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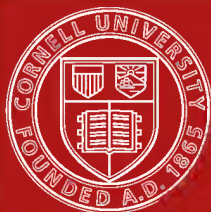


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ALNUTT MEMORIAL CHURCH AND PARSONAGE,
BALTIMORE, MD.

HISTORY

OF

METHODIST REFORM

SYNOPTICAL OF GENERAL METHODISM

1703 to 1898

WITH SPECIAL AND COMPREHENSIVE REFERENCE TO ITS MOST
SALIENT EXHIBITION IN THE HISTORY OF THE

METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH

BY

EDWARD J. DRINKHOUSE, M.D., D.D.

(EIGHTEEN YEARS EDITOR OF "THE METHODIST PROTESTANT")

Ad astra per aspera

"Power combined with interest and inclination cannot be controlled by logic. But even power shrinks from the test of logic."

"I lay it down as an axiom that the religious liberty of a people should never be reduced below the standard of their civil liberty."—NICHOLAS SNETHEN.

The equity of all history is: Hear the other side.—THE AUTHOR.

VOLUME II

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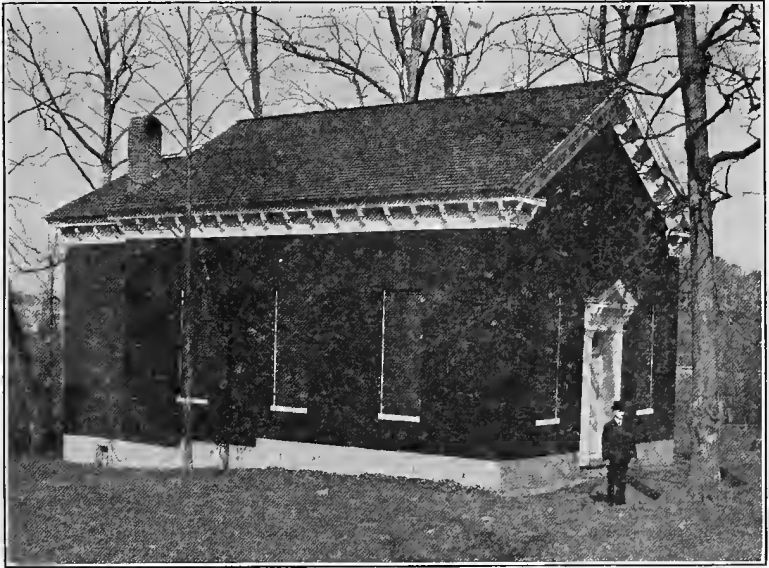
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Holly Run Methodist Protestant Church

The Oldest Church Building in the
Denomination

1828 - 1920

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HISTORY OF METHODIST REFORM

CHAPTER I

History as reflecting the individuality of the author, with application — The General Conference of 1820; how composed; McCaine, Secretary though not a member — Great question of this Conference; the elective presiding eldership as carried, and its defeat by the joint veto of M'Kendree and Soule overriding the two-thirds majority, thus demonstrating the superiority of the Episcopacy over the General Conference which had created it — An exhaustive *exposé* of all the steps open and covert, which from beginning to ending of the Conference marked the determination of the contending parties; M'Kendree and less than a third of the Conference against Bishops George and Roberts and over two-thirds of the Conference; the strategy employed, and the dark-lantern proceedings that in the end secured the "suspension" of the adopted measure — Other proceedings.

THE late James Anthony Froude, the English historian, employed in one of his lectures a striking illustration of historical methods: "It often seems to me as if history was like a child's box of letters, with which we can spell any word we please. We have only to pick out such letters as we want, arrange them as we like, and say nothing about those that do not suit our purpose." An equally striking exposition of his meaning is thus given: "Much so-called history has been written from this receipt no doubt, not so much because men do not regard the *suppressio veri* with as stern condemnation as the *expressio falsi*, as that man's vision is so easily limited by insufficient knowledge and so often distorted by party passion." The facts thus reflected have led to the adage, that there is nothing so false as history. The phenomenal thing about them is, that they apply quite as forcibly and truthfully to ecclesiastical as to political history. One necessary reason for it is that the facts of the past, in given groups, have more than one side, and not unfrequently are many-sided. The individuality of the writer is the controlling factor, and his point of view is made the objective. The reader of history naturally and reasonably expects to find deductions, the assumption being that next to participation in them, full possession of

the facts furnishes a vantage not to be lost, whatever the reader's final verdict may be.

The volume just closed has been written on this theory, the writer not claiming exemption from the common infirmity of historiographers. What is claimed is that Methodist Reform as a general question, and the Methodist Protestant Church as a particular instance, have suffered through the pens of writers partial, if not partisan, in their favor of the old *régimes* of Methodism, and that the truth of history demands that the group of facts defensive of the former, and hitherto suppressed, minified, or construed, should be uncovered, coördinated, and depicted in full proportions; and if the critical reader thinks he discovers any undue coloring, the insistence is that it does not more than neutralize like effects in the other class of writers. It is believed, with as much modesty as the nature of the subject admits, that the postulates of the first volume have been sustained; that much information never hitherto published, either because unsuited to the objective of the writer or inaccessible to him, has been brought to light; that no source of information or professed authority has been neglected; and that much fuller force has been allowed opposing facts and inferences than has been given by standard historians and monographists. If a portly volume has been filled before reaching the General Conference of 1820, the inciting cause of the great lay-representative movement of the succeeding decade, it has been because the heroic of a common Methodism, as well as the whole line of historic facts, belong to Reformers as well, and specially because, as has been made evident, no history of the Methodist Protestant Church can be written, logically stated and philosophically treated, that does not take into account kindred movements and the general trend of Methodism. From 1820 onward the Reform agitation, progress, culmination, and status shall receive paramount attention, and, having a heroic period of its own, economy of space, as well as emergence from such a period in the past, will dismiss from these pages the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church except as a counter illustration and necessary factor.

The General Conference of 1820 met in Baltimore, May 1, 1820, in Eutaw Street church. It was composed of eighty-nine members and the three bishops, — M'Kendree, George, and Roberts. Eleven were from New York Conference, ten from New England, seven from Genesee, eight from Ohio, three from Missouri, two from Mississippi, six from Tennessee, nine from South Carolina,

eight from Virginia, nine from Baltimore, and fourteen from Philadelphia. A full list is given by Bangs, and it shows the names of most of the leading preachers of the day. M'Kendree opened the Conference and submitted his Address, and stated that, owing to his feeble health, he would not be able to preside, but would assist his colleagues as far as possible. Alexander McCaine was elected Secretary, though not a member of the Conference, following a precedent already set. It was a high compliment to his ability and integrity. Turning aside from minor matters, the objective of this History is reached by a careful consideration of the great questions which were passed upon by this Conference: the elective presiding eldership and the supremacy of the Bishopric over the General Conference, as an interpreter of so-called constitutional law, the first as a finality, and the second accepted until reversed by the General Conference of 1844. The former had been thoroughly discussed in the Annual Conferences and in private correspondence since the death of Asbury, and nearly all the delegates came to Baltimore, as well as the bishops, with well-defined views, and with most of them under no concealment. Snethen was present as a spectator, and furnishes important information about it. He was now located on his farm in Frederick County, Md., and was not, perhaps, among the eligibles as a delegate, though he himself says, writing in 1822: "It is now nearly twenty years since I resolved never to enter a General Conference to make laws for others without their consent. In one instance, indeed, I broke this resolution (1808); but it affords me no self-complacency." He also tells how the three bishops stood on the first question, and by implication the last as well: "We have three bishops; one of them [M'Kendree] says the giving of power to the Annual Conferences in the choice of presiding elders is unconstitutional. A second [George] says it is not; and a third [Roberts] used the term without any precise technical meaning. He grants that the change will take from the episcopacy some of its former power, but he is willing to part with it. Of course he believes there is nothing in the restrictions to prevent the Annual Conferences from electing presiding elders. The discipline does not guarantee to the bishops the power of appointing the presiding elders. The zeal and perseverance of the first bishop, it seems, were thought to be worthy of a vote of thanks, which, it is said, was accordingly given by an Annual Conference. It becomes a question whether there is any appearance of evil in this transaction. Though it is a matter of some

delicacy to say in what degree, if any, it betrays an appearance of want of wisdom and candor. Neither the bishop himself, nor anybody else, ever pretended to show a single letter of authority. Their constitution is only implied or inferred; that is, it is a matter of opinion. The opinions of the bishops as well as the preachers differ, and a conference who coincide with one of them in opinion give him a vote of thanks for thinking as they do. Does not this look very much like a vote of no thanks to those who dared to think for themselves, though their way of thinking went to take power out of their own hands?"

Bishop M'Kendree in his Address gave his own decisive opinion, and it became the cue for those who ranged themselves with the minority. That the Bishop's expression of opinion was intended to forestall legislation there can be no doubt. This is his dictum: "The General Conference of 1808, satisfied with the principles and utilities of the system, constituted a delegated Conference, and by constitutional restrictions ratified and perpetuated our system of doctrines and discipline, and the rights and privileges of all the preachers and members; in a word, all the essential parts of the system of government. It is presumed that no radical change can be made for the better at present." Again: "Among so many, should some, for purposes of profit, or ease, or honor, require, as in the days of old, an injurious change in our well-tried and approved system of government, their misguided wishes, it is hoped, will be overruled by your wisdom and prudence, to whose patronage this invaluable treasure is so confidently committed."¹ He knew full well that shields of the mighty would be locked in the polemical fray soon to occupy the Conference. He knew the divergent opinions of his colleagues. He knew that when the body came to "strengthen the episcopacy" at his request, it was important that his own choice should be the choice of the Conference, and thus settle in his favor the contest, now joined between the constitutionalists and the anti-constitutionalists over the enactment of 1808. He knew that the full weight of his episcopal power and patronage must be thrown into the scale for Soule, who reserved his strength for the final tussle, well advised no doubt by M'Kendree of the policy they would mutually pursue. He knew full well that stigmatization, when pronounced by authority, is a weapon most effective, and hence his unseemly imputation of motive,— "for purposes of profit, or ease, or honor," as instigating "their misguided wishes."

¹ Paine's "Life of M'Kendree," pp. 292-300, for the full Address.

In this, however, he only followed his exemplar, Asbury, who dealt in stronger imputation of O'Kelly's motives, as already cited. The reading of it in M'Kendree's Address must have stung to the quick the large majority, who listened to it in silence, but unawed as to their purpose. Before passing from this Address, a reference in the conclusion of it must be cited for future use: "The 'Life of Bishop Asbury,' which in consequence of affliction and a press of business was not presented to the last General Conference, is now in a state of forwardness, and is recommended to your patronage." M'Kendree having found it impossible to prepare it, the Baltimore Conference engaged Dr. Samuel K. Jennings to write it, and a hundred or more pages were completed at that time. The Bishop's thorough indorsement of him and the work by this reference is to be noted.

Passing incidental business of the Conference for the first week, during which time the respective forces were caucusing and preparing for the fray on the elective presiding elder question, it was introduced early in the second week by T. Merritt of New England and Beverly Waugh of Maryland, proposing that the answer to the question, "By whom are the Presiding Elders to be chosen?" be, "By the Conference." It was discussed for two days, twenty-one speaking, thirteen of them in favor. Ezekiel Cooper, one of the affirmative, now moved that it lie on the table, for the purpose of bringing forward a motion which he believed would accommodate both parties. It was that the bishops should nominate three times the number of presiding elders to be elected, out of which number the Conference should elect. Considerable debate ensued upon it, when William Capers and Nathan Bangs moved the appointment of a committee of three from each side to confer with the bishops on the subject. George was in the chair, and appointed Ezekiel Cooper, John Emory, and Nathan Bangs for the alteration, and S. G. Roszel, Joshua Wells, and William Capers for the present form. They met the bishops, but without result, and another meeting was appointed for the next morning. This meeting was not attended by either Emory or Cooper, and nothing was done. Why did they not attend? No explanation is given, so it is open to conjecture, and it is that the arbitrary stand of M'Kendree forbade self-respecting men to take the risk of a second rebuff. At noon of the next day Bishop George requested the committee to meet him in the gallery of the church, and, after some explanations as to the bearing of the accommodation plan, he pronounced himself as in its favor. On it the committee

united, the report being written by John Emory.¹ It was brought forward at the afternoon session, and passed by a vote of sixty-one to twenty-five, or more than two-thirds. The report as passed also included the decision, "that the presiding elders be, and are hereby made, the advisory council of the bishop or president of the Conference in stationing the preachers." While the matter was in the hands of the committee, or on the 9th of May, action was taken on the Bishop's Address as to strengthening the episcopacy, and it was resolved that "it is expedient that one additional General Superintendent be elected and ordained by this General Conference." On the 13th the election took place, there being only one member of the body absent, so that on counting the votes eighty-eight were reported, of which number Joshua Soule received forty-seven and Nathan Bangs thirty-eight, with three scattering votes. Soule was declared elected.

Taking up the action on the eldership where it was left, the Journal of the Conference shows that immediately thereafter Soule obtained leave of absence. The issue was joined. Did he consult M'Kendree? Who can doubt it? Their concert of action is proof. In this interval he prepared and delivered to Bishops George and Roberts the notable letter in which he made issue with the General Conference. It may be found in full in Tigert's "History," p. 340. Three of its sentences are italicized, whether by the Bishop elect or Dr. Tigert he does not record, but they are enough to give the gist of it. After the opening sentence, "In consequence of an act of the General Conference passed this day, in which I conceive the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church is violated, . . . I cannot consistently with my convictions of propriety and obligation enter upon the work of an itinerant General Superintendent. . . . I was elected under the constitution and government of the Methodist Episcopal Church unimpaired. . . . I solemnly declare, and could appeal to the Searcher of hearts for the sincerity of my intentions, that I cannot act as Superintendent under the rules this day made and established by the General Conference." Tigert says, "This act of the Bishop elect was prompt and decisive. The question was not new to him." This is true. He spoke from the vantage-ground as the acknowledged author of the restrictive articles of 1808, and specially that which forbade

¹ Dr. Buckley, in the "History of Methodism," Vol. I. p. 434, says that this report was signed by Cooper, Roszel, Bangs, Wells, Emory, and Capers, the entire committee.

the General Conference "to change or alter any part or rule of our government, so as to do away episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." True, also, that many who voted for the restrictions never dreamed that it was a Mede and Persian regulation, and that covertly this very elective presiding eldership was to be forestalled by it, so that when Soule's letter was read to the Conference, claiming for himself the *right to interpret the law as well* according to the mental reserves of Asbury, M'Kendree, and himself, great was the astonishment and the indignation of not a few of the large majority. Before his letter was read to the Conference, the bishops held a consultation over it. Snethen has already given their diverse views, so the result of their interview only need be cited, which was that they would proceed with the ordination, M'Kendree to report to the Conference their views of the question raised by Soule. Two days after his election accordingly, M'Kendree presented Soule's letter to the Conference, and also read one from himself, the gist of which is in these sentences: "I extremely regret that you have, by this measure, reduced me to the painful necessity of pronouncing the resolution unconstitutional, and therefore without the proper authority of the Church. . . . I enter this protest." It had been fondly hoped since 1808 by the liberal sentiment of the preachers that the restrictive articles, whether accepted as a Constitution or not, did away with the former power of veto of the bishops, and this view received encouragement by the course of the bishops themselves, who from that time ceased to participate in debate, made no motion, and abstained from voting. Judge their astonishment as well as indignation to hear this resumption of it by the senior Bishop,— he pronounced it unconstitutional and destitute of authority.

The ordination of Soule had been set by the bishops for Wednesday, May 24, at 11 o'clock A.M., whereupon the majority, un-intimidated by this show of authority and menace of power, held a caucus and determined to arrest his ordination. Capers, in his manuscript account of the action, as cited by Paine, complains: "Those in favor of a change took exceptions to [M'Kendree and Soule's letters], held a caucus without consulting those not in favor of the change, and determined to arrest the ordination of J. Soule." D. Ostrander and James Smith deserve to be embalmed as the authors of the resolution, which recites in substance that inasmuch as the Bishop elect had notified them that he would not be bound by the Conference action, that "the Bishops be

earnestly requested by this Conference to defer or postpone the ordination of the said Joshua Soule until he gives satisfactory explanations to this Conference." Tigert speaks of the "manly dignity" of Soule, and quotes from Stevens his "dignified carriage as at times verging on majesty." It may be conceded, but it is opined, that the reader will see in this revolution of Ostrander and Smith a manly dignity quite equal to any exhibition Soule ever made. Meantime it seems that the minority had also gotten together and agreed upon a line of proceeding, as they could caucus as well, so that, while the resolution was debating, Soule and others complained that it did not fairly represent him. True, it was blunt, but the objection was a quibble. Finally it was withdrawn. Then a motion was made to reconsider the action of the Conference on the presiding-elder question. It was lost, whereupon Nelson Reed suggested that they proceed at once to the ordination of Soule, as the time set had come. At this juncture, Tigert finds Soule's manly dignity, when he rose and requested the Conference by vote to postpone it, but it was not concurred in — the manly dignity of the Conference was aroused to a high pitch. The debate went on, shields were locked, timid or disgusted men left the Conference room, until it was discovered by the presiding Bishop George, willing to find some way out of the imminent crisis, that there was not a two-thirds vote present for business; he rose "and announced that the episcopacy had deferred the ordination, and the Conference adjourned."

The next morning all were present but five, Roberts in the chair, and the motion was finally taken by ballot, and resulted in a tie, forty-three to forty-three; the chair refused to vote, and pronounced it lost. The next day Bishop George again announced the ordination for 12 o'clock, whereupon Soule presented a letter, in which he stated his resignation of the office of Bishop. It was laid on the table. At the next session he pressed it, but no action was taken. The case was apparently lost for an unlimited and irresponsible episcopacy, the General Conference declaring itself supreme in its opinion, as set over against that of M'Kendree and Soule, that an Elective Presiding Eldership was not an infringement of the restrictive articles, granting the bishops their full claim of being conscientious as to its being a violation.

The situation was desperate and called for desperate measures by the episcopacy and its adherents. It developed in a piece of political strategy worthy the finesse of accomplished lobbyists.

It has never come to light who were the conceivers and executors of it, but the fact is known that during the next twenty-four hours, an evening and a night being included, as answering well such work, a paper was carried round to the members, favorable and doubtful and weak-hearted, asking signatures to an agreement to vote the next day for a "suspension" of the "conciliatory resolutions," as those on the eldership were called, inasmuch as the friends of the measure had conceded everything they could by yielding the nomination to the episcopacy of the men who were to be elders, and in the cabinet of the bishops. Forty-five signers were secured, a bare majority of the Conference. Who can tell what arguments of patronage and what menaces of power were used by these dark-lantern manipulators? Snethen's comment upon this transaction is mildly expressed but trenchantly keen. He had retired to his country home before it had occurred. He says, "We were not present when the protest [if we may call it so] against the conciliation was entered. Having witnessed that interesting scene [the vote of a large majority in favor of the conciliation plan] we left the Conference with joyful emotions of heart." Two years subsequently, in the first of the numerous articles he wrote for the *Wesleyan Repository*, he said of it, "No man ought to be questioned for anything he says in a hall of legislation; but when men legislate out of doors, they place themselves within the reach of animadversion. The vote to reconsider the plan of conciliation came to a tie, yet after several of the members had left the Conference a paper was taken round among the members, and forty-five signers were engaged, and pledged to vote for a suspension of the rule for four years. The principal mover of the measure declared the fact before the Conference, in defiance of argument, etc." The finesse of the transaction is seen in part from the fact that it called only for a suspension for four years, and for that this dark-lantern method secured the actual signatures of the members; first, that there might be no hedging by them, and, second, that the evidence of their participation might be submitted to M'Kendree in proof of their fealty. The next morning, May 26, the motion to suspend was introduced. It was warmly debated, despite the unblushing avowal that forty-five names were appended to it, S. G. Roszel acting as spokesman and tactician, as he was probably the active agent in the outdoor work through the night. Griffith, Hedding and Bangs took part. Late in the afternoon it was carried by a vote of forty-five in favor and thirty-five against. Thus it is seen that not a single vote was

gained for it by the day's debate, while thirty-five, probably all who remained in attendance, unflinchingly voted against it, nine of the members having gone home or declined to attend the session. The large majority was now a hopeless minority. The cause was lost—it will be seen, irrevocably.

The remaining steps may be briefly summarized. Soule's resignation was before the Conference as unfinished business. Roszel and Hodges moved that he be requested to withdraw it and "comply with the wishes of his brethren in submitting to be ordained." It was carried by a vote of forty-nine in favor, the negative not stated; four weaklings went over to the forty-five. Thus the way seemed to open for the complete triumph of the M'Kendree party, but, as Tigert gives the cue, "the bishop elect had been attacked in different ways, and sorely pressed," and he still insisted on his resignation, and it was accepted. Capers says, however, "that it was not done by a direct vote of the Conference, but announced from the chair that it was accepted." (See Tigert, p. 347.) Alexander McCaine, acting as Secretary to the body and intimate with all the members, throws some light upon an occult reason for Soule's resignation; the large minority vote on his election was an intense one, and they availed of every opportunity to defeat his ordination afterward. Let McCaine explain: "But why were the preachers who best know Mr. Soule so strongly opposed to his ordination? There is no instance of such stern opposition being made to the ordination of any other Methodist bishop. Simply because Joshua Soule was a *despot*. Now it matters not a straw with us, whether this statement be controverted by Mr. Soule, or any of his friends, on the ground that 'despot' was not the term that was used. We believe it was the *very term*; but whether it was despot or tyrant, it is all the same in our estimation, as the ground of opposition was an overbearing, despotic, tyrannical disposition. Perhaps his brother bishop, Elijah Hedding, recollects the expression or expressions used when stating his reasons for opposing the ordination of Mr. Soule. That there was an opposition—a strong, intense, and unparalleled opposition—we presume Mr. Soule himself will not deny. This being the case, it will show that there were other reasons for his declination to be ordained than that which he, or some of his friends for him, have asserted: the action of the General Conference on the Presiding Elder question. These proceedings will do more than this; they will show that the charge of despotism has not originated with the author of these sketches,

but with the men who were well acquainted with him, etc.”¹ It may be well to observe, in passing, that McCaine as a writer did not mince his words, but, as he in this instance proves, the harshest terms employed by him, and for which his writings were in 1827-30 condemned, and himself made an exception to the amnesty proposed by the General Conference of 1828 to the Reformers, were terms he learned from the lips of Cooper, Griffith, Bangs, Emory, and others in the open debates and private conversations of these times. But there is a difference when Hedding denounces Soule as a despot in 1820, and McCaine does the same of him and others in 1827-30, as shall be shown. Soule was both conscientious and consistent in his stand as compared with his position in 1808. His honesty cannot and need not be impeached. He maintained his consistency in all his after career; and before marshalling the issues of this decisive contest of 1820, the concluding legislative action of that Conference may be noted.

Early in the Eldership-Soule debate, on motion he was voted \$1000 extra compensation for his services as Book Agent in New York. The vote was not explained with satisfaction. Tigert furnishes a number of letters written by Soule during the Conference to the bishops, defining and justifying his position, and those who wish to read all that he has said are referred to them. May 27, after Bishop George had intimated that the election of another Bishop was a necessity, Wells and Capers moved to go into an election, but it was withdrawn, after information had been given by the bishops that a Protest² against entering into another election, signed by thirty members of the New York, New England, Genesee, Philadelphia, and other Conferences was in their hands. Roszel having affirmed that they would have no one but Soule, it was feared by the now defeated friends of an elective eldership that such an election would only result in a reëlection of Soule, and this they determined to defeat at all hazards.³ In the emergency George and Roberts agreed to do

¹ Letters. Boston. 8vo. 206 pp. 1850.

² Among the reasons assigned in this Protest is the following: “They also complain of the majority for the manner in which they secured the suspension of the Presiding Elder resolutions ‘on yesterday by obtaining the signatures of said majority,’ and that now they are so leagued together that they can and will carry any measure they choose, however obnoxious to the feelings and views of the minority. They therefore say we most earnestly wish the present session to come to a close.” Paine’s “Life of M’Kendree.”

³ McCaine gives some farther facts in evidence. “When it was officially announced that Joshua Soule was elected to the office of Bishop, the preachers who

the work with M'Kendree as far as he would be physically able, until the next General Conference, and so ended the question.

The law allowing the Annual Conferences to "form their own regulations about buying and selling slaves" was rescinded. John Emory was appointed a delegate to the English Conference to settle the Canada differences. His abilities as a staunch advocate of the Elective Eldership, and his rising reputation generally, brought from the Episcopal party this first suggestive promotion. What came of this visit has been considered in the first volume. On the last day of the Conference it was discovered that the restrictive articles of 1808 were defective in that they made no provision to pass upon the constitutionality of the acts of a General Conference. Did Soule overlook it? The presumption must be that he did not, for consistency in his general position delegated to the bishops a veto power over the acts of the General Conference as the interpreters of laws, and called for no provision by which they could be overruled. It was his idea of an episcopacy, akin to that of Asbury and M'Kendree. The Conference, however, was alarmed on this discovery and passed a resolution advising the several Annual Conferences to authorize the ensuing General Conference to enact a law that when an action of it shall be pronounced unconstitutional by the bishops, they shall return it to the body within three days, and if it then pass by a two-thirds vote, it shall be valid despite the objection of the bishops. By a majority vote it was a tentative agreement to a veto power of the bishops. What came of it will be seen hereafter.

were best acquainted with him determined to defeat his ordination. Whether they met in caucus to consult how they could most easily and certainly effect their purpose, we are not able to say, but we have been told that their first plan was to come in a body into the church when the officiating Bishop was about to commence the services, and protest against his ordination. Why this plan was abandoned to make way for another, we know not. We do know that their second plan was to reduce the General Conference below the constitutional number necessary to give validity to its proceedings, which is 'two-thirds.' For this purpose, as the hour (12 M.) approached, one after another of those preachers who were opposed to his ordination would go out, until at last, 'seven minutes before twelve,' when Mr. Sias was speaking, it was ascertained there was not a quorum. Bishop George then announced, 'The ordination is postponed to some future time.'" This account bears every sign of verisimilitude, not only in the caution of McCaine in not affirming beyond his positive knowledge, but in that the facts stated are found to quadrate perfectly with those already given by Paine and Tigert. Was Bishop George a party to it? It seems probable in that as an advocate of the Elective Eldership, Cooper, and not Soule, must have been his preference, and in that he must have observed from the chair the diminishing number of members present, and his quick avail to postpone on the no-quorum excuse. See "Letters on M. E. Church," Boston, 1850, p. 169.

Three things were incontestably established by the final action of this General Conference. First, that the bishopric was an order and not an office merely; that it was a life tenure, and carried with it such an interpretation of the restrictive articles as made it impossible for any succeeding body to change either the statutory or traditional regulations of Asbury and M'Kendree, as to its powers; that the Bishop was not open to impeachment except for immorality, and was practically unamenable to any one but himself. The General Conferences of 1824, 1828 settled these concessions even more fully, so that from this period onward the theory was taught and acted upon in the undivided Methodist Episcopal Church down to 1844. Then the delegates from the North and West, finding that they could make no case on which to demand the suspension or resignation of Bishop Andrew as a "General Superintendent," by reason of his unpopularity in those sections in that he was a slaveholder, having come to the relation by a marriage which entailed upon him such property, which by the laws of the state in which he and they lived could not be made free, abandoned the ground of Asbury and M'Kendree, and took the position, until then entirely new, except as held by a minority largely in the silence of submission, that the bishopric was not an order, but an office simply; and they claimed for the General Conference the sovereignty which it was all along held had been vested in the restrictive articles of 1808, and that of consequence it was competent for it to suspend or depose a Bishop who refused to resign, on high grounds of expediency such as appeared in the case of Andrew. Its ultimate will be seen when the division of 1844 has been reached and considered. It was entirely consistent with Wesley's idea and purpose in the appointment of General Superintendents, and therefore the true Wesleyan system; but it was inconsistent with the hierarchic system of which Coke, Asbury, M'Kendree, and Soule were the fathers and exponents. Logical necessity therefore compelled Soule in 1844 to unite his fortunes with the South, and has held it ever since in the hierarchic toils, waiting some future day of redemption, while it also led the North to such finalities of action in delimiting the bishopric as has been already exhibited in the first volume.

Second, the action of this General Conference for the time determined the supremacy of a Bishop over it, irrespective of two-thirds majority or unanimous votes. Let it not startle the conservative reader,—it is not a coinage of the writer. Dr. John

Emory must be given the credit of it as another epigram in reform literature. When M'Kendree, in his address to the Baltimore Conference in 1822, plead for their adoption of a resolution approving the suspension of the conciliatory paper of 1820, as required by the constitution, it so aroused Emory, that "justice to himself and the cause which he espoused demanded that he should expose what he considered its fallacies," and he did it in so masterful a manner that the Bishop's request was "indefinitely postponed by a large vote." See Robert's Life of his father, p. 148, following the father's statement on p. 147: "In the estimation of the advocates of an elective presiding eldership, the question now merged in the more important one whether the episcopacy or the General Conference was to be supreme." The reader, on a calm review of the proceedings, will determine the question for himself; it need not be more firmly established by the writer.

Third, the action of this General Conference was a demonstration that it is hopeless to expect reform from within in a hierarchic system. In this, history has many times repeated itself. Snethen, one of the most buoyant and charitable of men, reviewing calmly the situation and the opinions entertained as to the emergency, says: "The common opinion was, the plan works well enough [the Asbury-M'Kendree plan], and it will be time enough to correct the evils when they happen, if they ever do. No fears were entertained of consequences. Now I too was (as they said) for letting well enough alone,¹ wanting no remedy for well enough, but to provide for bad enough; because none had been provided, and when it should come, the remedy would be too late. The notion, as I conceived, that a government so constructed might be reformed, has no foundation in science. A carriage which has no brake upon its wheels, when descending a hill cannot be stopped to provide one; but its motion must grow more rapid as it runs." How apt the illustration, and how verified the fact! A parallel from history obtrudes itself, as given by D'Aubigné, so pertinent that it will not down. He says in substance, the Council of Constance is an example of the futility of Reform from within the erring Church. It was assembled at the call for Reformation on all sides. Never convened a more august conclave of Romish officials. There were eighteen hundred doctors of divinity and priests, with an immense number of cardinals, archbishops, bishops; the Emperor himself, with a retinue of a

¹ See his "Replies to O'Kelly," so far as he was the author.

thousand attendants, and other civil dignitaries and ambassadors from all nations composed an authoritative assembly unprecedented in the history of Christianity. Everything bowed before it as it deposed three rival popes at once, and at the same time delivered John Huss to the flames. A commission was formed to propose a fundamental Reform. The Council was unanimously supported by the Emperor Sigismund. The cardinals all took an oath that he among them who should be elected Pope would not dissolve the Assembly nor leave Constance before the desired reformation should be accomplished. Colonna was chosen, under the title of Martin V. So soon as he had placed the tiara on his head, he exclaimed, "The Council is at an end!" Sigismund and the Council uttered a cry of distress and indignation, but it was lost upon the wind. Martin ordered a coronation procession to be formed of the Assembly, and rode through the streets of Constance with the highest in civil authority holding the bridle of his horse and all obsequiously bowing before him. With the admission that it is comparing small things with great, the parallel holds. The General Conference of 1820 assembled with a two-thirds majority bent upon a great Reform. There were twenty-eight out of the fifty-eight presiding elders elected to it, but a number of these were known to be favorable to the Reform. Its purpose had been maturing for four years and was backed by the laity of the Church. Assembled, it proceeded to its object despite all murmurings and menaces, and, when it was accomplished amid general rejoicing and the retirement of some of the delegates to their homes, the Bishop elect, Soule, uttered his "veto," and before adjournment finally had the Conference at his feet. His interpretation prevailed over two-thirds of the episcopacy and two-thirds of the Conference, the senior Bishop fully indorsing the junior. At the best their view was nothing but an official opinion, and "I declare upon my conscience," set over against the opinion of their episcopal colleagues and the verdict of the Conference. How forcibly does Snethen philosophize and rationalize upon this issue: "What would be thought of the Grand Turk, for instance, if he should oppose any plan to favor the liberties of the people, because it was unconstitutional. Constitutions were designed to set bounds to power. The people of the United States, in 1787, made a constitution to prevent absolute monarchy, not to confirm it. The barons of England met at *Runnymede* to set bounds to the power of the kings, and not to form a great charter of despotism. . . . For bishops and travelling preachers

to employ the restrictions only to restrain the hands of those who labor to promote liberty makes them appear so much like tyrants that, let them assert to the contrary ever so loudly, people will say, 'Actions speak louder than words!' Why will they not be entreated to forbear to argue that they have a constitution which shuts up all the avenues by which liberty can possibly enter into the Church, so that it never can gain an admittance, unless those who have seated themselves in power shall condescend to open the door. All the circumstances connected with this constitutional claim, which has been set up and pursued with so much perseverance, appear to threaten evil consequences. When our countrymen find every idea which they have been in the habit of attaching to a constitution reversed, and instead of this instrument being a palladium of liberty, as they supposed, becoming a mere charter of self-created and monopolized power, must they not lose all confidence in the agents who produced the transformation."

Bangs has quite fully given a digest of the whole discussion of the elective eldership question in his history, and with marked impartiality, seeing that he favored it, but Snethen has pointed out the very gist of it, in the alternative argument: "Either the presiding elders should become responsible to the Annual Conferences, or that a rule should be made to prevent them from becoming members of the General Conference." Perhaps the friends of the measure would have been content with such a restrictive law but for the fact that it in turn would have been a gross invasion of personal rights, and an offensive piece of class legislation. Wherefore? The working of the hierarchic principle had already become patent,—the junior preacher voted for the senior preacher for reasons obvious enough in the practical administration of the Conference politics; the senior voted for his presiding elder, and the presiding elder voted for all measures countenanced by the presiding bishop, and opposed those he opposed. As a consequence the list of elders in every General Conference grew,¹ until few pastors found a way to climb the

¹ The composition of the General Conference of 1820 is remarkable as an illustration of this very fact, though as already mentioned but twenty-eight were at the time in actual service as presiding elders, yet McCaine, who knew every man of them personally, says that it was composed "of eighty-nine sitting members, sixty-three of whom were presiding elders, or had filled that station." See *Repository*, Vol. III, p. 375, so that in addition to the twenty-eight elders in actual office there were thirty-five ex-elders in it. From this fact one can estimate the sweep of sentiment that crystallized in favor of an elective eldership. How

steeps of ecclesiastical ambition; and it was precisely these things that ultimated in the high-handed steps of Soule and M'Kendree, under cover of their conscience and the constitution, as they interpreted it. A concluding sentence of a paragraph as to this historical era, in the introductory chapter of the first volume, makes the allegation: "It marked its culmination; it also marked its decadence." It was made after the facts, but the prescient minds of Snethen and Alexander McCaine reached the same conclusion. In a few years thereafter, the former said (1823): "From the suspension of the conciliatory resolutions, I date the commencement of the downfall of our bishops' power;" and the latter, in 1850, wrote, "Methodist Episcopacy arrived at the *ne plus ultra* of power and authority in 1820. This was the year it ceased to advance; and from this year also, we may date the commencement of its decline." A succeeding chapter will furnish the rationale of it.

One more action of this General Conference challenges notice before it is dismissed from these pages, the most pregnant in its results ever held down to 1844, and intimately connected with it in its root principles, as will hereafter be shown. At the General Conference of 1816, the local ministers and preachers had petitioned that body for representation in it. The answer of the Conference in the negative was written by John Emory, and was a forcible paper, from the Conference point of view. The locality had increased both in average ability and numbers, sustaining the relation of nearly three to one of the itinerants, which at this date are set down at 904, and now that so large a proportion of them were ordained, either as deacons or elders, the question of their subordination was a vexed one. In 1820 they renewed their petitions, and it was deemed expedient by the bishops and the itinerants to do something that would at least have the appearance of concession to their claims.¹ The Conference created "The District Conference," to be composed of "all the local preachers in the presiding elder's district who have been licensed two much these disgruntled men, who secured their election on the issue over the actual incumbents of the office, had to do with the result may be recognized as a factor; for at this time there were sixty-five elders' districts. Twenty-eight of these actual incumbents secured election, though as made plain from the debates not a few of them favored the elective system. The remaining thirty-seven were defeated by thirty-five ex-elders, presumably on this issue. It is a curious and instructive study.

¹ This concession was most adroit and had an ulterior purpose well exposed by Hon. Philemon B. Hopper of Maryland in the *Wesleyan Repository* for March, 1822, under the title, "An Earnest Appeal." He makes the *exposé* in these

years," and there was transferred to it all the powers formerly vested in the Quarterly Conference as to the supervision of this class. It ran through about a decade of years, and then died of inanition. It was a mere shadow of the thing the locality asked, and never was popular with them. It was often difficult to assemble them together. It proved an abortion, but use was made of it in connection with the proceedings against Reformers in 1827-30, which invests it with an historical importance it could not otherwise claim in this work.

illuminating words: "The very idea that the people should know and appreciate their rights* is most terrible to the advocates of the exceptionable parts of our Church Government. This was strikingly evinced by the acts of the last General Conference; for when the most enlightened local preachers in the different parts of the country (many of whom were once found to rule the Church), feeling their state of degradation, and their near approximation to the condition of the private members of the Church, became dissatisfied, the General Conference took the alarm, and, fearing that their clamors might arouse the people, they determined to appease them by raising them a grade higher than the people. They gave them the power to hold district conferences, to make local preachers, and to recommend preachers to travel, thereby taking from the membership what little of the preacher-making power they had before. This nominal distinction appears to have satisfied these clamorous local preachers, without bestowing on them one legislative prerogative."

* See this strikingly confirmed in the succeeding chapter.

The whole of this local preacher question on which so much can be said for and against, proved a bull in the china shop, both to the itinerants and the people in tentations for the adjustment of the inequalities between the last two. Snethen was a warm advocate of the locality as such, but did not favor their ordination, and when they failed to make an appreciative use of their District Conference privilege, he despaired of a satisfactory adjustment with them. Through ill-health, he was of the class for a number of years, and so entitled to speak without prejudice. He thus speaks: "In this same General Conference the local preachers' Conference was authorized. My advice was asked [he was then local himself]. It was that whatever the General Conference might do in regard to the local preachers should be real and not nominal; that their expectations ought not to be raised with the promise of substance to be disappointed with shadows. I had been an advocate of the local preachers for twelve years, that is, until their ordination to elder's orders was sanctioned by the General Conference; but the fate of their Conference disclosed facts enough to convince me that as a body they would not be apt to profit by anything which might be gained for them. As I had become local I ceased to have any immediate personal interest in the election of presiding elders by the members of the Annual Conferences. But to preserve consistency I gave the cause all the continued support in my power." This was written in 1835. See Introduction to his volume on "Lay Representation," for that year. Methodism in England, next to the Wesleys, owed its origin to local preachers, and in America they absolutely originated it. It would seem that too much honor could not be paid them. When Richard Allen inaugurated the African M. E. Church they were admitted to the Conferences on an equality with the itinerants. Perhaps if the General Conference of 1820 had been sagacious enough—inasmuch as the District Conference in its ulterior purpose was to forestall an agitation of lay rights—to admit them likewise, reinforced by this influential class in almost every location, it might have further delayed Lay-Reform for scores of years. But the illusive arrogation had seized the itinerants that the man on horseback, riding upon saddle-bags, had imparted to him a capacity for governing impossible to the laity, or to the locality. Perpetual motion on a circuit was virtue-inspiring and wisdom-imparting.

CHAPTER II

Fears of M'Kendree and notably of Soule of the effect upon the membership of the defeat of the presiding elder question — It did alarm the "people," and was the seed of the Reform of 1827-30 — Snethen on this point — M'Kendree's reference of the measure to the Annual Conferences; failure of it, and his "baby act" plea for his change of views since O'Kelly's defection analyzed to his discomfiture — Sketch of W. S. Stockton and the inception of the *Wesleyan Repository* in 1821 — The *Repository* in its objects and contributors and support carefully reviewed — In it James Smith published an unanswerable argument against the Constitutional nature of the restrictive articles of 1808 and quoted here in full — The quest since then of the old Church for its "Constitution" never yet found — The local preacher contention and its damage to the Lay-Representation movement of 1820-30 fully considered — First public Reform meeting in Cincinnati, August 19, 1823 — Ezekiel Cooper's plan — Early Reformers.

REVIEWING the situation in 1820, Bishop Paine, in his "Biography of Bishop M'Kendree," says, "Who can doubt but that on both sides there was honest difference of opinion among brethren equally good and true? Who doubts that Garretson, Bangs, Hedding, Pickering, Emory, and Waugh, and their colleagues, on one side, and Collins, Capers, Andrew, Roszel, Reed, and Soule, and their associates, on the other side, were aiming with equal zeal and integrity to promote what they sincerely believed to be the permanent interests of the Church?" It need not be doubted, though sincerity and honesty are often, as in this case, made to cover indirection of method and arbitrary proceeding, both of which were conspicuously exhibited by the opponents of the measure. Nothing could disguise the fact that a majority vote of more than two-thirds was made a minority by the seductions of patronage and the menaces of power. No one can doubt that if the measure had been defeated by honorable means, no such distracting agitation and imminent peril would have followed its defeat. Let the consequences be examined.

M'Kendree, in his Journal of this date, says, "The Conference hastened to a close, and the members departed to their respective charges, but with different views relative to our Church polity, the result of the Conference, and the state of the Episcopacy; and

their conflicting views and apprehensions were but too freely disseminated among the people." And Soule, writing to M'Kendree May 6, 1821,¹ expressed fears of the course the latter had determined to pursue, that of submitting the suspended resolutions for the decision of the Annual Conferences, and in a few sentences lets in the light on their secret forebodings as to the effect upon the ignored "people." "But my principal fears are *the effect the measure may have on the membership.* The measures of the last General Conference *have given many of our people great alarm.*" The italics in both citations are supplied. Following the extract from Soule's letter, he indulges reflections indicative of the mole-like blindness of the autocratic mind as to the acquiescence of the people in their own ignoring and subjection. It is the very essence of paternity — your lordly rulers in State and Church construe silence to be peace, and when the rod is stretched over them until their human nature winces, the "agitators" are denounced for disturbing the blissful serenity of their paternal reign. The great alarm among the people, which Soule had reason to witness more in 1821, than M'Kendree had in May, 1820, both of them utterly misunderstood. It was not as they put it, that they feared a disturbance of the enactments of 1808, in which Soule imagined they had acquiesced, so that "general joy prevailed under the conviction that we had arrived at that permanent state of things in which all might rest." The query comes up: How could they be known to acquiesce in measures about which they were not consulted in the remotest degree? Their alarm was excited by the spectacle of these war-horses of the episcopacy taking the bit in their teeth in defiance of all restraint. They applied fire to the dry stubble — what marvel that these peasants ecclesiastical should cry out when they saw it menace farmhouse and barn, fence and forest. Snethen voiced their deeper thinking, and re quotation is demanded. "Truly, if people care not how the church is governed, their governors will, in process of time, care little how they govern them. This indifference is one of the awful and undoubted evidences of the effects of an absolute government." Yet the contention is not made that all the laity were equally affected in this way. As in the ranks of the ministry, so in those of the laity, there was a hierarchic party. Snethen aptly illustrated the divergence: "From many cases which we can recollect, we are all persuaded that the Tories, as they were called, were not in the usual acceptation of the term, enemies of their country, or friends to tyranny. In what then did they dif-

¹ Tigert's "History," p. 365.

fer from the whigs? Why, in their unbounded confidence in their rulers. True, said they, we may be taxed without our consent; but we ought to help to bear the expenses of the mother country; the parliament will never tax us unreasonably. The whigs, on the contrary, looked steadily at the principle; if the parliament, said they, assume the right, or the power, to take a penny without our consent, they may take a pound; and if one pound, all our property. How was this last argument resisted? We now look back with wonder upon the blind and obstinate attachment of our countrymen to the then existing powers. But there was another cause operating on their minds, while their confidence was strong in the goodness of the king and parliament; their partisans took care to influence their feelings against the assertors of principle. You have, said they, more to fear from these revolutionists, than from the established government, which will not take more than is necessary. It was by this means that principle was lost sight of, and passion and prejudice were raised to the highest degree. . . . Absolute government is wrong in principle, and confidence in it is wrong. All these worthy itinerants are creatures of a day. Men are given to change, but principles are immortal. The principles of these obnoxious travelling and local preachers, and the brethren with whom they act, are right. They say, and they say truly, that the best of men ought not to be intrusted with unnecessary powers and prerogatives." Once more, as bearing directly upon the times of 1820-24: "For many years my mind has been quieted, as it regarded any immediate danger the principle of lay-delegation might be exposed to, by taking it for granted that, should a crisis arrive, a majority of travelling preachers, as American citizens, could not be found publicly and officially to declare that the laity have no right directly to participate in church legislation. Transpiring events, however, continued to excite suspicion that I might have been too sanguine; and the suspended resolutions converted suspicion into certainty. If liberal principles had prevailed, the evidences of their decline were irresistible. Can men, who will yield their own rights in a struggle with prerogative, be trusted with the rights of others?" Thus was securely laid, by the ministerial father of Lay-Representation in America, the foundation, rationally and philosophically, of the great Methodist Reformation of the decade from 1820 to 1830. But before it is further opened by the laic father, William S. Stockton, let the devious course of Bishop M'Kendree be traced; his personal responsibility for submitting the suspended resolu-

tions for the approval of the Annual Conferences; the expedients resorted to, and the finality of the bold challenge thus be made.

After the adjournment of the General Conference, Bishop M'Kendree remained in Baltimore for some weeks recruiting his health and fortifying himself by consultation with his friends in his determination to submit the suspended resolutions to the Annual Conferences. For this action he cited the precedent of Asbury, who, after organizing the Genesee Conference, met the protests of the preachers by submitting the act to the Annual Conferences among which he was sustained as well as by the succeeding General Conference. He urged other plausible reasons and proceeded to his task. The subject inspired him with new strength of body and mind. It was to be the supreme act of his official life. He tells in his Journal what alienations of former friends it had wrought, how coldly he was greeted, if not repulsed, for the stand he had taken both at the Conference and now. Giving him all the benefit of his almost pathetic pleas, the reader will wonder that he should be surprised at the treatment accorded him. Not a few who were in the Conference of 1820, like the Bishop himself, had also been members of the memorable one of 1792, though nearly thirty years had rolled between. Among these were George, Pickering, Garrettson, Cooper, Roszel, and Reed, the first four stanch advocates of the suspended resolutions. They had not forgotten the fiery speech of the young elder of 1792, M'Kendree; his blistering words in denunciation of the unamenable powers of the episcopacy; the concerted effort of the preachers under initial auspices almost as certain of success in the matter of the Appeal, as were those of 1820 when success was overslaughed by the exercise, jointly of himself and Soule, of the very powers then so trenchantly deprecated. Cooper, as was found, has embalmed them in his semi-centennial sermon. Bishop Paine in his "Life of M'Kendree," says not one word about this famous speech. It were well enough if he had preserved the same silence anent his incongruous conduct subsequently instead of an almost reckless attempt to vindicate his consistency. To be quoted point blank against yourself is an annoying predicament. M'Kendree now had it to meet, but he did it in silence. His words were bandied from mouth to mouth, "It is an insult to my understanding, and is such an arbitrary stretch of power, so tyrannical [or], despotic, that I cannot [or], will not submit to it." It provided a never-to-be-forgotten epigram for the Reformers of 1820-30. It is all that is preserved of an elaborate and mas-

terful speech in vindication of the Right of Appeal, a first cousin measure to the Elective Eldership. If it was written or delivered from notes, M'Kendree destroyed them, or Soule, into whose hands his posthumous papers came, never disclosed anything.

There was, however, found among his papers a copy of a letter written in 1803, at the request of Bishop Asbury, in which he extenuates his conduct in the matter of his advocacy of the Right of Appeal in 1792, this feature probably being the objective of Asbury in securing the communication, as M'Kendree was then under his special patronage—indeed it might be said with as much truth, had become the echo of Asbury, as it was said and in this letter acknowledged by M'Kendree that he was the mere echo of O'Kelly, neither of which was true—for he was rapidly rising as a leader. It is autobiographical and about one-third of it devoted to his relations with O'Kelly. It simply pleads the "baby act," as the following extracts will show: "Mr. O'Kelly changed his mind [about the Council business], and began in our private interviews, to inform me of the imminent danger of near approaching ruin which our then flourishing Church would in all probability suffer; that this mischief had itself a cause, which according to unequivocal indications, was the want of religion in a party of leading characters in the ministry—youself, sir, at the head of them—whose unbounded thirst for power and money, as I understood him, was to pull down destruction on the Church of God. . . . But alas! my greatest affliction in those days came from where I ought to have had comfort! When my old friend [Mr. O'Kelly] visited us, much of the spare time was taken up in private communication and consultation, the subject matter of which was, 'the manner of a party which more and more manifested the badness of their polity and principles, and must,' as he said, 'sooner or later, inevitably ruin the Church of God.' . . . I heard him and believed what I heard. . . . I was unfortunate enough to believe the report, and from this time counteracting measures were consulted. . . . I therefore refused to take a regular station at Conference, because I expected to reject the 'monstrous system' when it appeared, but met you and the Presiding Elder a few days after Conference and took an appointment." There is no allusion to his speech in the Conference of 1792—it would have neutralized the force of this "baby act" plea.

