp Meetings, 331*n.*; emotionalism in meetings of, 333; Band regulations of, used by Methodist Episcopal Church, 340; advocated celibacy, 357, 357*n.*; basic units of, used in Methodist Episcopal Church, 359; preaching method in, 393, 430; regulations on education of, 400; preachers of, a new type of minister, 426*n.*
- Westerlund, Jonas, 355
- Whatcoat, Richard (Bishop): 7, 82, 91*n.*, 99*n.*, 328, 345, 365, 366, 381; "otherworldly" in thought, 7; experience of perfect love of, 315; illustrative of a ministerial type, 446*f.*
- Whedon, D. D., 104
- Wheeler, A. C., 16
- Wheeler, James: 125*n.*, 126*n.*, 178*n.*; missionary to Wyandot Indians, 186
- Whitcomb, (Governor) James, 371
- Whitcomb, J. L., 234, 236
- White, (Dr.) Elijah: and Oregon Mission, 216, 217, 217*n.*, 218*n.*, 233, 238, 245*n.*, 253; rupture with Oregon Mission of, 234, 234*n.*; receives government appointment to Oregon, 237
- White, George, 149, 163*n.*, 164
- White, Hiram H., 105*n.*
- White, (Judge) Hugh L., 376
- White, Mary, 40
- White, (Judge) Thomas, 40
- White, William (Protestant Episcopal Bishop), 16, 16*n.*, 57, 450*n.*
- Whitefield, George: 14; ownership of slaves of, 64*n.*
- Whitford, James G., 161*f.*, 161*n.*
- Whitman, Marcus, 217*n.*, 223, 223*n.*, 224*n.*, 255, 255*n.*, 260
- Wilberforce, William, 63
- Wilcox, Ralph, 125*n.*
- Wiley, Allen, 320
- Wilkes, (Lt.) Charles, 231, 235, 242, 243*n.*, 247
- Williams, Jeremiah, 132*n.*
- Williams, Luke, 292*n.*
- Williams, Peter, 91, 91*n.*
- Williams, Robert, 3, 369, 401, 420
- Williams, William H., 166
- Williams, Zechariah, 355
- Willson, William H., 216, 217, 245*n.*, 249, 250, 259
- Wilmer, Mary, 40
- Winans, William W.: 107, 135, 429*f.*; as a reader, 435*f.*
- Winnabago Indians, 163
- Witness of the spirit, doctrine of, 385-387
- Wolfe, Young, 128*n.*, 132*n.*, 285
- Wool (General), 132*n.*
- Woolman, John, 74*f.*, 77
- Woolsey, Elijah, 291*f.*
- Woman's Hospital, 42
- Woman's Rights Movement, 42*f.*
- Women: participation of, in Church and Community, 39-44; some active in Wesleyan Movement, 39, 39*n.*; role of, in history, neglected by historians, 39*n.*; opposed within own ranks, to public recognition, 43; increase in number in America as laborers, 44*f.*; schools founded for, 403, 403*n.*
- Worcester, Samuel A., 130, 130*n.*
- Workingmen's Party, 48
- Wright, Duncan, 14
- Wyandot Indians (see also "Wyandot Mission" and "Wyandot Mission, West"): 181, 283; Finley forms Society among, in Canada, 123; Finley forms Society among, on their reserve, 123; removal west of, 124, 125*f.*, 186; treaties with, 125*f.*, 186*f.*; effect of missions on, 279
- Wyandot Mission: 117-126, 213, 270, 277, 281, 283; Aux Canards, 123, Huron, 123*f.*, 124*n.*; Big Spring, 125
- Wyandot Mission, West, 186-187
- Wyatt, Joseph, 24
- Wyeth, (Capt.) Nathaniel, 205, 206, 207
- Wythe, George, 97

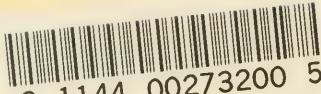
Y

- Yellow Serpent (Peu-Peu-Mox-Mox), 242
- Yocum, Elmore: on perfect love, 388*f.*; biographical sketch of, 388*n.*
- Young, Benjamin: tried before Conference, 356
- Young, David, 83, 312
- Young, Ewing, 219
- Young, Jacob, 34, 292, 295, 356, 441*f.*, 442*n.*, 443, 444

Z

- Zion Society, 58





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