BISHOP MATTHEW SIMPSON.

SUPPLEMENTARY HISTORY

OF

AMERICAN METHODISM

A CONTINUATION OF THE AUTHOR'S ABRIDGED HISTORY OF AMERICAN METHODISM

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

In giving to the public this volume, the last work of the late Abel Stevens, D.D., LL.D., we place within the reach of our preachers and people that for which they have been long and eagerly looking. Many years ago the Agents of the Book Concern undertook to provide the Church with a standard history of Methodism, and they engaged Dr. Abel Stevens to write the manuscript of such a history. The first work issued under this arrangement was a general *History of Methodism* in three volumes, giving an account of the denomination in all parts of the world, centralizing in the Wesleyan or parent body—a work which has been reproduced by several competing publishers in England; second, a particular *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* in four volumes. These works have received the strongest indorsements, not only by Methodists but by other authorities on both sides of the Atlantic. They have met a great want of the Church, and there has been a large demand for them from the general religious public. In these volumes the distinguished author, by diligent and thorough research, has added more than one third to the data of our history as given by preceding writers. They are now a staple part of the property of the Church's own Publishing House, and still command a large sale.

It was found, however, that many of our people were unable to purchase works so large as these, and there came a demand for a smaller work that could be sold at a more popular price. The author, therefore, prepared an abridgment of the

work, with additions, bringing the history of our own Church down to the centenary year, with full accounts of the results of the hundred years of its history, together with life-like sketches of its representative men.

Since the publication of *A Compendious History of American Methodism*, abridged by the author from his *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, great successes have been achieved by the denomination both in this country and in mission fields abroad. The publishers, therefore, requested Dr. Stevens to prepare a supplementary volume to his *Compendious History of American Methodism*, bringing the history down to the beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century. This he consented to do, and set about the work several years ago. He had barely finished it when in the fullness of years he was called from labor to reward.

The volumes above enumerated constitute a monument to Dr. Stevens that will endure as long as the Church itself endures.

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PREFACE.

In a former volume I have given *A Compendious History of American Methodism*, abridged from the author's *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* The narrative culminates at the Centennial Jubilee of American Methodism, in 1866. This would seem to be its normal conclusion; it has a sort of epic propriety, as the climax of the first hundred years of the Methodistic movement in the New World. I am reluctant to disturb what I conceive to be thus the legitimate chronology and befitting *dénouement* of the extraordinary story—the story of the heroic period of the greatest popular religious movement in history since the Reformation. The singular success of the denomination has, however, continued since its centennial epoch, and there is an urgent and "official" demand that the record be continued from 1866 to 1890. It is necessary that a narrative like this should have definitive limits, and I have chosen the beginning of the last decade of the century, or rather the end of the preceding decade, as my terminal date. The calendar year does not always correspond with the ecclesiastical year; the latter for 1890 sometimes becomes 1890–1891; but this difference is too slight to affect materially the date as a standpoint for the summarizing of results. Meanwhile the final summaries here given have been rapidly changing with the continuous advancement of the Church. I insert, therefore, in a short Appendix, the numerical aggregates, officially given, at the latest date since the completion of my manuscript.

This volume covers about a quarter of a century; and, besides a sketch of the territorial progress of the Church on the Pacific slope, and abroad, in its missions, shows in a succinct

way the results of the labors and wise plans of the preceding hundred years, and also not a few important new institutions—the offspring of the new period. It is a grand harvest time—a period of culminations; and the results it exhibits are, perhaps, hardly surpassed in any equal period of Christian history. I have been so impressed with this fact that I must beg the forbearance of the reader for any appearance of undue emphasis which portions of the record may bear. Its facts are given from authentic sources, are verified by official authorities, and stated in exact figures. But that they should appear exaggerated is inevitable, being, *per se*, marvelous and unexpected. Not unfrequently a single arithmetical sentence will be found to be more significant and eloquent than could be pages of dissertation. I have chosen to narrate these extraordinary results simply and directly, as I find them in the documentary authorities of the Church. They may well afford encouragement to the whole Christian world.

The plan of the volume is the only one practicable in a "compendium" like this. It has also high sanction. One of the ablest contemporary English historians (Lecky) says, in the Preface to his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*: "I have not attempted to write the history of the period year by year. It has been my object to disengage, from the great mass of facts, those which relate to the permanent forces of the nation, or those which indicate some of the more enduring features of the national life." Before seeing Lecky's successful exemplification of the plan I had used it partially in my preceding volume and entirely in the present one. By this plan I have endeavored to attain three aims: first, to make the book a legitimate continuation and completion of its preceding volume to such readers as may have read the latter; secondly, to render it, as far as possible, complete in itself, an independent work, for readers who have not read its precursor—for,

without material repetitions, necessary retrospective glances bring the entire history of the Church, more or less, into the purview of the reader; thirdly, to enable him to estimate comprehensively the actual condition and prospect of the denomination—which now comprises more than one third of the aggregate Methodism of the world. To the intelligent inquirer who wishes to ascertain the present significance of the Methodist Episcopal Church, not only throughout Christendom but throughout the earth, the data here given will, I think, be sufficient.

I have attempted to give not only the form of organization and the numerical results of the institutions and other great projects which pertain to my chronological period, but their respective histories (though with extreme condensation), showing their correlation one with another as well as with momentous innovations in the denomination—such as lay representation, theological education, foreign missions, the fuller recognition of the church work of women, the organization of its youth in "Leagues," etc. The history of the Church is made up during this period chiefly of these respective histories. Its people, as well as its pastors, should appreciate this fact, for it has thus become more than ever a movement of the people. This is now its trend all around the world, and this popular and universal trend denotes its coming history. After more than threescore years and ten spent in the practical as well as passive study of Methodism I do not hesitate to believe that its greatest history can be wrought in the future, and that its prospects for the new century into which we are about to enter are such as should inspire it with devoutest ambition and heroic energy.

Contemporary history cannot be written, though annals, chronicles, etc., can, and must be, as resources for the future historian. Great events, involving, as they usually do,

extensive controversies and agitations, require time for their right estimation ; the characteristic portraiture of their leaders (the best *dramatis personæ* of history) cannot be impartially made while the chief actors or their families still survive. Feeling severely these restrictions, I nevertheless lay this, my last literary tribute, on the altar of the denomination, believing that its significant facts cannot fail to do good for our common Christianity.

And with this, his final offering, the author may be permitted humbly to give his final exhortation to his Methodist brethren : that, as they believe their denominational form of the common cause is, in its primitive simplicity and essential catholicity, best prepared for the predicted perils of Christianity in the coming century, they should more than ever be steadfast in their work, should confront the new century with unwavering courage, and march into it, and through it, with reunited ranks and the consciousness of a universal and invincible mission.

Los Angeles, Cal.

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HISTORY

OF THE

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

TERRITORIAL PROGRESS.

THE immigrant founders of American Methodism were inspired by the missionary spirit, though formal missionary organization had not yet taken place in Protestant Christendom. Embury, Webb, and Strawbridge; Owen, Williams, King, Boardman, and Pilmoor; Coke, Asbury, Whatcoat, and Wright; Rankin, Shadford, Garrettson, and Black—these, and their colleagues and immediate successors, felt that they were inaugurating in the New World the "great religious movement of the eighteenth century called Methodism," and that it was to be identified with the destiny of the country. Hence they were soon traveling and working mightily from Nova Scotia to Georgia. It seemed to them, even before the Revolution, that God had unrolled before them a grand map which should illustrate their apostolic labors and triumphs and profoundly influence the future history of the religious world. And after the Revolution this hope rose into exultant assurance. As early as 1783 Asbury wrote to a friend in England: "The Gospel has taken a universal spread. O America, America! It certainly will be the glory of the world for religion."

But what was the New World to them at that early date? It consisted of the Atlantic coast colonies. It was grand, indeed, to their vision, but it was bounded on the west by the Alleghanies. Beyond lay a vast dreamland, the future of which appeared too undefined to be taken into their scheme. The aboriginal savages roamed over it. The French, with their fur trade and Canadian *voyageurs*, had barely penetrated it.

Pittsburg had until recently been only a French post—Fort Duquesne. Some remote stations among the Indians had received French names—Detroit, St. Louis, etc. Braddock's forces, accompanied by the young Washington, had ventured across the mountains some eleven years before the introduction of Methodism, but were sent reeling back with defeat by the arms of the French and the Indians. Before many years, however, adventurous pioneers had found their way again, over the mountain barrier, on the "Braddock road" into western Pennsylvania, and others, through the mountain passes, into Kentucky and Tennessee. As early as 1783 Jeremiah Lambert was preaching, as we have seen, at the head of the Holston River on a long circuit which had but sixty church members. In the next year Redstone appeared in the Minutes as the first Methodist circuit in Pennsylvania beyond the Alleghanies. It was a great day in Methodism when, in 1788, Asbury scaled the Appalachian range and held, in Tennessee, the first Methodist Conference in the valley of the Mississippi—the future arena of the greatest successes of his Church—and, hastening onward, conducted the first Methodist ordination beyond the Alleghanies at Uniontown, Pa. Asbury seemed instinctively to perceive the future importance, for both the nation and the Church, of this apparently boundless area; he continued often to ride on horseback through its mountain passes, though he had sometimes to be escorted by mounted armed men to protect him from the savages.

Thus the Methodist founders, to whom the Atlantic States had been the New World of their mission, had now entered what seemed a second "new world," extending from the northern lakes to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, and comprising in square miles much more than one half of the whole present area of the United States or of even that of Europe itself.

This was, indeed, a second "new world" to the heroic itinerants. One of the three greatest rivers of the earth swept majestically beneath their wondering gaze, draining, together with the Great Lakes, a million and a half square miles of the richest soil of the earth, destined to be the granary of the nations. Here was evidently to be one of the grandest theaters

of humanity. It was a magnificent field for moral heroism; and the early Methodist preachers, who did so much to lay the moral foundations of its now mighty States, were as genuine heroes as have ever been recorded in ecclesiastical or military history. The names of Jeremiah Lambert, John Tunnell, Henry Willis, Francis Poythress, Francis McCormick, James Quinn, Peter Moriarty, Bishops Roberts and McKendree, Philip Bruce, Henry Birchett, Jesse Walker, Barnabas McHenry, together with a host of later veterans—Scott, Lakin, Sale, Kobler, Parker, Blackman, Collins, Young, Raper, Swaze, Cartwright, Finley, Winans, Gibson, Nolley, Strange, Bigelow, Akers—are embalmed in Methodist history, and are still household words in old Methodist families throughout the Mississippi valley.

Heroic souls have always in their very temperament an element of egotism, though never of sordid selfishness. They are strong in their convictions and have "the courage of their opinions." Believing their convictions to be right, they believe them to be invincible, and that they themselves, charged with the responsibility of their convictions, must be equally invincible; that even apparent defeat, should it occur, must be ultimate victory. Roman pagan philosophy could declare with complacency, "*Magna est veritas, et prævalebit*"—"Great is the truth, and it shall prevail." The Methodist itinerants of the valley of the Mississippi had this sublime confidence. They believed that, not only their liberal theology, but their practical system of church government was especially adapted to this "new world" of the West; that, as I affirmed in my first volume,* the customary methods of a parish, a stated pastorate, and a ministry trained through a long preliminary education could not possibly meet the wants of this vast opening field into which hosts of immigrants were about to march, many of them with the worst corruptions and semibarbarism of the lowest classes of Europe.

The Methodist extemporized ministry—with its itinerancy, its presiding elders, circuit preachers, local preachers, exhorters, class leaders—was to these evangelical heroes a divine provision for this exigency. A horse and saddlebags, with

* Page 22.

the Bible, Hymn Book, and Discipline, were their indispensable, in many cases their only, property. Their parishes were "circuits" sometimes five hundred miles long. They preached daily, from settlement to settlement, mostly in log cabins or barns. Few of them had homes; but they lived from house to house among the grateful people. They felt that they were building a moral empire throughout the great valley of the Mississippi; and we witness to-day that they did so. They kept pace with its frontier immigration. They opened the way into it for tardier sects. They have dotted it all over with churches, academies, and colleges. They saved, as I have shown, the "Great West" from utter demoralization and barbarism.

Such was the second "new world" revealed to Methodism. But hardly had these first heroes, the *legio tonans* of Western Methodism, disappeared when a third "new world" was disclosed to their successors. As formerly the Alleghanies, so now the Rocky Mountains had been penetrated by hunters and trappers. The national government had sent an expedition (1804–6) to explore their hardly known passes and the vast regions beyond; Lewis and Clark had thus reached the Pacific coast. Long after their return, in 1832, a delegation from the Flathead Indians came all the way to St. Louis, two thousand miles, on foot, to see Clark, then superintendent of Indian affairs; for their tribe had learned that the white man possessed a book which taught men how to live and die safely, and they came to beg for the wonderful oracle and for teachers of it to reside among their people. A sensation was produced by this singular fact through all the religious circles of the nation. The Methodist Flathead Mission in Oregon was immediately projected, chiefly by Wilbur Fisk and Nathan Bangs.* The reports of trappers and especially of Lewis and Clark excited the spirit of emigration; bands of hardy whites began to move toward the far-off country, some over the mountains, others around Cape Horn.

Here, then, was another, a third "new world" for the Methodist itinerants, who were never found lagging behind the van of emigration; and in this case they preceded it. Thousands

* *Christian Advocate*, March 1, 1833.

of us still living can remember those notable days, for rapid and marvelous indeed were the events with which this great new world of the Pacific coast opened to the wondering eyes, not only of the nation, but of all civilized nations. We, to whom those days seem a dream, can now travel to the Pacific slope with ease. Its magnificent States contain thousands of miles of railroads, with universal telegraphs, richly cultivated estates, and great cities, some of them comparable to those of the Atlantic coast or of continental Europe—a vast area replete with agricultural and mineral resources, dotted with thriving villages and towns, with churches, schools, colleges, courthouses, hospitals, and public libraries, and having lines of splendid steamers along its coast to South America, to Japan and China, Hawaii, Australia, and the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Here is now the Great West—a range of country which, including only the three coast States and Alaska, and exclusive of the portions of the coast that do not belong to the Republic, comprises 901,570 square miles, equal to nearly a quarter of Europe. The last, and what was supposed to be the poorest, but is found to be one of the most important of our acquisitions, Alaska, has a coast line of twenty-five thousand miles, including the islands *—more than the combined Atlantic and Pacific coast lines, including islands, of the rest of the United States; it has a territory of 578,000 square miles; a river, the Yukon, which rivals the Mississippi in the volume of its outflow; and one of its many islands is said to be practically a mountain of ore and to contain mineral wealth enough to pay off the whole national debt. It is about equal in square miles to seventy States like Massachusetts, or to all New England and the Middle States, with Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, the District of Columbia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Kentucky, and Tennessee. If placed on our Atlantic coast it would extend from Maine to Florida. But if thus much can be said of its most boreal section, what must be the importance of this immense Pacific world when Washington, Oregon, and California are superadded?

Of the history of Methodism in the first and second of these great arenas I have given a somewhat minute record through

* Governor Knapp's report, 1892.

a hundred years in the preceding volume. Of the "new world" of the Pacific coast, still in its infancy notwithstanding its unparalleled development, I must write rapidly. The future historian of the Church, a hundred or even fifty years from to-day, will need volumes for its record.

It was in 1832 that the four Flathead Indian chiefs started for St. Louis. They were received with hospitality, especially by General Clark; two of them died there from the fatigues of their journey, and of the fate of the other two, who attempted to return, nothing has ever been known. Early in 1833 Gabriel P Disosway, president of the Young Men's Missionary Society of New York, appealed to the Church in behalf of this distant field, narrating the remarkable visit of its messengers. The sensation immediately produced by this appeal was intensified by a call through the papers of the Church from President Wilbur Fisk, of Wesleyan University, that "two suitable men, unencumbered with families and possessing the spirit of martyrs, throw themselves into the [Flathead] nation." "Money," wrote that great and good man, "shall be forthcoming. I will be bondsman for the Church." "Were I young and healthy and unencumbered," he added, "how joyfully would I go!" * Bishop Emory consulted the War Department at Washington respecting the country, but it reported that it knew nothing of a tribe of Flatheads there. The Missionary Society therefore projected the mission under a general title, as an "aboriginal mission west of the Rocky Mountains," but in October, 1835, changed the name to the "Oregon Mission."

Fisk had known Jason Lee, a stalwart and devoted young man who at this time was a missionary among the Indians in Canada. He was summoned to the university at Middletown, Conn., to prepare under Fisk's eye for this remote field. Bishop Hedding admitted him on trial at the ensuing New England Conference, and appointed him, says the historian of Methodist missions,† "to this *foreign* mission, practically more distant then than India or China is now. In August following Daniel

* *Christian Advocate*, March 22, 1833; *Methodist Episcopal Missions*, by J. M. Reid, revised by J. T. Gracey, vol. i, p. 133.

† Reid, *Methodist Episcopal Missions*, vol. i, p. 134.

Lee, nephew of Jason, was also appointed to this field, and the Board engaged Cyrus Shepard and T. S. Edwards, laymen, to accompany them," for it was deemed expedient to introduce the arts of civilized labor among these remote savages. P L. Edwards, another layman, was later added to the little band. They departed in March, 1834, and reached Walla Walla, on the Columbia, in Washington, by the first of September. The first Protestant sermon on the Pacific coast was preached by Jason Lee at Vancouver on the 28th of September. The mission was located in the Willamette valley. Log cabins were immediately begun, the ground was broken for tillage, and a school for Indian children was established. Reënforcements arrived at brief intervals: Daniel Leslie, H. K. W Perkins and wife, and Miss Margaret Smith in 1835; Elijah White, a physician, and wife, Alanson Beers and wife, William H. Wilson, Miss Ann Maria Pitman, Miss Susan Downing, Miss Elvina Johnson in 1836; Joseph H. Frost, Alvan F. Waller, William W Kone, Gustavus Hines, Lewis H. Judson, Josiah L. Parrish, John P Richmond in 1840. In 1844 George Gary arrived to investigate and readjust the temporalities (the real estate and finances) of the mission and to be its superintendent. In 1848 William Roberts was appointed superintendent. Under his administration, says the historian, "the mission moved forward prosperously, and as the country filled up the Church became strong and the benefits of our early movement became apparent."

The missionary evangelists had been working more wisely than they knew They, together with later fellow-laborers from other denominations, especially Presbyterians, had opened the country; and now immigration was about to pour into it and build magnificent States on the foundations they had been laying. Their Indian labors continued, but churches for white immigrants were soon in demand; and it became evident that, though the native tribes might linger in ever-diminishing remnants, this third new world, like the two they had left east of the mountains, was quickly to become an immense field of civilized settlements. So deeply at last was this fact impressed on the pioneer evangelists that, while the statesmen at Washington had hardly more than dreamed of the distant *terra*

incognita, the missionaries began to see it was important that the national government should quickly define its authority over it, and thus save to the Republic this great Pacific empire.

Oregon was, in fact, the beginning of the nation on the vast range of its Pacific coast. It included, indefinitely, all our present northwest domain except Alaska, which was then an obscure and entirely unappreciated Russian possession; while California, on the south, was yet an unthought-of outskirt of Mexico, with scattered Roman Catholic stations, or "missions," for the conversion of its Indians. Yet so distant and inaccessible did the country appear in those times preceding railroads and telegraphs that even Daniel Webster, who afterward pleaded well for it, declared that it was too far off to be governed by the United States. Nominally, by a treaty concluded between the governments of Great Britain and the United States in 1818, and extended ten years later, the whole Pacific coast, from California to the Russian possessions in the far north, was to be occupied by the two nations jointly; but this was not intended by either nation to be a final and permanent arrangement. Practically the Hudson's Bay Company was gradually but surely extending its operations to every part of the vast territory and so bringing it into the actual possession of Great Britain, as it had already brought the whole Hudson's Bay region; while the United States had so far exercised no act of real sovereignty, and had hardly acknowledged, or even encouraged, any occupancy by American settlers, traders, or missionaries. These had now come in small numbers, and were living in a state of practical, though undefined and uncertain, independence. The danger was that the entire coast would eventually become British soil, under the immediate control of the fur-trading company, and that not only would this immense tract thus be lost to our Republic, but that missionary work among the Indians would be stopped, or at least rendered much more embarrassing and difficult.

The American missionaries perceived this danger while the American government was yet oblivious of it or indifferent to it. They repeatedly memorialized that the protection of the United States might be extended to the Pacific coast and the country on the Columbia be taken under its jurisdiction; and

they petitioned that some sort of government might be granted the American dwellers there. Nothing was accomplished, however, and in 1841 the missionaries and the few settlers attempted to frame a government of their own for the preservation of law and order; but this was not successful. Two years later, in 1843, more settlers having arrived, until the white population now amounted to several hundreds, with the prospect of an increasing immigration as the years went by, the project was renewed and a provisional government regularly instituted, which, though without federal authority, lasted until 1846, when the joint occupancy by Great Britain and the United States was terminated by notice of the latter power, and a new treaty was negotiated giving the American government the whole country between forty-two and forty-nine degrees and from the Rocky Mountains westward.

The missionaries, especially the Methodist missionaries, were the real founders of our Pacific empire. Not only did they penetrate its savage wildernesses and found the first permanent settlements on its rolling rivers, but they fostered the American spirit among the little band of settlers; they not only called the attention of the national government to the importance of that remote western region, but on their few visits to the East they preached constantly about the work and awakened interest in the country, thus encouraging the spirit of immigration which peopled Oregon and saved it to the Union.*

*In 1835 Samuel Parker, a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, arrived at Walla Walla and spent several months in the country, when he departed for the United States. Marcus Whitman and H. H. Spalding (or Spaulding), also missionaries of the American Board, arrived in 1836. Missions were started among the Nez Perces, the Cayuse, and the Spokane Indians. In 1842 the Board ordered the discontinuance of all but one of the missions and the return of Spalding to the United States. Whitman at once started overland on horseback to lay his remonstrance before the Board, and arrived at Boston in March, 1843, but was unsuccessful in his efforts to induce the Board to continue their support. This journey gave rise to the celebrated story that Whitman, alarmed at the growing power of the British trading companies, had traveled overland for the express purpose of arousing the national government to the importance of the northwest region, and that because of his representations Oregon was saved to the Union. This story, for which W. H. Gray, in his *History of Oregon*, is mainly responsible, is a pure fiction and has been repeatedly exposed. For a good summary of the facts, though related in a somewhat sarcastic way, see H. H. Bancroft, *History of Oregon*, vol. i, chaps. v and xiii. See also H. K. Hines, in *Pacific Christian Advocate*, October 25, 1895, and July 21, 1897.

Our national government has made an official acknowledgment of its obligation to the missionaries for their rescue of this vast country, out of which four great States, Oregon, Washington, Montana, and Idaho, and seven or eight Methodist Conferences, have since been formed. The secretary of the interior, in a controversy about the property of the Methodist mission at The Dalles, decided in favor of the society and wrote: "From 1834, when the American missionaries first penetrated this remote region, a contest was going on as to which nation should finally possess it; and that probably depended upon the fact which could first settle it with emigrants. The British corporation of the Hudson's Bay Company had extended their posts and trading stations through the country and occupied it with their agents and employees. The Jesuit priests, sent by the bishops of the Canadian Catholic Church and supported by them, were regarded as encouraging British influence. On the other hand were the missionaries of the American Board and the Methodist society, who had established their stations among the Indians in various parts of the country, and who attracted thither the tide of American emigration that turned the scale in favor of our government, resulting in the establishment of the 'Territorial Government of Oregon,' wholly American in interest, which continued to exercise all the functions of government over the territory and its six or eight thousand inhabitants until the erection of the Territory of Oregon by Congress, by the act of August, 1848."

The Indian work went forward, though labors for the white settlers began to be the chief interest of the mission. James H. Wilbur, who was sent out in 1846, continued down nearly to the present day a distinguished friend of the aborigines, venerated as "Father" Wilbur. He did them eminent service as government agent, as well as missionary. In 1848 the General Conference organized the growing work in Oregon as an Annual Mission Conference, including in it California; for by this time the latter country had been reached by the Methodist missionaries, and these large-hearted laborers, on this farthest frontier of the western hemisphere, saw prophetically a great destiny for their cause. New Mexico was also

included. The first session of the Conference was held in Salem, Ore., on September 5, 1849—a memorable epoch in the history of Methodism on the Pacific coast. Roberts presided, for no bishop had yet found his way to this remote field. It reported 404 Methodists and seventeen local preachers. The Conference appointed ten preachers in Oregon. The next General Conference (1852), impressed with the marvelous development of the coast, divided the Conference into two, and "the first Oregon Conference" was held at Salem, March 17, 1853, Bishop Ames presiding. It reported 956 Methodists, including thirty-five local preachers. The work was divided into three presiding elders' districts—Willamette, Southern Oregon, and Northern Oregon.

It was not long before important towns and cities began to spring up in the Territory Lee's Indian school gave way to new educational plans. The Oregon Institute was founded in 1842, and in 1853 the Willamette University was established in Salem, the State capital. The Methodist press was introduced in 1855, with the *Pacific Christian Advocate*, at Salem, and afterward at Portland, and Thomas H. Pearne, one of the most energetic of the Oregon laborers, was elected editor in 1856. A new university has been established in Portland, where also the first Methodist hospital of the Pacific coast has been auspiciously begun. Portland has become an opulent metropolis, capable of doing great things for religion and humanity. Its Chamber of Commerce has published that it is "the richest city but one in the United States in proportion to its population." A local authority says: "As might be expected, the material and spiritual interests of the churches feel the influence of this abounding prosperity around them. New and improved church edifices, better parsonages, larger congregations and lengthening lists of members, and larger benevolent collections are the evidences to the Christian minister that his labors are not in vain. The reports of the statistical secretaries of the several Conferences covering the northwestern territory at their late sessions disclose an encouraging advance in all lines of Church work; and it is a matter of pardonable denominational pride that in this field, as well as in the East, Methodism leads all her sister denominations in every

material interest contributing to the evangelization of the masses and the salvation of the world. In the city of Portland alone we have fourteen church edifices for English-speaking congregations, and three others—seventeen in all—for the Germans and Scandinavians. Within these gather about thirty-five hundred communicants, and their influence extends to nearly twenty thousand of the eighty thousand now embraced within the city limits." *

The agency of Oregon Methodism, already ramifying in so many directions, has extended to Alaska, that immense acquisition made in 1867, when the Republic was just emerging out of the devastations of its unparalleled Civil War.

A more effective influence was exerted by the Methodism of Oregon over the northern portion of its own territory, which afterward became the great State of Washington, now larger in population than Oregon itself; a territory with its Walla Walla, "the Rhineland of America," its Puget Sound, "the Mediterranean of the Pacific," and its rapidly growing ports of Seattle, Tacoma, and Port Townsend. Territorially it is greater than the combined areas of all the New England States. It expends already a million dollars a year for education. A promising Methodist institution has been begun at Tacoma, called Puget Sound University. "We have," says a local authority, "seven pastoral charges in the city, and another just out of it. We have a membership in Tacoma of about one thousand, six Epworth leagues, eight Sunday schools, and a consecrated company of ministers and members equal in proportion to their numbers to any such company anywhere found. What is said of Tacoma might be said of the entire Puget Sound Conference. We have preachers from at least fifteen different Conferences, and I have no doubt that with few exceptions they are among the best those Conferences had." † This city has already no less than forty evangelical churches. Seattle has shown similar prosperity, though it has had to struggle with severe trials. A thousand and more sea-going vessels enter its port every year, and half a dozen railroads diverge from it. In 1889 a fire destroyed fifteen mil-

* *Central Christian Advocate*, December 2, 1891.

† Letter of Rev. Samuel Moore.

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lions of its property, but it arose from its ashes more vigorous than ever. "Its local manufactures exceed $10,000,000 a year in value. With all this material prosperity, the people have also laid broad and deep the foundations of a cultivated and intelligent community. Its educational system includes admirable public and private schools and academies, culminating in the State university. It has four ably conducted daily newspapers, and many other periodicals; and its churches are numerous and, in several cases, very attractive." * Its population advanced from 3,533 in 1880 to 58,892 in 1892, and its assessable wealth in 1894 was more than thirty-two millions. It is one of the most remarkable examples of popular energy and prosperity under American institutions. The Methodist Episcopal Church has eight churches in Seattle; the various Methodist churches amount to thirteen.

The four flourishing Conferences of Oregon, Columbia River, Puget Sound, and Idaho sprang up rapidly in this northwestern arena. The movement toward the Pacific coast which was initiated by Lee's Mission in 1834 and Whitman's in 1836 spread, at last, hosts of emigrants over all the mountain and wilderness regions of the Rocky and Sierra Nevada ranges, and opened immense fields for the formation of new Conferences and new States. Besides Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Alaska in the extreme northwest, we now have Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and California, all wholly or mostly within this western *terra incognita* of 1834. Methodism advanced at first to plant the flag of the Gospel on its farthest, its ocean frontier, but has since swept over the whole of it, helping to lay the moral foundations of the magnificent series of States which now crown there the continent.

These astonishing developments have taken place within the memory of hundreds of thousands of our living population, within the public lifetime of him whose hand traces this record of them, as he sits on the Pacific coast surrounded by the maturest advantages of modern civilization and growing millions of his fellow-citizens.

But the most immediate, and perhaps the most important,

* King's *Handbook of the United States*, p. 877.

Methodist influence of the Oregon movement was in California, and to this we must now briefly turn our attention.

The thoughtful observer must be impressed by the singular position of this State—a position which could hardly be conceivable as existing on the Atlantic coast. It extends along these tranquil Pacific waters with a reach as long as from New York City to Savannah. Let an Eastern man imagine for a moment a single State thus occupying most of our Atlantic coast. Suppose New Jersey to have that preëminence. But even then New Jersey could hardly be compared with California, for the average breadth of California is more than triple that of New Jersey. It is thus, indeed, a unique State. If we except the territory of Alaska its prolonged coast line is anomalous in our national geography; but we may take this as but an indication of its magnitude. It is equal in area to all New England, New York, and Pennsylvania combined. It is our largest State except Texas. Thus this great commonwealth, chief representative of the American Union on the Pacific coast, stands confronting the hoary Asiatic world with all the liberties and lights of our civilization. There is destiny in its attitude.

Its metropolis, San Francisco, which we are accustomed to think of as on the western extremity of our land, is, in fact, only about midway of its greatest breadth, counting to the farthest Alaskan island. Daylight never quite deserts the Republic during the summer; with the decline of the day on its extreme west comes the morning light on its extreme east.

When Lee arrived in Oregon the only houses on the site of San Francisco were the presidio and mission buildings, founded in 1776. Though scattered Mexican posts and missions had long been established among the Indians of California, and some stray immigrants from the United States had reached it, its gold resources were still unknown. And yet only sixteen years were to elapse before California's admission into the American Union as one of its most richly endowed States, with a population of 92,597. The national census of 1890 gave it 1,204,130. San Francisco, an almost solitary wilderness of sand in Lee's day, is a splendid metropolis with a population in 1890 of 298,997 souls, and, if we add those of the neighboring

city of Oakland (which practically belongs to it), of 347,679. The State has an area of 158,360 square miles.

In 1848 gold was discovered on the Sutter estate in El Dorado County. The report of this fact spread rapidly, not only over the United States, but over the civilized world, a mania of emigration. The memorable year 1849 witnessed a sort of invasion of the land.

Methodism could not neglect such an opportunity of bearing forward the standard of the cross. William Roberts, who labored heroically in Oregon and was now superintendent of the mission, saw that here a great opportunity was opening to the Church. The historian of Methodist missions tells the story.

"God," he writes, "had been in advance of the multitude, and the laborious pioneers, of whom Roberts was the commander, were on the coast, ready to go down and give the seekers of gold that which was beyond all price. On their way to Oregon in 1847, as already recited, some of those ministers had halted at San Francisco, and several sermons were preached by Rev. J. H. Wilbur and Rev. William Roberts. A class was formed and a school established. In the absence of pastoral care these were soon scattered, but were again collected in 1849 by Messrs. Anthony and Hosford. In June, 1849, Superintendent Roberts, by direction of Bishop Waugh, visited almost all parts of California, and put the class at San Francisco in charge of Asa White. All things were preparing for the establishment of a distinct work on this part of the coast, and it soon began. At a meeting held on the 21st of June, 1848, the Board recommended the bishops to appoint two missionaries to California. In the fall the bishop having charge of foreign missions replied that he would do so with as little delay as possible, and he did appoint Rev. Isaac Owen, of the Indiana Conference, and Rev. William Taylor, of the Baltimore Conference. Mr. Owen, being in the West, took the overland route, and Taylor went by sea. Mr. Owen was charged with the superintendency of this new work. The Gospel was now fairly let loose among the gambling and drinking saloons of California, and was ringing in clear notes up the mountain sides and along the streams of this golden but

sinful land. Backsliders were reclaimed, sinners awakened, and Christians were rallied to the standard of Christ. Mr. Roberts, before he left Oregon, had bought materials for a church twenty-four by forty feet, and had it framed on the banks of the Willamette and shipped. It arrived before Mr. Roberts left California on his return to Oregon, and it awaited the coming of Messrs. Owen and Taylor. Thriving societies soon sprang up at Sacramento, San José, Stockton, and Santa Cruz, and the Gospel was carried into many a mining camp. Missionaries were multiplied as the immigration increased. In the year ending with May, 1852, the bishops sent eighteen men to this field, thirteen of them with families. Some of these yet remain in the field, and some of them have risen to eminence in other portions of the Church. Thus the Church and Conference in California have come to exist as we see them now in their full strength—the children of the Missionary Society. The California Conference was organized by Bishop Ames in the Powell Street Church, San Francisco, February 3, 1853, at which time there were reported 1,274 members and 114 probationers, being double the number the churches reported the preceding year. Eighteen hundred dollars was reported as raised for the missionary treasury. The same territory is now covered by several Conferences."*

Taylor and Owen preached in the streets and among the miners. They were inspired with evangelical heroism for the crisis, and did memorable work. Samuel D. Simonds from the Michigan Conference, Edward Bannister from Oneida, Martin C. Briggs from Erie were soon added to their number. Taylor had prepared at Baltimore and sent out by sea the wrought materials of a church, which became the first Methodist edifice in Sacramento. Subsequently were started the *California Christian Advocate* and the Methodist Book Depository in San Francisco. The University of the Pacific, near Santa Clara, and the Collegiate Institute at Napa, afterward Napa College,† were founded; and Chinese, Japanese, and Swedish home missions are doing effective work under the direction of the Conference. The Southern California Confer-

* Reid, *History of Methodist Episcopal Missions*, vol. i, pp. 145–147.

† In 1896 Napa College was merged in the University of the Pacific.

ence was detached in 1875, and has an extensive system of educati nal institutions under the title, "The University of Southern California." This Conference has extended its labors to the boundary line of Mexico and beyond it. On the coast there are already two German Conferences and one Norwegian and Danish. "To Methodism," wrote the late Bishop Peck, who labored eight years in the State, "belongs the honor of saving the State of California to freedom. Until recently it was equal there to all the other Protestant denominations put together."*

Methodism extended, as we have said, from the Oregon Mission to all points of this third "new world." Nathan R. Peck was appointed in 1861 presiding elder of a single district which comprised, besides all California east of the Sierra Nevada, the entire present State of Nevada, and became the basis of the present Nevada Mission. And in similar pioneer labors began those new and promising Conferences which now cover, not only the coast, but the whole region between the Rocky and Sierra Nevada ranges. The increasing westward emigration invaded even Utah, the secluded refuge of Mormonism, and the Methodist pioneers reared their standard in Salt Lake City. Lewis Hartsough, acting presiding elder of Wyoming District of the Colorado Conference, penetrated to the Utah region and preached at Salt Lake with good effect. The Missionary Board at New York recognized the work in Utah as a mission in 1869, and Bishop Ames appointed him its superintendent. He was thus the pioneer of the Church in the Mormon country, and procured in 1870 Gustavus M. Pierce as pastor at Salt Lake City, who soon succeeded him as superintendent. In 1872 the Rocky Mountain Conference was formed, and included the "Territories of Utah, Idaho, and Montana, and that portion of Wyoming Territory not included in the Colorado Conference;" but in 1876 most of Idaho fell into the Columbia River Conference, and in 1880 the Montana and Utah Missions were organized.

Colorado—some of whose waters descend the Pacific slope, while its superb young city of Denver looks down upon the second "new world" of Methodism, the valley of the Missis-

* Daniels, *History of Methodism*, p. 680.

sippi—has become an important seat of the denomination. The Methodist Episcopal Church has a flourishing Conference in the State and a score of churches in Denver, where also it maintains a deaconess home and a vigorous university, with its group of professional and technical schools.

The Conferences on the Pacific slope which have sprung up since the origin of the Oregon Mission are, as officially reported for 1890, as follows: *Oregon*, with 89 itinerants, 37 local preachers, and 7,578 communicants; *Puget Sound*, 97 itinerants, 55 local preachers, and 5,162 communicants; *Columbia River*, 80 itinerants, 69 local preachers, and 4,531 communicants; *North Pacific German Mission*, 15 itinerants, 3 local preachers, and 452 communicants; *California*, 207 itinerants, 136 local preachers, and 14,109 communicants: *Southern California*, 134 itinerants, 66 local preachers, and 9,332 communicants; *California German Mission Conference*, 19 itinerants, 17 local preachers, and 829 communicants; *Northwest Norwegian and Danish Mission*, 12 itinerants, 4 local preachers, and 498 communicants. These Conferences in 1890 aggregated 653 itinerants, 387 local preachers, and 42,491 communicants. If we add the mountain Conferences, which meanwhile sprung from the immigration that has swept over the Rocky and Nevada ranges since the arrival of Lee, we have the *Idaho Conference*, with 24 itinerants, 12 local preachers, and 1,226 communicants; the *Montana Conference*, 42 itinerants, 14 local preachers, and 1,891 communicants; *Wyoming Mission*, 13 itinerants, 1 local preacher, and 719 communicants; *Nevada Mission*, 19 itinerants, 25 local preachers, and 996 communicants; *Utah Mission*, 20 itinerants, 12 local preachers, and 1,052 communicants; *Colorado*, 133 itinerants, 89 local preachers, and 8,293 communicants; *New Mexico English Mission*, 9 itinerants, 5 local preachers, and 443 communicants; *New Mexico Spanish Mission*, 27 itinerants, 3 local preachers, and 1,430 communicants; *Arizona Mission*, 10 itinerants, 4 local preachers, and 411 communicants; making a grand aggregate of 950 itinerants, 552 local preachers, and 58,952 communicants—numbers which have much advanced since 1890, the date of our calculations.

I have thus, cursorily and very inadequately, sketched a

series of events which form one of the most extraordinary chapters in the history of our age or of any age—such, indeed, as could hardly occur elsewhere on our planet. I have alluded somewhat to the secular as well as the religious developments of these regions, because both have been historically correlated and illustrate each other. Lee's mission was at least the precursor of these marvelous events, whatever may be our estimate of its potential agency in them. It began (1834) when there were none of our later facilities for such developments, for down to 1850 there was "not a foot of railroad west of the Mississippi River," while to-day there are, in Oregon and its daughter State, Washington, 4,334 miles of iron tracks. Two years after Lee's arrival there were but about one thousand miles of railroad in the whole nation; the Pacific coast States alone now have over nine times as many, and the remaining new States and Territories which we have been considering are threaded by them to the number of nearly fifteen thousand miles.

Most of the territory now the theater of these unforeseen results did not then even belong to the nation, but to foreign governments; for the United States did not acquire it until the Texas annexation of 1845, the Oregon division of 1846, the Mexican cessions of 1848 and 1853, and the Russian purchase of 1867. A cabinet secretary of the national government has, as we have seen, acknowledged that Oregon was saved to the United States by its religious missions; that "from 1834, when the American missionaries first penetrated this remote region," the contest for it began; that the missions "attracted thither the tide of emigration" which rescued it. It was nine years after Lee had preached the first Protestant sermon on the Pacific slope that the missionaries, trappers, and other immigrants, five hundred strong, had, with genuine American spirit, organized on the Columbia a "provisional government," "without federal authority," but with "executive, legislative, and judicial powers." Thus was the national ensign unfurled beside that of the cross, and these great republican States arose on the foundations laid by Christian missionaries.

Yet these were regions of whose importance our national

statesmen had to be persuaded by the missionaries. We have seen what the greatest of the contemporary statesmen thought of them. Thirteen years after Lee's arrival, when a petition was presented in Congress for the extension of the postal service to them, it was remarked in a speech in the capital that "the Rocky Mountains would be the limit of railroad enterprise across our continent; that the barrier presented by these huge elevations and the extensive 'desert tract' beyond them must certainly prevent the development of the Pacific States." * "What," asked Webster, "do we want with this vast, worthless area—this region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts of shifting sands and whirlwinds, of dust, of cactus, and prairie dogs? To what use could we ever hope to put these great deserts, these endless mountain ranges? What can we ever hope to do with the western coast?" The Church has taught the State what to do with them, at least it has helped to do so, in a manner most memorable.

When the local annals, ecclesiastical and civil, of the Pacific coast and Rocky Mountains shall be more fully recorded they will afford the materials for volumes of unparalleled interest.

* Ballou, *New Eldorado*, p. 4.

CHAPTER II.

THE EPISCOPATE.

HAVING sketched the territorial progress of the Church east of the Alleghanies and in the Mississippi valley in my first volume, and its later outspread on the Pacific coast and among the Rocky Mountains in the preceding chapter, I propose to give, in as brief and general a form as possible, the farther history of the denomination, reserving for a few concluding chapters its missionary extension abroad. Happily this can be comprehensively done on the plan of the preceding volume, which from the year 1820 ceases to chronicle in detail the proceedings of the General Conferences, but gives the substance of those proceedings in summary, and classified accounts of the important institutions and other great interests to which the quadrennial proceedings have chief reference.

In entering on that epoch (1820) the record remarks that "in nothing, perhaps, have these quadrennial sessions shown greater caution and wisdom than in the supply of the episcopate. That office sustains the highest responsibility and wields the greatest power of the denomination." * A list of its incumbents down to the year 1864 has been given, including some of the most representative men of the denomination, beginning with Asbury and Coke, and ending with Clark, Thomson, and Kingsley. Including Francis Burns, Missionary Bishop for Africa, there had been twenty-two of them from the organization of the Church in 1784.

From the General Conference of 1864 down to 1890 there were twenty-four additional consecrations: John W Roberts, Missionary Bishop for Africa, in 1866; Thomas Bowman, William L. Harris, Randolph S. Foster, Isaac W Wiley, Stephen M. Merrill, Edward G. Andrews, Gilbert Haven, Jesse T. Peck —all in 1872; Henry W Warren, Cyrus D. Foss, John F. Hurst, Erastus O. Haven, in 1880; William X. Ninde, John M.

* *Compendious History of American Methodism*, p. 519.

Walden, Willard F Mallalieu, Charles H. Fowler, William Taylor (Missionary Bishop for Africa), in 1884; John H. Vincent, James N. FitzGerald, Isaac W Joyce, John P Newman, Daniel A. Goodsell, James M. Thoburn (Missionary Bishop for India and Malaysia), in 1888.*

Of these nearly half a hundred highest functionaries of the Church, serving it through more than a hundred years, not one has ever been seriously impeached (except in a single case, connected with the antislavery agitations of the nation). They have been found faithful to their difficult functions and heroically devoted to their hard labors—functions and labors which require more travel, more domestic privation, and more mental strain and anxiety than any other position in the Church. And the Church, with the humblest theory of episcopacy, has not failed to treat them with the highest reverence for their work's sake, clothing them with official dignities, providing, if not opulently, yet competently, for their families, their widows and orphans, and investing them with authority hardly equaled in the more autocratic episcopates of the Greek, Latin, and Anglican Churches.

The episcopate of American Methodism is unique. It is episcopacy without prelacy. It claims no "divine right" or "apostolic succession." The Church acknowledges the validity of Anglican Methodism, of Presbyterianism, or Congregationalism to be as indisputable as its own. It even disclaims distinction for its episcopate as an "order" in the ministry, avowing it to be but an "office," and its bishop but a presbyter, or elder, though a presiding one—*primus inter pares*, first among equals.

Strange to say, this episcopate, so unpretentious in theory, must be pronounced the most colossal in official responsibilities and territorial sway known to history. It disowns all diocesan limitations, except in two special mission fields. Wesley said, "The world is my parish;" the successors of the superintendents, or bishops, whom he appointed over his people in America can say, "The world is our diocese." They are required by the organic law of the Church to travel and super-

* Charles C. McCabe, Earl Cranston, and Joseph C. Hartzell (Missionary Bishop for Africa) were consecrated in 1896.

vise its interests throughout its whole domain, not only over the whole country, but around the whole earth. They present in this respect a sublime spectacle of apostolic episcopacy—or superintendency—and propagandism; and at our present date they find their cause demanding their care, in continual visitations, not only throughout the United States, but in Mexico, South America, Europe, Africa, India, Malaysia, China, Korea, and Japan. They preside in the Annual Conferences, of which there were in 1890 no less than 127; officially interpret the Church law in them; ordain their candidates; make out the annual pastoral appointments of their "effective" preachers, now about twelve thousand, all subject to redistribution after every first or, at longest, every fifth year. They preach incessantly, at ordinations, dedications, and as much as possible on ordinary as well as extraordinary occasions. They must stand ready to intervene, with assuaging counsels or, if need be, with disciplinary authority, in local church altercations and other exigencies. Their power, especially in the distribution of preachers at the Annual Conferences, is, as we have seen, theoretically extreme; though practically it is now shared by the presiding elders of the Conference districts, who form a sort of advisory cabinet at the annual sessions, but without positive authority. The petitions of the people in individual churches and the solicitations of the individual preachers themselves have doubtless much influence over the appointments. But the bishop has, nevertheless, as absolute command over all the effective pastors of the Church as a general over an army; he can transpose them at his discretion from one field to another, from one end of the nation to another. He might well decline such an onerous authority, but the Church imposes it upon him. At the beginning the pastors themselves, upon whom it most severely bore, enjoined it by their Conference legislation; at a later period they introduced lay representation into their legislative, or General, Conference; and thus the subjects of this extreme episcopal prerogative, both pastors and people, sustain it, having absolute legislative and judicial control of it. They appoint the bishop and make the laws which give him his powers, and can suspend, abridge, or abrogate

them by prescribed process. They control his support and that of his family, and, while imposing on him the severest labors and responsibilities known in the ecclesiastical world, they subject him to the severest accountability. As has been remarked, not only for criminal, but even for "improper" conduct, they can cite him to judicial trial, and can suspend or expel him; a rigor which was originally peculiar to him, though it has subsequently been extended to all his ministerial brethren. His administration is quadrennially revised by a committee of the General Conference, before whom the humblest subject of his power can call him to account for any alleged grievance.

Singular fact, that the body of Christians which is by far the largest in this democratic nation should present such a spectacle of official power! This very fact is, however, a demonstration of the good sense and moral heroism of its people. Methodists have assumed from the beginning that their cause has a special vocation; that it is essentially, and should be specially, aggressive, militant, throughout the land and throughout the world. Its church manual is significantly called the "Book of Discipline." Its ecclesiastical system is confessedly a species of military *régime*. It is designedly such, and for an heroic purpose; and that purpose has been realized as historical achievement for more than a hundred years. If the Methodist citizen, preacher or layman, feels that he sacrifices some personal rights for his Church system, he feels at the same time honored by doing so, as he does when he enters the army or navy of his government. One of the highest rights of a freeman is the right to suspend or sacrifice a right for the common cause of his country. He does this whenever he enters her military service and, though a sovereign citizen, subjects himself to the absolute authority of military command. He himself, with his fellow-citizens, has constituted that authority and prescribed its powers. He is still a free citizen, though a submissive soldier.

The bishop is elected by the General, or quadrennial, Conference, composed, in our present period, of lay as well as clerical delegates. He is consecrated by the imposition of the hands of three bishops, or of a bishop and two elders. Though

his diocese is the world, the General Conference enacts a list of episcopal residences, in one of which his family is located and his intervals of rest, if any such he may have, are spent. These residences are distributed at various points throughout the nation, and their occupants have a right of choice of them according to official seniority.

The "Book Committee," composed of preachers and laymen, representing all parts of the nation, and having intimate relations to the "Book Concern," estimate the salaries of the bishops, including their traveling expenses, and the support of their widows and orphan children. The amount is apportioned among the Annual Conferences, which provide it by a yearly collection in their churches. This allowance, as has been suggested, is not lavish, but it is sufficient. It is about the same as the chief editors, secretaries, and publishing agents of the Church receive. There are a few Methodist city pastors who receive more.

Their hardest and most anxious task, the appointment of the preachers, has been relieved by the prolongation of the term, or period, of the appointments. Originally there was no fixed term. It was left entirely to the discretion of the bishop. But the people were clamorous for novel excitements and frequent changes in their pulpits. Preachers were transposed in less than a year; usually from city to city every four months, and from circuit to circuit semiannually. Asbury, recognized as Wesley's "assistant," or representative, and having the appointing power, solicited in self-defense legislation from the Conferences against this inconvenience, and one year was recognized as the shortest term, except in cases of unexpected emergency. In 1804 it was extended to two years. With the advancement of the denomination, the insulation of the churches—from circuits to stations—and especially the improved education of the ministry, a new demand arose among the people; they wished more stable pastorates; and the term of the appointments was extended, in 1864, to three years, and at last, in 1888, to five, with, however, the discretionary power of the bishop to make exigent changes at any time within these periods.

The appointment of missionary bishops seemed at first an

innovation of doubtful expediency in the episcopate, which had been so long and scrupulously guarded against local limitations. It began with Africa, where the occasional episcopal visitations from America had been attended, not only with much expense and inconvenience, but sometimes with effects sooner or later fatal to the health of the visitor. Two African preachers of good qualifications were successively consecrated to the perilous field—Francis Burns in 1858, and John W. Roberts in 1866. In 1884, nine years after the latter's death, he was succeeded by William Taylor, who, though a white native of the United States and advanced in years, seems invulnerable to the pestilential climate.* The innovation has thus become recognized as an established precedent, and was confirmed later in our present period (1888) by the consecration of James M. Thoburn as Bishop for India and Malaysia. It has come to be looked upon by many as a normal development in the progress of Methodism, a necessary accommodation to the universal outspread over the planet which is now its avowed aim and destiny. The missionary bishops have complete episcopal powers, but their administrative jurisdiction is limited to their specified mission fields. These fields are, however, so immense as hardly to suggest to the stanchest Methodist any objectionable idea of limitation or localization of their office, or to impair in any way the "itinerancy" which the Discipline has always enjoined. Bishop Thoburn, with the three hundred millions of Indian and Malaysian population, and Bishop Taylor, with two hundred millions of Africans, have each sufficient episcopal scope to disarm all logic founded on the original form of the organic "restrictive rule" of the Church. That rule has, moreover, been changed and adapted to the new and inevitable exigency.