Every man has a right to explain himself, and when it is congruous with the associated facts, charity demands that it be accepted. But how does his explanation accord with the asso-

ciated facts? He was converted under John Easter, and for several years was under his influence for good, but Easter was no agitator, or reformer, but a stanch Asburyan, and if he was such a mere sponge as is represented, he imbibed his church politics. He was ordained deacon and elder in the next five years, and as such entered the General Conference of 1792, being then thirty-five years of age. But the sponge came in contact with O'Kelly as a Presiding Elder in this time and by exosmose lost Easter's Asburyan views and by endosmose absorbed O'Kelly. Then after a month, meeting Bishop Asbury at his father's house, the Bishop having held the Virginia Conference and there received M'Kendree's resignation in writing as an Elder, which carried his membership in the Church as well. Through the Presiding Elder an interview was arranged between the Bishop and M'Kendree at his father's. It may be repeated that no man knows all that transpired, but it is known that immediately the sponge threw off O'Kelly and absorbed Asbury, and was sent to Norfolk station, and thereafter promotion after promotion attended his course till the Bishopric itself was reached. Can any one believe that this man of stern, uncompromising, independent manhood could be such a sponge? Let those do so who can. Undoubtedly M'Kendree made some discoveries after his return to Asburyan fealty. Perhaps he saw him personally in a different light, especially while he travelled with him on the Bishop's invitation whose strong character rarely failed to impress. Perhaps he saw that the winning side after all was with Asbury, and the rapidity of his conversion from an extreme O'Kellyite to a leonine Asburyan is only what all such tergiversations prove: the pervert is nothing if not ultra. Explanations like these are in accord with historical parallels, and Reform Methodism at every stage of it has its examples.

There is a wide difference between the abandonment of a position and of those associated with it, and the diligent pursuit thereafter of old methods, not involving repudiation and denunciation of former principles and their advocates; and that newborn zeal that ignores the past, destroys what was builded, and exhibits illumination with preferment, or as cited in the former volume and now repeated, "God forbid that men should not learn while they live, but it is a bad sign when illumination and preferment come together." Gatch for 1779, and Hope Hull and Bruce for 1792, are examples of the former and they lost no moral reputation in consequence, while Dickins for 1779, and

M'Kendree for 1792, are examples of the latter, and posterity will not cease to repeat as its verdict Tyerman's sentiment as to changelings quoted in the first volume: "Wesley had a perfect right to change his opinions, . . . but when a man like Wesley does that, he can hardly expect to escape unfriendly criticism. The world dislikes changelings and hesitates to trust them." Other instances of both these classes will be met with in the next decade of this History. But why so elaborate an exposure of this phase of M'Kendree's career? Simply and sufficiently because no less elaborate attempts have been and are still made to suppress or minimize the facts to a vanishing point, and the truth of history demands it. One other fact and this episode will be dismissed. The much traduced and vilified O'Kelly, when he heard of the defection of M'Kendree, so far as may be gleaned from his published writings, the only data that remain, did not turn upon him with vituperation, as Asbury and M'Kendree turned upon him, or hold up his motives to scornful imputation—he passed the betrayal in silence.

Returning to the summer of 1820, and M'Kendree's preparation of the Address upon the suspended resolutions he submitted to the twelve Annual Conferences, its consideration is in place. It may be found in full in Paine's "Life of M'Kendree," and it occupies fourteen twelvemo printed pages or about thirty-five hundred words. It is lucid, logical, persuasive, and exhaustive of his side of the question. Its assumptions are that the Restrictive Articles of 1808 are the Constitution of the Church, in the making of which that General Conference exhausted the sovereignty of the legislative powers, except by the practically impossible method of an approving vote of all the Annual Conferences and of a ratification finally of two-thirds of the General Conference. His postulates are stated with an extreme reference to intents and results never dreamed of by the advocates of the Elective Eldership, the ultimate being the destruction of the General Superintendency, the abrogation of the itinerancy, and the nullification of all the guarantees of the Constitution. If M'Kendree believed it, and it must be conceded that he did, then was the situation alarming indeed, and his Address was enough to alarm the whole Church. It did so, but not in the way the Address was intended. That he was alarmed by the clamor around his ears, which grew in volume and intensity as the facts gradually sifted down among the people, is evident from the fact that even M'Kendree made pause; and, when he arrived at the Ohio Con-

ference, September 16, 1821, having delayed a full year the presentation, he suggested, after the body had voted with him that the suspended resolutions were unconstitutional, that nevertheless they recommend their passage and incorporation as a modification of the restrictive articles. If he had conceded that much while they were under consideration in 1820, it might have conciliated the friends of the measure and anticipated the fearful agitation that was now fermenting through the whole Church. But the iron men of Episcopal rule never concede anything; imminence of revolution wrested this from M'Kendree. Following Ohio, Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia took the same action, all but South Carolina also accepting the Bishop's recommendation to incorporate the Elective Eldership in the "Constitution." One tires of a word when it has so flimsy a foundation as in this case. South Carolina simply took no action on the recommendation.

It will be noted as of future historical importance that these were all Southern and Southwestern Conferences. Bishop Paue says: "It was a magnanimous surrender of preference for the sake of harmony; but it was a dangerous concession, and proved unavailing though well intended. The other five Conferences refused to accept the change as a constitutional measure, because they were unwilling to acknowledge the want of power in the General Conference to effect it. They laid the Address upon the table and there let it lie,—virtually refused to act on it, and thus tacitly avowed their determination to carry the change into effect independently of the constitutional scruples of the Bishops and other Conferences. Great exertions were made to effect this purpose." The Conferences which thus claimed the right to construe law as well as the bishops were the New England, New York, Genesee, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. It was an issue joined upon the principle involved. Five against seven on the resolutions themselves and six to six on the recommendation to accept it as extra-constitutional, and, as it required the concurrence of all the Annual Conferences, it is seen how emphatically it was defeated on the Bishop's own ground. The action of the Philadelphia Conference was most pronounced, Cooper carrying it unanimously against the Bishop. South Carolina was as emphatic in favor, and so reveals how the two sections, North and South in Methodism, came to be arrayed against each other: the first contending for the continued sovereignty of the General Conference with an interrogation at least as to the constitutional

nature of the enactments of 1808, and the second making no question that the Asbury-M'Kendree-Soule view of it was received as binding the conscience. It will be seen in the sequel how this cause operated in dividing the Church in 1844, the slavery question being only its occasion. When M'Kendree reached the Baltimore Conference in 1822, presented his Address and accentuated his anxiety to have it indorsed by this old and influential conference, John Emory — the intrepid advocate of an Elective Eldership in 1820 — was moved to throw himself into the breach. His son Robert in his "Life of Emory," p. 143, says of this episode: "Mr. Emory thought that justice to himself and the cause which he espoused demanded that he should expose what he considered to be its fallacies, especially as he had previously discharged the duty of personal friendship by doing the same privately to the Bishop when consulted on the Address before it was made. As the result of the debate which ensued, a resolution pronouncing the suspended resolutions unconstitutional was indefinitely postponed by a large vote."¹ The speech brought Emory more than ever into conspicuous notice; as a champion of Reform he was admired, and by its opponents he was respected. Yet it will be seen that, despite this rebuff, the power and patronage of the episcopacy so wrought through its henchmen that at the election for delegates to the General Conference of 1824, this question having been largely made the issue, he was defeated.

Soule's admonition to M'Kendree as to his fears of such a proceeding as was proposed — to carry the suspended resolutions around to the Conferences for approval — was sagacious and prophetic. "But my principal fears are the effect which the measure may have on the membership. The measures of the last General Conference have given our people great alarm." How could it be otherwise? Two-thirds of the most influential preachers of the Church had returned to their homes chagrined over a defeat by methods the most indirect, and by Episcopal interference, the most arbitrary. It inaugurated a new condition of things as to the people. The Annual Conferences were held with closed doors, and the cue from the Elders to the preachers seems to have been not to discuss church government, or Conference differences among the people — they were treated as in non-age. But now in a struggle with the Episcopacy they instinctively turned to the people. They could not refrain from talking about it in the families, and the laity took sides as well. If not

¹ The motion was made by Asa Shinn.

much versed in so-called church government, they had received a schooling in civics. The whole Revolutionary War had been for an idea, a principle, an abstract right, and a concrete liberty. For years every hustings rang with oratory on the principles of civil liberty. They quite thoroughly understood their rights and, understanding, were prepared to maintain them, and the war of 1812-14 only emphasized the education. Thoughtful laymen of the class of Simon Sommers, noticed in the first volume, took up the issues of those who had "the rule over them" in their much loved Methodism. The Discipline was examined and a strangely anomalous condition of things was discovered. The "Constitution" of 1808 made provision that forever thereafter — taking the view of the Asbury-M'Kendree-Soule party — the General Conference was to be "composed of delegates from the Annual Conferences," and the Annual Conferences were to be composed of the preachers, and the delegates were to be chosen by a ratio of preachers in the Conferences; the membership was a basis for nothing, but to pray, pay, and obey. It was discovered that while they slept the toils had been ingeniously entwined around them. It was a desperate situation indeed; for if in this tentative struggle with power so slight a boon to the preachers as an elective eldership under the disability of nominations by the Episcopacy is crushed out, what chance would they have to assert their Christian manhood along the same lines?

Ah me, it was dismal enough to contemplate. And then they revered these men so highly for their work's sake and were indebted to them for a gospel of free salvation — their spiritual liberty; and they were so used to the state of affairs, and as Sneathen said of the general principles involved, and so in this particular instance of lay ignoring, it was "a usage, or custom that ought to continue because it has been — that it is not old because it is right, but right because it is old." It was Wesley's way, and all his ways had been canonized. It was sacrilegious to think otherwise. Yet think they must, and one of those thinkers up in New Jersey, like his prototype in Virginia, Major Sommers, must express his thoughts also. The agitation was circumscribed by the limits of American Methodism only. Reform had become a word coincident with the membership. The negative of five of the largest and most influential of the Conferences had said to the Episcopacy, "Thus far shalt thou come, but no farther." Though, as will be seen, that negative was overcome by methods only too well known by the fuglemen of power and patronage, it never

ceased to be a negative, and it gradually wrought a circumscription of Episcopal powers at least in administration.

William Smith Stockton was born April 8, 1785, at Burlington, N. J. He was descended from good families, the Stocktons and the Gardiners, honorably known in colonial times. His parents were Methodists of the first generation, his father's house a religious centre for class, prayer, and preaching meetings, so that in very early life he became a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He had every educational advantage his day afforded, and soon developed a taste for reading and writing. In 1807 he married Elizabeth S. Hewlings, an admirable and pious woman and a member of the same Church. Soon after his marriage he removed to Mount Holly and there his firstborn, Thomas Hewlings, afterward the eminent and unsurpassed preacher, was born. Subsequently he removed to Trenton, where he was associated with his uncle in the book business. He afterward lived in Easton, Pa., and in his house the first Methodist prayer-meeting was opened in that town. In 1822 he removed to Philadelphia, which city was his home for nearly all the remainder of his life. He published his first book in 1820 — "Truth vs. a Wesleyan Methodist, and other objectors." It was an animadversion on a book entitled "Methodist Error," the author being John G. Watson, well known by his work, "Watson's Annals of Philadelphia." In 1822, he published "Seven Nights," etc., one of the earliest of temperance protests. It was four years prior to the organization of the American Temperance Society, in Boston, Mass., and thus placed him among the very first advocates of total abstinence. Though there was no means of communication in the Methodist Church of that day except through the *Methodist Magazine*, which he knew would interdict freedom of discussion on a subject which was now near his heart and absorbing to his mind — the polity of the Methodist Church — his intimate acquaintance with Ezekiel Cooper, and other leading preachers, put him into possession of the whole Episcopal controversy of the times, and his discriminating intellect and strong American instincts at once ranked him among the Reformers. He determined upon a literary venture at his own risk both pecuniary and ecclesiastical — tentative and uncertain of the result. In February, 1821, he issued a specimen number, of which no copy is preserved so far as the writer has knowledge. It must have been encouraged under its title, *The Wesleyan Repository*, as in April following its regular publication began as a semimonthly magazine of sixteen large octavo pages.

The terms were \$2.50 per annum. The first volume is now before me, but notice of its contents must be deferred until this brief sketch of his life is completed. He was for a number of years superintendent of the Blockley Almshouse and his administration of reforms and improvements in this vast charity brought him into conspicuous notice as a citizen. He published the first volume of the *Repository* in Trenton, N. J., and on removal to Philadelphia, the second and third as monthlies in that city. It closely identified him with the Lay-Representation movement; it was first publicly broached in his magazine, and he stands the unquestioned lay father of it. His pen was unremitting in its advocacy through the *Mutual Rights*, and other sources. He was a member and Secretary of the Reform Convention of 1828, in Baltimore, and of 1830. For this participation he was charged and arraigned before the Church, but such was the purity of his character and the excellence of his reputation that the charges were dismissed, so that he did not have the honor of expulsion for opinions' sake enjoyed by so many of his coadjutors. Meanwhile, he did much other literary work, commanding an elegant and forcible style, wrote much for the *People's Advocate* of Philadelphia, ranging himself always on the side of popular liberty and purity of government. He assisted in the publication of the first American edition of Wesley's Works; wrote the article on the Methodist Protestant Church in Kay's edition of Buck's "Theological Dictionary," and much other editorial work for Methodist periodicals, the editors begging him not to use his name, such was the bitter prejudice against even non-partisan articles, if known to be from the pen of a "Radical" Methodist. He purchased the copyright of the lives of John and Charles Wesley by Dr. Whitehead, issued in Boston, Mass., in 1844, and reissued it in 1845, in handsome style with steel engravings of the Wesleys, and an Introduction by his son, T. H. Stockton, already referred to in the first volume. Two editions were struck off and sold, and yet it is now after fifty years a scarce book, hierarchal Methodism having frowned upon it in America as oligarchic Methodism did in England. In the great cholera panic of 1832 he stood to his post at the almshouse, while officials of every class fled the city. In 1828 he married his second wife, Emily H. Drean of Leesburg, Va. Of her children one became a minister and missionary in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and another is Frank R. Stockton, well known to the periodical and book literature of the day. He had broad and

liberal views in everything, so that he espoused the anti-restrictive rule, and other objections of his son Thomas to the polity of the Methodist Protestant Church as defined in the Constitution and Discipline of this Church at its organization, but which it has since outgrown to its advantage. In 1860, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, he removed to Burlington, where he was born, to spend his declining days. But on the 3d of September, 1860, he met with an accident by the backing of a cart against him on a wharf of the Delaware which fractured his thigh. He was carried to his bed, and for two months suffered much in Christian patience, and on the 20th of November, with his family around him, peacefully passed away. He lies buried in Burlington near the grave of his father and his first wife. In 1849 the writer had an interview with him at the home of Rev. J. T. Ward in Philadelphia. He was tall, spare, erect, and of commanding figure, affable yet dignified, courteous yet firm,—Love, Truth, and Right were written upon every lineament. Occasion will be had often to refer to him in the succeeding pages.

The *Wesleyan Repository and Religious Intelligencer* made its appearance as a semimonthly periodical, April 12, 1821, printed at Trenton, N. J., and edited by William S. Stockton. Its introduction says: "We intend that the columns of our paper shall be open for the reception of communications which have for their object the glory of God, and the good of mankind. . . . Our readers are informed that communications, having for their object the improvement of church discipline, must be free from such expressions as are frequently dictated by an overheated zeal, and sometimes even by the evil passions. If free from evil in their design and tendency, essays on forms of church government will be freely admitted to a place in our columns." From the purpose thus stated and qualified it may be safely asserted that the periodical never departed in its three years' existence despite the calumnies uttered against it. Nicholas Snethen's biographer says: "All its correspondents, I believe, except one, were Methodists; more than twenty of them were preachers, but fourteen at least were, or had been, itinerants. . . . Nicholas Snethen, Ezekiel Cooper, James Smith (Baltimore), Henry B. Bascom, Samuel K. Jennings, Asa Shinn, and others, prominent Reformers, came in later. The leading writers, however, were Nicholas Snethen and the editor. My father's name is connected with more than fifty articles, but Mr. Stockton's with nearly one hundred and fifty. In the eighth number of the first volume

two editorial articles on 'Church Government' appeared. In one of these 'Lay Delegation' was first uttered." Mr. Snethen in his Introduction to his "Essays on Lay-Representation," thus refers to these articles: "The publication of these broke silence, and to break silence on the subject of church government in those days called for no common resolution. But the credit, not of a mere beginner, is due to Mr. Stockton; his efforts in behalf of 'Lay Representation' were unwearied, and knew no bounds short of necessity."¹ Alluding to these two editorials, Mr. Stockton, in 1849, said: "These two editorials were the first direct assault upon the M. E. Church government. I wrote to Mr. Snethen that I had brought an old house about my head."

The periodical was stanchly Methodist, and gave considerable space to its foreign missionary work; it was pronounced in its temperance and anti-slavery sentiments, the latter class of articles written principally by James Smith. The two on "Church Government" by Stockton were signed "A Methodist," and were animadverted upon favorably by Snethen, but without signature. Others followed Snethen, assuming various pseudonyms. These articles, however, made up but a small portion of each number. As the periodical grew in circulation it was criticised divergently, the friends of the old *régime* not being slow in discovering "firebrands, arrows, and death" in these mild-tempered discussions, so that as early as August, 1821, the editor said: "But permit us with all possible sincerity to say that we do not think our external economy is so perfect, as to make it *necessary* for any one to deprive writers and friends of their inherent right to *think, speak, write, and publish*. We claim no exemption from responsibility, — all we claim is the privilege of freemen, of Christians."

All the writers on Reform were careful from the beginning to avow that under no circumstances would schism be encouraged — they meant to secure changes from within. Rev. John R. Williams, a local minister from Baltimore, became a contributor after nine months, and speaking for himself and others, says, "Every author who has written for the paper has explicitly disavowed all intention to revolutionize or divide the Society, and there is not a paragraph in the work calculated to bring about such a melancholy state of things." His *nom de plume* was "Amicus." March 28, 1822, Snethen addressed a Memorial to the Philadelphia Conference, calling upon it to stand by liberal

¹ Frank R. Stockton in Colhouer's "Sketches of the Founders."

sentiments. It was signed "Thousands," and probably had its effect with the efforts of Cooper to carry it solidly against M'Kendree and Soule. In the same number Ezekiel Cooper made his first appearance as a contributor in an incidental correction of Snethen in a historical matter as to Beverly Allen. He signed himself "A Methodist." In this number Hon. P. B. Hopper of Maryland also appeared in the controversy.

When the first volume closed it had reached perhaps five hundred subscribers, and this, Snethen says, was its maximum circulation. The whole of the three volumes in my possession are verified as to all the contributors by W. S. Stockton, who did it in a series of articles for the *Western Recorder*, February, 1850, and his own original copy, which found its way into Drew Theological Library through F. R. Stockton in the first two volumes only, with his marginal annotations. These have been copied into my set, so that when authorship is spoken of in these pages there can be no doubt as to verification. As the periodical very soon came under ban it was largely subscribed for secretly and surreptitiously circulated. After seventy years it seems impossible to realize it, and the modern school of preachers and laymen must marvel at the fact. Yet every number was read by many others and became a nucleus of illumination, and a centre of Reform. The bishops and not a few of the presiding elders found access to it. Robert, the gifted son of John Emory, is careful to declare in his effort to vindicate his father from being a "Radical" that he was not a subscriber. But his brother-in-law, Dr. Sellers, was, and a *Radical* contributor, and there can be no doubt that Emory carefully read every number of it; for, during its publication he was recognized as a Reformer by its friends, and was in their confidence fully.

The second volume of the *Repository* came to its close with the addition of notable writers. Dr. T. E. Bond, who was a subscriber, wrote one article on the "Relation of the Children to the Church." He, like Emory, was recognized as a Reformer, and had their confidence. J. G. Watson of Philadelphia became a contributor. Henry B. Bascom became a subscriber and entered the lists as a bold advocate of Reform, while "Baltimore" James Smith wrote with cogency for the new measures. Snethen, always in the van, with Stockton and Hopper, Richard Sneath, J. R. Williams, and Gideon Davis were pressing the polemics to the very gates. But such was the fear of detection as supporters of it that the editor and proprietor was often straitened for

means to keep it floating, suffering much pecuniary loss. Its literary character was high, and its mechanical appearance first class. All wrote anonymously, as it was well understood that open support of it meant social, business, and ecclesiastical ostracism.

The third volume was meaty and advanced, but the same amenities of debate are observed, and for polemical papers stand to-day specimens of Christian discussion. This is no random statement; let the pages be examined, and the impartial mind of to-day will be surprised to know that these animadversions brought upon the authors the charge of "enemies of Methodism." Rev. Cornelius Springer of Ohio wrote a series of articles addressed to the senior Bishop, under the pseudonym "Cincinnati," which excited great attention, as they were construed as a personal attack — wherefore only the prejudiced could see. And now was revived a question aside from the primal purpose of all who had written to this date, — Lay-Representation pure and simple as the issue, — the local preachers' contest. The Baltimore District Conference, nearly all of whom were inchoate Reformers, issued a circular to like districts throughout the United States, calling for larger recognition. It was signed by Samuel K. Jennings, Alexander McCaine (who had retired from the itinerancy and was school-teaching), and James R. Williams. The agitation was continued through the volume, space being given to the matter, until, as Snethen put it, a triangular warfare was inaugurated. As all of them were friends of lay-representation also, it was impossible to discriminate against them. There was also published a correspondence between Rev. Jesse Head of Kentucky and Bishop M'Kendree about a certain arbitrary act of administration by which he was expelled the Conference under aggravations sanctioned by the three bishops. It led to a secession under a Discipline which recognized the fundamental principles of a separation of the legislative, judicial, and executive powers of government, but the particulars demand no further space except to note a fact of history not elsewhere found. It is probable that the movement finally merged into that of 1827-30. Alexander McCaine made an effort to secure publication of the local preachers' circular in the *Methodist Magazine*, but did not succeed; the publishers printed on the cover of the magazine in September, 1823, a standing notice that nothing would be admitted of a controversial character, "which go to disturb the peace and harmony of the Church." All petitioners were re-

ferred to the General Conference for redress of grievances. Subsequently, however, its columns were freely used in opposition to the Reformers of every class. This refusal of a hearing aroused the lion in McCaine, and he became a subscriber and contributor to the *Repository*. In contrast its pages were open to its opponents, and several availed themselves of the privilege.

Now appeared a series of letters from Snethen addressed to Reformers throughout the Methodist Episcopal Church, in which he deprecated the sending of delegates to the ensuing General Conference as premature, insisting absolutely that there should be no schism and holding to extreme conservative ground, suggesting petitions, and in default of a favorable hearing the first organized movement. As out of it after came the Union Societies, his words must be quoted: "But if they remain inflexible, that we then proceed to organize ourselves into a kind of patriotic societies, for the purpose of obtaining, and securing to ourselves, the right of ecclesiastical suffrage, and acquiring a knowledge of our numbers, views, and proceedings; and that so soon as we become sufficiently numerous and united, we signify to Travelling Preachers our free, sovereign will, and let them know that the time is come for them to yield to necessity, as they would not to justice and reason; we may add that if they persist, all the blame and all the evil of dividing themselves from the majority of the Church must be upon their own heads." Thus is outlined a procedure which subsequent events made it wise to follow, as the only alternative for Reformers,— a procedure so reasonable, conservative, and within the privilege of Methodists, that it does not seem to have occurred to Snethen that expedients under cover of law would be found by the episcopacy not only to neutralize these methods for securing reforms from within the Church, but to visit upon those who adopted the procedure unmerited punishment,— the extreme penalty of ecclesiastical law, — expulsion. The dominating influence of Snethen held in check those who would have precipitated separation under the aggravations of delay, denial, and accusation of moral turpitude. In this at least there was concert of opinion and action among the Reformers: to keep within their privilege along the lines laid out by Snethen, to petition and remonstrate, to coöperate, and thus enlarge the area of intelligent apprehension of their aims by peaceable discussion and the use of the press at their own charges.

The writings of "Baltimore" James Smith in these volumes of the *Repository* attracted particular attention for their dialectical

lucidity and mastery of facts. He had been a member of the General Conference of 1808, and of the first delegated Conference of 1812, participated in the debates, and fully understood the merits of the pending issues. In 1820 he was stationed at old St. George's with Ezekiel Cooper and the Philadelphia James Smith, so called to distinguish them, and in 1821 he was superannuated and located in Queen Anne's County, Md., where he had the association of Hon. P. B. Hopper, Dr. Sellers, and incidentally of John Emory, and the views he expressed were probably shared by all of them as brother Reformers. He was the author of a series of articles running through several volumes of the *Repository* on the Constitution. The fifth of the series is in the August number of volume third, and so important is it that citations from it are demanded as settling the question it discusses beyond any man's power of successful controversion. It is commended specially to all the Constitutionlists of the Methodist Church, South, of the Dr. Tigert type, and all the anti-Constitutionlists of the Methodist Church, North, and as answering their recent quest for a "Constitution," but not yet found.

Smith, after carefully laying his premises, thus concludes: "The question, then, is again reduced to this shape, viz.: Were the preachers who were members of the General Conference of 1808 a convention to frame and adopt a Constitution for the Church, or not? If the answer be given in the affirmative, the fact must be assumed in one of two shapes: either, first, that the whole body of the elders, who had a right to be members of that Conference, were the whole of the community, in law; or, secondly, that the Annual Conferences, by election, invested them with powers as their representatives, to frame and adopt a Constitution for *them*, according to their own judgment, which should without any confirmatory act of these Annual Conferences be obligatory on themselves and the Church. Now, if the first of these assumptions be correct, why did the presiding Bishop, on his last tour round to the Annual Conferences previous to the General Conference of 1808, propose to the Annual Conferences to instruct the preachers who might go to the General Conference to adopt an order that representatives should compose the General Conference in future, instead of all the elders who might choose to go? If the whole community (in law) went to that General Conference, why impart such instruction or ask such permission? But, secondly, how could these elders who were expected to go to that General Conference be invested with powers to form a

Constitution whose operations should limit the legislative powers of future General Conferences, when nothing was mentioned to the Annual Conferences by the Bishop, who proposed the measure, about a Constitution which should have the effect so to limit the powers of future General Conferences, nor was the subject in any way agitated at all. But only to adopt an order or so change the government as to send fewer members to the General Conference, in future to prevent embarrassment arising from so many travelling preachers to and from General Conference, from remote parts of the country; and to secure to the Annual Conferences at a distance from the seat of the General Conference, at the same time, a more equitable and proportionate influence in the body which makes rules for all. Nothing, that we know of, was said about a Constitution to limit the powers of future General Conferences, but merely to adopt an order, by a majority of that General Conference, to send representatives in future invested with legislative powers, instead of all the elders. If any of the acts of the General Conference of 1808 can lay claim to the character of a Constitution, we conceive it is that which bears on the point of constituting delegates; because, on this point, the Annual Conferences appear to have been consulted, and perhaps may have given consent and instruction on it; but as they seem to have been consulted on nothing else, and gave authority to do no more, the whole of the restrictive articles which go to abridge the legislative powers of future General Conferences are purely gratuitous, and have no restrictive authority whatever, until that authority shall be given them by the Annual Conferences, adopting them as shown in our third essay on this subject. But if the Annual Conferences did, previously to 1808, authorize the General Conference of 1808 to impose a change on the essential principles of the government, so as to make all the General Conferences after that date delegated bodies, instead of consulting all the elders, I am inclined to think that that order is as authoritative as any other principle in our usages. But if the Annual Conferences invested that General Conference with no powers to make any other change in the government, which was the fact, then all that they did further is but gratuitous assumption, and of course is of no constitutional authority. Whether the Annual Conferences did properly invest that General Conference with powers to make even this change or not, we are not prepared to say. But if they did not invest the General Conference of 1808 with the powers to make the future General Conferences dele-

gated bodies, I do not conceive that their having done so makes them legitimately such. And if so, then in our opinion things stand as they did before 1808. But if they did authorize that General Conference to make the future General Conferences delegated bodies, we are confident they did not authorize them to restrict their future legislation within certain bounds (such as the restrictive articles specify), either specifically or impliedly; for they do not appear to have been invested with a power to form a Constitution on general terms, but only to do a specific thing, *i.e.* to reduce the number of members of future General Conferences. But here we would remark that that investiture was not of a nature to authorize them to make a Constitution, which implies the giving of certain powers to certain functionaries, as well as restricting those functionaries in the exercise of those powers. But implied only a restriction of certain powers, formerly held by many, to a fewer number, supposing the old Constitution (or order of things) to remain, wherein that Conference had not been instructed to alter it. And as their instructions went no further, and attempted to restrict the power of future General Conferences in a way that they were not authorized to do, their acts in this matter were assumed (being unauthorized), and are of no authority whatever as a Constitution, according to American doctrine, which at the time appears to be the doctrine of reason. Hence we are inclined to believe that the making of the General Conferences in future a delegated body, instead of all the elders, was a legitimate act, because it seems to have been authorized; but the acts which go to abridge their legislative powers are not obligatory, because unauthorized."

This article and others were signed "Philonomos," though he wrote under other pseudonyms. It literally tears to shreds all arguments for a Constitution in the restrictive articles, as having even Annual Conference consent. So the Methodist Episcopal Church was compelled by the exigency of 1844 to acknowledge it and so the civil courts have decided, and so it is that the great Church named is floundering to-day in the uncertainties of absolute negations; "Rules and Regulations" are all that it has, and these are liable to alteration, addition, or abrogation at the will of every sovereign General Conference. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, under a similar logical necessity, in the Bishop Andrew case adhered to the old constitutional, traditional theory, the delight of Asbury, M'Kendree, and Soule, with the

right of episcopal veto to this day on measures deemed by them unconstitutional. It is phenomenal, however, that a little more than a score of years after, their General Conference of 1866 enacted a violation of one of the restrictive articles, *i.e.* the Constitution, "The General Conference shall be composed of delegates from the Annual Conferences," and as these were composed from "the beginning" of preachers itinerant only, to the exclusion of the locality and the laity, in that it made provision for an equal delegation of laymen in the General Conference, and four delegates from each presiding elder's district in the Annual Conferences. Happily for the liberal advance of this Church and its internal peace there was no Bishop to "veto" the innovation, two-thirds voted for it in the General Conference, and on its reference to the Annual Conferences they by a three-fourths vote adopted it. The vote in the General Conference on a final test was ninety-seven yeas and forty-one nays. These forty-one were evidently "Bourbons," who believed it "unconstitutional." The large majority saw, however, that it was an emergency that demanded a waiver of the constitutional myths, and this Church is awaiting the emergency that will repudiate the Asbury-M'Kendree-Soule Episcopacy as an "order" with its veto power. In its proper chronological place more will be said of this lay-delegation feature in the Church, South.

The *Repository* fairly bristled with incandescent contributions as to their magnetic logic and contagious enthusiasm for Reform for the last nine months of its brilliant career. It developed the triangular contention, however, already referred to, the local preachers pushing their claims to recognition, not content to wait until they could be secured by the success of the lay-representation movement of Snethen, Smith, and Cooper, with what damage to the cause itself will be presently seen. Dr. Jennings, as a leader of the local preachers and a lay-representationist, made his appearance in the August number on the refusal of the *Methodist Magazine* to publish their circular. The Reform movement now was pressed along three separate lines: the Elder question, the Local Preacher question, and the Lay question. Like the Reformation under Luther, there were party leaders with divergent views, until the cause was embarrassed to the verge of defeat. Snethen and Stockton saw the shoals and heard the distant breakers, and admonished accordingly, and by their wise management the ship was kept off shore. Five hundred copies of the *Repository* found their silent way to as many ardent supporters,

and these copies found numerous readers, so that it is safe to say that three thousand sympathizers were scattered through the Conferences and among the laity. Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati were great centres. In the latter city, claiming the revolutionary right of peaceful assemblage for redress of grievances, a public meeting was held of the laity, on the 19th of August, 1823, William Disney, President, and John Forbes, Secretary, and a circular was addressed the "Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church throughout the United States," calmly and masterfully reviewing their ignoring in the government of the Church. It may be found on pages 190-193 of the *Repository* for 1823. It is denominated "a large and respectable meeting of the members," and the collateral evidence is that it composed the very cream of Methodism in that city. Indeed, it was never questioned, even by its opponents, that this was its character wherever a nucleus was found; it largely composed the brains, piety, and social force of Methodism.

In default of other vehicles the secular press was sometimes employed to reach the people, and distant points found letter-link connection beyond what the *Repository* supplied. The bishops, the elders, and for the most part the itinerants, set themselves against it diligently, profiting by every unadvised word and every lapse of order and every influence that power and patronage could evoke to frustrate the movement and the movers. In a "Voice from the West," an article reviewing the obstructions used to prevent the circulation of the *Repository*, signed "Cincinnati, Jr.," attributed to H. B. Bascom, though not so identified by Stockton, and bearing every ear-mark of his composition, a fact is mentioned at which one knows not whether to laugh or cry: "Two elders arose immediately in succession, and admonished the people, and strove to guard them against the prevailing errors of the day; after which a respectable young minister arose, and, as he thought, drew from his pocket a single number of the *Repository*, dashed it on the floor in the presence of the people, and with *gushing tears* exclaimed, 'There is the accursed thing!' but it so happened that while he was attempting to be so *pathetically sublime*, he unintentionally drew from his pocket with the number before mentioned the discipline of our Church, which shared the same indignity and became the object of the same anathema."

A series now appeared, "Letters on Church Government," by "Martin Luther," Alexander McCaine. They are models of con-

troversial writing, though incisive and unsparing in logic, and as the writer wishes this to be believed, insomuch as McCaine was "outlawed" for his contributions to Reform by the General Conference of 1828, he has arranged that these volumes of the *Repository* shall always be accessible to any honest inquirer. And subject to the same test, it is asserted that this third volume is characterized with most of the features that gave imperishable fame to the "Letters of Junius" and the Addison papers in the "Spectator." It will not be forgotten that the sticklers for the old forms and absolute methods had raised this wind; they were alarmed at the signs of the coming whirlwind. Gideon Davis, a liberally educated layman of Georgetown, D. C., appeared as a polished and trenchant writer under the signature "Waters." Now came a writer with the *nom de plume* of "Anthroposophy," and later on other articles signed "A Methodist;" the former introduced the "Question of Lay-delegation," and the latter "The Outlines of a Proposed Plan for a Lay-delegation;" they were from the gifted pen of Ezekiel Cooper of the Philadelphia Conference. It outlines a plan for equal representation — and this is the term he employs with propriety in the body of it — in the General Conference, with careful provision for the election of the laymen in primary assemblies of the male membership, and therefore honestly representative of them. The positions taken by him are unanswerable, and broad as the ground taken by Sneathen. A few concluding sentences of the second article will exhibit its animus: "The Laity and Local Brethren are awake to their rights and privileges; they cannot be by any opiates lulled to sleep again; nor by any weapons be driven from the ground of their claim and demand, as an inalienable right. The sooner it is yielded the better; for be ye well assured that Lay-delegation must ultimately be adopted, or the cause of the Itinerancy, and union and peace, will be greatly endangered, if not ruined and destroyed. United we stand, divided we fall." In a later article signed "Philo-Episcopos," he cites the language of M'Kendree in 1792, already twice given, "It is an insult to my understanding," etc. The plan of Cooper was reviewed and criticised by Jennings, McCaine, and Williams because it did not provide at once for proper recognition of the local preachers. Stockton endeavored to allay the difference in an article signed "A Layman," and warned the locality, "Let us not furnish the representatives of the travelling ministry with any pretext for saying, 'We cannot agree to legislate to you your rights, because of your

own disagreements.'” So the Luthers of this ecclesiastical Reformation had their Erasmuses, and as the leading lights of the doctrinal Reformation differed as to the scope and method to be observed, so now the strong individualities developed could not agree in the details, though fundamentals were clear enough to them all. It was the only bond that held them together, and that they did hold together is in proof that fundamentals were involved; the personal equation of each leader was finally lost in them, and made the Reform so unlike the secession of O’Kelly, which it resembled in nothing, that the principles lived and are the issues of to-day in all the Methodisms, and are surely moulding them into conformity to what Sneath, Shinn, Stockton, and Cooper taught.

Ezekiel Cooper did not further elaborate his Plan as called for; it was clear-cut and distinctive, and has the merit of having furnished the foundation principles on which the Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church were subsequently built; but he did review in an exhaustive and masterful manner, at the request of the Local Preachers’ Association of Philadelphia, the criticisms of Jennings, McCaine, and Williams. The claim they set up of an equal representation in the General Conference with the Travelling preachers and the Laity was not entertained by the Local preachers as a class, as is plain from the articles in the *Repository* at the time. Their dictum was even repudiated by the Baltimore Local Preachers’ Association, from which it professed to emanate,¹ but the introduction of this element seriously and needlessly, as will be seen, complicated the situation, wrought irreparable damage to the cause of Reform, and brought the issues to the General Conference of 1824, with its advocates presenting a divided front.

McCaine concluded his letters addressed to the bishops, and in ending says: “I have studied all along to avoid personalities, knowing and feeling that respect is due to you, to the Church, to the public, to the subject, and to myself. If after all I have expressed myself in an objectionable manner, let it be pointed out, and if the subject be not injured by the alteration, it shall be altered. I have now done what I *felt* to be a duty, and subscribe myself with great respect your brother in the Gospel of Christ. MARTIN LUTHER.” It proved him, up to this stage of the discussion at least, a Christian gentleman in controversy, and

¹ They were the “Committee of Correspondence” for that Association, and spoke for it in this capacity only.

aggravates the invidious treatment he afterward received from the authorities, though it was an unwitting mode of their unwilling confession that his arguments were unanswerable. Rome made the same disposition of Huss; as he could neither be silenced nor refuted, one method was left,—“burn the heretic!”

The West Jersey District Conference addressed a Memorial to the General Conference asking that a Convention of the Church might be called to agree upon a Constitution, a method of adjusting the legal and logical and factual difficulties of the Methodist Episcopal Church which has been over and over again since that time suggested; and now that the Church is still at its endeavor to “find a Constitution,” despite the nugatory labors of the High Commission appointed for the purpose by the General Conference of 1888, it has been proposed, as late as this year of our Lord 1894, through the *New York Christian Advocate*, by an influential layman of the Church. What a happy deliverance such a procedure would be out of the errors of 1784 and 1808, and for that of 1844! Snethen and Stockton and James Smith of Baltimore continued to use their offices to conciliate the Local preachers who were so insistent, the last ably pointing out that the ensuing General Conference, even if disposed calmly to consider the petitions of the Reformers, that its right to legislate in their favor would demand attention; if the enactments of 1808 were a Constitution, then action would be barred by it, and if not, then a Convention might have to be called to give it such investiture, so that he was not hopeful of action, and drops this caution, “And as we hope it is the wish of all to banish ecclesiastical controversy from the ranks of Methodism, we wish to see a course pursued more likely to effect that truly desirable object.”

Bascom appears again “From the West,” in scathing review of the presiding elder Greenbury R. Jones, of the Scioto District, Ohio. Jones replies at length, and is given space, be it noted, in this magazine devoted to free discussion, and then in rejoinder he was pulverized by four members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who among other delectable bits of information disclose the fact that said Jones had averred in the heat of a discussion on Reform that “he would spill blood rather than submit to such innovations as are contemplated by the friends of Reform.” The burden of the petitions prepared and sent to the ensuing General Conference from meetings of the members and from Local Preachers’ Associations called for a Convention as the best expedient for harmonizing and settling the Church on a secure

foundation, while the temper and spirit of these petitions may be judged from the specimens which are found in the *Repository*; and in view of the heat and distemper engendered by the controversy, it is complimentary to the Christian forbearance of the Reformers that they state their case with such moderation. The documents are extant and open to investigation. Conspicuous for its moderation and respectful phrasing is the Memorial of the Baltimore District Conference.

“Cincinnatus,” Rev. Cornelius Springer of the West, continued to use his pen to the close of the third volume. In his last article he furnishes a chapter of facts easily paralleled in other sections of the Church, and the citation of it will answer for all. “In the administration of discipline over the lay-members, high-handed measures have frequently been pursued, such as burning or tearing up class papers, and by this one sweeping act turning out of the Church the whole class at once, scratching off the names of respectable members from the class roll, and thereby expelling them without the formalities of a trial. I have known instances of a Travelling Preacher preferring charges against members for censuring his administration; and after picking his own jury, and becoming his own judge, to exercise the Church censures against those who dared to find fault with his doings. Another case I know, where an Itinerant Preacher preferred a charge of heresy against a local preacher of respectable standing, and who, previous to his expulsion, sustained an unimpeachable moral and religious character. A committee of the delinquent’s peers were summoned to sit in judgment on his case. They brought in a verdict of ‘Not guilty.’ But the ruling spirit was much displeased at the decision, and he *arbitrarily* appealed (I say the appeal was arbitrary because the discipline allows none in such a case. It is the obvious intention of that rule on the subject of the trial of local preachers to prevent the travelling ministry, should any be so disposed, from oppressing local brethren) the case to the Quarterly Meeting Conference; and his majesty, the presiding elder, took jurisdiction thereon, and through the united influence of these two managing geniuses the heretic was hurled out of the Church, and its curses fulminated after him. The consequences of these proceedings were that they opened the way for a wider spread and a more deeply rooted heresy than ever, and they also engendered party feeling and schism in many a breast where such never before existed. And, sir, instances have not been wanting where the ministry have

preferred charges against the lay department for reading and supporting your Depository."

The controversy was not slow in developing that species of the human invertebrate known popularly as the trimmer, both among the membership and the ministry. This moral infirmity appears whenever the issue is between Principle and Power, and in this history is constantly repeating itself, both in the State and the Church. Quite a large number of the travelling preachers espoused the lay cause, especially in the centres of agitation, and so with the laity, but there were great sections of the Church into which the light had never penetrated; the means of promulgation were so circumscribed and the avenues so jealously watched that in the quadrennium up to 1824, while the Reformers constituted a respectable body as to numbers, and eminently so as to standing, they were an insignificant minority, if their cause had to be judged by this criterion — and so judged it was by the Episcopal powers. Even this minority was put to a test that few were able to withstand. The test was well described by Alexander Hamilton: "In the general course of human nature, a power over a man's substance amounts to a power over his will." The proofs are abundant that this power was exercised. There was another power employed none the less potential, that of promotion, the exact converse of the other. The line of contest became sharply defined in the Annual Conference elections for delegates to the General Conference of 1824. An examination of the rosters respectively of 1820 and 1824 will reveal how patronage and power wrought a change of sentiment or was exercised to exclude those who were inflexible. A comparison will be made when in the ensuing chapter the General Conference of 1824 is fully considered.

CHAPTER III

Prior to the ensuing General Conference of 1824, the leading Reformers, Griffith, Morgan, Waugh, and Emory, issued a circular Address again favoring the Elective Eldership—Counted without their host; secret combine of the anti-reformers for their defeat as delegates and of their reform measure; the strategy of the movement and how it succeeded—The Episcopal Address and its strange recommendation to kill by anticipation the reform memorials—Dr. T. E. Bond and Thomas Kelso as Reformers at this time; proofs—Answer of the Conference to the Reformers at the close of the session; the “suspended resolutions” disposed of at the same time by the machination of the same parties; how it was accomplished; full history of it—Alarm of the majority over their action and retrace their steps in part—Soule and Hedding as sectional bishops chosen—Diplomacy of Emory—Division into Episcopal Districts as foreshadowing the sectional sentiment and its connection with the division of 1844—The bishops’ meeting to select a delegate to the British Conference an abortion for the same reason; the secret memoranda—Eminent Reformers.

A FEW months before the election of delegates to the General Conference of 1824 took place in the Baltimore Conference, the leaders of the Elective Presiding Elder question felt it to be auspicious to address the Annual Conference upon the subject. They had lost no courage, as is manifest from the Address itself, but they were as evidently not posted in the silent, not to say insidious, influences which were at work to accomplish both the defeat of the measure, with all that it implicated of further Reforms, but the downfall of the bold advocates as well. The *Mutual Rights*, etc., of September 5 and 20, 1828, has the text of the full Address, but the writer has failed to find it elsewhere, though it was printed in pamphlet by the authors at the time, circulated through the Baltimore Conference, and signed with their own names, as their confidence seems to have been equal to their courage. Robert Emory, in his “Life of Bishop Emory,”¹ gives free extracts from it, or allows his venerated father, then six years deceased, to do so in his own effort to vindicate himself from the charge of being a “Radical.” The authorship of the Address is frankly admitted by both; it was from the facile pen of John Emory. W. S. Stockton had a copy of the text in full, and assigns as his reason for not republishing the whole: “The

¹ “The Life of the Rev. John Emory, D.D.,” etc., by one of his sons. 8vo. 380 pp. New York. Book Concern. 1841.

Address is confined to the consideration of the 'suspended resolutions' of 1820. This subject having been discussed in the *Repository*, we need not apologize for having room only for the following extract." The heading is also given: "Address to the Baltimore Annual Conference, by the Rev. Alfred Griffith, Gerard Morgan, Beverly Waugh, and John Emory." They say: "The suspended resolutions give us very little solicitude as to any importance of their own; nor are we concerned for their own sake how they are disposed of. But at the time of their passage we did consider them important, because we considered them in the light of a compromise, and as partaking in some sort of the sacredness of a treaty. The manner in which the first essay was made to arrest them we deemed it still more important to resist, because we viewed it as the germ of *individual supremacy over the General Conference*, and one which the whole character of its incipient indications compelled us to believe would eventually grow to this, if not promptly and effectually put down at its very first appearance. Of this all ecclesiastical history was our warning. It remains for you, Brethren, to determine whether those extraordinary proceedings shall receive your sanction, and be invested with all the force of binding precedents. For ourselves, whatever inconveniences it may bring upon us, we sincerely rejoice that *our* votes stand recorded against them. The responsibility is now taken from us, and rests with you; and we call upon you to look to it in the face of the Church and of the world. *Remember the force of precedents. Remember the tenacious grasp with which power is held when once acquired. Its march is ever onward and its tremendous tendency is to accumulation.* You are to act not only for the present age, and with reference to those who are now in office, but for posterity. Look forward then, we beseech you, to the influences with which your acts will descend upon them, and to the aspect with which they will be exhibited upon the page of our future history." The italics, except the word *our*, are by the writer, as singling out epigrammatical sentences, which like those given by M'Kendree in 1792, become the catch-phrases of Reformers, and as crystallizing a universal axiom.

It will be seen that the authors take ground which advances them beyond the mere occasion of the suspended resolutions and plants them upon Reform principles, with their ever widening application. It is always pitiable when a man, after accepting promotion in the line of his prior denunciation of the exercise of

power, seeks to mitigate and explain away his record. After Emory's elevation as Assistant Book Agent in 1824, and General Agent in 1828, and Bishop in 1832, these attempts to dissociate himself from the Reformers, as found in his son Robert's "Life," may have been satisfactory to his adhering friends, but will not be so to impartial readers.¹ The strained effort at exculpation does not favorably impress a candid reader, and it would have been more to purpose if his biographer had checked his filial zeal to do so. It has rendered necessary the use of more space than would have been the writer's preference, so for the present this phase of the subject is dismissed with a few observations on his associates in the Address.

Alfred Griffith, the first signer, was one of the strong men of the Baltimore Conference, but now aging, and who, yielding to the adverse pressure of 1824-32, quietly succumbed without losing the respect of his fellow-Reformers. Gerard Morgan was a reputable preacher, who had been an Elder of leading influence, but who, like Griffith, was submerged by the reflux wave of

¹ Rev. Dr. George Brown, who as a witness is unimpeachable, says: "At the Conference at Winchester (April, 1824), Beverly Waugh, with some difficulty obtained leave to read N. Sueten's letter in favor of lay-delegation. It was heard by that body with mingled indications of favor and displeasure. Joshua Soule read a paper inflicting some heavy censure on John Emory for certain statements made by Emory and others in a pamphlet involving Soule's course at the General Conference of 1820. Emory, in the course of his reply, *admitted the right of the Methodist people to a lay-delegation, and said they ought to have it, if they so desired.* Soule presided in a caucus held by the anti-reform party to nominate delegates to the General Conference, and in his remarks before taking the chair, went against nominating any reformer, as the ancient order of things must be strictly maintained. . . ." (The reformers also held a caucus, but as has been found all their candidates were defeated.) . . . "After Conference adjourned Emory and Waugh took me with them to a self-defence caucus meeting of the friends of ecclesiastical liberty. This was the first time I ever took an open, public part with the Reformers." See Brown's "Itinerant Life," pp. 123, 124. Cincinnati and Springfield. 1868. 8vo, pp. 456. Cloth. It will often be cited hereafter for testimony. The quotation italicized by the writer is in proof that the Eldership question and Lay-Representation hinged upon each other, and makes nugatory the filial effort of Emory's son to dissociate him from the "Radical controversy." Brown says further, on p. 124, "This defeat (to the General Conference), in connection with that of the local preacher claim to a share in the government of the Church, led Emory and Waugh, and most of the others, it is supposed, to abandon the cause of reform." As motives those assigned are satisfactory, and shall be further elaborated in this History. Men have a right to desist from the advocacy of a plan found encumbered by others with objectionable issues, but the obloquy cannot thus be removed from those of them who afterward denounced the *principles* involved, as these are apart from objectionable complications; and accept promotion, and the exercise of the very powers their former principles disallowed. This essential distinction shall not be overlooked in the analysis of the pervert Reformers of these days.

anti-reform. He was known to posterity through his three preacher sons, now deceased, of enviable fame in Maryland. Beverly Waugh has already been introduced as a still-hunt Reformer. Of mediocre ability, amiable and popular, and his career an exposition of the proverb, "The prudent man foreseeth the evil and hideth himself," he was not forgotten for promotion; made Assistant Book Agent to Emory in 1828, General Agent in 1832, and Bishop in 1836. His administration of the high office was mild and respectable, and residing in Baltimore he did not by extremes of utterance, like Emory, forfeit the regard of his old associates in Reform. It is finally noteworthy that while these four men were elected to the General Conference of 1820 as Reformers on the Elder question, not one of them was elected to the General Conference of 1824, so that while their Address may have had its effect in preventing the Baltimore Conference from indorsing M'Kendree's views, such had been the growth of Episcopal influence that they were marked for defeat, and a full delegation elected known to be anti-reformers. The same result was largely brought about in the other eleven Conferences, as will be seen when the delegations are analyzed.

Scriptural doctrines and helpful means of grace continued to triumph in Methodism, if an unbalanced government did continually foment discussion, and arbitrary stretches of authority provoke protest. The past quadrennium noted an increase of white members from 267,618 to 280,427, or 12,809. The percentage is small, but the distractions of controversy led not a few thoughtful people in many communities to stand aloof from a system which was capable of the abuses exhibited, while others fell away from its support as incongruous with Christian manliness. All these were stigmatized as "enemies of Methodism," whether in or out of the Church; but the reader will not for a moment impeach the piety of the adherents of the Asbury-M'Kendree-Soule plan. With all good conscience and changeless conviction they esteemed themselves the Levites of the tribes of Israel, and Methodism as thus interpreted was a sacred ark. What if the oxen did stumble in hauling it at Nachon's threshing-floor, the impious Uzzahs who stretched forth their hands under the impulse to steady it would surely meet no other fate than that of their prototype against whom "the anger of the Lord was kindled."

The General Conference of 1824 assembled in Baltimore May 1, in the Eutaw Street church, under whose pulpit now reposed the

mortal remains of Bishop Asbury. It consisted of 126 members. Bangs furnishes the full list. A scrutiny of it discloses the fact that except in a few Conferences where the Reform sentiment was paramount, Nathan Bangs from the New York, George Pickering from the New England, Ezekiel Cooper and James Smith from the Philadelphia, few of the former advocates of an Elective Eldership were honored with seats in it. In the Baltimore Conference, despite Emory's Address and the permeation of the local ministry and the membership with liberal sentiments, the entire delegation were conservatives and reactionists, such as Soule, Roszel, Hitt, Reed, Henry Smith, and the two Fries. In the other Conferences the Episcopacy was reënfined by Sandford, Martindale, Hedding, Merrill, Fisk, Hardy, George Peck, the two Chamberlains, Charles Elliott, Greenbury R. Jones, James B. Finley, Sale, Quinn, and the two Youngs, Peter Cartwright, Thomas A. Morris, Beauchamp, Paine, Douglass, Winans, Capers, Andrews, Morton, Lovick Pierce, Copton, Ware, Rusling, Lawrenson, M'Combs, and Pittman. Emory, who was stationed in Baltimore, was a visitor, as well as other defeated Reformers. What must have been his temporary surprise to find himself named and elected Secretary of the General Conference despite his record as a Reformer? But so it was. He was a young man of conspicuous abilities, and is marked for promotion. M'Kendree, George, and Roberts were all present. Did the first named out of his earlier experience as a pervert of O'Kelly's start the whisper which spread over the Conference — Emory for Secretary? A change of mind is sometimes wrought by the force of association, and preferment is a powerful means of illumination. Early in the session the fraternal delegates from the Wesleyan Conference, Revs. Richard Reece and John Hannah, were introduced and submitted their Address, which was to "The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church," etc., — the first time in just forty years that this title was recognized by the English brethren, under the favorable influence of Emory's visit four years earlier.

The Episcopal Address was read and referred. It noted that "the last four years we have not been favored with extraordinary revivals of religion;" "on the subject of Church government some of our friends have entered into various speculations, and it seems probable that memorials will be laid before you both from local preachers and private members. In order to give full satisfaction, as far as possible, on this point, it may be expedient

to appoint a committee of address, to prepare circulars, in answer to such memorials as may be presented." It is a curious recommendation by way of anticipation; there is no hint of possible concession, only a method of disposition, and it was so. The memorials did pour in, and the closing numbers of the third volume of the *Repository* have preserved not a few happily, that posterity wishing to look into the subject might have opportunity to judge of their "inflammatory" or "slandrous" or "violent" character. Notwithstanding the efforts of Snethen and Stockton to unify these memorials on lay-representation, while having a general end in view, they were diverse, and from various sources, — individuals, District Conferences, public meetings of the laity, Sunday-schools, etc. They touched almost all the questions of controversy which were debated from 1792. It was the misfortune of a good cause, and adroit advantage was taken of it by the solid conservatives of the Conference. They were from many sections of the Church, so widespread was the disaffection instigated by the assumptions of M'Kendree and Soule, and imitated by many presiding elders in the various Conferences. Baltimore was, however, a storm centre. The original of a copy of a Memorial¹ addressed to the bishops and Conference is now before the writer, claiming to represent the views of a convention of Reformers, which for literary and logical character might well challenge the respect and consideration of any deliberative body. It asks for representation for the local preachers and the laity in the General Conference; for be it noted that up to 1824 there was

¹ This Memorial from the Baltimore meeting of the Reformers is evidently as stated the "original of the copy sent to the General Conference," and is well preserved, but is unsigned so that even the authorship of it cannot be certainly stated, though it bears the literary ear-marks of Snethen. It claimed to emanate from the "General Convention of the delegates of the members and local preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church friendly to reform." It meets first calmly and argumentatively the objection that there is no analogy between a civil and religious government. Then it takes the distinct ground of right as over against the Bond-Kelso idea of expediency, and asks for "legislative liberty." It proposes that the representation in the General Conference shall give to the local preachers one-fourth, and the laity one-fourth, leaving the remaining half to be composed of the Itinerants, than which nothing more equitable could be proposed. It asks that the General Conference shall construe the section of the discipline as to "endeavoring to sow dissensions" so that it shall not be used as a basis of "constructive treason" only. It asks that in the trial of members the accused shall have the right of challenge as to the committee, and an option to be tried before the society without the consent of the preacher in charge, if this shall be the choice of the accused. It asks finally either for the abolition of the presiding eldership or their election by the Annual Conference. The temper of it is unexceptionable, as any one may see who shall be at the pains to examine the paper.

no disposition to interfere with the General Superintendency, except in curtailing its absolute power in the appointment of the Elders.

Among those who were active in the Reform movement were Thomas Kelso and Thomas E. Bond, the former a leading and wealthy layman and the latter a local preacher and practising physician. A copy of a printed Memorial to the General Conference signed by the former as Chairman and the latter as Secretary is now before the writer. Its caption is: "At a numerous meeting of the male members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the city of Baltimore held by adjournment from time to time in the Conference Room, Light Street, the following Memorial to the General Conference was after mature deliberation agreed upon." It shows the trained pen of Dr. Bond. It petitions for a lay-delegation in the General Conference and a restoration of the licensing power to the Quarterly instead of the District Conference as an abridgment of lay-privileges. It waives all natural or abstract right to such participation and puts their appeal on the ground of expediency. It touches other points in the Methodist economy,—the support of the preachers and the education of the children. Having been printed, it was freely circulated, the manuscript copy having been sent with the signatures to the General Conference. Indeed, it may be truthfully alleged that Methodism, at least in Baltimore, was saturated with Reform; quite a number of the Conference ministers, Ryland, Shinn, Griffith, Waugh, Emory, Morgan, Hanson, Davis, Guest,¹ and others, while the local preachers, under the lead of Jennings, McCaine, Bond, Williams, D. E. Reese, Kesley, Valiant, John S. Reese, Cox, John C. French, McCormick, and Boyd were with few exceptions in the same category. In fine, so general was it, that when a few years later the expulsions took place, it was with difficulty that a committee of local preachers could be named to conduct the trials of their peers. The laity was represented² by

¹ *Mutual Rights* for August, 1824, p. 57.

² "Brief Considerations of the Present System of Methodist Episcopal Government, with a few Suggestions toward its Improvement," respectfully inscribed to the Travelling Ministers and the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, by A Layman. 1824. 8vo. 40 pp.

This masterful pamphlet seems to have been issued just before the General Conference of 1824, and it is the sincere regret of the writer that he has found it impossible to identify the author. It bears not a few marks of the gifted pen of Gideon Davis. It is in proof that while the controversy at this stage had not fully ripened, that there were laymen who fully comprehended the whole situation. This pamphlet is an anticipation logically of most of Dr. Bond's Appeal,

the intellect, piety, social position, and business thrift of the three great churches, Light Street, Eutaw, and Fell's Point, as will be seen, when the names of the expelled are given in future proceedings. There were some notable exceptions, as will also be seen, but no question can be made that the Reformers constituted the cream of the Church.

Despite the efforts of power and patronage, exerted actively through the presiding elders,—and who may doubt as human nature goes that the most was made of it, the Reform influence in the General Conference nearly divided the delegations; for while there was not one south of the Susquehanna River, those from the North and East were largely in sympathy with it, at least on the elective eldership question. A test was made when, on May 5, a motion was offered to appoint a committee to whom the memorials and petitions on Reform should be referred; it was lost by a vote of fifty-three affirmative and sixty negative, the Reformers fearing the gag of a Committee, and wishing open discussion and a decision upon its merits. The next day, however, after some amendments, one including the reading of the papers before reference, it was carried, and a committee of twelve, named by the presiding Bishop, was accordingly appointed, and the fairness of the executive may be inferred from the fact that every one of them was a pronounced foe of lay-representation and the local preachers' claims, the chairman, Nathan Bangs, favoring only the Elective Eldership.¹ The proof that the suspicions of the Reformers were well founded is in the fact that their Report

specially on National and Church Rights as identical in origin of the Scriptural Principles of Church Government, and the assumption that the success of American Methodism was due to the hierarchic system as much, if not more, than to its peculiar doctrines and spiritual fervor. One citation on this point must suffice: "Nothing is more common than to hear opponents of Reform appealing to our success for justification of the present polity. And suppose it were possible to inquire of every member of the Church whether they joined it from a love of the government, what would be the answer? Let those who desire an answer preach nothing hut our form of government, and see how many they will get to love it, and to become Methodists from a love of the government. The truth is our success has been independent of, and even in opposition to, the form of government; the polity of the Church has driven thousands from the Church, and kept thousands out of the Church. The injustice of our system has become matter of general recognition, general reproach, and general disgust. Why, then, is a system kept up which is prejudicial to the gospel, which does our Church so much harm, and gives it so much scandal?" The reader will remember that just such views were affirmed by the writer in the first volume, as a part of the necessary philosophy of the situation, and here confirmed by an intelligent layman of the Church living so near the times.

¹ For full committee see *Mutual Rights*, August, 1824, p. 13.

was not presented until the last day of the Conference session, and then it was in the form of a "Circular" addressed to the general Church and signed by Bishops M'Kendree, George, and Roberts. Dr. John French, a visitor, says: "As to the question of a lay-delegation, it was never before the Conference. It perished in the committee to which petitions for reform were referred. The reformers made no attempt to call it up. They knew at the opening of the Conference that the majority was against them." "Baltimore" James Smith, who was in the Philadelphia delegation, says of the Circular, "It was not passed by the General Conference until the last day of its session, when most of the representatives of the New York, Genesee, New England, and a number of those from Philadelphia had left Baltimore and were on their way home. It was carried through the house with little or no opposition, as it was done on the afternoon of the day on which the 'Conciliatory Resolutions' were virtually suspended for four years longer; with all the attendant advantages taken of the minority on account of the absence of so many of their coadjutors in the same common cause."¹ And yet the bishops in this "Circular of the General Conference" say, "To these memorials, as well as others praying the continuance of our government in its present form, we have given attentive hearing in full conference; and after much reflection we reply." It may be found in full in Bangs's "History" and in the August number, 1824, of the *Mutual Rights*. Bangs says that it was passed "after an able and full discussion." Let this be offset by James Smith (Baltimore), a member, and Dr. John French, a spectator, as already cited. The action of the Conference was: "Resolved, 1st, that it is inexpedient to recommend a lay-delegation. 2d, Resolved that the following circular be sent in reply to the petitioners, memorialists, etc." It may be characterized as plausible, patronizing, and paternal; the gist of it may be thus summed up. Referring to the scanty support of the ministry alluded to by the petitioners, it says: "Whatever that cause may be, we at least have no information that the people refuse to contribute, because they are not represented. Indeed, it would grieve us to know this; for even though they should refuse to acknowledge us as their representatives in the General Conference, they cannot do less for the love of Christ than they would oblige themselves to do out of love for authority."

¹ "Honestus's" (James Smith) Review of Circular in *Mutual Rights* for August and September, 1824.

In this is presented the germ of what afterward became the infamous "purse-string" argument of the anti-reformers, and unwittingly at the same time its effective answer. In plain prose it is: the people evidently approve our government, otherwise they would not support us in a living, but this they dare not do, as it is forbidden by the love of Christ." Again: "We rejoice to know that the proposed change is not contemplated as a remedy for evils which now exist, . . . but that it is offered, either in the anticipation of the possible existence of such evils, or else on a supposition of abstract rights, which in the opinion of some should form the basis of our government. . . . The rights and privileges of our brethren, as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, we hold most sacred. We are unconscious of having infringed them in any instance; nor would we do so." Here is a curious jumble of terms. How can there be "rights and privileges" which are not basically abstract, and yet the petitioners are scouted for suggesting that they have "abstract rights!" After toying with them about the "general rules and articles of religion" as a "constitution," which guarantees your "rights and privileges," the master stroke is delivered in these words, which furnished another imperishable epigram for Reform literature: "*But if by 'rights and privileges' it is intended to signify something foreign from the institutions of the Church, as we received them from our fathers, pardon us if we know no such rights, if we do not comprehend such privileges.* With our brethren everywhere, we rejoice that the institutions of our happy country are admirably calculated to secure the best ends of civil government. With their rights, as citizens of these United States, the Church disclaims all interference; but that it should be inferred from these what are your rights as Methodists seems to us no less surprising than if your Methodism should be made the criterion of your rights as citizens." The italics are supplied to emphasize the epigram. The closing antithetical period of this paragraph formed the foundation of all after-arguments of the anti-reformers, viz.: the nature of government, civil and ecclesiastical, is utterly diverse, so that no likeness is demanded, and the want of parallel is of divine intention. The damaging sequence does not seem to have been observed by these zealous hierarchs: ergo, that the "civil institutions of the United States" have no countenance in the New Testament principles of Christian manhood taught by Christ and the apostles. The Circular concludes with four sophistical reasons for not granting the representation prayed.

"Honestus," already identified in the *Mutual Rights*, riddles the specious logic, and to his review those are referred who are interested enough to read it. The Circular was spread broadcast throughout the connection, the anti-reformers giving it wings because they esteemed it unanswerable, and the Reformers as well, because they found in it the strongest ground for continued maintenance of their principles and aims.

Agreeably with the nature of things, like consorting with like, on the morning of the day the Circular was passed, the "Suspended Resolutions" were acted upon also. On this question the Conference was so nearly divided that the friends of an unlimited Episcopacy approached it cautiously. On the 20th of May, Cartwright offered a motion that the Resolutions be incorporated in the organic law when the dissenting Conferences should concur. Tigert admits that strategy of a high order was employed, and that there was a private understanding that Young of Ohio should bring in a repealing resolution the next day, "the result proving satisfactory to those who had introduced it," *i.e.* the Cartwright motion. "The constitutionalists were gaining confidence, and were rather forcing the fight." On the 22d of May Young's motion was introduced, after a preamble, "that the resolutions are not of authority, and shall not be carried into effect," and on the 24th it came up on a motion to lay it on the table, which was defeated. Then the vote was taken by ballot, with the result sixty-three in favor and sixty-one against, so the M'Kendree-Soule party triumphed by the narrow majority of two votes. A scene of unseemly excitement followed. Tigert says: "So high did the tide of party feeling run, that twice, while the resolution was pending, Bishop Roberts in the chair, the quorum was broken, and only under the remonstrances of the chairman and the venerable Garrettson was it restored and the measure finally passed."¹

There must have been blatant exhibitions by the political tricksters of a foregone purpose to maintain the Episcopacy, to drive from the Conference room a number sufficient twice to break the quorum and put the body on the ragged edge of a disorganized adjournment. As it was not, a few of the Reformers after the 26th of May, three days before adjournment, left for their homes. The Episcopal party became alarmed at the tokens of indignation, and, taking counsel of their fears, on motion of Paine and Capers, both friends of the measure as passed, it was resolved—and that without a reconsideration of the action as

¹ "History," p. 383.

carried — "that the suspended resolutions, making the presiding elder elective, etc., are considered as unfinished business, and are neither to be inserted in the revised form of the Discipline, nor to be carried into operation, before the next General Conference." So they hung upon the minutes as "unfinished business." It was a mere "sop to Cerberus." Now came on the final struggle. It was determined to reënforce the Episcopacy by the election of two bishops. The lines were again closely drawn. Joshua Soule and William Beauchamp were the candidates of the constitutionalists, and sectional as well, while Elijah Hedding and John Emory were their opponents, and also sectional. The election took place May 26. On counting the ballots — and all the authorities agree, taking their data from the minutes, Bangs, M'Tyeire, and Tigert — "Soule had 64 votes, Beauchamp 62, Hedding 61, and Emory 59; but 128 votes being cast, there was no election. On the second ballot Soule had 65, and was elected, being the only one receiving a majority. But before the third ballot was taken, Mr. Emory arose and withdrew his name. This is commonly regarded as the modest act of the youngest man whose name was before the Conference. Undoubtedly it was such an act, and Mr. Emory could well afford to wait. But it was more than this. The fathers were not quite so innocent in such matters as is usually supposed. There was no possibility of the election of more than one of the candidates of the anti-constitutionalists, and the younger man withdrew in favor of the senior and leading name. Moreover, but one name was to go on the ballots this third time, since Mr. Soule had been elected, and if Messrs. Hedding and Emory divided the votes of their party it was almost certain to elect Mr. Beauchamp. Consequently Mr. Emory withdrew, and on the third ballot Mr. Hedding received 66 votes to Mr. Beauchamp's 60, and was elected. There was an element of danger in the fact that each Bishop had been chosen by a sectional and party vote; but it was well for the unity of the Church, divided on a constitutional issue, but by a sectional line, that each party secured a Bishop. No fracture took place, but if a severe strain should come, the plane of cleavage was painfully evident."¹ It did come in 1844, and the Episcopacy as interpreted by the Asbury-M'Kendree-Soule section was solely responsible for the untoward act, precipitated by a dominating majority bent on its purpose without regard to consequences.

¹ Tigert's "History," pp. 384, 385.

One serious fact is unnoticed by any of the authorities. By careful count of the members from the official Minutes there were but 126 elected to the General Conference of 1824, and it appears from the ballots that every one was present, quite a phenomenal fact in those days of difficult and distant travel, and yet on two of the three ballots for bishops there were 128 votes cast. Did two of the three bishops then vote? It must have been so, or a worse thing occurred—false ballots were cast. Charity would assume the former to be the fact, but at what cost of disparagement of the Episcopacy? Since 1808 they were not regarded as voting members of the body, and are not to this day. It is an historical conundrum worthy of record, but demanding no solution from the writer. Strange things were done, however, that mar the conception of a delicate sense of honor and truth. It seems to adhere to the hierarchal system, made a Jesuitical canon in its Romish form, that the “end sanctifies the means.”

Another matter was disposed of at this Conference. It was contended that the body had the right to divide the Church into Episcopal districts so as to obviate the travel of the bishops over the entire territory; but it was decided adversely, with a recommendation that the bishops should hold annual meetings and parcel out the Conferences for visitation, but in such a way that each should make the round of the whole number within the quadrennium. By an accident of the situation it strangely intensified the sectional animus of the Episcopacy; for the Conference having authorized the bishops to appoint a fraternal delegate to the British Conference, in compliment to Messrs. Reece and Hannah, they met in 1826, George and Hedding having travelled in the North and Roberts and Soule in the South, while M’Kendree was incapacitated largely by ill health. Bishops George and Hedding were holding the Philadelphia Conference, April 13–18, and Bishops M’Kendree and Soule came from the South to have the bishops’ meeting, Roberts being absent. William Capers was nominated by M’Kendree and Soule, but George and Hedding objected because he was connected with slavery, and named instead Wilbur Fisk or Ezekiel Cooper; and so sharp became the contention over it that no one was named, and the matter went over to the ensuing General Conference. Tigert publishes the memoranda of the meeting in full, but they were kept secret for nearly seventy years. But that the truth of history demands that the whole truth should be told, as well as nothing but the truth, it would have been to the credit of all

concerned if they had been consigned to the limbo of nihility forever. Some inklings of the trouble got out, and McCaine gives hints of it. The memoranda were found among the papers of M'Kendree, but were not published by his biographer, Bishop Paine, but are given by Tigert in his "History," the latter having a special motive; it made a link in his argumentative chain.

It is interesting as a matter of history that the sectional feeling on slavery was so pronounced at this early day that "Bishop Hedding from 1824 to 1844 made but a single tour of the Southern Conferences, and that in 1831, seven years after he became Bishop; in the same year Bishop Soule made his first episcopal visitation in the North! The Bishops were localized."¹ Was it because Ezekiel Cooper foresaw coming events that he so strenuously advocated a diocesan bishopric? If adopted, it would have superseded the necessity for presiding elders, and the saving of an immense sum annually. And as there would have been no friction on account of the interchangeable visitations of these sectional officers, it is among possibilities that the division of the Church might have been prevented, as it was in the Protestant Episcopal Church, the only Protestant denomination that was saved from disruption by the slavery question, having continental territory. All the virtue of a "General Superintendency" could have been secured by an annual or quadrennial meeting of these bishops, and another immense expense saved as entailed by the system which demands that every Bishop must in the quadrennium travel all around the world that the fiction may be kept up. But Wesley did it and Asbury did it, and, like true Bourbons, who forget nothing and learn nothing, and regardless of the change of circumstances, this episcopal wheel must be kept revolving. How much longer it will be tolerated by a patient and disfranchised membership remains to be seen. Only one thing would be marred by such a change: the hierarchal ideal of wheels within wheels; and it is for this very reason that the "General Superintendency" has so many ardent admirers among the officials of the Church.

The new bishops were ordained May 27, after a sermon by Bishop George. Soule reached the pinnacle of a Methodist preacher's ambition under his own interpretation of the practically unlimited powers of the Episcopacy. He was a colossus in the Church, having in him the timber of which popes are

¹ Tigert's "Constitutional History," p. 392.

made, and after 1844, though born in Maine, 1781, he cast in his lot with the South in logical consistency with his "Constitutional" ideas, his conscience following his reasoning. Of splendid physique, gifted and laborious, he survived until March 6, 1867. Hedding was born in New York in 1780. He was highly respected for purity of character, amiability, and talents, the latter not of a very high order, large and venerable in presence. He died April 9, 1852. The Conference elected John Emory Assistant Book Agent at New York, with Nathan Bangs as Agent. What did this election and that to the Secretariat of the Conference mean after his defeat as a delegate by the Baltimore Conference for his Reform sentiments? It did not mean certainly an indorsement of them, but it did mean, first, abilities that challenged recognition, and, second, his rescue from the number of "inflammatory," "slandrous," and "violent" writers on Reform. It will be seen that the method was successful.

Just before the Conference adjourned, May 29, to meet in Pittsburgh, Pa., May 1, 1828, Bishop M'Kendree, felicitating himself on the accomplishment of all his views as a "Constitutional" exponent, felt it incumbent on him to make an Address to the body, the objective of which was to exculpate himself from his unauthorized reference of the "Suspended Resolutions" to the Annual Conferences. Paine, in his "Life of M'Kendree," tells that he, with John Summerfield, who was a visitor at the Conference and employed in missionary labor within the Baltimore Conference, took down the Address in shorthand, and it can be found in the "Life of M'Kendree." The gist of it is in these sentences: "I have no hesitation in saying that the act was not within the limits of our restricted powers; but I was induced to do it from a precedent which had been once set by that venerable man, Bishop Asbury." He refers to the organization of the Genesee Conference, but this was prior to 1808, when, according to these doctrinaires, the Church had no "Constitution," and therefore Asbury was a law unto himself as no other man could dare to be. M'Kendree, however, admits that he did an extra-constitutional thing to accomplish a foregone purpose. Cæsar did it, and Pompey will be no less than Cæsar; that is all of it. These men were possessed with one idea: the doctrines of the Gospel and means of grace instituted by Wesley had brought success under a given system of government, ergo, it must needs be perfect. Paine, who was present, says: "The moment he rose noise and motion ceased in the crowded house," and when

he closed, "his cheeks moistened with tears, bade them as he supposed a long farewell. The whole audience continued awhile in profound silence, interrupted only by partially suppressed emotions. He concluded his address with the apostolic benediction, and retired." Soon after the Conference adjourned.

Meanwhile the Reformers were not idle. The 126 with the bishops were quartered upon the best-to-do laymen, many of whom were pronounced for Representation. The locality were nearly to a man in favor of representation for themselves and for the laity, a proceeding that seemed so equitable, not to name other considerations, that general confidence prevailed that something would be conceded by the General Conference at least of an initiatory nature. There were a large number of visitors of Reform tendencies, not a few from quite a distance in those days. Snethen and Stockton were there observing the course of events, and always self-poised. Jennings, also large-hearted and large-minded, but of ardent temperament, swayed a commanding influence as popular physician, educator, and preacher, giving his spare moments to the "Life of Asbury" under the auspices of the Baltimore Conference. Shinn was there with all his masterful faculties under calm control, and not yet fully committed to Reform. McCaine was the master of a large and flourishing day-school for boys, an Agamemnon with his armor on, who had shared the secret confidence of Asbury and the giants of an earlier day, and who was much respected and not a little feared by the "Bishop men" so called, for what he knew of the inwardness of scheming preachers. He stood six feet two inches in his stockings, symmetrically built, a majestic head, and strongly cut features,¹ with physical and moral courage that blanched at nothing, hot and impulsive, and who was never known to give flattering titles to any man. Rev. Dr. John French of Virginia was there, strong in all the elements of a great and good Methodist. Rev. Francis Waters, the courtly Christian gentleman, the classical scholar, the devout Methodist, the finished preacher, and the inflexible Reformer, was also there from his Eastern Shore home. Griffith, James M. Hanson, Ryland, John Davis, Morgan,

¹ The only "counterfeit presentment" of him extant is in the form of a plaster bust and head in the possession of the Baltimore Book Concern, and stationed over the glass book-case containing the files of the official paper. It is a study for a physiognomist, and pronounced a good likeness by the venerable McCormick, and others, who knew him. It was cast about 1835, and at the same time one of Dr. Jennings, and one of the youthful and lamented Davies. One of Dr. Jennings is still preserved in the family of Dr. Thomas Owings.

Guest, and many others were there, alive to the issues. Vying with Jennings in all but preaching popularity was Dr. Thomas E. Bond. He was a son of Thomas Bond of Harford County, Md., who was one of Strawbridge's converts from the Friends, and a brother of John Wesley Bond, the travelling companion of Asbury in his closing years. Well educated, a skilful physician, a loyal Methodist, filling official positions from very early life, yet with a mind open to the possible improvements of its economy. He has been found an active advocate of a lay-delegation on the ground of expediency. Eminently social, a fluent talker, and a ready debater, he was a recognized leader in the Church. He had one quality that moulded his whole career. His admirers said he was sagacious in all the phases of the word as defined by lexicographers. His critics said he was tricky in its broad definition; and as this is a serious allegation, it will be supported by the facts of his devious course and the evidence of himself and others. It was this element of his character that made him a suspect, though he had the free *entrée* of the Reformer meetings and their personal confidence. He will often appear in these pages. Gideon Davis of Georgetown, D. C., came up to Baltimore for consultation with his Reform brethren, as his duties as clerk in the United States Treasury permitted. Cultured, forcible, magnetic, and true, no man of his abilities has received less notice, yet no man of the laity did more for Reform as it culminated in the Methodist Protestant Church. Other laymen of note in the Baltimore churches, and in the community as citizens, were Chappell, Sr., referred to in the first volume, John J. Harrod, Thomas Mummy, Wesley Starr, Thomas Kelso, John Kennard, W. K. Boyle, E. Strahen, Lambert Thomas, John Coates, Sr., Hawkins, Patterson, Thomas and Samuel Jarrett, Gephart, Sr., Howard, Forman, Northman, Fountain, and others. These Reformers were not idle while measures for their overwhelming discomfiture were maturing by the partisan committee of twelve in the General Conference.

Referred to them on the 6th of May, they made no report upon the memorials, etc., in their custody for nearly three weeks. Whisperings of their adverse unanimous verdict got out, and the Reformers prepared for action. Accordingly a meeting was convened in the schoolroom of McCaine, and the threatening situation canvassed, May 21, 1824. It was numerously attended; Hon. P. B. Hopper and J. W. Bordley of Queen Anne, Md., and W. Smith of New York were also present, as well as no less than

seventeen members of the General Conference.¹ Their names are unknown, McCaine stating in extenuation, in his first essay in the opening number of the *Mutual Rights*, p. 17: "Did they only know the names of these champions of Mutual Rights, they would feel and confess, as I am willing to do, the high obligation they are under to men of such noble and liberal minds. The only alloy I feel on the occasion is, that I am not at liberty to record their names." Wherefore? For them individually everything was staked on concealment. The marvel is that such a number could be summoned at such a meeting out of a General Conference elected and organized to defeat and crush the Reform movement. The meeting resolved three things: "To institute a periodical publication, entitled *The Mutual Rights of the Ministers and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, to be conducted by a committee of ministers and laymen; to raise societies in all parts of the United States, whose duty it shall be to disseminate the principles of a well-balanced government, and to correspond with each other; to appoint a committee of their own body to draft a circular addressed to the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to forward the same forthwith to all parts of the United States." The committee was Jennings, French, Smith, Davis, Bordley, and Hopper. Samuel K. Jennings, Chairman of the meeting, and Francis Waters, Secretary. The Circular was at once prepared and addressed, and anticipated that of the General Conference a week or two, but as the preachers everywhere under the elders transmitted the letter, it reached a hundred of the membership where that of the Reformers reached one, as it was put under ban, and suppressed as far as possible. The full text of the Circular as well as of the meeting may be found pages 3, 4, 5, of the *Mutual Rights*, the Circular of the Conference following it on pages 5, 6, 7. Those who wish to examine the Christian temper and perfect moderation of the Reformers' Circular are referred to it. The gist of it is their disappointed expectations, calling upon Reformers "not to suffer these unpleasant circumstances to alienate their affections from the Church, nor to induce them to leave her communion," but "to cleave to her to the last extremity." The strong minority for Reform in the Conference of 1824 is made the ground that at the next "we may expect to realize our hopes." Coöperation is invited from all who favor governmental changes. Signed by Jennings, Chairman of Committee, and French, Secretary.

¹ Bassett's "History," p. 41.

CHAPTER IV

The denial of the General Conference of lay rights; Snethen's views; expectations and disappointments as to the issue—The question of Lay-Representation traversed fully; arguments on both sides considered; Dr. Neely's chain broken—Snethen states it for his opponents, etc.—The *Repository* discontinued; reasons for it; dissatisfaction; the *Mutual Rights*, August, 1824—The controversy joined by both parties; the *Mutual Rights* admitted papers on both sides; the *Methodist Magazine* declined—Union Societies; their object—Presiding Elder Devany and Dr. Armistead, with Drs. Jennings and French in reply; Shinn on the situation—Bitter opposition to the *Mutual Rights*; amusing illustration of it—Spread of the Union Societies in every direction—Reform as a Principle and an Idea; the American Revolution based on a principle and an idea solely—Snethen and Shinn keep the Reformers from seceding prematurely—Contributors to the several volumes of the *Mutual Rights*; Bascom as a Reformer and contributor—First Expulsions in Tennessee—The Stillwell Reformers.

“But if by ‘rights and privileges’ it is intended to signify something foreign from the institutions of the Church as we received them from our fathers, pardon us if we know no such rights, if we do not comprehend such privileges.” The epigram was upon every tongue, startling as a revelation to the Reformers for its calm effrontery and unlimited arrogance; while to anti-reformers it was chewed as a juicy portion—a death draught to innovations and innovators. In 1822 Snethen had written, “It cannot be long, I am fully persuaded, before the travelling preachers must give up their supremacy.” And in 1823 he declared: “The assumption of right on the part of the travelling preachers must, I hold, be formally and publicly disavowed by them. Is it not evident, that if the friends and patrons of the legislative rights of the church are resolved to maintain them (and how can they do otherwise), and the travelling preachers refuse to surrender them, there must be a division? Let no one say, if so, the sooner the better; but rather let the Church give the travelling preachers a reasonable time and a fair opportunity to make a surrender with as much willingness as possible.” Once more: “When I lose all hope that the travelling preachers will in due time refuse legislation for the Church, I shall lose my

affection for them also. At present I am disposed to consider their pertinacity as the effects of ignorance or want of reflection or error in judgment, either of which it will require time and judicious management to overcome. But I place the greatest reliance upon time." He had discouraged the idea of a personal representation to the ensuing General Conference, and the advice was taken, lest it should be averred, "The enemy is at the gates" and "the standard of revolt is raised." "My plan therefore is that we continue to encourage our friends to write, and by their writing to disseminate principles, and leave the General Conference as free from any cause of fear or restraint as may be, and thus give them a fair opportunity to make a voluntary surrender of a power, the right of which they ought to disclaim." This was nine months before the Conference met. What must have been his perturbation and disappointment when by this one fell swoop all rights were absolutely denied to any participation in the government. Still he did not despair, though it touched the very heart of the issue made by the lay-representationists,— "the right of suffrage is the original and fundamental principle which has extended through two volumes of the *Repository*." This was written in the third volume, and the purpose was steadily kept in view down to 1828, except by the limited number of whom Kelso and Bond were the exponents, who placed their demand on the score of expediency. In 1822 he wrote, "Church representation is perfectly compatible with any fair construction of either of the restrictions, or of episcopacy and general superintendency." As late as 1835 he declared: "I go for no half-measures or expedients or accommodations. They will have all or none, their determination follows from their religious belief in their divine right to all. Who can meet them upon this ground with any belief or right short of religious and divine? Claim your divine right, children. Let no man take your crown of educated equality. Deem it no usurpation or sacrifice if the gospel of the grace of God, as the law of God did David, should make you wiser than even your teachers." Further: "But I rest quite easy in the confidence that when the time come (and that it surely will come) to give these essays an impartial reading, that the reader will see that all the ambition I could have was, first, to aid and assist the travelling preachers, to admit by a direct and immediate process of their own legislation the check-giving principle of lay-representation; and, second, if they not only refused, but returned evil for good, and drive us from the church, they should

be compelled to make retribution to offended liberty and equality with their own hands."

It was kindred with another purpose which he held sacred, and in which he was also followed by most of the Reformers, viz., never to secede; and yet he realized with philosophical acumen its gravity. "To reform and not divide is much more difficult in Church than in State." He never lost sight of the secession of O'Kelly and its deplorable results upon the whole connection; it was to him a danger-beacon. And so he hopefully counselled in August, 1823: "Let us furnish history with at least one example of a church achieving its rights from the hands of its preachers, without the loss of confidence and affection, and without division. Such a record will be scarcely less honorable to the preachers than to ourselves. For though it must appear that they held power to which they had no right, their readiness in yielding it will prove that their hearts were not hardened by the love of it." Alas! he did not see with the clear vision of the astute John Emory the unyielding nature of entrenched power: "Remember the tenacious grasp with which power is held when once acquired. Its march is ever onward and its tremendous tendency is to accumulation."

This is as good a connection as any other to traverse the question of lay-exclusion from governmental participation, on its logical and factual merits. It is an admitted canon in all fair polemics that the argument of your adversary must not be stated with less cogency than its strongest expression. It is accepted, premising only, as axiomatic, that there is room for searching investigation, and a presumption of fundamental wrong when the votaries of an ecclesiastical or civil system are compelled always to assume an apologetic attitude. It is true of all the hierarchies of the world from Czar Nicholas to Pope Leo; but no one thinks of apologizing for the English or the American Constitution, or the polity of the Methodist Protestant Church as constitutionally embodied. In all the writer's searching he has found no such statement of exclusive ministerial rights as that recently made by Rev. Dr. T. B. Neely of the Methodist Episcopal Church:—

"The original governing power is vested in the ministry. In the beginning it belonged to Wesley, and then it passed to the Conference of ministers. The logical explanation of this is found in the fact that in the historical evolution of Methodism the ministry was first to come into existence. Thus Mr. Wesley preached Methodism before there was a Methodist laity. The society did

not make him, but, on the contrary, he made the Methodist society. He preached and gathered the people, and the people came under his authority. Then he made the preachers, and the preachers gathered the people and formed other societies. Logically and historically the preachers were first, and the laity afterward. Later the power Wesley possessed went to the Conference called the Legal Hundred in England, while in America it passed to the Conference of preachers, who organized the Church and made the laws, while the people voluntarily accepted this Conference government. As the supreme governing power was in the Conference of ministers, the constitution-making power vested in the same body, and when the body of ministers came to make a constitution in 1808 it naturally reserved to itself the right and power to pass upon and agree to any amendment before any change could be made in the constitution which it had created. This right, therefore, of a primary or final voice in amending the constitution vests in the ministry by the logic of history and the nature of constitutional authority.”¹

It is not new, but as old as the first agitation of it more than a hundred years ago: the preachers were instrumental in the conversion of the laity, were before them, and therefore have a right to govern them. Perhaps a kind of *reductio ad absurdum*, as the dialecticians say, will be the best method of confutation of this argument of so much plausible seeming. The apostles and their successors in the primitive Church of Christ were first; without them there could have been no Church; the Church did not make the apostles, the apostles made the Church, and therefore — what? Without an array of the New Testament data — the facts of sacred history — let Snethen state the result of the research for its example of church government, with the safe assumption that no one will be rash enough seriously to challenge it: “There is not an example in all the New Testament of apostles, bishops, or any other description of church officers, trying and expelling church members, without the aid or coöperation of the church; nor of apostles, elders, or churches legislating or

¹ *New York Christian Advocate*, 1894. It does not seem to have occurred to Dr. Neely, or if it did, he wisely, for his purpose, ignores the facts that the local preachers, Strawbridge, Embury, Captain Webb, and others, with Barbara Heck, as representing the womanhood of the early societies, were before the preachers who assembled in 1784, and not a few of them were the converts of these men, so that without them and Barbara Heck there would have been no Methodist Society in America, etc., so that the first link of his chain-argument is missing, and this invalidates it — it is a genuine sophism.

making laws for any church without its consent." He exhaustively considers the subject in his essay on "A View of the Primitive Church and its Government" and "The Feudal System." The dictum is a safe one; the examples of the New Testament ecclesiasticism are utterly subversive of the Methodist Episcopal polity in both its genius and its development. Volumes have been written to prove apologetically the converse — with what avail let any impartial investigator decide. No one can honestly enter upon the task and not find himself logically delivered to the Roman hierarchy. If you search for a strong government, there you can find it, and in like manner under its various modifications down to the anomalous one of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but for a Scriptural one you cannot find it. Apropos of Dr. Neely's argument let a layman, through the same medium and about the same time and on the germane issue of lay-representation, answer: —

"The proposition for delay by this time has a familiar sound. I remember that ten years ago at Philadelphia, when some proposition was made looking to reform in this matter, Dr. Neely said he was not prepared to consider the subject. He still thinks the time for action has not come. Whenever it has been proposed to make the lay-representation equal to the ministerial, the ready objection has been that it would make the General Conference too large. When it is proposed to begin at the other end, and somewhat reduce the numbers, so as to make room for a fair representation of the laity, the same parties are equally ready with the advice to wait till a more convenient season. This persistent repression is calculated to work injury to the Church. The fact is, that the admission of laymen to the General Conference at all has settled it that the preachers have no peculiar prerogative of legislation. They are ordained to be 'faithful dispensers of the word of God and of His holy sacraments,' but not as lawgivers. It is too late in the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church to claim that the ministry have any inherent and seclusive right of legislation. Perhaps it would not be immodest to say (taking an illustration from figures which I have at hand) that the fifty-five thousand lay-members within the bounds of New York East Conference can furnish as many men who could legislate intelligently and wisely as can be selected from the somewhat less than three hundred ministers of the same Conference. We must come to the point of giving equal representation to both orders, and the sooner and the more gracefully it is done, the better."

For such reasoning as this, and as mildly put, laymen sixty years ago were ignominiously expelled the Church. Another argument direct, Snethen himself furnished for the sake of it, and more cogently than any of his opponents could state it: “The duty and purity of the Church cannot continue without discipline, and discipline cannot be maintained without exclusive power in the travelling preachers to make and execute rules. Take away, or qualify, or limit the power of the travelling preachers, and there can be no government; take away government, and there can be no religion. If it were not for this means, says a zealous member, we should not be better than other people; and if it were not, says another, we should lose all our religion; but the zealous itinerant don’t lay so much stress upon these minor matters; the inference from his argument is, that neither a Saviour, nor grace, nor sacraments, nor good preaching, nor anything else can save us from ruin, without itinerant power.” That such a chain of inconsequents should be entertained seriously by any one is in proof how readily the human mind under prepossession receives a fallacy. The collateral arguments apologetic of lay-exclusion are more numerous, and if anything more sophistical, and, as will be discovered, some of them in the desperation of extremity positively unchristian. They will be noticed as they develop.

Stockton had completed arrangements to continue the *Repository* in Philadelphia, but the dominant Baltimore element preferred a reconstruction more directly under the control and patronage of the inchoately organized Reformers. The *Repository* had been published at a loss by its editor and proprietor, and representative Methodism throughout the world can never repay his self-sacrificing and heroic labors in its behalf. Its discontinuance caused dissatisfaction.¹ This and the injection of the local preachers’ demands, Stockton affirms, materially damaged the cause in Philadelphia. The action of the Baltimore Reformers did not materialize until the ensuing August. Meanwhile the effect of the sweeping arrogation of the General Con-

¹ W. S. Stockton, in a series of articles in the *Western Recorder* for February, March, and April, 1850, gives a history of the *Wesleyan Repository*, and an identification of all the writers, but he gives no specific reason for its discontinuance after April, 1824, though evidently chagrined by that action. Dr. S. K. Jennings, in his “Exposition,” page 50, assigns as the reason: “The *Repository* had been so resisted by the friends of power that it had become necessary to exchange it for the *Mutual Rights*. Experience had demonstrated the necessity of sustaining the periodical by the organization of Union Societies.”

ference was diverse. Not a few were intimidated by it, specially among the Itinerants. It became evident that the Episcopal party, with the spirit of Asbury himself, as now interpreted by M'Kendree and Soule, had taken a stand from which there could be, in their view of it, no retreat. Repression of Reform was in the air; extirpation was held in reserve. Hamilton's dictum — power over a man's substance is power over his will — so worked that nearly all the comparatively large number of the travelling preachers who were in sympathy with the claims of the laity subsided or recanted. Others, however, like Asa Shinn, needed such a stimulus to rouse their lion courage. The saintly but fearless Truman Bishop and others could not brook the defiant and arrogant position of their ministerial brethren, and, after exhausting all powers of reasoning and persuasion, espoused openly their cause. In Cincinnati and Pittsburgh, as well as Baltimore and other places, where the seeds of Reform had been securely planted, parties were formed and social Methodism felt the shock of irreconcilable difference of opinion. Dr. John French led the movement in Virginia and Dr. Bellamy in North Carolina, and the memorial of the Roanoke District conference and its Circular to the general Church are among the most masterly, Christian, and effective of the many addressed to the General Conference. The full text may be found in Paris's "History." The crimination and recrimination grew apace. From arguments to epithets the way was short. Those who favored changes in the government were stigmatized as "Backsliders; under the influence of base motives; opposers of God; instigated by the devil; enemies of Methodism," while their opponents denounced their Church neighbors as "Bishops' men, traitors, cowards, etc." Not a few of the recusants withdrew their support, discouraged by the strife that was engendered, while the side issue of the local preachers did more than anything else to shadow the great principle of lay-representation with itinerants, and yet this issue was intrinsically reasonable and earnestly pressed by the locality,—the originators of Methodism in America.

August, 1824, the first number of the *Mutual Rights, etc.*, appeared. It took for its motto a sentiment of Bishop Burnet's: "What moderation or charity we owe to men's persons, we owe none at all to their errors, and to that frame which is built on and supported by them." It was a forty-page octavo monthly, printed for the committee by John T. Toy. Its contents were Editorial Address, signed by the chairman, Samuel K. Jennings,

which set forth the objects of the publication "to realize to the Church a practical understanding of the title it assumes. This can be done *only through the medium of a free press.*" "Well-written communications on any of the above subjects (Mutual Rights, etc.) will be thankfully received, and the utmost impartiality observed by the Committee." This was so largely availed of by the enemies of Reform that at the end of the first volume the Committee had to admonish them, so great was the latitude of severe personalities in which they indulged, that only *arguments* could be admitted from them in future. It was in broad contrast with the *Methodist Magazine*, under Bangs and Emory, which admitted nothing but attacks upon the Reformers. This statement is indisputable. For proof examine the respective volumes. The meeting of the Reformers May 21, and their Circular, as also that of the General Conference in full, followed by the first of two articles by "Baltimore" James Smith, in review of the last Circular, dissecting it into shreds; also an opening article, "Review of Some of the Acts of the General Conference," with a full roster of the members; an "Essay on the Rights of the Laity to Church Representation," No. 1, by "Nehemiah" (Alexander McCaine); Constitution of the Union Society of Baltimore; Address of the Presiding Elder of Norfolk, Va., Benjamin Devany, late member of the Conference, to the Church in that District, republished from the *Norfolk Herald*, a secular paper, and a reply to it by John French; "Geological Phenomena," by Horace H. Hayden, geologist, a series of a masterly nature running through several numbers; a miscellany of prose and poetry. The high literary standard of the *Repository* was fully kept up in the new publication. The Baltimore Union Society was the first formed, and its Constitution sets forth as its primary object, "to ascertain the number of persons in the Methodist Church who are friendly to such alteration (the exclusive right of the ministers to make 'rules and regulations'), to raise societies in all parts of these United States, to correspond with each other on such subjects as they may believe calculated to improve our church polity." The *Mutual Rights* is placed by the Society under an editorial committee, and provision made that any other member of a Union Society in any place could vote at the annual meeting his preference for said Committee. The first elected were Jennings, Chairman, McCaine, Williams, Kesley, Harrod, Thomas, Emmerson, and Bordley.

The Union Societies by first intention were designed as a test

of the second reason assigned by the General Conference for refusing the petitions of the Reformers,—“Because it presupposes that either the authority of the General Conference to ‘make rules and regulations’ for the Church, or the manner in which this authority has been exercised, is displeasing to the Church: the reverse of which we believe to be true.” It was claimed as a sufficient answer that “not one in one hundred of the membership” were known to favor Reform. It was true that they numbered at this time actively not over five thousand, perhaps, for this was the probable number the *Repository* had reached, or one in fifty of the membership, and even this number is a marvel when the concerted effort of those in authority to repress and destroy it is taken into consideration; yet the Reformers were willing to abide by this challenge, if when all the membership had been reached it could be shown that they were in such a minority. But no one knew better than the bishops and elders that wherever the true purpose of the Reformers became known, it was approved as a rule, and that if a free press was undisturbed in disseminating the light, it would soon spread through the whole Church. The point is trenchantly covered in the Preface to the first volume of the *Mutual Rights*: “For the recovery of the mutual rights of the ministers and members of the Church of Christ from the usurpation and tyranny which were sought after and accomplished in the establishment of hierarchies, it was necessary that the people should be enlightened. To be patient in slavery men must be ignorant. To give security to masters, ignorance must be perpetuated. These maxims are equally true in Church or State. Every good citizen of these United States will, therefore, be tributary to the information of the people, and every good member of the great commonwealth of Christianity will love the equal and mutual rights of her children.”

Devany, the Presiding Elder of the Norfolk District, under date June 30, 1824, took advantage of the publication in the *Norfolk Herald*, a secular paper, of the Reformers’ first Circular, probably inserted by some zealous Reformer or the editor himself as a sensational item, to review the Circular, and gives in it the keynote of the anti-reformers, which ran through all the subsequent literature of that side, except the “purse-string” argument. As already found, Devany’s review was promptly republished in the *Mutual Rights* without his request, the editorial Committee thus inviting free discussion under the conviction that the cause

of Reform must be the gainer by it. That keynote may be here given in fairness to them, as well as to anticipate the same defensive reasoning, which was repeated and answered in almost endless iteration for six years to come, and which if disposed of now will save space in the end. He said to the Reformers and the laymen of his district and elsewhere: "When, my brethren, did we as a body of ministers deprive you of any of your ecclesiastical power? Do you not possess as much power now as you ever did, and are you not governed in the same way that ever you were? If so, how can it be said that *we govern you without your consent*? Ever since the organization of our Church, the power has virtually rested with the laity. Do you not recommend members of your own class to the proper authorities of the Church to be licensed to preach, or to be admitted into the traveling connection? Are you not apprised that if they are admitted they will possess all the powers of an itinerant minister? If so, you not only consent for them to rule you according to the existing rules and regulations of our Church, but you virtually choose them to be your rulers in the order of Providence." Again: "No man or body of men have the right to disturb the peace and harmony of the Church of which he or they may be members. You have entered the Church with the discipline in your hands, and now if you are dissatisfied with the rules, so far from wishing to *govern you without your consent*, we would advise you to go to some other, more congenial with your views, or set up for yourselves, and form such rules and regulations as will best secure to you all those rights and privileges for which you contend."