Necessity has given origin to another innovation in connection with the episcopate which, though unrecognized by the Church and unmentioned in its laws, is virtually one of the most momentous assemblies in its system or in the modern ecclesiastical world. I allude to the quiet, scarcely announced

* The General Conference of 1896 placed Bishop Taylor upon the non-effective list, and elected Joseph C. Hartzell his successor. Bishop Taylor is still, however, engaged in active missionary labors in the Dark Continent.

semiannual meetings of its bishops, in May and November, for the territorial apportionment of their world-wide work. The fact that it is world-wide necessitates this regular half-yearly redistribution of their labors. It is on this unostentatious occasion that, twice a year, the great administrative work of the episcopate, the scheme of episcopal visitation to the Annual Conferences, is planned. The public know this scheme only by its subsequent announcement in the Church journals. All these periodicals give it in tabular form semiannually. The bald table, published, as it is, without comment, may be said to have, indeed, a sublime significance. In it are given merely the names of the presiding bishops and the dates and localities of the meetings of the Annual Conferences for the ensuing six months. But much of the geography of the globe is comprised in this bare outline. The Annual Conferences, which are veritable synods of the Church in their respective limits, are given, not only for every State and Territory of the American Union, and generally several of them for each State, but for all the world—for Mexico, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Bulgaria, Africa, Bengal, North India, South India, Malaysia, Foochow, Central China, West China, North China, Korea. So reads but a portion of this plan of campaign for the first six months of 1891. There is work and battle in every line of it. In all these sections of the great field the episcopal chiefs meet, at the appointed times and places, the rank and file of the ministerial host, and give the orders and sound the trumpet for the succeeding year's campaign.

Such is the historical development of this most salient feature of organic Methodism down to our own day. Very remarkable has been its history; still more remarkable may be its destiny. Its prominent importance in the polity of the Church is too obvious to be questioned.

1. It has, under God, been a chief factor in the practical system of the denomination. We can hardly conceive of the successful operation of that great and unique system without it. The efficiency of its itinerancy, its military regimen, and its consequent energetic aggressiveness, by which it not only has become the chief Protestant denomination of the New World, but has been extended around the whole world, are

largely owing to its powerful episcopate, directing and supervising all its movements. Dr. James Dixon, one of the most statesmanlike intellects produced by British Methodism, and its representative to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1848, published in England after his visit to America a book on the unrivaled prosperity of the denomination in the United States, which he attributes largely to its episcopal government; and he does not hesitate to affirm that the episcopal system of American Methodism is a genuine expression of Wesley's conception of the polity best befitting the Methodist movement. For obvious reasons Wesley could not nominally adopt it in England, but he practically exemplified it in his own leadership of the Wesleyan body. At the first Ecumenical Conference of Methodism, held in London, September, 1881, was presented a tabular exhibit of the movement throughout the world, in which all the episcopal branches were grouped together. These had 23,566 itinerant preachers, 3,713,265 members, 40,840 Sunday schools, and 2,824,662 Sunday school scholars; while the non-episcopal branches had but 9,086 itinerant preachers, 1,253,624 members, 18,420 Sunday schools, and 1,978,350 Sunday school scholars. The non-episcopal class had no less than fifteen divisions, or sects, while the episcopal had but ten. Though the former was much the oldest, and occupied exclusively some important fields, as the United Kingdom, France, and Australia, it excelled episcopal Methodism only in the number of its sects and its local, or lay, preachers; while episcopal Methodism had much more than twice the number of regular itinerant preachers, nearly three times the number of members, and more than twice the number of Sunday schools.

2. It has enabled the denomination to maintain administrative uniformity throughout its ever-expanding limits. Its bishops are the only authoritative expounders of its laws, not only in its Annual Conferences, but in its Judicial Conferences, in which they are required to preside.

3. The episcopate, more than any other instrumentality of the Church, has represented and perpetuated the sentiment of its ecclesiastical unity. Its moral unity, which it fully shares, we must trust, with other Christian bodies, has been main-

BISHOP LEVI SCOTT.

tained by abundant other means, and is undoubtedly the best basis of its ecclesiastical unity; but the latter has been inestimably important to its special work both at home and abroad. Its very prosperity has tended to diminish the sentiment of this ecclesiastical unity. Its local churches have become more and more consolidated and insulated. Its old "circuits," once universal in the city as well as the country, have been cut up into "stations." Its old Conferences, in some cases including and overlapping several States, have been divided and again divided into the numerous Conferences of to-day, in some instances one into three or five. Its ministry, once a sort of common pastorate, incessantly redistributed, and giving it a profound sentiment of unity and brotherhood, has become in a sense localized. Some great common interests, like foreign missions and educational institutions, have sprung up to alleviate this adverse but inevitable tendency. The General Conference has remained a representative of the primitive unity, but its sessions are only quadrennial. The episcopate has, meanwhile, been the living, omnipresent embodiment of the old ecclesiastical unity. It belongs to no insulated part of the Church, but to the whole. It is the common, chief pastorate of the entire brotherhood. It is always in motion, through all the limits of the denomination.

4. Its "appointing power" has made possible the continual apportionment of the various talents of the ministry according to the various local needs of the churches. Some of these may need "sons of thunder" or revivalists, others teachers or instructors; some church builders, others financiers skillful in the relief of church debts. The limited term of appointment and the redistributing power of the episcopate provide for all such emergencies in a manner unequaled in any other ecclesiastical economy. Congregationalism would seem at first glance adapted to be the most popular church system, or, at least, the one most in harmony with the political spirit of the country, but historically it has not approached in success this military organization of Methodism. American Congregationalism reports hundreds of pastors without churches, and hundreds of churches without pastors. In episcopal Metho-

dism every pastor has a church, and every church is provided with a pastor.*

Lastly, it may be remarked that the episcopate—being usually composed of men of superior talent and high character, many of them preëminent preachers, incessantly itinerating through the length and breadth of the denomination—presents everywhere to its ministry and people salutary models of character and ability, and to the general public effective vindications of the denomination.

* "Those who are inclined to complain that the itinerant yoke is heavy to bear should consider well the following facts. Of the 6,894 Presbyterian churches in this country, 1,107 are pastorless; and 1,122 of its 6,128 ordained ministers are without charges. All the Baptists have about thirty thousand churches, and about ten thousand of them have no pastors. The itinerancy has many drawbacks, but it has many advantages."—*Southern California Christian Advocate*. "The average period which the Congregational pastors of New England, not counting students and licentiates, have been in their present fields of service is six years. In Vermont it falls much lower, being four and a half years."—President Hyde, of Bowdoin College, in *The Forum*, June, 1892. The longest term of the Methodist appointments is, therefore, about equal to the average length of the Congregational "settlements." The former is regulated by law, the latter by circumstances.

CHAPTER III.

LAY REPRESENTATION.

In our present period was introduced into the organic system of the Church an innovation which may be pronounced a revolution—lay representation in its General Conference, a change from which has resulted, both directly and indirectly, an immense augmentation of its lay activity.

Lay activity has always been a characteristic of Methodism. Bishop Simpson, in pleading for lay representation as early as 1863, said: "Methodism was from its beginning, and is in its nature, the uprising and development of lay influence. What were the laity in the churches prior to Mr. Wesley's great movement in England? I speak of the English churches. What did they do? What part did they take? The minister conducted the services. There were no church officers, in the sense of our modern church officers, to exercise anything like spiritual functions. Mr. Wesley's great movement called lay influence into exercise in the Church. Class leaders were appointed, stewards were called into action, exhorters were licensed, local preachers were selected, and there came up out of the ranks of the Church a body of laymen to spread personal holiness through the Church. And what was the nature of the attack made on Methodism? It was attacked on this very ground, that it was profaning holy things, that it was calling laymen to the exercise of ecclesiastical functions; and if you read the records of those times, and the history of the contests of those times, you will find that Wesley and the early Methodists were charged with this special crime of intruding men into the sacred office who were unfit for the position, and of giving to laymen a part of the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs. Methodism not only did this, but it came to the people teaching every man to work. It called upon the men to pray; it called upon the women to speak; and long before the days when women's rights were talked about Mr. Wesley had our

mothers talking in the prayer meetings and in the class meetings, many of them becoming burning and shining lights in the Church. And, sir, I believe there is many a man among us who owes much of what he is to the fact that his mother had learned to talk in the Methodist church. Methodism is, in its essential action, an uprising of the popular element. Wesley selected many of his preachers from laymen. He called them to go and preach the unsearchable riches of Christ. He gathered those preachers around him, and he counseled with them in reference to carrying on his great work. So much for the usages of the Church. The first contest of Methodism, then, was to secure to the people this position—this working position in the Church." *

Almost from its origin the Methodist Episcopal Church had more or less discussion on possible modifications of its severe, its military *régime;* not so much in favor of the abridgment of its effective powers as in favor of a larger share in their control by the people; for, by what at first seemed unavoidable circumstances, its Annual and General Conferences were exclusively clerical. We have noticed in our first volume the Hammett schism in South Carolina as early as 1791, and the O'Kelly secession, with its "Republican Methodists," in Virginia in 1792. The local preachers, always more numerous than the "regular" or itinerant ministry, asked as early as 1816 for representation in the General Conference; and in 1821 the laity were called upon to demand their rights.

The movement resulting in the Methodist Protestant Church, practically begun in 1821, brought to a crisis in 1828, and definitely organized in 1830, has been sketched in the preceding volume. While primarily it opposed episcopacy, one of its main objects was the introduction of lay representation. The action of the General Conference of 1828, with Emory's famous report (written by Dr. Thomas E. Bond) against the "reformers," seemed for years conclusive of the controversy in the parent Church. The reformers were called "radicals" by their opponents; and "radicalism" became a synonym in the Church generally for agitation and "destructivism." The acrimony of the controversy would

*G. R. Crooks, *Life of Bishop Matthew Simpson*, pp. 419, 420.

hardly now be credible. A writer who witnessed those belligerent days says: "In Methodist speech, to be a 'radical' was to be counted unfit for church fellowship. For a preacher to be known as a promoter of lay delegation was as much as his ecclesiastical life was worth. For him there was no hope, no preferment, no peace." * In fine, the merits of the question were nearly lost from sight amid the confusion and rancor of partisan leaders. The main question could be temporarily repressed, and from the best motives—that the peaceful work and prosperity of the Church might not be endangered by controversy; but it could not be extinguished. It recurred again, intensified by the great antislavery agitation, and was embodied in the organization of the American Wesleyan Church, which had seceded, ostensibly on account of slavery, from the parent body. It was immediately felt by the latter, especially within the New England States, that the seceders possessed in their lay representation an important advantage. They could appeal more effectively to the political spirit of the country; their leaders appeared before the Legislature of Massachusetts in opposition to petitions for the incorporation of societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and it was only after a week or more of struggle between the leaders of both parties, before a committee of the Legislature, with the reporters of the public press and crowds of spectators present, that the large body of Massachusetts Methodists could obtain a general bill for their incorporation such as had been accorded to the Congregationalists, Quakers, and other religious bodies. The absence of lay representation was the principal alleged objection. *Zion's Herald*, the organ of the New England Conferences, whose editor had been a defender of the old Church system, saw, with the leaders of the New England Methodists generally, that a new epoch had intervened in the history of the denomination, and that the "re-

* Professor G. R. Crooks, in his *Life of Bishop Matthew Simpson*, pp. 410, 411: "An amusing incident, of which I was myself a witness, will illustrate the universal feeling. An applicant for admission to the Philadelphia Conference in the year 1847 was objected to on several grounds. While the case was pending a respectable member of the Conference arose and said, 'Mr. President, I am opposed to the admission of this brother. I am told that he is a lay delegation man, and I had as lief travel with the devil as with a lay delegation man.'"

form" exemplified by the Methodist Protestants and the American Wesleyans must sooner or later be adopted by the parent Church. So profound, however, had been the opposition of the latter to the "radicalism" of the former that the new "reformers" had to proceed with great care not to provoke dangerous internal disturbances. The *Herald*, therefore, opened its columns at first simply for the "free discussion" of the question of lay representation, pro and con—a freedom of the press which it had maintained on the subject of slavery and which comported fully with the spirit of the New England people.

The influence of the Wesleyan secession, superadded to that of the earlier Methodist Protestant example, together with this opening of a Methodist press for the impartial discussion of the question, and, still more, the "great secession" of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, brought this question of lay representation again before the Church generally, and by 1851 or 1852 it became evident that it was an inevitable reform, though it was not to be accomplished without formidable and protracted opposition. The biographer of Bishop Simpson writes that "in 1852 affairs took a turn for the better. The laymen of Philadelphia, who keenly felt a dissatisfaction which was shared with them by many intelligent Methodists, summoned a convention to meet in that city. They profited by the experience of the past, and resolved to proceed in a peaceable spirit and by the use of peaceable means. They called into council with them the champion of the old system, Dr. Bond, now mellowed by age and, as I believe, convinced that some concessions should be made. He was ready to waive the question of right and to treat the subject in a wholly practical way. He even approved of a scheme of lay coöperation which had been adopted by the Tennessee Conference of the Southern Methodist Church. The earliest champion on the other side, Mr. Stockton, was also still living, and became a frequent, though an anonymous, contributor to the organ of the laymen, the *Philadelphia Christian Advocate*. But how changed the men! The two antagonists, possibly unknown to each other as disputants in this newly ordered battlefield, retained the intellectual keen-

ness, but had outlived the fiery zeal of their earlier years. Friend and foe were alike welcome to the columns of the *Philadelphia Advocate*, and the foes of lay delegation used their opportunity to the utmost. As the fruit of the convention, a petition was sent to the General Conference of 1852.

A step forward had been taken. The question of right was put aside, and the other question of the utility of a representation of the laity was brought to the front. To secure the Church against what was supposed to be a threatening danger Dr. Bond was recalled to the chair of the New York *Christian Advocate*, but died before the expiration of his term of office. He still, however, during these closing years, relied upon the old arguments, republishing his famous *Appeal*, and claimed the authorship of the 'Report on Petitions and Memorials' of 1828—a point which up to this time had been in doubt. But the temper of the times was rapidly altering for the better. Laymen and ministers could now say that they favored lay delegation without instantly becoming objects of suspicion. Yet there were many who trembled with apprehension whenever this change in the constitution of the Church was named. A little incident will show the susceptibility of Methodist feeling in 1852. The convention of the laymen in Philadelphia was followed by a counter convention of the opposition in the spring of the same year. The venerable Dr. Bond presided. There were gathered about him, as officers and promoters of the objects of the assembly, some of the best-esteemed laymen of that day. The excellent brother who opened the devotional services read out the hymn beginning,

'Jesus, great Shepherd of the sheep,
To thee for help we fly;
Thy little flock in safety keep,
For, oh! the wolf is nigh.'

The innocent wolves were sitting quietly in the congregation, and were highly amused at the turn that had been made on them. The reader of the hymn was, however, one of the lay delegates elected to the General Conference of 1872." *

The petition from the Philadelphia convention of 1852 was

* G. R. Crooks, *Life of Bishop Matthew Simpson*, pp. 411–413.

well considered in the General Conference of that year, held in Boston. With not a few other petitions, favorable and unfavorable, it was thoroughly debated in a committee of twenty-nine, the president of which was Matthew Simpson, not yet elected bishop, but who later became the chief episcopal champion of the "reform." Many of its friends, both in the committee and the Conference, thought they saw evidence that public opinion in the Church was not yet sufficiently matured for the immediate adoption of the measure. While they felt sure of its ultimate success they hesitated before the agitation which might attend premature action upon it, especially as the whole Church and the whole country were in the throes of the antislavery controversy. The committee, therefore, reported against its expediency, affirming that a majority of the laity were still unfavorable to it.

A score of years were yet to elapse before Methodist laymen were to share with their pastors in the legislation of the Church; but the reformers moved steadily forward. They appealed again by petition to the General Conference in 1856, but the antislavery controversy interfered with the due consideration of the petitions. Public opinion, however, still advanced; and in the next General Conference (1860) the bishops themselves presented the subject in their usual address. They declared, "We are of opinion that lay delegation might be introduced in one form into the General Conference with safety and, perhaps, advantage, that form being a separate house." This concession brought the subject again into thorough discussion before the Conference. It pledged itself by vote to approve the change whenever it should become clear that the Church approved it; and in order to settle this doubt a general vote of preachers and laymen was appointed to be taken in the ensuing year (1861), a year in which by the breaking out of the Civil War the country was thrown into universal tumult. The vote, therefore, was comparatively small. The preachers gave 1,338 votes for, and 3,069 against the reform; the vote of the people amounted to 28,884 for, and 47,885 against it.

The *Methodist*, an independent, or "unofficial," paper, founded by prominent laymen of New York City, became

about this time an energetic advocate of the reform. Public meetings were held, the first in March, 1863, in the old John Street Church, where Bishop Simpson was induced to appear and advocate the cause. In the ensuing May a convention of its friends was held in St. Paul's Church, where, among others, the bishop delivered a remarkably effective speech, passages from which I have already cited. The movement had still, however, formidable odds to confront. The chief weekly organ and the *Quarterly Review* of the denomination were used effectively against it.* Many veterans of the ministry and also of the laity, remembering the disturbances and secessions of the Methodist Protestants and American Wesleyans, deprecated the renewed agitation as fraught with disaster. Dr. Bond's argument in Emory's report at the General Conference of 1828 was incessantly repeated as unanswerable and, therefore, conclusive of the question.† His argument was that, as the ministry is "divinely *called*" to preach, it must be responsible to God for its ministrations, and must, therefore, have a divine right to control them without authoritative interference from the laity; in other words, a divine right to govern the Church.

The controversy on lay representation needed, above all things, the correction of this enormous fallacy—the very basis of papal hierarchism, and entirely contrary to the doctrine of the "priesthood of the people," that universal priesthood of the Church as taught in the Christian Scriptures and reasserted by the Reformers of the sixteenth century, namely, that Christianity has a ministry, but no priesthood save the common priesthood of all saints under the high priesthood of Christ. This right of priesthood—no longer for the offering of sacrifice, but for the propagation of Christianity—being inherent in the whole Church, its responsibility is equally inherent and common, and the government of the Church, therefore, belongs to itself, not to a specific class of its members. Though it must as a matter of convenience relegate certain functions,

* See G. R. Crooks's *Life of Bishop Matthew Simpson*, chap. xviii, for examples.

† Even "Nicholas Snethen, a leader of the lay delegationists," and one of the founders of the Methodist Protestant Church, had pronounced it to be unanswerable. G. R. Crooks, *Life of Bishop Matthew Simpson*, p. 413.

as preaching, teaching, education, missions, to chosen men, yet these men are but its representatives in a common, a universal responsibility. Selected by the Church according to their qualifications for its work, they are also moved or "called" by the Divine Spirit to use their abilities in accordance with the demands of the Church in Christian functions and labors; but the Divine Spirit does not thereby release the Church itself from its common responsibility as a universal priesthood. This great idea of the Reformation and of primitive Christianity was the very best argument for the new movement. It swept away the basis of Bond's logic and of the scruples of thousands of sincere opponents of lay representation. But it was astonishing to observe how its distinct avowal startled many minds, and how not a few of the timid advocates of the "reform" hastened to avert, through the press, unfavorable interpretations by qualifying, explaining, if not attenuating, this explicit and glorious truth of the best ages of the Church.

Meanwhile the cause continued to advance. Another convention of its friends was appointed to be held at the seat of the General Conference of 1864. Besides its energetic advocacy by *Zion's Herald*, the *Philadelphia Advocate*, and the *Methodist*, some of the official periodicals of the denomination, particularly those of Cincinnati and Chicago, had now entered the lists in its favor, and virtually assured its final success. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had, in its General Conference of 1866, conceded it on a liberal scale. The parent Church was being left in the rear; the three greatest secessions from it, its three greatest competitors before the democratic American public, had enfranchised their laymen; it was high time for it to decide the question. At its General Conference for 1868, held in Chicago, it reaffirmed its willingness to admit lay representation whenever the Church should demand it; and a plan was devised for the submission of the question to the popular vote of the churches, as well as to the constitutional vote of the ministry in the Annual Conferences, in order that the change might, if it should be ordered at all, be consummated before the next General Conference, and lay delegates take seats in the

latter. The popular vote was now incontestably in its favor, being about one hundred thousand for it, and about fifty thousand against it; but the issue in the Annual Conferences seemed for some time still doubtful. In 1869 Bishop Simpson wrote to Bishop Ames: "I feel an intense interest in the subject, growing out of the attitude of the Church, South. If we are to have a union with other Methodist bodies, it can only be on the basis of admitting the lay element as they all have it. But, if we are not to have it, then all along our border, as well as through the South, we must stand face to face with the Church, South, which when the slavery question is settled will have no point of difference with us excepting this lay element; and I fear they can so use this question as to greatly retard our progress." In May, 1870, Simpson wrote from the Maine Conference: "Matters look very badly here. We shall be beaten, and I think that lay delegation is probably lost. My heart is sore and sad May God direct us." Later he wrote from the same Conference more hopefully, but feared that the action of the Conference in Germany might finally defeat the measure.

Though Simpson alone, among the bishops, was openly devoted to the reform, his episcopal colleagues now agreed with him that the honor of the ministry required the General Conference to concede it, after its pledge to do so whenever a majority of the Church should demand it. The contest, so protracted and severe, now hastened to its conclusion. The required vote of the Annual Conferences was obtained, and 129 lay delegates took their seats in the ensuing General Conference (at Brooklyn, N. Y., in 1872) among 292 ministerial members. The great revolution was achieved.

Its friends could only regret that the ratio of the lay to the ministerial representation was not larger. Many of them wished it to be equal to that of the ministry, as it is in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the Methodist Protestant Church, and also in the American Wesleyan Church. In the Methodist Episcopal Church it consists of two laymen for each Annual Conference, while the ministerial delegation consists of one for every forty-five members of each Conference. A late vote of the Annual Conferences (1890) on a proposi-

tion to equalize them was strongly in the negative. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the Protestant Methodists, and the American Wesleyans have given their laymen representation in their Annual, as well as their General, Conferences. No such right has yet been conceded by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its ancient conservatism yields slowly, but surely. Its policy has been to act in accordance with the Roman maxim, "*Festina lente*"—"Make haste slowly." It reserves its energy for determinate cases, and in them puts it forth irresistibly. Public opinion among its people is certain to triumph eventually, but on the single condition of patient and loyal persistence. In the present instance a great epoch-making innovation had triumphed. Its advantages were obvious:

First, it placed the Church correctly before the world on the question of ecclesiastical authority. No other great ecclesiastical body of the New World, except the Romanists, had retained thus far an exclusively clerical system of government. Our legislative power, at least, was entirely clerical, and our executive power was substantially so. We were essentially papal in this respect. There were early justifications enough, as we have seen, for this fact, but they had ceased to exist. It was time for the Church to rectify its attitude. It did so, and resolutely abdicated its position—ambiguous, to say the least—by the side of Romanism, and took its stand among the liberal bodies of Protestantism.

Secondly, it thus placed itself in harmony with modern thought and secured for itself the future. It had become the most popular form of religion in the Republic; and yet its government was in strange contrast with those doctrines of representative self-government which are sacred to American citizens. However justifiable in the militant circumstances of its beginning, this attitude could not possibly be maintained much longer; it was sure to be challenged by popular dissent, perhaps by controversy, agitation, and secession. Already the question of lay rights had been involved in three schisms. No prophet's ken was needed to see that, if Methodism would have an open, a free, a triumphant career for the future, it must get rid of this anti-republican obstruction; and it was a

proof of the good sense of its clergy and laity that, with so little friction or confusion, though with much cautious delay, they thus effectively revolutionized their old system and wheeled *en masse* into the line of march of universal Protestantism.

Lastly, this reform is of incalculable value to the Church from the new developments of her lay energy which it has occasioned. This was one great advantage which it secured, though not its only justification. It has brought her wisest laymen into her highest counsels. They are now more prominent than ever and more devoted than ever in all her great enterprises. We shall have occasion to notice this fact constantly in the ensuing pages.

The innovation necessitated the institution of a new Conference—the "Electoral Conference of Laymen"—which assembles on the third day of the session, and at the place of meeting, of each Annual Conference, at the session immediately preceding that of the General Conference. At the session of the General Conference in which laymen first shared, several of the chief financial interests of the Church were reorganized and placed upon a more businesslike basis, precarious "societies" being converted into Church "boards" immediately subject to the General Conference; and the "Book Concern" was for the first time opened for the trained business talents of laymen, by reason of which it took on that enlarged activity which, as we shall hereafter see, has rendered it preëminent among the publishing houses of Christendom. Some things remain yet to be done, as we have noticed, in order to perfect the reform, and its beneficent results thus far are, we may hope, but pledges of what is to come; but it is evident that it has opened the vast field of the Church to lay influence and activity, that it has taken away all just occasion for serious dissent or schism, that it has united the clergy and laity in the great interests of their common cause, and that it has thus been one of the most propitious "crises" in Methodist history.

CHAPTER IV.

LAY ACTIVITY—MISSIONS.

Our present period, comprising about a quarter of a century, has been signalized by this remarkable increase of lay activity to which allusion has been made in the preceding chapter. This has, indeed, become the most notable phase of the current history of the denomination. In earlier periods the zeal of lay Methodists was manifest mostly in the ardor, often too audible, of their social and public devotions. The camp meeting, borrowed from the Presbyterians of the West, was found to be a great convenience for the characteristically Methodist work of propagandism, especially in the sparsely settled frontier regions; but it was frequently attended by uncontrollable enthusiasm and those physical phenomena which had occurred in the early meetings of English Methodists and were a sore perplexity to John Wesley and abhorrent to his brother Charles, but which, curiously enough, seldom or never accompanied the more eloquent preaching of Whitefield. They early subsided in England, but lingered long in America and came, at last, to be considered characteristic of Methodist worship. Methodist authorities themselves were among the first to define their true nature as abnormal effects of religious excitement on the nervous system, and to give them their scientific name—"catalepsy." * Early in our present period they began to disappear, and with no diminution, or rather with great augmentation, of the lay zeal and practical energy of the Church.

But, while the audible emphasis and physical demonstrations of Methodist devotions have been passing away, there has seemed to some observers peril from a new excess—from superabundant schemes of work, from too many voluntary organizations, from the excessive machinery, and the multiplica-

* See the author's *History of Methodism*, vol. ii, p. 427; *Methodist Quarterly Review*, April, 1859, pp. 218-227.

tion of periodical organs, and its ever-recurring "conventions" or "conferences," all of which might endanger the simple organism and solidarity of the old-time Church itself. The evil, if evil it be, will, however, correct itself; and meanwhile it is reassuring to observe that the older, not to say more legitimate, methods of Church activity, have shared in this general progress. The number of Annual Conferences more than doubled in the twenty-five years covered by this volume. More than fourteen thousand local preachers were reported in 1890. In the same year the number of Sunday school teachers and officers was 194,784, and that of trustees of churches, stewards, and class leaders probably not far from four hundred thousand. These are the lay leaders of the denomination; they display continuous vigor and constitute a mighty host—we may perhaps venture to say, the largest body of lay agents anywhere engaged in Church work.

The missionary work of the denomination has been a striking example of its increasing activity during this period. I have already sketched the history of this greatest of what may be called its extra-Church organizations—one which, though at first a voluntary and independent institution, had such affinity with essential Methodism as to seem an inevitable outgrowth of it, and which has since become virtually an integral part of it. It was reorganized by the General Conference of 1872 as a "Church board." We have traced its progress from its origin, in 1819, down to the first appointment of its representative or "corresponding" secretaries by the General Conference, in 1836, and its rapid subsequent growth under these agents, Bangs, Capers, Ames, Pitman, Durbin, Harris, Trimble—a growth which has since kept pace with that of the Church and the nation, under Dashiell, Eddy, Reid, Fowler, McCabe, Peck, and Leonard. The Church has wisely placed at the head of this great interest many of its greatest men, of its most distinguished orators and executive leaders, and under their administration it has risen from a humble auxiliary of the home ministry, chiefly among Indians and slaves, to a world-wide agency for evangelization. * Not

* Its interest in foreign missions began in Boston and its neighborhood, and is attributable chiefly to the exertions of the late Dr. Charles K. True, a zealous

less than six of its secretaries have become bishops, in either the Methodist Episcopal Church or the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.*

From its organization, in 1819, down to 1890, its receipts, apart from those of the Woman's Home Missionary Society, the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, and the Board of Church Extension, amounted to $24,623,042.66. Its first year's receipts (1820) amounted to but $823; those of 1890 to $1,135,271.82.

In the seventy years of its history the society had passed through not a few vicissitudes and, during the first half of that period, some reverses; but during the latter half, with occasional variations, its revenue advanced at a rate which astonished the public and was a proof, not only of the increasing vitality of the Church, but also of its greatly increasing resources. At the close of the first half of the period (1855) its receipts were $219,304; at the end of the second half (1890) this amount was much more than quintupled. In the year 1880 its receipts were $559,371; ten years later they had more than doubled. The good cause had, indeed, kept triumphant pace with the advancing march of the nation and of the denomination. Those amounts, it must be remembered, do not include the contributions of the two women's missionary societies, or those of the Southern Methodists, who in 1890 contributed for missions about half a million dollars.

This extraordinary increase of missionary zeal—paralleled by most of the other great interests of the Church, and excelled by at least one of them—took place almost contemporaneously with the agitation and effectuation of lay representation. In the year of the Philadelphia lay convention (1852) the missionary receipts showed a decided increase over those of the preceding year. In the year 1871–2, the period

Methodist, a graduate and doctor of Harvard. a professor in the Wesleyan University, a man of genius and of profound piety. He inspired the young men of New England Methodism with their earliest enthusiasm for *foreign* evangelization, and by them led the parent Missionary Society into its career of universal missions.

* These are Emory, Waugh, Capers, Ames, Harris, and Fowler. To these must be added Bishop McCabe, elected by the General Conference of 1896.

in which lay delegates took their seats in the General Conference, they were $666,326, a larger sum than had ever been raised before except in the year 1866, when the centennial of the planting of American Methodism augmented temporarily all its contributions. In about ten years more (1882–3) they rose to $753,669. In 1886–7 they passed the million line, amounting to $1,044,795; and in 1890 the treasurer reported $1,135,271, and asked for the ensuing year $1,250,000.

This great cause has, in fact, become a supreme interest of the denomination, for it includes both domestic and foreign missions, and its one prime aim is identical with that of the Church itself, namely, the present and eternal salvation of individual souls by the Christianization of all lands. The Discipline of the denomination, therefore, abounds in statutes, about a quarter of a hundred, respecting it, and practically recognizes it as an organic part of the Church. The General Conference must have its committee on missions; the Annual Conference must have its missionary society, its missionary committee, its missionary anniversary, and must appoint at every session a preacher on the subject for the next session. At every session the presiding elders must report what has been done on their districts, and the pastors what has been done in their individual churches, for this great cause. Every individual church must have an annual missionary meeting and collection. Every Sunday school must have its missionary organization and contribution. Every district and quarterly, as well as every annual and quadrennial Conference, must have something to do—some committee, some inquiry, some report—to further this grand, universal movement of the Church for the evangelization of the human race.

Not content with the identification of this sublime cause with almost every department of the Church, nor with its management by a competent board of managers, consisting of bishops, pastors, and laymen, meeting monthly at New York, it was resolved in 1844 to give it a more imposing, a more comprehensive, not to say national, character by the appointment of a "General Missionary Committee," to meet annually in the city of New York. It now includes all the bishops; the corresponding and recording secretaries, the treasurer and the

assistant treasurer of the Missionary Society; one representative, appointed by the General Conference, from each of the fourteen "mission districts" into which the entire country is divided; and also fourteen delegates from the board of managers at New York. This general committee is composed of conspicuous representative Methodists, lay and clerical, from all parts of the country. Each year it spends most of a week, usually, in some important metropolis where its influence can be most effective—the morning in collective deliberation, the afternoon in committee business, the evening in public meetings where the missionary cause is advocated by the most eloquent men of the Church. A powerful influence extends from these annually changed centers to all the denomination, if not to all the nation, for the committee is not now allowed by the General Conference to meet in the same city more than once in four years. Its function is all-important. It determines what fields shall be occupied as foreign missions, the number of persons to be employed in them, the amount of funds necessary for their support, and also the amount which each bishop may draw for the domestic missions of the Conferences over which he shall preside. A notable schedule of these appropriations—such as may well be compared to the exchequer budgets of great States—is made out and published. This covers the four quarters of the globe, naming every mission field of the Church, at home and abroad, with the sum appropriated to it for the ensuing year. The General Missionary Committee is, then, an institution normally evolved from American Methodism, and a register of the progress of the denomination throughout the world, at once indicating and encouraging that progress.

As intimated also in the preceding chapter, the extraordinary increase of activity in the life of the Church which has characterized the present more than any other period of its history has been manifest among its women, as well as among its male members. The missionary spirit of the denomination has especially inspired them; and, though they share with the male members of their families in the stated missionary services and contributions of the public congregation, they have besides organized two distinct and efficient missionary

societies, which are managed by themselves—in strict subordination, however, to the authorities of the Church and its general Missionary Society. Two or three women's societies had been previously formed, but they were merely local auxiliaries to the general society, chiefly to raise funds for the latter. The two here mentioned have taken a larger scope.

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society was founded in Boston, Mass., in 1869, by a few Methodist ladies whose names should have perpetual record. They were Mrs. E. W Parker, recently from the Methodist mission in India; Mrs. William Butler, wife of the founder of the India mission; Mrs. T. A. Rich, Mrs. Lewis Flanders, Mrs. H. J. Stoddard, Mrs. Thomas Kingsbury, Mrs. W B. Merrill, and Mrs. O. T. Taylor. In about two months after its organization the society appointed Miss Isabella Thoburn its first missionary and sent her to India, where her brother, the Rev. Dr. James M. Thoburn, was a successful laborer and has since become missionary bishop. In less than four months later it appointed Miss Clara A. Swain a "medical missionary" to India. "This was the initial movement in the inauguration of female medical missionary work in any country"—an epochal fact in the history of Christian missions. The society was recognized by the ensuing General Conference, in 1872. Its declared purpose was "to engage and unite the efforts of Christian women in sending female missionaries to women in the foreign mission fields" of the Church. In some of those fields male missionaries have little or no access to the families, to the mothers and children of the natives; especially is this the case in India, except among the lower castes of the population. Women are virtually imprisoned in their *zenanas;* they cannot go out unveiled; they can have no converse with the male missionary, nor can they appear in his promiscuous congregation. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society provides female messengers to these homes, and the "*zenana* mission work" has become a conspicuous feature in the great enterprise of foreign evangelization. Its laborers go from house to house; they are heartily welcomed by the practically imprisoned wives and mothers; there is hardly any limitation in their access to the native families. They go to them as trained physicians, as teachers, as

Bible readers, as sympathetic sisters. They have given a new impulse to Christian propagandism throughout the oriental world.

The society publishes the *Heathen Woman's Friend*, with a circulation of over twenty thousand, the *Heiden-Frauen-Freund*, the *Heathen Children's Friend*,* and also an illustrated periodical in India for native women. It had in 1890 ninety-six missionaries in active service in foreign stations, besides twenty-two at home on sick leave; and among them were educated medical laborers who ministered to both the souls and bodies of the heathen. The fields occupied were Japan, Korea, China, Malaysia, India, Bulgaria, Italy, Mexico, and South America. It had among the German Methodists in the United States 125 auxiliaries, in Germany 25, and 13 in Switzerland, with total German membership of 4,161. The whole number of its auxiliary organizations, at home and abroad, was more than 5,500, with a membership of about 139,000. It raised for its good work, from October 1, 1889, to October 1, 1890, more than $220,000; and its total receipts, from the year of its organization to 1890, were $2,333,450. It is a monumental evidence of the devotion and capability of the women of American Methodism. The parent Missionary Society of the Church, in its Annual Report for 1888, gratefully acknowledged it to be "a powerful adjunct to our work in every foreign field," and affirmed that the "high character, the consecrated spirit, and the self-denying labors of its representatives have elicited the highest admiration and commanded the profoundest respect of all who have been witnesses of their work."

But the women of Methodism have not been content with this remarkable participation in the foreign work of the Church; they organized at Cincinnati, in 1880, at the call of Mrs. R. S. Rust, an effective Woman's Home Missionary Society Mrs. Lucy Webb Hayes, wife of ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes, was president during the first nine years of the society's existence, and Mrs. Rust has been corresponding sec-

* The names of these periodicals were changed in 1895 to the *Woman's Missionary Friend*, the *Frauen-Missions-Freund*, and the *Children's Missionary Friend*, respectively.

retary from the beginning. Its primary design was to reën-force the labors of the Freedmen's Aid Society among the African population of the South. The Civil War had occasioned an urgent need for the education of the millions of emancipated slaves. The women of Methodism felt that they should do their share in this national emergency, and believed that they could advantageously supplement the home work of the Missionary Society and the work of the Freedmen's Aid Society by a distinct organization, as they had already supplemented the foreign work of the former. They wisely, however, avoided any local limitations. They announced their design to be "to enlist and organize the efforts of Christian women in behalf of the needy and destitute women and children of all sections of our country without distinction of race, and to coöperate with the other societies and agencies of the Church in educational and missionary work." At the close of 1890 they had 74 Conference organizations, 2,048 auxiliaries, 14 "specific fields covered by bureaus," and more than 55,000 members. The receipts of the society for 1890 amounted to about $113,000; the gain for the year being nearly $49,000; while it received at the same time nearly $54,000 in supplies of clothing, and more than $4,500 for exclusively local work. Its supplies forwarded to industrial homes and destitute frontier preachers in the first ten years of its existence amounted in value to $235,425; and it expended for home missions in cash during the same time $387,534, and for "local work" $13,110. Its aggregate receipts and expenditures from its beginning amounted to $636,069. *Woman's Home Missions*, its periodical organ, had over fifteen thousand subscribers.

The society "is supporting on the frontiers, South and West, sixty missionaries, and in organized city work seventy-five. Its home mission fields are divided into sections, each in the care of a committee called a bureau, which is responsible for the supervision of work, and the expenditure of funds, within its bounds. The Southern States make five bureaus, the Western States and Territories five, city work two. A thirteenth has charge of missionary literature, another of young people's work, and still another

is for the distribution of supplies. The society has eleven model homes, or industrial training schools, in the South; fifteen missions among the Mormons in Utah; six among Indians; five among Spanish Mexicans. The Bureau for Deaconess Work operates seven deaconess homes in as many cities, and especially the Lucy Webb Hayes National Training School for Missionaries and Deaconesses, located in Washington, D. C., and national in scope and support. Glenn Home, in Cincinnati, and similar missions in other cities furnish industrial and moral training by kindergarten, kitchen garden, and other methods, and training for girls in remunerative industries; educate parish missionaries for evangelical work; and provide reading rooms for young women employed during the day in factory and other services, night schools, mothers' meetings, etc. Missions for immigrants are established in the ports of entry—Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The Bureau for Young People's Work has five thousand members; the Bureau for Lectures and Home Mission Reading Circle, recently established, has a three years' course of reading and twelve hundred members. A temperance department provides for temperance instruction and literature. The society is incorporated under the laws of the State of Ohio, and holds property for the accommodation of its work valued at $165,000. Its management is economical, the officers receiving no salary." * Not a few of the most influential women of Methodism have labored for its success, among others, as its chief officer, Mrs. Hayes, the late and honored wife of ex-President Hayes. This lady could find at the head of her Methodist sisters in their Home Missionary Society a position of usefulness and honor more enviable than the leadership of society at the national capital as the hostess of the Presidential mansion. "Mrs. Hayes has been," wrote the chief founder of the society in 1887, "the president of the society from its organization. Her influence as president has been of inestimable value to the society." † Her death was lamented, not only by the bereaved society, but by the women of the land generally, for her admirable virtues and good works had honored the nation.

* Mrs. R. S. Rust to the author. † *Methodist Review*, September, 1887.

BISHOP OSMON C. BAKER.

The combined contributions to the two woman's societies for 1890 were $333,663.76. Their aggregate contributions from their origin to the year 1890 were $2,969,520.63. This is certainly a munificent, a magnificent showing, especially if we consider that these societies were of comparatively recent formation, one being but twenty-one, the other but ten years old. If we bear in mind also the restrictions under which they operate, by reason of their relation to the general Missionary Society of the Church, their success becomes still more surprising. Not only are their constitutions subject to alteration or amendment by the General Conference, and the appointment, recall, and remuneration of their missionaries and the designation of their fields of labor subject to the approval of the Board of Managers of the parent society, and their annual appropriations to mission fields subject to revision by the General Missionary Committee, but the Discipline of the Church expressly ordains that their funds "shall not be raised by collections or subscriptions taken during any of our regular Church services, nor in any promiscuous public meeting, nor in any Sunday school, but shall be raised by such methods as the constitution of the society shall provide, none of which shall interfere with the contributions of our people and Sunday schools for the treasury of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church." * They are allowed, however, to take collections in women's meetings, convened in the interests of the societies; and also to secure memberships and life memberships in audiences where their work is represented, and to hold festivals or lectures in the interests of their work. The impartial historian must acknowledge the justice of the eulogy pronounced by the parent Missionary Society on these devoted women of Methodism—that the prudent, loyal, and successful administration of their two missionary societies merits the "highest admiration" and "profoundest respect" of the denomination. It may be soberly said that no important organizations of American Methodism have been more wisely or more effectively conducted. Their laborers are now scattered among the missions of the Church around the world. Their revenues have

* Discipline of 1888, pp. 199, 200.

augmented from year to year with surprising rapidity and without impairing those of the parent society; on the contrary, the latter have contemporaneously increased at an entirely unexpected rate. They have not only been successful in their direct missionary work, but have laid deep foundations for future usefulness by supporting homes and preparatory or "training schools" for female missionary candidates, thereby providing competent workers for the mission fields. To them chiefly also must be attributed the introduction of the order of deaconesses into American Methodism, an institution which, conjointly with that of denominational, but unsectarian, hospitals and orphanages, seems destined to inaugurate a new era in the history of the Church—an era of humanitarian work by which it shall, more than ever before, exemplify the original genius of Christianity and the aims of Wesley.

The missionary spirit has thus inspired the whole denomination, enhancing its financial liberality; awakening in its youth, especially those in its educational institutions, aspirations for the highest religious life and heroism, and leading to extraordinary developments of character, devotion to labor, and self-sacrifice.

Under this growing and irrepressible missionary spirit Melville B. Cox began our African Mission in 1833, followed in a year by Rufus Spaulding, Samuel O. Wright, and Miss Sophronia Farrington; Jason Lee made his way in 1834 to Oregon and founded Methodism on our North Pacific coast; only a year later (1835) Fountain E. Pitts, followed by Justin Spaulding, John Dempster, and Daniel P Kidder, reached South America. In 1847 Judson D. Collins and Moses C. White, our first missionaries to Asia, departed for China—the former offering to Bishop Janes to go as a sailor before the mast and work his passage. Ludwig S. Jacoby (1849) founded the mission in Germany; Olof P Petersen (1853) that in Norway; Johan P Larsson (1854) that in Sweden; Christian P Willerup (1857) that in Denmark; William Butler (1856) that in India, just before the terrors of the memorable Mutiny; Wesley Prettyman and Albert L. Long (1857) that in Bulgaria; Leroy M. Vernon (1871) that in Italy; William Butler (1873) that in Mexico; Robert S. Maclay, Irvin

H. Correll, Julius Soper, John C. Davison, and Merriman C. Harris (1873) that in Japan; and William B. Scranton and Henry G. Appenzeller (1885) that in Korea. The significance of these movements can be appreciated only when, in later chapters, we shall have occasion to review them respectively more in detail.

William Taylor became a notable example of this missionary inspiration. He was one of the founders of the denomination on the Pacific coast in 1849, whither he had shipped from Baltimore, as we have seen, a chapel for Sacramento. He subsequently "evangelized" extensively through California, through the Eastern States, through Australia, Tasmania, southern Africa, Ceylon, and India. In the latter he founded "self-supporting mission churches," composed of Englishmen, Eurasians, and English-speaking natives, which grew under other laborers into two vigorous Annual Conferences and extended their work to Singapore and other Malaysian fields. In 1890 India had three Annual Conferences. The success of the North India Conference (founded by Butler) in the conversion of natives was especially remarkable, as we shall hereafter see; its baptisms averaged during 1890 over five hundred a month, making a total of over six thousand for the year.

William Taylor also planted self-supporting missions in several of the principal cities of the republic of Chile, making the nucleus of each station a school for advanced education, the fees of which should be the chief pecuniary support of the missionary teacher; and his next plan was for the establishment of self-supporting missions in Africa, over which the General Conference, as we have seen, appointed him missionary bishop. Such missions would seem to be a most efficient supplement to the many, but disjointed, methods of evangelization in operation in Africa—a country which has more than seven hundred ordained missionaries, translations of the Bible in sixty-six of its languages, and more than seventy-five thousand native Methodists,* and which promises to become the next great

* Some 72,000 with nearly 284,000 adherents, belong to the English Wesleyans. It is a noteworthy fact that one of the latest of the African translations of any portion of the Bible has been made in the Sheetswa language by a missionary of the American Board, a former slave of the brother of Jefferson Davis.

arena for emigration and settlement from the overflowing populations of the Old World.

The "Taylor method" of self-supporting missions must nevertheless still be considered as tentative.* In southern India it has done great good to its English and Eurasian congregations. But these congregations have found that the support of their own churches absorbs their financial means; they have been able to do little or nothing for the heathen around them, but have fallen back on the Missionary Society of the home Church for means to enable them to do this purely missionary work. The triumphs of Methodism in India have been chiefly in the northern fields of the Missionary Society In Chile the self-supporting academic missionaries have been doing good work as educators, but have not found means or time for much evangelistic missionary effort. The latter, to be effective, requires the whole time and energy of the missionary. The two "methods" should not be considered as competitive, but as complementary. Families, or even small colonies, composed of Christian mechanics and farmers, disposed to consecrate their daily life and labors to missions may well be established in the interior of pagan countries, like Africa, to support themselves there—teaching the natives agriculture and other necessary arts while inculcating the true faith. We may hope the time will come when such good work shall characterize Christian missions generally. But the customary method, of Church supported laborers exclusively devoted to evangelical work, can never be abandoned, either at home or abroad. The parent Missionary Society aims, habitually, at the establishment of "self-supporting missions" by helping its incipient mission churches up to a condition where self-support may be practicable. Its converts in foreign lands raised in 1890 nearly $305,000 for self-support †—a very significant fact as regards the question of "methods." It required forty-four years of the existence of the Missionary Society for the whole of American Episcopal Methodism to surpass this sum in its annual missionary contributions—ex-

* Bishop Hartzell, who after our terminal date (1890) succeeded Taylor as missionary bishop for Africa, has modified the plan of the latter.

† Letter of Secretary McCabe to the author.

cepting in a single year, 1853, in which an extraordinary amount of legacies accrued to its treasury.

The missionary story of American Methodism might be almost endlessly prolonged, and with never-tiring interest; we shall resume it in future pages. It is replete with thrilling incident and charged, the Church may well believe, with yet more thrilling destiny. Not only many of its particular incidents, but many of its mere statistical facts, are irresistibly inspiring. With some severe reverses and tardy progress in two or three localities, the great cause has on the whole been steadily developing. Methodism has become conscious of its true vocation in the world at large chiefly through its missionary success. The increase of church members in the mission fields for 1890 was twelve and one half per cent greater than the percentage of increase in the entire Church.

The Missionary Society in 1890, in its foreign work alone, including that of the Woman's Foreign Society, reported 2,208 missionaries, assistant missionaries, and missionary workers; 1,237 local preachers, colporters, Bible readers, etc.; 1,319 teachers, native and foreign; with 74,731 church members and probationers, and 63,763 other habitual adherents. More than eleven thousand conversions of natives had taken place in the year. There were in these foreign fields no less than 18 theological schools for the education of native preachers, with 52 teachers and 326 students; and 1,072 other regular day schools, 45 of them high schools, the latter with more than three hundred teachers. In these day schools 33,518 young natives were being daily trained to Christian civilization. The volumes printed in the missions had for some time averaged nearly a million a year. A thousand orphans were sheltered in orphanages, and the value of property in churches, chapels, parsonages, orphanages, hospitals, etc., amounted to $2,964,158.

These facts pertain to the society's foreign work alone. In its domestic fields it reported 7,157 missionaries, assistant missionaries, local preachers, teachers, etc.; 305,804 church members and probationers; 4,635 churches and chapels; with value of property in churches, chapels, parsonages, etc., amounting to nearly eight million dollars.

The missionary contributions of the Church for 1890 to the

Missionary Society and the two women's societies amounted to $1,527,452. Their aggregate contributions from the beginning were $27,592,563.

There are various local missionary societies which have been distinguished by their success, and which, had we space, we should speak of more fully here. That of New York (the New York City Church Extension and Missionary Society) may be mentioned as a notable example. Its "purpose is twofold: first, the organization of new missions which promise to become self-supporting churches in the near future; second, aggressive mission work in neglected districts of the city where self-supporting churches may, perhaps, never be established, but where, nevertheless, there are great multitudes needing the Gospel." It was incorporated within our present period. The real estate acquired by it amounted in 1890 to $800,000; thirty churches and missions had been established by it, one fifth of which had become self-supporting and "and are doing noble work for the denomination in the city." It has now twenty-four under its care. These are significant facts. This society acquired more church property in the city of New York in about twenty years than the whole denomination acquired in about the same time after its origin throughout the nation; and its missions, most of them very poor, raised in 1890 for self-support more than $43,000.

Such is but a glance at the missionary work of American Methodism. It gives evidence of Methodism's continued vitality, revealing a field for the perpetuation of its heroic period. Most of these remarkable results were achieved within the lifetime of its first appointed missionary. The seventieth annual report of the Missionary Society (for 1888) has this noteworthy passage: "It is a remarkable fact that while the society has attained this age, it is only within a few weeks that its first missionary has died. The Rev. Ebenezer Brown, who was appointed by Bishop George to labor among the French population in New Orleans in 1819, died at his home in Baltimore on the third of January, 1889. When he went forth to his work the society had just been organized; but he lived until its receipts had gone beyond $1,000,000 per annum, and until the initial work with which he was identified had ex-

panded into well-established missions among all the great foreign populations and the destitute English-speaking people of our country, and into missions in Africa and Asia, in Europe and South America, with thousands of converts." No nation, no Church, can have passed its heroic period while its hosts are thus, with uplifted banners and sounding trumpets, marching to the conquest of the world.

The missionary work is but one, though a paramount one, of the proofs of that marvelously increased practical energy which has characterized the Church during our present period. There are others closely allied to it; to these let us now turn our attention.

CHAPTER V

CHURCH EXTENSION—AID TO FREEDMEN.

SIGNIFICANT as are the facts of the preceding chapter, no adequate estimate of the missionary energy of American Methodism is possible unless we include in it the work of two other institutions which, though not nominally, are yet essentially, missionary The domestic operations of the Missionary Society, planting in all parts of the continent new congregations which needed churches or chapels but were too feeble to provide them for themselves, led to the organization of the Church Extension Society, which became in 1872 the Board of Church Extension. The emancipation of millions of Southern slaves necessitated the organization of the Freedmen's Aid Society, which became in 1888 the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society Both are supplementary to, and essential counterparts of, the Missionary and the Woman's Home Missionary Societies.

The Board of Church Extension has become a potent agency of the Church. It was organized at the General Conference of 1864 in the city of Philadelphia, where its headquarters are still situated. Dr. Alpha J. Kynett, delegate from Upper Iowa Conference, had long seen the necessity of such an agency of the Church, especially in the new and remote Conferences of the West, and it was urged on the attention of the assembled delegates; reports were prepared on the subject, and also a constitution for the proposed society; and he saw his efforts crowned with success on the last night of the session. A committee, with Bishop Simpson at its head, was authorized to select the managers of the new society, and the bishops were requested to appoint a corresponding secretary, to be, as in the Missionary Society, its chief representative and advocate among the churches. Its managers were appointed January 3, 1865, and in the same year it was incorporated by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. Its system of

organization has become, after some revisions and amendments, remarkably effective. It consists, first, of the parent or central board, composed of the bishops and sixty-four other members, in equal numbers of laymen and ministers; secondly, of "Conference boards," one for each Annual Conference, also composed equally of ministers and laymen; thirdly, of the General Committee of Church Extension, comprising the bishops, fourteen delegates from the General Conference districts, and fourteen from the parent board at Philadelphia, together with the corresponding secretaries, recording secretary, and the treasurer. By this third provision the institution has obtained the same annual and universal attention of the Church which has been noticed in the preceding sketch of the missionary cause.