In this day it is difficult for either friend or foe of the ancient Reform question to characterize such specious utterances, the former for lack of patience and the latter for very shame. And yet they did, both ministers and laymen, labor with the crudities and sophistries and solecisms, meeting them under all their kaleidoscopic changes, pouring the search-light of common sense and matter of fact upon them, until a modern historian of these events is fatigued with the heavy inanities called arguments. Dr. French, in his reply, takes the short method with Devany,—a method of all others the most distasteful to the authorities, viz., fair, full, and open discussion of the issues. French said: "If there be such clearness of propriety (as you seem to suppose there is) in the present system, if the government of the church is as abundantly supported by reason and revelation as you would have us believe, why all this proscribing of investigation? Why

all this systematic and official persecution? Are you afraid the people have not common sense enough to understand plain arguments? If your cause is so good, and its goodness so easy to make appear as you seem to insinuate, why not come out and let us hear your reasons? We not only promise to hear them, but we have promised to print and circulate them for you. We think this course would disturb the repose of the Church much less, and is much less calculated to stir up angry feelings, than the one which you have chosen — but in a bad cause anything is preferred to reason." As to leaving the Church with the obloquy of a secession, no congenial ecclesiasticism extant to which they could go, and the obstacles of a new organization gigantic and almost insurmountable, well has the sweet-tempered Sneathen met the hard-hearted suggestion: "Are not those who know their rights under the necessity of continuing to know them? Can any length of time in which men forbear to exercise their rights give to others the title to exercise them in their stead without their consent? Rather from the nature of the case does not every hour and every day they submit their rights to others diminish the pretensions of usurped authority? Though men who know nothing may very sincerely fear nothing, yet this cannot be the case with those who apprehend danger. . . . For an official man to request preachers or members to withdraw, is an offence which can only be exceeded by expelling them unjustly. What right has a man to browbeat another out of his fellowship because he is dissatisfied with an existing rule which is made alterable by its own enactment?" This he wrote in 1822.

The Circular of Devany was answered by Dr. Jennings in three letters through the Norfolk papers, and afterwards republished in the *Mutual Rights*. Citation is unnecessary, for the only points made have already been covered. It brought to the front, however, as a champion of the old order of things, Dr. Robert A. Armistead of Virginia. He took advantage of the offer of a "free press" by the Reformers, and was allowed every privilege. He was a stronger writer than Devany, but instead of confining himself to the issues raised by him, he entered upon the merits of the historical question at large. Still he was allowed all the space he asked, the editorial Committee prefacing his first paper with the just remark, "The course pursued by the writer to secure an admission into our pages makes it improper for us to reject his piece." He was answered by Jennings.

Dr. Waters graced the pages of the periodical with several

sermons of classical finish and force. "One of the Laity" from Philadelphia, probably J. F. Watson, was also permitted to defend the old system. McCaine continued his masterful strictures free from acrimony, though Dr. Armistead soon began to impugn the motives of the Reformers, a specimen of which is as follows, "that from motives of *personal aggrandizement* or *sensuality*, these men are unduly intermeddling with the affairs of the Church." In February, 1825, Snethen began a series of six papers on Church Property, showing conclusively that in a contest of power with principle the former has its empire in exclusive control of the property. They added fuel to the controversial flame, as the fact was vehemently denied by the opposition. Rev. James R. Williams entered the lists as a Reformer and showed his ability to handle the discussion with good temper and perspicuity. His pseudonym was "Amicus." Dr. Armistead continued to write and is reviewed by McCaine and others. He assumed the rôle of a prophet, and in this must be quoted: "They" (the terms "delegate" and "constituents") "never will be known, nor will they be incorporated in our vocabulary while Methodism continues." It was entirely consistent; the right was denied and the expediency scouted.

About fifteen years later, when Dr. E. Yeates Reese, then editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, ventured upon a counter prediction: "Lay-delegation is a certain futurity in the Methodist Episcopal Church," the whole family of *Advocates*, North and South, met it with derisive incredulity and jocular denial. And it did take more than thirty years longer before the leaven of the "Radicalism" of 1827-30 so worked and persisted that their General Conference of 1872 took favorable action on the subject. It seemed as though this long period was demanded to demonstrate the dictum of Dr. Emory in 1824, "Remember the tenacious grasp with which power is held when once acquired." In April, Asa Shinn, under the incognito "Bartimeus," published a calm, moderate, and convincing "Address to the Ministers and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church." In it his logical and analytical mind sums up the case in these points: "It is true they [the Reformers] ought to be put to silence, provided it is done by the use of proper means. This may be attempted in four ways. First, by striving to convince them that they are wrong, and that they have no cause to object to any part of our ecclesiastical government. Second, to grant their request, so far as they can support it by Scripture and reason. Third, to use *threatening*,

authority, and punishment. Fourth, to denounce them as *heretics, radicals, and schismatics*; to refuse them a hearing, impeach their motives, and put as much uncandid reproach upon them as possible." He pleads for fair and dispassionate investigation and discussion. It made a great impression, but as the *Methodist Magazine* did not dare to observe the comity of debate by publishing it, as the *Mutual Rights* allowed space to its opponents, the Address reached but a limited number. The character and reputation of Shinn was so pure, his style so dispassionate, his logic so clear-cut and indisputable, no direct reply was ever attempted.

About this time "A Travelling Preacher" from Pennsylvania wrote: "Let the *Mutual Rights* work its way for four years; let the people read during the time, and make up their minds, each man for himself. Let truth be calmly and forcibly set before them; then let the General Conference come, and, stratagem apart, we have nothing to fear. A good cause so circumstanced must triumph." It was the whole case of the Reformers; they asked for nothing more. "Cincinnatus," Rev. Cornelius Springer of the travelling preachers West, resumes his contributions; he was the most incisive of the writers except McCaine. "Plain Truth" from Virginia was a powerful writer for Reform in various articles in this first volume, but it is not in my power to identify him. Rev. Dr. Bassett informed the writer years ago, that in 1850, being in Baltimore at the General Conference, he waited upon John J. Harrod, the venerable ex-publisher of the *Mutual Rights*, in company with E. Yeates Reese, and preferred an earnest request that he would go through the bound volumes and identify the writers. He promised to do so, but it was never done, and so to-day a number of the contributions are unverified in authorship. "Zwingli," Gideon Davis of Georgetown, D. C., began a series of articles in the last (July) number of the first volume. Clear as crystal and chaste in diction, they commanded attention as a criterion of the lay calibre engaged on the side of Reform. Rev. Dr. John French reappears under his proper name, and McCaine has the closing article on Expediency. It was intended to supplement his series, supporting the inalienable right of the locality and laity, and is a calm, forceful presentation.

The periodical was gaining a much wider circulation than the *Repository*, and wherever it went it made converts to Reform. As might be expected, the opposition to it intensified as its popularity increased. Extra copies were sent to the address of Reformers for distribution, and it is in evidence that this prac-

tice, coming to the knowledge of presiding elders, influence was used with the postmasters, if members or adherents of the Church, to refuse delivery and destroy them. Much secrecy had to be observed in the circulation, for if a member was known to be a subscriber or a reader, he was put under suspicion and marked to his disadvantage. It will serve to break the serious trend of these remarks to cite from Rev. Dr. George Brown's experience. "When the *Mutual Rights* appeared, I ordered it to be sent to nearly all the leading men of my district [he was Elder on Monongahela at the time], and paid for it in advance out of my own scanty funds. So that paper was read in all parts of the district, privately; for a time even the preachers were not allowed to know anything about it, nor did any one suspect my agency in the matter. On the subject of church government in public and in private I maintained a most profound silence; and from the office I held it was generally supposed that I was unfriendly to the changes contended for, and the periodical was kept very carefully out of sight wherever I went. When dismounting from my horse at the house of Thomas Maple, a valuable local preacher, to whom I had sent the paper, I heard sister Maple call out to one of the girls: 'Run, Sal, run! and take them *Mutual Rights* off the table; there comes the Elder.' And 'Sal' must have taken and concealed them in some by-corner, for they were not to be seen during my stay. So it was in all places, no one being disposed to let me know that he read so obnoxious a paper as the *Mutual Rights*."¹ It was severely under ban, and yet the circulation increased.

Taking their cue from the Baltimore organization, Union Societies were formed North, South, East, and West, wherever, in fact, the *Mutual Rights* found lodgment and a nucleus was gathered. Specimens of the Constitutions may be found in the *Mutual Rights*; they were identical in purpose with that of Baltimore. The organizers, loyal to Methodism if not to the hierarchy, did not dream that their proceedings could be construed as a violation of the Discipline; the General Conference had stigmatized their numerical inferiority so extremely that this method was proposed; there seemed no other available, to ascertain the sense of the membership. But to the authorities these societies were a new turn, an unexpected phase; a free press for

¹ "Recollections of Itinerant Life," by Rev. George Brown, D.D., Cincinnati and Springfield. 1863. 8vo. 456 pp. Cloth. With steel portrait. For citation, see p. 125.

discussion of the merits of the cause was menacing enough to their ancient hold of power, this threatened to make a majority of a minority, and the exasperation following the discovery knew no bounds. Let them, however, be judged charitably; they had come to the possession of a peculiar "system," which made automata of the individuals, by inheritance from the "fathers." The celebrated Dr. Priestley, now resident in Pennsylvania, who had been a close philosophical observer of it both in England and America, wisely says: "For my own part I have no doubt but that the leading men among the Methodists were influenced originally by none but the best motives, a general concern for the souls of men. Nothing else, I think, can account for their conduct as they were circumstanced. But finding themselves by degrees at the head of a large body of people, and in possession of considerable power and influence, they must not have been men if they had not felt the love of power gratified in such a situation; and they must have been even more than men, if their subsequent conduct had not been more or less influenced by it."¹

As to the fact of its concentration, let Dr. Coke, as cited in the first volume, be again called to witness. In 1795 he wrote: "Hitherto we have seen, since the death of Mr. Wesley, the most perfect Aristocracy existing, perhaps, on earth. The people have NO power; *we* the WHOLE, *in the fullest sense which can be conceived*. If there be any change in favor of religious liberty, the *people* certainly should have some power." They had come to believe the "system" everything, the fruitful source of all the marvellous spiritual results, and hence it, even more than doctrines and means of grace, was "Methodism." So to oppose the system was to oppose everything sacred in memory and divine in origin; how could the Head of the Church give them such success if his signet of direct approval was not on it? That it could be improved by any innovations was simply the suggestion of backsliders or ambitious people. To misrepresent the innovations proposed and to impugn the motives of the innovators were steps certain to follow. The young preacher looked to his senior, and the senior to the Elder, and he did not think of doubting or inquiring for himself as to either. The confession of Sneathen in the former volume as to his prejudices against O'Kelly thus imbibed covers a multitude of like cases. Nor must it be inferred that intelligent laymen were few who, reasoning from the preachers' premises, did not sink all questions of right and expediency in the

¹ *Mutual Rights*, Vol. I. p. 244.

old paths and the good way they and their fathers had known. Moreover, two considerations were all powerful with many in arresting the prevalence of the new opinions: with the preachers the Conference had control of their support, and, as shall be exhibited later, the will-power of even strong men was held in abeyance when bread was the weight in the other scale; with the laity these preachers were the instruments of their conversion,—they knew them to be good men, and they were unwilling to disturb the old order of things even to make it better, if the preachers demurred. A much larger number, however, it was believed, were ready to sacrifice everything for an "Idea,"¹ like the Revolutionary fathers. Liberty was an abstraction, for what did the small tax upon tea or the Stamp Act amount to practically? It could not be called an oppression; but the vital point on which these patriots staked their "lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" was the enactment *without their consent*. A large majority, it was believed, were with Reform, but the authorities did not suffer the only method of ascertaining it through the Union Societies to demonstrate it. And here Snethen's dictum must be requoted: "Power combined with interest and inclination cannot be controlled by logic. But even power shrinks from the test of logic." The Reform periodical and the Union Societies were such a test of logic, and the hierarchy shrank from it. They held the power and felt no inclination of surrender, so logic could not control. There was a last resort: *Expel Reform out of the Church*.

The second volume of the *Mutual Rights* opens with a prefatory statement of its rule of conduct, from which these sentiments are quoted: "They trust that prudence, candor, and moderation will mark their progress; and as they will cultivate an honest inten-

¹ Extract from a letter to the editors of the *Mutual Rights*, pp. 386, 387, May, 1825, from a Layman of Tennessee: "And it is no less strange that in a land of freemen, and in an age when the divine right of kings and priests to make laws for the church and state without their consent, is universally denied; such a body as the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church should deny the right of suffrage to her members. But such is the melancholy fact, as appears from the circular of that august body of divines. At sight of this I despaired of seeing any salutary reform shortly, if ever. I had almost concluded to unite myself with some dissenting branch of the Methodist Church. In this I should have done violence to some of the finest feelings of my nature. But on seeing the *Mutual Rights*, my hopes revived, and I have concluded to cleave to my Church and use what little influence I may have in disseminating the principles of reform. We are about to organize a Union Society in this place; you will hear from us after our next meeting, which is the second Saturday in May. Our Presiding Elder, I understand, insinuates something like trying to effect our expulsion. This we shall risk."

tion to promote the best interests of religion in general, and the permanent peace and prosperity of the Methodist Church in particular, nothing shall induce them to turn aside from their great object, or to indulge in personal altercation. In the meantime, however, they renew the tender of their columns to any of their brethren in the opposition who will set forth with candor and moderation the *arguments* by which they are influenced to oppose a change in our church government; but personal detraction or mere declamation, from whichever side of the question, will not be permitted. The Committee take this opportunity to repeat the declaration to their brethren, and to the world, that they have no design to separate from the Church, much less to divide it; but to the contrary they are laboring to prevent secession and divisions; for they desire most sincerely to remain in the communion and fellowship with their brethren of the great Methodist family of these United States." As the whole question of the subsequent expulsions will turn upon this conduct of the periodical, nothing but an examination of the volumes by the impartial inquirer can determine it, and therefore the writer shall have on deposit every form of evidence appealed to in this History free to the research of every such inquirer.

It is affirmed that, reasonably construed, the editorial Committee adhered to their purpose, and challenge is made of a parallel to the liberal and Christian spirit which offered free of cost to the opposers space for all the arguments they could produce. In the first volume they availed of it to fully one-third the forty pages each month for the year. The second volume was not so freely used, but "One of the Laity," John F. Watson of Philadelphia, continued to use the Reform periodical in defence of the old system. To reënforce this advertised purpose of the editors, Asa Shinn contributed two papers: "An Address to the Reformers," which for the Christlike spirit and controversial moderation have never been excelled. A brief extract will serve to exhibit the animus: "If we were ever under obligation to act for God and for eternity, in any period of our lives, we are surely under obligation at this eventful crisis. To be *expelled* from the Church, or to *withdraw* from the Church, or to *reform* the Church, — each requires the most serious and deliberative exercise of the human faculties, and ought never to be attempted or carried into execution under the influence of a trifling, prejudiced, or inconsiderate mind." Snethen followed with a like appeal on "The Necessity for Union," and the records will prove that these two

master spirits kept in subjection the impatient element among the Reformers. Gideon Davis continued to discuss the issues with his graceful pen and faultless spirit. The high literary character of the periodical was preserved. Jennings, the classical scholar, was editor-in-chief, and nothing crude or slovenly was allowed to pass his critical oversight. The report of the editors to the Baltimore Union Society showed that Reform, keeping step with the circulation of the paper, had spread into Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama in the South; and Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri in the West; and Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, and even Vermont, while Maryland was in the lead for numbers and influence. The new editorial Committee was Jennings, Williams, Kesley, and Reese (John S.) of the ministers, and Arthur Emmerson, Lambert Thomas, John Chappell, Wesley Starr, Jesse Comegys, and James Hindes of the laity.

Rev. H. B. Bascom, under his own signature, writes to the chairman June 20, 1825, a striking letter eulogistic of Rev. John Summerfield, who had from that fell disease consumption just closed a brilliant career. He will be heard from frequently in the future under his several *noms de plume*, *Presbyter*, *Dissenter*, *Neale*, and with pronounced opinions and unflinching adherence as *Vindex*. Next to the English Summerfield he was the bright particular star of early Methodism as a pulpit orator. Born in 1796, in New York State, his father, under stress of debt, removed with his large family to the frontier of that state, thence to Kentucky, and finally to Ohio. Henry entered the ministry at sixteen years of age, a precocious giant in intellect and physique. To the slur that he was a "new recruit" in Reform, he made answer April, 1828, "Vindex was one among reformers who drafted a memorial to the General Conference of 1816, twelve years ago, praying for an important alteration in the government of the Church—and as early as 1822 published his thoughts at length on this subject in the *Wesleyan Repository*."¹ His father died early, leaving a large and dependent family to Henry, the eldest son, as their only support. Not economical by habit, pecuniary embarrassment haunted him through life and delayed his marriage until past forty years of age. It is the key to his history and the extenuation of his failure openly to follow the fortunes of Reform to the last extremity of self-abnegation.

¹ Jennings's "Exposition of the Late Controversy." 8vo. 247 pp. Harrod, publisher, Baltimore, 1831. For citation, see p. 214.

A purpose was formed by the friends of Reform in Bedford County, Tenn., to organize a Union Society, and in February, 1825, a tentative meeting was held, and a call made for such an organization in May ensuing, which subsequently met in a large barn just out of Unionville in Bedford County. The Presiding Elder of the district, James Gynne, in the majesty of a true hierarch, resolved to estop the proceedings, and in April read out from the Quarterly conference the names of fourteen official members, some of whom were local preachers, with the announcement that "these brethren had put themselves out of the Church, and were no longer to be considered Methodists." Undeterred, the Union Society was formed in May, William B. Elgin, President, and Richard Warner, Secretary. It was composed of a number of the leading members and citizens of the county. They issued a circular in which they say: "There is a work in circulation [the *Mutual Rights*], published in Baltimore, in which the arguments on both sides of the question which agitates us are set forth; we would recommend our brethren to procure and read the work; give the arguments on both sides due weight, and if, after a patient investigation, we should still differ, we do not see why we should quarrel with or anathematize each other. . . . We again declare (the assertion of the Presiding Elder to the contrary notwithstanding) that we have not 'left the Methodist Church.' Neither do we design to do so while there is the most distant prospect of our being of any use to or in that Church." This independent course stung the Elder to the quick, and at once systematic expulsions were inaugurated, some nine local preachers being of the number. Appeals were taken to the ensuing Annual Conference, which met in October (it is to be regretted that the name of the presiding Bishop cannot be ascertained, but probably Roberts, as in these days he tried to hold an even balance with the contestants), and after a fair investigation these mountaineers decided that the Elder had exceeded his authority and ordered the restoration of the expelled members, the Bishop of course concurring. The zeal of the Elder had eaten him up. It will be seen that this first attempt to expel Reform out of the Church was an abortiou, because the process of gestation was imperfect. The brethren in Baltimore addressed the persecuted in Tennessee a letter of sympathy and support, and it was this bond of union, with the steady spread of Reform, coupled with their undeviating resolve not to secede, that led the authorities at last to sanction expulsions. In February following, 1826, a temptation so to do

was presented by a circular addressed the Reformers everywhere by the Stillwell and other seceders in New York and the North, now a considerable body,¹ inviting them to send delegates to a Convention to be called in the city of New York, "to form a Constitution for a new Methodist Church." A special messenger was sent to the Baltimore Society, and they made official answer, February 15, 1826, in which they restate their position: "In the number of the *Mutual Rights* for August, 1825, p. 2, we have made the declaration to the world that we have no design to separate from the Church, much less to divide it; but, on the contrary, we are laboring to prevent secessions and divisions, . . . consequently any participation in the measures you propose would be inconsistent with our avowed intentions." Signed, John Chappell, President.

¹ The secession of W. M. Stillwell in New York City originally carried from the Methodist Episcopal Church about three hundred members in 1820-21. Through the kindness of Rev. J. J. Smith, D.D., the printed minutes of those who adhered to this organization for the years 1824, 1825, 1826, and 1827 are before the writer and enable him to give a fairly correct idea of the growth of this body. From those of 1824 it is ascertained that the "Yearly Conference of the Methodist Society" consisted of twenty-eight delegates from churches in New York City, three in number, and other places in New Jersey, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, etc. The total membership is set down 2139. In 1825 they had churches in western New York, Connecticut, etc., and claimed an increase of 386. In 1826 it appears that William M. Stillwell set up an independent Conference, disowning the large majority, so true is it that "secession breeds an exaggerated individualism and carries with it the possibility and menace of further schisms." The regular Conference held its session notwithstanding as "An annual State Conference" in the Sullivan Street church, New York, Stillwell having given notice through the *New York Observer* that it would not be allowed to meet as intended in his Christie Street church in New York. It seems that he favored union with the "Radicals" of Maryland and elsewhere whose first convention assembled in November of this year. The regular body held on its way, and it was to it that the Reformers of Baltimore declined sending delegates on their solicitations elsewhere noticed. In turn they disowned Stillwell and his church. The name of Lorenzo Dow is found associated with this movement as "general missionary," and he continued with them in his eccentric manner until his death, finding sympathy and support among Methodist Protestants in Maryland in his last illness. A society of 110 was claimed in Baltimore, and a separate conference, called the Rochester, in western New York, but for 1827 the statistics are not furnished. Nearly this whole organization eventually merged in the Methodist Protestant Church, and furnished names which are honored in its after history, as Aaron G. Brewer, who removed to Georgia, and in which state they also claimed a considerable membership, Samuel Budd of New Jersey, James Covell, and Isaac Fister. This organization must not be confounded with the Reform Methodists, also elsewhere referred to, who originated in secessions in 1814, and spread into a number of states North and West, and were in existence as late as 1840; but these also found a more compact organization in the Methodist Protestant Church, into which they were absorbed in large part.

CHAPTER V

Roanoke District Conference, North Carolina, and its Reformers—Rev. W. W. Hill's trial and acquittal; the Granville Union Society and expulsion of Lewellyn Jones; other expulsions; Ira Harris's defence; J. R. Williams's masterly summation of the charges against these Reformers—Persecution of Reformers in Baltimore; "Baltimore" James Smith retires as a Reformer; reasons—Effort to secure unanimity among the Reformers; call of a Convention in Baltimore for 1826 to this end—Analysis of Dr. Bond's character and methods as an anti-reformer; tricky and "dotingly fond of dispute"—*Christian Advocate* first issued September, 1826; a battery against Reform—Shinn on the situation; a masterly plea—Bishops' meeting in 1827; what it did—General Reform Convention in Baltimore, November, 1827; what it did—"Union Societies" and Wesley's "United Societies" kindred—Bascom to the front as a Reformer; vindication of him as such.

THE Roanoke District Conference of North Carolina took a conspicuous and early part in the Reform movement. There was great dissatisfaction throughout the South over the action of the General Conference of 1820, which met their petition for governmental recognition by enacting the District Conference measure, the itinerants thus assuming to legislate for them, as occupying the same position of nonage as the laity. The Roanoke brethren were as courageous as they were gifted, and the series of protests and circulars addressed by them to the general Church and the itinerants are among the ablest issued during the course of the controversy, and may be found in full in Paris's "History." They memorialized the General Conference of 1824 in a calm, courteous, and dignified address. A Union Society was formed at Sampson's meeting-house in Halifax County, November 3, 1824. It was the first formed after that of Baltimore, May 21, 1824, and after which most of them were patterned. It was composed of eleven persons, Revs. Messrs. Price, Smith, Bellamy, Hunter, Hines, Whitaker, and Jones, local preachers; and William E. Bellamy, Morris, King, and McLean, laymen. It soon after grew to thirty-nine. In April, 1825, Rev. W. W. Hill of Matamuskeet circuit, a former Itinerant in good standing, was received. He was zealous, educated, and eloquent. In the following month of August he was summoned to appear for trial

under the rule forbidding "inveighing against the discipline," etc., by Rev. Benjamin Edge, the assistant preacher on the circuit, on "next Sunday, August 7, at the chapel in Matamuskeet, before a committee of local preachers." He had two days' notice and was twenty miles distant, but he was in attendance. The notice gave him the privilege, "you can withdraw under Church censure, if you see proper, if you do it in a formal manner." The trial occurred, and, after the case was stated by the prosecutor, Hill made an eloquent and masterful defence, which Paris has preserved for posterity as a specimen of the mental calibre and moral stamina of the Reformers. It concludes: "And now, my brethren of the committee, bring in a verdict which shall comport with the interests of your Church, and the rights of your country, and I shall be satisfied." They reported, "No cause of action." The committee were honest and capable men, so that Edge's persecution miscarried in its purpose. So generally were the local preachers everywhere enlisted as Reformers that in not a few localities it was impossible for the Itinerants to select committees of trial, "organized to convict." In July, 1826, the Granville Union Society was organized on Tar River circuit, composed of the best material of the Church. A few days thereafter the preacher in charge, Benton Field, cited Lewellyn Jones, a man of irreproachable character, and three others, Macon, Valentine, and Hunt, for their failure to "yield to reproof so far as to engage in future to leave off such pernicious conduct," *i.e.* circulating Reform literature and belonging to the Union Society. They were brought before the class of which they were members, and enough were found who agreed with the preacher in charge, to enable him to infer that he had a right to expel them, but when it came before the church, the question was not put, "guilty" or "not guilty," this might have failed to secure even a bare majority vote, but the prosecutor said, "All of you who think their conduct will have a bad effect, will signify it by rising up." A majority acquiesced in this view of it, though it had no connection with the charge preferred. To indicate how arbitrary was this act, four days after a local preacher of the same class was arraigned before a committee of his peers, and though strenuous efforts were made by the prosecutor to prevent any Reformer from being of it, he was acquitted on the same testimony. The venerable Lewellyn Jones appealed to the Quarterly Conference, and the Presiding Elder, Rev. William Compton, in summing up the case against him said in substance, "Men

may forfeit church privileges without committing an immoral act," and instanced a case or two in criminal practice in which men had been punished for thieves and rogues who had not actually stolen anything; and that men had been dealt with as Tories who had not loaded their guns nor pulled a trigger, alleging that the keeping of company with rogues and Tories was sufficient proof of guilt. Having performed this task, he resumed the chair and put the vote; and the majority confirmed the sentence from which Jones had appealed."¹ Three more were subsequently expelled, and the seven appealed to the Annual Conference. That body decided that "it was not maladministration." How true Snethen's words, "Men who have the same interests will be prone to act alike."

A correspondence of singular merit — a polemical bout — followed these expulsions, between Rev. Ira Harris of the Reformers and Rev. William Compton, Presiding Elder, which has also been preserved by Paris in the full text. It turns upon the issue made by Harris, who cited from the Discipline the only law bearing upon the case: "If the accused person be found guilty, by the decision of a majority of members before whom he is brought to trial, and the crime be such as is *expressly forbidden by the word of God, sufficient to exclude a person from the kingdom of grace and glory*, let the minister or preacher who has charge of the circuit expel him." The italicized words define the law evidently, and Compton found it impossible to wrest it from this plain meaning which guarantees membership unless immorality is involved; and it is in direct contravention of the rule as to "inveighing against the discipline," though it had been pressed into the service from O'Kelly's day to 1830, as well as other forced interpretations of certain sections in the "General Rules," notably that which names "speaking evil of ministers," though it was incontrovertibly established that this reference by Wesley was to the English revolutionists and referred exclusively to the "ministers" of the British Crown in their civil capacity, and is so interpreted by Coke and Asbury in the Notes on the Discipline of 1796. So desperate were the straits in which the prosecutors found themselves when the Episcopacy finally sanctioned expulsion as the only method left to extirpate a movement which it was found logically impossible to meet. The general case is thus enlarged here because it will answer for all others which followed, though the literature of the subject on both sides affirmed and

¹ Paris's "History," p. 99.

denied through all the kaleidoscopic aspects of merely dialectical fence and parry. Once for all the cases have been summarized by James R. Williams as follows: "1st. Those brethren were excommunicated *for no act of immorality*; for the neglect of *no Christian duty*; nor for the dissemination of false doctrines. 2d. They were not expelled for the *violation of any rule of discipline*; for though charged with inveighing against the discipline, the charge was not sustained. 3d. They were expelled *for becoming members of a Union Society*, the avowed design of which, according to its constitution, was 'for the purpose of corresponding with the brethren within the United States, who are favorable to Reform, on such subjects as will tend to improve the form of our church government.' 4th. They were expelled for joining said Union Society, *not* because this act was a violation of any law, divine or human, but because in the opinion of the preacher and a majority of those present at the trial, 'their being members of the Union Society *would have a bad effect.*' 5th. Notwithstanding the obvious injustice of this act, and the tyrannical conduct of the preacher in charge, yet the Virginia Annual Conference, with three bishops present, declared that the act of expulsion 'was not maladministration.'" ¹ A travelling preacher afterward characterized it as "worse than passing an *ex post facto law*, which, according to the American Constitution, is destructive of civil liberty, and inconsistent with good government."

The news of these transactions spread far and wide, and on the Reformers and their opponents, in Baltimore especially, the effect was to foment bitter discussion, crimination, and recrimination, the bandying of epithets such as only an ecclesiastical controversy can engender, social church ties were sundered, families were divided in sentiment, the opponents of Reform exulted over the expulsions and warned their Reforming friends what they might expect in the near future; and the Reformers, burning with indignation, did not mince their words in condemnation. Amid it all, though scarcely credible, revivals took place, both parties meeting at the church altars and working together to this end. But this fellowship was not allowed to continue. Petty persecutions began of the Reformers by declining to renew their licenses to exhort or to preach, and dropping them from their official positions. It was the custom of the locality annually to arrange a Plan of Appointments ² for the city and suburbs under

¹ "History," pp. 133, 134.

² One of these printed Plans is now before the writer.

the direction of the Itinerants. The Reformers found their names excluded from this Plan, though such notable preachers as Jennings, John S. Reese, Daniel E. Reese, Sr., McCaine, Williams, and others, were of their number. But more than all these causes of distraction the Reformers had not concentrated, as urged by Stockton, Snethen, and Shinn, upon the one issue of lay-representation; the local preachers, both of the retired ministers, like McCaine, and the locality preachers, like Jennings, were unwilling to sink their parity claim to participation in the government.

October, 1825, an event occurred which gave the cause of Reform a set-back. A few months before a young preacher of the Baltimore Conference addressed a note to James (Baltimore) Smith, craving him to define the position of the controvertists and his own. He was stationed in Annapolis at the time and replied, the correspondence appearing in the *Mutual Rights* of October. In this letter he defined his own and the Reformers' position clearly without yielding the slightest point, but indicated his doubt of the practicability of the measure in the present temper of the contestants, as his opinion was that it could be accomplished only through a convention of the Church. He disclaimed having "changed sides," but deplored the lack of unanimity in the aims of the Reformers, and the ill feeling engendered. He asks, therefore, the privilege of retiring from this "controversial field in quietude," without aspersion of his motives by any one; adding, "I do not foreclose myself from any future efforts, if my convictions should lead me to make them," etc. McCaine reviewed his letter with some sharpness, and Shinn criticised a single statement of it with his usual mildness of diction, but force of argument. A short period, however, developed a fact which, perhaps, does more than anything else to explain his retirement. The Minutes show that he superannuated the following spring, removed to Baltimore, where he died the same year, 1826, or about a year after this correspondence, and in the forty-third or fourth year of his age. Evidently ill health warned him to leave the fray. The Conference obituary is brief and gives no particulars of his illness, noting, however, his connection with Reform, "He commanded respect even from those who differed from him in some points of church polity." He died "in great peace of mind, after evincing a striking example of patience and fortitude in his last sufferings."

The second volume of the *Mutual Rights* closed with a subscription doubled in number, and its finances in good shape. "Frank-

lin," Rev. W. W. Hill, appeared as a contributor from North Carolina. Shinn and Snethen, with McCaine, occupied large space. Shinn, in one of his articles, made the sensible but "radical" suggestion, "except, therefore, the reformers can be successful in ultimately obtaining a *constitution*, they might as well give the matter up; for no reformation short of this is worth contending for; because none short of this would secure any permanent advantage to the Church." His acute and logical mind saw plainly that the enactments of 1784 and 1808 were in no proper sense a "constitution," so that any future General Conference, sovereignty residing perpetually in it, could undo any concessions that might be made if unguaranteed by conventional sanction. In this view most of the Reformers acquiesced, so that their memorials only hoped for favorable General Conference action looking to such measures as would make changes permanent. While they were radical in their examination of the foundations, they were not radical in haste, as all the facts testify. Indeed, it was this conservative ground that tested the patience of the Episcopal "radicals" more than anything else. Foregone in their conclusions that the "institutions of the Church, as they received them from the fathers," should never be innovated, they ardently wished one of two things: that the Reformers would precipitate action, or take some ground that would justify their expulsion before the world and other churches. They gratified them in neither. The much regretted withdrawal of Smith, and the insidious declension of some others, presently to be uncovered, led the Episcopal party to spread the rumor that many were abandoning Reform; so that it called for an official denial with the necessary exceptions.

One effect of it was to admonish the local preachers, whose uncompromising demands had done the cause so much damage as almost to extinguish it in Philadelphia and Wilmington, that they must surcease.¹ Accordingly, the Baltimore Union Society

¹ Despite these evil results their cause seemed so just not only intrinsically, but they had before them the example of the Allenites (colored) Zion Church, which organized years before as a secession from the mother church, giving the local preachers an equal recognition in the General Conference, and of the United Brethren (Otterhein-Boehm Church) which, at its convention of 1815, in Ohio, framed a Discipline of which the following features are noticed: "They recognize the fundamental principle of liberty, the right of suffrage; for the people elect their representatives to the General Conference. They give to the local ministry a seat in the Annual Conference, and make them alike eligible with the travelling preachers to a seat in the General Conference. And by doing away every ordination except one, they remove all occasion of pride from among the

in January, 1826, passed a series of resolutions, the locality coöperating, and appointed a committee to "consider the propriety of calling a convention of the friends of Reform," "for the purpose of securing unanimity of sentiment and harmony of expression in the memorials to be sent up to the ensuing General Conference at Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1828." It was approved, and the committee "recommended conventions to be assembled in the several states of the Union, where brethren are inclined to adopt the measure, for the exclusive purpose of making inquiry into the propriety and expediency of asking for a representation, and taking measures preparatory to the formation of a memorial expressly upon that subject." Baltimore was suggested as a suitable place for the General Convention.¹ The Report was printed and circulated through the United States so far as Reformers could make it reach. This alignment of Reform forces was a serious menace to the Episcopal party. It meant sensible business, and was hailed by the Reformers as a means of composing their differences of opinion. It infused new life into the movement, and prompted the organization of a number of Union Societies. Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and other points became additional centres of agitation, now that the objective of the leading minds, Snethen, Shinn, Stockton, Davis, and others, lay-representation alone as the issue, leaving all other questions for future adjustment, had been attained. The controversy grew more heated everywhere as extreme measures of repression were resorted to by the Bourbon conservatives, and equally extreme positions were taken by the more intemperate Reformers. It was an inevitable concomitant of such a party spirit.

Reform in Baltimore unhappily developed under three phases: the local preacher section, who were also lay-representationists; the lay-representationists, who felt this to be the sheet-anchor and other questions subsidiary; and the two sections based their claim upon the *right* of it, which was the view of all the leading Reformers. A third, and smaller, section asked for concessions to both the locality and the laity, but based it entirely upon its *expediency*. It claimed to be represented by a "large meeting"

ministry on the score of office."* They lacked only lay-representation to make the discipline a model one for the Reformers in Methodism, a feature which in after years was also introduced.

¹ It did not materialize as a "General Convention," but one was held for the state of Maryland and the District of Columbia in November of this year.

* *Mutual Rights*, Vol. II. p. 89.

of the members of the Church, as already disclosed — the meeting of which Thomas Kelso was Chairman and Dr. Thomas E. Bond Secretary, early in 1824. The expediency view was looked upon by Jennings and others as a practical surrender of the whole question. He avers that at this meeting Dr. Bond, who was a local preacher, insisted upon being admitted as a layman, that he might be on the committee to prepare the memorial, and was so recognized, because not ordained; and he was probably the author of it. It took the ground of expediency, and Jennings says, "In the instant when that part of the Report was read, which contained this fatal proposition, we considered it a known surrender of the cause of reform; and we have continued to view it in the same light until now.¹ Prior to this time, Dr. Bond was an active patron of the *Wesleyan Repository*, probably one of the writers for that work. Since then we have not known any act of his which favored our cause."²

It is the cue to Dr. Bond's after career as a violent anti-reformer. He stood as its protagonist until the day of his death. An analysis of this remarkable man is demanded, for the reason that he was criticised and denounced without stint of language by the Reformers, and lauded and coddled by the Episcopal party in equally extreme eulogy. And for this reason the writer will fortify a judgment of his own, by presenting Dr. Bond as his own witness, contemporaries of his own Church, and their united testimony as supported by Reformers who knew him well, and the facts of his anti-reform history. Others may thus be made the judges of his motives, and shall furnish an explanation of his otherwise exceptional conduct toward his former friends and coadjutors in the Church. First, Dr. Bond *vs.* Dr. Bond. In an article in the *New York Christian Advocate*, while he was editor, in 1854, on "The Sanctity of Ministerial Character," and afterward rebuked in the *Zion's Herald*, he declared: "We have never assailed the personal reputation of any one because they differed

¹ Rev. H. B. Bascom, in his "Summary Declaration of Rights," in the eleventh article says: "Expediency and right are different things. Nothing is expedient that is unjust. Necessity and convenience may render a form of government useful and effective for a time, which afterward, under a change of circumstances and an accumulation of responsibility, may become oppressive and intolerable. That system of things which cannot be justified by the Word of God and the common sense of mankind can never be expedient." Controversy of this position is impossible with success, and therefore the ground of Jennings and the Reformers on this question. Expediency, as applied to Methodist Reform, is Right, cringing and fawning before Power — Right, crawling like a reptile on its belly.

² Introduction to Jennings's "Exposition," p. 8.

with us in opinion; but when the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church turn reformers after their fashion, and denounce and defame our institutions and propose wild and impracticable innovations on her economy, we consider it a right and a duty to show that they are not entitled to the confidence of the Church, as we would in a court of justice claim the right to invalidate the testimony of a witness by showing that his personal character and reputation did not entitle him to credence." Rev. Dr. Wise, in the *Herald*, reproducing this remarkable deliverance, says: "There can be no mistake as to the meaning of such language. It is not a claim to put down wrong opinions by hard argument, — that would be right and just, — but it is the distinct claim of a right to treat ministerial character and reputation in a manner which we have shown to be forbidden by the Bible and by the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church."¹ It will be seen that he held the same right to defame a man's character, or reputation, in 1825–30, if his controversial end could thereby be secured. A former allusion to Dr. Bond gives a characteristic of him called by his friends sagacity, and by his opponents trickery. Rev. Dr. Augustus Webster, editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, July 13, 1844, cites the *Richmond Christian Advocate*, edited by Dr. L. M. Lee, of June, 1844, who elaborates this phase of his character as follows: "This ambiguous, equivocal, and jesuitical preamble and resolution, capable of being explained either way, as policy might dictate, was concocted for the purpose of 'being all things to all men,' and to catch the votes of all the factions in the Conference who would coalesce in *any* action against the Bishop." This refers to Bond's "substitute" for the resolution "requiring Bishop Andrew to resign." Dr. Webster then cites from the *New York Advocate*, edited by Bond, for August 23, 1843, this admission from him, "Heretofore it has been a matter of rejoicing that those who left us, and set up for themselves [reference to the Reformers of 1827–30], have only differed with us in opinion as to the form of church government." On which Webster comments, "When it is remembered that the Senior Editor has avowed himself the contriver of the mock trials

¹ It is remarkable that this judgment is indorsed by Dr. Buckley in an editorial, *Christian Advocate*, September 10, 1876, in these words: "If Dr. Bond came to believe a man to be upon the whole inimical to the interests of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he did not hesitate to make it known, and brought his unequalled wealth of sarcastic appellations and similes into use to restrain the influence of his opponent." This note is added in a revision of this work, December 23, 1896.

and bitter persecutions of the Reformers, it is to be hoped that the Episcopal Methodists, who have at last found out his sophistry and cunning, will do justice to the memory of the men whom he succeeded but too far in misrepresenting."

The Southern *Advocates* in 1844-45, ringing the changes on this exhibition of himself in the General Conference of 1844, unwittingly testify that the methods of trickery were identical with those he used against the Reformers in 1825-30. So much for his own witness and that of his contemporaries of the same Church. The character-reading Snethen, long years before these witnesses could be thus summoned, said of him, when, early in 1827, it was bruited about by the anti-reformers that Dr. Bond was about to issue his "Appeal to the Methodists," as a foretoken of his menace to "write down Reform": "If his book cannot be answered, I will be among the first to proclaim him victor; if it can be, he must prepare to pay up all old arrears due to the cause of reform. The cause is great and the stake is great. This brother at arms has the advantage of 'sun and wind.' The ground has been familiar to him from the beginning. He has been in our citadel and is acquainted with our camp. If he means to spring a mine, his leisure and security in preparing it have been ample. The choice of his weapons and of the time, the place, and manner of attack are all his own." After the pamphlet appeared, Snethen said: "I say now what I meant last March. The reformers did once think doctor Bond as worthy of their confidence; and in writing against us, if he knew of any secret design among us, we expected that he would publish them all." Once more: "I now not only advise the friends of reform not to separate from the Church, but I warn, and caution, and entreat Dr. Bond, and all who are baptized into his spirit, not to turn men out of the Church because they mean to petition the General Conference to grant them a representation, for this may lead to final separation." "For upward of thirty years I have been familiar with all doctor Bond's axioms and arguments as with my alphabet. I am surprised when I hear of travelling preachers of some standing professing to be convinced by this Appeal." And, finally: "As a writer against the principles of reform, doctor Bond is not to be feared; but as a writer against reformers he is to be dreaded; upon principles he soon gets out of his depth, but upon men he is quite at home." Dr. Buckley, in *New York Christian Advocate*, as late as 1894, sketching his career, justly says, as a summation of his calibre, "He was a

master of an English style, a dialectician, a reasoner, and, when his feelings were not too much excited, a philosopher." Unhappily, when he locked horns in controversy, he was always warmly excited. His habitual mental temper, Wesley, in his "Notes," aptly describes as "dotingly fond of dispute." On his death-bed, reviewing the past, he said, in substance, that in all his efforts his motive was the good of the Church. No one need doubt it; but in the heat of those efforts against Reform and Reformers, and against the Southern wing of the General Conference of 1844, he was the unsparing traducer of other men's motives. This extended analysis will save space in the end, as Dr. Bond shall frequently appear upon the controversial scene.

The call of a Convention of representatives of all the Union Societies to unify the memorials to the ensuing General Conference, the greatly increased circulation of the *Mutual Rights*, and the spread of Reform principles, probably suggested to the Episcopal authorities that the policy of silence, lest the movement should be helped by advertising its existence, would no longer answer; the press must be employed against it. In September, 1826, the Book Concern, with Bangs and Emory as agents, issued as a weekly periodical the *Christian Advocate*. Thenceforward it actively antagonized the innovators. Its weekly issue gave it a great advantage over the monthly appearance of the *Mutual Rights*. It is opportune now to observe that the reply of the General Conference of 1824 to the Reform petitions was directed against those who claimed "rights and privileges"; those who petitioned as believers in expediency are unnoticed. Through the year 1825 the Baltimore Reformers became conscious of a defection to their cause; it was evident that some parties supposed to be of them were sapping and mining in the dark, but it seemed impossible to fix the responsibility, though the suspects were marked and watched. The *Mutual Rights* for 1826 was opened by a forceful review of the situation by "Bartimeus," who in a postscript now gives his proper name under date, "Pittsburgh, June 26, 1826, Asa Shinn," alleging his authorship of all under the pseudonym, with the motive confessed "that those who are disposed to punish may be at no loss to know where to strike, as well as to comply with the request of friends." It was an exhibition, not of Spartan, but of Christian courage. He felt that it would result in the loss of the friendship of many old associates, but longer concealment "would

be in effect to demand surrender of his understanding, his conscience, and his Bible. He is entirely persuaded that he could not pay such a price for human friendship, without losing the friendship of God; and that the confidence which cannot be retained but by such a sacrifice, is really not worth retaining." He sums up the situation for all his brethren: "We *did* expect that the preachers and people in general would give us a fair hearing; this expectation is at an end. We *did* expect that our brethren in the ministry would either yield to our arguments or calmly try to show us that they are inconclusive; this expectation is at an end. We *did* expect they would feel their obligation to act as fairly and conscientiously in their church capacity as in their individual capacity; this is also at an end. Therefore we do expect *punishment*, in some form or other . . . every man among us may prepare himself either to give up the cause of reform, or to *suffer* in one form or other. Those who consider it not worth suffering for, will of course give it up; but those who understand its value and importance will hold to truth and conscience at every hazard. . . . We are constrained reluctantly to expect that there will be a *division*. Is it *possible* for this to be prevented? If impossible, it is irrational to use efforts to prevent it; because we have no control over *necessity*. But if it be *possible*, how is it to be done? Why, it is possible for men to *give up the truth*; but would this be right? It is possible for men to give up their reason and their Bible; would this be right? It is possible for men to give up their duty, their liberty, and their standing as accountable agents in God's creation; would this be right? If not, in what conceivable way can a division be prevented, but for men to give evidence a fair hearing, and give up their bigotry and their delusions? If men will not do it, this corrupt and obstinate will is the only thing that makes a united reformation impossible, and He who requireth truth in the inward parts will judge who and what is the responsible *cause* of the melancholy schism." The facts will presently show that never was human vaticination more literally fulfilled. Shinn, next to Sneathen, was the seer, sage, and philosopher of Reform. Their strongest opponents, like Dr. Bond, while freely lampooning and traducing Sneathen and others, let this pure and masterful spirit severely alone. Nay, he wrung from Dr. Bond in 1844, when he was busy stigmatizing and scandalizing the Southern brethren, this handsome tribute, "Here is a man incapable of guile or a sinister purpose. A sterling and uncompromising integrity is

the prominent ingredient in his character."¹ True, he used Shinn in this as a foil to his attacks upon others, and as a personal tribute it is equalled only by another from his pen covering all the leading Reformers: "They were men whose very errors challenged the admiration of the world."² Unfortunately for the intrinsic value of such eulogies, he was the most inconsistent of men; for the same pen wrote in June, 1855, during his last editorial term of the *New York Christian Advocate*, "They [the Reformers] were expelled, and the act was a high and holy vindication of the Methodist Episcopal Church;" but it was in criticism of liberal views of them as expressed by Abel Stevens at the time.

In the spring of 1826 there was a "bishops' meeting," as ordered by the General Conference, in Baltimore, the ostensible business of which was to appoint a fraternal delegate to the Wesleyan Conference. It adjourned to Philadelphia so as to secure the attendance of Bishop George, whose relations with Bishop M'Kendree were now and for some years so strained that they did not voluntarily meet each other. Another was held, with all present, early in 1827, but as already found they utterly disagreed on the delegate question, a majority being for William Capers of the South and a minority for Wilbur Fisk of the North. Of course a division of the Episcopal work as set by the General Conference of 1824 was a part of their proceedings, and as these meetings quadrated with the severe measures instituted against the Reformers, it was their firm persuasion that, while perhaps not officially passed upon as a minute record, it was understood that "expulsion of Reform out of the Church" should be recognized in the Eldership as a last resort — "power shrinks from the test of logic." It has passed into a maxim that force is the last argument of kings. It is seen to be the last argument of bishops also. This mention is called for inasmuch as it will be shortly seen that any direct sanction of the bishops was stoutly denied by the strategic Bond and others. It was held that the action against the Reformers was a laymen's action to "defecate" the Church — this and nothing more.

"One of the Laity," John F. Watson of Philadelphia, was allowed space, as he argued the question and kept within decorous bounds as to personalities against the Reformers, through the third volume of the *Mutual Rights*. He wrote with ability. Again wonder can but be expressed that the Reform periodical

¹ *New York Christian Advocate*.

² *Ibid.*

should thus occupy its pages. Two things, however, were in view: a demonstration that it was a free press, and the recreation it gave Snethen, Shinn, Jennings, Gideon Davis, McCaine, W. W. Hill, and others. They thus drew the fire of their opponents, and then turned in and spiked their guns. The product, on either side, was volumes of able controversial literature. It is all accessible to the candid reader, and nothing would be more in harmony with the confidence of the writer than to have his statements of fact or conclusion challenged by an appeal to the records. A letter from Alabama, May 19, 1826, in the periodical says: “I was personally acquainted with Bishop Asbury. I have heard him converse with the Rev. Hope Hull, who was a friend to reform.” The writer says he has a son and a son-in-law in the Mississippi Conference. He sends cheer in money and new subscribers, and adds, “My name is Joseph Walker; my place of residence is Dallas County, State of Alabama.” He was a type of the laymen who were not to be intimidated by threats nor cajoled by flattery.