While its organization is thus effective, its financial administration is admirably sagacious and efficient. Its financial system, as officially stated, consists, first, of "the general fund, derived chiefly from collections, special gifts, interests, etc., and available for *donations* to churches and the general purposes of the board; secondly, the loan fund, derived from special gifts, available only for *loans* to churches, and to be preserved without diminution as a perpetual fund." Bishop Kingsley said of this fund that it doesn't "stop simply with the first blessing. It helps build one church, and comes back with the glad tidings of what it has done, and goes again and builds, or helps to build, another church, and, coming back again, says, 'Here am I, send me,' and goes again and again." *

After the premature death of its first corresponding secretary, Dr. Samuel Y Monroe, who labored devotedly through some of its severest initial difficulties, its chief founder, Dr. Kynett, was designated by the bishops to that office, entering upon his duties July, 1867; and a year later, at his request, Dr. C. C. McCabe was appointed to aid him, first as agent, and afterwards as assistant corresponding secretary. Two such representative advocates of the cause could hardly fail to obtain for it a hearing from the Methodist public. Gradually the conviction of its importance spread among the people, but they were slow to rally to it with the enthusiasm which it deserved. Up to the middle of the first year of our present period (1867)

* *Methodist Year Book*, 1891.

less than $80,000 had been received in response to calls for $455,400, which, it had been hoped, might be realized for church extension.* It became quite evident that the methods thus far adopted "were unsuited to this new form of work." Important emendations were suggested. The General Conference of 1868 made some needful changes in the constitution of the society, and corresponding modifications of its charter were granted by the State Legislature in the following year. But at the General Conference of 1872, memorable as that in which lay delegates took their seats for the first time, more important changes were adopted. The present effective organization, as seen in the provisions of the Discipline and as above briefly stated, was established. The society was superseded by the Board of Church Extension, and the election of its managers was transferred from the annual meeting to the General Conference, which now, by the admission of laymen, could claim better than ever before to represent the whole Church. Dr. William A. Spencer became assistant corresponding secretary in November, 1885, Dr. McCabe having been elected missionary secretary in 1884.

The general fund, as has been stated, is derived from a regular collection for the purpose directed to be taken once a year in each church throughout the whole denomination; and from such special gifts and bequests as may be made from time to time to this department of the work of the Board. This fund, after helping to defray a part of the necessary expenses of the Board, is used for donations, first, to aid in the establishment of new churches in needy sections of the United States, especially in the South and the sparsely settled regions of the West, and, secondly, to assist weak and struggling churches already in existence. For the year ending on the thirty-first of October, 1890, the receipts of this fund were $185,992.82; from the beginning they had been $2,634,983.76.

The loan fund is a capital feature in Church Extension operations. Such a fund had been suggested by Dr. Kynett

* The first joint meeting of the General Committee and Board of Managers, November, 1865, appealed to the Church for $200,000 "for the then ensuing year;" but of this amount only $59,524.97 was received by the society. A year later $255,400 was asked for, of which only $18,258.26 was received. See Second Annual Report, for 1867.

in the Upper Iowa Conference for the furtherance of local church extension, and the plan adopted; and the first subscription to it had been a centennial offering of $1,000 made in 1866 by the Hon. Hiram Price, member of Congress from Iowa. This fund, increased by various other subscribers to $12,606.50, was transferred in 1870 to the parent Board and named "The Upper Iowa Loan Fund," taking the place of honor in the list of "named loan funds" to which we shall presently refer. Promptly upon his entrance upon the corresponding secretaryship of the Church Extension Society in 1867, Dr. Kynett warmly advocated the loan fund plan; it was adopted by the board of managers in July of that year, and sanctioned by the General Conference of 1868. The plan provides that this fund shall be loaned to necessitous churches in sums seldom higher than five hundred dollars, on adequate security, with or without interest, "as occasion may require;" and that the principals when returned shall be loaned again and again, the fund being so preserved "a perpetual fund."

In addition to the main loan fund, made up of gifts and legacies specially designated thereto, there are what are called "named loan funds," in accordance with the following resolution of the Board: "Sums of five thousand dollars and upward, contributed by any one person, church, or Conference, may be named by the contributor and shall constitute a separate loan fund; and the corresponding secretary shall report annually the investment thereof and the work accomplished thereby." The Upper Iowa Loan Fund, initiated by Hiram Price, has been already mentioned, and up to 1890 had assisted forty-seven churches. Others of the named funds are the Monroe Loan Fund, of $8,975, created in memory of the first corresponding secretary, which had assisted sixty-one churches; the McWilliams Loan Fund, $7,000, sixty-three churches; the Perkins Loan Fund, $23,541.66, one hundred and five churches; the Tasker Loan Fund, $18,000, contributed by the first president of the society, one hundred and fifty-six churches; the Remington Loan Fund, $30,000, one hundred and thirty-four; that in memory of Freeborn Garrettson, $20,000, one hundred and five churches; the Gurley Loan Fund, $20,000, one hundred and eight churches; the De Pauw Loan Fund,

$30,000, one hundred and thirty-one churches. There were in 1890 altogether twenty-seven of these named funds, aggregating in cash value $317,067.25, which had aided no less than 1,949 churches. Some of them, as well as smaller amounts in the main loan fund, are subject to annuity—an annual interest payable to the contributors during their lifetime.

At the same time the main loan fund amounted to $361,859.44, and had aided 532 churches. The entire loan fund was thus $678,926.69; the whole number of churches aided through this department of the Church Extension system, 2,481: the aggregate loans to churches from the beginning, $1,364,057.90. Nearly half a million dollars of the total cash capital was subject to annuities.

The appropriations made from the loan fund are continually going and returning, helping in the erection of new churches, and then coming back to feed once more the sources of help. The very churches aided through the period of their early struggles take their places in the day of their prosperity among the growing thousands which annually contribute to the treasury of the Board. The fund is a self-replenishing reservoir, whose refreshing waters, after irrigating and fertilizing surrounding or far-distant fields, refill their original fountains. By its aid American Methodism during the year 1890 built about four churches per day, and for a number of years the new erections had averaged three per day. The aggregate receipts of both the general and loan funds, from the origin to November 1, 1890, amounted to $4,017,977.87. In the same time the Board aided 7,399 churches. It has enabled individual philanthropists, and especially individual churches, to extend the blessings of religion over new and immense sections of the country by the erection of houses of worship. Of the former cases we have seen striking examples in the above "named funds." Of the latter I may cite a single instance, that of the Haines Street Church, of Germantown, Philadelphia, founded nearly a hundred years ago by Ezekiel Cooper, which, under the administration of a single pastor (Dr. J H. Hargis) built, through the agency of this Board, about thirty churches; and with its contributions at other times has erected no less than sixty.

Though but secondary to the missionary organization of the Church, which of course takes the lead in all our public collections, the Church Extension treasury received, in its first quarter of a century, amidst greatly multiplied competitions and after the "great secession" of the South, much more than three times the aggregate receipts of the missionary treasury for its first twenty-five years. While this fact is no indication of stronger popular interest in the one cause rather than in the other, it is a very significant indication of the progress of the Church in numbers and wealth.

Besides its success in its main design, it has been of inestimable service to the denomination in the improvement of its church architecture, so that Methodism is now dotting the country with edifices at once convenient and beautiful and comparable to the best erected by other sects. The society has issued plans and specifications of model churches procured from able architects; and these, scattered over the nation and daily embodied in new churches, are educating the architectural taste of the people. "We have no hesitation in saying," writes its secretary, "that we have the best collection of various designs in the world for churches to cost from $500 to $30,000." Its catalogue has some eighty such designs, adapted to promote not only the beauty, but also the economy of our church building. It claims that eight millions of dollars have been expended on edifices built from its plans.

The Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society is an example of that humanitarian zeal which, as has been remarked, especially distinguishes the last quarter of a century in the history of American Methodism, and which is characterized by its devotion to education, to temperance reform, to hospitals, orphanages, and the services of sisters of charity, though the latter bear the more ecclesiastical title of deaconesses. Some of these beneficent interests originated earlier in our annals, but they have assumed their chief importance in our present period. The Freedmen's Aid Society dates from the first year of the period.

The military emancipation of the American slaves threw upon the national mind, and heart also, a problem more formidable, perhaps, than ever before confronted any nation—the

education of about four millions of people who were almost entirely illiterate and were now suddenly invested with the rights and responsibilities of citizenship; and to these must be added some millions of uneducated whites. When the Civil War began the whole Southern population comprised about twelve millions, a third of whom were of the African race—about twice the number of the whole colonial population when the latter deemed itself not incompetent to become a free and independent nation. Slavery, by the great extent of plantations and other consequences, had rendered the establishment of the common school impracticable. The children of the planters were mostly educated at home, by private tutors, or sent to schools abroad. In some religious families slaves had been, occasionally, taught to read the Bible; but the laws of the slave States generally prohibited their being taught to read. At the epoch of their emancipation, therefore, these millions were destitute of the means of the most elementary education.

Prospectively, the problem was still more formidable. Statistical facts, like all others, are subject to law; and the ratio of the increase of our national population, notwithstanding the contingencies of war and immigration, have been well ascertained. More than seven of our present sixty-two millions are of the African race. Some statisticians estimate that in less than a century this mass of colored population will amount to fifty millions—a number greater by twenty millions than the whole national population, blacks and whites, when the Civil War broke out. Thus there is to be, according to these predictions, a great nation within the nation—a nation whose race distinction is marked on their very brows, an immense population which will have sprung from the uneducated millions of freedmen—whose deportation to Africa or any foreign country will be impracticable; whose absorption in the general mass by amalgamation is considered equally impossible; who are no longer a subject or servile people, but have been constitutionally endowed with full citizenship. What is to be their fate? What the fate of the great Commonwealth with which they are so incoherently intermingled? These calculations may need qualification; later figures may show a less rapid

progress of the blacks; but, whatever may be their relative progress, their absolute increase will be sufficiently great to render the problem of their future profoundly momentous.

The possible evils of the situation are more menacing to the blacks than to the whites; for the latter are advancing at an unparalleled rate, and will have at the predicted period a greater predominance than ever. At that period the aggregate population of the Republic will equal the whole present population of Europe. By a comparison of the first census (1790) with the last (1890) it has been proved that the ratio of the blacks to that of the whole population has decreased from 19.3 per cent to less than 12 per cent. Their death rate is much above that of the whites. The "race problem" is, however, of gravest importance to both classes. The African element, under any circumstances, must always be large. It now constitutes a third of the population of the South, and a majority in three of her States.

If the startling problem seemed insoluble to the political mind of the country, to its Christian mind and heart one thing immediately appeared clear enough; namely, that the moral and mental elevation of these emancipated millions should be the first, the most urgent, endeavor of the country. This was not only due to them as human beings, but it would be the best possible way to meet the "great problem," the best preparation for any solution of it that the providence of God might provide. The South, exhausted by the war, could at first do little or nothing towards it; though since the restoration of its financial prosperity it has energetically promoted primary education for both blacks and whites.

Northern citizens, men of large fortunes and larger hearts, saw the urgency of the need; and it is a grateful fact, worthy of emphatic record, that in about a score of years after the close of the Civil War some twenty millions of dollars had been voluntarily given by individual Northern philanthropists for the education of the freedmen, besides five millions given for church building. A missionary zeal for it spread through most of the Northern States, and many educated young men of the best promise and hopes, and still more women, not a few of them from the best families, wended

their way through the Southern States seeking the most eligible localities for establishing, and personally teaching, schools for the emancipated slaves. Their self-sacrificing devotion was an anomaly in the history of the nations, if not in the history of Churches. There was much valor and unstinted expenditure of treasure and of life on both sides in the war; but this patriotic and consecrated heroism, of voluntary service for the moral and intellectual redemption of the millions of freedmen by educated men and, especially, by cultivated and refined women, presents, we may venture to say, one of the most impressive, most admirable features resulting from that most enormous and most deplorable of civil wars.

These Northern laborers had, at first, to endure almost entire isolation from and proscription by the white population of the South; but their heroic devotion has already begun to receive a fitting recognition, such as history must inevitably give them. One of the highest Southern authorities (Bishop Haygood, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South) says of them:

"It should not be necessary to remind the reader that great Churches and missionary educational societies, beginning thirty years ago, have expended millions of dollars and hundreds of noble lives in carrying on, for the benefit and uplifting of the emancipated negroes in our Southern States, schools, academies, seminaries, institutes, colleges, universities, and churches. But many do not know—yet having opportunity to learn—what would increase their faith, quicken their zeal, and develop the graces of kind feeling and toleration if they did know, what good work these schools, for the most part, have done and are now doing. Many years of close attention to this subject, with more than average opportunity and some experiences in educational work as a help to the understanding of what he saw and heard in many visits to nearly all the important schools for these people, give the writer some confidence—not, he trusts, overmuch—in his conclusions about the work done by Northern money, by Northern men and women, for the Christian uplifting of the negroes in the Southern States. The history of that work cannot, in this generation, be either written or justly appreciated. Some things may be,

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and should be, stated here. Hundreds of cultured and consecrated men and women, educated in the foremost schools of the North and actuated by motives as pure and noble as those which carry such people to the uttermost parts of the earth to preach Christ to the heathen, have worn their lives out in this hard and difficult field of Christian labor here in our midst. A long list of martyrs in this cause, men and women 'of whom the world is not worthy,' could be now written from memory. It is an inspiration to have known so many of them, and an occasion of gratitude to have been loved by them, both white and black people, and a privilege of high degree to have loved and honored them. That some fanatical and unworthy people, unfit in themselves for such work and hurtful to those they sought to help, got mixed up in the noble company of faithful workers is known of all men; only most people know more of the bad than they do of the good ones. But we have seen bad and foolish people keeping company with the good and the wise, even in our own churches. The blunders and faults of those who knew what they did, particularly in the earlier years of this work, should not be laid up against those who have done all they could do to honor God and help men in educating the Southern negroes. Nor do the faults of the unworthy condone the prevalent and wicked ostracism by Southern people of those who are known to be good and true, faithful and useful to all."

But the needs of the great exigency could not be met by the lavish spontaneous contributions of philanthropists, the voluntary devotion of individual missionary teachers, nor even by the government's "Freedmen's Bureau." Methodism saw in it, as did other Churches, the demand for an organized, a powerful, a permanent work for the millions of new and illiterate citizens; and her Freedmen's Aid Society sprang at once into vigorous life. A convention of Methodist preachers and laymen met in Cincinnati, and organized it on the seventh and eighth of August, 1866; and the General Conference of 1872 (distinguished, not only by the admission of lay delegates, but by the recognition and reinvigoration of some of the greatest interests of the Church) "adopted the society as its own and gave it a place by the side of its other benevolent

institutions." Some of the best names of Methodism, clerical and laic, were associated with its origin, such as Davis W Clark, Adam Poe, Thomas M. Eddy, Luke Hitchcock, Richard S. Rust, John M. Reid, Benjamin F. Crary, Robert Allyn, John M. Walden, Hon. Grant Goodrich, and J. F Larkin. The energetic labors of Dr. Rust, first as "general field superintendent," and later as corresponding secretary, obtained for it no small amount of popular interest, which was continued under the administration of his successors, Drs. Joseph C. Hartzell, George W Gray, and James S. Chadwick. By act of the General Conference in 1880 the scope of the organization was enlarged so as to include the education of Southern whites as well as freedmen, an improvement which the General Conference in 1888 still further sanctioned by changing its title to "The Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society" Its work was officially declared to be "the establishment and maintenance of institutions of learning in the Southern States among freedmen and others who have special claims upon the people of America for help in the work of Christian education." The entire educational work of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Southern States has been placed under the care of this society. The schools are so located as to serve the best interests of the Conferences immediately concerned. Steps have been taken for a more perfect system of grading and unification of the schools, opening the way for the introduction of uniform courses of study in all of them and departments of similar grades. Great advances have been made in the department of industrial training. While the largest plants are located at Orangeburg, S. C., Atlanta, Ga., and Nashville, Tenn., industrial training is given to some extent in all the schools.

Its schools numbered forty in 1890, including universities, colleges, and theological, medical, and other departments, all of which are in whole or in part sustained by its treasury. During the last year of our period eight institutions of collegiate grade had been maintained among the colored people, with 151 teachers and 3,448 students. Among the whites, the society had maintained three collegiate institutions, with 48 teachers and 828 students, making in all eleven such institutions,

with 199 teachers and 4,276 students. It maintained among the blacks twelve academies, with 57 teachers and 2,161 students; and among the whites sixteen academies, with 61 teachers and 1,824 students; in all twenty-eight such institutions, with 112 teachers and 3,984 students. There were in the theological and biblical departments of the society's schools 225 students preparing for the ministry. The aggregate number of pupils in all grades was 8,336. Its aggregate receipts, from its origin to June, 1890, were $2,806,890.27.

Some hundreds of colored pastors have gone forth from its schools to supply churches of freedmen; some scores have graduated from its medical and legal courses; some thousands from its normal course as teachers of colored schools. The institutions of the society had educated from their beginning about fifty thousand pupils. So long ago as the centennial jubilee of the Church (1884) it was estimated that the teachers sent out from them had taught more than three-fourths of a million children. An official statement published by the society at that time thus summarizes the results: "1. It has aided in the introduction of the free school in the South. 2. It has prepared tens of thousands of teachers for the free schools. 3. It has prepared a large number of young men for our ministry. 4. It has graduated about one hundred young men for the practice of medicine. 5. It has done much in preventing the freedmen from becoming Romanists. 6. Our schools have awakened an interest for improvement among white people. 7. They have greatly improved the character of piety among the freedmen. 8. The society has established departments for industrial training. It has schools of carpentry, blacksmithing, farming, etc. 9. Schools of domestic economy have been prepared for the instruction of girls in the various duties of housekeeping." A competent authority says: "Another significant feature of this work for the past quarter of a century is that it is a part of the greatest missionary movement ever undertaken by Methodism. In these twenty-five years the Church has expended more than six millions of dollars in the South. The result has been the development of thirty-two annual Conferences and the building of four thousand five hundred churches, among both white

and colored people. The Missionary Society helped to support the pastors. The Church Extension Society helped to erect the churches. To this society, whose quarter centennial we celebrate, was given the great work of establishing institutions of learning. From its treasury have gone out nearly three millions of dollars. The results achieved cannot be estimated by figures, but its influence has been felt in hundreds of pulpits and schools, in thousands of families, and in almost every practical industry." *

Such an organization should certainly be considered among the foremost of our national charities, and deserves ample patronage. Its receipts for the year 1889–1890 from all sources amounted to $266,684, showing an increase of $45,246 over any preceding year.

It has had a powerful influence on the condition of the colored race throughout the South. A Southern editor, Rev Dr. Albert, himself of that race and officially connected with the work of the Church for it in the Southwest, says: "Less than a generation ago it was a crime for the colored man to be found with a printed page in his possession, and the prison doors opened to the white man who dared attempt to teach this nondescript, that was not a man, had no mind, and could not learn. To-day 21,000 schools and colleges are opened to him on this very Southern soil, in which are enrolled more than 1,100,000 boys and girls. And, what is still more surprising, to-day no less than 2,250,000 colored people in the Southern States can read; and, in the seventy odd institutions where higher branches are taught, over 16,500 of them are being trained by over a thousand teachers. The material development, too, of the negro has been marvelous. He owns ten million acres of Southern soil, and is assessed at not less than $200,000,000. He is represented in every trade and avocation, and in a small but prophetic way in the banking and railroad business. He is successfully operating small banking institutions in Washington, Richmond, Chattanooga, Birmingham, and other Southern cities, and has a monopoly of the city railroad interests in Pine Bluff, Ark. He raises nearly all the cotton, sugar, and rice—the three great Southern staples—the

* *The Christian Educator*, April, 1891.

crops of which are now larger than they ever were in all the history of the past. Friends and foes readily admit the negro's material and intellectual progress." The government commissioner of education, at Washington, has published tables showing the progress of the country in education in thirteen years. While the white population increased thirteen per cent the school population has nearly doubled; but that of the colored people more than doubled. It has been proved by a good authority that "the negro pays a larger proportion of his whole school fund than any poor man out of the South in America." * He shows, by statistics "compiled from the official reports of Georgia, that in 1889–90 the colored schools of that State did not really cost the white citizen a single cent, and asserts that in the other ten southernmost States as well it will be found that the negro contributes his full share towards the maintenance of schools." † If we turn to the opposite, the Northern extremity of the old slave territory, we find similar evidence. The report of the auditor of the State of Virginia "shows that the negroes of Virginia own real property, improved and unimproved, valued at $9,425,085, and personal property amounting to $3,342,950. In 1865 they had little or nothing, and they have saved an average of $473,260 per year under the most adverse circumstances, with wages akin to those in Europe; 122,059 of their children attend the public schools—73 per cent of the whole number; 75 per cent of the whites attend; of these 5,890 are supplied with books at expense of the counties and cities, while the number of colored so supplied was only 3,222." ‡

The national census of 1890 values the church property of the colored people at $26,626,448, and the number of their Church members, in the South, exclusive of those who worship in white congregations, at 2,529,443. The ratio of black Church membership is higher than that of the whites. More than one hundred and fifty newspapers and other periodicals are published by our colored people. This race is then evidently on the march forward; its intellectual and moral eleva-

* George W. Cable, in *The Forum*, July, 1892, p. 645.

† *Review of Reviews*, August, 1892, p. 75.

‡ Facts cited by the New York *Christian Advocate*, March 2, 1893, from the Richmond (Va.) *Planet*.

tion must be the chief guarantee of its future welfare, as well as of that of the nation in general. Methodism, which has ever been boastful of its patriotic devotion to the common country, and whose patriotic services were publicly acknowledged, as we have seen, by President Lincoln,* is doing, perhaps, its most patriotic work in its labors among the freedmen of the South.

* The data on this subject are thoroughly given by Dr. H. H. Moore in his able volume, *The Republic, To Methodism, Dr.*

CHAPTER VI.

WOMEN OF METHODISM.

WOMAN has always had a conspicuous recognition in the history of Methodism. Susannah Wesley is called "the mother of Wesleyan Methodism;" Lady Huntingdon "the foundress of Calvinistic Methodism;" Barbara Heck "the foundress of American Methodism." Neither the English establishment nor English nonconformity, with the single exception of Quakerism, allowed any activity to women in public or social devotions. Wesley was originally a rigid high-churchman; it is one of the most noteworthy evidences of his progressive spirit that he broke away from all such traditional restrictions and set free in his societies the talents and energies of women. They were as free under Methodism as under Quakerism itself. Quakerism disowned any formal ministry; it tolerated only informal discourse, or "exhortation," from either sex in its congregations. Methodist women had the same right, and used it habitually all over the United Kingdom, and do so in our day all over the world.

Wesley went farther. He authorized them to hold "public services" of their own, and to address more formally promiscuous assemblies. It has been said that he was the "first to organize the activity of woman in Protestant Christendom." Quakerism, by renouncing the sacraments, sacred music, and the stated pastorate, and by adhering rigidly to a costume and a speech of its own, became a limited if not a local sect, and has probably doomed itself to gradual extinction. Its precedence in the emancipation of woman in religion had no outside result, and as an example was ineffective. The freer and more influential example of Methodism has affected other evangelical Churches, and for a century has been gradually breaking down the old restrictions on the religious activity of the sex. Wesley permitted women to speak in the prayer meeting and the *agapa*, or love feast, which he de-

rived, through the Moravians, from the primitive Church; he appointed them leaders of class meetings; and, being the first in England to introduce Robert Raikes's Sunday school into the Church, he thereby opened an indefinite field for their religious activity as teachers, a Methodist maiden having, in fact, induced Raikes to open his school and become his first assistant teacher. But, besides affording them these opportunities, Wesley encouraged women to address public assemblies, if not in formal sermons and from the pulpit, yet, as in the case of Mary Fletcher, from an elevated position before the altar and in informal discourses after the example of the primitive Church; for the formal, modern sermon, with its selected text and its "first," "secondly," and "thirdly," was unknown in the early Church down to the days of Origen. Wesley had a considerable band of women preachers of this primitive type; some of the saintliest names associated forever with his own adorn the catalogue, such as those of Mary Fletcher, Sarah Crosby, and others, to whom so much of his printed correspondence was addressed. To Sarah Crosby he wrote: "Keep as far from what is called preaching as you can; therefore never take a text;" but he urged her to go on diligently with her public labors. Her class meetings were sometimes crowded by nearly two hundred people. She could not possibly speak to them all individually; what could she do but "exhort?" And, though this was not preaching in the modern sense, it was, in fact, the primitive, the apostolic preaching. Her journals show that, in a single year, she traveled nine hundred and sixty miles to hold two hundred and twenty public meetings.

Mary Fletcher was one of the saintliest of that constellation of feminine saints who gathered about the infant Methodism and brought to it their best and choicest gifts—Susannah Wesley, the Countess of Huntingdon, Lady Fitzgerald, Lady Maxwell, Lady Glenorchy, Hester Ann Rogers, Sarah Ryan, Sarah Crosby, Sarah Lawrence, Elizabeth Ritchie, Grace Murray, Ann Cutler, Elizabeth (Dinah) Evans (the heroine of an immortal work of fiction), Elizabeth Wallbridge (the heroine of an immortal tract entitled "The Dairyman's Daughter"), and many others connected with early American Methodism.

as Barbara Heck, Mary White, Prudence Gough, Eleanor Dorsey, Mary Wilmer, Jane Trimble, Catherine (Livingston) Garrettson, Sophronia Farrington, Ann Wilkins, Phœbe Palmer, Mary W Mason, and numerous others, whose names are as "ointment poured forth" around our altars. Mary Fletcher's example is the more interesting to us as it gives us most directly Wesley's. opinion of such cases. Before her marriage to his celebrated and well-beloved friend, Fletcher of Madeley, she was distinguished for her good works, not only as a teacher, but as a preacher both in her orphanage at Cross Hall and in adjacent villages. At Madeley she became still more active. Her husband opened several places of worship in his parish and built small chapels for the rustic population of the neighboring hamlets. She made a sort of Methodist "circuit" of these congregations and kept them alive with her frequent ministrations, for her husband was a sufferer from pulmonary consumption and had to limit his own labors. She corresponded with Wesley respecting the unusual character of her services. He remembered the example of his mother, who had held similar meetings at the Epworth rectory, and had thereby filled the parish church, when the preaching of its rector had failed to do so. "I think the strength of the cause rests there," he replied, "on your having an extraordinary call. So, I am persuaded, has every one of our lay preachers; otherwise, I could not countenance his preaching at all. It is plain to me that the whole work of God termed Methodism is an extraordinary dispensation of his providence. Therefore I do not wonder if several things occur therein which do not fall under the ordinary rules of discipline. St. Paul's ordinary rule was, 'I permit not a woman to speak in the congregation.' Yet in extraordinary cases he made a few exceptions; at Corinth in particular." In his *Notes*, on 1 Cor. xiv, 34, Wesley inserts a similar qualification: "*Let your women be silent in the churches*—unless they are under an extraordinary impulse of the Spirit." In other words, he believed that women might have in special instances the same divine call to preach that he required all his male preachers to avow before he would license them. He wrote to these women: "The difference between us and

the Quakers in this respect is manifest. They flatly deny the rule itself, though it stands clear in the Bible. We allow the rule, only we believe it admits of some exceptions."

Such was the opinion of Wesley and of early Methodism on this subject. It is important that it should be thus distinctly stated, especially in these times when the problem of "woman's rights," in both the Church and the State, has become so urgent.

It would be exceedingly interesting, to Methodists at least, to know more fully what was Wesley's opinion respecting the perpetual applicability of Paul's advice. Wesley, by his fine moral sense, as well as his fine logical sense, sympathized with Paul's appreciation of the relation of woman to man in the family, the Church, and the State. Courageous reformer as he was, he could also appreciate Paul's statesmanlike prudence in avoiding unnecessary provocation of hostility against the infant Church. Paul, the greatest of apostolic theologians, was also as great a statesman; and Wesley, whom Buckle, the historian of civilization, pronounced one of the greatest of ecclesiastical legislators, could well appreciate the apostle's astute yet conscientious policy—a policy of expediency, which Buckle teaches to be the only true statesmanship, but always the expediency of the right—by which the apostle avowedly became "all things to all men," and saved them, if need be, even "by guile," though never by culpable guile. Paul would have his brethren face martyrdom, and died himself a martyr, but would not unnecessarily attract the opposition of the heathen world to the struggling Christian cause. He hesitated, therefore, to attack abruptly the social institutions or traditional usages of the Roman empire. He sent back a fugitive slave, and wrote one of the canonical books of the new religion on that occasion—the most tender, the sweetest book of the whole canon. His counsels to Christian masters and to slaves are characterized by consummate wisdom. Was he, then, "proslavery?" Assuredly not. But he knew that to attack directly a prevailing social institution of the empire would arouse universal animosity, and retard, if not defeat, the nascent Church. He also well knew that Christianity, if wisely and effectively inaugurated, would introduce a new

civilization the essential spirit of which must ultimately extinguish slavery; and that he could therefore benefit the Christian slave better by counseling patient prudence than by an immediate assault on the social system of the country. The commander who, surrounding with his army a hostile fort, knows that he can take it the same night with the loss of half his forces, but that by waiting till the morning it will surrender without terms and without the loss of one of his men, is an egregious blunderer, and, worse, he is a murderer, if he refuses to await his better opportunity. Christianity did, at last, extinguish slavery throughout the Roman empire, as in our own century she has extinguished it throughout the British empire and the American Republic, and will do so finally throughout the world. Whenever the evil has reappeared it has been only to go down again before the invincible ethics of the Gospel.

The restrictions on woman in the ancient world were consequences of the still partial development of civilization; they inhered in the social system of the times, as they do in the oriental world of our own day. We have already noticed them as necessitating the *zenana* mission work in India. They prevailed more or less westward throughout Persia, throughout Assyria, and even in Judea; for the Hebrew woman herself suffered under them to some extent, and down to our day has been required to sit apart from her husband and sons, in a gallery or screened from sight, in the synagogue—an oriental barbarism which Judaism has carried with it around the world. In ancient Egypt alone did woman enjoy anything like equality with man.* In Greece, at the period when Paul wrote, women had been but partially emancipated. They had enjoyed better privileges at earlier periods, as the Homeric and lyric writers indicate. But at this time the virtuous Greek matron was practically a prisoner in the gynæceum—that part of the home assigned exclusively to the women and children. She could hardly appear with propriety in free social life, and not at all in public life. Accomplished courtesans, the *hetairai*, were nearly the only educated women, the leaders of society, the companions of statesmen, poets, artists, and even philos-

*Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, chap. ix.

ophers at the banquets and symposia of the times.* The privileges which women have now in our Christian circles and religious assemblies would have outraged the social decorum of Greece. Paul was too wise a leader to imperil the incipient Church by any such defiance of social conventionalism. He knew that Christianity, at last triumphant, would revolutionize all such traditional conventionalism and give woman her due position in life; though he knew equally well that nothing is more invincible to sudden assaults than this same social conventionalism. While, therefore, he guarded the early Church against any such premature assaults, he may have done so, as in the case of slavery, for the more certain revolution which he was sure would take place in the social order of the world by the triumph of Christianity. Meanwhile he did recognize the beginnings of well-regulated female service in the Church and those "special," or exceptional, cases to which Wesley alludes —the prophetesses, deaconesses, and others which are distinctly mentioned in the apostolic writings and which initiated the Christian emancipation of women; for the office of deaconess was coextensive with Eastern Christendom and was consecrated even by ordination in the Greek Church for generations, until the growth of monachism and the general perversion of the Church again imprisoned women, this time in ecclesiastical houses, or nunneries.

Doubtless Wesley approved of Paul's restrictions on the religious activity of women. Doubtless he accepted Paul's incidental logic on the subject, based upon theological traditions, the "law," and even physiological considerations. But undoubtedly he also recognized exceptions even as Paul himself had. The "exceptions," as we have seen, Wesley puts in the same category with his lay preachers, and we number these not by the thousand, but by tens of thousands—some fifteen thousand of them to-day in the Methodist Episcopal Church alone.

* Cornelius Nepos, in his preface, says that a Greek lady never appears at a public feast, she never visits but with her family; at home she is only to be found in the most retired part of the house, and admission is not permitted to any person but her nearest relations. Greek women were not allowed to go out unveiled. The veil covered not only the head but a part of the body, being of great length. The "virgins" of the early Church adopted it, and it is still used by the nuns of Roman Catholic countries.

The liberty of speech allowed to women in the devotional meetings of Methodism prepared them for still wider usefulness in the great moral and political reforms which have agitated the nation. The temperance, antislavery, and other movements found them ready to make good their training on platforms from which they could not be debarred by theological traditions; and Methodist women have been strenuous actors and sometimes distinguished leaders in these movements. Events, from the origin of Methodism down to our day, have thus been tending toward that emancipation of women which one of the greatest English thinkers* has advocated as the next great stage in the progress of modern civilization; which proposes changes that startle us as almost revolutionary; and which even the Church declares itself yet unprepared to sanction. For this remarkable tendency, foretokening, as many think, a new era in the history of Christendom, Methodism is indisputably, perhaps we may say chiefly, responsible. The Churches must have much influence in any such changes, and Methodism has, for good or evil, led the Churches on this line.

In American Methodism there have been a number of instances of the special or exceptional cases which Wesley recognizes—gifted and devoted women who have preached the word and "evangelized" effectively through large sections of the country. In some instances they have been more or less formally recognized, and even licensed by Quarterly Conferences, though the Church, like Wesley himself, has considered such cases only as exceptional, and its highest authorities have hesitated and wavered respecting them. For example, the General Conference of 1872† declared, in behalf of women, that "in all matters connected with the election of lay delegates the word 'laymen' must be understood to include all the members of the Church who are not members of the Annual Conferences." Women are thus made eligible to the "Electoral Conference of Laymen." Again, eight years later (at the General Conference of 1880) it was declared that the "pronouns *he*, *his*, and *him*, when used in the Discipline with reference to stewards, class leaders, and Sunday school super-

* John Stuart Mill, in his *Subjection of Women*.

† Journal, 1872, p. 442; Discipline of 1888, Appendix, § 27.

intendents, shall not be so construed as to exclude women from such offices." *

Women are thus admitted to the Quarterly Conference and also the District Conference—the first two in that series of conferential bodies which constitute the synodal system of the Church—and were distinctly assumed to be included among its laity, or "laymen," so far, at least, as its Discipline is concerned with the constitution of the Electoral, the Quarterly, and the District Conferences. Meanwhile, it was declared (1880) that "the Discipline does not provide for nor contemplate the licensing of women as local preachers;" that the action of Quarterly Conferences in granting such license "is without authority of law;" that "the law of the Church does not authorize the ordination of women" to its ministry; and that a bishop is not "at liberty to submit to the vote of the Conference the question of electing women to orders." † The agitation of the question continued, however, and it was again before the General Conference four years later (1884), when it was declared that the General Conference judged it inexpedient to take any action on the subject of licensing women to exhort or to preach, and that it was also inexpedient to take any action on the subject of ordaining women to the ministry ‡

These successive measures show the suspense of opinion on the subject in the General Conference, as well as in the Church generally. Acting on the declarations of the General Conference respecting the term "laymen" and the personal pronouns *he*, *his*, and *him*, the Electoral Conferences of laymen chose, in several instances, women as their lay representatives to the General Conference of 1888, the last session held in our present period. Some of these women were of national reputation for their talents and devotion to good works; they were Frances E. Willard, Rock River Conference; Mary C. Nind, Minnesota Conference; Lizzie D. Van Kirk, Pittsburg Conference; Angie F. Newman, Nebraska Conference; Amanda C. Rippey, Kansas Conference. They presented themselves

* Journal, 1880; Discipline of 1888, Appendix, § 29.
† Journal, 1880, pp. 353, 354; Discipline of 1888, Appendix, § 30.
‡ Journal, 1884, p. 314; Discipline of 1888, Appendix, § 30.

at the General Conference in New York City with their credentials, soliciting seats among their lay brethren as authorized delegates of the Church. The Conference was embarrassed and agitated by their application. It esteemed them highly for their well-known public services and was proud of their reputation as talented and devoted daughters of the Church, but it could not sanction their election as legal. It treated them, however, with the utmost courtesy. It voted the payment of their expenses, as in the case of its admitted members, and referred the question of their eligibility to a special committee of seventeen, which reported that "under the second Restrictive Rule, which was altered by the constitutional process, the Church contemplated the admission of men only as lay representatives." As the Church had never been consulted or expressed its desire upon the admission of women to the General Conference, the committee were compelled to report "that under the constitution and laws of the Church, as they now are, women are not eligible as lay delegates in the General Conference," and that the women above named "cannot legally be admitted to seats." The vote on the report was: ministerial, ayes, 159, noes, 122; lay, ayes, 78, noes, 76. The considerable minority, nearly two hundred, showed that the question would not be conclusively dismissed without further consideration by the Church. It was, therefore, like the former long-controverted question of lay representation, referred to the vote of the Church membership, and also to that of the Annual Conferences. A general agitation on the subject ensued which has had no parallel in the annals of the denomination except in the two great contests on lay representation and slavery. It was carried on in all the public papers of the Church, in its preachers' meetings, and its Annual Conferences, and the end is not yet.*

*The vote of the Annual Conferences was 5,602 affirmative, 5,151 negative; that of the lay membership was 235,668 affirmative, 163,843 negative. While these votes show a majority of both people and preachers for the eligibility of women, the requisite constitutional vote of the ministry ("three fourths of all the members of the several Annual Conferences who shall be present and vote") was not obtained. A proposition submitted to the Annual Conferences to change the second Restrictive Rule by inserting the words, "and said delegates may be men or women," after the words, "two lay delegates for an Annual Conference," was also lost, by a vote of 5,634 in the affirmative, to 4,717 in the

Meanwhile, the scope, the opportunity, for women in Methodism is already far beyond that of their sex in any other denomination in Christendom. In Quakerism they share, though in a separate session, with their brethren in the highest councils of the sect, and the latter has never been disparaged by reason of this fact. Methodist women have a much more varied and extensive field. Besides their usefulness as class leaders* and as unrestricted participants in the prayer meetings and other social devotions of the Church, they may be, as we have seen, members of the Lay Electoral, the Quarterly, and the District Conferences, and they conduct the two powerful missionary bodies already noticed—the Woman's Foreign and the Woman's Home Missionary Societies—with their combined revenues for 1890 of more than $333,000 and their aggregate revenues for about a score of years of nearly $3,000,000, and with hundreds of female laborers, native and foreign, scattered all round the world. They have been also from an early period active in other missionary labors. On the fifth of July, 1819, chiefly under the influence of Mary W Mason, the Methodist women of New York founded the first auxiliary to the general Missionary Society. To them is thus due the honor of organizing the first of the 31,500 women's auxiliary missionary societies now existing in the United States and Canada. They can claim more; they organized the first female missionary society, not only of Methodism, but of Christendom.† The names of its members represent many of the best families in the metropolitan Methodist churches of those early days. During forty years it did effective work, not only in raising funds for the parent treasury, but in "taking especial charge of the female missionaries, fitting them out comfortably for the tedious voyages which, in those days, were made in sailing vessels;" in corresponding with them; in providing clothing, bedding, furniture, and other necessaries for

negative, the necessary constitutional majority not having been given. The proposed measure was, therefore, defeated, as was that of lay delegation when first tested in the same manner, though the latter succeeded, as we have seen, on a second trial.

* One fifth of the English Wesleyan class leaders are women; their number in America has not been reported.

† *Centennial Methodist Year Book* (1884), p. 130.

both foreign and home missionaries. As early as April, 1848, the Methodist women of Baltimore formed the Ladies' China Missionary Society to aid the workers sent out by the parent society to China; and ten years later it dispatched the first three women missionaries to labor especially for the uplifting and conversion of the Chinese women. It was organized at the suggestion of Dr. Stephen Olin, who addressed its first anniversary meeting, Bishop Janes presiding, and Dr. Thomas Sewall, of eminent local reputation, prompting its proceedings by hopeful suggestions. It founded a successful girls' school in Foochow by pledging $5,000 for it. The society worked on effectively more than a score of years, when, on March 6, 1871, it was merged in the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. The Methodist women of California have also been devotedly laboring "to elevate and save the Chinese, and other foreign heathen women" who have been cast as wrecks on that distant shore, in an organization known as the Woman's Missionary Society of the Pacific Coast. It coöperates especially with the Methodist Chinese Mission at San Francisco, in whose mission house it has its headquarters, and also rooms as a place of refuge for helpless Chinese women who desire to reform and a school for Chinese girls. Its labors of twenty years have been attended by many thrilling incidents.*

Methodist women conduct also unnumbered charitable agencies throughout the Church. Probably more than half of the officers and teachers in its twenty-six thousand Sunday schools are women. They are found in nearly all its two hundred academies, colleges, and universities, constituting a considerable proportion of their more than seventeen hundred professors and teachers, as well as of their thirty-four thousand students; and, prepared largely by these Church schools, Methodist women form an important proportion of that host of female educators who now number about sixty-seven per cent of the public school teachers of the United States. They form a large contingent of the 165,000 "King's Daughters," an association which was founded by one of their sisters

* In 1893 this organization united with the Woman's Home Missionary Society.

(Margaret Bottome), and which had in 1890 branches in twenty-eight States and in England and Japan. They are not only a majority of the Sunday school teachers, but also of the missionary laborers of the denomination in its foreign fields. It is a very significant fact respecting the advanced activity of woman in America, that the many American missionary societies have in their foreign fields more female than male laborers; while more than two thirds of those of the British societies are men, and the Continental societies employ nearly fifty per cent more men than women. The highest foreign authority, since De Tocqueville, on American life and institutions says: "In no other country have women borne so conspicuous a part in the promotion of moral and philanthropic causes. . . The nation, as a whole, owes to the active benevolence of its women, and their zeal in promoting social reforms, benefits which the customs of Continental Europe would scarcely have permitted women to confer. No country seems to owe more to its women than America does, nor to owe to them so much of what is best in social institutions and in the beliefs that govern conduct." *

In fine, American women are far in advance of any other women of Christendom in works of public beneficence, and the women of Methodism, indisputably, are in the van.

Lately they have developed an additional form of activity—which is extending almost daily and promises, as has been remarked, to inaugurate a new era in the history of the denomination—in connection with the hospitals, orphanages, and "homes" which are now springing into life through its whole extent, foreign as well as domestic. To these let us now turn.

* Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, vol. ii, pp. 730, 743. The superior education of American women accounts, in part, for this preëminence. There were about twenty-five thousand female students in 1890 in the colleges of this country.

BISHOP DAVIS W. CLARK.

CHAPTER VII.

WOMEN OF METHODISM.—*Continued.*

THE deaconess movement appeared later in the Methodist Episcopal Church than in some other Protestant denominations in the United States, for the reason probably that the women of Methodism were from the beginning and in all its congregations so spontaneously devoted through their "benevolent societies" to labors among the poor, the sick, and neglected that the Church hardly deemed it necessary to give these beneficent ministrations a more formal organization. Dr. J. M. Thoburn, afterward Bishop of India, saw, however, the importance of such an organization for the *zenana* work in that country. Female missionaries were leading the virtually imprisoned wives, mothers, and children of the *zenanas* into the Christian life; but they had no power to give them the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper. The Latin Church allows lay baptism (by a physician, or even a nurse) in the absence of a priest, when the subject is in immediate peril of death. Why, then, asked the missionaries, should we not authorize our only representatives in these *zenanas* to receive thus their converts into the Church, especially as there is no other possible way of giving them baptism? And, if lay baptism should be allowed, why not also the other sacrament? Why should Methodism, which holds to no "sacramentarianism," no magical or mystical theory of the sacraments, show less adjustment to this exigency than Romanism? If ordination of the *zenana* missionary be desirable, as a matter of ecclesiastical propriety or decorum, why should this be denied her? Did not the early Greek Church ordain deaconesses?* And does not Methodism theoretically disown any other importance in ecclesiastical orders and ordination than that of ceremonial propriety, ecclesiastical decorum? Has it

* The office continued in the Latin Church down to the fifth and sixth centuries, but in the Greek Church to the twelfth century.

not denied that they are essential to Church validity? Was not British Methodism a hundred years without them? Did we, meanwhile, deny its validity as a Church? And, if they are not essential to Church validity, why should any imaginary importance or sacredness traditionally attached to them debar these *zenana* converts from the advantages which they may afford, as provisions and demands of our Church discipline?

If these considerations imply that ecclesiastical formulas are not essential to the salvation of the *zenana* converts, they equally show that these converts should not be precluded from the communion of the Church by the denial to their only possible pastors of ordination and the right to administer the sacraments. Such substantially was the logic of the missionaries. Thoburn, then in India, was pondering this problem in his heart when "the doctors," he writes, "unexpectedly ordered me to America. My sister, who had been in India many years and was deeply interested in the form of work which we were devising, accompanied us, and during the voyage to London she and my wife gave much attention to the subject—much more, indeed, than I did myself. They had by this time connected the deaconess idea, at least to some extent, with the project; and, having heard before of the celebrated deaconess work at Mildmay, in London, they determined to visit that institution and look into its practical workings." Their studies of the deaconess work in England confirmed his opinion of its special adaptation to the Church in India, and, indeed, to Methodism generally. "Thenceforward" he and his family were "fully committed to the plan of deaconess work in the Methodist Episcopal Church, substantially on the lines which have since been officially laid down."

"We came over to America," he continues, "and began at once to put the plan before the public. This was early in 1886. . . . Everywhere I noticed with surprise that the proposal met with unexpected favor. Hundreds of people would say, 'It is just the thing we need. The time has come when some agency of this kind must be provided.' Going on our way, we finally reached Chicago, and were invited to the

training school of Mrs. Lucy Rider Meyer. Here we found a noble Christian worker with the same problem in her mind, and busy not only pondering the subject, but arranging to carry it into effect. Here also we met our friend and brother, Mr. W E. Blackstone, prepared to help with counsel and with purse in initiating the enterprise. At other points I was surprised to find that God was stirring up the same conviction in the minds of leading men and women. I cannot forbear to mention one—the late lamented W H. Craig, of Kansas City. When I visited him at his home, and before I had said a word on the subject, he told me that the time had come for our Church to move in this matter. I mention all these incidents to show that God has been leading in the movement. Great movements of this kind never begin by a happy chance, in a single place, and spread thence like fire over the prairies. God creates a widespread conviction, prepares many minds for the reception of his plans, and so guides that when the time comes his people are prepared for their responsibilities. Hence it was that when we carried this subject into the General Conference we were all amazed to find that it commanded not only a majority of votes, but kindled a deep enthusiasm in the hearts and minds of the delegates there assembled." *

The meeting of Bishop Thoburn with Mrs. Meyer at her training school in Chicago was an important event in the history of the new movement. It has been justly said by an excellent authority that "the honor of practically beginning the deaconess work in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States belongs to Mrs. Lucy Rider Meyer, of the Chicago Training School, who during the summer months of 1887, aided by eight earnest Christian women, worked among the poor, the sick, and the needy of that great city without any reward of man's giving. In the autumn the [deaconess] home opened in a few hired rooms, and Miss Thoburn came to be its first superintendent." †

Mrs. Meyer had long been impressed with the conviction

* Bishop J. M. Thoburn, *The Deaconess and her Vocation*, pp. 60-67.

† Jane M. Bancroft, *Deaconesses in Europe and their Lessons for America*, pp. 220, 221.

that training schools for the preparation of woman laborers, not only for home and foreign missions, but for religious work in large cities, were a necessity of our times. She read a paper before the Methodist preachers' weekly meeting in Chicago on the subject, which prompted them to hearty coöperation in her design. She and her colaborers worked more wisely than they thought. They saw the obvious moral needs of their local field, but knew them not as statistical facts have since revealed them; for Chicago, the greatest of the interior cities of the nation, is an astonishing example of the phenomenal life of American cities—a life without parallel in any other part of the world. It contained approximately, according to the federal census of 1890, three hundred thousand Germans, one hundred and fifty thousand Irish, sixty thousand Swedes, thirty thousand Norwegians, eight thousand Italians, forty thousand Bohemians, besides corresponding multitudes from other countries. Fully four fifths of its population are foreign born or of foreign parentage. City missionary labor done there is the best possible foreign missionary work.

Mrs. Meyer opened her training school on Park Avenue, in Chicago, October 20, 1885, a date which will hereafter be commemorated as an historical epoch in American Methodism, for it was the beginning of such institutions in the Church. About two years later came the enlargement of its plan by the addition of the Chicago Deaconess Home. A hospital was also opened in connection with it, and it thus became the nucleus of an organized system of female usefulness which has since been rapidly extending all over the nation. It especially seemed a providential provision for the inauguration of the order of deaconesses, which was authorized by the approaching General Conference of 1888. From the Chicago Training School have gone out consecrated women workers to the different mission fields of our own and other countries. They are to be found in Japan, in India, in China, in South America, in Africa, Mexico, Korea, Malaysia, and the West Indies. "They are also in New Mexico, Utah, and the South, at work under the Woman's Home Missionary Society and the parent Board; and they are in every deaconess home in the land, except a few of the smaller ones, being superintend-

ents of no less than twelve of these homes. During the past year ninety-two students have attended this school, and a class of fifty has just been graduated—forty from the Department of General Biblical Instruction, and ten from the Department of Nursing, these latter having received their training at the allied Wesley Hospital near. Twenty-one different States and countries have been represented by the students of this one year; and six different denominations have studied harmoniously within its walls, though the majority have, of course, been Methodist. Some were graduates from the classical course in various colleges, others were from high schools and seminaries. About half of those finishing the course had been teachers, while others had been stenographers and trained nurses. This training school has had a remarkable growth. The first class, entering five and a half years ago, numbered four, a striking contrast to the number that have crowded its halls this past year. The utmost limit of financial prospect at first was the promise of the first month's rent of the small house in which the training school began; at present, the legally organized board of trustees owns its own building, valued at $50,000. A larger class than ever before is already applying for admission at the beginning of the next school year, the number of approved applicants being already about forty-five." *

Thoburn went to the General Conference (May 1, 1888, in New York City) resolved to advocate before it the innovation, and bearing a petition from the Bengal Conference, from which he was a delegate, praying for the establishment of an order of deaconesses with authority to administer the sacraments in the *zenanas* of India. A petition was also presented from the Rock River Conference, which includes Chicago and had witnessed the experiment made there, praying for the adoption of the institution of deaconesses and its extension throughout the Church. These memorials were referred to the Committee on Missions, of which Thoburn was chairman and A. B. Leonard secretary, and which reported, on the twelfth day of the session (May 14) a complete form of organization for deaconesses in the Church. It was adopted;

* *Christian Advocate*, May 28, 1891.

and in the next edition of the Book of Discipline appeared a new section such as few Methodists had ever anticipated seeing there. It ordained a new institution in Methodism, and provided a sphere of action for its women surpassing any hitherto accessible to them. It was an achievement which will render the session of 1888 forever memorable in the history of the denomination. It was in this session that women were denied seats as delegates in the General Conference; but it endowed them with powers of usefulness beyond any ever enjoyed by their predecessors in the Church, although they were not given the right of ordination or authorized to administer the sacraments.

The plan of organization declared: "The duties of the deaconesses are to minister to the poor, visit the sick, pray with the dying, care for the orphan, seek the wandering, comfort the sorrowing, save the sinning, and, relinquishing wholly all other pursuits, devote themselves, in a general way, to such forms of Christian labor as may be suited to their abilities." No vow is to be exacted from any deaconess, and any one of their number is to be at liberty to relinquish her position as a deaconess at any time. In every Annual Conference within which deaconesses may be employed, a Conference board of nine members, at least three of whom must be women, must be appointed by the Conference "to exercise a general control of the interests of this form of work." This board is empowered "to issue certificates to duly qualified persons, authorizing them to perform the duties of deaconesses in connection with the Church, provided that no person shall receive such certificate until she shall have served a probation of two years of continuous service, and shall be over twenty-five years of age." No person is to be licensed by the board of deaconesses except on the recommendation of a Quarterly Conference; and this board must be appointed by the Annual Conference and must report both the names and work of the deaconesses annually; and the approval of the Annual Conference is necessary for the continuance of any deaconess in her work. When working singly each deaconess must be under the direction of the pastor of the church with which she is connected. "When associated together in a home all the members of the

home must be subordinate to and directed by the superintendent placed in charge." *

Immediately after this recognition by the General Conference the institution spread from city to city, till it is now fast becoming general in the large communities of the Church. Before the end of the year a conference of its friends was held in Chicago, which adopted a "Plan for Securing Uniformity in the Deaconess Movement," proposing rules for deaconess homes, terms of admission, methods for training, and a course of study. In December of the same year the Elizabeth Gamble Deaconess Home was opened in Cincinnati, with Miss Thoburn as superintendent. In 1889 homes were founded in New York, Minneapolis, Boston, and Detroit; in 1890, in St. Louis, Cleveland, Buffalo, Washington, Philadelphia, Colorado Springs, Los Angeles, and Syracuse. A German home, also, for nurses only, had been established at Amsterdam, N. Y Jane M. Bancroft sent forth an able book on the institution, and traversed the nation, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, advocating its general adoption. Thoburn was elected, at the General Conference of 1888, Missionary Bishop for India, returned thither, and established homes at Calcutta, Lucknow, Muttra, and Bangalore, though the General Conference had not conceded his favorite proposal of "ordained" deaconesses for the administration of the sacraments in *zenanas*. It would be impossible to enumerate here the rapid multiplication of these laborers or detail their labors and usefulness. With them, and largely as a consequence of their efforts, hospitals and orphanages have multiplied in the denomination, for the deaconess homes are not merely preparatory seminaries for missionary laborers, domestic and foreign, especially for work in large cities, but they are also schools for training nurses. They provide not only qualified women for the charitable institutions of the Church, but skilled nurses for its families, and Methodists immediately perceived that the institution presented not only one of the best possible means of usefulness to others, but also an invaluable advantage to their own households.

It is a noteworthy fact that the Methodists of Germany,

* Discipline of 1888, §§ 207–212.

who pertain to the American Church, preceded the home congregations in this momentous innovation. In Württemberg, and afterward at Frankfort, "parish deaconesses" were appointed as early as 1868. In 1874 was established their Bethanienverein, or Bethany Association. After some severe trials the movement became signally successful; in the great cities of Berlin, Frankfort, and Hamburg it has commanded special attention and sympathy, and, in some instances, municipal aid, as a contribution to the public welfare. At the close of our period (1890) there were about one hundred Methodist deaconesses in Germany and at Zurich and St. Gall in Switzerland. They visit the sick, the prisons, the moral abysses of the cities and their suburbs for the rescue of fallen women; and they are prized as nurses in private families, being trained for this service in competent clinics. They exert in all their work religious influences, and are thus an important auxiliary to the Church pastorate. The authorities of Hamburg offered them some special concessions in the purchase of land for their home. The municipality of Berlin authorized them to make, during two months, a "house collection" throughout the city for the furtherance of their work. "This," writes a German authority, "is an unusual favor, only granted in exceptional cases, as when a village is swept away or there is an inundation or a failure of harvests." An American visitor to these German deaconess homes has said, "It is pleasant to record that our deaconesses have secured to themselves such good report for their usefulness that the city officials in Germany accord to them the free use of steamboats and street cars; and the Prussian government does the same for roads that are under State control."* The German institution is self-supporting. The Methodist Episcopal Church in 1890 had probably, at home and abroad, not far from two hundred and fifty deaconesses.

Allusions have already been repeatedly made to allied institutions, such as hospitals and orphanages, which greatly enlarge the opportunities of woman's usefulness in the Church, especially of its deaconesses, and are inaugurating that new era in its history of which I have spoken—an era of increased "humanitarian" usefulness. They are restoring one of its most

*Jane M. Bancroft, *Deaconesses in Europe*, p. 118.

important primitive intentions, for Wesley designed that Methodism should be especially characterized by "humanitarian" beneficence. Hence, among his "General Rules," or terms of membership in his societies, a prominent one is the doing good to the bodies as well as the souls of men—"doing good of every possible sort, and, as far as possible, to all men: to their bodies of the ability which God giveth, by giving food to the hungry, by clothing the naked, by visiting or helping them that are sick or in prison," etc. He organized "visitors of the sick." He opened his famous "orphan house" at Newcastle. He founded a "lending society" for the aid of the poor. He projected "schools for poor children" in several parts of the United Kingdom, especially in London. He instituted "The Strangers' Friend Society," "wholly," he writes, "for the relief, not of our society, but for poor, sick, friendless strangers." He had the honor of founding, in London, the first free dispensary in his country, and probably in the world; and in its first five months "medicines were occasionally given to above five hundred persons. Several of these I never saw before; for I did not regard whether they were of the society or not." "So this also," he gratefully wrote some years later, "is one of the fruits of Methodism." This and similar charities still characterize Wesleyan Methodism; but its rapid growth in both the old and new worlds, especially in the latter, soon began to absorb its attention in purely ecclesiastical interests—church building, home and foreign missions, etc. Hospitals, orphanages, and the like institutions were therefore tacitly postponed till better auspices. All of them, in American Methodism, date after the beginning of our present period, and are evidences of that augmented lay activity which has been mentioned as characteristic of the Church since the concession of lay representation.

The first Methodist Episcopal hospital was opened for patients in Brooklyn, N. Y., December 15, 1887 It was founded by the munificent donation of $410,000 from George I. Seney, one of the leaders of the lay representation movement, in memory of Robert Seney, his father, an early itinerant of the New York Conference. Its property is estimated at $650,000, without debt. Its architectural plan and interior

arrangements embody the most advanced improvements of such institutions. Seventy beds are (1890) available for the sick. An endowment fund of over $100,000 maintains twenty "free beds," annual donations support others, and its free beds already amount to about fifty. Applicants—of the sick poor—far surpass its resources. It has a children's ward, which was opened in 1889, and a training school for nurses. Its buildings are an ornament to the city.

The Methodist Episcopal Hospital of Philadelphia was founded by a residuary legacy from Dr. Scott Stewart, of that city, amounting to $250,000, a fifth of which, however, was for the time diverted to certain annuitants named in his will. The institution was incorporated February 14, 1885, but its generous founder's legacy was not received by its trustees till May, 1889, and then only after a costly litigation, while the hospital itself was not opened till 1892, two years after the close of our period. Its net property, including its endowment fund, now amounts to $350,000. Its buildings, still incomplete, are projected on an ample scale after the latest and best models; they comprise six ward edifices, or pavilions, and an administration building, besides the usual minor buildings. Each pavilion will be complete in itself and the wards entirely isolated. They will accommodate three hundred and fifty beds, and will be one hundred feet apart, arranged in groups of three on opposite sides of a lot of ground containing nearly two hundred thousand square feet.

It was fitting that such a development of Christian activity should extend to the distant foreign mission fields of the Church. By the liberality of Mrs. Philander Smith, of Chicago, a hospital was opened in 1886 in one of the greatest cities of the greatest mission field of the world—Nanking, the ancient capital of China. Its buildings include accommodations for eighty patients, homes for its physicians, and a chapel. This was indeed a demonstration of the humanitarian beneficence of the Church; for in that immense city, teeming with victims of disease, there was not at the time a single native Methodist. The multitudinous population beheld it with grateful wonder. The date shows that it was opened, though not projected, before either of the two institutions

already mentioned—an omen which the Church need not regret.

These enterprises have given impulse to the beneficent work throughout the Church generally. A hospital with valuable lands has been founded at Portland, Ore., and thus the good cause is represented on both ocean coasts of the nation. We have already noted the inception of Wesley Hospital, in Chicago, and Christ's Hospital, in Cincinnati, in connection with the deaconess work in those cities; and similar institutions were soon to spring up at other important points. Indeed, they seem destined to spread coextensively with the new order of deaconesses, and the two appear to be mutually adapted in purpose and needs; the deaconesses furnish consecrated nurses for the hospitals, and the hospitals prepare deaconesses for a fuller measure of usefulness. Both are true to the genius of primitive Christianity, and Methodism, we may assuredly believe, will never relax its enterprise in these directions till its hospitals and deaconesses shall witness for it throughout the world. It will find in them not only a great opportunity for service, but also a grand vindication. Romanism, so incompatible with our actual civilization, has to-day its chief vindication in its hospitals and its "sisters." The latter, especially, command for it more respect and sympathy than all its male hierarchy. Methodism will not ignore this great historical lesson. Its women, eager to extend its beneficent sway by such institutions and to attain in them the highest possible sphere of life for themselves—a sphere as ideal in its benevolence and moral beauty as it is potential in its practical aims—will consecrate themselves by thousands to its service in these ministrations. Wearing a costume of extreme simplicity, but of equal beauty, they will enter the chambers of the sick and the dying, not, like the papal "sisters," in ghostly guise and with lugubrious countenance, but with cheerful aspect and gracious teachings. The Church, now that it has begun this work, will not fail to prosecute it with its accustomed energy, and this means, with its usual success.

I might add to this list of beneficent institutions others which, though still in their inception, promise to make for the next generation of Methodists a touching chapter in the

history of their Church—homes for the shelter of those whom the divine Master took into his arms and blessed, saying, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven." St. Christopher's Home, in New York City, incorporated in 1885, is a beautiful example. It is designed for "the care and education of destitute children in useful occupations, with special reference to self-support after leaving the home." It receives them between the ages of two and ten years. It has procured, at a cost of $60,000, property known as Ingleside, at Dobbs Ferry. Another example is the German Methodist Orphan Asylum at Berea, O., sustained by our German members. It possesses substantial edifices, which shelter about one hundred children. The German Methodists contribute generously for its support. As it was opened in 1864, it ranks as the first of such institutions in American Methodism. The same year the German Methodists of the West had founded a similar institution at Warrenton, Mo. Still another example, which should have distinct record here as the first of the orphanages of the Church in the Atlantic States, is that of Philadelphia. In the autumn of 1878 Mrs. Bishop Simpson sent out a call for the Methodist ladies of that city to meet her at the Book Room, on Arch Street, to consider a proposal to establish an orphanage under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Fifty ladies responded, and Mrs. Simpson presented the matter as it had taken form in her own mind. The meeting at once adopted the project, Mrs. Simpson herself making the first subscription. A charter was secured from the State, and "The Methodist Episcopal Orphanage of Philadelphia" was incorporated. Early in the spring they rented a house on Park Avenue and commenced, in a very humble way, with two orphan children. It was not long before the house was crowded; more came than could be taken, and they changed their quarters to a larger house. About this time a gentleman of the city, Colonel Bennett, not a member of the Church, gave them two acres of ground, with a small farmhouse on it. They had now about forty children, whom they removed to this new shelter. The same benefactor, becoming more interested in the work and the children, afterward gave twenty additional acres, on which the ladies erected a handsome and commodious building at a cost

of one hundred thousand dollars. It is of light gray stone, with large, airy rooms, a chapel or assembly room, with stained-glass windows, wide corridors, and every convenience for the accommodation of two hundred children. The work has gone steadily forward, until hundreds have passed through the institution, and eighty-five are at the present time (1890) enjoying its shelter and care. Its whole property is valued at $300,000, and its endowment is already about $50,000.*

I have thus given in these last two chapters a comprehensive, and yet a too rapid glance at the facilities for public activity and usefulness afforded by American Methodism to its women, at home and abroad. These opportunities surpass any that their sex ever before enjoyed in the history of the world. The statement may sound extreme, but it is historically and literally true.

* Letter of Rev. Dr. Hargis to the author.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDUCATION—LITERATURE.

We have seen * that Methodism has, from its beginning and in both the old and new worlds, felt its responsibility for the education of the "middle" and "lower" classes of population which have thronged its temples; for though there have always been not a few examples of the "higher" classes interspersed through its congregations in all parts of its domain, and it has been found as plastically adapted to them as to any other class, affording a wider sphere of usefulness than they could elsewhere find, nevertheless its emphatic boast has been that it is a Church of the common people. Wesley, in the very year from which it dates (1739), founded its first academy, and in the year of his first Conference (1744) suggested a training or theological school for his preachers, though such an institution was not actually established till ninety years afterward. American Methodism projected its first college in the first year of its organization (1784). † Education was, indeed, the only extra-ecclesiastical interest which it did not, in the struggles of its early years, postpone till a more convenient season. I have narrated with some particularity its persistent, though somewhat defeated, efforts to provide educational institutions for its people; at a time, too, when a large portion of the republic was still destitute of State provisions of the kind. The story of those early struggles, though briefly told, is not without a peculiar interest as an example of that strenuous and persevering energy which is the real explanation of the history of the denomination, and which continually, though agreeably, embarrasses the historian with the apprehension that he will be suspected of exaggeration. After the destruction by fire of its first two colleges within a single year, and when most of the Church probably

* Vol. i, pp. 537, 538.

† Ebenezer Academy, Brunswick County, Va., may have been begun shortly before this date.

deemed these disasters proof that divine Providence did not design education to be a work of Methodism, Asbury, as we have seen, formed "a grand scheme for the establishment of academies over all the territories of the denomination; one for each 'district,' a district then being a Conference."

At the close of the preceding period of our narrative (1866) the educational statistics of the Methodist Episcopal Church appeared remarkable. At the close of our present period, hardly a quarter of a century later, they appear much more so. In 1866 it reported 102 institutions, including universities, colleges, theological schools, and academies; in 1890 it reported 205. It struggled through a hundred years to lay its own foundations and found these hundred and two schools. It has doubled the number in the last twenty-four years. At the first date it reported, with grateful surprise, 714 instructors; at the latter it reported, with no surprise whatever, 1,722. It then had 23,106 students; it now has 34,656. It then possessed funds and other educational property amounting to $3,055,861; it now possesses in buildings $13,397,578, and in endowments $9,348,796, making an aggregate of $22,746,374, deducting from which $641,274 for indebtedness there remains no less than $22,105,100 of valid and stable property devoted by the Church to the intellectual improvement of its people—to them primarily, but also, on equally liberal terms, to the American people generally. Including its various divisions, American Methodism now holds some forty millions of such property. At the end of the last twenty-four years the educational property of the Church had increased to more than seven times as much as it was at the end of its first hundred years—a striking indication of the growth of both the resources of the Church and its appreciation of education.

Again we may remind ourselves of the coincidence of this surprising advancement with the progress and success of the movement for lay representation. This quarter of a century—so productive, as we have seen, in missionary development, and now in that of education—dates after the period when the General Conference of 1860 expressed its approval of the enfranchisement of the laity whenever it should become evident that the Church demanded it. Princely donations were there-

after given by laymen to individual institutions. It has sometimes been mentioned as remarkable that in a single period of eighteen years about ten millions of dollars were given to education alone—considerably more than half a million a year; but an average of half a million a year is, in fact, no adequate measure of the liberality of the Church for this great interest. The average perceptibly increased in every quadrennium of our present period; especially after the establishment of lay representation. Throughout this whole period (of twenty-four years) it has been nearly $794,000 per year. It is gratifying to notice how greatly the annual average grows. In the General Conference of 1888 it was officially shown that in the preceding quadrennium there had been added to the real estate and endowments of our educational institutions the sum of $6,455,965; an average of nearly $1,614,000 per year. This munificence has been spontaneous and unobtrusive, while the utmost official energy has been put forth to raise the annual contributions for missions to a similar amount. Incomparably more popular as the latter claim is, and more emphatically and persistently presented in the public congregation, as it should be, it is nevertheless true, and certainly a very significant truth, that for a number of years the contributions of the Church for education have far exceeded in their annual average its deservedly applauded liberality for missions. Its greatest success in this, as in all its other important interests, has been since lay delegates took their seats in its General Conference.

The economy with which the Church has administered its educational institutions is noteworthy. Of the fifty-four institutions of collegiate rank in the year 1891, the annual revenue of only three amounted to $100,000 each. Not half of them received $10,000 yearly. Ten had less than $5,000, and six not more than $3,000. It must seem incredible, but it is true, that the Church conducted its fifty-four collegiate institutions, distributed over all the nation, for an amount but little greater than is expended on the single Harvard University. The latter has an average annual income of about $1,000,000; * the

* Professor Palmer, in *Johnson's Cyclopædia*, says, "In round numbers $1,000,000 is received and expended annually for university purposes." The reports of the treasurer for 1890, 1891, and 1892 give the total income of the university for those years as $1,013,306.33, $966,026.50, and $1,047,382.84.

former for 1891 had an annual aggregate of $1,038,104.89. Yet who will say that Harvard does more important work for the education of the American people? Some highly endowed educational institutions are desirable, and we shall have them long before we shall have come to the age of Harvard; but the less opulent colleges of the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, etc., are doing the most effective work of education now going on in the new world. The training they give is more practical, the mental drill they furnish is more fundamental, their students represent the more sterling classes of the people, their effect on the general intelligence is more extended and more stimulating than is the case with the two or three abundantly rich universities. There can be no greater fallacy than that with which some of our writers on education have attempted to depreciate the minor universities and colleges of the country. A great farm of five thousand acres may have imposing outlines and proportions and necessitate improved and complicated methods and machinery; but its utilitarian results, the amount of its products, may not be comparable to what they would be were it divided into fifty estates of a hundred acres each, and worked by separate and competitive proprietors. Meanwhile, the Church may well remind itself that its policy of subdivision and economy may be carried too far. Local incentives for the premature erection of colleges are numerous and hazardous in a new country like ours. Some five or six of our present fifty-four have incompetent, not to say mostly hypothetical resources. We err, too, in giving them the title of universities before they attain corresponding dimensions. Let us never depend upon fictitious titles, for we do not need them. The university at New Haven is one of the best in the nation, but it is still familiar and sufficiently honorable under its venerable name of "Yale College."

At the beginning of our present period, the Centenary Jubilee of 1866, the Church gave for its various charities, as a commemorative offering, about $8,700,000; over four times as much as had been hoped for by the General Conference of 1864. About three millions of this great sum were given for education. Some single donations were unexpectedly large.

Gifts of $50,000 each were made to the Garrett Biblical Institute and the Boston School of Theology; "while the Drew Theological Seminary, for the Middle States, was provided for by a gift of $600,000 from Mr. Daniel Drew, and the Biblical Institute in Germany by a gift of $25,000 from Mr. John T. Martin." *

The General Centenary Committee, to whom the General Conference of 1864 had intrusted the supervision of the Jubilee and of the money collected for the various benevolent objects, had established two educational funds: (1) A general fund, known as the "Centenary Educational Fund," for the aid of universities, colleges, academies, and theological schools, and of young men preparing for the ministry or for foreign missionary service; and (2) a "Sunday School Children's Fund," to aid "meritorious Sunday school scholars of either sex who may need help in obtaining a more advanced education." It recommended the annual observance of the second Sunday in June as a "Children's Day," for the augmentation of the Children's Fund by the collection of an average of five cents for every child enrolled in the Sunday schools of the Church. Children's Day was intended as a perpetual annual festival for the young people of the Church in which their families, that is to say, the whole denomination, could not fail to take a lively interest, and which should yearly increase the resources of the fund. The Committee furthermore proposed a scheme for the better organization of the educational interests of the Church by the establishment of a Board of Education, which should serve in a measure as a center for these interests, and which should receive and administer the two educational funds; and this plan was substantially adopted by the ensuing General Conference of 1868, two years after the beginning of our present period.

The Book of Discipline now becomes more than ever particular in its statutes respecting education. It recommends the establishment of "at least one academy or seminary" within each Annual Conference, and that not fewer than four Conferences should unite in the support of a college or university. It makes it the duty of the preacher in charge to preach

* *Methodist Centennial Year Book*, 1884, p. 182.

on the subject of education once a year, and to take up a collection annually in each society in aid of this interest; also "that, wherever practicable, a collection be taken in the Sunday school in aid of the Sunday School Fund of the Board of Education." *

The funds of the Board were allowed to accumulate until 1873. Practical operations were then begun. It was decided that, while future legacies and donations might be added to the investments already made, the income from investments and the proceeds of the annual collections thereafter should be disbursed in full each year for the necessary expenses of the Board and the aid of deserving students. In rendering this assistance, the plan was adopted of making loans. Not more than one hundred dollars per year was to be loaned to any student; as a matter of fact, most of the loans have fallen much below that point. These loans were to be repaid in after years, and the money loaned anew to other students.

Among the objects for which the Centenary Educational Fund had been created was, as we have seen, that of furnishing aid to educational institutions. This has never been actually attempted by the Board, but has been left to specific private benefactions. The attention of the Board has been mainly directed to the successful working of the students' loan system. At the same time, the original distinction between the two funds—the Centenary, or General, Fund, and the Children's Fund—has almost disappeared. So many of the beneficiaries have sought to fit themselves for service in the Church, either in the ministry or as foreign or domestic lay missionaries, that the receipts of the Board from collections, whether from churches or Sunday schools, have come to be considered as being largely for one purpose and have been reported under a single head. Much of the money derived from the annual church collections, indeed, never finds its way to the Board treasury, but is reserved by the Annual Conferences, under the sanction of the General Conference, for the support of educational institutions within their own boundaries; only the Sunday school collections being required to be sent intact to the central Board.

* *Discipline* of 1888, pp. 182-185.

The General Conference of 1868 had authorized the Board to secure a charter empowering it to receive and administer trusts of every kind relating to education under such regulations as the General Conference should from time to time prescribe. One was obtained from the New York Legislature in 1869. But the organization as originally devised proved to be inadequate. "At the very outset," says the report of the Board to the General Conference of 1872, "it found itself in the anomalous position of an attorney without power. It might propose collections, anniversaries, and various measures, but by what authority could it enforce its work? The General Conference appointed it to do certain things, but it failed to do more than 'recommend' to the Church the measures adopted for their accomplishment. It soon became evident that something more potent than 'recommendation' was necessary to effective work." In 1872, therefore, legislation of a somewhat more mandatory character was enacted, and the General Conference elected the Rev. Dr. Erastus O. Haven, president of Northwestern University, ex-president of the University of Michigan, and subsequently one of the bishops of the Church, as the first corresponding secretary of the Board.* Two years later he entered upon the chancellorship of Syracuse University, and most of his time thereafter was diverted to the duties of that position. He was succeeded as corresponding secretary in 1880 by the Rev. Dr. Daniel P Kidder, professor in Drew Theological Seminary, and formerly of the Garrett Biblical Institute, who was elected by the Board, and not by the General Conference; and on his retirement in 1887 the vacancy was filled by the election of the Rev Dr. Daniel A. Goodsell. At the General Conference of the following year, when Dr. Goodsell was chosen to the episcopacy, the corresponding secretaryship again became a General Conference office, and the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Payne, president of Ohio Wesleyan University, was elected to the place.† Under such men the work of the Board has grown in importance and efficiency, and the tendency of affairs seems

* Previously to 1872 Mr. Charles C. North, a prominent layman of New York City, had served as secretary.

† Dr. Payne died in May, 1899, and was succeeded in the secretaryship by Chancellor McDowell, of Denver University.

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to be in the direction of giving to the Board a more and more controlling supervision over the educational interests of the Church.

At the Centennial Jubilee of 1884 the Board reported that, down to the year 1883, it had loaned to students more than $86,000. "By these loans one thousand students have been aided, and through them some eighty institutions of the Church have received corresponding benefits. It is safe to say that two hundred (one fifth) of the number have already entered some sixty of our Annual Conferences as traveling preachers; twenty-five or more have become foreign missionaries in Bulgaria, India, Japan, Mexico, and South America; while on our lists remain a considerable number of choice candidates for the foreign missionary work." * It is farther stated, respecting the two funds, that, "starting in 1868 from the Centenary gift of $65,829.72, they have more than doubled in amount, being represented, at the present time, by $136,000 of interest-bearing securities. Besides attaining this handsome growth, they have paid all expenses and enabled the Board to disburse more than $86,000 in loans, or about $20,000 in excess of their whole amount at the beginning." "If the history of Christian benevolences," they say, "can make any better showing than that we should rejoice to see it." The above figures represent only the appropriations of the parent Board down to 1883, the year preceding the Centennial Jubilee. Adding the sums expended by its Conference auxiliaries up to September, 1883, the aggregates are, whole number of students aided, 1,924; whole amount appropriated, $273,233.

The statistics given for the year ending November, 1890, show that the receipts from collections amounted to $52,551.77, a gain of twenty-four per cent over the receipts of the preceding year. The total receipts for the year, including interest on investments, etc., were $74,985.45. The total amount invested was $226,000. The educational funds, therefore, not only promise to be, but are already, among the most important institutions of the Church. During the school year ending July, 1890, no less than 935 students received aid from it, 121 being young women; 713 were preparing for the minis-

* *Methodist Centennial Year Book*, 1884, p. 187.

try, 119 for the mission field. A total of 3,207 students have been assisted by the Board from its origin.

We cannot dismiss the subject of education without a reference to the proposed Methodist university at the city of Washington: "a great central university at the national capital for special and technological and post-graduate studies; a university which shall be the rival of no other institution, but the ally and the pride of all."* Such a university has been projected, under the title of the American University, with a proposed foundation of ten millions of dollars, and a beautiful and commodious site of over ninety acres in the suburbs has been already purchased. The "father of his country," George Washington, and Alexander Hamilton, the great organizer of the machinery of the government, early suggested such an institution to be located at the seat of government, and Washington, in his will, bequeathed property which should serve as the foundation of a fund for its establishment.† The Roman Catholics opened such a university in 1887. The Methodist Episcopal Church, the largest Protestant denomination in the Republic, and with its fifty-two ministers and fifteen thousand adherents in the capital,‡ owes it to the nation that Protestantism shall not fail to have its proportionate educational representation at the governmental center of the country.

Methodism has had its due share in the secular vicissitudes

* Dr. C. H. Payne, at the General Conference of 1892, at Omaha, Neb.

† This property was afterwards made over to the present Columbian University. In his last message to Congress Washington says: "Such an institution would secure the assimilation of the principles, opinions, and manners of our countrymen by the common education of a portion of our youth from every quarter. Its desirableness has so constantly increased with every new view I have taken of the subject that I cannot omit the opportunity of once for all recalling your attention to it." The following extract from his will is worthy of serious attention at the present day, especially when taken in connection with the influence exerted by the ultra-rationalistic teachings of so many of the leading European universities: "It has always been a source of serious regret with me to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purposes of education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own; contracting too frequently, not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to republican government and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind which thereafter are rarely overcome."

‡ Bishop Hurst, at Second Ecumenical Conference, Washington, D. C., 1891. *Proceedings*, p. 28.

and reverses of the nation. It has learned important lessons from experience, especially from its educational enterprises in the new or frontier regions of the country. As we have seen was the case in its missionary enterprises, however, it has seldom been permanently disheartened, but has received strength and courage from its trials, and is to-day more enthusiastic and aggressive than ever before in its educational projects.

The uncouth cognomen "Book Concern," as applied to the Methodist publishing house, sounds singular to unaccustomed ears; but to Methodists it has become familiar and even venerable as expressive of one of their greatest interests. The Book Concern is an institution which in our present period has arrived at such dimensions as would have appeared incredible to early Methodists. In reviewing its history down to the Centenary Jubilee (1866), it was remarked that "the influence of this great establishment, in the diffusion of popular literature and the creation of a taste for reading among the masses of the denomination, has been incalculable." At the celebration of its hundredth anniversary, in 1890, one of its chief functionaries, with ample data at his command, could publicly declare that it had published more than one third of all the religious literature ever issued in the United States.*

Though now the greatest religious publishing house in the world, we have seen it begin in extreme feebleness in 1789, on borrowed capital, and issuing, happily, as its first book Wesley's translation of à Kempis's *De Imitatione*—the most noted devotional manual of the Christian world and a worthy symbol of the evangelical aim of the new institution. I have minutely traced its progress down to 1866: its transference from Philadelphia to New York in 1804; its purchase of buildings on Crosby Street in 1825; its increasing prosperity, requiring the erection of new buildings on Mulberry Street in 1833; their entire destruction by fire in 1836; the rallying of the Church, with contributions of about $90,000, for their immediate reërection, and its subsequent remarkable success, with the establishment of the Western Book Concern, in 1820, at Cincinnati; the opening of local depositories in chief cities of the nation; its publication of weekly papers, organs of the

*Dr. Sandford Hunt, *Centennial of the Methodist Book Concern*, p. 50.

Church (the so-called "family of Christian Advocates") at important centers from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The story, though dry in its details, could not fail to be profoundly interesting in its historical and moral significance. One of its publishing agents said publicly in 1890 that "in that unpretentious building on Mulberry Street products have been sent out which, in connection with the Western House, amount to $50,000,000." * This building continued in use as a printing office and bindery until February, 1890; but in 1869 the editorial and administrative offices were removed to a new building, at the corner of Broadway and Eleventh Street, which had been purchased by the Book Concern and the Missionary Society at a cost of $950,000.

With the marvelous growth of the metropolis business encroached more and more on the fashionable residence portion of the city, and the center of the book trade was transferred to the region of lower Fifth Avenue. The Book Concern shared in the general progress. Owing to the increased volume of its business, its accommodations had become inadequate. Its publishing agents were therefore authorized by the Book Committee, acting in the interim of the General Conference, to sell the Broadway and Mulberry Street properties, and other property was secured at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Twentieth Street, where a new and massive building, better adapted to the uses of the Book Concern, was erected with the coöperation of the Missionary Society. During the session of the General Conference of 1888, in New York, the corner stone was laid in the presence of the chief officials of the Church and a numerous gathering of citizens. The completed edifice was dedicated February 11, 1890; and two days later the commemoration was continued before a crowded audience at the Metropolitan Opera House. "The main building is 104 feet 3½ inches on Fifth Avenue, and 170 feet on Twentieth Street, and, including the basement, is 130 feet high, embracing, with the basement, nine stories. The first three are of granite, the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh are of Baltimore brick, and the eighth and ninth are of granite and brick. The whole structure is built of the best ma-

* Dr. Sandford Hunt, *Centennial of the Methodist Book Concern*, p. 48.

terials throughout, and is fireproof. The Missionary Society owns one third of this new property, and has been able to pay for it without using any of the contributions made to the society for its general and current work. The sale of the old property, at 805 Broadway and 200 Mulberry Street, enabled the agents to complete their two thirds of the new building without leaving any debt upon it." *

Its interests have been conducted by some of the most eminent men of the Church. At the opening of our period Thomas Carlton and James Porter were the publishing agents, or "book agents," as the official title then ran—an expression unpleasantly suggestive and confusing, as well as singularly inappropriate for the heads of a great publishing house, and now happily discontinued. Their successors have been, 1868–1872, Thomas Carlton, John Lanahan, and Eleazer Thomas, the last being in charge of our publishing interests on the Pacific coast; 1872–1879, Reuben Nelson and John M. Phillips, the latter a layman; 1879–1889, John M. Phillips and Sandford Hunt; from 1889 to the close of the period in 1890, Sandford Hunt and Homer Eaton.† In 1872 a change was made in the relative rank of the publishing agents, both at New York and Cincinnati. They were now made coördinate in authority Until then there had been at each Book Concern an agent and an assistant agent. At the same General Conference the rule that the agents "shall be chosen from among the traveling preachers" was repealed, and for the first time in its history a layman was elected agent.

The Western Methodist Book Concern at Cincinnati, with its two branches, or "depositories," at Chicago and St. Louis, shared in the prosperity that had attended the eastern house. Indeed, its relative importance has steadily increased. The territory dependent upon it comprises most of the great Mississippi valley from the Alleghanies to the Rockies, where the growth of wealth and population has been most marked and

* *Centennial of the Methodist Book Concern*, p. 7.

† Dr. Hunt was originally elected by the Book Committee to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. Nelson; Dr. Eaton was elected in the same manner to succeed Mr. Phillips; and both were subsequently reëlected by the General Conference. Dr. Hunt died in February, 1896; and in May of the same year Homer Eaton and George P. Mains were chosen by the General Conference.

marvelous, and where Methodism has been most deeply and securely planted. In 1869, the same year when the New York house removed from the old, contracted quarters on Mulberry Street to the larger, more convenient building on Broadway, a new site in Cincinnati was also purchased, at the corner of West Fourth and Home Streets, where new buildings were erected, to which the business was transferred the following year from its former station at Eighth and Main Streets. Here it has since remained, although the need of a larger and better equipped building has already become apparent.* In the great Chicago fire of 1871 the building in that city was completely destroyed, involving a loss of $90,000 above all insurance. It was replaced by the erection of a new edifice at 57 Washington Street, the present headquarters of Chicago Methodism. In St. Louis there were numerous changes before the present location at 1505 Lucas Place (now Locust Street) was acquired in 1890. The publishing agents of the western house during our period were, until 1868, Adam Poe and Luke Hitchcock; 1868–1880, Luke Hitchcock and John M. Walden; 1880–1884, John M. Walden and William P Stowe; and, from 1884, Earl Cranston and William P. Stowe. †

The Book Concern had now successively occupied ten places of business in the city of New York; it had been, in fact, continually under that impulse of progression which had pervaded Methodism throughout the continent, and became in its new quarters a conspicuous proof of the success of the denomination which it represented. Like its great founder in England, American Methodism felt that it must promote the intelligence as well as the piety of its people. It began its Book Concern nearly with the beginning of the nation, and when the Church itself was but five years old. The Constitution of the United States had been adopted but two years before. There was no religious newspaper then in the whole Republic, nor for a quarter of a century later. The combined circulation of the forty-three political and local newspapers of the entire country in 1789 "did not equal, in

* Such a building was dedicated February 13, 1894.

† Earl Cranston and Lewis Curts were elected in 1892, and Lewis Curts and Henry C. Jennings in 1896.

amount of matter, the New York *Christian Advocate* of to-day." *

The details of the progress of the Book Concern are surprising and significant. "That little capital of $600, borrowed one hundred years ago, has now become $2,500,000; and while this has been accumulating the Book Concern has paid out, for various purposes outside of its own business, more than the $2,500,000 now retained as working capital. Of this sum over $700,000 has been given for the support of superannuated preachers, widows, and orphans; and last year and this we are giving $100,000, and the shadow of this sum will never be less. We would naturally expect a rapid increase in business because of the marvelous increase of our membership. In 1790 the number of inhabitants in the United States was about 4,000,000; the number of members in the Methodist Episcopal Church was 58,000. The increase in the nation has been fifteen-fold; the increase in the membership of the different branches of Methodism has been at least sixty-fold, or four times that of the population. As rapidly as the Church has increased, both actually and relatively, in membership, it has increased in its patronage of the Book Concern more rapidly than in numbers. In 1848 our membership was 644,229. The sales of the Book Concern during the quadrennium closing with 1848 were $612,625.19, or a little less than one dollar a member. During the last quadrennium, closing with 1888, our membership was 2,093,395. The sales of the Book Concern, East and West, during the period were $6,920,743.17—over three dollars a member. Fifty years ago we had one copy of our Church papers for adults for fifteen of our members. If we include semiofficial papers, most of which are published under the sanction of Annual Conferences, we now have one for eight. In our Sunday school department the increase has been even more remarkable. In 1850 we had 514,429 connected with our Sunday schools. The entire number of papers published for these schools was 77,363, or about one for every seven scholars. In 1889 we had, in round numbers, 2,000,000 in our schools; but we published, in all, over 3,000,000 of papers, or one and a half for

* *Centennial of the Methodist Book Concern*, p. 47.

each scholar and teacher. The increase in our Sunday schools was four-fold; the increase in our papers was forty-fold." *

Of the $50,000,000 of publications issued by it, from its beginning down to 1890, more than one half was issued within the last sixteen years—a fact that may well be pondered as pregnant with meaning, especially in connection with the increasing circulation of periodical publications as compared with the numerical increase of the Church. The first catalogue issued by John Dickins, the founder of the Book Concern, enumerated twenty-eight bound volumes; but the catalogue for 1889 recorded 2,753 volumes, without including many works, once issued by the Concern, which no longer appeared on its catalogue. "In the department of periodicals," said the agents in 1889, "the growth has been even more remarkable. In the days of Mr. Dickins, Church periodical literature was practically unknown, while now the number of Church papers issued from our presses runs into the hundreds of thousands every year, and the papers and leaflets published for our Sunday schools by the New York and Cincinnati houses in 1888 reached the almost incredible number of 2,959,950 copies, and the number for 1889 is even greater. Who can estimate the great good accomplished by these publications, together with the almost numberless tracts issued by us, as they have gone forth on their God-given mission."

A writer who has made special researches in the history of our literature says: "The circulation of official periodicals in the Methodist Episcopal Church in this country is over ten million copies annually, or over one hundred and twenty-five million pages. It is not unlikely that the unofficial publications of the Church are fully equal, the two sources sending out over twenty million copies of periodical publications annually, or two hundred and fifty million pages. These fall like the silent snowflake everywhere, and the leaves are for the healing of the nation. Besides this, the average number of books and tracts issued daily is over four thousand, averaging nearly eight hundred thousand pages daily, or more than two hundred and fifty million annually." †

* *Centennial of the Methodist Book Concern*, pp. 49, 50.

† Dr. Stephen Bowers, *Southern California Christian Advocate*, February 12, 1891.

If we bear in mind that these data pertain to the Methodist Episcopal Church alone, exclusive of the important detachments from it in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and other Methodist bodies, we certainly may venture without presumption to believe that the providence of God has graciously raised up Methodism for the welfare of the country, and that it will bear a still more momentous relation to the future of the new world than to the past. At all events, Methodist literature must, even by minds which have no sympathy with its more intimately religious aims, be considered an incalculable power in the intellectual and social upbuilding of the nation. By intelligent Methodists themselves it is particularly prized for its salutary, its sanative influence on the spirit of the Church. Dr. Buckley has justly remarked: "It is this literature which fills seminaries and colleges with students. But perhaps the greatest work accomplished by Methodist literature has been to counteract the natural tendencies of strong religious emotion to fanaticism. Without it the holy fervor inspired by the first preachers would have run into excesses pernicious to the mind and heart and the body, and instead of being to-day coherent, progressive, and stable, Methodism would be dead or dying."

There are several important enterprises of the Church which may, apart from their more distinctive aims, be considered auxiliaries to the educational and publishing interests here sketched, as means for the intellectual improvement of the people. Some of them are familiar to us as old and well-tried institutions, but are not the less interesting on that account; others have the special interest of novelty, uniqueness, and extraordinary promise of usefulness. They deserve attention in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

EDUCATION—LITERATURE.—*Continued.*

THE Sunday School Union is esteemed one of the supreme agencies of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A church without a Sunday school would be an inadmissible anomaly in Methodism. In not a few cases the Sunday school precedes the church, strong churches planting several schools as germs of future neighboring churches. The Sunday school is found, not only in every Methodist church at home, but in every Methodist mission abroad. As Wesley was the first to introduce it into the Church in Europe, and Asbury the first to found it in America, it early became identified in the minds of the Methodists with their very existence as a Church. They have kept their Sunday School Union under the supervision of able men, whose energy has sustained its vigor—Daniel P Kidder, Daniel Wise, John H. Vincent, and Jesse L. Hurlbut.* The denomination has, in fact, more Sunday schools than churches. Of the latter in 1890 there were 22,833; of the former, 26,879. Its gain in churches during the year previous had been 730, while its gain in Sunday schools was 1,289.

The earlier history of the Sunday School Union has already been comprehensively, though rapidly, given.† Its growth, like that of nearly all the chief interests of Methodism, has been notably great within the last quarter of a century. At the close of the preceding period (1866) nearly 13,400 schools were reported; there are now 26,919; the officers and teachers numbered over 150,000; there are now 296,785; the

* The faithful service of James M. Freeman, D.D., general assistant to the corresponding secretary since 1872, must not go unrecorded, nor that of Robert R. Doherty, since 1888 the accomplished co-editor of *Illustrative Notes* on the International Sunday School Lessons. In 1872 the German Sunday school work was organized as a distinct branch of the Sunday School Union, Henry Liebhart, D.D., having charge until his sudden death, January 26, 1895, when Franz L. Nagler, D.D., was chosen his successor.

† Vol. i, pp. 535-537.

number of scholars was then 914,000; it is now 2,253,644. More than 65,000 pupils were added during 1890. There are over 2,000 Sunday schools and over 100,000 scholars in the foreign mission fields. In 1890 there were established under the auspices of the Union 1,091 new schools, an average of 21 every Sunday. The number of conversions of pupils reported for the last year in our preceding period was 25,122; the number reported for 1890 was 103,841.

This is certainly energetic work—good and glorious work. From being local, the Union became national; and from being national, it has become world-wide. There is no field in Methodism, however remote or feeble, to which the Union does not reach forth its helping hand, with whatever aid the Church annually enables it to afford. During 1890 it sent assistance to nearly three thousand struggling schools. The host of Sunday school scholars is such that, "marching two by two, the couples six feet apart, the procession would reach half way across the continent." *

But I have alluded particularly to its alliance with the Book Concern in advancing the literary interests of the Church. The aggregate circulation of the English Sunday school periodicals for 1890 was 30,176,572 copies, and of the German periodicals 1,540,000 copies, making a total of 31,716,572 copies. "The aggregate number of pages in English was 354,860,680, and in German 15,252,000. Thus the total number of pages of Sunday school periodical literature issued by the Methodist Book Concern during the year 1890 was 370,112,680." † The gain to the Book Concern, for some years, from Sunday school publications, "has been nearly double that made by any other line of publication."

The Tract Society has also been mentioned as one of the "adjuncts" of the Book Concern. It was formed in 1852, incorporated in 1854, and reorganized, with its present constitution, in 1880. Churches are allowed tracts to the value of one half their annual collections for the society; destitute or struggling churches are supplied gratuitously. Notwithstanding the general invidious opinion respecting tract societies and

* *Daily Christian Advocate*, May 13, 1892.

† Report for 1890.

their literature, and the comparatively sparse annual contributions to the Methodist society, it has done good work not only in the diffusion of tracts, but of more substantial publications. An official statement, prepared in 1883 for the *Centennial Year Book* of 1884, declared that "during twenty-seven years the amount contributed for all purposes of the society was about $300,000;" and it had issued over six hundred millions of pages of tracts. Its report to the General Conference of 1888 shows that its receipts during the preceding quadrennium had amounted to $67,164.66; from which it had made money grants, amounting to $21,000, to Mexico, Korea, Japan, China, India, Bulgaria, Italy, France, Switzerland, Germany, Finland, and Sweden; and 6,775 grants of tracts, comprising fifty-six million pages. These tracts were purchased from the Book Concern, and were in English, German, French, Spanish, Italian, Swedish, Danish, and Bohemian. There were issued in German alone 885,950 copies of tracts, amounting to 5,451,400 pages. The grand total for the quadrennium shows 477 new tracts added to the catalogue, and 6,388,200 copies printed, amounting to 60,527,144 pages.

During the year 1890 the society made grants in money to the missions of the Church in China, India, Norway, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Mexico, and South America "for the printing of religious literature." Tracts were also sent "to every part of our field at home," these publications amounting in the aggregate to 13,460,720 pages. The number of churches receiving them was 2,050.

An important local work is prosecuted, under the auspices of the society, by the Rev. G. H. Goodsell, D.D., in the city of New York.* This city is the chief gateway of the nation to the foreign world. New York is, as I have said of Chicago, an example of that anomalous city life which distinguishes our nation, and which can hardly be found in any other land. It contained 639,943 foreign-born inhabitants in 1890, without counting the multitudes born in this country of foreign parentage. Nearly four hundred thousand immigrants arrive, and more than two hundred thousand mariners visit it annu-

* Dr. Goodsell resigned as agent for the society in March, 1894, to reënter the itinerancy, and owing to limited resources the work has since been discontinued.

ally. Forty different languages are used in it. It is, therefore, a grand center for religious work; and the Tract Society is diligent according to its means in this immense field. Its publications, in English and in foreign languages, are scattered among the immigrants, sailors, soldiers, laborers, inmates of the municipal institutions, in hospitals, prisons, on surface and elevated railroads, ferries, and in tenement houses. More than five hundred thousand pages of tracts were in this way circulated in 1890.

Thus the Tract Society is doing genuine missionary work, domestic and foreign, and is an effective agent in the diffusion of healthful literature through the nation and through the world. The single leaves of the Sunday school and tract publications, if laid side by side, would make a paper pathway around the globe forty-three feet wide.*

The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle is a unique conception, distinctively American, and perhaps hardly imaginable in any other country. It virtually proposes a sort of democratic and cosmopolitan university—a continuous training of the common people, artisans and farmers, as well as other classes, with their wives and children, in a lifelong course of self-education, or at least of reading, in history, natural science, and literature, including in simple or popular form most collegiate studies. It is the best exemplification of the reform which, in England and elsewhere, has subsequently been advocated as "university extension," and which proposes that the professors of the colleges and universities of the State should undertake, by systematic lectures in the cities, towns, and villages, to elevate the intellectual condition of the whole people; introducing a new standard into the common life, raising it above the mere necessities of work and subsistence to mental and moral ameliorations and enjoyments. The design, however partial may be its feasibility, is a noble one, worthy of that high appreciation of man, apart from castes and classes, which is the democratic, sublime, and universal tendency of our modern civilization—the true Christian ideal of humanity.

The Chautauqua idea is of Methodist origin and operates chiefly under Methodist auspices; though it has no denomina-

* *Daily Christian Advocate*, May 13, 1892.

tional restrictions, includes adherents of all sects, and is stronger without than within the limits of Methodism. It is of camp meeting nativity, and is an example of that tendency of intelligence to direct and refine the primitive ardor of Methodism to which allusion has been made in the preceding chapter. It takes its name from its chief headquarters, on the shore of Lake Chautauqua, N. Y., formerly a Methodist camp meeting ground, now a beautiful summer resort for members of the "circle," with public edifices, cottages, and ornamental grounds. A critical observer says: "Its gymnasium is one of the best in the land. Its tennis courts, baseball and croquet grounds, driveways, bicycles, skiffs, sailboats, and school for bathing indicate that Chautauqua is the place of rest and recreation as well as of worship and labor. Education begins with sand piles, in which big babies play with their toy hoes and shovels; the kindergarten comes next, and after this the gymnasium. Its curriculum embraces the entire circle of science, the widest historical researches, and every form of philosophy. Common-school teachers and linguists are equally well provided for. Music in all its branches has ever held high court at Chautauqua. Its school of theology is thoroughly equipped with the ablest teachers. In this thorough and comprehensive scheme we see the consummate financial ability of Lewis Miller and the peculiar organizing genius of Bishop Vincent and his assistant, George E. Vincent." *

Though Chautauqua has given the institution its name through the English-speaking world, that beautiful locality is but one of its many "assemblies," or summer schools. There are now scores of them, from Fryeburg, Me., in the East, to Pacific Grove and Long Beach on the California coast, where there are annual gatherings for the summer months, with eminent lecturers from colleges and universities, foreign as well as American, and systematic courses of study. The institution has its chancellor, president, and instructors. It gives diplomas. It is accumulating a considerable Chautauquan "literature," in text-books, manuals, and popular treatises, prepared by accredited authorities in all departments of science. It has a monthly organ, *The Chautauquan*, a substantial, ably

* *Christian Advocate*, August 27, 1891.

conducted magazine, which deserves to rank among the best literary periodicals of the country. Its instructions are not limited to its great summer gatherings; these may, indeed, be considered as merely its annual festivals, its "commencements." Besides its sixty assemblies, or centers, its members are organized in local "circles," in their respective towns, villages, and churches, and read together at stated times and through a prescribed course. There are now more than three thousand circles, more than one hundred and fifty thousand members or pledged readers, and about twenty-five thousand graduates.

The institution "provides a systematic course of reading," with specified text-books, extending through four years. "The prescribed books and magazine articles are recommended by a board of six educators, with special regard to the limited time of busy people. The readings are on the usual subjects of the college course, excepting the languages and mathematics."

"The Chautauqua movement," says a reliable authority, "is the joint product of two Methodists—the Hon. Lewis Miller, of Akron, O., and Bishop John H. Vincent. Both men were active in the promotion of Sunday school interests, and both had advanced ideas regarding the promotion of popular education. For many years Dr. Vincent had projected an institute or normal class for the training of Sunday school workers. He desired to hold the first summer session, of from two to four weeks, in the famous Sunday school hall in Akron, O. Mr. Miller recommended that the institute be taken into the woods, and proposed Chautauqua as the right place for such an experiment. He had long desired to improve the character of the average camp meeting, and he believed that the scheme proposed by Dr. Vincent would contribute to this end. The experiment was made, and proved a success. The advanced ideas concerning the camp meeting which Mr. Miller had entertained found opportunity for development at Chautauqua, and the enterprise also gave to Dr. Vincent an opportunity to apply his long-cherished schemes of popular reading and education, which ultimately blossomed out in the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. These two men have providentially developed a system which is becoming world-wide in its influence. Sum-

mer schools in every department of literature, science, and art, summer assemblies for popular lectures and entertainments, have been multiplying until there are now nearly or quite sixty Chautauqua summer assemblies. They are held in every part of the United States, in Canada, in England, and South Africa." *

The Epworth League is the latest example of that irrepressible spirit of organization and lay activity which we have had such frequent occasion to observe as especially characteristic of the last quarter of a century in Methodist history, and which is not only a result of the spiritual vitality and liberal theology of Methodism, but of a traditional influence, a legacy from the organizing genius of Wesley himself. The great founder has left the impress of his own intellect in this respect on his successors. Methodism insists everywhere on work, but always on work by method. Energy in its spiritual life, organization in its practical life, may be said to be its two most invariable attributes. And they afford us the chief solution of the problem of its ever-extending success. The Epworth League arose, not from a disposition in the Church to restrain this organizing spirit, but to really organize together and into greater efficiency a number of precarious organizations. The youth of the denomination had formed themselves into five general societies for religious improvement and labors, but with distinctive titles and "divided by marked peculiarities." They were doing much good, but it was obvious that these isolated or local combinations of the vast energies of the young people of the Church—counted by many hundreds of thousands, and with more than two millions of Sunday school pupils for reinforcements—could, if consolidated in one great organization and directed by wise leaders, be made an immeasurable power for good to the Church, the country, and the world. It was proposed, therefore, to unite the five societies; and by invitation of the Young People's Methodist Alliance delegates from this and the other four societies met to consider the proposition at Cleveland, O., in May, 1889, where reorganization was consummated under the title of the Epworth League. The official record says: "The constituent societies were the Young People's

* Letter from Rev. B. T. Vincent to the author.