The third volume contains the full proceedings of the Maryland and District of Columbia Convention of Reformers preliminary to the General Convention. It was held on the 15th and 16th of November, 1826, in what was then the English Lutheran church, on Lexington Street, west of Paca,¹ the use of the city Methodist Episcopal churches having been denied them by the trustees, though they were all members in good standing. Nicholas Snethen was called to the chair and Gideon Davis appointed Secretary. Snethen preached a preparatory sermon, which may be found in the periodical. The doors were opened to spectators during the sessions. Twenty-three delegates were appointed to the General Convention, and the names are in evidence of the high character of the men, whether itinerants or local preachers or laymen. The proceedings were also published in the three city secular papers. The 15th of November, 1827, was named as the time, and Baltimore as the place, for the General Convention of Reformers. It was a large and united meeting. Henry B. Bascom now entered the lists, stating in his prefatory paper: “Hitherto I have been silent for the sake of peace, but ‘the time past must suffice.’ In future I shall speak for conscience’ sake and from principle.” He was now stationed at Uniontown, Pa., in the Pittsburgh District, and was thirty years of age, having been fourteen in the itinerant ministry. He

¹ Now a colored Methodist church.

was the rising sun of the denomination. George Brown of the Pittsburgh Conference now also became active as a writer for Reform under the incognito "Timothy," in an address to the "Junior Bishop, Hedding." It was in scathing but good-tempered review of the Bishop's address to the Pittsburgh Conference recently held in that city during which he advised against the Reformers and their periodical as agitating the Church for a cause not having one in twenty favoring it. He advised both preachers and members to defer agitation until the General Conference, as that was the only proper place for such a discussion. His purpose was held to be to silence investigation, and the effect was to stimulate Reform in the West, inasmuch as the policy suggested to its advocates meant surrender and subjection. Shinn's masterful paper, already referred to as opening this volume, was printed as "an extra sheet" and widely circulated. He comes to its defence in two numbers of the periodical, and with his incisive logic drives his critics to the wall of defeat, making, among many strong points, the following excusatory of the Union Societies: "If to this end they deem it expedient to form themselves into 'Union Societies,' it is presumed they have as good a right to do so as ever Mr. Wesley had to form societies in the Church of England and call them 'The United Societies.' These united or union societies were multiplied, the members of which continued to be regular members of the Church of England during the whole of Mr. Wesley's lifetime." No one ever attempted to answer this parallel — it was unanswerable. Happy had it been if the Methodist Episcopal Church of America had been as wise in its generation as was the Church of England. Shinn adds: "A great outcry was raised against him and his united societies, and some, as in modern times, urged them to leave the Church. To whom he replied: 'As to your last advice, to renounce communion with the Church, I dare not. Nay, but let them thrust us out. We will not leave the ship; if you cast us out of it, then our Lord will take us up.'"¹

Rumors now became rife that proscription and expulsion would soon be resorted to, and the Reformers prepared themselves for the worst. January, 1827, H. B. Bascom, as "Dissenter," again returns to the succor and dealt sledge-hammer blows. Referring to the Episcopal Address at Pittsburgh, of which he was an ear-witness, he says: "The effect that has followed the defection of three or four half-hearted reformers in different sections of our

¹ "Wesley's Works."

country; men who publicly and privately committed themselves to the interests of reform, and then for the sake of a place, as it would seem, cowered down most civilly at the feet of episcopal patronage. . . . Reform is now what it was then. If their change has been the result of honest conviction, why not let us know the powerful reasons which produced that conviction? . . . Let them [the Reformers] remain in the Church till they be cast out or compelled to leave it; an event at present not to be strongly looked for; but should it occur, we shall then, in the order of providence, be under the necessity of resting our cause and appeal with men and churches better informed, and God the judge of all." These citations call for two observations: he did not believe with many leading Reformers that the authorities would resort to expulsion of its members for opinions' sake, for this is the last and only analysis of it posterity will ever allow, despite the perversions and allegations of the prosecutors. Yet the facts will show that he was treading on the very heels of systematic, frequent, and numerous expulsions for being members of the Union Societies and supporting the *Mutual Rights*, for to this complexion it will come at last. Again, he did not see the Hamiltonian maxim already twice recorded, that power over a man's substance is power over his will. Like his father, he was no economist; both were embarrassed with debt, and at the father's death in 1833 his step-mother and a large family came upon him for support. He wrestled with it manfully, and the Church authorities, in view of his abilities and adaptability, tendered him the presidency of Madison College in 1827, but in a year or more he was deeper than ever in debt. He was elected chaplain to Congress, and at the end of his term accepted the agency of the American Colonization Society, and in 1832 a professorship in Augusta College, Georgia, where he remained some years. As will be made patent, debt compelled him after 1832 to surcease active advocacy of Reform, but, as will also be proved, he never abandoned or repudiated the principles of Reform. Had he foreseen how the Church's power over his substance would paralyze his will and hold him under its patronage, he would have been more charitable to others who silently subsided, bowed their heads, and allowed the storm of persecution in 1827-30 to pass over them. This writer would be untrue to his better instincts if he did not sympathize with the large number of itinerants specially who heeded the cry of wife and children, and who accepted bread at the price of silence; but he would be

equally untrue to his better instincts if he extenuated the conduct of those in any relation who denied their affiliations, and used tongue and pen and official position against their former associates in Reform. Treachery can never be condoned in any cause. One witness must be introduced, one of Bascom's most intimate friends, and the author of his biography, himself a pervert from the Methodist Protestant Church, evidential of the position that Bascom never abandoned or repudiated the principles of Reform. "It is believed that he was never known to utter a word unfriendly to the Methodist Protestant Church, nor to do any act that could prejudice her interests or reputation. . . . In a period of thirty years he changed some of his opinions respecting things non-essential; and he who has read and thought for thirty years, without changing any of his opinions, has had none of his own to change."¹ Ere the third volume of the *Mutual Rights* closed, in which Bascom figured conspicuously, events of the gravest moment occurred in Baltimore, to which a new chapter will be devoted.

¹ "Life of Bascom," by Rev. Moses M. Henkle. Louisville, 1854. 12mo. 408 pp. Citation from p. 383.

CHAPTER VI

Agitation superinduced by the Reform Convention of 1826 — More Union Societies formed out of the cream of the Church; examples — Bascom again in the front — Baltimore a camp of spies; principle against power; the battle set — The case of Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey, suspended and then expelled the Baltimore Conference for reading and circulating the *Mutual Rights*; full particulars of the whole matter — Effect of it on Reformers various; Shinn and Snethen on the case; Bascom aroused by it — Rev. George Brown and Bishop Hedding — McCaine determines to investigate the foundations of the old Church; remarkable discoveries as to the surreptitious nature of its Episcopacy — It raised a new issue; thoughtful Reformers hesitated as to the publication of the "History and Mystery" — Dr. Bond's Appeal to the Methodists; a review of it; "purse-string" argument — Dr. Bond's amazing conceit exhibited.

THE publication of the proceedings of the Maryland Reform Convention in the public city press, with the reasons for their action, led to a counter publication of local preachers, stewards, and trustees of Baltimore city station in review. This in turn was answered by Asa Shinn under his own name in "An Appeal to the Good Sense of the Citizens of the United States," in which he exhaustively covers the whole ground of controversy. The conceded fact that Reform had permeated almost the entire membership in Baltimore was a fact no longer. Dr. Bond became an active though concealed opponent. His personal influence was controlling with not a few, while the bitterness of the contention, mistakes of judgment, and ill-advised words of certain indiscreet Reformers prejudiced their own cause; the timid yielded, and the love of the "old church mother" with more was decisive, not of argument, but of their position. Laymen who had been neutral could be neutral no longer. To show your colors was a demand on both sides. There were laymen enough who were stanch adherents of the doctrine, "Let well enough alone," of whom Christian Keener was a pure and distinguished example, to make a considerable party and give to Dr. Bond the cue, which he adroitly employed, that it was a laymen's uprising to "defecate" the Church of a disorderly lay-element; the Episcopacy and its lieutenants, the elders, had not impaired their dignity by any condescending notice of the "disaffected spirits." The lines were

more closely drawn than ever. More Union Societies were organized. A strong one was formed in Frederick County, Md., with Jonathan Forrest, the old Itinerant of heroic service now retired, as President, and Dr. Henry Baker, Secretary, Nicholas Snethen, Corresponding Secretary. Another was organized in Baltimore for the Fell's Point brethren. It was precipitated by an effort of the preacher in charge to change the character of this eastern station for more effective control of the property, but was defeated by the bold, righteous stand of the membership by a vote of forty-nine to twenty. He retired from the meeting with the declaration, "You may go home rejoicing in your victory over Methodism and Methodist discipline, and your triumph over *me!* but I give you notice that I will leave you without trustees; for there is no law to compel me to nominate according to the charter. I will leave the station as it is with only three trustees." Far up in Vermont, under date May 17, 1827, a society was organized, one of Shinn's "extra sheets" having found its way there, and was made the basis of the organization, as their first information of Reform. This nearly three years after the first "Union" was formed in Maryland, and in evidence how persistently and successfully in the main the Itinerants were, by silence themselves and suppression of news, in keeping the Church in ignorance of the new movement, and then to twit the Reformers with their paucity of numbers compared with the whole, and the indifference or opposition of the "people" to any changes. Another was organized in Uniontown, Pa., where Bascom was stationed. A large meeting of local preachers and members was convened in Pittsburgh, March 30, 1827, preliminary to a general call for a Convention of Reform Methodists, which was held May 23 ensuing, in the Methodist Church, the charter here being also of such a character that the small opposing element with the preacher in charge did not dare to interfere. Charles Avery, local preacher, was made Chairman, and Henry Ebert, Secretary, while the delegates from all the circumjacent country were representative business and Church men in their homes, among them Dr. H. D. Sellers, John Emory's brother-in-law, who had recently removed to Pittsburgh from Centreville, Md., where, as found, he was an active Reformer. Their resolves were courteous but decisive. At Steubenville, O., a strong society was formed. Cincinnati was a hive of Reformers, and shall soon be prominently noticed. As far south as Alabama "Unions" were organized, while the growth in North Carolina and Virginia was

phenomenal. Conspicuously the society in Centreville, Md., needs mention. It was organized not until June 4, 1827, the "suspension" of Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey of the Baltimore Conference the previous April being the inciting cause, though the movement had many strong adherents long before. Its list of officers covers the salt of the Church and the social influence of the community: President, Dr. John D. Emory; Vice-Presidents, Rev. W. T. Ringgold and John M'Feely; Secretary, Thomas C. Brown; Treasurer, William Harper, Jr.; Corresponding Committee, Hon. P. B. Hopper, Dr. John D. Emory, John W. Bordley, Thomas C. Brown, and W. H. Bordley. Rev. Thomas Reed closed the meeting with prayer. They all united in sending delegates to the General Convention called for Baltimore, November 15, 1827.

Among the last contributors to Vol. III., *Mutual Rights*, was "Anti-Vulcan," Rev. James Sewell, the eccentric but effective preacher of the Baltimore Conference. His paper was "Ten Links of an Iron Chain," an allegory showing the growth of the hierarchy. It was his first and last appearance. Like many others, when the storm broke he fled to cover, not a few declaring with white-faced perfidy with Peter, "I know not the man!" Bascom, as "Dissenter" or "Presbyter" or "Neale," continued his bugle-blasts through the periodical. One clear note sent its echoes through the ranks of Reform: "If the time has arrived when a man cannot express his opinions as to the scriptural character and relative legitimacy of our mode of church government, without subjecting himself to ecclesiastical censure and anathema, as exemplified in the proceedings of the late Virginia Conference, then in this case I think the sooner we arrived at a crisis the better; the world ought to know, and heaven and earth record, that the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States is to be governed by human authority, and not by moral evidence as found in the Bible and other kindred sources of accredited information." The crisis was at hand. The whisper had already gone forth from the Episcopacy: Reform must be expelled out of the Church. Thus God-fearing men were arraigned against God-fearing men, but the blind prejudice of devotion to the old *régime*, right or wrong, on the one part, and the fever-heat of determined purpose not to secede but to compel concessions, on the other part, called these forces to confront each other. The manœuvring between them was worthy of trained strategists. The Church in Baltimore was a camp of spies. They met in public worship,

joined in the social means of grace, wept and prayed together, then went out to plot and counter-plot; the one section verily believing that for laymen to participate in church government meant the destruction of the Episcopacy, an end to the Itinerancy and of the Methodist religion. How strange the delusion seems to-day. The other section as verily believed that right and duty, conscience and honor, demanded that they should stand by each other, and push their reconstructive plan as in the best interests of the Church they so much loved. It was a banter of Principle against Power.

In 1821 the Baltimore Conference received on trial a young man, tall, erect, but slender and of feeble health. His name was Dennis B. Dorsey. His mind was logical and metaphysical, and he was a close student. He advanced by regular steps to ordination as an elder; he married, and in 1826 was on Harford circuit, with a youth, William C. Pool, as an associate. The Reform literature of the times came under his notice. He read and approved, and quietly recommended it to others. He was modest and did not write publicly, but deep convictions of the rightfulness of the cause held him in thrall. He says: "I wrote a few lines to a friend, Mr. Hugh M. Sharp [the writer gives the name that perfidy may be associated with it as it goes down to posterity], in which I gave him information of 'a work on church government, published in Baltimore, by a committee of Methodist preachers and members, exposing to open view some of the errors of our government and administration.' I also informed him that the 'work was a very satisfactory one, well worth his attention'; that I had 'taken it more than eighteen months, and was well pleased with it'; that it contained so many pages, and came at so much per year; that several in that part (Huntington circuit, Pa.) took it, and were well pleased with it; and, finally, requested him to let me know immediately, if he desired to have the work, and to inquire of a brother, whom I named, whether he would take it also. In conclusion I remarked to him, 'you need not mention this to any other person, if you please.' But when Robert Minshell, the circuit preacher, came round, my friend Sharp betrayed me, by giving him my letter to read. Mr. Minshell then, according to his own telling in Conference, asked him for a copy of the letter, to which he replied that he might have the *original*, as it was of no use to him." Minshell, it appears, wrote to David Steele, and he communicated with John Davis, now stationed in Baltimore, who reported it further,



DENNIS B. DORSEY.

First Reform martyr of 1827 for lay rights and
liberty of speech.

“until, finally, it was brought before the Annual Conference, first in the form of an *objection*, and then as a *charge*.”

The Conference of April 12, 1827, was held in the Eutaw Street church. The writer recently stood within the now ancient building, its interior but little disturbed, the great sweep of galleries, the pews, the chancel, if not the pulpit, as of old. Imagination peopled the place with the Conference in session. The bishops present were M'Kendree, Soule, George, and Roberts, the last three mostly presiding, relieving the now feeble M'Kendree. The presiding elders were Joseph Fry, Stephen G. Roszel, Gerard Morgan, Marmaduke Pierce, and John Baer. There were present such men as Waugh, Slicer, John Davis, Bryson, Norval Wilson, Ryland, Guest, James M. Hanson, Gere, Alfred Griffith, James Sewell, and others; but these are remembered as participants in Reform, for or against, and with a number, both for and against as the wind blew. Expectation was in the air so that there was a full attendance, though the galleries were empty and on the floor only members of the Conference, for Methodist preachers did not yet assemble with open doors. The examination of official character is in progress. Bishop Soule calls the name of Dennis B. Dorsey. The tall, erect, slender young man, now pale from recent severe illness, quietly arose from the rear of the audience room and faced the Chair. The Bishop said, “Is there anything against his character?” Stephen G. Roszel stated that “Brother Dorsey had been away from his circuit during the year, under the pretence of being afflicted, but had been travelling extensively, circulating a work derogatory to the interests of the Church.” Messrs. Steele and Minshell were referred to as witnesses. The latter read Dorsey's letter to brother Sharp, relating the circumstances. The Bishop said that if he had anything to say in reply he was now at liberty to speak. “As I saw no formal *charge*, I had nothing to say, only to acknowledge the letter read to be my own production. I then retired, and, after considerable deliberation on the subject, the case was decided.” The next morning, when the Journal was read, Dorsey learned that a formal charge had been recorded, which was, “*for having actively engaged in the circulation of an improper periodical work*. The president then announced that the decision of the Conference in my case was ‘that my character pass, upon my being admonished by the president, and promising the Conference that I would desist from taking any agency in spreading or supporting any publication in opposition to our discipline or government.’ The

admonition was then given from the chair, after I had signified my disposition to submit to it, for the sake of brethren's conscience. I was then required to give a pledge that I would comply with the latter part of the resolution; which I refused to do, while the resolution remained in its unqualified form. I then replied to all the important items of the admonition, and gave my reasons for not complying with the latter part of the resolution." The substance of this answer he has preserved in his full statement of the case made to "Vindex," Henry B. Bascom, who solicited the information after he heard of the trial. It may be found in the *Mutual Rights*, Vol. III. It shows how the bishops, the preachers, and the book agents read it, exchanging it with the *Methodist Magazine*, and therefore the members should be allowed to read it.

The paragraph, however, which perhaps was the ground of a final charge of "contumacy," is the following: "I have read the *Mutual Rights*, sir, for myself, and think highly of the work, and recommend it to every member of this Conference." The Conference refused to pass his character on this answer, and the case was postponed to the next day; those in charge of the prosecution evidently halted in their purpose on such evidence. The next day Dorsey again made answer, in which he specially demanded the "rule of discipline" under which he was being tried. This the presiding Bishop evaded by stating that the Annual Conference had authority to make rules and regulations for its own members. But it was parried at once, though unfounded in fact, that "in such case the Conference must be acting in its *legislative* character," and if so, how could the same body at the same time both act as legislative and executive, clinching it with the corollary; "Unless you prove that these two powers should be united in one body; which would astonish my understanding, and form a monstrous anomaly in ecclesiastical government, in *this* country." He closed by asking again that the rule of discipline should be produced. He retired. Roszel softened, and moved that "his character pass on his being reprov'd by the president for his contumacy in resisting the authority of the Conference." But the body was now in no mood for concession. Job Guest then moved "that the bishops be and are hereby requested not to give Dennis B. Dorsey an appointment for the present year, and that his name be so returned on the minutes, with the reason assigned why he has not an appointment; viz., his contumacy in regard to the authority of the Conference." It prevailed, and at

once Dorsey requested "a copy of the proceedings." It was laid over to the next day. Meantime the prosecutors were more embarrassed than ever. Joshua Wells moved that "his contumacy in regard to the Conference be retained on the Journal but not published in the minutes." This was carried. The proceedings of an Inquisition are not proper for the public, whether Romish or Methodist. The next day Dorsey, not being able to be present through illness, wrote the Conference that he should appeal to the General Conference and requesting that this purpose be entered upon the minutes. They had another perplexing deliberation over granting his request for a copy of the proceedings; "the secretary, Mr. Waugh, and others, made some remarks on the impropriety of my obtaining such a document, without some restraint not to publish it until the General Conference." Finally Stephen G. Roszel, who either had more sense or more charity than the other prosecutors, moved that "his request be granted." What was feared was the ripening public sentiment of the city and elsewhere in sympathy with the Reformers personally and their principles. It was quite general in all the non-hierarchal denominations. Realizing it as an adverse force, the anti-reformers said it was due to the "jealousy" other Christians entertained of the success of the Methodists. Thus a young preacher in feeble health, with a family, was thrown upon his own resources of personal poverty for a support for circulating the *Mutual Rights*, and for contumacy in declining to criminate himself under examination before the Conference. That this correctly states the case is evident from the fact that Bishop Roberts dissented to the proceedings largely, having afterward stated to one of the editorial Committee of the *Mutual Rights* that he was not an enemy of free inquiry, remarking, "If our discipline and government will not bear the test of examination, let them go down." It will save space and avoid a reference to a vast mass of excusatory twaddle to establish this fact beyond dispute, that the proscription was against *free inquiry and a free press*.

Two opposite effects were wrought by this prosecution of Dorsey. The time-serving, the irresolute, the dependent, the discouraged among the itinerants were silenced; while the manful, the heroic, the steel-true, and unabashed nailed their colors to the masthead; and not a few who had been hesitating as to open committal, such as Bascom, hesitated no longer. The action of the Conference was not a surprise to Shinn; the time for *pun-*

ishment of Reformers, as he predicted, had come; but to more hopeful men, like Snethen, it was a sad surprise. Peaceful, Christian measures of adjustment were at an end. The Union Society of Baltimore, and many elsewhere, entered protest against the proceedings, but accepted the issue thus joined: "Not only to withhold representation from the membership and local ministry, but also to keep them in ignorance of the true principles of church government. . . . The society deem it but just to say, that several members of the Conference, together with Bishop Roberts, manifested a liberal spirit on the occasion." Shinn addressed a paper to the Conference reviewing at length the situation, accentuated with interrogations which must have cut to the quick certain ex-Reformers: "I retain a lively recollection of the times and seasons when an Emory, a Ryland, and a Griffith made a noble stand on your floor; and when other intelligent brethren with them plead the cause of liberty against the dangerous accumulations of ecclesiastical power. Whence is it then that in your last session, you laid an embargo upon the *Mutual Rights*? Is Emory gone from among you? Is the voice of Ryland no more heard? Has Griffith retired to the mournful solitudes of discouraged silence? Does modest Hanson still refuse to open his mouth? And have Waugh and Davis found out that truth reaches too deep to be safely followed in all its connections? Does the thunder of S. G. R. [Roszel] still terrify the rising ministry? And have your young men 'stipulated' to enjoy the consolations of passive obedience and non-resistance? Whence is it that these dismal tidings have come to us from Baltimore?" As already hinted, in his youth Shinn had been struck by a horse-shoe upon the head, and some years after suffered temporary mental derangement therefrom; now it was whispered that he was crazy. He meets it at the close of this masterful address: "Bartimeus thinks it best to meet this friendly and sympathizing suggestion with a smile, and to wait patiently until some *admirers* of episcopacy will condescend to answer his crazy arguments." It is evident that Shinn could not see the fine distinction afterward raised by Emory and a few others, that their Reform sentiments never went farther than an elective eldership; one cannot but sympathize with the filial attempt of Robert Emory to exonerate his venerated father, but truth and posterity will not heed the appeal.

Shinn was now in the thickest of the fray. June, 1827, he meets the charge that "Reformers are endeavoring to expose our

church to contempt," and in a "P.S." thus pulverizes the innocents who were so pure in speech and so charitable in temper that longer association with Reformers could not be tolerated: "Do those brethren who seem so much concerned for the preservation of a Christian spirit, think it altogether Christian for our opponents confidently to assert that we are 'backsliders,' that the spirit of our writings 'originated in hell,' and then proceed to suspend the reforming ministers and expel private members from the Church? Must we receive all this, as a perfectly gracious and Christian spirit in our old side friends, and not presume to speak to them, except it be done with all possible softness and submissiveness?" Snethen met the issue May, 1827, in "An Address to the Friends of Reform." He traversed the selection of Dorsey as the victim, the ministerial protomartyr of Reform, who was only a reader of the *Mutual Rights*, and sought to make other readers, while the writers were untouched by the rod. He says, "It is doubtful if a single travelling preacher has written for the *Wesleyan Repository* or the *Mutual Rights* who was not known to his superiors." The only explanation that will stand investigation is that the suspension of Dorsey was a tentative effort; they knew the proscription was for opinions' sake, only, and they feared to touch the leaders; they thought an example would precipitate a secession,—an act most devoutly now wished by them, as it would save them from the odium of further expulsions in violation of Christian sentiment everywhere. Snethen further urged: "The truth is, brethren, that there is the very essence of persecution in this act of the Baltimore Conference, . . . we are not to be *reasoned* with, but *punished*; . . . your turn, my turn, may come next. . . . It is an awful thing to be driven by the power of a majority from the last asylum of harmlessness; to be reduced to the dreadful alternative of dissimulation or bearing witness against one's self. . . . It will, I know it will, it must be asked, where is Snethen? I trust while he is among the living but one answer will be given to this question: he is at his post, he is on the front of the contest, he is shouting, On, brethren, on! and if he fall, it will be with a wound in his breast, and his head direct towards his opponent. . . . But I call upon you by every sacred name to resist this inquisitorial power, this attempt to renew in America the old, the exploded principle of torture, this monstrous outrage upon the principles of civil and religious liberty: the punishing of men for not submitting to criminate themselves. Oh, defend to the last extremity this final sanctuary

of oppressed innocence. . . . The fiery trial has come upon one who is as the shadow of a man, a walking skeleton, and I yet go free! . . . Lord, let the young man live and not die! Let not the wife of his youth be a premature widow. I cannot now desert the cause and be innocent before God or man." Never before had he written with such an incisive pen; he was dumfounded at the audacity of the prosecutors. He could have exclaimed:—

"Can such things be and overcome us like
A summer cloud without our special wonder?"

When Bascom received tidings of the method of Dorsey's suspension, he was warmly indignant, and made answer through the *Mutual Rights*, April 27, 1827, in hot, blistering words, afterward quoted as part of the allegations against "readers" of the periodical. He denounced the action as "an overbearing act of abandoned tyranny. . . . I cannot refrain from asking where three or four members of the Baltimore Conference were during this *labored* deed of *hard-earned* infamy? Did they sit by in inglorious silence? . . . On hearing of the treatment you and others received at the Baltimore Conference ten or twelve persons of my charge have declared for reform, and are ready to aid you with their influence and purses." Signed with what became his favorite anonymous, "Vindex." June 1, 1827, he submitted for publication, under the pseudonym of "Neale," "Reasons in Plea for Reform," etc., covering seven pages of the periodical. It is a review of the organization of the Church, in which the facts already exhaustively explored in this work are marshalled in a most convincing manner. Two brief extracts must suffice: "We have the Bible on our side; the practice of the primitive church sustains us; public opinion is our friend and ally; the civil institutions of our country lend us aid, and the *genius* of American freedom throws her protecting shadow over every friend of equal representation and mutual rights." In conclusion: "We *resist* only when we are *oppressed*; as members of the great family of our common father, we *ask* to be treated as his children, and we shall continue to ask; if *tauntingly* requested by 'the powers that be' to leave the church, we reply, if you wish a *division*, separate yourselves; if required to lay down our arms (they are those of reason and scripture), we say to our rulers, '*come and take them.*'"

After the appearance of "Timothy" to the "Junior Bishop" in the *Mutual Rights*, the official addressed, Bishop Hedding, sent a note to the Chairman of the editorial Committee, requesting

the proper name of Timothy as well as the names of the Committee, charging that Timothy had made "a misrepresentation throughout of an address I made at the Pittsburgh Conference, and a vile slander on my character." It led to a correspondence with him; and the free consent that his name, Rev. George Brown, should be furnished, the whole of the interchange being published in the periodical, as well as a number of affidavits from other preachers of the Pittsburgh Conference, deposing that Timothy's recollections of the Address were substantially correct, and could never be made a "misrepresentation" or a "vile slander." With the statement of this case all that is essential of Volume III. has been furnished. It closed with the July number, 1827.

The *Christian Advocate* had now a circulation of from fifteen to twenty thousand, and was the vehicle of articles editorial and communicated against the Reform movement. The *Mutual Rights* had a circulation of from fifteen hundred to two thousand, and while a number of its subscribers took the *Advocate*, but few of the latter took the *Mutual Rights*. It was a great disadvantage, and inaugurated a period of pamphleteering on both sides for wider dissemination of the views of either. In the winter of 1825 Alexander McCaine, having become interested in the Reform proceedings, specially as his attention was directed to the answer of the previous General Conference to the petitions, determined to investigate the foundation of the claim of the Itinerants, of which he had been one of the most conspicuous for thirty years, to exclusive government under an Episcopal régime derived directly from Mr. Wesley as embodied in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It resulted in the publication, in May, 1827, of a pamphlet of seventy-two pages octavo. Up to this period he was of the traditional opinion that in said organization the superintendents, Coke and Asbury, and the preachers summoned to the Christmas Conference, had followed specific instructions of Mr. Wesley. He tells in the Preface that "he was resolved, if possible, to ascertain the means by which the travelling preachers had arrived at these pretensions, and find the authority which Mr. Wesley had given to justify them in saying he 'recommended the episcopal mode of church government.' When lo! the first discovery he made was that whilst Mr. Wesley, the testator, was yet living, the title of bishop was assumed, and the episcopal mode of government adopted without his recommendation; and more, that his most solemn remonstrance and entreaty did not avail in caus-

ing them to relinquish the one or change the other. Still pursuing the investigation, he found that a more extended research served only to increase his conviction that claims had been set up for which there was no warrant; and authority was said to have been given which he believes can nowhere be found." This states the whole case of his "History and Mystery of the Methodist Episcopacy, etc.,"¹ and, as will be seen later, it stands to-day, as then, fully vindicated as the truth of history.

He read the results of his investigation before the Baltimore Union Society. The discoveries were so compromising to the leaders of 1784, and the facts so indisputable; the entirely new issue it would inject into the lay-representation measure upon which the Reformers were now concentrating; its explosion of the received tradition that Wesley had authorized the call of the General Conference of 1784, and had sent over "a sketch of government," which was precisely followed in the organization of the Church; the certainty of the intense excitement it would create on new lines of controversy, and the ground it would furnish for judicial proceedings, justly or unjustly against Reformers, — gave the Society pause, so that it took no official action as to its publication; but individuals urged McCaine to give it to the press. He was deterred, however, long enough to address a letter of inquiry to Bishop M'Keudree and his four colleagues, under date July 1, 1826, in which he respectfully asked for information as to the principal points of his pamphlet in controversy, and in it the sentence occurs: "I am forced to believe that the present form of government was surreptitiously introduced; and that it was imposed upon the societies under the sanction of Mr. Wesley's name. I shall suspend the publication of my piece to allow you a reasonable time to reply." Receiving no answer from any of them, for the simple reason that they were as ignorant of any such information as McCaine himself, September 25, 1826, he addressed a similar letter in purport to six of the oldest preachers then living, all of whom had been members of the Christmas Conference. They were Garrettson, Green, Ware, Reed, Watters, and Dromgoole. From most of

¹ "The History and Mystery of the Methodist Episcopacy, or a Glance at the Institutions of the Church, as we received them from our fathers," by Alexander McCaine, Elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church. "He who has no right to the thing he possesses cannot prescribe or plead any length of time to make his possession lawful." Barrow. Baltimore. Printed by Richard J. Matchett, 1827. 8vo. 72 pp. Only one edition was ever published, and while a number of copies are in the author's possession it is now a rare pamphlet.

these he received answers, and they agreed that to the best of their knowledge they acted under Wesley's instructions, thus confirming McCaine's theory that the system of government they enacted under this impression received from Dr. Coke, and acquiesced in by Asbury, was "imposed upon them"; and they acted accordingly, never suspecting that they did not possess Wesley's will and purpose as he delivered them explicitly to Dr. Coke. The merits of McCaine's pamphlet shall be deferred until it can be reviewed in juxtaposition with Dr. Emory's "Defence of our Fathers," which was given to the press about six months later.

It may be seriously doubted whether McCaine's pamphlet did anything to further the cause of Reform. Not a few of the leaders regarded it as inopportune. It complicated the lay-representation idea, and its statements, though never successfully controverted, fell like a firebrand in dry stubble. The pamphlet in its conclusion says: "In the preceding pages, we have spread before our readers such documents as were found to be connected with the origin of our episcopacy. We are sorry that this *exposé* will not reflect much credit upon those who were instrumental in saddling it upon us. We are persuaded that the impartial, intelligent, and pious of other denominations will pronounce our episcopacy to be illegitimate; and that the means which were used to introduce it into the Church were neither fair nor honorable." For a caustic writer like McCaine this is a temperate verdict, and in both its chief positions posterity has indorsed it. The episcopacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church is "illegitimate," in any and every sense the term conveys, as interpreted by the Roman, the Greek and the English episcopacies. Therefore the right to the term as an ecclesiastical exponent is anomalous and accommodational only, and to this complexion the Methodist Episcopal Church has come, not without determined opposition from its high church wing, as has been already exposed in these pages; and to this complexion the Methodist Episcopal Church, South must ultimately come. "The means which were used to introduce it into the Church were neither fair nor honorable." This McCaine demonstrated, and Dr. Emory utterly failed to invalidate the facts and arguments, as shall be exhibited in order.

It would have been well if McCaine had concluded with this summation, but instead he ventured to outline a Plan for the reconstruction of the old Church, in advance of concerted action by the Reformers. It was radical in its features and adhered to

the equal legislative rights of the local preachers. It was eagerly seized upon by the opponents of Reform, not as a particular expression of opinion, but as a general sentiment, and sharply criticised as impracticable and visionary. Nevertheless, the chief issues of the pamphlet were so cogently put and so buttressed by unquestionable facts and documentary evidence that it made a profound impression, and won for him the distinction of being outlawed by his Church. Something must be done to neutralize it. Subsequent events made it apparent that agreement between Dr. Bond and Dr. Emory parcelled out the defensive work. In a few months Dr. Bond's "Appeal to the Methodists," etc.,¹ made its appearance, and was scattered broadcast throughout the Church. In a Dedication to it he scathingly reviews Snethen's strictures upon it, anticipating it in the rumor that Dr. Bond was to "write down Reform"; with a fling at Bascom, who, in one of his articles in the *Mutual Rights*, had referred to Dr. Bond "as the chief officer of the star-chamber to my Lord of Canterbury," alleging that this English court was exclusively civil in its jurisdiction, and, therefore, the illustration was impertinent as to ecclesiastical matters. It was unfortunate for Dr. Bond, for Bascom turned upon him with such indisputable evidence that the star-chamber did take cognizance of ecclesiastical matters as well, that his competence to handle historical facts was discounted seriously. The Appeal was written in vigorous English, and was of singular merit, in that it must be credited with all the seed-thoughts and arguments that have ever since been reproduced apologetic and defensive of the mother-church polity as it was up to 1872. It is a master mind that can thus box the whole compass, and anticipate a generation of thinkers on the same side. Everything is here in embryo that ever afterward appeared in General Conference reports, or found expression through the *Advocates*. And more, there is not a sophistry, a fallacy, an indirection, a perversion of language, an appeal to passion and prejudice, that escapes this zealous purveyor of Bourbon conservatism; it is exhaustive of ingenious turns and tricks of speech. That full justice may be done him the reader shall have a synopsis of the pamphlet, as the mere statement of his positions will be self-refuting to the impartial Christian investigator, and save a detail of the several replies

¹ "An Appeal to the Methodists in opposition to the Changes Proposed in their Church Government," by Thomas E. Bond, M.D., a local preacher of said Church. Baltimore. Published by Armstrong & Plaskitt, 1827. 8vo. 69 pp.

which at once were launched against it by eminent Reformers, riddling it into shreds.

A number of opening pages are devoted to a eulogy upon the early American itinerants and the work they accomplished: ten preachers and a handful of members in 1773, and now, 1827, 1400 itinerants, over 3000 local preachers, and 300,000 members. It was a breezy showing, a "common Methodism" about which there was no dispute, as well as the effectiveness of the missionary character of the itinerant plan. And now comes his first bare and bald assumption that this is to give place to "a scheme founded on abstract notions of natural rights." The scheme is not new, he says; and, tricked out in blackest garb, O'Kelly is held up as a warning. He plunges into the propositions and purposes of the Reformers, and depicts them for the best effect upon his readers. He takes up the right, the expediency, and the practicability of lay-representation. As to the first, he does not find in the Scriptures "any form of government for the Christian church prescribed," carefully avoiding any reference to the example found in the New Testament, wherein the people are first in authority and always participants in church polity. He finds therefore no scriptural right of lay-participation. Neither can he find a natural right. "The complainants are under no government but such as they voluntarily put themselves under, and which they can at any time renounce;" overlooking with shrewd purpose the essential difference between a society and a Church. A man may, and perhaps should, change his relation to society if dissatisfied with its methods, though the right to propose and secure different methods, if possible, cannot be denied him; but his church relation is a divine obligation, and is not voluntary in the same sense, nor may he withdraw from it voluntarily. Shinn, in his calm and effective "Review of the Appeal," has put this point beyond animadversion: "A man's obligation to continue in the Church can only be cancelled by the official acts of the Church taking away his Christian rights, in violation of the laws of heaven. On this condition only can he have any *right* to withdraw."¹ A few months later Rev. Francis Waters, D.D.,

¹ "Conference Rights; or Governing Principles of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," etc., by T. A. Kerley, Nashville, Teun. Publishing House, M. E. Church, South. 1898. 12mo. 398 pp. Cloth.

This is an investigation of Methodist Episcopacy along the old lines in the main, and is an apparent attempt to invalidate the conclusions of Rev. Dr. Tigert in his "Constitutional History of Methodist Episcopacy in the Church, South, and a review of the Hargrove-Kelly case," etc. Like nearly all Methodist Episcopal

in a review of a meeting of Methodists opposed to Reform in Baltimore, among other effective rallies, says: "I remember that when my friend Dr. Bond received his license to preach in the district conference of 1824, on the question being put to him by the chairman, or some member of the conference, whether he was satisfied with the discipline of the church, he answered that he was satisfied with it till it could be lawfully altered — modified." So this champion of conservatism proposed to become a preacher in the Church and stay in it until its Discipline could be changed to suit him; but now he informs the "Methodists" that a man if dissatisfied has but one thing he can do — withdraw.

He had cast his Reform principles to the wind, and, like all perverts, he is now consumed with zeal in destroying the things which once he builded. Next he takes up expediency, and, remembering his own active part in memorializing the General Conference in 1824, on this ground, he is careful not to stultify himself by now denying that it is a ground for innovation; but forthwith proceeds to show that it is highly inexpedient, and accepts the opportunity to criticise three mooted plans which several Reformers had, on their individual responsibility, suggested. It is not, of course, a difficult thing for him to show obstacles in the way of either. He pictures in lurid colors the electioneering of the membership for lay-representatives, and the limning is enough to affright timid people. But that is not the worst; assuming it to be done at last after a practical internecine war of the brethren, how are the expenses of such a representation to the conferences to be raised? Now, he urges the members are voluntary contributors to the support of the Church; then, he sees nothing but assessment and personal taxation. It

historiographers, Mr. Kerley knows nothing of the class of facts disclosed in this "History of Methodist Reform." Yet he does see men as trees walking, stumbles upon the truth here and there, and has rearranged for his own logical purpose the facts of history. This voluntary notice is made of his work, but the principle object of this citation is to fortify the position marked with this * from page 29: "This voluntary membership in a society could be dissolved at any time, for any cause, without sin; but when these societies were merged into a Church, and it became to them the visible expression of their personal relation to Christ, the case became quite otherwise. Membership in such a body is a *duty*. This duty carries with it the right to a voice in the government. Therefore Mr. Wesley could not say to them, 'If you do not like my will as law you can withdraw.' It is only the majority of the Church that can say this, and then not until the minority have exhausted their legal rights to convince the majority. Neither can the minority withdraw from the Church until they have used all proper efforts, within the Church, to convince the majority. Duties and rights demand this much of all parties."

would be a repetition of the British Stamp Act and the tax upon tea, and he shrinks from it in holy horror. He never once mentions the offsetting fact that such a representation would obviate a presiding eldership, which, in the matter of cost, is fourfold annually what the laymen would cost in the item of travel. Hence it is utterly impracticable. Finally, he takes up McCaine's Plan, already adverted to, and dissects it unsparingly. Not a word is uttered, however, in review of the "History and Mystery" itself—that is relegated to Dr. Emory. McCaine's Plan he characterizes as "a base and disgraceful compromise." Though occurring in the body of his pamphlet it is well that reserve is made of the infamous "purse-string" argument, afterward so called, but classically stated thus: "Our preachers are totally dependent upon the voluntary contributions of the laity, and we therefore have over them a positive and absolute control; for whenever their flocks shall withdraw their support, the preachers will be under the necessity of abandoning their present pastoral relation and betaking themselves to some secular occupation." The reader will marvel at the audacity of a professing Christian physician, in the desperation of his cause, to adventure such an argument, utterly repugnant as it is to the Scriptures, in violation of the Discipline, and repelled by every humanitarian instinct. It must be said of it, that it was disingenuous and insincere, and Dr. Bond shall be witness to it; for, in 1852, when the British Wesleyan Reformers, mayhap getting their cue from this very "Appeal" of Bond's, resorted to the tactics of "withholding supplies," the redoubtable Doctor, hearing of it, made a vehement "appeal" through the *New York Christian Advocate* to American Methodists for contributions to these Wesleyan preachers, and denounced the Reformers for their conduct.

Consistency was not a jewel with Dr. Bond. But four months before, February, 1852, through the same medium, he had reproduced this purse-string argument as valid. When a man in public station lays bare for effect the weakness of his character, it is legitimate to offer additional proof out of his own mouth.

The concluding paragraph of Dr. Bond's "Appeal" is a pompous declaration of a self-opinionated and amazingly conceited man: "We will add what we are sure will give satisfaction to the lovers of peace, on both sides, whatever may be their opinions of all the rest of our book, namely, that when our local brethren among the Reformers shall abate something of their pretensions; and

the lay-Reformers shall be satisfied with a representation, based on the broad ground of expediency *alone*, without any reference to abstract principles; we have *terms of pacification* to propose, on which we think all parties may safely meet, and happily unite. These terms, however, are, as yet, our own, having never communicated our views to any member or minister of the Church, of either party; and while Reformers continue in their present temper, it will probably be useless to propose anything which does not quadrate with their 'visionary theories.' It must not be inferred that we think *any sort* of lay or local representation necessary. If we propose anything, it will be only for the sake of PEACE." Magnanimous Dr. Bond! Had he been authorized by the Episcopacy to offer terms? He had or he had not. If he had, it was a "conspiracy" indeed, beside which that which Bond alleged against Snethen and others, "for the destruction of the Church," pales. If he had not, — and this is the presumption in the absence of evidence which he never furnished, — then the top-loftiness of his attitude is a spectacle. But not more so than when, on his election to the editorship of the *New York Christian Advocate* he made this deliverance to the Church, June, 1841: "We are willing to serve the Church as Editor, if necessary, but we hope the good Lord and the church will excuse us from the dignity of the episcopacy." This and other cues already furnished explain the otherwise incomprehensible conduct of a great and good man when not pursuing his controversial bent, and outside of the gladiatorial arena in which he so loved to disport himself.

CHAPTER VII

Dr. Bond's Appeal stimulating to the Reformers, and formed a distinct anti-reform party — Prominent Union Societies organized — Bond's secretly manipulated plan for expulsion of the Reformers; particulars of it; moralizings on the prosecuting committee of seven laymen — Expulsion machinery set in motion; its *morale* — Its conclusions foregone — Summons to Dr. Jennings, etc.; suspension and expulsion of the eleven local preachers and the twenty-two laymen of Baltimore city — Indignation of the outside community over it — Bond's "Narrative and Defence" issued to mollify the indignation — McCaine's "History and Mystery" made the ground of charges, and himself expelled and outlawed — Ground of the persecution fairly stated by themselves — Alexander Yearley as a type of the prosecuting committee — Content to pray, pay, and obey — Reformers held inflexibly to a Principle and anti-reformers to the Power, and so could not understand each other.

DR. BOND'S Appeal made a strong impression upon the Church. On the Reformers it was stimulating to greater exertions, and settled them in their convictions that a cause which could not command a better showing than he had made for it was barren indeed of argumentative resources, as well as its implications that repression by excommunication would soon be resorted to in answer to the logic of the situation. It prompted the organization of more Union Societies in various places. A large meeting of Reformers for the lower Eastern Shore of Maryland was held in Newtown church, July 25, 1827, with representatives from that whole section. Rev. Dr. Francis Waters led in this movement, with such men as Rev. David Watts, Rev. Avra Melvin of the local preachers, John Williams, Daniel Ballard, William Quinton, William Smith, James White, and James Lawson, leading members and citizens, who formed a society and elected delegates to the November General Convention. They issued a masterly review of the situation confronting them, probably written by Dr. Waters. A large meeting was also held in Kent County, convened in the church at Chestertown, August 11, and the fact that they met in the church in both these instances is in proof that the movement was so influential that the Itinerants did not dare to interpose through the trustees to prevent it. Such men as Rev. Thomas Walker, John Constable, William Harris, and

William Copper furnished the officers for the society, of great social and religious influence. John Constable, William R. Durdin, and John Turner were sent as delegates to the Convention. "At a general meeting of the male members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Pittsburgh," held September 27, of which Thomas Cooper was Chairman and Charles Avery Secretary, in the church,—for here again the deed to the property, as well as the dominance of Reformers, gave them control of it,—resolutions were passed denouncing the expulsions in Baltimore which had just taken place. And on October 4, a general meeting of Reformers was held in Washington, Pa., for the entire section of West Pennsylvania and Ohio, and a strong delegation elected to the Convention. They were: Charles Avery, a leading local preacher and a man of growing wealth and social influence, whose after career shall receive further notice in the history of the Methodist Protestant Church; Patrick Leonard, William Scholey, John Bissell, Samuel Bushfield, Henry Ebert, William Robinson, Samuel Hazlett, David M'Masters, William Evans, Archibald Hawkins, Alexander Sutherland, John Strickler, William Griffith, and Thomas M'Keever. In Centreville, Ind., a Union Society was formed September 1, Rev. Elijah M'Daniel President and John Scott Secretary. In Philadelphia, despite the unfavorable effect of the discontinuance of the *Wesleyan Repository* and the Local Preacher question, meetings of Reformers were held in the court-house, corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, and they elected from the Union Society such strong men as Dr. Thomas Dunn, a local preacher of more than average ability and wide influence, W. S. Stockton, John S. Furey, Rev. John McCloskey, and Rev. A. A. Palmer. In Cincinnati, where the Union Society was formed as early as November 17, 1825, and therefore among the earliest, decided action was taken. Dr. Bassett says: "Its membership included most of the leading influential members of the Church. The writer has in possession the records of the society, with a list of 120 names, all males, and nearly all, he believes, heads of families." Rev. George Brown during his eldership quietly, and afterward while stationed at Steubenville, O., publicly; Rev. Henry B. Bascom; the two Henkles, Saul and Moses M., brothers of Eli of Maryland,—all Reformers, were of the Western leaders. Space would fail to enumerate all the Societies and make honorable mention of the staunch men who organized them.

Another effect of Bond's Appeal was to concentrate the oppo-

sition, under his lead, though covertly, that he might better manipulate the concerted plan to expel the Reformers. He was in his element as he "sat on the whirlwind and directed the storm"—to employ a figure he applied to Snethen. He alleged that the prosecutions were entered upon by the laity without "any itinerant suggestion or influence whatever," and when he was charged with complicity by his former Reforming friends, he declared it was "a personal insult without provocation." It was a principal purpose of Dr. Jennings's "Exposition"¹ to prove his absolute leadership in the expulsions, and to it any reader wishing the indubitable proof is referred; but it is unnecessary, for Dr. Bond subsequently avowed himself the author of "The Narrative and Defence" and of all the proceedings leading to the expulsions, and plumed himself on the service he had rendered the Church. It is in order to notice the steps taken. Private meetings were called at Brown's dwelling and Roszel's school-house in East Baltimore, and when the scheme was matured, a public meeting of the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church was called, after selecting seven laymen who were willing and zealous to enter upon the work of trial and expulsion, in the old Baptist church at the corner of Pitt and Front streets, August 7, 1827, after public notice from all the Methodist pulpits. It is denominated "a very large meeting of the male members (exclusive of the members of the Union Society)." This brings into view for brief notice the third effect of Dr. Bond's Appeal. This called meeting, under such extraordinary cautions, drove nearly all the neutrals into the ranks of the anti-reformers. A large number of the class professed themselves convinced by it, as well as not a few of the itinerants, who accepted it as a refuge while bowing before the storm, so that while a few years before most

¹ "An Exposition of the Late Controversy in the Methodist Episcopal Church; of the true objects of the parties concerned therein, and of the proceedings by which reformers were expelled in Baltimore, Cincinnati, and other places, or a Review of the *Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review*, on Petitions and Memorials." By Samuel K. Jennings, M.D. To which are appended remarks on an article entitled "Asbury's Life," which appeared in the *Methodist Magazine*, etc., for January, 1831. By a Layman. Baltimore. Published by J. J. Harrod. Printed by William Woody, No. 6 South Calvert Street. 1831. Large 8vo. 247 pp., boards. This volume is now scarce, but several are in the possession of the writer. "By a Layman" was Dr. Jennings himself, but as the matter was purely personal he preferred not to obtrude his name. It thoroughly exposes Dr. Bond's immediate connection with the expulsions, gives the particulars of Jennings's trial, and that of his ten local preacher associates and the twenty-two laymen who were simultaneously expelled in the summer of 1827 in Baltimore city.

of the Baltimore Methodists were Reformers by profession or by sympathy, now a large number rallied as opponents and gave the active prosecutors a lever for future operations, under color of a lay uprising to purge the Church of the "disaffected spirits" who would not surrender principle to power.

Outside of Baltimore and the state of Maryland, the Appeal gave a large number of the members their first information of Reform under the specious showing of Dr. Bond; for while Shinn's "Brief Review," in three parts, immediately followed its publication, and Snethen and McCaine met the personal allusions to them in its introduction, they served only to fortify the unflinching men who found access to his "Brief Review," either through the *Mutual Rights* or through its after pamphlet issue. Ten read the Appeal where one read the Review. There can be no doubt that it did much to arrest the progress of Reform. This public meeting of August 7 inaugurated an anti-reform party of the most pronounced character. The Dorsey suspension found publication in the secular papers, and it provoked a generous sympathy from Christians of other denominations in Baltimore. It was the subject of comment in religious circles generally, so that the Bond party found it absolutely necessary that some counteracting measure should be instituted; hence this public meeting of the anti-reform party. It passed two resolutions: first, that "we are firmly persuaded the Baltimore Annual Conference acted in the case of the said Dennis B. Dorsey with becoming prudence and with great lenity; with a just apprehension of their duty, both to their offending brother and to the church of God;" second, "that the following Address be published by the committee who reported it, and that it be distributed under their direction." It was as widely circulated as the Appeal, and bears the marks of Dr. Bond's authorship. It covers seven octavo pages, and is a specious presentation of all that could be said apologetic of that action. It is a wonderful production, when it is considered that it is directed against brethren for "circulating an improper periodical publication," in which the itinerants were held up to "public odium by misrepresenting both their actions and their motives," etc.

In view of these allegations it will be well to give a few excerpts from this Christian (?) Address. After giving what it claims to be "a plain, unvarnished statement of the transaction," it proceeds to justify the Conference action by citing the slanderous doings of the Reformers. McCaine's "History and Mystery"

is characterized by these meek and mild-mannered brethren in these choice terms: "a pamphlet written by a local preacher, in which the whole system of Methodism is assailed with the guile and artifice and sophistry of a jesuit, and with all the malignity of which the human heart is capable, . . . a work which, for malignity of purpose, shrewd cunning, misrepresentation of facts, and gross misstatement of circumstances, has no parallel among the productions of modern times, on a similar subject, except the far-famed Cobbett's 'History of the Reformation.'" Charity is mingled with truth in that it does make an exception of Cobbett, for which no doubt McCaine felt under obligations at the time. The dovelike innocence of these brethren, echoing the words of Dr. Bond, in thus "speaking evil" of an honored and reputable minister of the Church, remained serenely undisturbed. They say in proof: "The present storm may be necessary to defecate and purify the Church of Laodicean lukewarm professors. Let us deeply humble ourselves before God. Let us watch unto prayer both for ourselves and for our deluded brethren." They notice "Vindex," Henry B. Bascom's, rhetoric on the Dorsey suspension, "a labored deed of hard-earned infamy," as language which "outraged all decency, and applied to the conduct of the Conference the most abusive epithets to which malignity itself could resort." When Bascom read it, he was surprised, and calmly analyzed the sentence, word for word, but failed to find, as every reader of to-day will also fail, how it "outraged all decency of language" or was among the "most abusive epithets to which malignity itself could resort." These brethren, who kept such "a watch upon the door of their lips," as the naughty Reformers could not and would not, conclude their Address in this pious strain, "We do most earnestly pray that the great Head of the Church may restore to our afflicted Zion all the blessings of concord and unanimity, in both opinion and effort, and that he may preserve us in the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace." This was their method of bringing it about. The Address is signed, William Wilkins, Chairman, and John Howland, Secretary.

This Address was answered almost simultaneously by the issue of four pamphlets by distinguished Reformers: one by Rev. Dr. Francis Waters, of sixteen octavo pages, already referred to, under address, "Somerset County, Md., September 14, 1827"; one by Asa Shinn, under title: "A Finishing Stroke to the high claims of ecclesiastical sovereignty in reply to the Address of a

meeting of lay members," of twenty-nine pages; one by Dennis B. Dorsey, of seventeen pages, September 10; and one by a "Member of the Baltimore Conference," of seven pages, as also a letter from Bascom. The writer had marked a number of passages in each of these for citation, but forbears to do so. It is sufficient to say — and all the pamphlets are extant if a doubt be expressed — that Shinn leaves the Address utterly bare; Waters with the touch of a Christian gentleman shames it; while Dorsey refutes it inch by inch, and makes it plain from actual pew measurement that the "very large meeting of male members" could not have been more than 350, and that witnesses testify that not more than 250 voted for the Address, though the open dissentients were but few, and this after every effort to bring together all anti-reformers. The entire male membership in Baltimore was perhaps 500 out of a total less than 3000.¹ A single quotation from Bascom must suffice, as it furnishes as well a reason for not cumbering these pages with the elaborate replies: "This Address and the late 'Appeal' of jesuitical memory, are destined to do the cause of Reform much good; the more they write the better; I know no one who has been 'rebuked' into silence, and such as *have* we do not want. Let reformers be firm; we will not leave the Church; and where we can yield, for peace' sake let us do it; let us only resist where principle and duty call for it." These are words of reason; but, alas, a stage had been reached when Reformers were "not to be reasoned with, but punished" — the evil hour of Shinn's sagacious prediction. Universal history is the witness to Snethen's axiomatic truth, repeated that the reader shall not forget its application to every foot of the ground now contested: "Power combined with interest and inclination cannot be controlled by logic; but even power shrinks from the test of logic."

Meantime the combination formed by Dr. Bond for the expulsion of Reformers matured its arrangements. That it was done without conference and advice from the officials of the Church no one will believe with any knowledge of its polity and genius. Joseph Frye was Presiding Elder of the Baltimore district, and James M. Hanson, at one time listed with Reformers of the Emory class, was preacher in charge of the city station with assistants. Stephen G. Roszel was Elder on Potomac district within easy reach. A month after the public meeting, to give color to their proceedings, the machinery was set in motion. Jennings says,

¹ *Mutual Rights*, Vol. IV. p. 391.

“The seven prosecutors, the three local preachers who afterward sat in judgment on the cases of the ten local preachers, as also the committee, who in like manner sat in judgment on the twenty-two members who have been expelled, were all present and voted, and of course virtually pledged themselves to stand by the prosecution.”¹ Their cases were prejudged, so that nothing was required but to get up charges and specifications in accord with the prejudgment. Hanson had written a letter to the venerable brother, Thomas Jacobs of Alexandria, Va., a quiet Reformer: “I am disposed to view the greater part of them [Reformers] as holding a relation to the Church, to which in justice and propriety, nay, even in charity itself, they are no longer entitled.”¹ And this was the position of the judge.

The Reformers were not without intimations of the impending proceedings. August 17, 1827, the Reformers, as such, received notification through the venerable President of the Union Society, John Chappell, Sr., from the self-appointed committee of Dr. Bond’s selection, as follows: “The undersigned, believing that the members of the Baltimore Union Society have violated the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and being desirous of having a friendly interview with them individually, previous to instituting charges against them, if necessary, we respectfully request to be furnished with the names of the members of said Union Society. Signed: George Earnest, Jacob Rodgers, Isaac N. Toy, Samuel Harden, Alexander Yearley, John Berry, Fielder Israel (Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church).” It may be observed in passing that these brethren were reputable and leading laymen of the Church. The last was a son of the venerable Beal Israel, a member of the “Corresponding Committee” of the Union Society, and is in evidence how families were divided in sentiment on the subject. Examine the facts, and let posterity marvel at the uncompromising hostility of the anti-reformers: Fielder Israel, the son, accepts the relation of Inquisitor to expel from the Church Beal Israel, his father. Inquiry may be made for “natural affection.” This Fielder was also the father of Fielder, Jr., who subsequently became eminent in the ministry of the Baltimore Conference, changed his doctrinal views, left the Church, and died out of its communion. It may be well that posterity may preserve for honor or dishonor, as the verdict of the impartial readers of these pages shall be, to give the officers of the Union Society for this year 1827–28: President, John

¹ Jennings’s “Exposition.”

Chappell, Sr.; Vice-President, Daniel E. Reese; Treasurer, James R. Williams; Secretary, Levi R. Reese; Corresponding Committee, John J. Harrod, Thomas M'Cormick, Beal Israel; Editorial Committee, Samuel K. Jennings, James R. Williams, William Kesley, John S. Reese, John Robb, John Chappell, Wesley Starr, Thomas Mummy, John Kennard, Ebenezer Strahen. They had just been elected, August 1, and the list published in the periodical for September. The modest request of the prosecuting committee of seven for "the names of the members" had the complexion of "Greeks bearing gifts."

Rev. James R. Williams had an interview with Fielder Israel, requesting information as to their purpose against Reformers. Israel was candid, and voiced the whole situation in reply: "You and your friends are members of the Union Society, and say you will not leave it. You publish the *Mutual Rights*, and say you will not discontinue that publication. You also say that you will not *withdraw* from the Methodist Episcopal Church. Now we are reduced to one of two alternatives: either to let you remain members of the Church and go on peacefully publishing the *Mutual Rights*, by which you agitate the church, or *expel* you. We have come to the *determination* to take the latter alternative, and expel you."¹ It was a fair and square statement of the case for both sides. The Reformers claimed the right of free publication and free speech as to the government of the Church, as members thereof. The anti-reformers, backed with the power to execute their menace, said, governmental Methodism shall no longer be criticised or written against by the members thereof. In accordance with their plan to visit the brethren accused, two of the committee, George Earnest and Fielder Israel, waited upon Rev. Dr. Jennings, and in an interview of two hours endeavored to induce him to abandon the Union Society and the publication of the *Mutual Rights*, *i.e.* surrender their whole cause. His answer he well summed up: "Experience had demonstrated the necessity of sustaining the periodical by the organization of Union Societies. Such, indeed, had been their effect, that we were entirely satisfied with the prospect of success, and the proceedings of the power party prove that they were no less apprehensive of the ultimate result. Were we not bound by every consideration of justice and propriety to say to them in reply, that we considered their attempt at coercion in this matter altogether out of the way? In fact, if obedience had been the price

¹ Jennings's "Exposition."

of personal safety, the price would have been considered too dear. It is believed we would not have yielded the rights for which we contended, under existing circumstances, to have saved our lives." It is the whole question again fully stated. Members of the Committee of Seven waited on other Reformers, and in some cases did not receive the courteous treatment Dr. Jennings accorded his interlocutors. It must be confessed it required a higher degree of Christian forbearance and meekness than some of them had yet attained to meet impertinent advances and consider propositions which demanded that they should sink, not only their Christian rights, but their American manhood. These preliminaries over, as a part of the mockery of expulsion, formal prosecution was entered against them. It is worth the mention that not until four months after, when the Committee of Seven, to meet the general indignation of the local religious community aroused to the pitch of inchoate protest, joining that of the expelled Reformers themselves, led by Dr. Bond, prepared "A Narrative and Defence"¹ of the proceedings, in which he states the only truthful allegation which could be made against his quondam friends; it is that the Union Societies in the Church "incorporated the spirit of party in its very constitution." This was true, but it is defensive on the only two grounds which could make it a justification of expulsion from the visible Church of God, namely, the immorality of the act or its disciplinary violation. The first was not hinted until the power party found it impossible to overcome the general indignation of the outside community, while the second never was successfully accom-

¹ "A Narrative and Defence of the Proceedings of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore City Station against certain Local Preachers and Laymen of said Church by the persons who preferred and sustained the charges, to which is added an Appendix containing the Rev. James M. Hanson's Vindication of his official conduct in relation to the above proceedings; together with other interesting documents." Baltimore. Published by Armstrong and Plaskett. J. D. Toy, Printer. 1828. 8vo. 135 pp.

It purports to have been written by the Committee of Seven, but subsequently Dr. Bond, unwilling to lose the honor of its authorship, confessed that he had written it. It appeared early in 1828, or some four months after the expulsions, and the immediate occasion of its issuance was the publication in the secular papers of the city of Dr. Jennings's "Protest" against the expulsoy proceedings in his case. It excited the whole Christian community, the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Lutherans being specially interested as exponents of religious liberty. One of the leading physicians of the city, a prominent citizen, an unimpeachable Christian gentleman, and a preacher of such popularity that crowds always attended when he was announced, the task Dr. Bond set himself to prove was a difficult one — even to prove as he had averred that "a man may be a good Christian but not a good Methodist."

plished; Shinn had put an extinguisher upon all such attempts in his parallel of the Union Societies with Wesley's United Societies within the Church of England.

It has been the prayerful endeavor of the writer to give an impartial account of this ancient controversy, and to this end he has given prominence to the statements of the opponents of Reform, a method quite unprecedented in Methodist controversial history heretofore. In pursuance of this method, in traversing the expulsions in Baltimore, typical of all the others, and these alike in all the essential features, he will cite from the "Narrative and Defence" the facts in the case. The prosecutions were inaugurated by the following summons sent to Dr. Jennings:—

BALTIMORE, Sept. 8, 1827.

DEAR SIR: You are hereby informed that charges have been preferred against you by the following persons: J. Rodgers, S. Harden, J. Berry, I. N. Toy, A. Yearley, G. Earnest, and F. Israel. As it is desirable for the satisfaction of all who feel an interest in the matter, that a hearing should be had as soon as practicable, it is hoped that Tuesday evening next, at 7 o'clock, will suit your convenience.

Yours respectfully,

JAMES M. HANSON.

Dr. Jennings wrote for a copy of the charges. They were sent on Monday, the 10th, one day before the date of trial. They are as follows: "The Rev. Samuel K. Jennings is charged with endeavoring to sow dissensions in the society or church in this station or city known by the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and with the violation of the general rule of the discipline of the said church or society, which prohibits its members from doing harm, and requires them to avoid evil of every kind; and especially the violating that clause of said general rule which prohibits speaking evil of ministers." The specifications are three in number, and are briefly stated: "1st. Becoming a member of the Union Society. 2d. Directly or indirectly supporting the *Mutual Rights*, and the evils consequent upon its publication. 3d. Approving the 'History and Mystery' written by Alexander McCaine, which contains assertions made 'without proper proof or just foundation, calculated to disgrace and bring reproach upon the Church' and to 'produce, increase, and heighten the disagreements, strife, contention, and breach of union alluded to in the second specification.'" The proofs are sundry citations from the *Mutual Rights*, by Sneath, Shinn, Brown, Dorsey, McCaine, Bascom, W. W. Hill, and Joseph Walker of Alabama. In addi-

tion the "History and Mystery" as an entire pamphlet was cited, "with such other documentary or oral proof as the undersigned may deem expedient to exhibit or produce." Signed by the Committee of Seven.

Jennings demurred to the shortness of the time allowed him, to which the preacher in charge, James M. Hanson, answered by expressing astonishment that he should want further time, as the evidence was all published to the world and speaks for itself. Five days of grace were granted. Citing again from the "Narrative and Defence," "the preacher in charge caused each of the persons accused to be furnished with a copy of the charges and specifications, and notified them of the time of their trial severally." They were sent to the following eleven local preachers, a number of whom were ordained ministers, and one, McCaine, an itinerant of thirty years' standing. Appended to the name of each local preacher will be found the years of his membership in the Church: S. K. Jennings, 30; A. McCaine, 30; J. C. French, 20; J. R. Williams, 27; D. E. Reese, 33; J. Valiant, 27; W. Kesley, 26; T. M'Cormick, 16; L. J. Cox, 19; J. S. Reese, 17; R. T. Boyd, 11. Twenty-five laymen were cited as follows: W. J. Chappell, 46; J. Kennard, 23; J. J. Harrod, 20; T. Mummy, 16; E. Strahen, 8; A. Emmerson, 25; L. Thomas, 26; L. R. Reese, 4; T. Patterson, 16; J. Hawkins, 12; J. P. Howard, 10; W. Starr, 20; J. P. Paul, 15; J. R. Foreman, 19; W. K. Boyle, 25; S. Jarrett, 30; T. Jarrett, 32; S. Guest, 14; G. B. Northman, 15; S. Krebs, 22; S. Thompson, 12; T. Parsons, 12; J. Coates (acquitted), J. Stinchcomb (acquitted), and J. Comegys (acquitted). It will be seen that the drag-net had included three more than could be inculpated even under such charges as were laid.

Realizing how serious the business was, as these names are inclusive of the leading preachers, and the laymen of as high standing in every sense as the Committee of Seven, pause was had under the diplomacy of Dr. Bond, and another effort made to coerce the recalcitrants into measures. The "Narrative" says: "Dr. Bond, who had not yet relinquished the hope that some conciliatory course might be devised, . . . ventured alone and without our knowledge upon the business of negotiation. Having a particular intimacy with Rev. J. S. Reese, and reposing great confidence in his understanding, piety, and prudence, the doctor communicated his intentions to him." The reader will mark that Dr. Bond is the writer of this account. His proposal

to Dr. Reese was that after the Reformers had held their announced Convention in November proximo, that the Union Societies should be dissolved, and the *Mutual Rights*, if continued at all, to be so only under persons' *chosen mutually by the two parties*. It was made September 15, referred to the Union Society by Dr. Reese, and action taken that no response should be made. The reasons are obvious enough. The trials proceeded in order of time appointed, Dr. Jennings being first. The committee selected to try the local preachers, says the "Narrative," were, John W. Harris, Samuel Williams, and Thomas Bassford. These three were good men, but of very inferior talent and reputation as preachers. Wherefore then chosen? It is indisputable that the brains and piety of the Baltimore locality were, with the exception of Dr. Bond, listed with the Reformers. McCaine's case was made an exception; two were taken from Baltimore County, and one from East Baltimore station, namely, Rev. Samuel Gore, Nicholas Harden, and Edward Hall. The committee to try the lay-members were: Baltzer Schaeffer, Thomas Kelso, Alexander Russell, Thomas Armstrong, John W. Berry, and William McConkey, Jr. They were good men and of as high standing as the Committee of Seven. Dr. Jennings has been made a typical case. The *Mutual Rights* for this period, and Jennings's "Exposition" in particular, cover the elaborate defence he made under three separate protests, analyzing the charges, dissecting the specifications, and nullifying the proofs, and to these sources the reader must be referred who wishes to peruse the literature of the subject. All the protests and exceptions were overruled by the chair, James M. Hanson. No one can carefully peruse the testimony and the proceedings of trial and not be convinced that the verdict was foregone. He was found guilty and suspended from his ministerial office. The same result followed in the cases of the other nine preachers. McCaine's separate trial resulted like the others, and was conducted in his absence, as he refused to recognize the court and jury, except that no condition was annexed to his case; he was outlawed, no room being allowed him for repentance. The laymen were similarly disposed of — a common expulsion. All the papers in the case of the venerable President of the Union Society, John Chappell, Sr., are in my possession and accessible as ecclesiastical curiosities in this day. A number of the suspended and expelled published individual accounts of their trials, and each is a masterful pamphlet, that of Daniel E. Reese already referred to being the most searching

and elaborate; William Kesley, James R. Williams, and Levi R. Reese being of the number.

McCaine's "History and Mystery" was specially dwelt upon in the trials, and with reason. Its disclosures were startling to the Methodists wherever they became known. He had trodden a new path, and the discoveries made in the esoteric of Methodist history were such as to make his euphonious title pertinent—Mystery as well as History. As already intimated, even the Reformers were confronted in it with a new phase, and they received it cautiously. The "Narrative and Defence" says that, when Dr. Jennings was plied with it as a factor in Reform, he answered, "he thought the publication of it at this time rather a fortunate circumstance, as an opportunity was thereby afforded to the Church to rebut the charges by proper evidence, *if it could be done*, before the time should pass in which the evidence could be collected." The italicized words are Dr. Bond's. This was the justification for its publication at the time, as otherwise it would have been better for the cause of Reform if it had not been handicapped with the issue it raised. It shall be shown that it never has been disproved, and thus one of the strongest points of evidence on which the Baltimore Reformers were expelled remains unrefuted. It must be conceded that from the point of view of the prosecutors there was enough in its unqualified and unmincing declarations, as well as in the arguments and affirmations, if not in the language of some of the contributions to the *Mutual Rights*, to posit a charge of calumnious writing as they construed it.¹ But this alone, perhaps, would have been condoned,—indeed, the conciliatory approaches are in proof,—but

¹ Perfect fairness to the author of the "Narrative and Defence," as well as the prosecuting committee, demands that they should be allowed to state their case from their own point of view, so citation is made from the pamphlet to this effect: "Our complaint against the members of the Union Society is not on account of their opinions on the subject of church government, nor for the honest and candid expression of their opinions, but for the misrepresentation of the motives and conduct of our ministers, and for endeavoring to sow dissensions in our Church by inveighing against the discipline. Nor do we understand by 'inveighing,' the temperate expression of opinion, or calm and dispassionate argument in favor of changing any part of our discipline, but we understand it to mean 'vehement railing,' 'abusive censure,' or 'reproach.' . . . We repeat then that it is not for being reformers themselves, or for endeavoring to make reformers of others, nor for uttering and publishing their opinions on the subject of reform, that we complain of the members of the Union Society, but we complain that they have employed against their brethren in the ministry, and against the discipline of the Church, the severest invectives and the most vehement railings. They have impugned the motives of our venerable bishops and our itinerant ministers with unrelenting severity, and accused them without a shadow of proof with con-

the Reformers were contumacious as well, and as they could not be humbled or broken, figments of church law were evoked, and they were excommunicated. Jennings's subsequent analysis of the charges and specifications in syllogistic form in his "Exposition" clearly establishes this conclusion; treating of one, namely, "the Union Society is in opposition to the discipline, in whole or in part, of the Methodist Episcopal Church." In the "Narrative and Defence" they say, 'the Union Society is a body not recognized by the discipline.' It follows in course, then, not prohibited. And yet they seem persuaded that Union Societies must be in opposition to the Methodist Episcopal Church, if not in *whole*, at any event in *part*. They were like Peter in Dean Swift's tale of the tub. If the necessary opposition could not be established by any known and promulgated rule, they could make it out by some rule of construction. It was all in their own hands, and *they did make it out*." The candid reader, after this specimen of the anti-reformers' position and the pulverizing logic of the Reformers of the Jennings, McCaine, Snethen, Shinn, Bascom class, will excuse the writer for not consuming precious space with more of the kindred literature of the anti-reform power party. They undoubtedly satisfied themselves that they were "doing God service" in general, and the Methodist Episcopal Church in particular.

Bond's Appeal and his "Narrative and Defence" satisfied many others. The *Methodist Magazine* and the *Christian Advocate* indulged in laudatory commendations, and the educating force of all the publications combined turned the tide of influence against Reform. And yet it was strongly entrenched in the Church, and justly excited the apprehensions of the adherents of the old *régime* that, if such progress had been made in seven years, seven more would find them in possession of an utterly unmanageable majority

duct which would render men odious, even in civil society, and how much more in the Church of God? They represent them to the world as usurpers, as tyrants and despots, 'lording it over God's heritage,' as exercising an arbitrary authority, which was at first 'surreptitiously' obtained, and which has been perpetuated by printing and publishing a falsehood in the preface to our book of discipline, and by forbidding the people to inquire into the truth of the affair." These allegations they believed were proven by the extracts submitted from the Reform publications, and specially it will be noted from McCaine's pamphlet. On the trials, discussion, however, was strictly ruled out of order on the extracts so furnished, and as to McCaine's incisive allegations it will be seen that they are fully sustained as to the main points alluded to in the summation just given from the "Narrative and Defence;" but at this stage of the matter it is not to be wondered at that he was esteemed a vile traducer.

of the whole Church. Up to December, 1827, twenty-four Union Societies had been formed in twelve states of the American Union. "In those Societies were to be found some of the most distinguished ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in point of piety, talent, and influence. But no character was too fair, at this stage of the reform history, not to be attacked and aspersed by the votaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Even the much honored Bascom and his colaborers . . . were denounced by the prosecuting committee as a 'reckless assailant that transcends all decency of invective.' To be in favor of Reform, or of *Mutual Rights*, was regarded by the advocates of the old order of things as an offence calling for expulsion from the Church."¹

One other excusatory phase of the anti-reform brethren must be considered in making up a judgment as to their persecuting proceedings against brethren formerly beloved and even members of their own households. As noted, they reached the conclusion that the evidence was sufficient, and it is a part of the rationale that they were mentally and morally of a type easy to reach such a conclusion. Alexander Yearley, a reputable merchant and a leading official in the Church, next to Fielder Israel, who was the spokesman of the Committee of Seven, furnishes the keynote of their underlying character. At the trial of Daniel E. Reese he ventured at its conclusion to make this deliverance: "I have been a Methodist ever since the days of Wesley, and have lived happy under the Discipline which our brother has thought so despotic, until this political scheme of liberty (a liberty to do wrong, I suppose) was got up; I thank God for the privilege of belonging to a church which brings us up to a strict discipline. It is strange to me that brethren make such a hue and cry about right. They have as much right to take up arms against the state, and consider themselves good citizens, as to rise up against the Discipline of the Church, as they have done, and call themselves good Methodists."² The inconsequent reasoning need not be considered; it is patent and of the staple of all the opposing views of Reform fairly stated. And as to discipline, moral discipline, no society can exist without it, and no one can object to its exercise, when the laws under which it is done are made with the consent of those who are to be the subjects of discipline. No Reformer was ever wild enough in his theories to question it. But this is evidently not brother Yearley's idea. Snethen hap-

¹ Paris's "History," pp. 167, 168.

² Rev. D. E. Reese's "Protests," etc., p. 16. 16 pp. 1827.

pily satirizes his meaning: "It is said that when a Chinese is punished by a Mandarin, he returns his most humble and grateful acknowledgements to that high officer for the fatherly care he takes of his education. The law, it is presumed, obliged him to do so." Brother Yearley had "lived happy under the Discipline," and many thousands more then and since. He had and they have practised without fault the layman's rights under it,— pray, pay, and obey. The administration to such is an easy yoke; with the law they have had little concern. And it must be confessed that there is a large class of people for whom such a system is best as a controlling force. They are "happy under it"; what more concern? Converted at the Church altars in youth or early manhood, the doctrines of free grace and the means of spiritual growth absorbed their attention, while on their reception they had affirmatively answered the question: "Will you cheerfully be governed by the rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church?" not once in fifty cases knowing what they were and are. Administration is easy while implicit obedience continues. And there is no criticism of all this method. The Reformers made no such issue in 1820-30, though by the anti-reformers it was charged that it was the only issue in fact. What they claimed was the right to examine the Discipline, the law of the Church, to consult, to express opinions, to publish them, and seek by petition and personal combination to effect changes which they as conscientiously believed would be to the benefit of the Church as their opponents believed would be to its injury. The only difference between them and the respective situations was: the Reformers held inflexibly to the Principle; the anti-reformers held inflexibly to the Power, and exercised it. They did not and could not comprehend each other. Brother Yearley said: "It is strange to me that brethren make such a hue and cry about right." He never felt any disposition to inquire into his rights, and as to oppression and deprivation, he knew nothing of the kind. A dog chained under his master's wagon does not know that he is chained so long as he keeps pace with the horses. But let him fag or pull back, and he gets a hint of his true condition. And thus is disclosed the practical philosophy of this ancient Methodist controversy, with the one hundred years of disaffections, discussions, expulsions, secessions, resulting in numerous excised branches of the common Wesleyan vine, the direct result of entailed Paternalism in its polity, which have made a track of history such as these volumes trace.

CHAPTER VIII

Bascom's *exposé* of the threatened dissolution of the Pittsburgh Conference as a menace to its Reformers — The expulsions lead to more Union Societies far and near — The General Convention of Reformers in Baltimore November 15, 1827; roster of members; principal business; Memorial to the ensuing General Conference and an Address to the general Church; nature of both proceedings set forth — Dr. Bond calls a halt of expulsions covertly; the Dr. Green plot his invention; its character and failure — Meeting of Reform Methodists to offset Dr. Bond's meeting; what it did; the "moral discipline" feint — The Baltimore District Conference meets to hear the appeal of the suspended local preachers; how it was manipulated by Dr. Bond by the votes of colored members (non-voters under the Discipline in Maryland); full history of this infamous step — The immorality question considered.

DURING the summer and early fall of 1827 pamphlet after pamphlet appeared, and meeting after meeting of Union Societies was held, as well as public meetings of members of the Church, in various places favorable to Reform, and in protest of the suspension of Dennis B. Dorsey, and of the eleven local preachers, and the expulsion of the twenty-two laymen in Baltimore. Such was the disaffection in Pittsburgh and Washington, Pa., as well as other points, that "Plain Dealer," H. B. Bascom, advised the Reformers through the periodical, in October, 1827 (see Vol. IV. p. 91), that "there is a measure in contemplation which I think proper to make known, — it comes from one of our bishops and the witnesses are eight or ten in number, — it is a *determination to dissolve the Pittsburgh Annual Conference*, at the next General Conference, should its members persist in their attachment to the principles of reform. Now, in my judgment, there is more *want of principle*, more *deliberate cruelty* in this *hard-hearted, unjustifiable* measure of oppression than all the petty deeds of persecution with which our modern journals have been stained. Merciful God! and are these the only weapons Christian bishops and their ministerial dependants can use to exterminate error! I heard it with regret, I write it with sorrow; but it is due to the Methodist public that it should be known. The territory embraced by the Pittsburgh Annual Conference supports a population of several hundred thousand, — there are nearly ninety

travelling preachers belonging to the conference, and some of them inferior to none in the United States, — but all this avails nothing, reform must go down, right or wrong, and hence the meditated blow at the very existence of the conference. . . . If private character must be assailed in this controversy, let the inquisition extend to a few blustering, but ignorant dupes of the artful and designing in your city [Baltimore], and it will be found that they are not quite as *invulnerable* as they have imagined. Should justice and humanity compel me to engage in this business, I shall undertake nothing but what I can *prove* in courts of law, civil or ecclesiastical.” Suffice it to say that this extreme measure was abandoned, if ever more seriously entertained than as a menace of terror.¹

Dr. John Emory, assistant Book Agent in New York and one of the editors of the *Methodist Magazine*, announced his purpose to reply to McCaine’s “History and Mystery.” Care was taken that Reformers removing to Baltimore should be excluded, as was the case with John Gephart, who, with a clean certificate and the indorsement of his leader, came to the city from Cumberland, Md., and was refused admission by Hanson on the sole ground that he was a subscriber to the *Mutual Rights*. (See Vol. IV. pp. 118–122.) A meeting was called at Watters’s meeting-house in Harford County, Md., Rev. Benjamin Richardson (local), Chairman, and W. D. Lee, Secretary, who denounced the suspension of Dorsey and formed a Union Society. A large meeting of members of Norfolk and Princess Anne, Va., churches was held in the Baptist church in Norfolk, November 2, composed of such men as Rev. John French and Rev. Thomas Blunt, Seth Foster, and J. J. Burroughs. They passed resolutions of sympathy with the suspended and expelled, and sent delegates to the impending Reform Convention. In New Orleans, La., a meeting of male members was held in Gravier Street church, October 9, and formed a Union Society; the officers were John Allison, Patrick Thomason, F. Reynolds, W. M. Goodrich, and Wm. N. Wallace. The associated friends of Reform in Philadelphia assembled November 14, with Dr. Isaac James, Chairman, and William Whiteside, Secretary, and placed themselves on record. “Neale,” H. B. Bascom, published in the periodical a paper of eight pages, “A Plea for Reform,” of great strength. In Louisville, Ky., a meeting of local preachers and members was held, July 28, and a Union Society formed; the officers and leaders were James F.

¹ Brown’s “Itinerant Life,” p. 163. The Bishop was Enoch George.

Overstreet, Rev. James Ward, W. S. Spurrier, James Harrison, Rev. Philip W. Taylor, Rev. Matthew Nelson, Samuel Dickinson, Mann Butler, Hooper Evans, Rev. James Hutchinson, Henry C. Dorsey, and John D. Locke. In Burlington, Vt., a Society was formed November 24, with Nathaniel Gage, President, Truman Seymour, Secretary, Justis Byington, Luther Chamberland, and Daniel Norton, with the officers, Corresponding Committee. At Greenfield, O., William Hughey notifies the Reformers of the organization of a Society, October 11. Thus, in the teeth of expulsions and provoked by them, the movement continued to spread; but it will be seen that the unequal contest, following all history, ended in the triumph of power — under the crucial test of a new organization, without property and without coöperation, except from the fire-tried and true, many honest sympathizers fading away when it came to sundering the religious and social and family ties that held them to the Church of their birth and education and salvation.

In pursuance of the call a General Convention of Reformers was held in Baltimore in the Lutheran church on Lexington Street near Paca, November 15, 1827. Rev. Nicholas Snethen was made temporary Chairman, and Gideon Davis, Secretary. The following brethren it was found had been appointed, or elected, as delegates: * —

OHIO

Rev. Archibald Hawkins ¹	William Disney ¹
Rev. Moses M. Henkle ¹	William B. Evans
Rev. David McMasters ²	Alexander Sutherland
Rev. James Towler ²	John Strickler
Rev. Daniel Inskeep	William Griffith
Rev. Thomas Scott	Thomas McEver
Rev. Evert Richman ²	Dr. James T. Johnson
Dr. Shadrach Bostwick ²	Benson Goldsberry
Stephen B. Cleaveland ¹	Stephen Bell ²

NEW YORK

Joseph K. Owens, Esq. ¹	David Ayres, Esq.
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* "Proceedings of the General Convention of Delegates from the Members and Local Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church Friendly to Reform, Assembled in the First English Evangelical Church in the City of Baltimore, November 15, 1827." Baltimore. Printed by John T. Toy, 1827. Svo. 36 pp. Five thousand copies printed.

¹ These were present in person.

² These gave excuses for absence. Considering the difficulties and expense of travel in that day it will be seen that the attendance was as large as could have been expected.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Rev. William Lamphier ¹	William King ¹
Gideon Davis ¹	Nathaniel Brady ¹

NORTH CAROLINA

Rev. William W. Hill ¹	Rev. Thomas Moore
Rev. William Harris ¹	Augustus Claibourne

PENNSYLVANIA

Rev. Charles Avery ¹	Patrick Leonard
Rev. Anthony A. Palmer ¹	William Scholey
William S. Stockton ¹	John Bissell
John Mecasky ¹	Samuel Bushfield
John S. Furey ¹	Henry Ebert
James Kelch ¹	William Robinson
James McKim ¹	Samuel Hazlett

VIRGINIA

Rev. Dr. John S. French ¹	John Blount ¹
Rev. Charles Roundtree ¹	John Jones ¹
Rev. Richard Gilham ¹	Richard H. Ramsey
Rev. Richard Latimore ¹	Robert Bailey, Esq.
Rev. Dr. John B. Tilden ¹	Joseph Ball, Esq.
Rev. William H. Coman	Dr. Andrew B. Wooley ¹
Rev. Benedict Burgess	George O. F. Andrews ¹
Rev. David T. Ball	Jordan Edwards ¹

MARYLAND

Western Shore

Rev. Dr. S. K. Jennings ¹	Nicholas Durbin ¹
Rev. Alexander McCaine ¹	Thomas W. Boyd ¹
Rev. William Bowden ¹	William Bradford ¹
Rev. Benjamin Richardson ¹	Kidd Morsel
Rev. Eli Henkle ¹	Rev. Daniel Chambers ¹
Rev. Nicholas Snethen ¹	Rev. Slingsby Linticum
John Chappell ¹	John J. Harrod ¹
Thomas Mummy ¹	Ephraim Smith ¹
Philip S. Chappell ¹	Biscoe Doxey ¹
Charles Jessop, Esq. ¹	Edward Hall
Samuel Willis ¹	Jasper Peddicord ¹
Hezekiah Linticum ¹	Richard A. Ridgeley ¹
Elias Crutchley ¹	Ignatius Davis, Esq.

¹ These were present in person.



ST. JOHN'S CHURCH,

Liberty Street, Baltimore, Md.

Here convened the Associated Methodist Churches of 1828 in Convention, and also the Convention of Churches that formed the Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church in 1890. Subsequent General Conferences were also held in this church. It is the oldest existing land-mark of the Church.

Eastern Shore

Rev. Francis Waters, D.D.
 Rev. D. Watts
 Hon. Philemon B. Hopper
 Edward Anderson, Esq.
 William R. Stewart, Esq.¹
 John Wesley Bordley¹
 John Turner¹
 John Cropper

Rev. Thomas Walker¹
 William Quinton, Esq.¹
 Thomas Roberts, Esq.
 John Constable, Esq.¹
 William H. Waters¹
 Rev. Avra Melvin
 William R. Durdning
 Richard Bayley, Esq.

It was resolved that the Convention be held with open doors. After routine business the Convention went into an election of President, and William R. Stewart, Esq., of Maryland was unanimously chosen; Henry Willis of Frederick County, Md., and Luther J. Cox of Baltimore, Secretaries. Various committees were appointed. There was preaching at night, and a tender was made of the services of the ministers present to the preachers in charge of the Methodist churches in Baltimore, Hanson and Waugh, for the following Sabbath. They were not invited to preach. After Friday the Convention met in St. John's Protestant Episcopal church, Liberty Street.² The material doings of the body were summed up in the Memorial addressed to the General Conference, an Address to the General Church, and the appointment of Rev. Nicholas Snethen, Dr. Henry D. Sellers, and the President of the Convention to present it. A Committee of Vigilance and Correspondence was appointed: S. K. Jennings, A. McCaine, John J. Harrod, Luther J. Cox, Wesley Starr, J. W. Bordley, Nicholas Snethen, Francis Waters, and Eli Henkle. It was unanimously resolved, on motion of Snethen, that the Reformers are not opposed to the Itinerancy, and that all articles "which have a tendency injuriously affecting itinerancy" be excluded from the *Mutual Rights*. Snethen was invited to address the Convention, which he did; and after religious service it adjourned, November 20. The Committee of Vigilance was authorized to call another Convention, should it be thought necessary.

¹ These were present in person.

² It had outlived its usefulness as such, and John Clark, a wealthy member, having a mortgage upon it and being favorably impressed with the cause of the Reformers, led to the invitation to occupy it. Arrangements were subsequently made for its purchase on easy terms and it became the First Methodist Protestant Church of Baltimore, John Clark and others of the old membership having cast in their lot with the new organization. Its subsequent varied history, having its cue in the fact just mentioned, — its origin, — will receive attention later.

The Memorial consists of ten paragraphs. The first announces the purpose of the Convention "petitioning upon the subject of lay and local representation." The second disclaims any purpose to "use any word or phrase" to injure the feelings of their opponents. The third suggests that a representation of local and lay men be allowed in the General Conference. The fourth calls attention to it as a matter of right. The fifth meets the objection that there is no analogy between civil and religious liberty. The sixth notices the strange declaration that the classes named have too much liberty already. The seventh specifies that it is legislative liberty that is asked. The eighth meets the point that such a representation can be claimed only as an expediency. The ninth covers the alleged impracticability of it, and the claim of a separate equal representation for the locality is waived so that the number of laymen and local preachers shall equal the number of itinerants in the General Conference, thus classing the local preachers as laymen. The tenth asks that the old rule of 1796, as to "sowing dissensions," shall be so modified as to prevent its abuse by prejudging the intentions of brethren — they prefer its abolition so that it be not open to favor constructive treason. And, finally, it asks that the trial of members shall be more in analogy with the civil law as to jury and right of challenge. It will be seen that these points are in no sense "radical," and yet expressed the demands of the Reformers at this date. The Address to the Members of the Church¹ rehearses the history of the Reform movement in England and America; and is a calm and judicial appeal, and sets forth that they are not for hurried reformation. It says: "We feel no disposition to hurry our Methodist brethren into any premature determinations; all we are disposed at present to insist on is the rationality and Christian obligation they are under to give the subject a fair and persevering examination. If we are mistaken in our views, we sincerely wish to be set right; but we think it impossible for any people to judge of the matters in dispute who neglect to examine into the subject, or who refuse to give an impartial hearing to both sides of the controversy." It makes a pamphlet of nine octavo pages, and the sentences cited find an illustration in the testimony

¹ The original draft of this Address as it came from the Committee is in the writer's possession with its numerous amendments and emendations as made by the Convention before its final passage. A number of these changes are made to soften the rhetoric and avoid expressions and arguments which might be construed as offensive by the opponents of Reform. This care and concession availed nothing, however.

of Rev. George Brown, as to the partisan and one-sided judgment of not a few of the high officials of the Church against Reform. He rehearses a conversation he had with Bishop George, while he was presiding elder, in which he justified his reading the *Mutual Rights*. "‘Bishop George,’ said I, ‘did you ever read the *Mutual Rights*?’ ‘Why, no,’ said he; ‘but brother Roszel has, and he has told me all about it; and he thinks it will do a great injury to the Church.’ I then advised him not to make any further opposition to that work until he would read it for himself. The good Bishop was affected unto tears at what he considered my obstinacy; and so the conversation closed.”¹

It must not escape notice that at the time of the expulsions the Baltimore Union Society consisted of 133 male members, all of whom were identified with the publication of the *Mutual Rights*. Immediately after the expulsion of the eleven local preachers and the twenty-two laymen, the Society sent the prosecuting Committee the names of thirty-three more on their own authorization, with the promise that when they had disposed of these as many more names would be furnished, until the whole Society was covered. It was not, however, for the want of information that the Committee paused in their work of expulsion, despite the inconsistency of the act of selecting thirty-three as guilty, who were so in no other sense than the remaining one hundred, who, by their omission, were allowed innocent.² One, and the principal, reason of the surcease was the Machiavellian policy of Dr. Bond, who, soon after the adjournment of the Reform Convention, surreptitiously set on foot another attempt to compromise the difference. In the "Narrative and Defence" much is made of the allegation of Dr. Jennings that Dr. Bond was the prime mover in the "under plot" to restore the expelled if they would come to the terms proposed to them. In the "Narrative" he quite indignantly denies the paternity of it, as he subsequently concealed his connection with a collateral plot to accomplish the same end, though, as already found, confessing with pride the authorship of the business in after years.

The collateral plot developed by the appearance in Baltimore, early in January, 1828, of Dr. J. C. Green of Virginia, a prominent member of the Church, who interviewed Dr. Jennings, proposing substantially the same conditions of restoration of the expelled. He was so plausible, and professing to be acting on his own motion, at first his approaches were entertained; but dis-

¹ "Itinerant Life," p. 127.

² Paris's "History," pp. 233, 234.

coveries followed which unmasked the scheme as having the same source with the first attempt to compromise the Reformers. A series of letters passed between them which are preserved in the "Narrative and Defence," and, finally, broke off with no better result than the former. In the conference room attached to the Light Street church, which was the usual place of these private gatherings, as of the trials of the Reformers, a note was found, which had been carelessly left upon the floor, bearing date the same as Dr. Green's letter to the Quarterly Conference of the station, asking for a suspension of further proceedings until he could interview Dr. Jennings; and this note was to apprise Dr. Bond of Dr. Green's arrival in the city, and the request for a private interview at "dinner, or soon thereafter." It was held as proof of complicity, though he affirmed to Dr. Jennings that he had come "unsolicited to do so by any one." Yet in the Quarterly Conference referred to, after he had a long night interview with him, Dr. Bond arose and asked, "Who is this Dr. Green? Is he the man who preached," etc.¹ It will be noted that this second attempt to conciliate the Reformers, without conceding the slightest to them, took place within a month after a meeting was called of Methodists at the old Baptist church, corner Front and Pitt streets, where the former meeting of members was held to indorse the Annual Conference action in the suspension of Dorsey. Care was taken to make it a meeting of male members not in connection with the Union Society, with the same guileful intent, it must be acknowledged, that led their opponents to hold their meeting with the boast that members of the Union Society had not been invited, that is, to give the appearance of a strong constituency in favor or opposed to Reform aside from the active participants.

It was held December 12, 1827, with Francis Coates as Chairman and Dr. William Zollickoffer as Secretary; and it appointed a committee of seven to make a report to an adjourned meeting, held on the 13th of December in the same place. The committee was Moses M. Henkle, John J. Harrod, William C. Spindler, William Rusk, William Zollickoffer, Robert B. Varden, and George Evans. Of this number Harrod alone was a member of the Union Society and, in consequence, declined to serve. It is called, in travesty of their opponents' meeting, "a very large meeting." How large the writer cannot determine, as no data are furnished. It adopted the report of the committee with but

¹ Jennings's "Exposition," and "The Narrative and Defence."

two dissenting votes, and these were given by persons not entitled to vote in this meeting. The notice which was sent to the churches for its call was openly denounced by Dr. Bond after reading it, "that such a meeting could only be an attempt to substitute *mob law* for the discipline of the Church." The report was ordered printed, and is a cogent review of the proceedings against Reformers, the exclusion of fourteen local preachers from the annual plan of appointments, for no other reason than their sympathy with Dennis B. Dorsey; the weak explanation of the agents in it, that the preacher in charge had "the undoubted right to select such preachers as he thinks expedient to employ;" the character of the committees of trial; their confessed prejudgment, one of them, Armstrong, admitting that he was so prejudiced against Wesley Starr, one of the expelled, that he was unable to do him justice, and so preferred not to be on his case; but was, nevertheless, retained, and when the accused examined these jurors as to the matter of their prejudgment, the chairman, Rev. James M. Hanson, pronounced the questions "out of order," and proceeded with the mock trials. It is a searching inquiry into the disciplinary law under which the offenders were arraigned, and the method of trial shown to be utterly unamenable to fairness, and consistent with nothing but a foregone purpose to expel, making out the case where evidence was deficient. In the whole history of "moral discipline," as administered in the Church, never before or since have there been such flagrant instances of lawless expulsions. The Address was dated January 1, 1828. Shinn issued an Appendix to his "Finishing Stroke" in rejoinder, and other masterful reviews were made by Union Societies, thus flooding the community, now the only impartial readers, with irrefragable proofs that "moral discipline" in the Church was based, not upon law and evidence, but upon power.

The Baltimore District Conference met, December 26, 1827, in the M'Kendrean Sabbath-school room, Lombard Street, with Rev. Joseph Frye, Presiding Elder, as President; and the appeals of the eleven suspended local preachers were to come before it. There were a number of colored members of the Conference, and it was ascertained by the Bond party that unless these voted the friends of the suspended preachers would have a slight majority in the Conference. It was therefore resolved, at any risk, to adjourn the District Conference and not suffer the appeals to be heard, but to force the appellants to bring their

cases before the Quarterly Conference, in which their opponents would have a clear majority. The rule made by the General Conference of 1824 as to the colored men voting, read, "Our colored preachers and official members shall have the privileges which are usual to others in the district and quarterly conferences, where the usages of the country do not forbid it." It was done in concession to the Methodist officials in the slave states, and such colored members in consequence had never voted in Maryland. The issue was made in the District Conference on a motion that the suspended preachers had no right to vote while their appeals were pending, and the Chair ruled affirmatively. An appeal was taken, and the vote stood as follows: Yeas—John Daughday, John Chalmers, Z. McComas, T. Perkins, L. Elbert, J. Shane, S. Williams, D. McJilton, E. Hall, S. Gore, N. Harden, Jacob King, T. Bassford, J. Lazenby, J. W. Harris, Geo. Summers, T. E. Bond, J. Watters, and G. Ridgely (nineteen). Nays—S. K. Jennings, A. McCaine, J. R. Williams, D. E. Reese, T. C. French, W. Kesley, L. J. Cox, T. McCormick, J. S. Reese, J. Robb, R. T. Boyd, W. Bowden, Slingsby Linthicum, L. Selby, B. Hood, J. Day, George Wells, N. Hoskinson, R. H. Merrikin, and John Sharpley (twenty). The nays composed nearly all the Conference in Baltimore, the yeas being principally from the county.

On the following morning, when the Conference assembled, the chair again pronounced against the right of the suspended preachers to vote; but, knowing that he was unsustainable by the usage, it was predetermined to adjourn the Conference by counting the colored voters. Accordingly, a motion to adjourn was made—debate peremptorily cut off at the suggestion of Dr. Bond and sustained by the chair, and—the vote put while a number of members were remonstrating—declared carried; nine colored votes giving the yeas twenty-eight, as against the twenty nays of the white members. The negative at once entered a Protest, and when it was discovered that the Secretary, Chalmers, had made a minute that only fifteen voted negatively, a further certificate was filed, signed by twenty in denial. Several colored preachers did not vote, despite the ruling in their favor, knowing that it was against all Maryland usage that they should do so. It was afterward ascertained by the confession of one of them that Bishop George had advised that they vote to accomplish the object. The "Narrative and Defence" makes a different showing as to what was done; but as this involves questions

of veracity, the critical reader must take the evidence on both sides and judge for himself. None of the expelled laymen took an appeal, and on the organization of the Quarterly Conference the suspended preachers took no notice of it, taking the ground that the rightful judicatory, the District Conference, before which their appeal should have been heard, had been violently and unlawfully dissolved. In consequence the Quarterly Conference proceeded to consider their cases as though appeal had been made, and the charges sustained against the ten local preachers with the proviso: "unless he withdraw forthwith from the Union Society, and promise not to be engaged hereafter in any publication that inveighs against the discipline, or government, or speak evil of ministers; and signify his intention before the final adjournment of this conference."¹ None being present or appealing, they were recorded, Expelled. Alexander McCaine was Expelled, no proviso being made in his case. Subsequently James M. Hanson notified the laymen that they were Expelled.²

Prior to the meeting of the Quarterly Conference, the ten suspended local preachers sent a Protest to James M. Hanson, giving their reasons for refusing to appeal to that body; and a Reply having been published to the first Protest of the preachers, a Review of it was issued by "The Authors of the Protest." Re-

¹ See "Narrative and Defence," Jennings's "Exposition," *Mutual Rights*, for the evidence.