Methodist Alliance, the Oxford League, the Young People's Christian League, the Methodist Young People's Union, and the Young People's Methodist Episcopal Alliance. The result of the conference was hailed with delight. The bishops indorsed the newly constituted League with emphasis. The press of the Church greeted the new organization heartily, and shortly afterward the Book Committee authorized the publication of the *Epworth Herald* as the official organ of the League." The name of Wesley's native town has thus become a household word throughout the United States. "The constitution divides the work of the local league into six departments, each under the charge of a committee. These departments are as follows: 1. Department of Christian Work; 2. Department of Mercy and Help; 3. Department of Literary Work; 4. Department of Entertainment; 5. Department of Correspondence; 6. Department of Finance. The heads of the departments together with the president constitute the cabinet for the management of the local leagues. The general organization is comprehensive, but simple. The fourteen General Conference districts are organized, and a representative body, called the Board of Control, is biennially elected, which, under the jurisdiction of the supreme authorities of the Church, supervises the League at large." Led by its corresponding secretary, Dr. Jesse L. Hurlbut, and the editor of the *Epworth Herald*, Dr. Joseph F Berry, it has grown from an enrollment of about 1,200 societies at the time of organization to 4,100 societies and over 200,000 members at the close of our period.*

I have thus, in the last two chapters, classed together, under the heading of education and literature, six important interests of the Church, including the Chautauqua Circle, which is sufficiently, though not exclusively, Methodist. It will be acknowledged by the thoughtful reader that these are abundant sources of power and usefulness for the denomination. We can hardly err in saying that in respect to these interests no denomination in Protestant Christendom is more efficiently equipped.

* Since then the League has greatly increased. At the close of 1898 there were 19,000 regular chapters and 6,500 junior chapters, with a total membership of a million and three quarters. It has been adopted, moreover, by the Church, South, and the Methodist Church of Canada.

CHAPTER X.

LIBERALITY AND RESOURCES OF THE CHURCH.

THE people of the Methodist Episcopal Church have, especially within the last quarter of a century, heartily responded to the appeals of its leaders, and have shown themselves capable of sympathizing with the highest aims even in education and literature—aims usually considered to be above the average popular appreciation. They gave for education, as we have seen, in the quadrennium preceding the General Conference of 1888 an average of $1,614,000 per year. They have patronized, as has been shown, its Book Concern with a liberality which has especially increased, in its ratio to their numbers, during the last two decades. They have given its chief weekly periodical, *The Christian Advocate* of New York, the largest circulation of any religious weekly in Christendom; and its highest critical authority, the *Methodist Review*, has a like preëminence among this class of American publications. They have given some of its other periodicals an extraordinary patronage. For instance, according to the report to the General Conference of 1888, the *Sunday School Journal* had a circulation of 157,746; the *Sunday School Classmate*, 173,387; the *Sunday School Advocate*, 300,264; and the *Berean Leaf*, 1,557,250. Its German members in the United States, who are among its least wealthy but most devoted people, have given a larger percentage in money to its financial interests and a larger ratio of patronage to its periodicals than any other class of its communicants; the *Sonntagschule Glocke* had in the United States a circulation of 26,000, and the *Bibelforscher* nearly 40,000. The liberality of the Church to the Church Extension Board, the Freedmen's Aid Society, to hospitals, deaconess homes, and especially to the missionary cause, raising the annual revenue of the various societies of the latter in six years, 1884–1890, from $899,224 to $1,527,452, has been noticed. As numerically the chief Protestant denomination

in the Republic, we can hardly doubt that it has been the chief contributor to that remarkable growth of ecclesiastical property which has distinguished the nation of late years, and which has increased 621 per cent in forty years; amounting in 1850 to $87,000,000, and in 1890 to $631,000,000.

These great drafts upon the resources of the common people may perhaps suggest the apprehension that they must be excessively onerous and of doubtful economy, but quite otherwise have they been found to be. When Chalmers reasoned before the Scottish public in favor of the introduction of the British and Foreign Bible Society into the Church of his country, one of his arguments was the educational effects of such a philanthropy on the common people. Their contributions to its treasury, small in detail though large in the aggregate, would, he contended, be more than compensated by tending to improve the self-respect and the industrial and economical habits of the people and ennobling their lives with the consciousness of high and world-wide aims. They would be placed in coöperation with the noblest philanthropists and the grandest efforts of their age. The argument was a good one, and Methodism has given it demonstration. The large Methodist populations of our prosperous land have been continuously improving, in even economical respects, with their growth in habits of liberality and activity in the Church. They have thus exalted their humble spheres of life nearer to the ideal of the scriptural Christian life. They have become "workers together with God" in the universal redemption of the human race. They drive the plow or wield the ax, not merely for themselves and their families, but for the common brotherhood of the world; not only for time, but for eternity. Such a standard of common life cannot fail to affect all its habits in favor of industry, economy, nobleness, and happiness.

Apart from such considerations the resources of the Church not only justify these charitable demands, but show that they may well be redoubled. Its members share with their fellow-citizens generally in the material prosperity of the Republic. The Census bureau at Washington has issued a bulletin on the wealth of the several States and Territories. The increase in assessed valuation between 1880 and 1890 was $8,333,269,923,

an increase in ten years of 48.62 per cent; the increase in the estimated true valuation was $21,395,091,197, a gain in ten years of 49.02 per cent. The officials of the Missionary Board have issued estimates of the wealth of the denomination which prove that its present habits of giving, liberal as they seem, are but initial to what they should be and, probably, soon will be. It has been shown that at the rate of "a penny a day" it could raise annually no less than $10,200,000 for its various benevolences.* Even this would be a light assessment on the resources of its prosperous people, most of whom it has gathered from humble conditions of life and trained to those habits of temperance, frugality, and industry which, under the auspices of American institutions, are the guarantees of success in business life. "The wealth of the nation," writes one of the missionary secretaries, "is now $65,000,000,000. The communicants of the Methodist Episcopal Church number 2,250,000—more than one thirtieth of the entire population. Suppose that we have one thirtieth of the wealth; we must then have $2,100,000,000, at least." †

Such a people, under the inspiration of intelligent religious enthusiasm and led by able and spirited officers, can do almost anything that is practicable to associated men. The Church is training them for still greater things than they have yet achieved. It has published a volume of prize essays, as well as other treatises, on the relation of the laity to ministerial and missionary work, and especially on the consecration of money, based on the doctrine of the "priesthood of the people" as taught by the apostles and reformers. It has very generally adopted the sentiment of one of the best American thinkers, Horace Bushnell, who wrote that "what we are waiting for and are longing hopefully to see is the consecration of the vast money power of the world to the work and cause and kingdom of Jesus Christ; for that day, when it comes, will be the morning of a new creation." Methodism is sanguine with this sublime hope. Most of its wealthy members have made their fortunes under its salutary training. It has taught them their

* *World-Wide Missions*, May, 1891.

† Letter of Secretary McCabe to the author. This estimate leaves out of the account the noncommunicant adherents of the Church, who, nevertheless, give largely to its charities.

responsibility, and they have shown their sense of the fact by extraordinary liberality, as we have seen. Successful business men, even if destitute of literary training, usually have, nevertheless, a species of high education, the education of practical life. They are more disposed to give their wealth to stable and appreciable institutions of beneficence than to current expenditures which, however useful and necessary, quickly absorb or disperse the charities of the common people. Methodism has given a striking proof of this fact; its financial liberality has increased in proportion to the increase of the institutions claiming its liberality, and especially of such institutions as are based on stable foundations and require costly structures and endowments—orphanages, hospitals, "homes," and, particularly, educational institutions.

In this last respect its history is especially remarkable, and may well inspire it with confidence in its future resources. Notwithstanding the evidence I have recorded of its early and continuous interest in education, the public impression has generally been that its people could hardly be expected to appreciate highly that great interest of both the Church and the State. And this impression has not been altogether without plausibility; for, to its honor, most of its people have been gathered, if not from the uneducated, yet from the but partially educated classes. Nevertheless, there have always been among its leaders, from Wesley and Coke down to our day, men of university education and devoted lovers of learning. To them the generous hearts and clear heads of its people have responded, and an intelligent zeal has provided improved educational facilities; and this zeal has become, not an ordinary, but a very extraordinary characteristic of the Church. Statistics prove the truth of the public declaration made by a member of a former cabinet of the national government, Edward Everett, that the Methodists have done more for the education of the American people than any other Christian denomination. The statistics given in the preceding chapters would be incredible were they not officially authenticated. They show that the average annual increase in the value of the permanent property of the educational institutions of the Church for the last quarter of a century has been about $794,000; that

during the quadrennium preceding the General Conference of 1888 the average was nearly $1,614,000 per annum. We have seen that the Missionary Society, so well and worthily adapted to carry with it the popular sympathy, in a little more than seventy years raised and expended $24,623,042.66; but the cause of education has gained, in less than twenty-five years, nearly twenty million dollars of permanently invested property

We may well repeat, with emphasis, these surprising facts. And their lesson may well be pondered. That lesson is that the Church need not doubt the competent liberality of its people for its claims upon them. Those claims especially which are least likely to command popular enthusiasm, but which, like that of education, are, nevertheless, of inestimable importance, will always command the patronage of wealthy and far-seeing men. The Church has, therefore, wisely instituted a denominational Board of Trustees, composed of "six ministers and six laymen, appointed by the General Conference," whose duty shall be "to hold in trust, for the benefit of the Methodist Episcopal Church, any and all donations, bequests, grants, and funds in trust, etc., that may be given or conveyed to said Board, or to the Methodist Episcopal Church, as such, for any benevolent object, and to administer the said funds, and the proceeds of the same, in accordance with the direction of the donors, and of the interests of the Church contemplated by said donors, under the direction of the General Conference."* With such a depository for their munificence, the generosity of wealthy Methodists may be expected to increase with the rapidly increasing strength of the Methodist movement. Its great success in so much of the world, and in nearly all its many branches, has given it, as I have said, the consciousness of a special and universal mission, and of invincibility till that mission shall be accomplished. It has a singular *esprit de corps* and a boundless hopefulness. Though personal vanity is always a vice, national or denominational pride is nearly always a virtue. Pride in the land of one's nativity is an essential element in patriotism, pride in the denomination of one's choice a necessary factor in loyal and

Discipline, 1888, ¶ 171.

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heroic Church life, in all generous combinations of men. American Methodism, and especially our own Church, sometimes, perhaps, suffers from a too severe interpretation of what is, nevertheless, an entirely correct charge, namely, denominational egotism. With an acknowledged liberality toward other religious bodies, it has at the same time an abounding confidence in its own well-tried system and its consolatory theology, and an ardent gratitude for its past successes and its inspiring prospects. It is jubilant, sharing, however, in this respect, a national idiosyncrasy. Its habitual language is that of assurance and triumph. But with this confidence it has been well taught to combine the sentiment of its great responsibility—a responsibility which it shares with general Methodism, but bears in a greater degree than any other Methodist body; for numerically it is, as we have seen, at the head of universal Methodism, and has thus become profoundly conscious of the magnitude of the common cause whose van it leads.

The last Ecumenical Conference, composed of representatives from all the Methodist bodies throughout the world, admonished Methodists generally in a Pastoral Address that "it seems probable that before long Methodists will constitute nearly a fourth of the people who speak the English tongue," and called upon them to appreciate their responsibility to the Church and the world. This calculation is not exaggerated. At the very time the statement was made they already constituted nearly one fourth of the English-speaking people of the globe. Moreover, a German authority, Hübner, gives elaborately studied tables of the principal religions of all the earth, in which he assigns to Protestantism one hundred and ten millions of the human race.* According to the returns made at the last Ecumenical Conference of Methodists, they now amount to twenty-five millions of adherents. A religious body approximating so nearly to one fourth of the Protestant world

* Quatrefages, in his essay, *The Human Species* ("International Scientific Series"), uses Hübner's religious statistics. It must not be overlooked, however, that Quatrefages first published his book in Paris in 1877, while the estimate at the Ecumenical Conference is for 1890 or 1891. During the interval the Protestant population of the British empire, Germany, the United States, etc., had largely increased.

cannot long fail to reach that proportion. It may be pardoned if, in the consciousness both of its success and its responsibility, it evinces extraordinary hopefulness and builds colossal plans. Meanwhile, its hosts may well be on their knees around its altars, imploring divine protection against the peculiar dangers attending such unparalleled prosperity, and its leaders be anxiously on their guard against the intrusion of official ambition and intrigue.

CHAPTER XI.

ARMINIANISM—EPISCOPACY.

We may properly pause here to consider more particularly two features of Methodism which its adherents rightly deem of the highest importance and regard as guarantees of its continued success. One of them is dogmatic; the other is a characteristic of its polity.

To Methodism is due in a large measure the overthrow—we may venture to believe, the final overthrow—of the Calvinistic theology; the greatest theological revolution since the Reformation. We cannot too highly appreciate this achievement. Such sweeping language, however, would be inadmissible if used without qualification. It is admissible only with reference to some special tenets of Calvinism, and even then with reference rather to the dialectics of Calvin than to his theology as a whole. Many of his modern critics have overstepped the boundaries of candid argument, not in exaggerating his errors, for that would be next to impossible, but in depreciating his evangelical truth. The Helvetian division of the Reformation not only espoused the fundamental dogmas of Christianity, but in some respects excelled the Teutonic division. Its steadfast opposition to Luther's theory of consubstantiation is a fact of historical importance. The controversy on the subject between Luther and Zwinglius was a memorable event. The Helvetian movement, notwithstanding its Calvinistic dialectics, has had a noteworthy moral influence over particular sections of Christendom, and exerts that influence to-day, though the speculative notions of Calvin have now been largely repudiated by them. It not only produced Protestant Switzerland, but Holland, Scotland (for Knox was for some time a Genevan resident), the Puritans of England, and the Pilgrims of New England. Sober history will ever acknowledge the salutary agency of Calvinism (so called), while recoiling from the dialectical errors which disfigured it.

Retaining all the essential "doctrines of grace," Methodism threw to the winds the horrors of Calvinism—what Calvin himself called the *horribile decretum*—the reprobation of probably most of the human race, including the mass of the heathen world and of even infant children. Nothing taught in the theologies or mythologies of the classic nations, or of Buddha, Confucius, or Zoroaster, so complicated and confounded the moral system of the world, so begloomed the universe to thoughtful and sensitive minds, as the Genevan metaphysics. The very fact that they were accompanied by many good things intensified their frightful errors—a fact not uncommon in religious history. Apart from Wesley and his followers, those who rejected Calvinism were, generally, questionable "liberals"—high-churchmen in England (then theologically a "liberal" class) and philosophers, with "rationalistic" clergymen, on the Continent. In New England Calvinism was universal when Methodism bore thither its banner. The only opposition to the terrible system was from two or three small, ineffective sects. Arminianism was generally denounced from the pulpit as a heresy fatal to evangelical religion. Methodism, while antagonizing the old creed, held aloft the old Bible and preached with unequaled emphasis the most vital truths of religion. This was indeed a revolution—a mighty theological and religious revolution. In few things did Wesley show more heroism than in the courage with which he put the impugned name of Arminius on his first periodical publication. The first Methodist periodical was entitled the *Arminian Magazine*. The greatest of the early Methodist theological writings were Fletcher's "Checks"—a bombardment of the Genevan Gibraltar by a native Swiss, a distinguished student of the Geneva University.

And what now is the result? Do we ever now hear an explicit Calvinistic sermon? Have we heard one for half a century? If the old terrors are still retained in the old documents or creeds, they are buried there. They cannot be uttered in the congregation. Some of us have followed Methodism around the world and have found it everywhere proclaiming "free grace," "universal redemption"—if not the universal salvation, yet the universal salvability of man; and

nowhere have we heard its message gainsaid as heresy. This betokens an emancipation of Christian thought which cannot be forgotten by a grateful religious world; and the fact that our own denomination has played so conspicuous a part in this remarkable transition augurs well for its career during the coming century.

The old ungracious dogmas are no longer permissible in our popular literature. Nearly all, if not all, of the founders or leaders of modern American literature were born under the sway of the primitive New England theology, but became examples of a reaction—in most cases, of an extreme repulsion. But reactions have usually their counterreactions, and oscillation from one error to another may at last lead to the truth, *via media;* as the pendulum swings from one extreme to the opposite, but thereby yields the true time. Most of the liberal thinkers in our modern literature—Channing, Bryant, Prescott, Bancroft, Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Clarke, Motley, Edward Everett Hale, etc.—have efficiently contributed to the progress of our highest national culture, though they have swerved away, some of them too far away, from our theological traditions. In one respect they nearly all agree—the repudiation of dogmatic Calvinism. Though they may have known little of Methodism, they have shared and strengthened the theological trend of their times, a popular trend, attributable chiefly to the offices of Methodism as the most prevalent religion of their country. Some of them, like the poet and essayist Holmes, have graphically depicted, with perhaps too much of subtle sarcasm, the painful influence of the old dogmas on their early life. Holmes perhaps as much as even Emerson contributed, in his famous "Breakfast Table" series and his other works, to the revolution in literary circles. He accused Calvinism of "diabolizing" Christianity. He especially stigmatized Michael Wigglesworth's writings, which "assigned to infant reprobates the easiest room in hell." He cited as just the sarcasm of the noted Methodist, "Father" Taylor, of Boston, who in conversation with an orthodox Calvinist said, "I see you have taken my devil as your God." He might have cited a still higher Methodist authority, Dr. Whedon, long the editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*,

who did not hesitate to speak of the Calvinistic Deity as the "gorilla God."

Though a variety of causes contributed to this benign revolution, the Methodists had the chief agency in beginning it in New England and in popularizing it throughout the nation, and throughout Protestant Christendom. This was almost the only subject of their polemics, and they exulted over it. A high Calvinistic authority, Professor Phelps, of Andover, has recorded that "the early Methodist preachers denounced the dogmas of Calvinism with vehemence and scorn; they defied it as an invention of the devil; they denied the limitations of the atoning sacrifice by divine decree, and hewed the way clear to the liberty of proclaiming a free salvation. It gave a ring of gladness to their ministrations; the 'mountains skipped like rams, and the little hills like lambs,' at the sound of their voices."

Thus the first of the two features referred to at the beginning of this chapter relates to dogma; the second, relating to ecclesiastical polity, is hardly less important, especially as affecting the problem of Church union, not to say unity. Wesley insisted that no form of Church polity is enjoined in the Scriptures; yet we have episcopacy, given by him to our fathers. It is, however, presbyterial episcopacy. In his letter to the American Methodists at the time of their formal organization he says, as we have seen,* that the writings of Lord King had convinced him that bishops and presbyters were of the same order in the primitive Church, and that the names are interchangeable in the New Testament, the bishop (or superintendent, as the original signifies) being but an officer among the presbyters—*primus inter pares*, the first among equals. We acknowledge but two ministerial "orders," deacons and presbyters; and the word "orders" itself has no importance among us other than that of being a convenient term for the classification of functions. We have "ordination" by imposition of hands, but we esteem it only a decent form, not a "sacrament." Neither of the orders (so called) nor ordination itself was derived from the Levitical system. The Jewish priests were anointed like kings, not ordained by imposition of hands. The polity of the Church was

* Chapter ii.

derived by the simple primitive Christians at Jerusalem, not from the Temple, but from the synagogue, and the synagogue was brought by their fathers from their Babylonian captivity. The whole Methodist polity was a popular, a laic affair. Methodist episcopacy is simply a convenient and effective form of superintendency, similar to Wesley's own oversight over his preachers and societies. Wesley esteemed it as a good working system, and therefore recommended it to American Methodists; but his people at home do not have it. We who have it recognize their Church validity as equal to our own. We carry our episcopal working system all over the world, but all over the world clasp the hand of our Presbyterian, Baptist, or Congregational brother without ever a thought of disputing the validity of his Church. We deny that Church validity consists in matters of ecclesiastical polity, in "orders" or "ordination." We go farther; we believe that the hierarchism which grew out of the abuses of the early episcopacy has been fraught with uncharitableness and intolerance, with unwarrantable arrogations and persecutions. The downfall of the early Church and the religious barrenness of the Middle Ages, in both the Greek and the Latin communions, are mostly traceable to those perversions of Church polity which Methodism has repudiated. It possesses "episcopacy, without 'prelacy.'" Our history in this respect is a vindication of the primitive Christian polity, a protest against hierarchical arrogance and uncharitableness, and a pledge of future acceptance and success among enlightened men.

CHAPTER XII.

EPISCOPAL NECROLOGY.

Six quadrennial General Conferences were held between 1866 and 1890, the first in 1868, the last in 1888. No attempt has been made in the preceding chapters to give in detail the work they accomplished. Yet under our various topics have been given the results of their most important legislation, and especially their elections to the general superintendency of the Church have been noted.

With the unprecedented growth of the Church in membership and in the extent and importance of its mission fields the necessity arose for a larger number of bishops to administer the general interests of the denomination. In 1866 there were sixty-four Annual and Mission Conferences; by 1890 the number had exactly doubled, one hundred and twenty-eight being represented in the General Minutes for that year, filling our own national territory and scattered over the face of the globe. During the same period the membership had much more than doubled, and the various missionary and benevolent enterprises in which the Church was engaged had vastly increased in the interests involved; many of them, indeed, were not yet organized at the time of the Centennial Jubilee of 1866. To preside over the annual sessions of the various Conferences, usually each about a week in duration; to exercise a general oversight in the intervals between the sessions; to keep in touch with the missionary, benevolent, educational, and other institutions of the Church; to attend the sessions and study the operations of the denominational boards of which they constitute an important factor; to perform such other official and miscellaneous functions as pertain to their high position—all this, and the extensive traveling necessitated by it, taken in connection with the growing dimensions and complicated machinery of the Church, throws ever more and more of burden upon the episcopacy and requires a greater number of general superintendents to share it.

In 1866, at the beginning of our period, there were nine bish-

ops and one missionary bishop in the service of the Church. During our period twenty-one additional bishops were elected —a number equal to that of all the bishops of the Church up to 1866—as well as two additional missionary bishops. In the same period there died fourteen bishops and one missionary bishop, thus leaving at its close in 1890 sixteen bishops, and two missionary bishops for the two fields of Africa and India.

Of the nine bishops who in 1866 were superintending the affairs of the Church, the election of one, Morris, dated as far back as 1836; that of another, Janes, back to 1844, before the Church was disunited; four, Scott, Simpson, Baker, and Ames, had been elected by the General Conference of 1852; while the remaining three, Clark, Thomson, and Kingsley, owed their election to the recent General Conference of 1864. By a strange providence, the last three, elected to relieve the growing labors of their senior colleagues, were the first to fall. Their deaths, coming within a few months of one another and followed closely by that of Bishop Baker, saddened the Church with a sense of bereavement probably never equaled in its history before or since.

In the first complete quadrennium of our period, then, died Bishop Thomson (March 22, 1870), Bishop Kingsley (April 6, 1870), Bishop Clark (May 23, 1871), and Bishop Baker (December 20, 1871).

Edward Thomson was born an Englishman, was bred in the Baptist faith, and entered upon his manhood as a practicing physician and a sympathizer with agnosticism; but by a succession of providential influences he lived to become an American Methodist bishop. Having entered the ministry, he soon found himself engaged in educational work. For six years he was principal of a Conference seminary in Ohio. After two years of service as editor of the *Ladies' Repository* he was called to the presidency of the newly organized Ohio Wesleyan University, in which position he remained for fourteen years, achieving a rare success. Under his presidency the institution came to enroll five hundred students, a remarkable showing for those days before the Civil War. In 1860 he became editor of *The Christian Advocate* at New York, and was one of the three bishops chosen in 1864. In that and the following years

he made an official tour through our oriental missions by way of Europe, and the results of his observations were published in two volumes after his death. Bishop Thomson was a small, spare man, of scholarly appearance; at times singularly absent-minded, his whole being lost in some absorbing speculation. As a preacher he was always logical and scholarly, often highly eloquent, excelling in vividly pictorial illustration. He was a writer of whom the Church was justly proud. He possessed great conscientiousness of motive, a quiet but unflinching constancy to his convictions, an undemonstrative moral courage that shrank from no danger in the path of duty. Withal he was a man of singular modesty, of singular mildness and sweetness of disposition. These qualities had much to do with the potent and benign influence he exerted over students in the days of his college presidency. "He was," says Dr. Mendenhall, "preëminently a religious man, devout and reverent by instinct, worshipful and spiritual by regeneration and a love of duty, a Christian in the high art of practice, a saint in the memory of his friends."

Calvin Kingsley came to Methodism from early Presbyterian surroundings. His character was already defined when, at the age of twenty-four, he entered Allegheny College, with little money and no resources other than his own indomitable energy. His uncouth dress provoked at first some little merriment among his fellow-students; but his sterling personality and the thoroughness of his attainments soon awakened respect, and in his sophomore year he was appointed tutor in mathematics. After graduation he became mathematical professor in the college, at the same time serving neighboring pastoral charges, until his election as editor of the *Western Christian Advocate* in 1856. Eight years later, at the age of fifty-two, he was made bishop. "Personally he was heavy-set, of medium height, and strong-limbed. His features, though not finely chiseled, were relieved with a merry twinkle of the eye and the slightest pucker of the lips when he smiled. His voice was sonorous, full, and admirably under control, so that in preaching he could utter the indignant words of divine wrath or the tenderest tones of compassion." Robust in mind and body, genial and hearty in manner, and almost boyish in

the exuberance of his spirits, a solid thinker and preacher, a vigorous writer, indefatigable in labor, he threw himself into his episcopal duties with characteristic earnestness. In May, 1869, he started on the first missionary journey around the world ever undertaken by a Methodist bishop. He visited Shanghai, Peking, Foochow; sailed five hundred miles up the Yang-tse-kiang; ordained the first native Methodist deacons and elders in China; presided over the India Mission Conference at Bareilly; and finally, on his way to visit the European missions of the Church, and fresh from Egypt and the Master's footsteps in the Holy Land, was suddenly called from earth at Beirut, in Syria. There his body sleeps, at the very threshold of Palestine.

Davis Wasgatt Clark sprang from New England Congregational antecedents, and was born in the island of Mount Desert on the coast of Maine. His early longings were toward a seafaring life; but being converted under Methodist auspices his inclinations changed to a strong desire for education. His people were poor, and his only reliance was upon his own unaided efforts. After an heroic struggle he graduated with honors from the Wesleyan University in 1836, having compressed the four years of the college course into two years of assiduous study. For seven years he taught at the New York Conference Seminary at Amenia, the last five as principal. Nine years in the pastorate followed, then twelve years as editor of the *Ladies' Repository* at Cincinnati and seven other years in the episcopacy, and his work was done. Into these thirty-five years was crowded a life of solid usefulness such as falls to the lot of few men. The *Ladies' Repository* reached its highest prosperity under his editorship. As a bishop he displayed remarkable administrative ability. It was his part to reorganize the Methodist Episcopal Church in the States of the central South, lately devastated by civil war, where the Church had had no foothold since the "great secession" of 1844 and 1845. For a year or more Bishop Clark's failing health had been noticeable; it finally became necessary for him to desist for a while from labor. Yet he wished first to meet and preside over his old home Conference at Peekskill, N. Y His wish was gratified, but he did little more than

open its session. He was then compelled to retire, and was soon carried tenderly back to his home in Cincinnati, where he lingered a few weeks and then passed away. Bishop Clark physically was tall and large, with a fair and florid complexion. He was of deliberate speech; frank but undemonstrative in manner; practical, common-sensed, well-balanced in his mental faculties; not usually emotional or imaginative; of remarkably strong force of character and soundness of judgment. An easy writer, a simple but often powerful preacher, he sometimes moved his hearers with the deep pathos of his appeals. Yet "his piety could not," says Dr. Curry, "by any normal process have taken upon itself the sentimental type. Duty, not feeling, was his governing impulse; to do, rather than to contemplate, was his worship; and in all things to reduce to practice the principles of truth and righteousness, rather than to follow out his emotional impulses, was according to the habit of his whole moral being." He was an uncompromising opponent of slavery, but no vindictive hater of those who had inherited the institution. His early advocacy of the antislavery cause was severely criticised by many of his more conservative ministerial brethren; yet he never wavered, and lived to see the end of slavery throughout the republic.

Osmon Cleander Baker came from Methodist parentage. When Wilbur Fisk was made principal of Wilbraham Academy young Baker became a student there, and he followed Dr. Fisk to Wesleyan University, being a member of the first class in that institution, where he completed his junior year. In 1834 he became a teacher in Newbury Seminary, in Vermont, and five years later its principal. From 1844 to 1847 he labored in the pastorate, the last year as a presiding elder. While still at Newbury he had been instrumental in the formation of the Newbury Biblical Institute. This was the germ of all future theological schools in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In those days Methodists generally, ministers as well as laymen, cherished a prejudice against the idea of theological schools. Through the efforts of Bishop Baker and others, however, this prejudice was so overcome in New England that the New England Conference was at length persuaded to adopt the institute, which in 1847 was removed to

Concord, N. H., and christened the Methodist General Biblical Institute. Here from 1847 to 1852 Dr. Baker held a professorship. In 1852, in his fortieth year, he was elected bishop. Fourteen years later, while journeying five hundred miles by overland stage to meet the Colorado Conference, he was stricken with partial paralysis. He recovered sufficiently to meet a few more Conferences, but after 1868 was obliged to desist from all active labor. Bishop Baker was of full form, tall, with a large and finely developed head. He was one of the purest of men, conscientious in some respects almost to the point of morbidity. He was extremely modest, unusually reserved, largely because of rigid self-discipline in his early Christian life, and retained to the last his youthful habit of blushing easily. "He had not the faculty of easily and readily forming acquaintances." Yet his friendships were close and intimate. In the pulpit he was simple, scriptural, and earnest, an instructive if not a great preacher; in the bishop's chair quiet and easy, his clearness of perception and thorough knowledge of parliamentary usage helping greatly to facilitate the work of Conference routine. He could be firm and unyielding when the need arose, but was suave in manner and deeply sympathetic; "calm and complacent, yet in this calmness was a hiding of power that held deliberations under control as few could do."

In the second quadrennium (1872–1876) died Bishop Morris (September 2, 1874) and Bishop Roberts (January 30, 1875), the former conspicuous for length of service—he shared as bishop in the proceedings of ten General Conferences—and the latter for his peculiar position as an African bishop, the second colored man set apart for that function by the Church for its service in Liberia.

Thomas Asbury Morris was born in western Virginia, now West Virginia, during the second administration of President Washington. His early education was little more than that of the ordinary backwoods settlement. His parents were members of the Baptist Church, but, converted under Methodist auspices in his twentieth year, he soon found himself drawn into the ranks of the Methodist itinerancy, and for several years was a circuit rider in the sparsely settled regions of Virginia, Kentucky,

Tennessee, and in Ohio, when circuits often covered as much territory as a good-sized modern presiding elder's district. Those were the picturesque, the heroic days of Methodism. The early life of Bishop Morris reads like a romance, and is full of thrilling incidents. The toils, the poverty, the privations, the long journeys from preaching place to preaching place, through swamp, forest, and mountain wildness, through floods and snowdrifts, over dangerous roads deep in mire and rivers covered with treacherous ice; the frequent sermons, on Sundays and week days, often at the hour of sunrise—these to the present generation must seem almost incredible. Through it all, by hard labor and much sacrifice of needed rest, young Morris worked his way to a competent education, until in 1834 he became the first editor of the *Western Christian Advocate*, and in 1836 bishop of the still united Church—at the same time with Beverly Waugh. From the latter's death, in 1858, he was senior and presiding bishop of the Church until relieved by the General Conference of 1872. Bishop Morris was a man of middle height but of corpulent proportions, with a full, kindly face, fair complexion, and unassuming but genial manners. An early affection of the eyes had rendered necessary a constant use of spectacles. He was extremely modest and distrustful of his abilities, yet always faithful and equal to the duties that came to him; not a brilliant man, but clear, practical, evangelical, and successful in his pulpit efforts; a fervid Methodist preacher of the primitive type. A wise counselor among his episcopal brethren, quiet but efficient in the chair, his official rulings never once reversed on appeal, still, at the General Conference of 1840, he had seriously contemplated resigning his office, but was dissuaded by his colleagues and his personal friends. He was invariably approachable and sympathetic, and never lost interest in the plain preachers from among whom he had risen. Indeed, to the last he considered himself as one of them. With him died one of the last links connecting the earlier and later Methodisms, and a true, self-sacrificing servant and ambassador of Jesus Christ.

John Wright Roberts was a native of the United States, but was brought up in the land that was the scene of his life's work, his mother having taken her children to Africa in 1825

in order that they might avoid the evils of American slavery. Under the direction of the Colonization Society they went to Monrovia; there her sons were converted and joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, becoming eventually prominent and useful members. Two were local preachers—Joseph J., first President of the Republic of Liberia and reëlected for successive terms, and Henry J., who graduated with honor in medicine, taking his diploma in New York and returning to Africa to practice—while the third, John Wright, "a young man of studious habits," united with the Conference in 1838, in 1841 was elected to elder's orders, in 1851, with Francis Burns, appointed presiding elder, and in 1866 elected by the Liberia Conference to succeed Francis Burns as bishop for Africa. He sailed for the United States, and in June of the same year was ordained in St. Paul's Church, in New York city, by Bishops Scott and Janes, returning at once to his field of labor. He was familiar with the work and with the preachers, having presided at the Conferences in the absence of Bishop Burns and since his death, in 1863, and his administration of the varied interests of the Conference met with the approval of the Missionary Board. Bishop Roberts was of more than medium height and well proportioned, a light mulatto, with close-curling hair and well-defined features, carried himself well and was careful in his dress. He was dignified in his manners, and though a genial companion was reserved in his habits. As a preacher he was thoughtful, methodical, and instructive, and there was an ardor and unction in the application of his sermons which made them effectual for the moving of the heart as well as the conviction of the judgment. As a bishop, "he presided over his Conference with ease; nothing ruffled his disposition; he treated his brethren with a degree of impartiality and kindness which won their respect and esteem." After some months of failing health he died in 1875, in Monrovia, during a Conference session.

In the quadrennium ending in 1880 died Bishop Janes (September 18, 1876), Bishop Ames (April 25, 1879), and Bishop Gilbert Haven (January 3, 1880).

Edmund Storer Janes was elected and ordained at the Gen-

eral Conference of 1844, of which he was not a member but was present as financial agent of the American Bible Society. In the fulfillment of the duties of that position and as agent for Dickinson College he had made a favorable impression on the whole Church, and particularly in the South, where he was believed to hold conservative views on the slavery question, and his personal fitness was unquestioned when his name was mentioned in connection with the office of bishop by the delegates from the Baltimore Conference. Undoubtedly his election was due to the unanimity with which the Southern men supported him, and whatever may have been their controlling motives in preferring him for a bishop, says Dr. Ridgaway, "certainly they bestowed the richest possible boon on the mother Church in giving her a man to preside over her destinies who transmitted in himself the wisdom of the fathers of the episcopacy to their sons in the office."* He was the last bishop to receive the vote of the undivided Methodist Episcopal Church. The secession of the Southern Conferences in 1845 removed Bishops Soule and Andrew, Bishop Hamline resigned and Bishop Hedding died in 1852, Bishop Waugh died in 1858, and Bishop Morris was infirm in his later years; for nearly twenty years of the thirty-two covering Bishop Janes's term of service, therefore, he was practically senior bishop. Without a knowledge of the extent of the denomination and a comprehension of the varied interests at stake it would be impossible to realize the amount of mental and physical labor involved in the work. Bishop Janes brought to the position a simplicity, tact, persistence, and intellectual discipline that enabled him to perform an immense amount of official work, more, perhaps, than had fallen to the lot of any one of his calling since the apostolic age, while physically far from strong and of a nervous temperament. He was of small stature, with a feeble, feminine, though exceedingly clear and very musical voice, but remarkably lucid and intuitive in thought; a very effective preacher and an indefatigable worker. He had a pertinacity in his work that would yield to no discouragement. Had the Church need of a leader—a Leonidas for a Thermopylæ—Janes would have been the fitting man.

* *Life of Edmund S. Janes, LL.D.*, p. 90.

His piety was profound, and gave to his "still small voice" a remarkable unction, whether in the pulpit or in familiar conversation.

Edward Raymond Ames had been educator, pastor, and missionary secretary before serving the Church in the episcopal office, to which he was elected in 1852. Born in Ohio in 1806, converted in 1827 at a camp meeting during his college days, uniting with the Methodist Episcopal Church in the same year and in 1828 becoming principal of Lebanon Seminary, in 1830 he was admitted on trial in the Illinois Conference, and in 1832 into full connection in the Indiana Conference. By direction of Bishop Roberts he began his work among the scattered settlers on the frontier, "a region of miasma, wolves, and Indians," at that time, and "from the great Lakes to Texas he rode, visited, preached, organized, became everywhere the friend and confidant of the red man." From 1840 to 1844 he served as one of the corresponding secretaries of the Missionary Society. He was an acknowledged power from the first; a ruler of men by virtue of a strong will to maintain the right, as he saw it, and an intuitive perception of character which enabled him, having formed his plans, to select his agents to execute them. In harmony with his stalwart frame and kingly presence were his directness, his clearness of vision, his simple faith, his quick grasp of a subject, and his hatred of shams and subterfuges. To such he was merciless. Preëminently a statesman, he came to the front providentially when statesmanship was needed. During the twenty-seven years of general superintendency "he stood as a prophet and legislator, seeing what the Church has, what she needs, what she must have. His memory lost none of the facts necessary for a just calculation; his imagination never distorted those facts." As a preacher he had few equals. "Simple, plain, direct," says Bishop Fowler, "emotional, full of power. Himself calm, and seldom moved, his audience was seldom unmoved; his pulpit was a throne of authority, his conclusions were self-witnessing arguments, and the people were swayed to and fro with every motion of his authoritative hand." * In his later years his strong voice be-

* *General Conference Journal*, 1880, p. 539.

came subdued—more soft and sympathetic—but the old fire remained and revivals attended his preaching.

Gilbert Haven, born September 19, 1821, died January 3, 1880, was generally known as the "great radical Methodist" of his times. He was the zealous champion of the slave, of the temperance cause, of "woman's rights," of every "reform." He was not conspicuous as a preacher, but was an educator and editor of distinction, and a zealous chaplain in the Civil War —the first chaplain appointed in its volunteer forces. He had a generous, sanguine spirit, a poetic temperament, ingratiating manners and ebullient humor, and his occasional writings showed considerable aptitude for literature, in which he would doubtless have been distinguished had he made it the business of his life. When, in 1872, he was elected to the general superintendency many questioned the wisdom of the selection of a man with so many enthusiasms for so conservative an office, but the event justified the choice. In all its departments he was a successful, practical, and earnest worker, and his beautiful Christian character manifested itself and won for him admiration and love. During his episcopal career his official residence was in the South, among the people of whose cause he had been one of the boldest advocates before the Church and the nation, and the seeds of his last illness were believed to have been sown during a visit to Africa to examine into the needs of the work there. He died in his mother's house at Malden, Mass., the town where he was born, and it has been said that for no man in the Methodist Church, not even for John Wesley, were so many eulogies pronounced. "How he bound men to him with the cords of love was manifest through all this broad land when he had passed away. Not only was the wail of sorrow heard from the dusky sons and daughters of the South, for whom he had so often risked his life and for whose race he died at last, but from Maine to far-away Oregon there were those who mourned his departure with sincerest grief." *

In the next quadrennium (1880–1884) died Bishop E. O. Haven (August 2, 1881), Bishop Scott (July 13, 1882), and Bishop Peck (May 17, 1883).

* Bishop Mallalieu. See *General Conference Journal*, 1880, p. 544.

BISHOP ISAAC W. WILEY.

Erastus Otis Haven filled the office of a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church for only one year; he was elected at the General Conference held in Philadelphia, Pa., in May, 1880, and he died in Salem, Ore., August 2 of the following year. With his cousin, Bishop Gilbert Haven, he was a descendant in the sixth generation of "one Richard Haven, who appeared on the New England shore in 1644, a man grown," and probably of Welsh ancestry. He was born in Boston and brought up in New England, his father being a Methodist preacher, and his religious experience dated back to his eleventh year. In 1842 he graduated from Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., and in 1848 entered the New York Conference, having in the meantime served as teacher and principal at Amenia Seminary. While in charge at Mulberry street in New York city, in 1852, he accepted a professorship in the University of Michigan, thus ending his exclusively pastoral work and entering on that of education, in which, though eminent in other directions, he chiefly excelled. From 1856 to 1863 he was editor of *Zion's Herald*, residing at Malden. Here he had charge of the Methodist church, was a member of the State Board of Education and of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, was chairman of the Joint Committee on Education of the Massachusetts Senate, to which body he was elected in 1862 and 1863. From the latter year to 1869 he was president of Michigan University. In 1872 he was elected by the General Conference secretary of the Board of Education, and in 1874 became chancellor of Syracuse University. His admirable qualities made for him opportunities for usefulness in educational work and enabled him to avail himself of them, aiding thousands of youth in the formation of character. He was dignified yet affable, simple and straightforward, unassuming and modest, and deeply pious; "a devout Christian, a ripe scholar, a successful educator, a graceful writer, and an eloquent preacher."* One of the last entries in his irregularly kept journal reads, "I am often in possession, so far as I can see, of perfect love;" and the last entry reads, "In all I have been sustained and comforted by Christian peace."

* Address of the Bishops, General Conference of 1884.

Levi Scott was born in 1802, near Odessa, Del., and died at the same place in his eightieth year. His father, a Methodist preacher, died in 1803, the careful training of the boy devolving upon the pious mother. Full of life, gay and willful, with a love for music and skill in performing on the violin that made him a desirable companion to those who were apparently indifferent to serious things, it is easy to fancy the trials to his mother's faith until, in his twentieth year, he was converted at a neighborhood prayer meeting held in the home of free colored people. Immediately he felt a desire for mental improvement, regretting his previous carelessness and inattention, and at once began by industrious application to prepare to obey the call to preach which undoubtedly he had already received. His studies aroused a superior intellect; in after years he proved himself able to fill the high positions to which he was called, and by self-culture his mental poise became such that, though naturally timid and nervous, he was able to preserve a tranquil mind and serene exterior in scenes of tumultuous excitement. He was licensed to preach in 1825, and was soon placed in important positions, though, not having a robust constitution, he was more than once obliged to rest his overtaxed system. In 1836 and thereafter he was elected to the General Conferences, and in 1848 was made assistant book agent for New York, from which position in 1852 he was elected bishop. In the same year he sailed for Africa, to meet the Liberia Conference. Sailing from Baltimore in November, he returned in May, 1853, the first bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church to have made that journey. His health had been injured by the climate, but he slowly improved and took his full share of the work of the general superintendency until the General Conference of 1880, which relieved him. Though anticipating and approving this action, he felt it keenly. For two years before his death his powers were steadily failing. He was a man of great Christian simplicity and purity, of sweetest manners, and an excellent preacher. His discourses abounded in striking illustrations and were full of instruction.

Jesse Truesdell Peck was born April 4, 1811, at Middlefield, Otsego County, N. Y., and died at Syracuse, N. Y., in his

seventy-second year. He was the youngest child in a large family, of whom five became Methodist preachers, and was descended from Puritan and Revolutionary stock. Professing faith in Christ in his seventeenth year, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church and pursued his studies with the intention of entering the ministry. He was licensed to preach in 1829, and joined the Oneida Conference in 1832. Until 1872, when he was elected a bishop, he had been a member of, and had done pastoral and educational work in, five other Conferences: the Black River, Troy, Baltimore, New York, and California. For one year he was presiding elder of San Francisco District, California Conference. From 1837 to 1852 he was annually placed at the head of one of the Church institutions of learning, serving at Gouverneur Wesleyan Seminary, Troy Conference Academy, and Dickinson College, at Carlisle, Pa.; and from 1854 to 1856 he was secretary of the Tract Society of the Church. He was a member of five General Conferences. Few men in the episcopacy had so varied an experience, and none more fully deserved the commendation of the Church. He was a man of deep piety, straightforward, sympathetic, and full of zeal; robust, full of spiritual and physical vitality, an animated and suave preacher, a hearty friend, an enthusiastic Methodist, but of universal charity for other denominations, tireless in labor and sanguine of success.

The last quadrennium of our period was marked by the decease of three beloved bishops: Simpson (June 18, 1884), Wiley (November 22, 1884), and Harris (September 2, 1887). All three had taken part in the closing scenes of the preceding General Conference, as if giving a final farewell to the Church: Bishop Harris presided and announced the closing hymn, Bishop Simpson delivered the final address, and Bishop Wiley offered the final prayer.

Matthew Simpson was born at Cadiz, O., June 20, 1811. He was of Irish descent, and for his intellectual and moral training was chiefly indebted to his uncle, a teacher of much ability. Entering at Madison College, Pa., he was elected tutor in his eighteenth year and subsequently studied and practiced medicine. He soon recognized a call to preach, and was received on trial in the Pittsburg Conference in 1834. In

1837 he was vice president and professor in Allegheny College, Pa., and in 1839 president of Asbury University, Ind., became editor of the *Western Christian Advocate* in 1848, and in 1852 was elected bishop. Tall and ungainly in appearance, with stooping shoulders, low forehead, light complexion, and a feeble voice—high-keyed, with a defective cadence—he became the greatest Methodist preacher of his time; a man of no oratory, but of unrivaled and strangely fascinating eloquence. His illustrations were singularly apt, but pathos was his chief quality, and a certain simplicity and directness made his audience feel at home with him: that power which the greatest of dramatists describes as the touch of nature that makes "the whole world kin." Not only was he an ardent Methodist, but an enthusiastic patriot. The familiar friend and counselor of Lincoln, Seward, Stanton, and Grant, few, if any, other American clergymen ever had equal influence at the national capital or more intimate relations with the administrators of the government. They sought his friendship because of his high character and his universal knowledge of the people; they solicited his counsel and he never abused their confidence. It has been said that he was the first to suggest the Emancipation Proclamation, as a war measure and as a national duty. In 1888 the bishops in their customary Address to the General Conference said of Bishop Simpson: "For half a century he served the Church as pastor, educator, and bishop, and by his purity of life, his tireless zeal, his surpassing eloquence, his broad catholicity, his intense loyalty and pronounced patriotism acquired fame and influence seldom attained in the Christian ministry and never exceeded in our denomination."

Isaac William Wiley was born in Lewistown, Pa., March 29, 1825. Shortly after his birth his parents became members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and his own mind was seriously impressed as early as in his sixth year, when the death of his father first brought him "into contact with the great mystery." He united with the Church at ten years of age, and at eighteen was licensed as a local preacher with the intention of entering the regular ministry; but having developed an apparently incurable disease of the throat he was impelled to change

his plans, studied medicine, and was practicing at Pottsville, Pa., in 1850, when Dr. Durbin recognized the unusual combination of qualities in the young doctor and proposed his entering the foreign field as a missionary physician. Dr. Wiley joined the Philadelphia Conference, and in 1851 set sail, with his wife, for China, and in Foochow, when that most successful mission was in its formative state, he ministered to the souls and bodies of men until 1854, when, broken in health, and leaving the remains of his wife in the American mission cemetery, he sadly returned to the United States with his two children. Pastoral work in the New Jersey Conference, president of Pennington Seminary, editor of the *Ladies' Repository*, and in 1872 the duties of the general superintendency —to all these he brought the consecrated qualifications that enabled him to fulfill the highest expectations. In 1877 he revisited China officially and organized the Foochow Conference, and again in 1884 work in China and Japan was assigned to him. Reaching Foochow in enfeebled health, he was unable to attend the Conference sessions. He died where he began his work as a Christian missionary thirty-three years before, and was laid by reverent and loving hands in the well-remembered cemetery at Foochow. He was a man of quiet but persistent energy, of slow but enduring friendship; a good though not a great preacher; simple in his tastes and habits, disliking ostentation, and yet "rising above any and all the positions he so ably filled." *

William Logan Harris was born near Galion, O., November 4, 1817, and died in New York city in his seventieth year and at the completion of his fiftieth year in the ministry. He united with the Methodist Episcopal Church when he was converted, and three years afterward, in 1837, was received on trial in the Michigan Conference, and served in the pastorate. In 1845 he taught in Ohio Wesleyan University and, with the exception of the two following years, was engaged in the educational work of the Church until the General Conference of 1860 elected him one of the missionary secretaries, and that of 1872 elected him to the general superintendency. Tall, robust, and with a talent for work, mental and physical, an

* *General Conference Journal* of 1888, p. 573.

omnivorous reader, with a retentive memory and an orderly mind, energetic, sanguine, strong in his convictions and persevering in his labors, a manly and uncompromising Christian, Bishop Harris was a power in all the departments of the Church; nine years a pastor, fourteen a teacher, twelve a missionary secretary, and fifteen a bishop. While lacking, technically, a college education, of all his successful work none was more satisfactory to himself and others than his work as an educator—drawing out and leading to expression and effort. Having performed this office thoroughly for himself, he was more than usually well fitted to direct others. As secretary he served in his Annual Conferences, North and Central Ohio, until he declined further reëlection, in the General Conferences from 1856 until elected bishop, and in the Board of Bishops to the end of his life. "No man ever excelled him in gathering and recording the real intent of a great deliberative body, or in editing, digesting, and codifying the results of its work." * His work on the powers of the General Conference is authoritative, and for twenty-four years he edited the Discipline.

With this name we close our record for the period: fifteen men, the fragrant memory of whose blameless lives still lingers around the altars of our Church.

* *General Conference Journal*, 1888, p. 578.

CHAPTER XIII.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE SOUTH.