² The attempt has been made to justify the blatant record of "Expelled" (see note in previous volume anent it) on the ground that it was the common expression used by the Annual Conferences to cover all cases both of mal- and mis-feasance. It is largely true of the early days, but, as was shown in the first volume, at least two exceptions exist to this rule, one in the minutes of 1816, an expulsion with the qualifying note "for refusing to subscribe to the second article of the doctrines of our Church," and the other in 1826, which could not have been forgotten so soon as 1827, "Deprived of his official standing in the Methodist Episcopal Church," which exceptions in either case were manifestly made to shield the character of these two brethren with posterity that they were not excluded for immorality. But in the case of the Reformers, preachers and laymen, no such effort was made to protect them with posterity, though the admission was freely made that their moral characters were unimpeachable, by qualifying the term "Expelled," with any explanation. Indeed, it is quite clear from subsequent events that it was intended to smirch them, or at least to leave it open to inference that they were immoral as well as contumacious. It was a grievance under which they labored to the day of their deaths, and ever since, except it may be in the case of Rev. Thomas McCormick, who lived to be a nonagenarian in the Methodist Protestant Church. Late in life an event occurred that officially recognized him as a minister, as will be seen later. This act has never been condoned by the Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore, or by any of her historians, and until it is done, fidelity to the memory of these "Expelled" brethren demands that it shall not be forgotten by their posterity and the historians of Reform.

ferring to the allegations in the "Reply to the Protest," one paragraph will give the gist of the matter. They say "the brethren had been charged with 'evil speaking,' etc., and 'that they have yet to learn that they are not guilty of a violation of the laws of God and the Discipline.' It is true they were charged, but not with *immorality*, their prosecutors declaring on the trials that they had nothing against the '*moral or religious standing*' of those against whom they had brought charges. And we challenge the authors of the Reply to give to the public the *words and sentences* which our brethren have published in the *Mutual Rights*, that are 'violations of the laws of God and of the Discipline.' Until this is done, we say, the insinuation is utterly unworthy of public confidence. Baltimore, January 11, 1828." The Protests and the Replies having been published in the daily secular papers, the impression upon the Christian community of the city was so unfavorable to the anti-reformers, that now, for the first time, to shield the unwarrantable proceedings from general condemnation, these insinuations of immorality were interjected,¹ and were often repeated afterward, notably by Dr. Bond, as a justification of the excommunication of preachers and laymen who stood so high in the community for purity and integrity.

In these days of frequent interdenominational exchange of membership, the general level of spirituality in the Protestant churches, and the absence in the pulpits of sharp lines of doctrinal differences, it is impossible to appreciate what expulsion meant to these Methodists, most of them of many years' standing, from the only Church exhibiting the doctrinal teaching and furnishing the means of grace to which they had been accustomed, and without which religious life seemed impossible. Once more Paternalism had assumed its fearful prerogative of coercion, and made itself responsible for a new Methodist organization; and yet these brethren still refused to entertain such a purpose. Surely the ensuing General Conference would give redress and forestall further excisions and withdrawals. No longer welcome even as visitors at their old church homes, something must be done as an expedient to prevent social disintegration among themselves. The wise counsels of Snethen, Shinn, Stockton, and others of the leaders were never more emergent than now.

Dennis B. Dorsey received pecuniary assistance from a number of sources, and the Baltimore Conference itself allowed him the stipend usual to a superannuated minister for the first year,

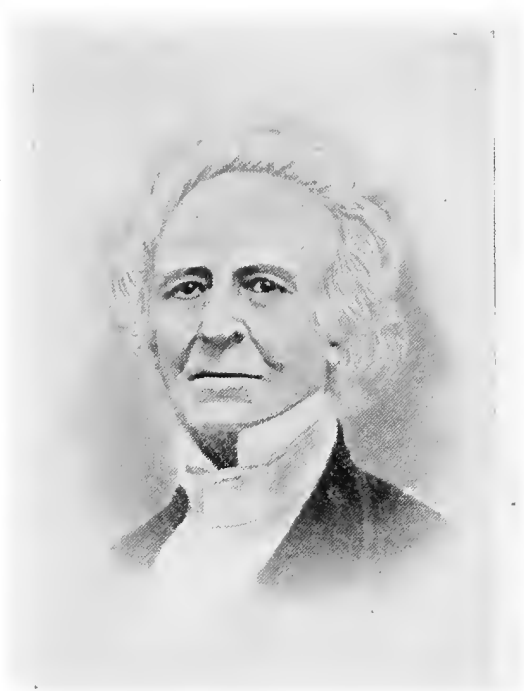
¹ See note 2 on p. 145.

it may be safely said not willingly, but the claim could not well be ignored for the nonce, and he promptly gave them public credit for it. The sum was less than a hundred dollars. He remained in Baltimore slowly recovering from his illness, and eking out a subsistence where the charity of his friends failed of meeting his requirements as a disabled married man. The expelled preachers and laymen were greeted with words of cheer from their fellow-Reformers all over the country. As presenting a fact not heretofore named, the Union Society of Kensington (a district of Philadelphia) passed resolutions denouncing the Baltimore expulsions, signed: John Vaughan, Chairman, G. J. Hamilton, Secretary, January 17, 1828. Nearly all the old Societies planted themselves firmly by a similar action, and a number of new Societies were formed under the impulse of the expulsions.

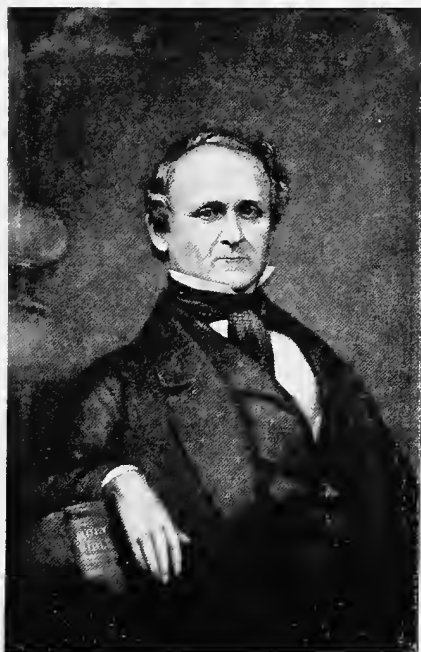
CHAPTER IX

Inchoate organization of expelled Reformers and their friends — Withdrawal of female members and their plea — More Union Societies — Emory's "Defence of our Fathers" — Bascom President of Union College, Pa. — The General Conference of 1828; prominent members; Dr. George Brown and Bishop Hedding; the true story — Reform and anti-reform contest in the General Conference on the appeal of Dorsey and Pool; guileful compromise proposed for restoration of all the expelled; what came of it — Dr. George Brown's graphic picture of the defensive speech of Asa Shinn of the Reformers before the General Conference; its marvellous effects; delay of the vote secured and another dark lantern caucus secured a bare majority denying the appeals; full account — Final disposition of the "suspended resolutions" on the eldership question — Emory's tergiversation — Change of the Restrictive Rule for altering the organic law.

AFTER careful consideration the initial step for their social preservation as Methodists was taken by a number of the expelled Reformers and their friends, December 23, 1827, at a called meeting, probably at the residence of Dr. Jennings, as it was there the mothers, wives, and daughters of the expelled convened a week later for action. As the result of their deliberations the following Instrument was formulated, "under which the expelled members and ministers in Baltimore have united, in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation." It reads as follows: "We the undersigned, formerly members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the city of Baltimore, having been excluded from the fellowship of that body, by what we conceive to be an unjustifiable process, based upon insufficient charges, and those charges not sustained by competent testimony, have, for the present, agreed to unite together as a society of original Methodists, under the 'General Rules of the United Societies' prepared by the Revs. John and Charles Wesley. Our object is to wait and see whether the present abuses in the administration of the government will be corrected. If they should, and freedom of inquiry and public discussion be permitted in the Methodist Episcopal Church, it will afford us pleasure to return, provided we can do so without relinquishing



WESLEY STARR.



JOHN S. REESE.

the opinions for which we were excluded; namely, an honest, and, as we believe, an enlightened conviction that the present form of government in the Methodist Episcopal Church, so far as it precludes the grand principle of *Representation*, and confines all legislative, executive, and judicial powers to the itinerant ministry, is unscriptural and anti-Christian, and that reform in the government of said Church is necessary, in order to its essential and permanent prosperity. With these views we solemnly unite in the name of the Great Head of the Church, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, receiving the Holy Scriptures as our guide; and for prudential purposes adopting as an instrument of union the 'General Rules' of Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, with such subsequent regulations as our peculiar circumstances may from time to time require.

"John Chappell

John J. Harrod

Wesley Starr

John Kennard

William K. Boyle

Arthur Emmerson

Ebenezer Strahen

John H. W. Hawkins

Thomas Patterson

Samuel Krebs

Thomas Parson

Thomas Jarrett

John Gephart, Jr.

John P. Howard

Levi R. Reese

Lambert Thomas

Samuel Jarrett

James R. Forman

George Northerman

Samuel Thompson

Samuel Guest

John P. Paul."

A month later, January 26, 1828, "We the undersigned, elders, deacons, and licensed preachers, subscribe our names, respectively, to the foregoing instrument, approving the objects contemplated therein.

"Samuel K. Jennings

Daniel E. Reese

James R. Williams

William Kesley

Thomas McCormick

Luther J. Cox

John S. Reese

John C. French

Reuben T. Boyd."

December 31, 1827, "At a meeting of female members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, convened at the Rev. Dr. Jennings's, for the purpose of taking into consideration the most advisable course to be pursued by the wives and friends of those members of said Church who have been expelled, and of those ministers who have been suspended by the official members of the Baltimore station, for the sake of reform. On motion, re-

solved that the members of this meeting deeply regret the necessity of withdrawing from the Methodist Episcopal Church, yet from a conviction of duty we do hereby resolve to withdraw from said Church when our husbands, fathers, or friends shall have been expelled. A committee of nine was appointed to report at a meeting to be called to hear and act on it: Rebecca Hall, President; Mary Ann Woods, Secretary." January 7, 1828, another meeting was held, the report received, and a Declaration adopted, which rehearses the measures of expulsion; that they are impelled to withdraw solely by the existing difficulties in the Church, and that they have not been influenced to the course proposed by "our husbands, relatives, or friends." A Letter of Withdrawal was prepared and signed by these heroic and godly women to this effect:—

"REV. JAMES M. HANSON: We the undersigned, female members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the city of Baltimore, feel ourselves under the necessity of addressing you on a subject peculiarly painful. For a series of years we have been endeavoring in our humble sphere to serve God and make our way to heaven. And long since the Methodist Episcopal Church became the home of our choice, where we had fondly hoped to dwell in the peaceful enjoyment of the means of grace and the ordinances of Christianity to the end of life. In this Church our dearest Christian associations and religious friendships were formed and nourished. Our hopes, our fears, our wishes, all were identified with those of the Church of our choice. Around all her ordinances, her services, her ministers, our best affections were entwined; and for her peace and prosperity our daily prayers were offered to a throne of grace. This preference was not given to the Methodist Episcopal Church because we considered her government more perfect than that of others; for indeed we were no more careful to inquire into that subject than our preachers were to give us instruction in it; but our preference grew out of the purity of her doctrines, the piety of her members, the excellency of her moral discipline, and her itinerant plan. And though recent events have led us to examine more closely than heretofore the Methodist Discipline, and this examination has resulted in a conviction of its defectiveness in many particulars, yet we could have borne those comparatively trivial inconveniences, and could have lived happily in the bosom of the Church all our days, nor had we thought of forsaking her communion till death, but

for recent occurrences which have taken place under your administration and superintendence. But, Sir, to see a large number of our highly esteemed local preachers excluded the pulpits, arraigned, condemned, and excommunicated, and the seal of official silence set upon the lips which have so often conveyed heavenly consolation to our minds and hearts; to see our beloved class leaders torn from us, and deprived of their official standing, and a large number of our lay-brethren expelled without a crime; and to see the unwarrantable measures by which these distressing results have been effected, is too painful for us! In short, to find our dear companions, fathers, brothers, children, and friends treated as criminals and enemies, prosecuted, suspended, and expelled; denounced as backsliders and disturbers of the peace; and to be ourselves treated coldly and distantly by our former friends and by our pastors; and all for a mere difference of opinion about church government, is more than we feel bound in Christian charity longer to endure; and we therefore feel it our duty, in the fear of God, though with emotions of poignant sorrow and with aching hearts, to withdraw from the Church of our choice and fondest attachments. To this painful resort we are driven by the measures you have taken against our friends and brethren. To remain in the Church under the circumstances now existing, would be to evince a want of filial, connubial, and fraternal attachment to our persecuted friends and a want of self-respect. We therefore request you to consider us as withdrawn from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to furnish us a joint or individual certificate of our acceptable standing, as soon as convenient.

" Hannah L. Harrod	Elinor Gephart	Sydney Boyd
Catharine Mummy	Maria Paul	Rebecca Jane Roberts
Guinilda Mummy	Elizabeth Forman	Lucy Fore
Mary Kennard	Phillippa Starr	Mary Jane Thomas
Elizabeth Kennard	Rachel Hawkins	Jemima Jones
Sarah Krebs	Elizabeth Baxley	Hannah Martin
Jane Thomas	Susan Guest	Letitia M. Martin
Elizabeth Williams	Sarah Emmerson	Maria M. Martin
Sarah Williams	Isabella Northerman	Maria Cox
Elizabeth Taylor	Anna Jarrett	Mary Meads
Mary Williams	Ruth Reese	Mary Ann Woods
Frances Williams	Rebecca R. Reese	Catharine Wallace
Catharine Williams	Margaret Reese	Elizabeth Britt
Hannah Jennings	Mary Reese	Mary Ann Valiant
Mary Owings	Margaret Patterson	Elizabeth Valiant."
Elizabeth Crouch	Mary French	

“(Sister Anna G. Chappell, the wife, and Sarah A. Chappell, the sister, of our aged brother, John Chappell, had withdrawn two days previous to the first meeting.)”

Nothing need be added to this touching story. All that expulsion meant to the laymen, withdrawal meant to these lay-women. They were marked Withdrawn, and were content with treatment as lenient.

At a meeting of Reformers April 1, 1828, the title of the Association under which they banded together was determined to be: “The Associated Methodist Reformers.” Rules and regulations were adopted, one of which calls for citation: “On the admission of females, the female members shall be entitled to vote.” In the old Church they had been class leaders, and consequently members of the Quarterly Conference under the law, though the writer meets no recorded instance where the recognition was demanded. Thus it is seen that in elemental Methodist Protestantism suffrage was without sex. It had been well, perhaps, if it had received Constitutional formulation afterward. It was not without advocates, but narrower views prevailed, as they did in other things, from which, if a departure had been made, it would have furthered ultimately the cause of Reform in Methodism. The reasons for the circumscription will appear later. The Associated members were 119 in number. Most of the names have been embalmed in the lists given, but in addition a number of others should be recorded: John, Catharine, Sarah, and Ann Guishard, John J. Thompson, Charles Looney, John Coates, John Fountain, Charles Watts, Mary Watts, Ann Murray, Sarah Peal, Mary Whiting, Elizabeth C. Henkle, Rebecca, Mary, and Frances R. Hall, Matilda Kennard, Frances Bisher, Ann Many, Ann Clark, Mary Looney, Sarah M. B. Sweeney, Ann Bell, Mary Fountain, Ann Hance, Susan Breden, Harriet Barnes, Hester Taylor, Lucretia Coates, Elizabeth Carter, and Mary Dennison.¹

At this stage it may be well to give two citations from an address which was intended to have been delivered defensively before the District Conference by Dr. Jennings, but he was forestalled by its unlawful adjournment. The first relates to the gist of the Reformers’ offence, as the committee of prosecution phrased it: “But the prosecution insisted ‘that every religious community has a right to form its own discipline,’ and, said

¹ “Instrument of Association together with the General Rules of Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, and the additional regulations prepared by the Associated Methodist Reformers in Baltimore.” Baltimore. Matchett, Printer. 1828. 8vo. 9 pp.

Mr. Israel, 'its members are not at liberty to disturb it.' Is the charge, in view of this particular, raised against us that we have denied the right every religious community has to form its own discipline? When did we do this? The truth is, this is the right for which we are contending. But they will say the charge is for 'disturbing it.' And have we disturbed it? According to their own showing it is by calling for a lay delegation; that is, for insisting on Mr. Israel's own true position, that 'every religious community has a right to form its own discipline,' that we have given them so great offence. But it was so alleged, that while we remain members of the church, we have no right to form and be members of the Union Society? This is a new charge. And we beg leave to ask what law has been broken by our becoming members of the Union Society? Is any law of the Bible or any rule of the discipline broken by it? Where shall we find such a law?" And second, as bearing upon the withdrawal of these women from the church: "Wretched indeed must be the state of a community when the fidelity of its members is constructed into treason against the body! One of the occasions stated by the prosecution for the adoption of their course against us is our unyielding adherence to the Church! Let it then be written with a pen of iron, '*they say they will not withdraw from the church!*' Where is the spirit of schism so often imputed to us? Surely, brethren, not on the part of the accused, but on the part of the accusers; . . . yes, brethren, our prosecutors have become our advocates; have acquitted us of the charge of schism, and assumed it to themselves. They are engaged in making a separation which is of no ordinary kind, a schism which is intended with the most unnatural violence to sever from the body many of its most devoted members."¹

This much of the argumentative literature of the Reformers as offsetting the large citation made of their opponents' method of reasoning. It is of a piece with the warp and woof of all that could be offered, from Dr. Bond to feebler champions, and must answer as an example of all. The justice of the cause so appealed to the conscience and honor of right-thinking Methodists, that other Union Societies were formed in the teeth of the expulsions

¹ An Address intended when written to have been delivered before the District Conference of the Baltimore District, by Samuel K. Jennings, M.D. Its object was to show that the prosecutions which had been instituted against the local preachers, etc., for publishing the *Mutual Rights*, etc., are unreasonable and unjust and ought to be dismissed. Baltimore. Printed by Samuel Moss. 1828. 8vo. 24 pp.

and in prospect of their own excommunication. On Great Falls' circuit, Baltimore County, Md., a Society of great influence was formed, with Charles Jessop, Esq., President; Rev. Daniel Chambers, Vice; Rev. Amon Richards, Secretary; Edward Hall, Treasurer; and Rev. Eli Henkle, E. Hall, and Samuel Willis, Corresponding Committee. February 14, 1828, a number of members of Ebenezer station, Washington, D. C., assembled at Wheat's schoolhouse, and organized a Union, with Rev. J. B. Ferguson, Chairman, and Peter M. Pierson, Secretary, with W. D. Aikin and Thomas Wheat as a committee. The Steubenville and Cincinnati societies were greatly augmented, and passed ringing resolutions of cheer to Dorsey and the Baltimore expelled. It may be that the bold front of the Reformers called for an intermission of trials and exclusions until after the General Conference; intimidation did not accomplish its purpose, so both parties largely held a truce and slept upon their arms until May, 1828, except that at the meeting of the Baltimore Annual Conference in April, 1828, at Carlisle, Pa., charges were preferred against Rev. W. C. Pool; he was tried and expelled, the methods employed not differing essentially from those in the case of Dorsey; but it linked his name with that of the latter immemorially as "martyrs for the principle of a lay-representation in the legislative department of the Methodist Episcopal Church government."¹

The expelled also addressed a Memorial to the Annual Conference in which they recite their case and ask the Conference to "interpose and restore us to the enjoyment of our former standing in the Church of our choice and our affections, and from which we have been unnaturally severed;" and that "justice and propriety demand your immediate investigation of the official conduct of the Rev. James M. Hanson and of the Rev. Joseph Frye, in reference to our particular cases." The Conference made answer by resolutions that as the appellants "did not obey the citations of the Church to appear before inferior judicatories . . . they are not entitled to come before higher judicatories, either as appellants or complainants," that "to sanction a contrary course of proceedings would be, in the judgment of the Conference, subversive of wholesome and sound discipline," and hence "decline to take further cognizance of the subjects." The answer bears the literary and other ear-marks of Dr. Emory, who took an active part

¹ Jennings's "Exposition," pp. 219-223, as well as the *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer* for 1828, give a full account of the particulars of Pool's trial and expulsion.

in the trial of Pool and in the review of the Memorial of the Expelled. Thus their appeal was summarily dismissed, no account being taken of the irregular methods of the prosecution and the reasons of the expelled for declining to appear before judicatories which had confessedly already decided their cases — indeed, no inquiry seems to have been made into the conduct of the prosecution whatever. The irregularities of the expelled exclude them from redress, admitting that they were irregular; the irregularities of the prosecution are not even inquired into, their irregularity being patent under the law.

But one other method was left them: an appeal to the General Conference, which was at once formulated. It is a calm, judicial, and respectful petition, in which they rehearse the whole story of the Reform with brevity, as steps leading to the unprecedented method of their investigation and expulsion. They ask with unanswerable force: "Who ever heard of the organization of a prosecuting committee in the Methodist Episcopal Church consisting of seven members? When was there ever such a convocation of members of the Church for the purpose of arraying themselves as prosecutors against another party in the Church? The measure was so new, and so inconsistent with all our former acquaintance with Methodism, that we were apprehensive our prosecutors had been encouraged thereto by some persons in high authority in the Church. . . . Finally, brethren, your memorialists respectfully represent to the General Conference that, as we have been expelled from the Church, contrary, as we believe, to Scripture and the Discipline, and which expulsion has been and is still painful to our hearts, we do hereby request your highly respectable body to take such measures as in your wisdom shall restore us to the Church of our former fellowship, and receive with us those who have withdrawn on our account, on principles which shall secure to us and the Church the liberty of speech and of the press, without sanctioning the licentiousness of either," etc.

Meantime the announced review of McCaine's "History and Mystery," by John Emory, made its appearance in November or December, 1827, and created a sensation in the Church as much more intense as its circulation under the official *imprimatur* of the Book Concern was necessarily greater than that of McCaine's pamphlet, which was confined to a single edition of probably not over one thousand copies, judging from its rarity to-day, as the opponents of Reform used diligence in destroying every copy they could control. It was hailed with delight by the supporters of

the old *régime* as vindicating the "Fathers" in everything against the alleged aspersions, slanders, misrepresentations, and perversions of fact made by McCaine, and it engendered a prejudice, not to say hatred, of his very name that followed him through life by those who had never read the "History and Mystery," and, perhaps, never heard of his masterful "Defence of the Truth," which about a year after he gave to the press, and which was so complete in its answer to Emory's "Defence of our Fathers"¹ that he never attempted a pamphlet rejoinder. He offered some strictures and made the correction of a few errors in his "Defence" which were so palpable that his friends called for their elimination. This was done in an excusatory manner, not through the *Christian Advocate*, of wide circulation, but through the *Methodist Review*, 1830, p. 217, of very limited circulation, so that such answer as he essayed never became known to any considerable number in the Church, and justified the avowal of McCaine and his friends that the "Defence of the Truth" had never been answered, much less refuted. Nor was any serious attempt made to so collocate the facts of early American Methodism as to speciously accomplish what Emory failed to do; to wit, make it appear that Wesley was cognizant of and approved all the steps that led to the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784, and that he "recommended" specifically to that Conference the "Episcopal form of government," until it was undertaken by Rev. Dr. Stevens in his "History of Methodism"² in 1859. He devotes an entire chapter to it of seventeen pages, which was republished as an appendix to Tyerman's "Life of Wesley," issued by the Harpers in 1872, it being universally accepted as exhaustive of the argument on that side, and as offsetting Tyerman, who, without knowing anything of McCaine's "History and Mystery," thoroughly established the moral certainty that it correctly represents the facts in the case. McCaine was twitted because his "Defence of the Truth" did not appear in answer to

¹ "A Defence of 'Our Fathers,' and of the original organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church against the Rev. Alexander McCaine, and others, with Historical and Critical Notes on early American Methodism," by John Emory, New York. Published by N. Bangs and J. Emory for the M. E. Church at the Conference office, Crosby Street. Azor Hoyt, Printer. 1827. 8vo. 92 pp. It contains an Appendix, by N. Bangs, who took occasion to explain his views on Dr. Coke's letter, and his idea of orders in the M. E. Church as set forth in his "Methodist Episcopacy," issued about a year before against the opposition of Soule, then Book Agent, with Bangs as assistant, for reasons evidently that it makes admissions contrary to Soule's notions of Episcopacy.

² "History of Methodism," Vol. II. Chap. 7.

Emory for more than a year. The facts are that when Emory's pamphlet appeared, McCaine was in the South for his health, by order of his physician, and could not devote himself to an answer earlier; but this his enemies ignored.

Though the first volume has covered in divers places much of the staple of the controversy, it seems necessary, now that all three of the disputants, McCaine, Emory, and Stevens, have expended their strength, McCaine reviewing the case as late as 1850 in his "Letters on the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church," that a separate chapter should be given in this work to a fair analysis of the ancient contention; for though nothing really but a side issue in the controversy as to Lay-Representation in 1827-30, the truth of history demands that the issue having been raised, it should be settled for or against McCaine as the originator of it. It will best, however, preserve the order of events, if the remainder of this chapter be devoted to the General Conference of 1828, and so close this important epoch in the history of Reform.

Only one other fact seems needful before proceeding to this task. The Pittsburgh Conference had resolved upon establishing a college at Uniontown, Pa., and as the buildings were there already, under President Madison's liberality, these were accepted; and though Bascom was fully known as a pronounced Reformer throughout that Conference, so inimical to Reform in the main, he was elected President in 1827, and he labored hard to establish it for two years. As has been found, it was the method of the anti-reformers in the case of preachers of eminent ability to win them from their Reform attachments by promoting them, while weaker and unknown men were expelled for such an alliance. M. M. Henkle, the biographer of Bascom, gives unwittingly a reason for the non-success of Bascom in this enterprise, but which establishes the predicate that Reform was then a powerful factor in the Church. Henkle says: "The church controversy was just then at its height, and the dissentient partisans would not harmonize in supporting an institution which each party feared might fall into the hands of the other." He also gives the true reason for Bascom's resignation, "The want of adequate compensation had much influence in superinducing Bascom's resignation is highly probable;" and Henkle shows that from 1814, oppressed with debt for himself and his father's family, he was compelled to resort to devious shifts to extricate himself for long years afterward.

The General Conference of 1828 met in Pittsburgh, Pa., May 1, and was attended by Bishops M'Kendree, George, Roberts, Soule, and Hedding; religious services by the senior Bishop. There were strong men in the delegations, and a few of the pronounced Reformers were elected by reason of their personal popularity. It may be well to note the names of Nathan Bangs, John Emory, Heman Bangs, and Daniel Ostrander from New York; George Pickering, Wilbur Fisk, Daniel Dorchester from New England; George Peck, Morgan Sherman, and Seth Mattison from Genesee; Henry Furlong, Asa Shinn, Henry B. Bascom, Thornton Fleming, and Charles Elliott from Pittsburgh; Jacob Young, James B. Finley, Greenbury R. Jones, and James Quinn from Ohio; Peter Cartwright, James Armstrong, and Samuel H. Thompson from Illinois; Thomas A. Morris, Peter Akers, and Richard Tidings from Kentucky; James Gwin, James M'Ferrin, Robert Paine, and Ashley B. Roszel from Tennessee; William Winans, John C. Burress from Mississippi; James A. Andrew, William Capers, Lovick Pierce, and Samuel Dunwody from South Carolina; Joseph Carson, Peter Doub, and John Early from Virginia; Stephen G. Roszel, Nelson Reed, Joshua Wells, Joseph Frye, Henry Smith, John Davis, James M. Hanson, Beverly Waugh, Andrew Hemp-hill, Job Guest, Marmaduke Pierce, and Christopher Frye from Baltimore,—all now pronounced anti-reformers; Ezekiel Cooper, Lawrence M'Combs, Charles Pittman, James Smith, Joseph Lybrand, and George Woolley from Philadelphia.

The Episcopal Address notes "the great and extensive revivals of religion in the past three years," an unwitting testimony that the agitation of Reform within the Church had not deteriorated its spiritual power. The last year, "ending with this date, has been peculiarly distinguished by the abundant outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and the increase both in the ministry and membership." It does not occur to them that this may be a token of the Divine favor upon the movement to make its government more scriptural, rational, and in accord with Christian manhood; and the pertinence of this suggestion will appear when the church historians give these same things as infallible signs that when the Church was "defecated" of its Reform element, and later of its Abolition element, the Divine approval was thereby put upon the expulsive methods to shut them out. Inquiry is suggested as to the "right of all the members to trial and appeal, . . . sacredly secured by the acts of the General Conference of 1808," and whether there is anything in the Discipline "which may be

construed or applied so as to militate against such acts; and if so to remedy the evil." The reader will not understand that this proposal looks to better security for the membership, but it looks to the utter inconsistency of the fundamental of the Church law, that expulsion can take place only for immorality or such offences as are "sufficient to exclude the offender from the kingdom of grace and glory." The Conference is invited to look into the "administration of the government, to see if it has been in accordance with the strictness and purity of our system,"—another menace to Reformers from the bench of bishops.

The case of Rev. George Brown and Bishop Hedding has been heretofore noticed. The latter charged the former with "injustice," "misrepresentation," and "vile slander" in his "Timothy" article in the *Mutual Rights* of 1826 upon the Bishop's Address before the Pittsburgh Conference. At its session in 1827 Bishop George acted as pacificator between them, and though Dr. Brown had the concurrent testimony of eighteen ministers and others who had heard the Bishop's Address and had read Brown's article in review of it, that no such charges could be made to hold against him, nevertheless Dr. Brown, to meet the pacific purpose of Bishop George, wrote a letter to the Pittsburgh Conference of 1827, in which he admits that he might have misunderstood the purpose of the Bishop, but firmly insists that he was not guilty of injustice, or misrepresentation, or vile slander in his article. After the decease of Bishop Hedding, Dr. Clark, his biographer, made a very unfair and exaggerated statement of the case, to the injury of Dr. Brown wherever Clark's account would be believed. Happily Dr. Brown lived, in his "Itinerant Life,"¹ to traverse calmly the whole subject and vindicate himself from the aspersions poured upon him. Hedding brought it, however, to the attention of the General Conference, through a report, which likewise misstates the kind of "reparation" Dr. Brown had offered, resolved that the Bishop was not "deserving of censure" in his Address, "but the circumstances of the case rendered it his official duty to deliver it." Hedding and Brown had been confidential friends, and these relations were resumed at the General Conference in Cincinnati in 1836. Dr. Clark may not have known of this, but his resurrection of the matter in the biography, and his mode of statement of it, were altogether uncalled for and unwarranted.

Dr. Bangs, in his "History," reviewing the Reform agitation,

¹ Pages 129-163. Also Clark's "Biography," and the General Conference Report on the subject.

referring to the Bond-Kelso section, was utterly misled in his averments that the leaders had once agreed to place their claims upon the ground of expediency alone, and that the strife occurred by forsaking this ground for that of right. Evidently he relied for his information upon Dr. Bond, for the whole course of the events, as has been shown, is that right and not expediency was the rallying cry of all true Reformers. His whole statement of the case is partisan in the extreme.

All eyes were directed to the General Conference of 1828. Not a few of the active participants in reform and anti-reform attended. Though the distance from Baltimore was two hundred and eighty miles, when travel was by post-chaise and over the mountains by the National Road, Dr. Bond was present to steer the proceedings against the Reformers, instigated by himself as their Mephistopheles. Shinn and Bascom were members. Dr. Sellers now lived in Pittsburgh. George Brown and Cornelius Springer, representatives of Reform among the ministers in the West, were also present. Roszel and Emory were members. They could not but meet, and meeting, pacification was again brought forward. Several weeks before the General Conference had convened, friends of Reform, and of the Reformers about Pittsburgh, gave the expelled brethren of Baltimore notice that they would inaugurate a movement for their restoration upon honorable terms. To this intimation Dr. Jennings made answer that such a restoration was desirable, if it could be secured, "together with such an acknowledgment of our rights and privileges as our friends may consider a satisfactory guarantee for our safety, and which, of course, will make our return honorable." Accordingly, a Memorial was prepared, dated Pittsburgh, May 19, 1828, and addressed to Rev. Daniel Ostrander, Chairman of the Committee on the Itinerancy, to the following effect:—

DEAR BRETHREN: The brethren who have been expelled the Church in Baltimore, will and do hereby concede that publications may have appeared in the *Mutual Rights*, the nature and character of which was inflammatory, and so far do not admit of vindication; that individuals and facts from want of proper information may have been unintentionally misrepresented. They regret these things in every existing case. They agree that the *Mutual Rights* shall be discontinued at the filling up of the present volume, in doing which they will avoid just cause of offence to any brethren. That Union Societies shall, by their advice and influence, be abolished, and no more be formed. These concessions are made through us in behalf of Reformers generally, to aid in the work of conciliation as conditions for the restoration of the expelled brethren in Baltimore, and elsewhere to the Church on terms respect-

ful to both parties. By these concessions they are not to be understood as relinquishing the freedom of speech and of the press, which they enjoy in common with their brethren, nor of peacefully assembling for proper and justifiable purposes.

[Signed]

We concur in the above.

A. SHINN.

H. B. BASCOM.

NICHOLAS SNETHEN.

CHARLES AVERY.

HENRY D. SELLERS.¹

As printed in the *Mutual Rights* for June, 1828, the word *may* is twice italicized, and the concluding sentence from THESE CONCESSIONS, printed in small caps; whether so in the original no means are at hand to verify. Considering the heat of the controversy and the wrongs under which they were suffering, much is hereby conceded; but after several days answer was returned that the "subject was not cognizable by the committee." Advantage was, however, taken of the concessions by Dr. Emory in his final elaborate report upon the whole subject, to make it appear that "the General Conference granted everything we [the Reformers] asked for; that they have proffered to us restoration on our own terms."¹ It will be seen from the resolutions passed by the General Conference that the terms are almost identical with those proposed by Dr. Bond, and afterward by him through Dr. Green; and that the former's adroit manœuvring is seen in all this part of the report: the terms are unconditional submission with the right of the Church officials to discriminate among Reformers, undoubtedly for the guileful purpose of breaking their unity by receiving such as they would, but excluding the leaders. More than ever it was made apparent that no step taken was to be retraced, and that no wrong done was to be redressed; but a final manifesto issued that should crush out the element remaining and smother the very germs of lay-representation once for all. For the fairness and legitimacy of this inference, appeal is made to the candid reader, and for evidence nothing more need be offered than the Report and the Resolutions of the Conference, both from the pen of Dr. John Emory.²

Before considering them, happily the writer has it in his power to present a pen-picture of the scene in the Conference, which preceded their introduction, in the argument upon the appeal of Dennis B. Dorsey and W. C. Pool from the decision of the Bal-

¹ *Mutual Rights*, Vol. IV. pp. 321-327. Jennings's "Exposition," pp. 77-83.

² See Conference Minutes, or Dr. Bangs's "History," Vol. III. pp. 413-430.

timore Conference in 1827-28. Rev. George Brown, who was an eye and ear witness, graphically and — no one who knew him personally will doubt — truthfully depicted the scene. “Neither of these brethren could be present, so they had committed the management of their appeals to Rev. Asa Shinn, and, if I remember aright, Rev. Wilbur Fisk was appointed by the Conference to assist him. The case came on in the morning, and was opened by Mr. Shinn, who represented the appellants by reading the grounds of their appeal as set forth by themselves in writing. Then the members of the Baltimore Conference, according to the forms of law governing in such cases, responded, justifying the action of their Conference in the expulsions. This brought on the hour of adjournment for dinner. That day I dined with Mr. Shinn. He ate but little, conversed none, but his great soul was full of thought and prayer. At two o’clock the case was resumed, and there was a full house to hear Mr. Shinn make the closing argument. I sat back without the bar to take down in writing the main points of said argument. When Mr. Shinn arose and stood in silence for a few moments the whole assembly became very still. He was pale, calm, self-possessed, and very dignified in appearance. He commenced his argument with a clear, round tone of voice, evidently reaching every ear in the house. His exordium was simple, modest, chaste — going to show that all he wished for in behalf of the appellants was that *the truth might shine*, that *justice might be done*. The facts of the case and the laws of the Church were then most searchingly examined, and it was made distinctly to appear that the expulsions were without the sanction of the laws of the Church. He then made it clear, from all the evidence in that high court of appeals, that the charges against the appellants in the court below were not in themselves criminal actions. He then took the written appeal sent up by the expelled brethren, and argued the truthfulness and justice of the paper in all its parts. He then appealed to the justice and honor and impartiality of that high tribunal, and urged, with all the force of his logical energy, the restoration of the appellants to their places in the Church, and to the public confidence. In the peroration the speaker became overwhelmingly eloquent and swept defiantly over the enemies of mutual rights. The effect upon that great assembly was thrilling. The bishops, generally florid, now looked pale. Ex-Governor Findley of Pennsylvania, who sat in the gallery, wept like a child. Many members of the Conference felt like the Governor, so did many

spectators; and I found myself unable, some time before the speech was ended, to take any more notes.

“When Mr. Shinn resumed his seat there was a long pause — a time to take breath. The bishops and other leading members of the Conference looked wisely at each other. Just then a New England preacher, having seen me writing, came round to me, and said: ‘Why don’t the bishops take a vote? I hate Shinn like fire, but I never heard such an argument before in my life. If they will put the vote now the appellants will be restored, and the Baltimoreans defeated — and they ought to be defeated.’ So thought I and many more besides that New England preacher. But the vote was not put as the law directed. Rev. John Early and other Southern preachers, without introducing any new question, were suffered to run a tirade against Mr. Shinn most of the afternoon for a piece in the *Mutual Rights*, published by him, entitled ‘Sovereignty of Methodism in the South.’ To this disorderly ramble Mr. Shinn made no reply, as it had no relation to the question before the Conference. Finally, the Chair announced that the vote would be taken in the morning. From that moment the Reformers had their fears of foul play. That evening at supper, at the house of John McGill, much was said of the argumentative eloquence of Mr. Shinn’s speech that afternoon. Bishop Roberts, who sat at my side, said, ‘Yes, that was true eloquence of the highest order.’ He then added that ‘he did not remember ever to have heard a speech surpassing Mr. Shiun’s for argumentative eloquence.’ At that table, however, no opinion was expressed as to how the vote would go the next morning. That night about eleven o’clock I met Mr. Bascom on the street, who said: ‘There has been a caucus meeting to-night, and I have been eavesdropping them. They have secured a majority of twenty pledged on paper against the appellants.’ I said, ‘I did hope, for the honor of the Christian religion, that he was mistaken,’ but he affirmed this was so, and said, ‘you will see to-morrow morning.’ In the morning when the vote was taken they had about that majority against the appellants that Bascom had reported. This whole affair led me strongly to suspect that Reformers were to have no fair dealing in that General Conference. In this case would the end sanctify the means, or the means sanctify the end? Were not both the end and the means wrong? The forms of law, in the main, had been allowed during the trial; but the ends of justice had been defeated by caucus management.”¹

¹ Brown’s “Itinerant Life,” pp. 166-169.

The reader has not forgotten the dark-lantern methods, identical with these just disclosed, by which a full two-thirds majority, in 1820, in favor of an elective Presiding Eldership was changed into a majority against it. The pacific and lenient attitude of the General Conference under the searching logic and persuasive eloquence of Shinn had its marplot. Not a few of the same partisans were present, M'Kendree and Soule of the Episcopal bench, and their fuglemen in the delegations reënforced by Dr. Bond, a strategist tutored in all the guileful arts of political machination. A majority of about twenty pledged on paper under cover of the night, intermediate of a session. Why pledged on paper? For the same reason as in 1820 — that there might be no shirking, or, if so, their exposure to the Episcopal authorities and their quiet punishment afterward. It required a heroism of iron texture to withstand such menacing consequences; and yet, out of a body of 177 a majority of only about twenty could be commanded for the justification of the expulsion of Dorsey and Pool, carrying with it all the other cases constructively. It must be admitted that the result was an overwhelming disappointment to Shinn and his coadjutors. His effort had been exhaustive, not only of the subject, but of himself, which showed itself before the session closed in mental fag and aberration, superinduced by the early physical injury to his head already referred to, and which continued for about six months, withdrawing him from active ministerial life for the time. If never conclusively before demonstrated, the case in hand was a fitting illustration of Snethen's dictum, which needs to be repeated every time its demonstration occurs in the course of the Episcopal history, — "Power combined with interest and inclination cannot be controlled by logic; but even power shrinks from the test of logic."

Reserving an analysis of Dr. Emory's final report on the subject of Reform to the succeeding chapter, and in association with the McCaine-Emory-Stevens argument on the Episcopacy as in some sense kindred, and that the present chapter may not be unduly lengthened, a few other salient events of this General Conference shall be grouped in its conclusion. It is noteworthy that neither Bangs nor M'Tyeire gives the result of the "suspended resolutions" of 1820-24, but Dr. Tigert, from the Journal, provides the information. William Winans moved and William Capers seconded the following resolution: "That the resolutions commonly called the suspended resolutions, rendering the presiding elders elective, etc., and which were referred to this Confer-

once by the last General Conference as unfinished business and reported to us at this Conference, be, and are hereby, rescinded and made void. Carried." The vote is not given, but it was probably a snap-judgment, as the next day D. Ostrander and T. Merrett "bravely brought forward the old measure; but it was promptly tabled, apparently without debate." The biographer of Bishop Emory says that it is not known how his illustrious father voted, "nor, if known, would it afford evidence as to the state of his opinion on the abstract question." Undoubtedly he was now in the direct line of promotion, and, as has been found and will again and again be found in these pages, it is as common as history that illumination should go hand in hand with preferment. "Men have a right to change their opinions;" certainly they have the right. If he were not a "Radical," this was the one point in Methodist reformation which his gifted son Robert makes plain on which he had not opinions only, but convictions. As opinions it can be understood how he could waive them; but it will ever remain to be explained how he got rid of his convictions on this occasion, and never once broached them again to the close of his brief, but useful life. Thus a reasonable ministerial right was smothered to its death, and not revived again until 1840.

This General Conference, on a paper submitted by Wilbur Fisk, changed one of its Restrictive Rules as follows: "Provided, nevertheless, that upon concurrent recommendation of three-fourths of all the members of the several annual conferences who shall be present and vote for such recommendation, then a majority of two-thirds of the General Conference succeeding shall suffice to alter any such regulations, excepting the first article." This made it possible for the legislative body of the Church to effect changes in its organic law, though by a circumscription which practically ignores even a two-thirds majority of the preachers (it leaves undisturbed their ancient right to exclusive legislative powers), without the call of a Convention of the Church; and for this no provision whatever was ever made, and yet these rules and regulations of 1808 are called a "constitution!" Again, the deadlock of the bishops in 1826, as to the appointment of a fraternal messenger to the Wesleyan Conference, divided as they already were upon the slavery question, was reported to this Conference. The same candidates over whom they wrangled were brought forward, and the contest was as close as when the bishops wrestled with them. On the second ballot, however, Capers received 82 and Fisk 72 out of 158 votes, so that

Capers succeeded by a majority of six, or two more than the number necessary to a choice, as there were scattering votes. He was warmly received in England and discharged his mission satisfactorily, but his election was unpalatable to the growing antislavery sentiment of the Northern brethren.

The Canada Methodist Episcopal Conference, after much discussion, was separated from the jurisdiction of the General Conference at their request. It was under Asbury's recognition, but in a foreign civil jurisdiction. It complicated the situation which Dr. Emory endeavored, with his fertility of invention, to solve by an ingenious "voluntary theory," which Dr. Bangs thinks put it "in a new and very clear light." Dr. Tigert is quizzically of opinion "that it was new, there could be little question; its clearness depends somewhat on the angle of vision." Distance and the slavery moot led to this disruption. They were allowed their "annual dividends" from the New York Book Concern. It was, in fact, a "secession," and Tigert says, "we are not aware that this hard and ugly word has ever been applied to it." No; it was reserved for the separation of the two African churches, the Bethelites and the Zionites, the Methodist Protestants, the Wesleyans, and the Church South. It was a memorable General Conference, and fitly closed its business by electing Nathan Bangs editor of the *Christian Advocate*, and promoting Emory from Assistant to Book Agent, with Beverly Waugh as his Assistant. Ex-Reformers were popular for promotion, that is, certain of them. The Conference adjourned May 24, 1828.

CHAPTER X

Report of the committee of the General Conference on the petitions and memorials for Lay-Representation written by Dr. Emory under Dr. Bond's promptings; analysis of it; Asa Shinn's motion to adopt; his after sane repudiation of it—Resolutions of restoration of the expelled and the withdrawn; artful exceptions in the phrasing to exclude leaders, etc.—A careful and thorough review of McCaine's "History and Mystery"; Emory's "Defence of our Fathers"; McCaine's rejoinders, and Dr. Stevens's famous chapter on the Ordination of Dr. Coke in his "History of the M. E. Church"; a candid synopsis of each of these arguments as the knotty and perplexing question of this ancient controversy; side lights thrown upon it; McCaine's thirty-seven reasons for his opinion never successfully controverted; Wesley's "Little Sketch" of government again considered—The so-called historical Preface to the Discipline of the M. E. Church must be amended or expunged, as demanded by the truth of history; already done in that of the M. E. Church, South—Dr. Stevens's whole argument invalidated by a single admission of his own.

THE petitions and memorials addressed to the General Conference of 1828 were not all in favor of Representation. Knowing that such would be there in large numbers, it was a part of the policy of the anti-reformers to send up counter petitions; and in some sections enough male members were found of the Yearley-Israel calibre to unite in such. They were never shown to be either numerous or influential; but even one enabled the Committee, of which Dr. Emory was Chairman, to say that they had considered these petitions "for and against a direct lay and local representation." The writer has just reread this elaborate and exhaustive Report, yet claimed to be "confined to a few leading topics," which made a sensation in the Conference and, afterward, throughout the Church, equalled only by the speech of Shinn, defensive. One thing is evident upon its perusal, that Dr. Emory either called into his council of preparation Dr. Bond, or he had ingeniously employed not a few of the points of the latter's "Appeal to the Methodists," inasmuch as it traverses much of the same ground. The acute legal mind of Emory runs through it in the sophistries and subtleties of its arguments, while in rhetoric the classic flow of its well-rounded sentences is captivating, and makes the worse appear the better reason. It should be

read by every one desiring to be informed as to the best that could be delivered antagonistic to Reform; space will allow but a condensed analysis.

It first takes up the question of Right, and declares it must be either "natural or acquired"; and the author makes it plain to himself and sympathizers that it is neither: the inference is, that joining the Methodist Episcopal Church strips a man of all that citizenship in a republic confers upon him. It had already been worn threadbare as an argument. But may be they "claim it against the judgment of a large majority," and that its concession would conciliate. This is combated by the assertion that no such effect would follow, as the opposition in the ranks of the laity was immensely against it and that of the most intelligent. The demands of the local preachers is shown to be incongruous with the "original economy of Methodism." The gist of it is that what has not been, should not be. Admitting that the memorialists are honest in not wishing to impair the "itinerant economy," they cannot tell what their successors might do. The reader can judge how conclusive this objection is on general principles. Under the head of the itinerants' personal interest the most remarkable of the averments is made. The admission is confessed that if these lay-rights were conceded it might advance their temporal support, but it "is not known to the present economy" (again, what has not been should not be); but listen: "The great Head of the Church himself has imposed on us the duty of preaching the gospel, of administering its ordinances, and of maintaining its moral discipline among those over whom the Holy Ghost, in these respects, has made us overseers. Of these also, namely, of gospel doctrines, ordinances, and moral discipline, we do believe that the divinely instituted ministry are the divinely authorized expounders; and that the duty of maintaining them in their purity, and of not permitting our ministrations, in these respects, to be authoritatively controlled by others, does rest upon us with the force of a moral obligation, in the due discharge of which our consciences are involved." It was of this particular deliverance that Dr. Brown witnesses: "A very learned and sagacious Catholic priest saw in this manifesto of the General Conference a family likeness, and published it in the *Catholic Telegraph* in Cincinnati, declaring that the Church of Rome never made a higher claim to spiritual and ecclesiastical power than this."¹

¹ "Itinerant Life," pp. 195, 196.

It was indeed the cap-sheaf of lordly assumption, and settled it with the Reformers that nothing could be expected of the ruling authorities of the Church; progression and not reaction along the lines of hierarchic presumption was the key-note thus set. The sentences criticised afforded the Reformers other epigrammatical slogans, which they were not slow in utilizing. The succeeding paragraph of the Report is a hair-splitting refinement in qualification of the bold declaration — even Emory felt that the ground taken was disputable. “The right of ecclesiastical expatriation from any branch of the Christian Church to any other which may be preferred, for grave causes, we have never denied. Nor can we keep, nor are we desirous to keep, any man subject to our authority one moment longer than it is his own pleasure.” If not an echo, it is a duplicate of Dr. Bond; it says, if you do not like our rule, leave it and us. It appears, therefore, that laymen and others have at least this right. O’Kelly and his adherents adopted this course, and were stigmatized as “seceders,” and he was pursued with rancor to his death. The claim is now made, that it was the distinctive governmental features that ensured the success of Methodism in the past; innovation had not been tried, and, therefore, should not be; “there is no prospect of gain that would justify the hazard.” It had often been urged before, and, antecedently, it is the only objection that has in it a grain of weight.