I HAVE perhaps sufficiently recorded the deplorable agitation and devastation produced in the Church and nation by slavery, and the consequent "Great Secession" of 1844.* The General Conference of 1872, wishing to manifest the "disposition of good will and Christian fraternity" existing toward the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and desiring to promote fraternal relations between the two greatest branches of American Methodism, instructed the bishops to select and send a commission of three delegates one layman—and two ministers—to the next ensuing session of the General Conference of that Church. Rev. Albert S. Hunt, Charles H. Fowler, D.D., and General Clinton B. Fisk, who were appointed, were most cordially received at Louisville, Ky., May 8, 1874. Their greetings were reciprocated, and the bishops were authorized to appoint five commissioners "to meet a similar commission authorized by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to adjust all existing difficulties." At the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church held in May, 1876, a large representation from the Southern Church was received with enthusiasm, and the commission, three ministers and two laymen, was appointed by the bishops to meet the Southern commissioners. In the ensuing August the joint commission met at Cape May, N. J., and made a species of treaty of peace by which the prospect of peaceful cooperation was opened before the two great bodies. They have since maintained reciprocal representation in the General Conferences, and some of the best minds cherish the hope of organic reunion. As the original cause of separation has been extinguished, and can never return, and as the Churches are identical in their early heroic history, their constitution and their faith, it may well be the hopeful prayer of impartial

* Vol. i, chap. xxxiii.

men that they shall again march under one banner, an unbroken host, over all the land and all the world. No little disturbance, of feeling at least, has, however, arisen from alleged mutual intrusions, when educators and preachers from both sides meet in the same fields. It has even been proposed that the Methodist Episcopal Church should withdraw from its Southern fields, where it has made, as we have seen, extensive provisions of churches and academic buildings for both its colored and white adherents; but a policy of retreat so anomalous, not to say disastrous, has been sternly opposed from the first overtures for fraternal relations. Bishop Mallalieu, who is familiar with the entire field, has written calmly but decisively on the subject. "In such an hour as this," he says, "there is, there can be, but one course open for the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is her solemn duty, for it is God that lays the command upon her, to go forth into all this Southland. She has already done so, and with lavish expenditure has poured forth her millions through the agency of her Missionary, Church Extension, Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education, Woman's Home Missionary, and other organizations. And she will continue to do this even more freely than in the past. For twenty years she was about as effectually shut out of a large part of the South as was Protestantism shut out of Rome when the pope had possession of temporal power; but things have changed, and now, despite of untold obstacles, she has possession from the Rio Grande to the Potomac. She has her churches in every Southern State and her schools are almost as widespread as her churches, and in both lines of work she has met with the most encouraging success. In fact, there is no field where the money spent has brought so large and satisfactory returns. In the last twenty-five years we have gained several hundred thousand members in the South. We have built thousands of churches; we have educated tens of thousands of the young people, and our students have taught a million of others. Gammon School of Theology, at Atlanta, is the best-endowed institution of its kind in all the South, having in hand or in prospect nearly half a million of dollars, and it is open to all, without regard to race or color. Our medical colleges at Nashville and New Orleans are in a prosperous

condition; and from Nashville more than a hundred graduates have gone forth who, almost without exception, are an honor to the medical profession. These medical colleges are based upon the broad humanitarian and Christian principles of the Gospel, and will in years to come be the sources of great comfort and blessing to the people. Everywhere in all the South the influence of our Church is uplifting and inspiring. It stimulates the zeal and activity and the religious life of every other Church. It has directly accomplished immeasurable good, and its power for good is ever increasing; but its indirect influence is simply marvelous. It would be a great and irreparable loss, from a Christian as well as a patriotic standpoint, if we should withdraw from any part of the South. The very fields where we have realized the smallest amount of success are, in many cases, the very ones that need us most. Thank God, it is not the genius, nor the purpose, nor the history of our Church to withdraw from hard and unpromising fields after it has once commenced its beneficent work of spreading holiness in such localities. It may be ostracized, it may be persecuted, it may be maligned, it may be driven out for a season, but with a persistency born of a divine call, and inspired by dauntless courage, and upheld by a sublime faith, it will never fail to do its utmost, especially for the enlightenment and evangelization of the poor white and black people of the South. Of course it will not be claimed that all the money spent in the South, for either blacks or whites, has been fruitful of results. Some of it has been as water spilled upon the ground, that cannot be gathered up. But of what field ever cultivated by our Church or any other may not all this be said with unquestioned truth? It is easy enough to criticise the work of our own or any other Church; even critics are not always faultless. Sins of omission and sins of commission, mistakes and blunders, are the outcome of inherent ignorance and narrowness of vision. But our Church has as little need for repentance in regard to these things, so far as its work in the South is concerned, as any other with which it can be compared. Considering all the difficulties, oppositions, and antagonisms that have been encountered, our work among the whites and blacks has been wonderfully success-

ful, and there is occasion neither for regret nor shame as we contemplate the results. Besides, it is absolutely certain that we only need to care for our work in the South as liberally as we have done, and are now doing, in some of the Western States and in all the Territories, and we will gather a larger and richer harvest than has been realized in the sections referred to in this connection. There is just one thing for our Church to do in the South, and that is to hold fast to all it has attained and push its work in all directions. We are not intruders, we are not a hostile force, we are not competitors, we are not the rivals of any body or Church. We ought to aid with a more exuberant liberality than in the past all our work among the blacks, and equally so among the whites. God lays the duty upon us, while at the same time the imperative behests of patriotism and philanthropy supplement the supreme demands of our holy religion."

And Bishop Bowman has given an equally positive opinion on the subject, with abundant confirmatory facts. He writes: "I am sorry to be compelled to differ with some of my dear friends who think our Church ought not to be among the white people of the South. For more than twenty-five years I have been visiting the Southern States to dedicate churches, to look after our schools, and to attend our Annual Conferences. During all these years I have been more and more impressed with the thought that our presence among the white people of the South is providential and has been a great blessing to them. Not only have many souls been converted through our labors, but other evangelical churches have been stimulated, and thus led to do more good than they would have done without our being there. Several prominent pastors of other churches in the South have said to me that our presence there had been a benediction to them all. I believe, as do others, that we ought not to go into the small places, where the people are well supplied with good evangelical churches. But, 1. After the war there were many places where the loyal people needed and wanted us. 2. In some of the cities and large towns there are many who are not in any Church, some of whom we can reach better than others. 3. New towns are springing up along the railroads, in the mining and manufacturing regions, and in

some greatly improving agricultural sections. In all these cases many of the people were members of our Church before they went south, and desire to remain with us. 4. Twenty-five years ago many large portions of the South, occupied by the poor whites, were not supplied with preaching by any denomination. Whole counties have been found where a Methodist church had never been built. Such counties still exist. People have been found, and some quite recently, who, though from twenty to fifty years of age, have never heard a sermon or prayer. About eighteen or twenty years ago, in a well-populated county of Tennessee, I dedicated the first Methodist church built in the county outside of the county town. Now there are over thirty evangelical churches in that county, one half of which are ours, the rest belonging to other denominations. In one of the prominent counties of Missouri, since I came to St. Louis, I dedicated the first church that was built in the county town. Before that the other denominations preached in the courthouse, where we were not allowed to preach. But soon afterward four or five other churches were built in that town. A few years ago Dr. Gray dedicated a church in Arkansas in a community where there was not another church within twenty miles. I give these cases as single illustrations of the condition of things in these Southern States a few years ago, and which, in some sections, still remains. It should not be forgotten that schoolhouses were as rare as churches, and hence could not be used for preaching, as they were often and still are in the North.

"These figures will give our white members in the different Southern States in 1865 and 1890:

	1865.	**1890.**
Delaware	16,238	17,332
Maryland	26,471	42,346
West Virginia	15,009	42,036
Kentucky	2,900	21,327
Missouri	7,120	52,095
	67,738	175,136
Virginia	2,000	9,601
Tennessee	6,000	29,000
North Carolina		7,581

Georgia		3,700
Arkansas	500	6,120
Mississippi		1,200
Louisiana		800
Alabama		7,295
Texas		2,500
Florida		1,075
	8,500	68,872

"We can remember when the same reasons which are now given for our not going into the Southern States were given against our going into several of the border States. The figures show a fine advance in all directions. In Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri we have made splendid gains. In Arkansas we have nearly as many members to-day as we had in Missouri and Arkansas together twenty-five years ago. In Virginia we have increased nearly fivefold. In the weaker States our work has commenced more recently, and from what has been done we may expect much more in the future. We should not forget that the South Church is in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Colorado, California, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and I think in Kansas.

"What about our school work? The South, though improving, is still far behind in facilities for the education of the common people. Hence our denominational schools have been greatly needed in many places. We have a number of excellent colleges and academies in the border States; but we have one fine college in Tennessee, one in Arkansas, and one in Texas. Besides these we have many academies and seminaries in Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Florida. These employ fully four hundred teachers, and are educating more than ten thousand students. Are we not needed in the South?

"We have said nothing about our colored work. Intelligent men of the South have told me that we have done more for the improvement of the colored people than any other denomination. Has not our white work been a help with this? And is not the growing fraternity between the races of the South to some extent due to our presence there among the white people, thus bringing the races into fellowship with

each other? After long and careful consideration the thoughts thus hastily and imperfectly presented have led us to the conclusion that if we had not a white member in the South (while there are thousands there) our money would have been well expended; for it has promoted the best interests of all classes of the people and of the evangelical Churches, and thus, to some extent, the welfare of the nation."

The Methodist Episcopal Church knows little or nothing of the policy of "retreat." From motives of fraternity as well as of economy it is not disposed to intrude in localities already occupied, especially by laborers from other branches of Methodism, but it never surrenders the right and honor of its universal mission. Most of the great evangelical fields are large enough for the coöperation of each and all sects. The Wesleyans are abroad in Africa, but the Methodist Episcopal Church has projected there extensive missions and appointed there a bishop. The Wesleyans preoccupied India, but there also the Methodist Episcopal Church has a bishop and hundreds of laborers, and is doing the most successful mission work in the world. The denomination will never strike its flag, but will keep it aloft, for victory and for fraternal salutes, throughout the world. Especially must it do so in our own country as long as it maintains the ancient honor of its loyalty. It believes, indeed, that it is a Christian, a scriptural duty of the Church to promote the peace and concord of the civil commonwealth. Sectional divisions, founded in sectional strife and bloodshed, of so important a religious body as Methodism, cannot be continued on a line of former discord and war without contradicting a plain ethical principle of the Gospel. They must perpetuate disloyal traditions and prejudices, and may thus endanger the public welfare. No Church of God can do such work, however indirectly, without sin; and the Methodist Episcopal Church must not and will not commit this sin. There remains no good reason for the existence of two great Methodist Episcopal Churches in our common country; they should again be one, and be consecrated to the concord and moral prosperity of the undivided commonwealth.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CHURCH ABROAD.

In a former volume * I have narrated the progress of the Church in the Atlantic States and the valley of the Mississippi; in the first chapter of the present volume its rise and spread on the Pacific slope and the Rocky Mountains have been sketched; and its development and growth in the nation generally, down to the close of our period, have been shown in these pages by somewhat minute accounts of the legislation of its General Conferences, and as manifested in the great enterprises and institutions by which it has been maturing its strength at home and extending its sway abroad. But, while the foreign work has received only incidental mention in the account of its missionary organizations and affiliated interests, the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church is no longer confined to the United States of America; it has become the Methodist Episcopal Church of the world. Its chief future history will probably be that of its foreign achievements. I propose, therefore, to sketch, in a few rapid chapters, "The Church Abroad," glancing at the missionary stations with which it has already dotted the outlines of the globe.

In the first General Conference, "the Christmas Conference," held in Baltimore in 1784, when the denomination was formally organized, and received from Wesley, through Coke, authority to ordain its preachers, it appointed and ordained three of them for foreign work—two for Nova Scotia and one for the West Indies. These were the first foreign missionaries ever commissioned by the Protestantism of the New World. Apart from all other branches of the denomination the Methodist Episcopal Church has, in 1890, "foreign stations in Africa, Bulgaria, Foochow, Central China, North China, West China, Germany, North India, South India, Bengal, Italy, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, South America, and Switzerland."

* *A Compendious History of American Methodism*, 1867.

BISHOP WILLIAM L. HARRIS.

If we except Nova Scotia and the West Indies (which have long pertained to the English Wesleyans) the African was the first of its foreign stations. It was begun in 1833, a result of the impulse given, under the leadership of Dr. C. K. True, to the missionary spirit of the Church by the Methodist young men of Boston and its vicinity, sustained effectively by the Methodist Young Men's Missionary Society of New York, under the influence of Gabriel P Disosway, a layman of eminent virtues and talents. Its first missionary was a New Englander, the Rev. Melville Beveridge Cox. He was in feeble health, suffering with pulmonary disease, which it was hoped the climate would relieve; he himself, however, expected to be buried in Africa, and his memorable words to a friend, respecting his epitaph, have never ceased to inspire the spirit of the Church. "Write for my grave," he said, "'Let a thousand fall before Africa be given up.'" He went alone, remarking, "If I must lie in an African grave I shall nevertheless have established such a bond between Africa and the Church at home as shall not be broken till Africa be redeemed." On the 8th of March, 1833, he entered the town of Monrovia; in less than five months he was in his grave, a victim of the African fever. But he had worked with his might. He had secured a mission house for his successors, had brought the Methodist colonists into organic connection with the home Church, had inspirited the congregations and Sunday schools of the colony, and had projected expeditions and "cane" or "log" churches for the neighboring settlements and tribes. He died victorious, exclaiming, "Come, come, come, Lord Jesus, come quickly."

Two young New Englanders, the Rev. Rufus Spaulding and Samuel Osgood Wright, with their wives and Miss Sophronia Farrington, reached Monrovia on the 1st of January, 1834, to reinforce the Mission. On the 4th of February Mrs. Wright died, in less than two months more Wright himself was buried by her side, and in less than two months later Spaulding was on his voyage homeward with his constitution shattered for life. He designed to take Miss Farrington with him, for the missionaries had become convinced that colored persons alone could endure the climate; but she, though prostrate with the fever, declined to leave. She

stayed, and, writes the missionary historian,* "was the only white person on the coast to welcome John Seys upon his arrival to assume the superintendency." She remained more than a year after her arrival, teaching in Monrovia, and returned with Mr. Seys on his visit to the United States in April, 1835.

The Rev. John Seys was a native of the West Indies, and therefore it was thought possible he might endure the climate of Liberia. He landed there in October, 1834, accompanied by a colored local preacher, Francis Burns, afterward Bishop of the Church for Africa. Seys, though frequently suffering from the climate, worked most effectually till 1844, when he resigned. He had advanced all the operations of the Mission, had made expeditions to the interior and projected stations among the native tribes, and had also promoted the general interests of the colony; but its civilians had embarrassed him by their jealousies and at last, by their open hostility. He had frequently been reinforced by the Missionary Society, but the white laborers speedily died or returned home disabled by the climate. Some nine or ten of them sleep in African graves. In these reinforcements were not a few devoted and courageous women. Among them Miss Ann Wilkins was conspicuous, deserving by her heroic persistence and usefulness to rank by the side of Sophronia Farrington. Dr. Bangs, secretary of the Missionary Society, received a letter from her saying briefly: "A sister who has a little money at command gives that little cheerfully, and is willing to give her life as a female teacher if she is wanted." "She was appointed," says the historian, "and upon her arrival at once gathered a school in Caldwell, and upon the opening of the Liberia Conference Seminary at Monrovia she became one of the assistants to Principal Burton, Eunice Moore being the other." Miss Wilkins was subsequently transferred to Millsburg, "where, in labors abundant, full of faith and love, and crowned with saving results, she continued till 1856, interrupted only by two visits to the United States for her health. At one period she triumphed in the salvation of her entire school, excepting only the youngest child. The souls as well as the minds and bodies of her pupils were her constant care. She was mighty

* Reid-Gracey, *Methodist Episcopal Missions*, vol. i, p. 194.

in faith and works. Far in the interior, even to this day, we trace her influence over savage chieftains. She returned to the United States to die, honored by the whole Church."* She had braved the climate through twenty years, witnessing the death or retreat of most of her fellow-laborers.

Bishop Levi Scott officially visited the colony in 1853 and did important service, ordaining its colored preachers and adjusting its affairs generally. It had become evident that white laborers were only sacrificed by being sent to this pestilential coast. Superintendent Benham in his report for 1847 stated that only one remained of the thirteen white missionaries who had come to labor in the Liberia Conference; six had died and six had returned to America. In 1848 he also returned home with impaired health, after two years' residence. In 1858 the Liberia Conference, in pursuance of arrangements made by the General Conference, elected Francis Burns as their bishop. After five years of good service he died while seeking health in the United States. In 1866 John W Roberts, also a colored man, was elected as his successor, and in 1875 he too passed away, the entire Conference being gathered at his bedside. When Bishop Gilbert Haven visited the deadly field in 1876 he found the Church in only a moderately prosperous condition, and after reinspiriting its suffering laborers returned with his health permanently broken. No sooner, however, on his return, was it announced that recruits were wanted for this field than some fifty young men offered themselves. The missionary work of Methodism has never lacked heroes or heroines.

One of the most important events in the history of African missions was the appointment by the General Conference of 1884 of William Taylor as Bishop for Africa. The Liberian Mission thus came under his episcopal jurisdiction. I have already† described his peculiar missionary "method" and the scope of his work on the Dark Continent. He planted mission families far in the interior and designed to extend these stations indefinitely. By the cultivation of the neighboring lands and other useful arts they were to become self-supporting. A chief aim was to train native children and youth in Christian

* *Methodist Episcopal Missions*, vol. i, p. 204. † Pp. 69, 70.

life and civilization, and woman was, therefore, an important factor in the scheme; a fifth of his forty stations among what he called raw heathen were under the sole superintendence of women. In 1890 Bishop Taylor reported in the African Mission Conference 3,367 church members and probationers, 62 churches, 54 local preachers, and 2,619 Sunday school scholars. The Conference had five presiding elder districts, and four districts which were occupied by his self-supporting missionaries, who were meeting with encouraging results.

If I have given disproportionate space to the African Mission it is not because of its supreme success, for it has no such preeminence; but because, first, of its superior importance as the initiative of the permanent work of the Church abroad; and, secondly, for its prospective greatness. Africa, from its proximity to Europe, and the present extraordinary enterprise in its exploration, will probably be the next great theater of emigration and colonization. Already the Congo Free State is opening its center to foreign commerce and settlement, and Bishop Taylor's system seems specially adapted to the new crises. We may reasonably hope that not only the surplus population of Europe may soon tend toward it, as a nearer and more economical refuge than America or Australia, but that the millions of American Africans will spontaneously contribute to its civilization.

CHAPTER XV

THE CHURCH ABROAD.—*Continued.*

It was in 1835 that Fountain E. Pitts, of the Tennessee Conference, made the missionary survey of South America authorized by the General Conference of 1832. This was followed the next year by the dispatch of Justin Spaulding, of the New England Conference, to Rio Janeiro, and John Dempster, Oneida Conference, to Buenos Ayres. The Roman Church was dominant, and the missionaries had little freedom to propagate their faith; practically they were restricted at first to the foreign population, which, however, was numerous. Protestant preaching in the Spanish language was not permitted, in Brazil Protestant worship was not allowed in any building having the exterior form of a church or temple, and ecclesiastical zeal was active against the new cause in every direction. There was, however, no little discontent with the prevalent priestly dominance, and Bibles and Testaments in Spanish and Portuguese, liberally supplied to the missionaries by the British and American Bible Societies, were largely distributed. Spaulding opened a room for public worship and gathered a congregation of thirty or forty foreigners. This germ soon developed hopefully, and in 1837 Daniel P Kidder was sent out as an additional missionary, with R. McMurdy, a local preacher, and his wife as teachers. Kidder acquired the Portuguese language, "itinerated" extensively, preaching where he could, and scattering Bibles and tracts. Thus initiated, the good work had better success than could have been anticipated in a city in which were a thousand Roman priests. The people opened a subscription for its aid, and better accommodations for its public worship were provided. A prosperous Sunday school was established, including "two classes of blacks." Weekly prayer meetings were also established.

Kidder's energetic work was arrested by the death of his wife, and he returned to New York in June, 1840. The mis-

sionary treasury was at this time gravely embarrassed by debt, and the Board declined to return him or to otherwise reinforce the Brazilian station. By the close of 1841 it was resolved to close the Mission, and Spaulding was recalled.

Meanwhile Dempster had labored hopefully in Buenos Ayres. He was eminent for practical energy and intellectual originality; his influence among the foreign population, especially the English and American residents, was remarkable. The Presbyterian Mission in the city had been abandoned about the time of his arrival, and he combined its remnants in a new and resolute endeavor. His place of preaching was soon crowded. The people subscribed fifteen hundred dollars for the erection of a church, and the committee at New York superadded ten thousand dollars for the purpose. Dempster opened the way for an additional missionary, William H. Norris, who was sent to Montevideo in 1838. In the same year Hiram A. Wilson was sent out as a teacher, and in 1840 Orrin A. Howard. Notwithstanding these auspicious beginnings the Missionary Committee, alarmed by the political disturbances of the new field and the increasing indebtedness of its own treasury, arrested the whole South American work in October, 1841. "The necessities of the treasury," says the historian, "were imperious, and the Mission was accordingly abandoned."

Methodism has seldom made such a retreat from a field once effectually entered. The people of these missions appealed to the Board, offering pecuniary assistance should the work be resumed. Accordingly, in 1842, Norris was recommissioned by the bishops for the work in Buenos Ayres, and in January, 1843, the still unfinished church was sufficiently improved to be formally dedicated, a large congregation being present. The Sunday school was reorganized, and a class meeting which had been kept up during the suspension of the Mission was reinforced. Sanguinary civil strifes disturbed the country during most of the devoted missionary's term of service; as late as 1846 he reported but twenty-six church members. Some of these had removed to Montevideo, where a class and a weekly prayer meeting were maintained. In 1847 Dallas D. Lore, of the Philadelphia Conference, was charged with the superintendency of the Mission, Norris being compelled by

urgent circumstances to return to the United States. Lore continued in the difficult field down to 1853, when his place was taken by Goldsmith D. Carrow, also of the Philadelphia Conference, who was followed in 1857 by the Rev. William Goodfellow, whose nearly thirteen years of hard work, through times of war, cholera, and yellow fever, produced the results which have given permanent importance to the Mission. Rev. Thomas Carter arrived in 1864 to aid in the work.

Under these men and their successors much good was done. The work began to meet with popular approval, the government became more liberal, and "various gentlemen not of our communion, some of them natives of the country," contributed generously to its support. At the beginning of our period, 1866, the South American Mission employed eight men, extended into four provinces, sustained six day and four Sunday schools, and owned four churches and four parsonages. The points occupied were centers of population and of influence, and services were conducted in French and German as well as in the Spanish and Portuguese languages. Additional preachers and teachers have since been sent out and have occupied other provinces and States, the English-speaking churches have been made self-supporting, and mission schools have multiplied. In 1874 the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society began its coöperation in the great field by sending two teachers, Miss Jennie R. Chapin and Miss Lou B. Deming; in 1890 it had three schools and six instructors in the field. For the same year, 1890, the South American Mission reports statistics for the Argentine Republic, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, and Peru. Its communicants number nearly two thousand, adherents eighty-six hundred, laborers about eighteen, besides numerous native assistants, and there were more than fourteen hundred pupils in its seminaries and schools. It has some twenty-three churches and chapels, besides thirty-three halls and other places of worship. It is still comparatively feeble, but is installed, we may believe, permanently in the great continent of the South.*

* The South America Conference was organized in 1893 to include all of South America. The portion on the Pacific coast was set off in 1897 as the Western South America Mission Conference. In the statistics for 1898 are reported, for both Conferences, members and probationers, 4,276; adherents, 12,000.

Though difficult and tardy the work has not been lacking in special incidents such as have characterized Methodism everywhere, and have confirmed in doubtful hours the confidence of its laborers—special cases of conversion and notable examples of personal consecration and usefulness. Dona Juana Manso de Norhona was a worthy and influential upholder of the struggling cause. The missionary historian calls her "the most distinguished woman of South America," especially conspicuous in the department of literature. She was noted as a writer, zealous in the cause of popular education, possessed practical sound sense, and was unselfishly devoted to the good of her race; during the last years of her life she was a humble, devoted Christian. She connected herself with our Church and Sunday school, to both of which she was ardently attached. Dona Fermina de Leon Aldeber also is identified with the history of the Mission. She was born and married in the southernmost town of the continent, Patagones, in the Argentine Republic; at her marriage she was presented by a former teacher with a copy of the New Testament, which led her into the divine life. The family eventually removed to the Boca, near Buenos Ayres, where she and her daughters opened a school. On learning that the Methodist missionary was proclaiming the faith she had learned from her well-used Testament she invited him to preach in her house, and this led to the establishment of a work which, including regular preaching, Sunday school and day school in the Protestant interest, was maintained for over ten years. "Among the converts in her home was José Cardoza, a dissipated and reckless sailor who worked on the ships running up the Parana as far as Corrientes and Paraguay. The change in this man's life was so complete and striking as to amaze his former acquaintances. It was an entire moral transformation and new birth, spiritual and intellectual. During the years 1867–1875 he was instant in season and out of season, laboring honestly for the support of a family he formerly neglected, preaching and exhorting wherever he went, and leading not a few to the cross of Jesus. In the fearful plague of yellow fever that devastated Buenos Ayres in 1871 he was accompanied by Mr. Maul, another of the converts of the Mission, and was instrumental in saving

more patients than many of the regular physicians, besides pointing the dying to a balm for the troubled soul of which the doctors themselves were all too ignorant. In 1875 he removed with his family into a colony about that time started in the wilderness of the Gran Chaco, and thither he took his religion with him. The light that was kindled by the old school-teacher in the northern limit of the Argentine Republic was thus carried by a true and steady hand to illumine the darkness that covered the northern frontier. Who can tell what one act of Christian fidelity will lead to?"

George Schmidt, a German, a lay evangelist, was converted in a Brazilian prison through reading there the Holy Scriptures. He spoke many languages, and at his liberation began to circulate the Bible and talk religion to the common people. "He carried on foot his package of Bibles over thousands of weary miles, entering every house, beginning usually with that of the priest, and beseeching him to return to the Gospel. The police, directed by the priests, often arrested him and thrust him into prison, but sales of the Bible were more abundant when he was liberated. He faced mobs with the utmost composure, and they were powerless before him. He often met persons waiting and longing for the light, and then on retracing his journeys he found the golden grain where he had left the seed. Until he was employed by the Bible Society he worked at the trade of a cooper for a portion of every year, and with the money earned bought Bibles for distribution. In 1874, after exhausting labors, he died, without a true Christian near him, in a vile Paraguayan hospital," faithful to the end.

William Junor in 1863 gave up his business and consecrated his whole time to the circulation of the Scriptures. Until his death in 1873 he remained in the Bible work, "persistent as an apostle." He was a class leader, steward, and Sunday school teacher; one of the most useful of men.

Many similar examples are on record of the effective influence of the struggling Mission. Some among its young men became zealous laborers in other mission fields at home and abroad, eminent servants of God. Such were John F. Thomson, the apostle to the Spanish people in the Argentine Republic; Robert H. Morton, who joined the English Wesleyans and

did good work in Portugal; Charles Reverong de St. Cyr, the Sunday school evangelist of Sweden; Andrew M. Milne, H. W Wesley, Mathias Mathieson, Charles T. Brill, William Tallon, and Mrs. E. M. Bolton; these with others, their associates and fellow-laborers, are worthy of all honor.

With such encouragement the Mission went on, slowly but surely, extending and broadening its foundations for a great future. Bishop Taylor's establishment of schools as the nuclei of self-supporting missions in important cities has already been noted.* With proper methods and reinforcements these agencies may become momentous in the religious history of South America, a country full of resource but long degraded and disabled by popery in religion, anarchy in government, and depravity in morals. The best work which North America is now doing for her sister republics in the South is that of its Protestant missions. Their progress has necessarily been slow, but they are absolutely requisite, not only for the moral but for the social and political development of these struggling States.

By a slight deviation from our missionary chronology I may here with propriety notice the Mexico Mission, which, though not in South America, is intimately allied with the latter by proximity, race, and language. It was organized in 1872 and initiated in 1873 by Dr. William Butler as superintendent, with the Rev. Thomas Carter as missionary. Five thousand dollars had been provided for it by Washington C. De Pauw, Esq., a layman who had learned well the duty of the consecration of property in the ministry of the people. Accompanied and advised by Bishop Haven, and with the sanction and farther aid of the Missionary Society, Dr. Butler was enabled to secure property in important localities as future stations for the Mission. In Puebla they obtained part of a former church of the Inquisition, whose atrocious history was memorable among the people. In the city of Mexico they purchased the grounds of the ancient palace of Montezuma, which had been occupied as a monastery by Franciscan monks, or Begging Friars; its consecration to Methodist Protestantism was strikingly significant of the new history and civiliza-

* P. 70.

tion which we may trust is dawning upon the country. The details of the progress of the Mission would be deeply interesting had we space for their record. It soon reported four congregations in the republic, being strengthened in 1873 by the transfer to its ranks of the Rev. Dr. Cooper and his Protestant Episcopal congregation. It was tried by severe persecution, for though encouraged by the government it was assailed by the priesthood, and mobs and murders ensued. Its churches were pillaged and a score of its people were killed. But the cause steadily advanced. A training school for native young preachers was established. At Guanajuato, several hundred miles north of the capital, the missionaries unfurled their banner in 1876, and were greeted by a violent mob, sanctioned by the bishop and led on by three ecclesiastics. But the government interfered for the evangelists, and the Protestants remained in this city of eighty thousand people. The work has extended from place to place, gradually but resolutely. It has been reinforced by devoted laborers, chiefly represented by Dr. J. W Butler, son of its founder, and in 1885 was organized as a Conference. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society has sent out to it numerous teachers. It has an illustrated periodical, *El Abogado*, which enters the presidential palace as well as the hovels of the poor. A Methodist Book Concern has been established in the capital, with its steam press and stereotyping machinery. A considerable number of Methodist books, especially biographies, have been translated. Besides its theological seminary and preparatory school at Puebla it has there a prosperous orphanage. The whole country in 1890 was divided into four districts, which reported aggregately about 2,500 communicants, 29 local preachers, 362 baptisms the last year, and 1,756 Sunday school scholars.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CHURCH ABROAD.—*Continued.*

THE immense Chinese mission field—the largest in the world—could not fail to attract early the attention of American Methodism. Territorially it comprises about a tenth of the habitable earth, and its people are more than a fourth of the whole population of the planet. As usual the Church was deliberate, not to say tardy, in projecting its work in so momentous a field. It spent at least ten years in devising and discussing its plans. Notwithstanding the eloquent appeals of President Fisk and similar leaders, and an elaborate and well-considered address to the Church, signed by B. F. Tefft, Daniel P Kidder, and Erastus Wentworth as representing the Missionary Lyceum of Wesleyan University, and published in *The Christian Advocate and Journal* of May 15, 1835, representing it as the most promising mission arena of the world, with its needy millions approachable by one written language, it was not till April 15, 1847, that Judson Dwight Collins and Moses C. White, with the wife of the latter, left Boston, the first company of Methodist missionaries for China.

The little band reached Foochow on the 6th of September, 1847. This station—on the river Min, the seat of government for Fokien province—was deemed important, with its half a million inhabitants. The missionaries secured premises with the other foreigners, in Nantai, the suburb, on Tongchiu, or middle island, and Collins tried bravely to get a home inside the city proper; he rented quarters within the walls and was preparing to use them when hostile public excitement compelled him to postpone the attempt. In 1848 Henry Hickok and Robert S. Maclay arrived as recruits for the Mission, and the same year three schools were opened—one for boys, another, by Mrs. Maclay, for girls, and a third, by White, for both sexes. They formed the nucleus for that efficient system of education which has since distinguished the Foochow

station. A Sunday school was begun there about the same time. The devoted laborers worked on faithfully, undiscouraged by their hope deferred through ten years; they studied the language, used their little stock of medicine for sick natives, and distributed publications translated by Medhurst.

Collins worked energetically till his health failed. "For months he was drooping, till at length, wasted to a skeleton, he reluctantly yielded to persuasion and left China on the 23d of April, 1851. In returning to the United States he preferred the route by way of California, because he had heard of the immense immigration of Chinese to that land, and, perceiving the incalculable reflex power upon China of a Chinese mission in California, he wished to give the matter his attention. He reached San Francisco on the 14th of July, and at once busied himself projecting plans for the Christianization of the Chinese on the Pacific coast. His strength continued to fail from month to month, and on the 13th of May, 1852, in his thirtieth year, he ceased to suffer, and the Lord put on him a missionary's crown. Seldom has one so young accomplished so much." He died in Michigan.

In the year of his departure Dr. Wiley, James Colder and wife, and Miss M. Seeley reinforced the Mission. Severe trials followed. The municipal authorities were hostile; the missionaries suffered from the climate; the wife of Wiley died; the Chinese Rebellion raged through the land and kept Foochow especially in tumultuous panic; the mission schools were deserted; Wiley, bereaved and exhausted by disease, retired, as did other laborers; "all was dark and unpromising," says the historian, "but the Board courageously said to the Church, in their report: 'Let us hold fast our faith in the China Mission and trust in God.'" The faith of the Church may have been shaken, but it would not falter. It sent out, in 1855, Erastus Wentworth and Otis Gibson as a reinforcement—the latter afterward the distinguished leader of the Methodist Chinese work in San Francisco, for which his heroic service in China was a necessary preparation—and in that year the first church was erected for the use of the Mission; a small chapel in Nantai, Iongtau, rented for the distribution of tracts with no thought of using it for a chapel,

having been the only one we had in China. "Fifty persons might possibly have gotten into it, but the crowd surging by supplied an ever-changing congregation; one and another with his bundle or his tools dropped in, to hear for a little while, or to make his remarks and depart, but, perchance, to be impressed. The Chinese are very fond of hearing public discourse, and connected with the restaurants everywhere audience rooms were found where public talks were held. These audience rooms, and other like places, for the time being served for chapels." The dedication of the first church, "The Church of the True God," at Iongtau, took place on August 3, 1856, and before the close of the year the Tienang-Tong (Heavenly Rest Church also was dedicated, for services in English as well as in the Chinese language.

Great works, like great men, usually require the preliminary training of great trials. Bishop Bowman, presiding in a missionary convention and wishing to enforce the lesson of patient faith, said, "We were ten years in China before we had a single convert." "Now there are glorious revivals in nearly every one of our missions there," was the response of Secretary McCabe. The great success of the Baptists under Judson in Burma, and of the American Board in the islands of the Pacific, had similar delays and struggles.

At last the ten years' trial gave way before the persistent labors of the missionaries, and on Sunday, July 14, 1857, at the Tienang church, the first convert made in connection with our missions was baptized. The convert was a tradesman named Ting Ang, forty-seven years of age, with a wife and five children and a large circle of kindred. "For two years he had been dropping in at the Iongtau chapel, and had obtained some of the books distributed. He frequently called in at the day school, by the teacher of which he was brought to the morning service at Tienang church, and the missionaries thus made his acquaintance. They carefully instructed him, and he commenced private and family prayer. Messrs. Maclay and Gibson visited him, and found his home stripped of idols and blessed with religious books, and their examination of him was scrutinizing and very satisfactory. His family were also consenting to his course. The men of God closed

their visit by reading the fifth chapter of Matthew and praying with the family. This was the first time they had offered prayer within a Chinese house inside the walls of the city, and this house was almost under the shadow of the viceroy's mansion. The deed could not be done without emotion. Ting Ang was consistent and steadfast, and the missionaries finally decided to baptize him. This was done in the presence of the congregation at the afternoon service. Mr. Maclay explained the ritual, as it proceeded, sentence by sentence, and then sprinkled the water on Ting Ang's head while he was kneeling at the altar. They then shared together the holy communion. On October 18 following the wife of Ting Ang and two of their younger children were admitted to baptism. During the year thirteen adults were baptized, and three infants. The class of Chinese converts was organized August 7, 1858, at the Iongtau appointment, Mr. Gibson leader, with Hu Po Mi assistant. Stewards were appointed, two of them being native. A Sunday school was organized here, with seven scholars, conducted by natives. The entire organization of a Methodist Episcopal Church, the first in all the Chinese Empire, was completed, with its class meetings, quarterly meetings, and collections."

Ting Ang lived a faithful Christian life, and died in full hope of a blessed immortality. His descendants are Christians. Hu Po Mi became the first native Methodist itinerant in China, and eminent as a pastor.

I have indulged the more in detail, thus far in this sketch, because the initiation of the Methodist China Mission marks an epoch in the history of the Church, perhaps in the history of the world; for the denomination has thus effectually fought its way, through almost impenetrable obstacles, into the center and to some of the extremities of this vast mass of people. Over the farther details of the singular history I but glance cursorily and rapidly.

In the year 1858 was begun the Foundling Hospital of the Mission, important not only for the rescue of doomed female children, but as a monumental protest of Christianity against a prevalent crime of the native heathenism—for infanticide, which has almost disappeared under Christian civilization in

India, was, and still is, general in China. It is estimated that 200,000 of its female infants are annually slaughtered. The Hankow Roman Catholic Orphanage rescues more than a thousand a year; in twenty-three years of its beneficent history it saved more than twenty-five thousand.

In 1859 the Mission began to extend westward. Stephen L. Baldwin, accompanied by female teachers, arrived from the United States. The working force was actually doubled; the accession of the Misses Woolston as teachers is recorded "as an era in its history," for the earlier tentative measures for female education now gave way to a permanent and general system of schools for native women. In 1861 the Mission extended still farther westward; a church of thirteen members was formed and a chapel built at Kang Chia, ten miles beyond Ngu Kang, hitherto the most westerly post of the Church. On September 29, 1862, the first annual meeting of the Mission (a sort of informal Conference) was held at Foochow. Eight appointments were recorded, with 25 laborers, 11 of whom were natives. There were 87 communicants, and there had been 32 baptisms in the preceding year. It was in the year of this meeting that the missionaries obtained a permanent footing within the walls of Foochow, and in the next year C. R. Martin and his family began their residence there. At the Annual Meeting in September, 1863, were reported four new chapels, four new appointments, three new classes, two day schools, two Sunday schools, and advanced translation of the Scriptures. The mission press had more than doubled its issues, producing 24,905 copies, or 887,490 pages, every Chinese page being equal to two of ours. The report for 1864 showed equal success: five new chapels and appointments, an increase of thirty-four communicants, a westward movement of one hundred and fifty miles beyond Foochow—and persecutions withal; for the native mind instinctively perceived that there were determination and tenacity in this missionary scheme which must be checked now or never. "Persecution," says the historian, "raged and the East Street church was destroyed by a mob; also the house of the missionary, from which the women and children marvelously escaped." In 1865 Bishop Thomson cheered the laborers by an official

visit. The following year, the beginning of our period, reports "an increase in every department"—in native assistants, 5; in baptisms, 19; in communicants, 91; in day schools, 2; in scholars, 47; and 7,000,000 in the number of pages issued from the mission press.

Thus the march of the Mission, though slow, was courageously forward. It reached Peking and Kiukiang. The former became the head of the work in North China; the latter, of its work in Central China. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society provided, in the capital, a home, school buildings, and a hospital. On June 5, 1871, "the first public Methodist service in the capital of China was held"—an event which may be significant enough to be commemorated centuries after our day. It has homes for the missionaries, chapels, schools, and a hospital, and plans are made for a university there of such proportions and character as shall command the respect of the best classes of the population of the imperial city.

Bishop Kingsley, visiting China in 1869, divided the work of the Mission into three great sections, ordained native preachers, and initiated "self-support" among the advanced stations. Other episcopal visitors have continued to inspirit the increasing band of laborers, and have sent back to the home Church emphatic attestations of the genuineness and the promise of the work. Wiley—who after laboring and suffering there as a missionary returned home disabled, revisited the great field as bishop in 1877, and again in 1884, to die and be buried by the side of his wife in Foochow—wrote to the American Church: "There was nothing that so impressed me with the reality, strength, and permanence of our work here as the men whom it has pleased God to give us as native preachers. There are now thirty of them in the Conference. At the head stand the five presiding elders; staid, thoughtful, pious, experienced men. Behind these are the five newly made elders, younger men, yet fine-looking, educated, in the Chinese sense, pious, earnest, devoted to their work. Behind these again are the five deacons, another class which will be fully qualified by a few years of experience to come forward to leadership. Then, behind these, are fifteen probationers, all having had experience in preaching, and all promising men;

and then behind these I see stand a class of bright, pious, hopeful young men, students in our theological school, who are hastening to take their places in this young Conference; and then, outside of all these, about thirty or forty local preachers, of very fair ability, whom we are using as supplies. I am simply tabulating what has taken place in this Fokien province since I left it twenty-four years ago. Then not a soul had been converted. Up to that time we were simply met with prejudice and opposition, and did not dare to venture five miles from the city of Foochow. Now our work extends through five districts, reaching two hundred miles to the north and west, and nearly as many to the southeast. We have about 80 native preachers, a Christian community of about 2,600 souls, an Annual Conference of 20 members and 50 probationers, and 46 circuits averaging fully 4 stations to each, making about 184 points at which the Gospel is preached. I confess I would feel alarmed at the very magnitude of this work if I did not see the most satisfactory evidence of its genuineness and thoroughness in every respect. Of the sincere and profound piety and genuine earnestness and devotion of these Christian preachers and people no one can have any doubt. To this hour they have nothing to gain, but much to lose, in becoming Christians; and many of them have been, and still are, subjected to great trials and persecutions."

The converts have generally been steadfast in spite of these trials. Dr. Masters, after thirteen years spent in the empire or at the head of the San Francisco Chinese Mission, says he "has known but one Chinaman who has returned from Christianity to idolatry."

Through disasters from civil war, floods, famine, and pestilence; through fierce local persecutions in which their chapels and homes have sometimes been torn down by mobs, the evangelists have dauntlessly advanced—slowly, as has been remarked, but surely; and now, 1890, the Missionary Board at New York reports four vast fields of labor—Foochow, Central China, North China, West China—with 327 laborers and assistants, 217 of whom are natives; 143 teachers, of whom 140 are natives; 110 local preachers, and other helpers; 6,400 communicants, and 7,088 adherents, making in all about 13,500

BISHOP GILBERT HAVEN.

natives habitually under the influence of the Mission. It has 4 theological schools, training 84 candidates for the ministry; 11 high schools, with 44 teachers and 518 students; 137 other day schools, with 2,067 students. Besides these institutions it has 143 Sunday schools with 4,387 students. Its churches and chapels amount to 110, besides some 84 halls and other places of worship.

The Mission work has effectively entered the great metropolis of Nanking, where the Philander Smith Hospital, erected when there was not a Methodist in the city, is its most imposing monument. Under the skillful care of Dr. Beebe and his wife, its medical superintendents, it has made a powerful impression on the native mind. A missionary writing from North China says: "The chapels in Peking, Tientsin, and Tsun-hua, which a few years ago seemed so large, are now far too small to hold the congregations that frequently gather for worship. The same is true of many of the country chapels, while several places are in great need of chapel buildings in which to hold the Sabbath services. In all the boarding schools the dormitories are too full to be healthful, and still it is necessary to reject candidates who present themselves for admission. What is true of the other departments of work applies equally well to hospital and dispensary work. Our very success is not devoid of embarrassment, and, because of our inability to command the means for relief, becomes, in fact, a real occasion for discouragement."

All China is now open for the Gospel; it is preached as far northward as the famous wall, and westward and southward to the extreme limits of the empire. The different branches of Methodism report about twenty-five thousand native converts.

The foundations of the Church are, then, we may trust, securely laid in China. Great contingencies still affect the fate of this stupendous empire and of all things within it; but the faith which has begun this good work will hold on resolutely to the end through whatever vicissitudes. The Chinese are peculiarly tenacious of their traditional opinions; but they received Buddhism from India, and adopted the philosophy of Confucius as a religion. They may have equal changes hereafter. Christianity may, then, work on and wait, believing

that God will so direct events as to crown it, in due time, with decisive auspices and universal triumph.

By another deviation from the chronological order of our narrative I may here follow a more normal order by introducing the Japan and Korea Missions; for they are offsprings of the China Mission, and adjacent, and pertain to the same Mongolian race.

The naval squadron of the United States in 1854, under Commodore Perry, inaugurated a new era in the history of Japan by inducing her to open her ports to foreign commerce; she thereby gave access to foreign teachers and missionaries, and, in fine, to European civilization, after having excluded them, with the exception of a single nation (Holland) and a single port, for two hundred years. Dr. Maclay, who had long been a leader in the Chinese field, was appointed by the Board at New York, in 1872, to found its work in the promising new field, and reached it with his wife, herself an effective worker, on June 1, 1873. In the same year arrived Irvin H. Correll, John C. Davison, Julius Soper, Merriman C. Harris, and their wives, making a vigorous missionary band of ten persons, which was to be reinforced the ensuing year by Dora E. Schoonmaker, an efficient teacher from the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society.

August 18, 1873, was a notable day in the history of the Mission—the epoch of its formal organization. "There were present," says the historian, "Bishop Harris, in the chair; members of the Mission, Maclay, Davison, Soper, and Correll, together with their wives; visitors, Drs. Newman and Waugh, Messrs. Houghton and Spencer, of the Methodist Episcopal Church; George Cochran and D. Macdonald, M.D., of the Canada Methodist Mission in Japan; Mrs. Newman, and Miss Dr. Combs, a member of the Peking Mission of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of our Church."

The next day was especially solemnized by addresses and the Lord's Supper administered by Bishop Harris and Dr. Newman, after which the Bishop formally announced the appointments for the ensuing year; they were: "Superintendent, R. S. Maclay, residence, Yokohama; Yokohama, Irvin H. Correll; Yedo (Tokyo), Julius Soper; Hakodate, Merri-

man C. Harris; Nagasaki, John C. Davison. At 4 P. M. the same day the Pacific mail steamship *New York* bore away Bishop Harris and his traveling companions." The plan of the Mission comprehended important points in the whole extent of the country; beginning at its southernmost city (Nagasaki), taking in its greatest metropolis for foreigners (Yokohama), and its very capital (Tokyo), eighteen miles beyond, and reaching to the chief city (Hakodate) of its chief northernmost island (Yesso), where still linger some ten thousand aborigines of the islands—the Ainos. The evangelists immediately plunged into their work, and the next year reported at their Annual Meeting, June 27, 1874, progress in all its preliminaries, especially in the native language. Before this year expired they could farther report the formation of Bible classes, the commencement of public preaching, first efforts in the translation of the Discipline, Catechism, and hymns, the coöperation of Maclay as member of a commission for the translation of the Holy Scriptures, the beginning of the invaluable agency of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the home Church, and, above all, the first conversion of natives. In China, as we have seen, ten years elapsed before the first native conversion; in Japan the way had been better prepared for them by predecessors belonging to other denominations, but these predecessors had labored seven years before baptizing their first convert. In less than two years after the organization of the Methodist Mission Correll baptized in his own house, at Yokohama, two natives, Kichi and his wife; in about three months later Soper baptized two converts, Tsuda and his wife, in Tokyo, the capital. The work thus auspiciously begun went on prosperously. Dora Schoonmaker's school was opened in an old temple whose poverty-stricken priest needed the rent fees and allowed her to teach her native scholars in a portion of the building, "while he occupied the remainder with his idol and its paraphernalia." Native chapels were opened, class meetings organized, Quarterly Conferences held, native schools multiplied. In 1878 Bishop Wiley cheered the laborers by an official visitation and found that their five years of labor had resulted in five effective central stations besides minor appointments; one boarding seminary, in the capital, for young

ladies and five day schools for boys and girls; progress in the translation of hymns, the Catechism, and the Discipline; 381 communicants, and 14 missionaries, with 32 native assistants. Important educational buildings have since been erected at Nagasaki, including the Cobleigh Seminary; the Governor Wright Academy at Hakodate has been built by the liberality of his widow, and the Philander Smith Biblical Institute and the Goucher collegiate structure have commemorated at the capital the names of families who have become conspicuous in American Methodism by their beneficence. The Mission was organized as a Conference in 1884. The present year, 1890, is reported, by the Rev. Julius Soper, as the most trying of all the seventeen years of its existence, by reason of political and other agitations. The Annual Report of the Board at New York shows that it now has 6 extensive districts, 64 missionaries and assistant missionaries, including 22 from the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society; 76 native workers, including more than 40 native preachers, 22 of whom are ordained; and 3,533 communicants. It has 10 high schools and 14 other day schools, besides 2 theological seminaries, the latter having about 50 students. In all its schools it has about 2,500 native pupils, besides more than 4,000 in its Sunday schools.

Several branches of Methodism (four at least) are operating, or I may better say coöperating, in Japan, and with much cordiality; they aggregately report 6,400 church members.

Korea, northeast of China and west of Japan, is the latest foreign field entered by the Methodist Episcopal Church. William B. Scranton and H. G. Appenzeller began its work there in 1885, and in the last month of 1889 formed the first society and held its first Quarterly Conference. Methodism gave baptism to the first native woman who received Protestant Christianity. It has now 73 communicants, 76 Sunday school pupils, and 88 students in its day schools, 7 of whom are in its theological seminary.

In these three oriental fields the missionary progress has been steady and their outlook is full of encouragement. European civilization has, we may believe, permanently entered China, Japan, and Korea. Japan, indeed, is an anomaly in history. The reluctant, the forced opening of her ports by the

American navy has been one of the most auspicious events in her annals, and has opened to her a career of improvement in which she already surpasses any other Asiatic power. In less than forty years she has thrown off feudalism; has established common schools on the American plan and university education on that of Germany; has introduced journalism; has founded a scientific medical faculty; has recognized the Christian Sabbath; has adopted all the European sciences, and even the European costume in her court, army, navy, and police; has introduced the railroad, the steamboat, the telegraph, the telephone; has entered into the postal system of Christendom; has abolished the union of Church and State; all its old religions have been smitten with irreversible declension; and recently she has inaugurated representative parliamentary government—the first and only example of the kind in the Asiatic world.

We are thus at the beginning of a new oriental history, and it should be the beneficent ambition of Americans, especially of American Methodism, to bear the ensign of Christian civilization in the van of the movement.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CHURCH ABROAD.—*Continued.*

I HAVE already recorded * in brief the origin of "German Methodism" in the United States, a development of the denomination which, beginning in the conversion and preaching of a Tübingen student, William Nast, in 1835, had resulted at the end of our preceding period (1866) in the accession of tens of thousands of German church members, with nearly three hundred German preachers and hundreds of chapels, and the organization of German circuits, districts, and Conferences throughout the republic—a grand provision for the Teutonic emigrant hosts who annually enter the nation and take rank among its best citizens; but the reaction of this extraordinary movement on Germany itself, hitherto only alluded to, has become, perhaps, its most important result, and Methodism in Germany is now among the chief foreign missions of the Church. In 1844 Nast was sent to Germany to ascertain the feasibility of a Methodist mission there. He found Müller, a Wesleyan German preacher, laboring in Würtemberg, where the Wesleyans have continued his good work down to our day. The American Methodists waited, at Nast's suggestion, to see the farther results of the Wesleyan labors, hoping meanwhile for better political auspices, under which missionary agencies might be less shackled in the country. The revolutionary movements of 1848 afforded them the hoped-for opportunity, and in May, 1849, the Missionary Board requested the bishops to appoint two evangelists to the field. Ludwig S. Jacoby was sent in October, and arrived in Bremen November 7. For some time he sought in vain for a hall or any other place to preach in. His first sermon in Germany was delivered some twenty miles from the city. At last he was permitted to hold his first public meeting in Bremen in the Krameramthaus on Sunday evening, December 23, 1849. It was a crowded

* Vol. i, p. 549.

assembly of four hundred eager hearers, who were soon after increased to eight hundred in a larger hall of the same edifice. This was an eventful period for American Methodism in Germany; it was now installed there for all time, as the Church devoutly hoped. Jacoby's first text there was worthy of the occasion, and characteristic of the denomination; it was 1 Tim. ii, 4, "Who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth."

He multiplied preaching places in the neighboring towns and villages. E. C. Poppe became his first helper and colporteur. The missionary appealed to the home society for reinforcements. On Easter Sunday, 1850, he joined twenty-one persons in his first class meeting; administered to them, for the first time, the Lord's Supper; and on the next evening met them in their first love feast. On May 21 he held their first Quarterly Conference. Jacoby called this the "birthday of the Mission." "Bremen," adds the missionary historian, "became the center and source of the mission work in Germany"* The translated hymn book was soon issued in thousands of copies, a journal—*Der Evangelist*—was begun, a "Book Concern" was established, and, at last, a prosperous theological or ministerial seminary was instituted, with which have been associated, as instructors, men subsequently notable in the denomination, such as Hurst, Warren, Nippert, Schwartz, Sultzberger, Achard, and Mann.

Charles H. Doering and Louis Nippert were Jacoby's first reinforcement. They arrived June 7, 1850. In about a week later the first of the Methodist Sunday schools of Germany was opened in Bremen, leading to their speedy establishment throughout the National Church. Doering and Nippert formed, in the old American style, a "circuit" of no less than fifteen preaching places, while Jacoby retained charge of the city. Colporteurs were multiplied; the first "license" given by the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Fatherland constituted Wessel Fiege an "exhorter," in August, 1850; and withal persecutions, the usual precursors of success, began. Pamphlets were written against the new cause, accusing it of detestable heresies and "absurd pretenses." "Class meetings

* *Methodist Episcopal Missions*, vol. ii, p. 291.

and camp meetings were especially held up to ridicule, and frequently mobs assailed the missionaries." Doering, preaching to a crowded assembly, was attacked by a mob which was instigated by a State pastor and infuriated by strong drink. Every window in the building was broken, stones flew among the congregation, but the people and preacher escaped unhurt. Their projected Sunday school was opposed by the State preacher, and had to be protected by a police force; but it numbered, the first day, forty scholars. Another school, started among the "lowest dens and vilest inns of Bremmerhaven," opened with fifteen students, but had at its second session one hundred and thirty. "Prosperity," says the historian, "was more than equal to the opposition." The latter, nevertheless, confronted the evangelists at several points, especially in Saxe-Weimar, Hanover, and Brunswick. Nippert and his colporteur were opposed at one of his appointments by a mob with drums and kettles, and were attacked with personal violence; much of their clothing was torn off, the colporteur was cast into a ditch and the missionary driven away. Erhardt Wunderlich, converted in America, had returned to help, as a volunteer, the new movement in Germany; his zealous labors in Saxe-Weimar led to the conversion of his mother and brothers, and one of the latter began to preach; a great popular interest was awakened; converts rallied to the evangelists; but the latter were arrested, fined, imprisoned, and their goods seized and sold at auction. The work, nevertheless, went on, though the laborers were changed and some of its early subjects sought refuge in America. "In February, 1851," writes the historian, "Jacoby visited Saxe-Weimar, and rejoiced at the flame that was yet burning there. There were then one hundred and thirty members, organized into nine classes. The work is remarkable for the number of preachers produced by it besides Mr. Wunderlich."

In 1851 E. Riemenschneider and H. Nuelsen arrived as recruits, and did effective service, but not without severe trials. Riemenschneider, holding meetings in his own house at Frankfort-on-the-Main, was not allowed to continue them. At Giessen he was thrown into prison and subsequently sent out of the dukedom of Hesse-Darmstadt. Missionaries were

likewise imprisoned at Heilbronn and in Alsace. But amidst all their adversities they gathered devoted converts, and on September 10, 1856, was organized the first Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Germany—the first in Europe; an event which signifies volumes of future history. There were now twenty laborers in the field, ten of whom were ministers, and their work had extended to Berlin and into Switzerland, the latter country being largely German. Methodism has taken strong hold upon its people; it is powerful in Zurich, and has even borne its banner into French Geneva. The ministerial school, or Biblical Institute, was founded at Bremen in ten years after the beginning of the Mission (1859) and opened in 1860. By the gift of $25,000 from an American Methodist layman, in 1866, it was greatly invigorated, and was transferred to Frankfort-on-the-Main, where, as the Martin Mission Institute, it is a monument of German Methodism commanding the respect not only of the city of Goethe and Rothschild, but of enlightened Germany generally. In Berlin an American Methodist layman, the Hon. Joseph A. Wright, United States Minister to Prussia, was chiefly instrumental in the erection of a Methodist chapel in the same year in which John T. Martin enabled the ministerial school to raise its ensign in Frankfort. In 1886 the Swiss work was detached and the "Switzerland Conference" established; it reports today (1890) more than 6,000 communicants and nearly 200 Sunday schools with about 14,000 pupils.

Such is but a glance at the remarkable development of Teutonic Methodism in Europe. In Switzerland its labors are entirely among the Germans. In the two countries, at the close of our period, it has about 17,000 communicants, over 100 traveling preachers, and more than 25,000 Sunday school scholars. German Methodism in both America and Europe, but pertaining to the Methodist Episcopal Church alone, reports more than 71,000 communicants, with 900 pastors and 80,000 Sunday school scholars. It was the first, as we have seen,* to employ the order of deaconesses in the denomination; there were nearly a hundred such consecrated workers in Germany before the Church at home had one. It gave to the

* P. 108.

denomination its first orphanage in America, at Berea, O., and has a second one at Warrenton, Mo. It has founded in America "six prosperous colleges for higher education."* It has an extensive Methodist literature, including translations of standard Methodist works. We have already noticed the extraordinary success of its periodical publications. In these respects, as in its pecuniary contributions to the charities of the denomination, it shows a larger ratio of liberality than any other class of Methodists.

This Teutonic Methodism is a phenomenal fact in the Christian history of our century; and we may not err in predicting for it still more startling results on both sides of the Atlantic, and, indeed, in all the earth; for the Teutonic peoples, including the Scandinavians, English, and Americans, are the emigrating, the conquering race of the world, and seem predestined to extend Christian civilization over the planet, awakening the human race to new and better life. It began its work in the overthrow of the imperial sway of Rome, repeated it by the great Reformation, the overthrow of ecclesiastical Rome, and thereby inaugurated the epoch of liberty and modern civilization; and its beneficent mission is now going on irresistibly, not only in Europe, America, and Australia, but, more or less, around the world. Methodism, as a new and energetic development of Christianity, takes extraordinary hold on this mightiest of races. It has some special affinity with it. It has had, thus far, comparatively little power among the Celtic and Latin peoples. After more than a hundred years of hard work in France its whole present membership in that country could be crowded into some of its single chapels in England or America. In Spain and Portugal Wesleyan Methodism has labored nearly in vain. It has had no success among the Celts of Scotland, and but little among those of Ireland; the Irish Methodists who founded American Methodism were Teutonic refugees. The denomination keeps pace with the triumphant march of the Teutonic race in all parts of the earth.

"Scandinavian Methodism," as pertaining to this race, may here be legitimately introduced, after this account of the

* Jacob Rothweiler, D.D., *Daily Christian Advocate*, May 2, 1892.

Church in Germany. As in the case of German Methodism in the United States, the conversion of Scandinavian immigrants led to the organization of Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish missions. The Rev. Olaf Gustaf Hedstrom, venerated and beloved throughout the Church as "Pastor" Hedstrom, after preaching some years at various "appointments" maintained Swedish services in the Bethel ship *John Wesley*, at New York, preaching his first sermon in it on May 25, 1845. With the coöperation of a zealous layman, Peter Bergner, he soon acquired powerful influence over the Scandinavian sailors and immigrants, who thronged the port by thousands. Methodism extended rapidly among the Scandinavian settlers over most of the nation, and it reports to-day churches, missions, and Conferences from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts. These converts, like the German-American Methodists, produced an effectual impression by letters on their countrymen at home, and some of them by personal visits to their native places. Hedstrom made a brief visit to his, and was instrumental in the conversion of his father and two brothers. O. P Petersen, one of the American Scandinavian evangelists, went to Norway in 1849 for what he designed to be but a month's visit to his kindred; his preaching produced such excitement that he was induced to stay nearly a year. On his return he resumed his American work, but the results of his labors in Norway were so pronounced that, in 1853, he was sent back to found a mission there; in about a year he reported fifty "persons who are with us in heart and life." At his request C. Willerup was sent out to aid him in 1856, and at the close of this year, certain legal difficulties having been overcome, a Methodist church was organized at Sarpsborg with 119 communicants, and one at Frederikshald with about 70, aggregating 189, with a Sunday school in connection with each church, and in the ensuing year two chapels were erected. Methodism was thus successfully and permanently installed in Norway. It is extending gradually but effectually over the land and reviving the national Church. It has a society of nearly half a hundred communicants at Trondhjem, the nearest point to the north pole yet reached by the denomination.

Willerup was not a Norwegian, but a Dane. He had an

energetic mind and a flaming heart, and had been notably successful both in Norway and America. To him belonged the signal honor of building the first Norwegian Methodist church in the world, dedicated at Cambridge, Wis., July 21, 1852. He was the man for the extension of Methodism to his own country, and was officially sent to Denmark in 1858; in December, 1859, he "received the first members into the Methodist Church at Copenhagen." He thus became the founder of Danish Methodism. One of his countrymen writes: "He made extensive missionary tours through Norway and Sweden, and God blessed his and his colaborers' work in the salvation of many souls. Pastor Willerup died at Copenhagen, Denmark, May 19, 1886. He was a very eloquent and powerful preacher, and was the means, in God's hand, of leading many precious souls to Christ. Norwegian and Danish Methodism has at least 130 ministers, 137 assistant missionaries and local preachers, 10,621 members, 1,672 probationers, 144 churches. They have 3 theological schools, 4 weekly papers, 1 semi-monthly, 3 Sunday school papers, and 3 publishing houses, from which many valuable books have been published. Although these statistics only give an imperfect idea of what Methodism has done for the Danes and Norwegians they show that the Methodist Episcopal Church has done a grand and blessed work among these people, for which God shall have the glory now and forever." * Providentially, for the good of the Danish Mission, the Hon. and Rev. M. J. Cramer, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was the United States minister to the court of Copenhagen during some years of the missionary struggles of his Church there. The missionary historian records that "during all the period of his official stay in Copenhagen he was bold for Christ, not hesitating to preach his blessed name, and fully to identify himself with this persecuted people, of whom he was in fact one, and an ordained minister."

Remarkable circumstances attended the introduction of the Methodist Episcopal Church into Sweden. Larson, a sailor, converted by the labors of Hedstrom in the Bethel ship at New York, began it at Calmar. Wrecked on his way home,

* Rev. C. F. Eltzholtz, of Nebraska, in *The Christian Advocate*, October 20, 1892.

he was rescued and conveyed to Sweden by an English vessel; he began immediately (1852), as a humble layman, religious labors among his countrymen and continued them with extraordinary success for a year and a half, supporting himself, meanwhile, by his own industry. In 1854 the Board at New York appointed him as missionary, though he had never been a licensed local preacher or exhorter. Another lay convert of Hedstrom's returned home in 1855 and helped to extend the labors of Larson. Another began similar labors in the island of Gottland. This was Methodistic work of the primitive kind, and was fully sanctioned by the usages of the Church. "Revivals," as they were called, prevailed in several places. In Karlskrona the converts reduced the number of their daily meals, and sold portions of their furniture and clothing, in order to erect a chapel; and in this manner was built the first Methodist Episcopal church in Sweden, the only preceding Methodist edifice being a Wesleyan chapel erected more than forty years before by the English in Stockholm. This characteristic "lay activity" of the denomination was especially exemplified in the field of its first church at Karlskrona. One of its converts was an enterprising manufacturer who, besides financially aiding the struggling society, introduced and concluded by prayers, each day, the work of one hundred and twenty operatives, and preached to them on Saturday evenings. He soon added fourscore of them to the zealous Methodist brotherhood. In 1871 a score of chapels was reported; rigorous laws which interfered with the organization of new religious bodies were ameliorated, chiefly by the magnanimous influence of the king, and in 1874 it became practicable to organize the "Swedish Methodist Episcopal Church." Two years later was formed the Swedish Annual Conference. The good work was extended westward into Finland, and began thus the invasion of the Russian Empire, within which it has to-day a presiding elder's district and eight circuits, or stations, including St. Petersburg. Methodism has now, in the Swedish Conference, 5 presiding elders' districts, nearly 100 preachers, 94 churches, 16,000 communicants, and 16,682 Sunday school scholars. It has, in the old university town of Upsala, more than 600 communicants, and 4 churches in Stock-

holm. The missionary historian of the Church records that "the Swedish Conference was organized at Upsala on the 2d day of August, 1876, by Bishop Andrews, as directed by the General Conference of 1876;" a pregnant sentence, the significance of which I must leave to some future historian of the Church.

Scandinavian Methodism, not including that in America, amounts to more than 24,000 communicants, 170 preachers, and 142 churches. Including its local preachers, its foreign ministry amounts to 354 persons.

The aggregate Scandinavian statistics of the Methodist Episcopal Church, both at home and abroad, besides many hundreds belonging to English-speaking churches, show a goodly army of 41,089 communicants and 730 preachers.*

The American Methodists, like their Baptist and other colaborers, justify this alleged intrusion into the domain of the Lutheran Church not only by its spiritual torpor and doctrinal "Rationalism," but also by its admitted and urgent need of additional laborers and churches. During thirteen years ending in 1887 there had been a decided decrease in the number of pastors in Denmark; more than half a hundred of its parishes were destitute of pastors in 1886; about a twentieth of its parishes "were vacant because there was no one that made application for them." † Two churches in Copenhagen had the care of 110,000 people. Each of the twenty-two parish priests had an average of 11,000 souls dependent upon him for spiritual direction and churchly offices. Similar destitution prevails in many other portions of Scandinavia and of Germany. Professor Sultzberger, of Frankfort-on-the-Main, says of Berlin, where there are three Methodist churches, that "it has 1,370,000 Protestant State Church people, 80,000 Catholics, 40,000 Jews, and 10,000 dissenters. Its present population is 1,500,000. There are thus more than 33,000 Protestant inhabitants to each Lutheran church, and, on an average, more than 12,500 souls for each Lutheran minister to take care of." Methodism in Germany and Scandinavia is not a foreign sect, except in an indirect and temporary respect;

* Letter of Secretary J. Oramel Peck to the author.

† Rev. C. F Eltzholtz, in *The Christian Advocate*, September 29, 1892.

both its people and pastors are natives, and both are needed by the Churches and the population.

In founding its work in Europe the Church anticipated no systematic relations of its missions; it simply entered the opening doors which casually or, as it believed, providentially invited it; but its movements there have seemed to take on a tacit strategical adjustment. The central Teutonic column, including Germany and German Switzerland, leaving in its rear France and the Spanish peninsula under the missionary care of the English Methodists, moves eastwardly with a powerful left wing which, extending through Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, takes in all the North, and curves southward to the very capital of Russia. On the other hand, its right wing, including two other races (Slavonic and Latin), reaches to the southern extremity of Europe through the Italian peninsula, and by the Bulgaria Mission touches the Black Sea, across whose western waters it hails the land of the czar already entered by its northern colaborers. To its struggling Bulgarian and Italian fields we may now briefly turn, and conclude this foreign survey by a glance at its most successful battlefield in the foreign world, its Indian Mission.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CHURCH ABROAD.—*Continued.*

THE Bulgaria Mission was projected by the New York Board in 1855. Wesley Prettyman and Albert L. Long arrived in the field as its first missionaries in 1857. The population is Slavonic, including not a few Russians, and the religion of the latter, the Greek Church, is the dominant faith. The Greek Church, though exempt from some of the worst errors of the Latin Church, is lower than the latter in its popular ignorance and superstition, in the universality and puerility of its legends, and in the corruption of the morals of both its clergy and laity. Important sects, some of them with widespread influence, have sprung up, hoping spiritually to resuscitate the Church. The missionaries expected to find favor with these reformers at least, and to have their coöperation. The hope was fallacious; some transient sympathy was shown them, but the seceders as well as the dominant Church were engulfed in ignorance, in moral imbecility, and in unscriptural opinions. All were arrayed against the American evangelists, excepting a few individual natives, who, by some superior spiritual illumination, felt the need of a purer, a more scriptural faith than they had found in either the Church or the sects. The history of the Mission is a record of delays and discouragements, sometimes of apparent defeats and retreats, and yet of that persistent tenacity which we have witnessed in some of her other battlefields, where, though she has changed her local positions or even temporarily retired, she has never finally abandoned them, but has only waited to resume her position under better auspices. The absence of scriptural knowledge was the almost universal characteristic of the Church, leading to general ignorance of scriptural piety and even morals. This defect prevailed among the common clergy as well as among the people. The missionaries report, as an illustration, the case of a priest who, visiting them, com-

plained, with tears, of the lapsed condition of Christianity among his people. He declared that they bore the Christian name but knew nothing about Christianity. "I am a poor, weak, ignorant man," he said; "what can I do? My people have no instruction, and when I exhort them they will not even hear me. When I tell them they must pray they say, 'We are not priests; it is your business to do the praying.' They call themselves Christians, but they do not love God and do not keep his commandments." On this occasion he came to ask Mr. Long to lend him a Bible. He said: "I went to the *oekonom* [senior or superior priest] and asked him to loan me a Bible; but he asked me what business I had with a Bible, and declared that the Bible was not a book for me to read. Now, I am a priest, and do not see why I should not read the Bible. Will you lend me one?" The British and American Bible societies have since diffused the Scriptures extensively through portions of the Greek Church, and some of the sects at least have become expert in the use of the Bible against the errors of the popular religion.

Prettyman and Long chose Shumla as the central or chief station of the Mission. In 1858 F. W Flocken, who could speak both German and Russian, was sent to their aid. In 1859 Long planted the missionary standard in Tirnova, an important city, where, amidst no little priestly opposition, he preached in the native language to an increasing congregation. Prettyman had encouraging success at Shumla, and Flocken began labors in April, 1860, at Tultcha, on the Danube, where he received at first some favor from the reforming sect of the Molokans. He began a school with fifty children in his own study, and opened also a Sunday school. On the 10th of September, 1860, he baptized four Russian children, and received at the same time their parents on probation as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Signs of success began thus to encourage the evangelists, and in 1861 they could report from each of their three stations a native coworker. One of these, the first to join them, was Gabriel Elieff, who is recorded as "the first Protestant convert of the land."* He had for some time been a faithful colporteur of the British and Foreign

* *Methodist Episcopal Missions*, vol. iii, p. 208.

Bible Society, and became a steadfast pillar of the new cause, bravely adhering to it through its severest subsequent adversities. He was found faithful in every part of the history of the Mission, sharing all its vicissitudes, and was the inspiration for its continuance. Besides this humble hero, Ivan Ivanoff, "a man of lovely temper and of great influence," became a colaborer at Tultcha; and Melanovitsch, "a talented and enthusiastic" teacher, was an effective helper to Prettyman. The Mission was now apparently founded at three principal points of the land, whence its labors were extending into the neighboring rural districts. But, as usual with missionary undertakings, it was to be tested and disciplined. The dominant Church attacked it; instigated by their priests the populace, in some cases, violently opposed it; political disturbances absorbed the attention of the people, and Prettyman returned to the United States. Long was removed by the Missionary Board to Constantinople, where he was associated with Dr. Riggs in the revision of the Bulgarian New Testament, and published a small paper, *Zornitza* (*The Day Star*), which was received favorably by the Bulgarians in the city. In 1868 E. A. Wanless was sent out to the field. A Russian Methodist Episcopal Church was organized at Tultcha, with two classes—each with a leader—and three stewards, and the leaders' meeting licensed one exhorter. The first Russian Methodist chapel in the world was erected in that city.

Notwithstanding these favorable openings the increasing hostilities of the Greek Church and of the Romanists, and the political agitations of the times, were formidable obstacles, and the field was temporarily abandoned. Flocken and Wanless were recalled in 1871; Long remained at Constantinople, occupying effectively a chair in the Robert College. This retreat reminds us of that which we have recorded as occurring in the South American Mission field; like that also it was not to be a final defeat. The native assistants pursued, obscurely but faithfully, their humble labors, Gabriel Elieff being chief among them. In 1873 Flocken returned, accompanied by Henry A. Buchtel; the Board at New York had ordered the resumption of the difficult work, and in 1875 sent out E. F. Lounsbury and De Witt C. Challis to reinforce its laborers. In

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October of the next year, amid fearful disturbances occasioned by the Russo-Turkish War, Bishop Andrews met the little missionary band at Rustchuk, where the native brethren, Voinoff, Natchoff, and Getchoff, were recommended for admission on trial into an Annual Conference, and Gabriel Elieff, eminent for labors and sufferings and for devoted attachment to the Methodist Episcopal Church, having been received on trial in the Conference, was ordained both deacon and elder, and Ivan Ivanoff, a Russian, for many years assistant in the school at Tultcha, was licensed to preach. "The brethren separated, greatly strengthened by the presence, counsels, and ministrations of the bishop, and went out to toil amid the tumult and ruin of war, not knowing what might befall them ere they should meet again."

In 1877 war ravaged the land with horrors which startled the civilized world. Again the missionary work was suspended, save as it was heroically but obscurely maintained by the native laborers. Dr. Long, at Constantinople, alone remained of all the force which had been sent out to Bulgaria. But in the next year, with the prospect of peace and of the independence of Bulgaria, Flocken was sent out again. The Board renewed its appropriation for the seemingly impracticable field; Challis, Ivanoff, and Lounsbury returned to it; and it has since continued to be the scene of commingled discouragements and hopes to the Church. She stands there, nevertheless, with faith and firmness. Repeated official visits and inspections of it have been made by her bishops; they kept her standard erect and bade her labor on and wait. Meanwhile, difficult as the work has been, difficult as all missionary work within the limits of the degenerate Greek Church is found to be, the Methodist Bulgaria Mission has, apparently, good foundations. The Annual Report of the New York Board for the present year, 1890, shows that it now has 8 missionaries, including one from the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, 15 native local preachers, besides 5 other helpers, 13 teachers of its day schools, and 163 communicants.

The Italian Mission was begun in 1872 by Dr. Leroy M. Vernon, who, besides important pastoral service and experience, had occupied a position of influence as president of St.

Charles College, Missouri. During many years the project of the Mission had been before the Church, chiefly through its advocacy by Dr. Charles Elliot, editor of the *Western Christian Advocate*, and Gilbert Haven, afterward bishop. It was deemed fitting that Methodism should confront popery at its very center, and though the contest was expected to be long and precarious its final outcome was not doubted; the Mission was opened with good prospects by Dr. Vernon, and has continued to give, at times, noteworthy encouragement. It has had to overcome formidable difficulties, the chief being the untrustworthiness of conversions from the degenerate Latin Church as elsewhere from the Greek. All Protestant missions within these ancient churches have had to meet this difficulty. The conversion of their priests, especially, has often proved to be uncertain; relapses have been frequent, and the most sanguine hopes of the missionaries have often been thus defeated. We need not be surprised, therefore, to learn officially that the number of our communicants in Italy is not quite as many as we had ten years ago, but that it "no doubt represents a much more reliable and safe basis of faith and hope than we possessed at that time." *

After surveying the peninsula extensively with a view to a proper location for the Mission, and preferring Rome as a base for operations, Vernon, guided by telegraphic instruction from the New York Board, nevertheless located at Bologna, and at once began his labors. After a four months' search, with all possible obstructions from the Roman priests, he at last obtained a hall for public worship, and speedily another, in Modena, and two Italian evangelists, Mill and Guigou, who had had some experience in mission work, joined him. Vernon himself was able to address the congregation in Italian at the beginning of the services in Modena, on June 16, 1873, and on the next Sunday at the opening of the hall in Bologna; sixty hearers were present at the former place, fifty at the latter. By the end of the month the banner had been unfurled in Forli and Ravenna. Thus was begun, in faith and hope, this Mission, which we may be assured Methodism will not permit to lapse.

* Rev. S. L. Baldwin, D.D., in the *Daily Christian Advocate*, May 16, 1892.

Native colaborers were rapidly enlisted in the good work. In October Godino began it in Bagnacavallo, Malan in Pescara and Cheiti, Charbonnier in Rimini, and two colporteurs, Dalmas and Tourn, went through the Romagna scattering the Holy Scriptures, copies of which were wrested from the people and concealed or burned by the priests. Teofilo Gay, a highly educated Waldensian, joined Vernon, and on November 2, 1873, entered Rome as the representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Vernon and he opened a small hall for public worship near the Forum, on Sunday, December 18, with a full congregation. By the close of the year Florence was entered, and Arrighi, who had been somewhat trained to religious work in America, labored there successfully, facing a mob which, instigated by priests, broke in the doors of the hall, extinguished the lights, assailed the sexton, and attempted violence against the missionary. The magistrates defended the rights of the worshipers, and six of the rioters were arrested and imprisoned. As usual, however, in such trials, the cause prospered.

The itinerancy worked well in this field; in 1874 Malan introduced the cause into Brescello, on the Po; Godino, into Faenza; and Mill, into the important city of Milan, the capital of Lombardy. Signor Enrico Borelli, "a man of years, experience, and no mean abilities," was received into the Church and work and carried on the cause in Bologna. Dr. Alceste Lanna, a professor in the Vatican Seminary and the Apollinare, "the most popular Catholic college in Rome," sought an interview with Vernon, apparently under profound religious conviction, and joined the Mission, becoming one of its chief representatives. A few months later Dr. Caporali, an accomplished scholar and editor, passing the Methodist place of worship in Milan, was arrested by the title inscribed upon its front, and turned back and entered; soon afterward he cast in his lot with the humble worshipers, and became an important writer in their defense and editor of the Italian *Methodist Quarterly Review*.

On September 10 was held the first annual meeting of the Mission, at Bologna, under the presidency of Bishop Harris. Nine of the native preachers had been admitted on trial at the previous Germany and Switzerland Conference; two of these

were now ordained at Bologna. The headquarters of the Mission having been transferred to Rome, by October 1, 1874, Vernon was established there, confronting the very citadel of popery.

Thus the cause advanced, and for some time met with notable success. It was prosperously introduced in April, 1875, into the famous city of Perugia. In May, Vincenzo Ravi, once a Roman Catholic, but for some time Protestant pastor of a society in Rome, joined it, with "his entire congregation of about forty members." On the 30th of June the second Annual Meeting was held at Milan; Bishop Simpson presided, and ordained Lanna deacon and elder. In the same year occurred an event in the history of Italian Methodism, the erection of the first Protestant church within the walls of Rome—St. Paul's Methodist Church on Via Paoli, a graceful edifice, eligibly located. It occasioned a clamorous outcry among the Roman ecclesiastics and their journals, but was hailed by the patriotic newspapers with hearty applause as a token of the progress of liberty in the long-oppressed, priest-ridden country. It was dedicated on Christmas Day, 1875, by Vernon, who was followed with discourses from Gay, Ravi, Lanna, and representatives of all the Protestant evangelical Churches. In the same year Ravi introduced the work into Naples, and in the beginning of 1876 converted a theater there into a convenient Methodist church. Cardin bore the standard into Venice; Baron Gattuso, formerly an officer under Garibaldi, planted it in Arezzo. On March 11, 1877, Bishop Andrews held an annual meeting of the Mission at Rome, and tentative measures were adopted with a view to the organization of an Annual Conference. In August of the same year the enterprising Woman's Foreign Missionary Society appointed to the field three Bible women: One in Rome, one in Terni, and one in Venice. "Italian women of piety and culture, they have labored with godly zeal and patience, penetrating into precincts inaccessible to men, and have done a priceless service which our pastors would have attempted in vain." In the latter part of this year Dr. Stazi, an accomplished scholar, joined the growing band. In the next year a monthly paper, *La Fiaccola* (*The Torch*), was begun by Vernon. Other

publications followed, forming an elementary Methodist literature in the native language. Dr. Caporali has edited with distinguished learning the *Quarterly Review*. The Mission was organized into a Conference in 1881. A second congregation has been gathered in Rome. The work has extended to Palermo, in Sicily. A goodly number of important church edifices have been erected throughout the peninsula. A theological school has been established. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society has continued to reinforce effectively the evangelists. They have had severe conflicts with the corrupt dominant Church and not a little perplexity from the instability of some of their converts, both lay and clerical, but have labored on with good hope of final triumph. Their superintendent, Dr. William Burt, plans wisely for the future, and American Methodism will not readily abandon the hope of the entire redemption and Protestantization of Italy. The Missionary Board reports, for 1890, 25 circuits (1 at Geneva, Switzerland), with 6 foreign missionaries, 30 native preachers and workers, 43 native teachers and other helpers, and 841 communicants.

In the series of chapters thus far given on "The Church Abroad" we have surveyed, however cursorily, all the European fields—not of Methodism generally, the reader should again be reminded, but of the Methodist Episcopal Church alone. In some instances the statistics given at our terminal period have been peculiarly yet transiently inauspicious. At a short time after that period Bishop Joyce, who had officially inspected the great field, writes: "Having recently met the various Conferences and Missions in Europe, it gives me pleasure to say a few things about our work there. I think the results, as set forth in the reports made at the recent sessions, are such as should cause rejoicing among all lovers of Christ's cause and lead them to plan more largely than ever for yet wider triumphs of the Gospel. In the aggregate the reports showed that we have in these various European Conferences 42,296 members and probationers, and 53,875 Sunday school children. There are five theological schools and five Book Concerns; there are six papers published in the interests of our work in these several countries. We have a good school at

Sistov; also a good school for boys in Rome, in which we have four grandsons of Garibaldi; we also have schools for boys and girls at other points in Italy. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society has a good school for girls in Rome; also one for girls in Loftcha and Orcania, in Bulgaria. There are Bible women doing good work in various parts of these fields. At our American distance from these countries it is not possible for us to clearly see and fully appreciate the very important work these several agencies are doing among the peoples to whom we have sent our missionaries. Most of the native ministers in these fields have been trained in the theological schools. In most cases the training has been conscientiously done, and the preachers show their loyalty to Christ and his Church in the sacrifices they make, the thoroughness of the work they do, and the success which attends their ministry." *

Turn we now, by an abrupt transition of thousands of miles, to the momentous work of the Church in India, with which, as intimated, we shall conclude this souvenir of its foreign operations.

* *The Christian Advocate*, New York, December 22, 1892.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CHURCH ABROAD.—*Concluded.*

THE distant field of India was commanding, if not attractive, by its great extent, its immense population, its historic antecedents, and the affinity of its people with our own. It extends about two thousand miles southward from the Himalayas, and one thousand nine hundred miles from east to west, equaling Europe in area, if we exclude Scandinavia and Russia. Its people number nearly three hundred millions, with some fifty languages and dialects. These dimensions have been vastly augmented since the beginning of its Methodist Episcopal Mission, the inclusion by the latter of Burma and Malaysia making a diocese, under a single Methodist bishop, the population of which is more than six times as great as that of the United States of America. It was the cradle of two of the most important cults in history—Brahmanism, with its splendid Sanskrit literature, and Buddhism, in our day numerically the most extensive form of religion in the world. Its chief people are our close relations, our brethren, being a southward migration from that Aryan race from which all the Indo-European nationalities have proceeded, especially, and latest, the Teutonic populations—colonists and conquerors of the modern world—to whom the English and the North Americans proudly attribute their origin.

On September 25, 1856, the Rev. William Butler arrived at Calcutta, the messenger of the Church, to begin its work in this vast field. He consulted the missionaries and the English civilians of that city respecting the section of the country most eligible for his labors; a tacit interdenominational amity being necessarily maintained among the various missionary evangelists, and as much as possible they avoid mutual interference. The English Wesleyans had already occupied portions of the country, but there were still immense sections remaining unoccupied, particularly in the great Northwest. This region

was, therefore, recommended to and at last selected by Butler. The recognized territory of the Mission was bounded on the north by the snow-line of the Himalaya Mountains, on the west and south by the Ganges, to a point between Cawnpore and Benares, and on the east by the boundaries of the province of Oude. It comprised Rohilcund and Oude, with more than eighteen millions of people who had no other missionary. On his way thither Butler was entertained by the Presbyterian laborers at Allahabad, who gave him one of their young natives as an interpreter and helper, Joel T. Janvier, who became the first native preacher of our Church in India. Butler began his work immediately at Bareilly, but suddenly the Sepoy mutiny broke out over the country, and Butler and his family, with all the women and children connected with the English residents of Bareilly, were sent away to Nynee Tal, in the Himalayas. It was well they thus early escaped; for the native troops of Bareilly rose in mutiny against their officers and attempted to assassinate every foreigner in the place. Butler had thrilling adventures in his hasty trip, by day and by night, with the fleeing English families on their way to Nynee Tal. Joel, being supposed safe, as a native, remained at Bareilly and took charge of the little band of native Christians which the Mission had organized; but the mutiny soon broke into massacre, and Joel saw the mission house plundered and burned. The mutineers were seeking him in order to murder him; for they were determined to exterminate, not only foreigners, but all the natives connected with them. Joel attempted to conceal some native Christian women belonging to the house. One of these, Maria (our first female member in Bareilly and a good Christian girl), was seen coming, running through the trees, but before anyone could reach her a mounted Sepoy caught sight of her, turned, and with his tulwar struck her head off. Thus the Mission was early consecrated by martyrdom, and its humble protomartyr is forever shrined in its history. Isaac, another native convert, fled toward Budaon, but was killed on the road. A poor native washerwoman buried Maria under a rose hedge. The Englishmen who had remained to defend the place were mostly slain and their houses burned. "I went," writes Joel, "to the storeroom, where I had, on the

first alarm, hidden my Bible, my money, and my clothes under the charcoal, but they were all gone; so we started on foot, and, not knowing where to go, directed our steps toward Allahabad." They found the Allahabad Mission "a heap of ruins." All along their route they heard of, or saw, the houses of native Christians "burned or destroyed."

The history of the terrible mutiny is too well known to need any detailed notice here. It was heroically suppressed, and its threatened annihilation of foreign missions in India was triumphantly averted, the ruined "stations" of all the denominations being speedily rebuilt with more effective provision than ever. Meanwhile the Church at home vigorously continued its interest for the great imperiled field. Reinforcements were dispatched. "On the very day that the mutiny occurred in Bareilly (Sunday, May 31, 1857), J L. Humphrey and R. Pierce, both of Potsdam District, Black River Conference, with their families, met a large congregation in Bromfield Street Church, Boston, to hold a farewell missionary service preparatory to their departure to reinforce the Mission," and the next day they were on the high sea, bound for India. Butler, with his faithful Joel and Josiah Parsons (a zealous Methodist who had been five years in the country), had begun work in 1858 at Nynee Tal, where Humphrey and Pierce now joined them. They maintained services in both English and Hindustani, preaching in the latter tongue in the open air, and they opened a school for boys in the bazaar and one for girls in the mission house. In January, 1859, Parsons and Humphrey were sent to Moradabad, where, having no missionary premises, they lived in tents. Nynee Tal was left in charge of Mr. Samuel Knowles, an English brother who had been an officer of the British army and had joined the Mission in 1858. The laborers at Moradabad traveled with their tent, meeting with success among a class of people called Mazhabee Sikhs. Adherents multiplied from among these unsettled people. Possibly at first the idea of worldly gain was connected with their change of faith, but a few were intelligent and sincere. Some were useful, doing service in the large stations or residing at the Christian village of Panahpur as cultivators. They were also scattered through the Mission as preachers, catechists,

colporteurs, and teachers. "In 1877 a very large majority of all the Christians in all the stations in Rohilcund were from this class, and even the people in the Christian villages, though more than one hundred miles from their vicinity, were nearly all from the same class." Joseph Fieldbrave, a Eurasian, and for a time Azim Ali, formerly a Mohammedan, became important assistants to the evangelists and spread the truth extensively among the natives, with whose language they were familiar. Devout English laymen caught the spirit of the missionaries and coöperated with them. Inglis, a magistrate of Bareilly, sustained Humphrey, Fieldgrave, and Ali in proclaiming the Gospel in the streets and market places of that great city after the mutiny. July 24, 1859, is recorded as a memorable day—that on which Humphrey "baptized the first convert, Zahur-ul-Haqq, and administered the Lord's Supper for the first time in the Hindustani language to seven persons. On account of his defection from Mohammedanism Zahur-ul-Haqq's father and brothers were 'exceeding mad' against him, and would not allow him to visit them. His wife and two children were with them at his home in a village some distance from Bareilly. He tried to appease them by kind words, but they would not heed him. His wife would not see him. Nothing could pacify them but for him to abjure the Christian religion. He was in Bareilly for the purpose of teaching, and was earning fair wages, and as Dr. Humphrey was in great need of an assistant he took him into his employ, and in a few months Mr. Haqq began to preach," becoming prominent as an earnest, consistent worker, and a member of the North India Conference. Bareilly has since become a focal point of the Methodist work in India, with mission houses, schools, and especially a theological seminary whence native laborers have gone forth to enter the ever-opening doors of the northern provinces—in our day the most fruitful fields of missionary endeavor in the world. The seminary is greatly prosperous under Dr. Scott, its efficient principal; its faculty includes some eight teachers; it comprises a normal school and also a Woman's Training School, with a total of 133 students. They teach in two dialects that reach 100,000,000 souls. No less than 50 native women have been enrolled the last year in the

Woman's Training School. They are trained there for religious work by Mrs. Scott and her four assistants. Bareilly has an effective circuit, including 46 native preachers and 3 representatives of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, with whom are associated 4 assistants and 23 native Christian women. The city and its circuit pertain to the Rohilcund District, which has been in our day the scene of extraordinary religious interest. Its presiding elder writes that "4,916 persons this year (1890) received baptism in the name of Christ; 358 new places were opened; 809 Christian workers, all but 29 of whom are natives, are working the field from 229 centers; and Christians live in 1,039 cities, towns, and villages. The Church now numbers 9,508 members and probationers, and the Christian community more than 16,000. This is an increase of nearly 3,000. Four hundred and five day schools enroll an attendance of 8,818 pupils, while 14,933 persons have been gathered into the 468 Sunday schools. All this in less than thirty-three years. What hath God wrought!"

Soon after the mutiny Butler, accompanied by Pierce, traveled over the country to survey its missionary prospects. Lucknow, the fourth city of India and one of the chief scenes of the great tragedy, commanded their sympathetic interest, for it was scarred by devastation and saddest memorials of the war. Sir Henry Lawrence, one of its heroes, had said in his last moments, "Let a Christian mission be established in Lucknow." Commissioner Montgomery, who shared the Christian spirit of the missionaries, helped Butler to inspect the field and choose a site for his station. He gave him eligible premises for the purpose, adding a subscription of five hundred rupees, which was soon increased by his influence to two thousand rupees, or one thousand dollars. Butler immediately established Pierce, Joel, and Ali in the new field; they commenced work in September, 1858, with four preaching places in the bazaars of Lucknow, services in the barracks of the troops, and two schools, one for boys and one for girls. James A. Cawdell, an English Wesleyan, joined them, and on May 1, in the next year, they dedicated the first Methodist Episcopal chapel in Lucknow, a locality which has become a center of Methodistic work, reporting in the year 1890, besides its 6

missionaries, native and foreign, 5 local preachers, 8 exhorters, 2 colporteurs, a Christian college and high school with 6 instructors, 4 city schools, a publishing house, an English church, and, under the auspices of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, 2 female missionaries, with 2 deaconesses, 5 assistants, 9 teachers, and 6 Bible women. Lucknow is the head of a district whose presiding elder writes, for 1890: "We are undoubtedly establishing the Church of God in these provinces. In our district we have 1,550 communicants and a Christian community of about 3,000. We are teaching in our day schools 4,833 children and youths, and in our Sunday schools 12,681 scholars of all ages; we hope the work will soon break out as in Rohilcund, when we shall baptize thousands."

It was soon evident that the India Mission was opening a vast field of usefulness for the Church, and reinforcements were therefore multiplied. On August 21, 1859, there arrived at Calcutta four additional missionaries with their wives—James Baume, Charles W Judd, J W Waugh, J. R. Downey—and E. W Parker and James M. Thoburn. They hastened to Lucknow to meet their fellow-laborers in their first Annual Meeting. Mr. Downey, who had been ill, died there after a few days. Samuel Knowles and Wesley Maxwell, both coming into the Mission from the English army, were present. New stations were adopted, a boys' orphanage was projected for Bareilly and a girls' for Lucknow; six important fields of labor were enrolled in the list of appointments. The work went on rapidly after this first assembly of the workmen. Humble but extraordinary laborers were raised up, as in the early history of the denomination in England and America. Chimman Lal was one such, rescued from the lowest condition of heathenism—from the class called *mehters* or sweepers. He worked his way through the studies of Bareilly theological school, became eminent as a native evangelist, and "went from village to village, and from town to town, where he gathered his people and such others as were disposed to hear, and preached, exhorted, talked, sang, and prayed, by day and by night. In this way many were persuaded to seek the Lord, and found pardon and peace in Christ. From this same

class of people a dozen or more were raised up who felt themselves called of God to preach Christ to their people, and were sent to the theological seminary. Most of them, having graduated, were appointed to fields of labor and engaged in the proclamation of the Gospel. In a similar way a Mohammedan, Mahbub Khan, was converted by the reading of the Scriptures; his wife and children were baptized with him; he joined the missionary band, and in 1878 was admitted on trial to the North India Conference, standing at the head of the native ministry in the Budaon District."

This first annual meeting, though not technically an Annual Conference, was practically such; the Mission, which had thus far been well founded, was now tacitly organized, though without a presiding bishop. The man who was to be its future leader and bishop (Thoburn) was present at the session; the redistribution of the work was extensive, with its six definite headquarters but with indefinite range. Its rapid progress can no longer be minutely traced, nor its frequent reinforcements recorded in our limited pages, though not a few of their names will be forever conspicuous in the fuller history of the Church.

Six important events make up most of the subsequent development of the India Mission. One of these was the beginning, by Parker, in 1861, of "Christian communities," or villages in which native converts were gathered for the better education of their families, and for their relief from the grievances which attended a change of religion, at that time, in all parts of India. Wesleypore was thus founded; though it did not succeed it was the germ of subsequent provisions of the kind. Another and momentous event was the founding of the theological school at Bareilly by a donation, in 1872, of $20,000 from the Rev. D. W Thomas, one of the missionaries, to which were added $5,000 from Eliphalet Remington, a layman of Ilion, N. Y., and $5,000 from the Board at New York, and other gifts, making an endowment of $65,000. It has supplied at least two hundred trained native preachers for the extraordinary religious movements of the northern provinces.

A third of these important events was the intervention of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, with its female

teachers, physicians, and *zenana* evangelists, by which the women of India, so restricted by inviolable traditions, have been reached. The first two of these workers were Isabella Thoburn and Dr. Clara A. Swain, in 1869. The latter, the first woman physician of the Mission, has done eminent service. A native sovereign gave her an estate valued at $40,000 as a basis of a hospital and medical college in connection with the Mission. These indispensable laborers (native and foreign) have rapidly increased, until they now number no less than 532, scattered over northern and southern India and Malaysia. They have access to the women and children, who are inaccessible to male missionaries. Some of them are educated physicians, others trained teachers, still others *zenana* evangelists and Bible readers; and their work is not only indispensable but inestimable.

A fourth event of historical interest was the organization of the Mission into an Annual Conference, at Lucknow, December 8, 1864, Bishop Thomson presiding. Butler, the founder of the work, had resigned, the same year, his function as superintendent, in order to return to the United States. He had been successful. "His summary of the work accomplished," writes the missionary historian, "was like stirring notes of triumph from a warrior's bugle. Nine of the most important cities of India had been occupied, 19 mission houses built or purchased, 16 schoolhouses erected, and 10 chapels; 2 large orphanages and a publishing house established; 12 congregations had been gathered and 10 small churches organized; 1,322 youths were under daily instruction; 161 persons had attained a Christian experience, 4 of whom had become preachers, and 11 of them exhorters; $55,186.50 had been contributed in India for the work of the Mission, and property had been accumulated estimated to be worth $73,188.56. These were results truly amazing to have been effected within so short a period"—less than eight years. The first Conference adopted all essential measures for the permanent organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India.

A fifth memorable event in the history of the Mission was the appearance of William Taylor in southern India in 1870.

Hitherto the Methodist Episcopal work had been confined to the northern provinces. Taylor came as a self-supporting evangelist to the Europeans and Eurasians throughout the south, and finally throughout the country. I have already given some account of his extraordinary work.* He preached with marvelous success in Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Poona, Hyderabad, Madras, and many other localities. The English and the Eurasians, a mixed race, of whom there are 150,000 in the country, heard him gladly, and at their own request were formed by him into churches to be supported by themselves, independently of the Missionary Society. Such organizations soon dotted much of middle and southern India, and sprang up even in Burma (at Rangoon) and as far off as Singapore in Malaysia. Chapels, some of them substantial and spacious, were built in the chief cities. Thoburn hastened down from the north to coöperate with Taylor, especially at Calcutta. George Bowen, of the American Board, a saintly character, became a Methodist, and joined him, as did also James Shaw, a Bible reader in the army; Gilder, from the telegraph office, and Christian, from the Bombay Bank, forsook all to enter the work. Methodist preachers of America—Fox, Norton, Hard, Robinson, Goodwin, Nichols, Blackstock, Davis, Newlon, Lee, Row, Janney, Ward—went out to supply the new societies, and the denomination was thus more or less established throughout the land, with numerous self-supporting English-speaking churches.

In December, 1873, Bishop Harris brought the whole movement into "organic connection" with the India Conference, which, in its session at Lucknow, January 7, 1874, recognized and reappointed its preachers—ten in number. This extraordinary work in southern India has gone on prosperously and, with the still more prosperous work of the north, has rendered so important the India Mission that the General Conference of 1888 appointed Thoburn bishop of the vast field; a measure which may well be considered the sixth great event in its history. It now comprises three large Conferences, including also the geographically distant field of Malaysia, which was entered in 1885 and organized as a mission in 1888.

* P. 69.

The results of the work as reported for the present year (1890) are remarkable.

The North India Mission now has 819 workers, only 73 of whom are from abroad, besides 821 teachers and "other helpers," only 16 of whom are foreign. It has 13,421 communicants and 12,603 noncommunicant adherents who have practically abandoned their idolatry. Its baptisms for the year have been more than 6,000; its conversions more than 2,400. It has 3 theological schools for the training of native preachers, with 76 students; 11 high schools, with more than 1,700 students; and other day schools, to the number of 655, with 16,000 students.

The South India Conference reports 88 missionaries and assistant missionaries, 33 of whom are natives, and more than 40 other helpers, besides 103 teachers, most of whom are natives, with about 900 communicants, besides more than 1,000 habitual adherents. It has 3 high schools with 365 students, and 70 other day schools with more than 2,500 students.

The Bengal Conference reports 191 workers, 134 of whom are natives, besides 57 native teachers, with 2,240 communicants and 3,500 noncommunicant adherents. It has had more than 1,000 conversions in the last year. It has 76 day schools with 2,700 pupils.

The Malaysia field (the last addition to the Mission) reports 24 laborers, besides 5 other helpers, more than half of all being natives, with a high school having 380 students, and another day school with 50 pupils. Its communicants amount to 107.

These figures fall somewhat short of the full statistics of the Mission. The aggregates are at least 16,668 communicants, with as many more noncommunicant adherents; 1,154 missionaries, assistant missionaries, and other workers, besides 1,000 teachers (mostly natives) and about 10,000 pupils. Add to these figures the number of Sunday schools, at least 1,026, with more than 42,000 pupils; the churches, not a few of them substantial structures, amounting to 104, besides 90 halls and other temporary places of worship; add also parsonages, orphanages, hospitals, and printing houses, and the results may soberly be said to have never been equaled in the history of

Protestant missions. Hardly thirty-four years have passed since Butler landed in India to found this truly great work; he still remains, sojourning amid the American churches, and "Joel," his first native preacher, still survives (1890), though decrepit and blind, to tell with broken voice but strong heart the tale of the early conflicts, the tragedy of the mutiny, and the story of the protomartyrs, Maria and Isaac.

Nor may we even yet estimate adequately the success of the India Mission. While we record this cursory review of it the whole northern country seems to be moved by its power. Many villages are casting away their idols and asking for baptism. The Bareilly ministerial school cannot meet the demand for native evangelists; its principal, Dr. Scott, writes, not long after our present date, that "in the last three years a wonderful work of God, such as has never been seen in the history of our missions, has opened out, making a great demand for trained native pastors and evangelists. Three years ago there were 5,000 souls gathered in in North India, the following year 10,000, and last year 18,000."* A missionary writes that "the problem is how to indoctrinate and save the people who are honestly casting in their lot with us; they live in thousands of villages." Another writes, "An era of the ages is upon us; how great the demand for teachers and preachers!" Such scenes remind us of the conversion of the barbarous northern tribes of Europe in the Middle Ages, from whom the best Christianity now in Europe, as also our own in America, has proceeded.

Reactions are not impossible in such a movement; indeed, the country has been subject to them. It changed from Brahmanism to Buddhism, and, after the latter had reigned for more than a thousand years, reverted again to Brahmanism. It has to-day no Buddhism except at the base of its northern hills. Though mountains carved into magnificent temples commemorate the exterminated religion, and it prevails in Ceylon at the south, in Thibet at the north, in Burma, Siam, China, and Japan at the east, and is mighty throughout much of Asia, it is extinct in Hindustan. The Church may have reactions in this its most promising field, but it should not hes-

*Letter of Principal Scott, October, 1892.

itate; its supreme duty is to meet the present emergency and move forward, from conquering to conquer.

In casting back a glance over this series of chapters on "The Church Abroad," I cannot but regret their abbreviated scope, and feel reluctant to dismiss the inspiring theme. We can hardly fail to infer from these soul-stirring data, hastily as they have been presented, that, important as the denomination may be in its home work, its achievements abroad will hereafter make its chief history. It cannot admit that it is to be chiefly the religion of a locality or of a nationality; it is a universal Church, a part of the universal kingdom of Christ. This sublime conception, which has been so rapidly evolving in its history, should be incessantly proclaimed by all its leaders through all its hosts.

With all their enthusiasm, Methodists, after their long practical missionary experience, recalling the difficulties and delays which have attended some sections of their foreign work, look deliberately, but courageously, at what is called the "missionary problem." They do not hesitate before it. What really is that problem? What does the Church mean when it proposes the Christianization of the entire world?

There are two aspects of Christianity which we must clearly discriminate would we rationally answer this question. Its first aim is the personal salvation of men by their individual regeneration. This is its direct function, and all else depends upon this. But, secondly, it has an indirect and yet an immeasurably glorious function, one that makes its chief significance in the history of nations and is its most signal claim upon their patronage, namely, to give them what we call Christian civilization. This, though but secondary to what we recognize as its primary aim, is nevertheless its chief actual result. There is no Christian land, and probably there never will be one, a majority of whose inhabitants have been, or will be, personally Christians, in the sense of being individually regenerated men; but it is the glory of the Christian religion that its "little leaven" can "leaven the whole lump;" that, where its spiritually minded communicants may be comparatively few, it may, nevertheless, exert, through them, an

influence which can sway the institutions, the policy, and the destiny of nations. The nations are compelled to pay it this homage. It was estimated in 1880 that in our sixty millions of population there were twelve millions of evangelical Christians; and yet this one fifth of the population was the salt of the nation; it seasoned all our national life and rendered the republic a chief constituent of Christendom.

No Methodist advocate of missions expects the Christianization of the entire world in the first sense of the word as above given; this would be to expect more than has ever been realized in the best centers of Christendom itself. But the friends of missions do expect to cover the whole world with Christian civilization, and they are now doing so; beginning, in almost every important nation, with mission churches as germs, and abetting them by educational institutions and the gradual, but sure, spread of its splendid achievements — its social and political ameliorations, its improved industries, its scientific ideas, its commerce; its world-transforming inventions—railroads, steamboats, tramways, telegraphs, telephones. The tramways of Bombay and Calcutta, and the railroads now extending all over Hindustan, are sapping the institution of caste, the most formidable tradition of the heathenism of India; and they are doing this more effectively than any direct religious agency can do it. European science (in education) is undermining in oriental nations the pagan faith of their youthful population. The advanced practical arts are dispelling their traditional barbarism. With the disappearance of their barbarism their false religion must disappear.

The capital fallacy of most hostile critics of missions is their failure to take this comprehensive view of the real conditions of the problem. Can they doubt this ultimate triumph of Christian civilization? Methodists do not. Is it not going on, at this very moment, all around the world? Intelligent Hindus, as well as candid Europeans and Americans in India, will assure them that the idea of it is now in the universal consciousness of the nation; that it is in "all the air." Japan, with her less than two hundred and twenty-five Protestant churches and twenty-five thousand communicants, is pervaded by it, and is eager to become "Europeanized" by being

"Christianized," in the sense of Christian civilization. She has officially adopted the Christian Sabbath. She has inaugurated constitutional, that is to say, "representative" government—the first example of it in the whole history of the Asiatic world. Her most thoughtful public men predict that she will take her place in Christendom by the side of England and America in a few years. One of the latest and best authorities on India (the Right Hon. W E. Baxter, M. P., a traveler there) says that "the sapping and mining process is going on all the time. The civilians who oppose the missionaries, but who, in fact, know very little about them, admit this to be the case."

A truth that has struggled for generations may at last, by various auxiliary influences, bring about a new and irresistible consciousness through a whole nation, a new public opinion, before which "old things pass away, and all things become new." An English writer remarks that the heathenism of the Roman Empire was never apparently so strong as in the days of Diocletian, when Christianity—everywhere proscribed—seemed on the verge of extinction. Five and twenty years later the whole fabric came down as with a mighty crash, and although the empire was by no means converted to the faith the tremendous subversion prepared the way for modern Christendom. We do not venture to forecast a similar crisis; but all over the heathen world there seems in the air the sense of some impending change. Such, we may reaffirm, is the historical *rationale* of all great religious revolutions. Methodism, with unfaltering faith, is unfurling its banners around the whole planet, and they will never be furled. We mistake its whole history, and its chief function as a religious evolution, if it is not to go on pervading the world and, as its chief glory, solving at last this missionary problem. It is not, then, irrelevant, perhaps, that we have thus paused to review the position as we close this retrospect of "The Church Abroad."

BISHOP ERASTUS O. HAVEN.

CHAPTER XX.

ECUMENICAL CONFERENCES—RESULTS.

THE General Conference of 1876 will be always memorable for having proposed the first Ecumenical Council or Conference of Methodism, a representative convention of all branches of the denomination throughout the world, in which were to be shown not only the progress and prospects of the "Methodist movement," but also the advance of modern thought and freedom. For it was to be an assembly without legislative, judicial, or executive authority, and therefore quite in contrast with those great ecclesiastical councils which had disfigured the history of Christendom by enthralling opinion and coercing uniformity through more than fifteen hundred years. It was to be held for the exchange of mutual greetings by representatives of universal Methodism, for reports of progress in all parts of the earth, for united thanksgiving, and for inspiration for still greater victories.

It was an occasion of inexpressible interest to compact multitudes who, on Wednesday, September 7, 1881, met in and about Wesley's old City Road Chapel, London—to many of them the greatest of English cathedrals. They had been assembled to hear the eloquent opening discourse of Bishop Simpson, and at its close the delegates partook, with blended hearts, of the Lord's Supper. In the evening they were entertained at the historical Mansion House by the Methodist Lord Mayor of London, the Right Hon. William McArthur, M.P These delegates represented twenty-eight divisions and subdivisions of the great Methodist host. "They came," says the official record of the Conference, "from England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Africa, India, China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Polynesia, and from all sections of the United States, from Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, South America, and the West Indies. They belonged, for the most part, to the Teutonic

and African races. Of the Teutonic race the three great divisions were represented—the main German stock with the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian branches. Of the African race it would be impossible to say how many branches were represented, but they were not a few. Those loosely called the Latin races were not unrepresented, but their numbers were small. There was, however, in attendance no African born and residing in Africa, nor any native Asiatic, American Indian, or Polynesian. The portion of the existing Methodist family actually present was, therefore, broadly speaking, only so much of it as could send delegates capable of taking part in proceedings conducted in the English tongue. Numerous first fruits of various races to whom that tongue is strange were praying for the Conference in thirty or forty languages, and the hearts of missionaries in the assembly were often turned toward those absent brethren in hope that future Ecumenical Conferences would witness the presence of many a nation and race not now represented." * The session lasted two weeks. No dogmatic questions were discussed, but only the chief practical interests of Methodism: its influence on society, and especially on other religious bodies; its itinerant and lay ministries; its women and their work in the Church; its education, literature, missions; its opposition to war and approval of "arbitration;" its relations to the papacy and sacerdotalism; the training of its children; its work for orphans, for the aged, and generally for the dependent classes; its results in heathen lands; and the importance of the unification of its various branches.

Its record of the statistics of the denomination is important, as probably the most authentic attainable down to that time and as leading to the more thorough numerical summaries of a later period, when, almost coincidently with the conclusion of our narrative, the Second Ecumenical Conference was to be held in our own national capital and was to give the broadest and most accurate view yet presented of the results to the world of the Methodist movement. There was some discussion in the London assembly respecting the reliability of ecclesiastical

* *Proceedings of the First Ecumenical Conference*, p. ix. Cincinnati and New York, 1882.

statistics in general, and especially those of Methodism. Uncertain as some of them must inevitably be, we may accept the statement of Dr. Charles H. Payne, delegate from the Methodist Episcopal Church and Secretary of its Board of Education, who said: "The officers of our government, and others who have been engaged in publishing statistical reports, have publicly stated that the Methodist Episcopal Church have kept their statistics better than any other branch of Christ's Church; and I believe, if you scan them closely, you will find they do truthfully represent the state of the case. Each pastor is required to make accurate returns of the membership under his charge, and anybody whom he cannot find to put in a separate list, that is to be kept in the back part of the Church record and not reported; we are supposed to report only living members that the pastor can lay his hands on; and I believe that the statistics of the Methodist Episcopal Church can be relied upon as a fair report of the actual number of communicants. There are also always a large number—thousands of members—who hold in their hands certificates that are never reported, but they are really members of the Church, and if reported would swell the numbers to larger proportions." The tabular summaries presented in the published record of the assembly were surprising to the religious world, though they have been more surprisingly advanced by the subsequent growth of the denomination, as shown in the record of the Second Ecumenical Conference a decade later.

The tabular exhibits for 1881 showed that there were then in all the world 32,652 itinerant preachers, 89,292 local preachers, and, including pastors, 4,999,541 members. The noncommunicant adherents of the Church (not reported) were many millions more, and it was estimated by speakers in the convention that these increased the Methodist host to between 23,000,000 and 25,000,000.*

The statistics of the Methodist Episcopal Church, not including its Southern sister, nor any other branch of the denomination in the New World, were given in the Ecumenical record

* Tyerman, in his *Life of Wesley*, says 23,000,000. This estimate, given some years since, has been received as most probably accurate, 25,000,000 as equally so at a later period; 30,000,000 is now probably correct, as assumed by the Second Ecumenical Conference, in 1891.

as 12,096 itinerant preachers, 12,555 local preachers, and, including pastors, 1,755,096 members.

The Methodist Episcopal Church numbered more than one third of the aggregate membership reported by the Conference. The membership of the great Episcopal branches, were they reunited, as they ought to be, would have amounted to much more than one half the whole numerical force of the Methodist world as given in the Ecumenical Conference report; a fact which should profoundly impress American Methodists with a sense of their responsibility and of the importance of maintaining the integrity and unity of their cause.

Though these noteworthy figures have been far surpassed by the success of the ensuing decade they do not adequately measure the actual influence of Methodism. In a speech upon them, before the convention, by Dr. John Mason Reid, Missionary Secretary, he remarked: "I know very well that in some outlying branches of our Churches, even within a single decade, the seeming success of the Church was much greater than it is now; but I know from actual observation that its zeal is not less now, that the spiritual earnestness is not less now. There is a change in the community around these Churches. The men that a decade ago denied the witness of the Spirit, felt no interest in the doctrine of sanctification, had no Sunday schools, were in no way evangelical, have heard the Methodist preachers that you have sent into these fields and have found the blessed life for themselves. Consequently they are now establishing their Sabbath schools, opening their chapels for prayer meetings, and doing a great work among their own people that our preachers at first had to do for the entire community. As a natural result they now keep their own people; and I rejoice in the fact that our successes and triumphs in these fields, and perhaps in all fields, have made it less possible for us to grow as rapidly as we did a while ago. This thought should be borne in mind when we are studying our statistics; I will not take time to elaborate it, but there is a point here to be very carefully considered. Our success sometimes, notwithstanding we may have the same resident power, leads to a state of the case that makes us fail to show such great results as formerly." Then "the doctrines we pro-

claimed were new, our usages startling, and the impression made was correspondingly greater."

In the last year of our present period were published in a periodical of high authority (not Methodist) tabular statistics of all religious bodies in the United States, from the pen of one of the statistical agents of the national government, and founded upon the national census.* After showing by a general table that the numerical order of the different leading denominations is, respectively, "Methodists, Roman Catholics, Baptists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Congregationalists, Episcopalians," it gives the following table of the various Methodists within the republic:

	Churches.	Ministers.	Commun'ts.
Methodist Episcopal.	22,103	13,279	2,236,463
Methodist Episcopal, South.	11,767	4,862	1,161,666
African Methodist Episcopal...	3,800	3,000	400,000
African Methodist Episcopal Zion.	3,500	3,000	412,513
United Brethren.	4,265	1,455	199,709
Colored Methodist Episcopal.	2,100	1,800	170,000
Methodist Protestant...	2,003	1,441	147,604
Evangelical Association.	1,958	1,187	145,703
United Brethren (Old Confession)...	1,381	623	50,582
American Wesleyans...	600	300	18,000
Congregational Methodists.	50	100	4,000
Free Methodists.....	952	513	19,998
Independent Methodists...	35	30	5,000
Primitive Methodists.	147	63	5,502
Union American Meth. Epis. (colored).	50	112	3,500
	54,711	31,765	4,980,240

It has not been my design to include in this brief narrative the various offshoots of the Methodist Episcopal Church, though in the preceding volume I had, necessarily, to record their beginnings, as offspring of the parent body; but the above table is not irrelevant here, in our closing pages, as affording a passing glimpse of the whole goodly family of the venerable mother Church whose individual history is our proper theme. According to the independent authority here cited, they aggregately present 54,711 churches in contrast to the 10,826 of Romanism, including all its minor "chapels and stations;" †

* *The Independent*, July 31, 1890.

† Romanism reports churches proper as 7,523.

31,765 ministers to the 8,332 Roman priests; and, estimating its adherents,* or population, as Romanism does, 14,940,720 people to the 8,277,039 Romanists. This is not a bad showing in behalf of our common Protestantism, of modern enlightenment, and of the future welfare of the nation.†

The Second Ecumenical Conference was held a few months after our chronological limit; but, as its statistical data belong to preceding years, and especially to our own last year, its session in the city of Washington ‡ may well be the concluding though but allusive scene of our narrative. It will be an important epoch, an imposing prelude, for some future historian of the denomination. Neither the national capital nor any other locality had ever witnessed an equal gathering of Methodists. They were there not only from the United States and Canada, from the Atlantic coast, the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific slope, but from all sections of the "United Kingdom" of Great Britain and Ireland; from Mexico, South America, and Australia; from the continental States of Europe, and from foreign mission fields. The Pres-

*Two noncommunicant adherents to one communicant is the lowest admitted ratio; three is the usual figure.

†I must again remind the reader that we must expect variations in such large statistical estimates; they yield us, however, sufficiently proximate results. A writer ("special agent of the *U. S. Census*") in *The Forum*, June, 1892, makes the following statements: "The Census gives the Roman Catholic communicants in 1890 as 6,250,045. Sadlier's *Directory* gave, as the estimated Catholic population in 1880, 6,367,330. Obviously the figures for 1880 were too high." "Of the Protestant Churches the Methodist Episcopal is at once the largest and most aggressive. The Census gives it a total of 2,229,281 communicants. In 1880 it reported, within the limits of the United States, 1,707,000. Here is a net increase in the ten years which is at the rate of 52,228 a year. The percentage is a little more than thirty, or five per cent larger than the increase of the national population." This is exclusive of all other branches of American Methodism. The ninth Census's "Bulletin of the Statistics of Churches" for 1890, issued in 1892, is an example of the variations above mentioned, but is also our most reliable authority, as it is the result of the final official revision of the Census. It reports the total number of communicants (not including ministers) in the Methodist Episcopal Church alone as 2,240,354. The Philadelphia Conference is the largest numerically, comprising 61,650 communicants. Methodistically the largest five States are, respectively, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Indiana. There are 2,790 counties in the republic; Methodism is in nearly every one of them; the Methodist Episcopal Church is in them all except 585, from which it was excluded in the secession of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the civil war. This "Bulletin," from the pen of H. K. Carroll, LL.D., etc., is one of the most able and noteworthy documents yet issued by the Bureau.

‡October 1, 1891.

ident of the United States addressed them in a memorable speech. Many of the most distinguished men of the denomination were among the chief speakers of the assembly, including educators, authors, journalists, pastors, missionaries, and more than forty bishops. Twenty-nine different Methodist sects were represented by about five hundred delegates, but the numbers of intensely interested Methodist spectators could be counted by thousands.

Bishop Fowler placed before the assembly, in an address of impressive eloquence, a general exhibit of American Methodism from which I glean some broken but significant passages: "Standing here this hour," he said, "we cannot but turn our faces toward yonder neighboring city [Baltimore], so beautiful, so full of Christian homes and happiness, fit companion for this city, and we cannot avoid contrasting that hour of one hundred and seven years ago with the present hour. What a picture greets us out of that day! It can be shown on a small canvas. One Conference, eighty-three preachers, and only 14,988 members in America. With Coke and Asbury at their head, they seemed a youthful group. Eighteen of the Americans were middle-aged and had seen some service. About forty of the Conference were young men or boys. They had boundless energy, burning hearts, blazing tongues, luminous faces, and were led by great leaders. But they were only a handful. To-day that handful has been proven to be corn, and it waves like the cedar of Lebanon. Then there was but one Methodist denomination, and only one Annual Conference; to-day there are fifteen denominations of Methodists, a fact that is thought to show that they have some brains and some independence. Perhaps with more brains and more independence there would be less denominations; perhaps only two, or one. The one Conference has multiplied into about 300, and the eighty-three traveling preachers have multiplied into over 31,765, besides 30,000 local preachers; and the 14,988 members, actual communicants, have multiplied into about 5,000,000, with 5,000,000 Sunday school children, and a following of over 20,000,000 souls in the republic. Methodism crossed the brook into this century leaning on a solitary staff. She will cross over out of this century with more than two

bands, besides flocks and herds, for she has about 56,335 churches and about 15,000 parsonages, with church property worth more than $200,000,000.

"All these figures acquire their values by their relations. Listen to the figures for A. D. 1800:

Population of the United States.	5,308,483
Communicants of Protestant churches.	1,227,052
Population of Roman Catholic faith	100,000
Communicants of Methodist churches.	54,894

"Study the immense growths seen in the following figures for A. D. 1890:

Population of the United States.	62,622,250

	Churches.	Ministers.	Commun'ts.
Protestant churches	151,281	103,203	21,757,071
Roman Catholic churches.	7,523	8,332	4,676,292
Methodist churches.	54,711	31,765	4,980,240

"Add for Canada Methodism 1,748 ministers and 233,866 communicants, and our statistics are encouraging. It must be borne in mind that Romanism counts entire population, while Protestantism counts only communicants.

"Methodism was born in the halls of a great university, and has never lost her birthmark. The first act of the celebrated Christmas Conference, in 1784, that organized the Methodist Episcopal Church, was to adopt the name which, like God's nomenclature, typed her government and polity. Then American Methodism was born. Her first act, her first resolution, was to ordain a college. The first breath she drew crystallized into the Cokesbury College. With her hundreds of universities and colleges and theological schools, and with her thousands of professors and instructors, and with her tens of thousands of students pressing into every known field of investigation; with no one to limit or embarrass the search for truth; with her text-books received in the best universities and translated into scores of languages, she at least has a right to stand in the first class of the world's educators.

"Thus born and bred, working in every department of scholarship 'from her youth up,' it is only natural that she should scatter her printed pages yearly by the hundreds of millions, and plant her libraries literally everywhere. The

greatest religious publishing house in the Dominion of Canada is the Methodist Publishing House of Toronto. The greatest in the sunny South is the Methodist House in Nashville. The greatest religious publishing house in New York and in America and in the world is the Methodist Book Concern. Out of these great brain centers are projected scores of ganglions of nerve power in her depositories; and the nerves of her periodicals extend into every civilized community. There is hardly a postmaster in the service of the government that does not handle her papers. There is hardly a hamlet inside the outermost boundary of the republic where her libraries are not circulated and read. Methodism, having one third of the people of this country studying in her Sunday schools, listening to her pulpits, and reading her literature, has only to be worthy of her inheritance and true to her God to make this land the land of promise for the ignorant and oppressed, and this approaching century the golden age for the race.

"We have only to glance at her great benevolent organizations to feel the power of her spirit. Her missionaries are learning all grammars and all vocabularies, mastering all languages and running throughout all continents. I have personally felt their mettle and studied their faces in nearly every land in the torrid belt on the circle of the equator, as well as on the borders of Patagonia in the far south and in the most northern city of the world; also in the capital of the Chinese Empire and in the capital of the Russian Empire; everywhere, through all longitudes and through all latitudes, her sons and her daughters have only one ambition, and that is to plant the Church of Jesus Christ; only one calling, and that is to declare the saving power of Jesus Christ; only one purpose, and that is at all costs to conquer in the name of Jesus Christ. The church extension societies, building a new church every two hours of each working day; the Freedmen's Aid Society, doing a large work in view of the field it has to occupy; the Sunday school unions, standing with one hand on the cradle and the other on the pulpit; the tract societies, crowding in where the living preacher is excluded, carried about by opponents like birds on the back of a rhi-

noceros, foraging and living on the enemy; the woman's foreign missionary societies that rise above the boundaries of the nations and superior to the brogues of the races; the woman's home missionary societies, that nourish the sources of the river of life that flows out to the ends of the earth and makes glad the city of our God; the city mission societies, that seek to assimilate and transform into healthy bone and tissue and blood the baptized and unbaptized heathenism that flows in upon us here at the confluence of all the races; the deaconess homes, where workers are trained to care for every distress, and hospitals, where we follow the Master into soul-healing through body-healing—all these, like so many hands enabling the Church to lay hold upon a dying world, indicate the spirit with which the Bride seeks to carry forward the work of her Lord, and make up that which is behind his sufferings. Surely in the midst of such activities she ought to be wholly sanctified—body, soul, and spirit."

These extracts give the general statistics of the denomination down to the final term of our narrative. The more particular statistics of the Methodist Episcopal Church, relative to education, missions, literature, etc., have been presented in preceding chapters in which these great interests have been respectively treated. Bishop Vincent writes: "The work of the Church in the several departments of Missions, Church Extension, Freedmen's Aid, Education, Sunday Schools, Tracts, and Conference Claimants, is carried on by nine societies, with boards, all of which are amenable to the General Conference. There is also a Board of Trustees of the Methodist Episcopal Church, composed of six ministers and six laymen, elected by the General Conference. The whole amount of money contributed by the Church toward the several benevolent societies, for the year 1890, was $2,064,923.49. In addition to this the Church paid in 1890 for ministerial support, including bishops and presiding elders, $9,367,826; superannuated preachers, $234,149; for buildings and improvements, $5,327,366; for indebtedness on church property, $1,489,744; leaving, as the present indebtedness, $8,597,561. The current expenses for the year were $2,466,468."* In the entire Church, including its

* *The Independent*, March 5, 1891.

foreign missions, the number of itinerant preachers in 1890 was nearly 15,000; local preachers more than 14,000; communicants about 2,298,000; churches, 22,833, and parsonages, 8,563, valued, jointly, at $110,800,746; with 26,889 Sunday schools, 296,253 teachers, and 2,264,852 scholars. In about a year after our final date the bishops of the Church reviewing, before the General Conference, the preceding four years, said: "The increase of the Church during the quadrennium is highly gratifying. At the last assembly of the General Conference, in 1888, the whole number of communicants, including members and probationers, was 2,093,935, showing an increase during the preceding four years of 264,401. The increase in the last four years exceeds that number, the list showing at present 2,292,614. During the four years probably 150,000 have died. This number, added to the increase during the quadrennium, shows an aggregate of 442,000 souls added to the Church by profession of faith in the last four years—a Church created larger than the entire Methodism at the end of the first fifty years of its existence."

Such is the exhibit, not so much of American Methodism generally as of its single parent Church, with which we close our narrative, at the beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century. Some of our authorities (even venerable men of episcopal dignity) have uttered themselves in it with emphasis which seems extreme; but how could they otherwise speak of such facts? The history of American Methodism has indisputably been marvelous; what is to be its destiny?

CHAPTER XXI.

FINAL VIEWS.

I HAVE discussed, at some length, the conditions of the success of Methodism.* Insisting that there exists no one special problem respecting that success, I have shown that it is attributable to a combination of various and very simple conditions. Its theology has been substantially that of the Church of England. Its "Articles" of faith are an abbreviation, by Wesley, of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican establishment. They do not specify, as I have said, what have been supposed to be distinctive ideas of Methodism—conscious regeneration, the witness of the Spirit, and sanctification—but these have been shown by Fletcher of Madeley and other Methodist authorities to be acknowledged, though inert, doctrines of the English Church. Even the Arminianism of Methodism had long been received by the High Church party of the establishment, the party in which Wesley was brought up, though Calvinism prevailed in the Low Church party. The elder Pitt described the Church of England as "a Calvinistic creed, a popish liturgy, and an Arminian clergy." The American offspring of the Anglican Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church, has had, like American Methodism, the same doctrines and an episcopal regimen; it preceded Methodism in the colonies by many years, and possessed, in some places, opulent endowments which have enriched it through its whole history; yet to-day it is but secondary, in popular success, by the side of Methodism, having less than half a million communicants—not one tenth the number of American Methodists, and but little more than one fifth the number in the Methodist Episcopal Church alone.† What has caused this notable difference? The Moravian Church preceded Methodism in America; it has episcopacy, acknowledged by the

*Vol. i, chap. xxxvi.

† See table in *The Independent*, July 31, 1890.

English Parliament to be as valid as that of the Anglican Church; it avows the favorite doctrines of Methodism, and, indeed, led the latter to the right appreciation of those doctrines. Methodism was, in fact, the offspring of Anglicanism and Moravianism; yet, while the American representative of the former has had the above small comparative success, Moravianism (admirable for its piety and missionary spirit) has been even less successful. It has, in all the republic, but 101 churches, 114 ministers, and 11,358 communicants. This, in the vast open arena of the "New World," must be pronounced but little short of an absolute failure. It becomes, then, a very curious question, to say the least, What have been the peculiar causes of the unparalleled success of Methodism?

I have shown, in the first place, that it met a necessity of the times. The general stagnation of religion, the formalism of the Churches, and the consequent demoralization of the people demanded, especially in England, a powerful means of moral resuscitation. Methodism had to contend with these evils, but the contention energized it, and thus, under the divine blessing, made it triumphant. But how did it contend with them? The above was the primary condition, but what were the proximate conditions of its success?

There are five facts which answer this question, and which also largely answer our other inquiry respecting the destiny of the denomination, facts which its people may well meditate as indispensable conditions of their future success, for their whole fate depends upon them. First: It sought, as the paramount thing in religion—as above all ecclesiastical conditions, politics, formulas, and even dogmas—inward spiritual life. To inaugurate and establish this was its *raison d'être*, the very reason of its existence. If this is ever lost Methodism will languish and die. Its theology was important, but only as a means to this end. It endeavored to render its distinctive doctrines—conscious conversion, the witness of the Spirit, and sanctification—vivid, incandescent, as means to this end. The importance of this consideration is so evident that its very obviousness may endanger its supreme importance by making it appear a platitude. One of the greatest minds that American Methodism has yet produced, a man of rare scholarship, of

genius and noblest character, Dr. John McClintock, said, in 1866, in a centennial address: "Knowing exactly what I say, and taking the full responsibility of it, I repeat, we are the only Church in history, from the apostles' time till now, that has put forth as its very elemental thought the great, central, pervading idea of the whole book of God from the beginning to the end—the holiness of the human soul, heart, mind, and will. It may be called fanaticism, but, dear friends, this is our mission. If we keep to this the next century is ours; if we keep to this the triumphs of the next century will throw those of the past far into the shade. There is our mission; there is our glory; and there will be the ground of our triumph. God keep us true." Wesley incessantly affirms that he and his Oxford associates were "thrust out" to raise up a sanctified people who should "spread scriptural holiness over the land," and thence over the world. This was the ostensible aim and the capital distinction of Methodism. The ideal standard of the new communion was, with him, expressed by his doctrine of sanctification, or Christian perfection. He found the word perfection in the Scriptures, and in many of the best writers of the Latin Church, who used it in the very titles as well as the text of their spiritual manual. Fénelon and his friend, Madame Guyon, St. Francis de Sales, and many of the best Mystics and Quietists, were not only witnesses but exemplars of the doctrine. Wesley repelled Mysticism and Quietism in emphatic language, but as emphatically asserted Christian perfection. One of his most important treatises is on this subject. He guarded well, as we have seen, the scriptural word perfection against abuse; he taught, not "absolute perfection," but "Christian perfection;" that is to say, the highest attainable moral improvement prescribed by Christianity, whatever that might be. To him it was "perfect love"—love "fulfilling," not superseding, "the law." He required his preachers to seek it habitually, and to preach it even if they had not attained it; to preach it while seeking it. It is a doctrine which, by its very nature, is liable to fanatical abuse, but chiefly when neglected in the pulpit; for then it will be likely to be appropriated by isolated and enthusiastic cliques of lay devotees, and become an esoteric rather

than an exoteric subject, and a fruitful source of invidious discussion and criticism among brethren. The pulpit should never cease to hold forth this ideal standard as the very oriflamme of Methodist theology, and thus keep control of it among the people. Wesley believed that Methodism would forfeit its special mission should it neglect this doctrine. "This," he affirmed, "is the grand *depositum*" which God has committed to its care. "For the sake of propagating this chiefly he appears to have raised us up," wrote the great founder but one year before his death.

Secondly: While it aims to form thus a communion of living, working saints it sought to establish it down among the neglected masses; that is to say, the neglected *world*, for the common people make up the world and must finally constitute the true "kingdom of God" in the world. Here again the fate of Methodism depends upon an obvious condition. If it fails of its mission to the "common people" it must perish. It may linger on, but must languish and at last die out. As a special system it must necessarily have a special place; and that place has been historically and clearly ascertained. Necessarily its tendency is to raise its lowly converts to higher social positions, and it may well rejoice in this fact and provide improved accommodations for them; but it must never fail to dig its diamonds out of the wastes of life; to traverse the suburbs and abysses of the cities and the wildernesses of the frontiers for the salvation of the people. If it has somewhat declined at particular points in this, its special and most noble mission, we may trust the change has been but local and temporary. On the frontiers and in the rural communities it knows of no such change. In the great cities of both England and America—in New York and in London—it seems to be turning with increased energy to the rescue of the neglected masses. This is its work in all its heathen missions. This should be its preëminent work in all the earth and till the end of the world. Doing this it can never fail; it will ever have its materials at hand, for "Ye have the poor always with you."

Thirdly: It succeeded by the use of very varied and popularly adapted means in the application of those vital truths of

which I have spoken as chief elements of its power. It substituted genuine preaching in the place of pulpit prelections. It preached *ad populum*—to the masses. Its gradual and unavoidable organization, which was forced upon it by circumstances, consisted largely of popular expedients which took hold upon the interest and sympathies of the people; assemblies on the hillside, in the forests, at the public "fair;" the prayer meeting, in which both men and women, however humble, could take part; the *agape*, or love feast, where all could speak; the class meeting, where the common people learned the deepest experiences of Christian life from each other, under the leadership of select laymen. It had exhorters, formally licensed, who usually graduated into the local ministry—a body of preaching laymen, which, in all parts of the world, has been more numerous than the regular, or itinerant, ministry, and has generally recruited the latter. The local ministry has been the most fruitful theological school of our country. Until within a very few years it has been numerically superior to the itinerant ministry in the Methodist Episcopal Church. It still retains this superiority in all other parts of the Methodist world. The "Primitive Methodists" in England have 16,256 local preachers, with but 1,043 itinerants.

Farther, Methodism has maintained, as we have seen, a sort of common pastorate for the whole Church by the frequent redistribution of its ministerial talents—possibly every year, necessarily every five years—thereby creating a profound *esprit de corps*, a spirit of inestimable importance in a Church as in an army. Its itinerant episcopate—with the whole world for its diocese—has given it a universal aim and general unity. One of the most remarkable characteristics of the denomination has been its popular psalmody. It has been singing the Gospel around the world. Charles Wesley's hymns, while equal, in good taste and literary finish, to any of modern times, have embodied the very animus of the Methodist revival, and by peculiar popular adaptation have swayed everywhere the Methodist masses. Its greatest popular fact, however, has been that which I have first mentioned in this enumeration—its popular preaching; that is to say, its lay ministry. It

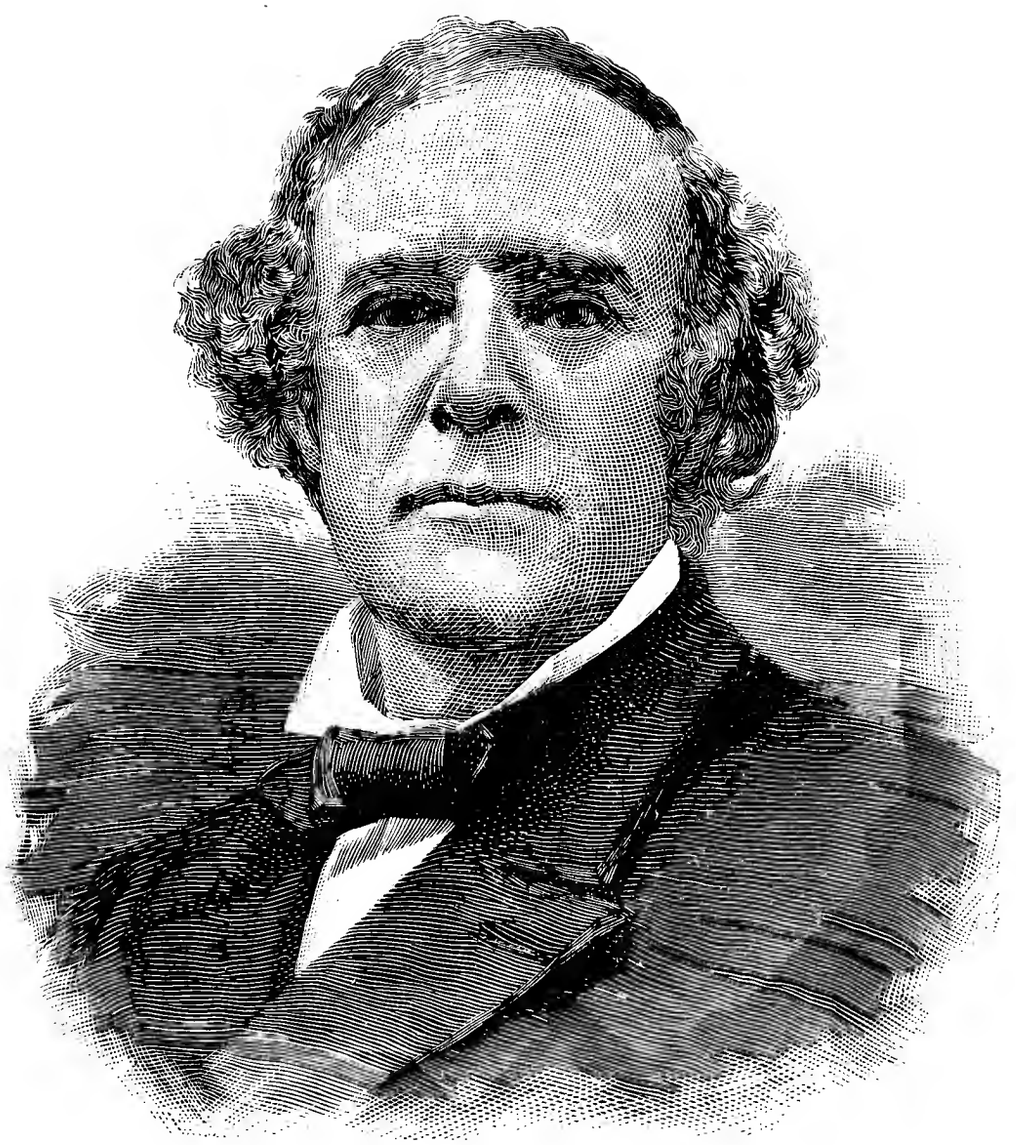
found men, as it always may find them, in the ordinary occupations of life, who possessed extraordinary "gifts and graces," and pressed them into its service, graduating them usually as licensed exhorters and local preachers up to the rank of "itinerant" or "regular" preachers. Most of these men had some primary or common school education, but few or none of them academic training. It subjected them to prescribed "courses" of private study and found thus not a few examples of remarkable genius; its military regimen thoroughly disciplined them; they became the evangelical giants of those days, and it can be affirmed, I think, without hesitation, that Methodism thus raised up in England, Canada, the United States, and Australia not only the most effective but the most eloquent body of preachers known to the Church since its apostolic era.

There is an important lesson in this part of its history. In this respect it is historically analogous to the primitive Church. Wesley, as we have seen, early wished to provide for the partial training of his "helpers" at Kingswood. "Biblical institutes," "ministerial schools," were early projected on both sides of the Atlantic; but in America, where the early Methodist ministry was the most effective the nation has ever seen, there was long an almost universal and very natural hostility to theological schools, properly so called. They were first proposed by the Methodists of New England, whose official periodical stood, for a considerable time, the solitary advocate of the project with the whole of the rest of the Church press in opposition—or, at least, neutrality. The entire bench of bishops, in commending the prescribed Conference "course of study," expressly admonished the Church not to infer that the project of theological schools had their approval. This project was a normal evolution of our cause; but its founders were of unanimous opinion that academic theological education should never be made an indispensable condition of admission to the ministry. Methodism will lose one of its historical advantages, one of its chief resources for the future, if it ever falls into this error. The greatest modern American "evangelist," Moody, is a layman. The most effective popular preacher of England in our day, Spurgeon, was never educated or ordained as a clergyman. Methodism should give, as she is giving, all pos-

sible education to her people, and especially her pastors, but she will stultify her history if she limits her ministry to academicians. A noted academic authority, Presbyterian, has said that "The history of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the experience of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and the practice of the Salvation Army show that there must be a theological education of an army of men and women far beyond the capacity of all of our theological schools as they are now constituted. The Presbyterian and Congregational Churches forfeited the supremacy of America by insisting on a highly educated ministry and by neglecting to train men of lower grades for Christian service. These Churches committed no error when they insisted upon a learned ministry, but they did commit a grave error when they neglected to provide an additional ministry, for the people, of men less highly trained."*

Fourthly: The future of Methodism will depend greatly on its fidelity to the primitive idea of the "priesthood of the people," an idea which has been pervasive in its structure, from basis to summit, and all-powerful in its history, though more as a sentiment than a theory. It has been repeatedly alluded to in these pages, but cannot be too much emphasized. The "priesthood of the people" was a grand doctrine of original Christianity, taught especially by Peter and John. The Reformers affirmed it. The Helvetian Confession expressed their idea of it by asserting in the face of priest-ridden Europe that Christianity knew no priesthood but the "priesthood of the people," under the "high-priesthood of Christ." The historian Froude says: "Luther denied that, under the Gospel, there was any special priesthood with supernatural powers attached. The value of the sacraments depended on the faith of the receiver. There was no difference between a priest and a layman. Baptism or the eucharist might be administered equally by either; and the whole fabric of ecclesiastical dominion which rested on the powers conveyed in ordination was declared to be based on falsehood. He denied that he was teaching any new doctrine. He claimed to be reverting only to the faith of the apostles, and appealed to the Bible to prove it." The original ecclesiastical system of Christianity

* Dr. C. A. Briggs, of Union Theological Seminary, in *The Forum*, January, 1892.



BISHOP JOHN P. NEWMAN.

was copied, as I have recorded, from the synagogue, the first Christians being familiar with it as Jews. The synagogue was unknown in the writings of Moses, unknown to the Jews till their Babylonian captivity. It was a purely laic institution and had nothing to do with the Levitical priesthood, which pertained to the temple. Christianity derived from it the orders of presbyter and deacon, and ordination by imposition of hands as a simple designation to office. The Levitical priests were not so ordained; they were anointed, like kings. The first Christian men ordained were laymen, as the Book of Acts tells us; but they were mighty workers—sometimes miracle workers.

Christianity has a ministry, but no priesthood—in the usual sense of that much-abused word. The sacred writers exultingly honor this lay ministry as a "peculiar people;" as "kings and priests unto God;" as a "royal priesthood." Its function was propagandism; the propagation of the new religion in every possible good way. This was Christian priesthood. And this priestly function is inherent in the Church as a whole. All are to do what they can in it; but as each cannot do everything, the Church relegates special portions of its work to special men, and trains and educates them for their special works. Kurtz, the German ecclesiastical historian, in speaking of early Christianity, rightly says: "The institution of a special human priesthood, characteristic of Old Testament times, has now merged in the one only and eternal mediatorship of the God-man. At the same time the Gospel distinctly laid down the principle that all Christians formed part of the universal priesthood (Heb. iv, 15; 1 Pet. ii, 9; Rev. i, 6). Connected together into an organism under Christ, as its only Head, the Church was to edify itself, and to grow, by the cooperation of all its members, according to their respective calling, gifts, and position (Eph. i, 22, etc.; 1 Cor. xii, 12, etc.)." This is the true doctrine. But ought not the preacher to be inwardly moved, or called to his work? Certainly; but ought not the teacher also? Ought not every Christian to be moved by the indwelling Spirit to do the work which his circumstances reasonably indicate and which the Church relegates to him? Paul, in enumerating the gifts of the Spirit to the

Church, specializes not only "apostles" and "prophets," but "teachers" also. Surely, if any class of teachers were ever sacerdotal, ever recognized as identified with the work or priesthood of the Church, the Sunday school teacher should be. I would not in these remarks depreciate the importance of the divine designation to the work of the ministry; I magnify it.

Fifthly: The future of Methodism depends greatly on its maintaining the example of Wesley, at its very outset, in providing educational and "humanitarian" means of improvement for its rescued masses. This it is doing, as we have seen, on a scale probably unequaled in Protestant Christendom. It is alleged that such provisions will be the chief distinction of "the Church of the future." We can hardly doubt, from omnipresent indications, that Methodism will suffer no failure in this respect. It need have no ambition, no ideal, respecting "the Church of the future." It would be its best ambition to be the sanctified, the all-prevailing Church of the present. Such a Church of the present can hardly fail to be "the Church of the future."

The vital elementary truths and the simple popular methods which I have enumerated have made it effective in almost every land. Even in the pagan field these characteristics have crowned it with extraordinary missionary success. There are now operating in that vast field not less than one hundred and six Protestant missionary societies, only six of which belong to the various Methodist bodies; yet nearly one third of all the converts from paganism to Protestant Christianity belong to Methodism. The wisest policy, then, of the denomination will be to work on faithfully and strenuously along its old lines, deviating only in cases of most obvious expediency. We may hope it will thus verify the predictions of an impartial authority, not Methodist, but Unitarian, who in a public lecture has said: * "There are more Methodists to-day than there were English-speaking people in the world when Wesley entered on his great apostolate in 1739. There are nearly half as many in the world as there are people in the United

* Rev. J. W. Chadwick, *Standard Union*, Brooklyn, N. Y., February 8, 1892, and *The Christian Advocate*, March 17, 1892.

States, and they are growing all the time. They will grow in culture and intelligence more and more as time goes on; in knowledge of the order of nature and the spiritual history of man. If it shall be their happy fortune, growing thus and to the liveliness of their emotion adding self-control, to lose nothing of their earnestness either in matters of divine communion or of human help, imagination cannot conceive for them a more glorious Church than they shall build for worship and for work."

APPENDIX.

I.

Extracts from the Episcopal Address at the General Conference, May, 1896.

Success of the Quadrennium.

We most heartily congratulate the Church on the success of the last four years. Our gain in lay membership in the quadrennium has been 386,000, making a total membership, including probationers, of 2,766,656. We are largely indebted under God to the fervor, zeal, fresh spiritual insight, and faithfulness, even unto death, of humble men toiling in lowly fields, often hungry and cold, enduring hardships known only to themselves and God.

We congratulate the Church that it is so virile and productive, that its spirit is so intense, that there are never wanting candidates for ministers and missionaries. In response to the Lord's call, "Whom shall I send?" we get the word, "Here am I, send me," more frequently than we have the means of sending. We find our Conferences more and more crowded every year.

One reason for this abundance and excellence of ministerial candidates is that we have in our colleges and schools an army of 43,322 students. Of this army there has been a gain of over 1,000 the past year and a steady increase for twelve years.

The Sunday schools of the churches numbered, in 1895, 30,259; a gain of 2,766 in the quadrennium. The number of teachers and scholars is 2,938,305; a gain in the past four years of 280,858. The total number of conversions reported in the Sunday schools in four years is 533,486. Besides preaching the Gospel in fifteen languages in the United States our beloved Church has 150,000 communicants and as many adherents outside the country; 40,000 students in training schools, and 150,000 in Sunday schools. During the quadrennium we have been able to send out but fifteen more American missionaries, but the native ordained missionaries have increased fifty per cent, the unordained forty per cent, and the self-support sixty per cent. We could double our foreign membership in the next four years if we had the money to send the teachers.

Financial Growth.

A few material facts deserve statement. During this time of financial depression we have not only kept good and preserved our $113,000,000 worth of church and parsonage property, but we have gained $16,600,000 more. In pastoral support the gain has been over $500,000. This has not been so much a gain to individual pastors, but a gain in consequence of 1,400 more pastors in the growing field.

The income of the missionary treasury from the contributions of the people through the Conferences in 1891 was $1,078,541; the gain on that in 1892 was $41,355; in 1893, $20,916; in 1894, $9,645; the loss in 1895 was $5,551, leaving a total gain of gifts to this cause in the quadrennium of $65,356.

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society and the Woman's Home Missionary Society are among the best outcomes of the Christianity of our century. They are the spirit of Christ embodying and organizing itself for the noblest work. The income for the quadrennium for the first has been $1,143,797; a gain in the amount given every year over what was given in 1891, amounting in all to $88,957.

The Woman's Home Missionary Society had an income last year of cash, $126,690, and of supplies, $55,363; a total of $786,265 for the quadrennium.

As a result of new organizations and greater efficiency of old ones we are giving for missionary purposes $932,000 a year more than we were twelve years ago.

The Deaconess Work.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has 51 deaconess homes, hospitals, and orphanages, of which 15 are in foreign lands. There are 574 deaconesses, of which 90 are in our foreign work; 100 are trained nurses. The organization has $641,850 worth of property, which has been mostly given during the past quadrennium. During the past year the deaconesses, who work without salary, have made 262,416 calls, held 11,060 religious meetings, and helped to care for 6,209 sick people either in hospitals or in their own homes.

Church Extension.

The Board of Church Extension is organized on the principle that the strong ought to bear the burdens of the weak. During thirty years it has administered nearly $5,500,000, aiding about 10,000 churches. Besides the aid given outright it has a fund of nearly $1,000,000, which is constantly loaned to churches at a low rate of interest, to be soon returned and loaned out again and again to help other churches.

Freedmen's Aid.

The Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society is of the greatest service to the Negroes and whites in the South. It has been

in existence for thirty years, and during that time has expended $4,000,000 in establishing and sustaining institutions of Christian learning in the South. It has taught industry and letters, trades, and learned professions. There has not been a time in the past thirty years, and we judge will not be in many a year to come, when we can withdraw our aid from these people who suffer so many disabilities. Every interest of needy humanity and every consideration of national safety demand that we should continue this work. A nation cannot be fully trained and educated in one century. We settle the Negro problem by the simple assertion that there is no problem. There are certain millions of American-born citizens and brothers whose rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness must be maintained at any cost, leaving the question of personal association where it is left with other races—to the personal preferences of each individual.

Book Concern.

In the midst of the severe stringency of the times, and the prostration of nearly all kinds of business, our Book Concern, besides the necessary additions to its permanent capital, has gone on paying its dividends, from actual business done, amounting to $460,000, for the aid of necessitous cases among our effective preachers whose salaries are deficient, and to assist in supporting our veterans, worn out in the service, and their widows and orphans.

Thus it is evident that the Church of God, dependent on the free gifts of the people, is the most substantial, most firmly founded, and best supported business establishment in this country.

Epworth League.

Among the great agencies for the increase of spiritual life we cannot speak too highly of the Epworth League. In it are enrolled 1,350,000 of our young people organized into over 21,000 chapters. They are turning away from amusements of a pernicious character, which are always the peril of advancing wealth and consequent idleness, and are facing earnest and intelligent work to bring this world to Christ. This vast army of young people is being trained by appropriate courses of reading, by 100,000 copies of the *Epworth Herald* issued weekly, by taking part in the religious and social assemblies, and by personal work in the Department of Mercy and Help, to become active, intelligent, and devoted members of our own Church.

City Evangelization.

Another cheering evidence of the right direction of the spiritual power of the Church is seen in the wider and more intense interest in city evangelization. The separate organizations in Boston, New York, Pittsburg, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Kansas

City, Denver, and a half dozen other cities have associated together in the National City Evangelization Union.

These thirty different organizations report $175,000 as raised in a single year. They reinvigorate churches from which the former members have moved away, select new sites, open Sunday schools and missions, and give to undeveloped Christian forces an ample field of work.

Christian Unity.

We devoutly thank God with you that we are in the most friendly relations with all other Churches. We believe that the intense longing of the heart of Christ as expressed in his great high-priestly prayer, "That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us," is being fulfilled. Our message of love means oneness of spirit. Though there are differences of operation, it is the same God who worketh all in all. We neither want other Churches to accept our episcopate nor to surrender anything of their own. We are not talking about unity, because we are not conscious of any diversity of Christian purpose. We say to any Church that goes back to Christ and reproduces the early Church, in its faith, in its ordinances and life, "Your heart is as my heart, give me your hand." We have always practiced these four great elements of Christian unity:

1. A recognition and acceptance of the members of every evangelical Church on the presentation of letters of membership, and a commendation of our own members to other Churches.

2. A cordial welcome of members of other Churches to the holy communion of their Lord as administered by us, and a glad going to the communion of our Lord as administered by them.

3. A free and cordial exchange of pulpits.

4. A practical coöperation with other Churches in all Christian work. We know no rivalry, except such as one army corps feels for another, to do the quickest, bravest, and most effectual work against the common foe. Our ideal is not organic union of Churches, but fraternal union of spirit. And this we believe to be the only unity known to the apostolic and post-apostolic Churches.

While we rejoice in these blessed fraternal relations with all Churches of Christ, we especially appreciate and reciprocate all evidences of Christian fellowship and coöperation from our sister Methodist Churches throughout the world.

II.

Bishop Andrews's Anniversary Sermon, 1897.

Bishop Andrews shows the progress of the Church since the General Conference of 1872, in which lay delegates were first admitted:

Twenty-five Years of Church Life.

If there is gratitude for personal blessings, a much larger gratitude is due upon a survey of our Church life during the twenty-five years now closing. For the notable results we are now able briefly to sketch no large credit is due to any one man or particular body of men. Under the abiding blessing of our Lord they come from the consecration, by innumerable believing men and women, of time and strength, of intellectual resources and of substance, to the service of Christ and of the race which he has redeemed. All who have shared in this consecration may rejoice that their labor "has not been in vain in the Lord."

1. So far, then, as numbers may give evidence, there has been an almost steady progress. In 1872 there were 76 Annual Conferences, in 1897, 124; in 1892, in round numbers, and including those on trial, 9,000 effective ministers, now more than 14,000; in 1872, 1,400,000 church members and probationers, now 2,800,000; in 1872, less than 1,300,000 Sunday school scholars, now more than 2,600,000; in 1872, 13,000 churches, valued at $57,000,000, now 26,000, valued at $109,000,000, with a parallel increase in parsonages and their value. The total gifts of the Church for missions in the year preceding 1872 were $661,000; in the year preceding this, $1,550,000. The total contributions of the Church, in the collections ordered by the General Conference, and omitting large gifts to local objects, are for the same years, respectively, nearly $900,000 and more than $2,000,000. In 1872 the net capital of our publishing houses in New York and Cincinnati was approximately $1,500,000; in 1897, $3,500,000.

2. The quarter century has witnessed the opening of Missions in Mexico, in western South America, in western China, in Korea, and in Japan. It has witnessed, also, a wonderful enlargement by conversions in India and in China. In 1872 there were one Conference and one Mission in the former empire; now there are five Conferences and one Mission. In China, South and North, the toil of many apparently unfruitful years is repaid by bountiful harvests, prophetic of yet larger harvests—a lesson, for the Church, of patience and unfaltering hope.

3. This period has also marked the rise among us of accessory forms of Church work and training, many of them indicative of a growing sympathy with the compassion of Him who went about doing good, and who through service to the bodies of men gained his primal mastery over their souls. We had no hospital in 1872, there are now eleven; some large and admirably equipped. Our American German Conferences in 1872 sustained two orphanages; there are now nine among us in this country. Baltimore Methodism in 1872 possessed one home for the aged; there are now six such homes. The deaconess work began under the order of the General Conference in 1888. It has already attained large proportions, so that its homes in this country number now more than forty, with four hundred and fifty deaconesses; and these homes

are often associated with excellent training schools and special hospitals. This work, doubtless in embryo among us, will doubtless receive such further and more perfect organization from the General Conference as experience shall dictate, and, in its perfected form, will multiply the admirable results already attained. Around its hospitals, its orphanages, its homes for the aged, and its deaconess homes and work the hearty and continuous support of this Greater New York and of all the Church should gather. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, organized in 1869, was accepted by the General Conference of 1872, having collected during the preceding year $44,000; the last year it collected nearly $300,000. The Woman's Home Missionary Society was organized in 1880; the last year, in cash and supplies, it administered nearly $225,000. The Epworth League was formed in 1889, and its vast organization has a capacity for usefulness not easily overrated. The Chautauqua system of education, founded by eminent Methodists yet not under church control, began its marvelous career of service in 1874, an epoch-making fact in the history of American religious and intellectual culture. City missionary societies have been recently greatly multiplied, and have been unified under the National City Evangelization Union, a response to the deepening conviction that the city is the peril of religion and society. In education the work of the quarter century has been not so much the multiplication of schools and colleges as the increase in range and efficiency of those already existing, and the establishment, through the University Senate and the Board of Education, of higher standards of scholarship in many of them.

4. Has the spiritual life of the Church kept pace with this increase of its numbers, property, and gifts, with this extension of its area, with this multiplication of its agencies? Is its standard of character and life maintained or advanced? Is there the consecration of former years? Does it hold tenaciously essential Christian truth? Is its work attended with equal saving power?

An easy optimism would fain answer Yes to all these questions. But an easy optimism is not admissible in a time of transition like this, a time when many earlier usages of Methodism are largely neglected or set aside; when a strenuous, perhaps a narrow, interpretation of the moral law is giving place in many quarters to a perilous laxity, as, for instance, touching Sabbath observance, amusements, and selfish extravagance; when the Bible is undergoing a critical, and in many cases an indifferent or hostile, questioning; when many good men are seeking new formulas in which to declare their faith in its central and unchangeable verities; and when society itself gives tokens of an alarming degree of irreligion and doubt.

But, on the other hand, numerical growth means much; increased gifts, without increased resources, mean much; the multiplication of religious and benevolent agencies means much; the personal consecra-

tion of so many among us to charitable labors means much; the higher standard of ministerial attainment means much; the honest, humble search for truth means much; the advance of the public conscience, through ebb and flow, toward a better public morality means much; the sociological earnestness of the day, unequaled heretofore, and underlaid by the doctrine and life of the Churches, our own included, means much. We must ever remember that change of method and form may mean life and progress, not decay. And such is our faith to-day. Unable as we are to survey the wide field of battle, and to measure all the forces which contend upon it, we take courage and hope from the life and the love and the noble consecration of so many earnest souls in our ministry and in our laity, and, above all, from that sure word of promise belonging to all Christian men and to each branch of the Church of Christ: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."