Paragraphs following “retort the insinuation of sinister motives,” and a sarcastic fling is made at those “who have deserted the itinerant fields”—Snethen, McCaine, and a few others who were now located; and the discussion is prolonged over the lack of precedents for the changes proposed either in England or America, aiming special invidious comment upon the inchoate proposals of the first Reform Convention, the paucity of its numbers in attendance, and the strange intimation made, that if the laity were accorded representation they would be conspicuous only by their absence in General Conference. The fact that the Reformers, out of deference and expediency, declined to send with their petitions a formulated scheme of reconstruction is turned against them; the General Conference, forsooth, had nothing to consider as to a plan, verily! Much meekness is claimed for not repelling with “strong expressions” the affirmation of Reformers, that they have been denied the liberty of speech and of the press under the provision of 1796, against “sowing dissensions and inveighing against the discipline” that

the law was applied only "in the sense of unchristian railing and violence. Any other construction of it we have never sanctioned, nor will we." It is Dr. Bond reflected, but it begs the whole question involved: Does the literature of Reform give evidence of such a violation of the law? It is the very issue, and posterity will never consent that liberty of speech and of the press was not infringed until the case is made against the Reformers. Only some ten years ago Dr. Augustus Webster entertained for a few days a distinguished minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who, observing in the doctor's library bound copies of the *Mutual Rights*, asked the privilege to take them to his room and examine them before he retired, as he had never before seen the much scandalized volumes. The next morning he returned them with the playful remark, that he could find nothing "railing" or "violent" in them. The incident was told the writer by the doctor himself.

A paragraph is used to show that the want of analogy between the government of the Church and the State so far from being an objection is a virtue, inasmuch as separation of the Church and State is a cardinal American doctrine, and to make the governments analogous would be the surest way to enable politicians to bring about such a union. This is so original that it must be passed without challenge. The presence of Union Societies in the Church is now discussed, and while no attempt is made to show that they were in contravention of any known section of the Discipline, nevertheless, as their purpose was to secure Reform by propagation of new principles of church government, they are to be unsparingly condemned for this reason; that is, what has been the polity shall continue to be, with coercion as the instrument, for maintaining uniform opinion.

Reserving to the close of this analysis the most remarkable of its declarations, astonishment must be expressed that Dr. Emory should have allowed himself to be betrayed into a reproduction of Dr. Bond's "purse-string" argument as evincing the control the laity have over the ministry; but he was at his elbow in the composition of the Report. Thus it is put: "the envied pittance of those who now devote themselves wholly to the work, and are absolutely dependent for daily subsistence on the mere voluntary contributions of those whom they serve" (a check on their power indeed!). So far as the writer has knowledge, however, it is the last appearance of a suggestion that outrages Christian honor and disciplinary Law, right-minded brethren recoiling from it in very

shame, except Dr. Bond — he kept on repeating it to the close of his last editorial term of the *Christian Advocate*.

It may be that the sarcasm of a concluding paragraph of the Report was not observed by the writer: "We might add much more, but the time fails us. We entreat our brethren to be at peace. It is our earnest and sincere desire." Robert Emory, in the "Life of Bishop Emory," says, "The Report was adopted without, it is believed, a dissenting voice, and that, too, on a motion of a distinguished leader of 'Reform.'" Bangs says, "nearly unanimously." It is true that the motion to adopt was made by Asa Shinn. It was a surprise to all but his near friends. It was evident that the intense mental excitement had unhinged his mind. It was the second lapse of the kind. The *Advocate* in publishing the Report italicizes the fact, "*on motion of the Rev. Asa Shinn.*" "Luther," W. W. Hill, in the June number of the *Mutual Rights*, uncovers it as a "pitiful stratagem," and adds, "should it please God to restore Mr. Shinn to health, he will no doubt give an exhibit of this extraordinary report." More than a year afterward Shinn, having fully recovered his mental poise, masterfully dissected the Report and made an endeavor to explain his motion without fully admitting the true cause of it. It was so cogent as a review that Emory, as editor of the *Methodist Magazine*, essayed answer to it, January, 1830.

Following the Report was a series of resolutions, also from Dr. Emory's pen, which were "nearly unanimously adopted" also. Who the bold dissentients were is not now known. There were not a half-dozen pronounced Reformers in the Conference. By methods already exposed they were left at home. The resolutions recite: "This General Conference affectionately advises that no further proceedings may be had in any part of our work against any member or minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, on account of any past agency, or concern, in relation to the above named periodical, or in relation to any Union Society above mentioned." The pen was scarcely dry, however, that wrote it before other prosecutions and expulsions took place, as will be seen in regular order. The conditions of restoration are embodied in the resolutions: "If any persons expelled as aforesaid feel free to concede that publications have appeared in said *Mutual Rights*, the nature and character of which were unjustifiably inflammatory, and do not admit of vindication; and that in others for want of proper information, or unintentionally, have yet in fact misrepresented individuals and facts, and that they regret these

things. If it be voluntarily agreed also that the union societies above alluded to shall be abolished; and the periodical called the *Mutual Rights* be discontinued, at the close of the current volume, which shall be completed" (it had three months to run), "with due respect to the conciliatory and pacific design of this arrangement; then this general conference does hereby give authority for the restoration, to their ministry or membership respectively, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, of any person or persons so expelled aforesaid; provided this arrangement shall be mutually assented to by any individual or individuals so expelled, and also by the quarterly conference and the minister or preacher having the charge of any circuit or station within which any such expulsion may have taken place; and that no such minister or preacher shall be obliged, under this arrangement, to restore any such individual as leader of any class, or classes, unless in his own discretion he shall judge it proper to do so; and provided also that it be further mutually agreed that no other periodical publication, to be devoted to the same controversy, shall be established on either side; it being expressly understood, at the same time, that this, if agreed to, will be on the ground not of any assumption of right to require this, but of mutual consent for the restoration of peace; and that no individual will be hereafter precluded from issuing any publication, which he may judge proper on his own responsibility." Any who had "withdrawn" were also to have the same opportunity to return. "One of the Expelled" subsequently drastically exposed these provisions as utterly impossible of compliance by any self-respecting Christian man.¹

It is needless to underscore the numerous provisos for emphasis and understanding. The terms are far more stringent than those proposed by Dr. Bond, through Dr. John S. Reese and, subsequently, through Dr. Green, as already recited. Two things are conspicuous: the humiliation of any Reformer asking restoration, and the reserve of the Quarterly Conference and the preacher in charge to discriminate between them, so that the leaders should not be restored, with a special eye to Alexander McCaine, for whom there was to be never restoration, with what justice shall be presently shown. Dr. Brown says he never knew an expelled or withdrawn member to accept the humiliating proposals. It was true in the West, and, with one exception, so far as the writer knows, true in the East also. However, a year or two later Rev. Daniel E. Reese accepted the terms, and in his old age

¹ *Mutual Rights*, Vol. IV. pp. 338-344.

was restored as a local minister in the Church. But Dr. John S. Reese and three younger half-brothers, Levi R., Daniel E., and Eli Yeates graced the ministry of the Methodist Protestant Church to the day of their respective deaths.

It is now opportune for a critical analysis of McCaine's "History and Mystery"; Dr. Emory's "Defence of Our Fathers," in reply; McCaine's "Defence of the Truth," in rejoinder as amplified in his "Letters on the Organization and Early History of the Methodist Episcopal Church"; and such fugitive observations as were made by Dr. Emory in the *Methodist Magazine*, on McCaine's rejoinder to his "Defence." Dr. Stevens's chapter in his second volume of the "History of Methodism," with the title, "Did Wesley design, by his Ordination of Coke, to confer on him the Office of Bishop and to constitute the American Methodist Societies an Episcopal Church?" is added, and all the literature on this special subject is recited.¹ Much of the ground defensive of McCaine's principal allegations has been gone over in the previous volume, to which the reader is referred, and need not, therefore, be here repeated. Much that is immaterial to the present purpose is included in these several publications, and must be passed with the briefest comment. The endeavor shall be made to sift out the essential differences, and show them, true or false, between these disputants. The whole must be rigidly condensed for this work, as the entire literature named is the equivalent of about six hundred printed octavo pages. It shall be kept, however, accessible to any inquiring reader who may doubt any assertion, or question any conclusion, of the writer in this criticism.

The contentions of McCaine in the "History and Mystery"

¹ "Wesley and Episcopacy. A collection of evidence, showing that John Wesley neither originated nor approved of Episcopacy in American Methodism," by D. S. Stephens, D.D., Pittsburgh. Methodist Protestant Publishing House. 1892. 12mo. 90 pp. Paper.

Assertions to the contrary having just been made in the *New York Christian Advocate* and the *Methodist Review*, the *Methodist Recorder*, D. S. Stephens, editor, controverted them. Whereupon the *Central Christian Advocate* challenged the editor to produce the "documentary evidence" that would support his controversion. The pamphlet named furnishes the evidence with an argument cumulative so masterful and complete that the editor of one of the associate *Advocates*, with a frankness that does it honor, admits that the case is made, that the argument is a finality on the subject. The reader who wishes to see the argument as spread over these volumes, and much amplified in many of its phases with additional features and indisputable facts, presented as under a focus of concentrated light, is referred to this pamphlet. It contains some collateral evidence not found in these pages.

may be briefly recited—the evidence upon which he depended has been already luminously presented in the previous volume. Firstly, he contends that, historically considered, an Episcopacy is a ministry of three orders, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. Secondly, that Mr. Wesley in appointing Dr. Coke a Superintendent under a form of ordination did not intend to constitute him a Bishop, episcopally understood, and that of consequence, the Conference of 1784 could not have followed “the counsel of Mr. Wesley, who recommended the episcopal mode of government” for the American Methodist Societies. Thirdly, his conclusion that “the present form of government was surreptitiously introduced, and was imposed upon the societies under the sanction of Mr. Wesley’s name.” To refute these allegations Dr. Emory set himself in the “Defence of Our Fathers”; and he reviews it in the order of subjects presented by McCaine. The first seventy-four pages of it are occupied in a denial of McCaine’s positions and a review of the evidences on which he relied. What he establishes is, that there are other forms of Episcopacy besides that of a three-order one; that ecclesiastical history anent bishops and presbyters being the same and differing orders is a muddle of contradictions; and that precedents are not wanting in justification of such an Episcopacy as was formulated at the Christmas Conference of 1784; that McCaine is in error as to the absolute rejection of Whatcoat as Wesley’s appointee as a coadjutor Superintendent; that he is also in error as to the punitive act of Wesley in leaving Dr. Coke’s name off the minutes of the British Conference for 1786, for his participation with Asbury in the Address to President Washington, which was not made until 1789; and that various forms of McCaine’s evidence are susceptible of a different construction. Through these fifteen sections of the “Defence” Dr. Emory does not hesitate to resort to the subterfuge that McCaine is “mistaken,” that he does not “understand,” that another view must be the correct one, without giving proof of it. He shows that McCaine, in asserting that the secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1792–94, amounted to twenty thousand, is in error, inasmuch as he gives a false summing up of the numbers in membership in 1791, while a correct recapitulation shows that an error of thirteen thousand was made by the Conference secretary, which has come down through all the minutes since uncorrected. He severely arraigns McCaine for following this Conference error. He occupies four pages in an animadversion upon the Washington Address matter,

and shows that Drew, Dr. Coke's biographer, whom McCaine followed, ought to be excused, he thinks, for his misleading association of these events. And, in the final chapter, he notes McCaine's "inconsistency" in the Plan he offered for the reconstruction of the mother Church, and a few other points.

About a year after, McCaine rejoined in his "Defence of the Truth"; and he gives an introductory chapter explanatory of his method in conducting his first investigations, and defensive of his moral character, which had been assailed in the most unwarrantable manner after the publication of the "History and Mystery." He gives the charges and specifications, under which he was called to trial by Hanson and Dr. Bond, for alleging that McCaine had "purchased copper, knowing it to have been stolen," etc. The case was ignominiously abandoned at the office of the civil magistrate as "unsustained." He also appends a certificate of recommendation, which was given him on the eve of his trip South for his health, signed by all the Faculty of the University of Maryland, and of the Washington College, as well as the judges of the City Court, of the District Court, the United States District Attorney, John Purviance, Esq., William Wirt, Attorney-General of the United States, Samuel L. Southard, Secretary of the Navy, and John M'Lean, Postmaster-General. The latter was also a personal friend of Rev. William C. Lipscomb, appointing him to office in 1828, and was in social intimacy with Reformers, though he never took public ground in their favor. Yet this is the man thus recommended who was hounded as an outlaw in that day by anti-reformers, and of whom Dr. Bond said in the bitterness of his hostility, "if he were to sweep the streets of Baltimore he could not find a man under the influence of worse motives than I am." The venerable Rev. Thomas McCormick related to the writer as one of the incidents of the time, that Dr. Bond in a social gathering, the conversation having turned upon meetings in heaven, said, "There is one man I do not expect to meet there." Query being made, he answered, "Alexander McCaine."

"Alas! for the rarity
Of Christian charity
Under the sun."

In this introductory chapter the lion is at bay: "My character has been assailed from so many quarters. So many base stratagems have been resorted to, with a view of injuring my reputation, weakening my influence, and destroying my temporal

interests, that men who know the value of character will not, it is hoped, think I have transgressed the bounds of Christian moderation, in exposing these proceedings. . . . I write in justification of my own character and in defence of the truth, and shall leave an impartial public to pronounce the verdict."

McCaine's "Defence of the Trnth" now claims as impartial a judgment as the writer is capable of giving, and it is hoped the reader will discover that he is in no wise disposed to extenuate its faults or compound its extremes, thereby giving greater weight to the things he does establish beyond reasonable contradiction, for these are the material matters after all. The first three pages are occupied with questionings of Emory's motives in writing the "Defence of Our Fathers," prompted by his defamation of McCaine, in that with "great unkindness I pursue Mr. Asbury in his grave." It must be confessed that McCaine's method of sarcastic personalities very much impairs his several controversial pamphlets. He aptly, however, turns Emory's equally personal and more than sarcastic reference just cited, by reminding him that the same charge was preferred against Wesley, "his sacrilegious hand violates the ashes of the dead," and traduces the character of Mr. Whitefield, "with ungodly craft he claws up the ashes of the dead."¹ He extenuates his fault in these personalities: "If the reader will pardon the appearance of egotism, I will tell him that since God was pleased to convert my soul, I have made it a rule not to say anything of a man in his absence that I would not say in his presence; that from that period until this, my heart has been free from the fear of man; and that I am not now conscious of having flattered a man in all that time; this is not the smooth way to heaven, but as far as I understand the principles and precepts of the New Testament, it is the way that is prescribed; and this is the way I choose to walk in." In his vindication he then cites from half a dozen letters addressed him by Bishop Asbury, from 1799 to 1815, the last less than a year prior to his death. Citations may be made as follows: "My confidence in you as a man of piety, honor, and conscience is hereby signified; I love you, I know — your honest bluntness I approve." For several years he had designated McCaine as the person among all the preachers as best qualified by his learning and ability to write a commentary on the Scriptures, to be called "The Focus." Hence this reference in 1815: "The focus upon the great book. Have you begun? begin book after book, gen-

¹ Wesley's "Works," Vol. X. p. 484.

eral history and contents; it has been upon my mind for years; but who should I fix upon; it is Alexander McCaine." Finally, July 15, 1815, having heard that McCaine had lost his wife, he suggests that he would accommodate him in an appointment so that he might work upon "The Focus": "I have been reading these fifty years, and have never seen what meeteth my mind, I mean an universal Focus taken from all authors worthy of notice."

McCaine never entered upon this work, for obvious reasons. One was, he found a skeleton in the Methodist closet, ten years later. The door had been closed and sealed by Dr. Coke and his loved Bishop Asbury. It was no agreeable discovery, as he recites, but without fear or favor he opened the long-sealed door, and suffered the penalty of all such indiscretions to the close of his life. The "History and Mystery" did it, and so incontrovertibly that reverent but ignorant and prejudiced Methodists, without challenge of the facts, denounced it as a work "written with all the malignity of which the human heart is capable." To Emory's insinuation that McCaine would not have had the effrontery to assert what he does in his pamphlet before the decease of Coke and Asbury, he answers: "Had I before their death the light on the subject which I now have, I cannot conceive any reason I should have been deterred from giving publicity to my views; but I had not. For I never examined the subject until lately, always receiving as true the statements published in the book of Discipline and Minutes of the Conference." These several citations will be excused as exhibiting the true relation of McCaine to the persons involved and to the subject discussed.

Seven pages of McCaine's rejoinder are occupied with Emory's first section "On Episcopacy," in which McCaine shows that they are at cross-purposes; Emory for diversion of attention bringing into the question points utterly irrelevant as to McCaine's contention, and serving only to cloud the real issue, which McCaine again states, to wit: "If the societies now constituting the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the exercise of their right to frame their constitution, preferred at their organization the *episcopal government*, in what light are the bishops of that Church to be considered? As mere presbyters, or as an order of ministers distinct from and superior to presbyters? This is the inquiry under consideration, and Mr. Emory knows it." The latter was the view of Coke and Asbury, and the prevalent opinion for

years after 1784, and indeed largely down to 1844. McCaine demonstrates that Wesley could not and did not so understand it, and that in this he does not "misrepresent him." This is the whole question, and to-day at least in the Methodist Episcopal Church no one is left seriously to doubt it;¹ the Church has officially passed upon it. So that one must be scored for McCaine as to this issue, despite the burdensome citations and learned inconsequents running through the first seventy pages of Emory's "Defence."

Having censured McCaine severely for omitting the name of an authority quoted, by asking, "Was it not because he was ashamed of it?" McCaine gives the name of Rev. Dr. Kewley and draws a parallel between their respective careers under which Dr. Emory must have winced; but as the matter is purely personal it may be dismissed. "Sentiments of Bishop White" is the next of Emory's sections. They seem to have been introduced to show that Dr. Coke is not responsible for the failure of the overtures made by him to White in 1791 for reunion, and that the Methodist Episcopal Church had the right to "revive such a superintendency as was practised by the apostles and by Timothy and Titus." He dismisses with a wave of his hand the insuperable obstacle that they were, as Wesley taught, "*extraordinary* teachers, whom Christ employed to lay the foundation of his kingdom." It is nothing to the purpose as to any "misrepresentations" McCaine made, and to expose these Emory wrote ostensibly. It is controversial dust, and excusatory of the anomalous Episcopacy of Methodism. "Mr. Wesley's Opinion" is next. Emory cites an opinion given by Wesley on another issue entirely in 1756, twenty-eight years before the Christmas Conference and its doings. The opinion was: "I still believe the episcopal form of government to be scriptural and apostolical, I mean, well agreeing with the practice and writings of the apostles. But that it is *prescribed* in the scripture, I do not believe." McCaine exhibits that its introduction as germane to the discussion was disingenuous, inasmuch as he clearly makes appear from the original reference itself that what Mr. Wesley meant in view of his oft-repeated declaration that "bishops and presbyters are the same order" was that of a government by presbyters, and an ordination by presbyters, something very different from Coke and Asbury's episcopacy. A second score for McCaine. The next section is "Ordination." It is a dialectical display between

¹ Professor Miley of Drew Seminary is an exception — *rara avis*.

these masters of fence and parry, and has no pertinence unless Mr. Wesley's intent in the ordination of Dr. Coke could be understood; but as this vexed question has never been settled on either side, it may be passed as a draw between them. He returns a “Roland for his Oliver” by citing the fact that Emory makes quotations without giving either the author or the page, one in this section in point, and McCaine justly observes: “This is the more reprehensible in him, because he is so lavish of his abuse of me for having once failed to give the name of an author from whom I made extract.”

“Ordination of Coke” is the fifth section of Emory's “Defence,” and McCaine occupies twenty pages of his rejoinder in an exhaustive analysis and refutation, and exposes at the same time a most disingenuous assertion of Dr. Bangs's. This matter of the ordination of Coke by Wesley has been so largely treated in the former volume that reference of the reader must be made to it, though McCaine elaborates this section, and leaves Emory's contention that it must have been to a “third order” without a foot to stand on, from his clear demonstration that, whatever else the ordination was, or, as Wesley himself denominates it, “appointment” of Dr. Coke as a “general superintendent,” it could not have been to a “third order,” without convicting Wesley of an insane and utterly irreconcilable contradiction of all his previous averments. McCaine's implied inference is that if Coke was not “set apart” to a “third order,” then the Episcopacy of Methodism in America is in no sense like Episcopacy as understood and taught by Episcopalians, but a mere “general superintendency” by a Presbyterian set apart by a ceremonial (that Wesley probably used that of the English Prayer Book with verbal changes to suit the exigency as a convenience in Coke's case, and retained it in the abridged book sent for the adoption of the American Methodists, is nothing to the purpose), with the object of investing the *office* with clerical dignity. Such an Episcopacy McCaine did not challenge; such an Episcopacy is now the only one allowed by the official interpretation of the Methodist Episcopal Church; such an Episcopacy obtains in the Canada “Methodist” Church, in the Free Methodist Church; in the Methodist Protestant Church, diocesan in its character as a superintendence by Annual Conference Presidents, and in this a verisimilitude of the true-blue Episcopacy of the Protestant Episcopal Church; in fine, such an Episcopacy as is not disputed in any of the so-called “Non-episcopal” Churches, as it would be a mere higgling over words.

Another score must be made for McCaine; let the doubtful reader peruse the whole text. The disingenuous averment of Dr. Bangs's will be best considered in a foot-note.¹

"Dr. Coke's Letter to Bishop White" is next in order. McCaine gives thirteen pages to it; the letter, its analysis, his correspondence with White anent it, and his demonstration that Coke did not know of Wesley's death, as Emory asserts, when he wrote and despatched the letter,—all this is elaborately dissected in the first volume, in which this writer differs a little from the conclusions of McCaine, and to which he must refer the reader to avoid repetition. Another score must be made for McCaine. "The Prayer Book of 1784" comes next. The whole gist of it is that Dr. Emory essays to find, as it was recommended for use to the American Methodists, that of necessity this was Wesley's "recommendation of an Episcopal form of government." It is McCaine's task through ten pages to show that it does not afford a scintilla of proof, except the word "recommend" in Wesley's letter as to the use of the Prayer Book in given times and places. And to cap his argument he furnishes letters from three of the preachers who were members of the Conference of 1784; namely, Dromgoole, Ware,

¹ Bangs and Emory were associated as Book Agents at this time, and the former, that he might assist his chum in overwhelming McCaine, asserted in the *Methodist Magazine* for September, 1827: "How changed is the author of the 'History and Mystery' from what he was when he heard, read, approved, and recommended for publication at the Methodist Book Room the 'Vindication of Methodist Episcopacy.' He need not attempt to deny this fact, because it stands attested by his own signature as secretary of the book committee." Emory in the Preface to his "Defence of Our Fathers" echoes pretty much the same averment against McCaine. To show the shifts, and the writer is in this case constrained to say, the dishonesty, of his doughty opponents, he gives in a foot-note to his "Defence of the Truth," p. 55, a full account of the whole matter by a transcript of the book committee's minutes at the time; and the evidence is that all McCaine had to do with Bangs's "Vindication" was as secretary to the committee to record their action as follows: "1st, On motion it was resolved that the committee approve of its publication. 2d, Resolved that the above work be recommended to the book agents for publication. Signed as an 'attest,' Alexander McCaine," who was now in the employ of the Book Concern in a subordinate position. The date is September 8, 1820. This is the work before noted as objected to by Soule, who was then Book Agent, but which passed approval after reconstruction by Bangs, the ground of Soule's protest being that it was not fully in accord with his own cast-iron views of an Episcopacy. It was subsequently published and \$100 voted the author out of the profits of the Concern, said profits being sacredly devoted by its charter to the "superannuated and worn out-preachers, their widows and orphans." My pen has indited the offenders as dishonest, but the sober thought comes, as it never came to the maligners and traducers of these early Reformers, that may be it was not moral turpitude, but human infirmity and bitter prejudice.

and Forrest, who agree that it was not mentioned by Coke or Asbury as "recommending any form of government."

"The Prayer Book of 1786." In this McCaine is at his best and Emory at his worst; not that the first is the superior dialectician, but because McCaine so clearly has the case. The ground has already been traversed in the first volume, and no more than a condensed statement can here be made. McCaine reviews it under three heads. First, as to Dr. Coke's agency in the publication of this prayer book. The facts as to the edition of 1784, sent over "in sheets," as Emory says, have already been recited, so that the gist of the contention is in the query: second, why did Dr. Coke reprint it so soon after in England and at the press of "Frys and Couchman," and not on Wesley's press? The answer made in the first volume is the only one that can be made that will quadrate with all the facts; namely, the edition sent by Wesley, Coke had bound up with the Minutes of the Conference of 1784, writing the brief historical preface to the Discipline himself, with Asbury's sanction, in which not a syllable occurs intimating that the Church was organized episcopally by Wesley's "counsel" as "recommendation," and was intended for Wesley's perusal; and in it the word "Bishop" does not occur as synonymous with "Superintendent," as is made to appear in the edition of 1795, printed by Dickins. While there is no direct evidence, as the original minutes in manuscript from 1784 to 1794 are not in existence, those from which the edition of 1795 were printed probably going into the waste-basket of the printing-office, the general receptacle of "copy" and "proofs," yet it is amenable to reason that Dr. Coke, who had been cautioned by Wesley "in the most solemn manner" not to assume the title of Bishop in America, as Moore asserts, would not have presumed to so print the minutes of 1784 making the terms interchangeable, without having administered to him then and there by anticipation the stinging rebuke Wesley did administer in his letter to Asbury, when he at last was compelled to see that in this his instructions had been wantonly violated. Emory makes nine queries in an attempt to explain this matter, and resorts to a common subterfuge with him in knotty cases, in that he ushers them in with a "probable" or a "presumable;" two with an "if;" only one is set down as "certain," and that is not in dispute; that Wesley required a minute account from Coke of the American proceedings, a point covered in the first volume. Indeed, Emory utterly fails to explain, and offers but a single

suggestion of any weight; to wit, that the firm of Frys and Couchman was sometimes employed by Wesley to do printing, and instances the second volume of the *Arminian Magazine*. The plant of this firm and Wesley's was in the same building, and this convenience was no doubt under a pressure of work availed of at times; but the burden of evidence is that Wesley cannot be connected as assenting to this second edition of the prayer book for America, as he had undoubtedly sent over with Dr. Coke enough to supply the demand for a much longer period than six months; that Coke issued the second at his own expense, and sundry other facts, McCaine marshals; that the reason for this publication is found in the fact that it represents Wesley as approving by implication all that was done in 1784 as intended for the American market, and so carrying out the illusion that Coke and Asbury had followed Wesley's instructions in everything, an opinion, as found, which prevailed among the preachers until these discoveries of McCaine. The third point made by Emory is a challenge: "Where is the evidence that he [Wesley] ever disavowed them" (that is, the doings of the Christmas Conference)? McCaine answers: "To the most superficial reader it is plain that it is not by the *absence* of evidence of the disavowal of the 'proceedings of Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and the Conference of 1784' that Mr. Wesley's approbation of those proceedings, and his recognition of the title 'Methodist Episcopal Church,' are to be proved. As well might A say that his title to an estate was valid, because B could not produce a title to the same estate." The burden is not properly upon McCaine, but upon those, including Dr. Emory, who all along affirmed that he did so approve.

Under the succeeding section McCaine comments upon the unaccountable misrepresentation Emory makes; to wit, he had alleged that Coke's name was left off the British minutes of 1785, whereas his assertion was that it was 1786, and the fact is as he states: an error more gross than the one into which McCaine had fallen as to the statistical blunder of the minutes of 1791 of thirteen thousand members; and in his zeal to show that friendly relations existed between Coke and Wesley to the latter's death, he tells his readers that John Wesley stationed Coke with Charles Wesley in London in 1790, whereas Charles had died in 1788. When his attention was called to this blunder by Hon. P. B. Hopper, he squirmed under it, claiming that he could not account for it, as he had "the minutes of the British Conference open before me." He wishes the error to be condoned in him, but in

McCaine he is unwilling to condone an error into which the printed Minutes directly led him.¹ Under "Mr. Asbury" the discussion of his connection with the organization of the Church in 1784 is pursued exhaustively, but as all this has been weighed and analyzed in the former volume, no more need be said of it. "Testimonies of English Methodists" follows, but McCaine meets it with overwhelming counter testimony, the principal averments being amply sustained, that "there exists no document in which the words Methodist Episcopal Church were ever written by Mr. Wesley"; and that the British Conference never recognized the title until after the fraternal visit of Dr. Emory in 1820. Acknowledging his visit to the General Conference of 1824, they recognize the Church title for the first time; forty years after it was assumed by the Christmas Conference. Reflecting, as they must have done, Wesley's views, nothing more would be necessary to reasonable minds as irrefragable proof that he, and the British Conference after him, purposely repudiated the official doings of 1784 as connecting Wesley with them, either as giving "counsel" or "recommending" what was done. In all these points McCaine must be allowed scores against his opponent.

"Section XI., Dr. Coke," pursues the question of the Address of the bishops to Washington, heretofore fully considered. In this Emory has the advantage, inasmuch as McCaine allowed himself to be misled by the chronological disorder of Drew's "Life of Coke," the average reader inevitably associating the Address with 1785, instead of 1789, the true time. The writer has confessed, however, that McCaine, as an educated man, a school-teacher, and intimately acquainted with the history of the United States, ought to have known better, and the score must

¹ This apparently trivial matter assumes importance when the fact is stated that, originating in the printed Minutes of 1795, by Dickins, who overlooked as proof-reader this error of thirteen thousand in 1791, it was perpetuated in the Minutes printed in 1813, and carried forward into those printed in 1840, and so stands to this day. And as to Emory's blunder anent Coke and Charles Wesley stationed together in London in 1790, Emory in the *Methodist Magazine* was compelled to acknowledge it, with a promise that at some future time he would revise his whole pamphlet (how much it needed it has been shown); he did not live to do so. Curious to know whether any subsequent book committee had done it in the several editions of the "Defence of Our Fathers" which were issued, the writer recently purchased a copy of the edition issued under "Hunt and Eaton," only to find that this error is perpetuated, and no revision ever made of the pamphlet, so that the young preachers on trial of the Methodist Episcopal Church were taught it as a part of the "course of study," for some forty years, or down to about 1870, when it was dropped out, a modern race of Methodist preachers not appreciating the work of Emory so extravagantly lauded in his own day.

be given to Emory. McCaine wrestles with it, but appears to have been so befogged by it that no satisfactory solution is reached by him. A few facts are patent: Coke's name is found omitted from the British minutes in 1786 and in 1790. In the last case all parties admit that it was a punitive act of the Conference for British disloyalty in joining with Asbury in the Address to Washington of 1789. In 1786, finding his name also omitted, McCaine reached the conclusion that it was also punitive for the part he took in organizing the American Church, exceeding his authority, and disregarding the instructions Wesley gave him in the "little sketch" of government he had intrusted to him. It must also be admitted that leaving the name off the official minutes was by these early Methodist preachers accounted a punitive act; possibly it had exceptions, but none has been produced. So that the question crystallizes: Why was it omitted in 1786? Either McCaine's construction must be admitted, or the limping explanation of Emory must be accepted as satisfactory; what was it? That while his name does not occur in the official minutes for 1786, yet Wesley in the *Arminian Magazine* for that year mentions him as set down for "America," he having been appointed by Wesley to act as missionary to Nova Scotia, and "was not expected to return until the next year." It is needful only to repeat what was said when the subject was treated in the first volume, "the explanation does not explain." The case is a desperate one for Emory; he resorts to the subterfuge in order to make exceptions as punitive acts, the omission of Wesley's name by the American Conference in 1787, in the very face of the fact that this was manifestly punitive; the omissions of Asbury's name in 1778, etc., for "prudential reasons;" but it is not at all certain that this instance was not punitive as well, for his former high-handed measures, as the Conference was now controlled by the Gatch-Dickins-O'Kelly regulars on a Presbyterian basis.

Emory's effort to palliate the censure of the British Conference of Coke in 1790, by an ingenious but disingenuous piece of mosaic work of extracts from Drew, making but a printed page, having the appearance of a closely connected citation, while in fact made up of fragments woven together out of forty-three pages of Drew, though at the close of it Emory says: "Life of Coke," pp. 102-145, was also exposed, but the point made by McCaine is immaterial, and the argument may be considered a draw.

Under "Methodist Episcopacy" McCaine notes that there is nothing to observe not already considered except the remarkable dictum of Emory, "The Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church have no control whatever over the decisions of either a general or an annual conference," and floors him by citing his own contrary opinion in the famous address just before the Conference of 1820, "that a brother [Soule] just elected to the Episcopal office, and not yet ordained . . . should thus by a strong hand arrest the operation of resolutions . . . passed after long and solemn debate . . . concurred in by more than two-thirds of the general conference, and two-thirds of the episcopacy itself," etc. Under the title "Bishop" he notices Emory's quibble that the American Conference did not title Wesley as a "bishop," but as exercising the "episcopal office," already exposed in the first volume. Another score for McCaine. Three sections that follow before the recapitulation are so little to the purpose, and have been incidentally considered in the preceding ones, as well as in the first volume, that McCaine's Recapitulation may now be brought forward.

In this masterful Recapitulation, first of the "Defence of the Truth," he sums up twenty-four facts as established by it, and again challenges the proof that he had "misrepresented" any of them. He then sums up the whole argument in demonstration of his original allegation, that "Methodist Episcopacy was surreptitiously" introduced in 1784. In other places he denominates it a "fraud" and as "foisted upon the Church"; and if there can be extenuation of such bald, brusque designations, it is in Asbury's estimate of the man and his "honest bluntness." Yet to the Methodists of that day and every day since such appellations were and are extremely offensive, and to the large majority who then read and now read nothing but Bond and Emory, accounts for the fact that the deep prejudice then engendered has not yet died out of the Methodist Episcopal Church after seventy years against the leaders of Reform in 1827-30; against the "radicals" and Methodist Protestants of all after years. McCaine gives thirty-seven reasons for his belief, which have never been successfully refuted.¹ A number of them are not material to his argument,

¹ Rev. Dr. Collins Denny, of the M. E. Church, South, called my attention to an apparent confusion of McCaine as to Wesley's name being left off the Minutes from 1785 to 1789, and the statements of the Discipline for the same period. Wesley's name does occur in the Discipline in connection with the resolution of 1784 to obey him in all matters pertaining to authority. That resolution was expunged in 1787, and Wesley's name went out with it as already found. It was

though all of them are germane. To restate them would not only occupy much space, but repeat what has been traversed in this work and which it is assumed the reader has not forgotten. The material points may be summarized as follows: Mr. Wesley "set apart" Dr. Coke to be a "general superintendent" coördinate in authority with Asbury in the government of the American societies. He was induced to do this by the clamor for the ordinances in America, and the declaration that these societies "wished to continue under his care," as he recites himself in the preamble to Dr. Coke's "letter of appointment." He admits that the Revolutionary War had absolved them from their British allegiance and to the Established Church of England, leaving them, in his own words, "at full liberty to follow the Scriptures and the primitive Church." Dr. Phoebus, a member of the Christmas Conference, confirms this: "Mr. Wesley recommended to us the New Testament for our pattern." He farther says, "I have drawn up a little sketch" for the government of the societies, with Coke and Asbury as his subordinates, and this little sketch is the same in substance as the "plan of Church government" "Henry Moore" certifies he had prepared for this purpose.¹ He

restored in 1789, continued in 1790, and would probably have been continued longer if his decease in 1791 had not made it unnecessary for reasons already given. How much this affects McCaine's argument in this instance the critical reader can determine. Dr. Denny thinks it breaks down this part of McCaine's averments.

¹ Rev. T. A. Kerley, in his work, 1898, "Conference Rights," before referred to in a foot-note, says of this matter, "I have drawn up a little sketch," as found in Wesley's letter to the American Methodists in 1784, "that *it was the letter itself*," overlooking the fact that in this case Wesley, as a master of intelligent English, would have said, "I have drawn up *this* little sketch." It is not more puerile, however, than Dr. Emory's explanation.

In addition to this answer, held to be conclusive as to the averment that the "little sketch" and the Circular Letter in which the declaration as to it is found, are not the same and identical, the writer deems it proper to traverse it still farther. In a fraternal conversation with Rev. Dr. Collins Denny at my own residence in May, 1898, the same position was firmly taken by him as to the identity of the "Sketch" and the Circular, buttressed by the averment that "the burden of proof" was with those who denied it; that nothing could shake the position logically but the production by them of the "little sketch" itself. The writer answered that in his view the precise converse was the true position logically, and that it was for those who claimed the identity of the "sketch" with the "Circular" to prove it. And the grounds of this averment are in part: first, the Circular is an authentic document, and in the body of it averment is made by its author of the preparation of another document, "I have drawn up a little sketch." Secoud, as supported by Henry Moore, already cited in the first volume, where the question is also considered that "Mr. Wesley" "informed Dr. Coke of his design of *drawing up a plan of church government*, and of establishing an ordination for his American societies. But cautious of entering on so new a plan, he after-

had peremptorily and solemnly forbidden Dr. Coke to take the title of Bishop in the plan of government, thereby indicating not only that he had no idea that by his "setting apart" and "appointing" (he nowhere uses the term "ordain" in the connection) as a Superintendent that he was creating a third-order officer, or gave authority to Coke to constitute Asbury such an officer. He also armed Coke with a letter of authority, called his ordination certificate, and a letter to the societies for their "use" and to be "published" to this end. Coke, on his arrival in America, probably showed the "little sketch" of government to Dickins, the first American preacher he met, who declared that it was authoritative and needed only to be promulgated and obeyed. After conference with Asbury at a private house at the Barratt chapel meeting, Asbury dissented to the plan of the "little sketch," and no doubt gave Coke some sound enough reasons for it, as the

ward suspended the execution of his purpose and weighed the whole for upward of a year." The italics are by the writer. See Moore's "Life of Wesley," American edition, 1825, pp. 272, 273. On the same page, 273, he quotes the Circular Letter, but gives no hint that it was "the plan of church government," prepared in 1783, or a year before the Circular letter. Third, the interpretation by which the "sketch" and the Circular are declared one is forced, and will not bear the light of common-sense English, such as Wesley or Coke would have used in such a case, as set forth in the first paragraph of this note in answer to Dr. Kerley. Fourth, the view is new with Drs. Denny and Kerley, no other Methodist annalist for a hundred years attempting so to explain it. Fifth, the Circular letter is not a "plan of church government . . . for his American societies," intended for the guidance of his "Assistants," Coke and Asbury, but a Letter to the Societies which he ordered printed and circulated among them. Sixth, all the collateral facts are against the logical probability that the "sketch" and the Circular are one and the same. Seventh, recent investigation has brought to light the fact that among the Notes to the Discipline of 1796, quoting from the tenth edition, 1798, page 49, top paragraph, the following statement is made: "When Mr. Wesley drew up a plan of government for our church in America, he desired that no more elders should be ordained in the first instance than were absolutely necessary, and that the work on the continent should be divided between them in respect to the duties of their office. The general conference accordingly elected twelve elders for the above purpose," etc.* The italics are by the writer, to point out the similarity of the language with Moore's account and Wesley's account in the Circular letter: "I have drawn up a little sketch," "drawing up a plan," "drew up a plan," etc. Evidently this reference in the notes, as cited, reveals one fact as to the "plan of government" contained in "a little sketch," as given from memory by Coke and Asbury, and as it is not found in the Circular Letter, it is proof conclusive that the "sketch" and the "Circular" are not one and the same. Eighth, and finally, it is antecedently a moral certainty that Wesley would have sent written directions, a true "plan of government," for the direction and control of his assistants, Coke and Asbury, as he sent the "Circular Letter" specifically for the information and direction of the Societies.

* Lee, in his "History," pp. 94, 95, says: "At this conference there were thirteen preachers elected to the Elder's office," and he gives their names. And so does Coke in his Journal. See Dr. Tigert's limited edition, pp. 13, 14.

latter confesses that he was compelled to concur in them, whereupon a brief council with ten of the nearest preachers was held, who were not told the contents of the "sketch," but were simply comforted with the assurance that Wesley had yielded at last to their solicitations as to the matter of the ordinances, and Asbury proposed a general conference immediately of all the preachers with the purpose of forming a Church.¹ Wesley never authorized nor dreamed of such a Conference to pass upon what he had done, as it did not for a moment enter into his plan to establish a Church of Methodists in America. Prior to the assembling of the Christmas Conference Coke and Asbury, at Perry Hall, concocted a Church organization, and opened their plan to the Conference after it had assembled. It was to be an American Methodist Episcopal Church, with three orders of ministers, under exclusive ministerial rule; and that it might have the semblance of Wesley's approval, the "little sketch" was suppressed, and finally destroyed, as it has never seen the light; Coke's letter of appointment was not made known to the Conference because of its clear implications that he could not have given "counsel" or "recommended" what was being done, but intended, as carrying out their wishes, to "continue under his care," that they should be an autonomy, but, like that of the English societies, absolutely under his control while he lived. The Letter to the Societies was suppressed in a whole paragraph of it relative to the use of the abridged Prayer Book he had sent over, because it also plainly implicated his own absolute control. Not willing to break utterly with Wesley, and fearing to return and render an account to him of these misdoings as to his purpose, Coke secured the consent of Asbury that they should be denominated "superintendents," not daring in this to openly disobey his instructions, which he undoubtedly made known to Asbury, as to the title of Bishop; and also to incorporate a resolution that during Wesley's life they would in matters of church government be controlled by him. All these allegations have already been incontestably proven in this work. Further, it is in proof that the historical sketch to the

¹ Six out of the ten of these neighborhood preachers dissented to Asbury's plan for an Episcopal government, but they agreed to a call for a General Conference. See the facts set forth in a series of articles, "Methodist Chronology," by "W. C. P.," (W. C. Pool) in second volume of *Methodist Protestant*, No. 34, for August 24, 1832, on page 268 of bound volume. The evidence is important as showing that the Episcopacy of Asbury and Coke was not only without Wesley's knowledge and consent at the time, but it was unacceptable to those preachers who were first consulted, at least a full moiety of them.

first Discipline makes no mention of its being formulated by Wesley's counsel and recommendation of an Episcopal Church, for the reason that such a bald misstatement would have been detected by Wesley when it came under his eye. The Minutes and Discipline, as published by Dickins in 1795, contain a very different historical statement as to the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but this was four years after Wesley's decease. In fine, these several historical accounts were doctored by Coke and Asbury to suit the exigencies and make it appear to future generations that the Christmas Conference and its doings had Wesley's approval. The certificate of ordination of Coke was not exhibited until Drew, Coke's biographer, exhumed it from his posthumous papers; Coke, Asbury, and Moore suppressed their knowledge of Wesley's solemn charge to the first not to take the title of Bishop, the first two during their lives, and the last for forty years after it occurred. Add these allegations as matters of fact to those before given, and the reader has a catenation of proofs on which McCaine based his blunt declaration that the system of government inaugurated in 1784 was "surreptitiously" introduced by the prime actors in it.

The writer will put it again mildly, as a conclusion to which every impartial reader must come, that the proceedings were unjustifiable and unwarrantable in the premises. They are sufficiently grave to demand that the historical preface to the book of Discipline, if not entirely expunged in the interests of the truth of history, as in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, shall be so modified as to relieve Mr. Wesley of the imputation that he was the author of the church polity now known as Methodist Episcopacy.¹ The reader who would see the case categorically

¹ See Rev. Dr. Warren's article in *Methodist Magazine* for January-February, 1892, entitled "The Portico to Our Book of Discipline." It treats of the very section of the M. E. Discipline bearing upon this subject, and which he declares "misleads the reader," and proposed a substitute section which relieved Wesley of the unverifiable statement that he originated the Episcopal system in American Methodism. The ensuing General Conference, however, the matter not having been brought forward, did nothing toward correcting this canonized fable. It will yet however be done. Still it stands in the nervous words of Dr. Stephens: "as a matter of fact that this misleading declaration, false to fact and false to history, was embalmed in the place of honor in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. There it stands to-day, a fable apotheosized, a monumental testimony to the weakness of great minds, the canonization of error intended to mislead, the evidence of the unscrupulous ambition of the first American Bishops, and of the over-credulity of the early Methodist preachers."

stated is referred to McCaine's thirty-seven reasons at the conclusion of his "Defence of the Truth." Could Asbury have been content to wait, and meantime accept Wesley's plan for the seven years that intervened to his death, this scandal would have been anticipated; but he was impatient of Wesley's supervision, and made the coming of Coke the occasion to carry out the matured purpose of years,—his Episcopal headship for the American Methodists. That the same result would probably have ensued had he deferred action until after Wesley's decease may be admitted; the same force of personal magnetism and dominating will that carried the preachers with him under the exceptional circumstances named, would have carried in 1792, and forestalled the revolt and secession of O'Kelly. That there were not a few extenuations of Coke and Asbury's course may be admitted, and, in view of human infirmities, of ambition and errors of judgment, there is no need that moral turpitude should be imputed.

The reader is now prepared to consider, maugre the glamour of rhetoric and the confidence of unqualified asseveration, the case stated by Dr. Stevens, the third party to this controversy. His argument, though but an imperfect rehash of the exploded positions reviewed in these pages, has come down to this day; with Methodist Episcopalians entirely satisfactory. True, he directs his attack more against the Protestant Episcopal churchmen, who ridicule the pretensions of Episcopal Methodists, and not against the impregnable positions of McCaine. Indeed, it is doubtful if Stevens ever read McCaine, or a man of his average fairness would have been deterred from such overconfident dicta. Traversing it carefully, as the writer has just done, and he invites the reader to do the same (see "History of Methodism," Vol. II. ch. vii.), nothing is found new to the question not already covered. There is, however, one fatal admission which invalidates the whole: "If Wesley's strong repugnance to the mere name of bishop had been expressed before its adoption by the American Church, it would probably not have been adopted." The sufficient answer is, as shown, that three men possessed the fact at the time, and they suppressed it: Henry Moore, Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury. The logical inevitable is, that men who could and did suppress this one fact in the service of a common cause inimical to Wesley's intentions, could and did suppress all the other facts which render invalid Dr. Stevens's argument and that of every historian who has attempted to vindicate the

real authors of Methodist Episcopacy. He may be dismissed by repeating, as applicable to himself and those who think with him, his own summary disposal: "The man who gainsays such evidence must be given up as incorrigible. There can be no reasoning with him."

CHAPTER XI

Surcease of expulsions in Baltimore after Dr. Bond's return from the General Conference for strategic reasons, but extensively renewed elsewhere—Dr. Sellers's defection, and the effect of the action of the General Conference on Reformers of several grades—Dr. Buckley on "rights"; Alexander McCaine's settler for him and others; Buckley on "withdrawal" of the Reformers analyzed—Organization of Reformers in Baltimore, and purchase of St. John's church; the first realty—First "Methodist" church of Pittsburgh; the whole history of the contention as never before presented—Reform in Cincinnati as early as 1822; Union Society of 1825; expulsions and Rev. Truman Bishop's untimely death; Asa Shinn formally withdraws from the old Church—Proceedings against Reformers in North Carolina; leaders in the movement on both sides—Lynchburg, Va., expulsions and organization of Reformers—Tennessee expulsions and organization of Reformers—The *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer*, with Dorsey, editor.

At the close of the General Conference of 1828, Dr. Bond returned to Baltimore feathered and flushed with victory over his quondam friends of Reform. Having achieved his object, the pacific strategy was once more resorted to, as no man knew better than he the intrinsic worth to Methodism and the high personal character of the men and women whose cause he had forsaken, and whom he well understood could not be browbeaten into submission. For the time the prosecutions ceased in Maryland. The position of the Church as defined by the action of the General Conference in its Report upon the Memorial of the Reformers could not be misunderstood, and the effect was as might be expected: it utterly discouraged the large latent element in the Church who favored Reform, but with bated breath awaited the turning of the scale. These, as well as many of stronger convictions, who could not face the cost of heroic struggle for a principle with all the odds against them, subsided and put away whatever evidence they had shown of sympathy with the movement.¹ Fifty years after, Bishop M'Tyeire, whose knowledge of

¹ A notable example was the case of Dr. Sellers, brother-in-law to Dr. John Emory. During the Reform years preceding 1828, no man in Maryland had more pronounced opinions than he, derived, it may be, from Dr. Emory, not, he says, as to the elective eldership, but lay rights. The tergiversation of Emory, how-

the subject was derived from partisan sources, and speaking from a point of view which limited his retrospection, yet more fairly presented than by the earlier historians of Methodism, says: “But now when the radical tendencies of these things were seen, the conservatives closed ranks and stood firm. . . . Thoughtful men must not be counted on to join in a theoretical and destructive reform because every pin and screw in the tabernacle that has sheltered them is not exactly to their notion.”¹ In this he speaks as one of the “divinely authorized expounders” who alone have rights in the Methodist Church. Yes, the “conservatives closed ranks,” — having finally lost their own contention, being outweighed by the Episcopal power, the ministerial right to elect presiding elders, — they lost interest, and, indeed, were surprised, not a few of them, when the Church itself, as represented by its membership, was awakened to a consciousness that they also must, in the nature of the case and the New Testament precedents of church polity, have rights which they humbly petitioned might be restored to them. Yes, against these rights they closed ranks. Rights! they were nothing but the “pins and screws of the tabernacle that had sheltered them,” and all this ado because it is not “exactly to their notion.” Yes, it was, and still is, largely the cavalier treatment of a great fundamental principle of Representation.

Have the prevailing sentiments of a later day than M'Tyeire's changed any? Not a jot or tittle. There is something in the fumes of vested power that keeps the brains of otherwise clear-headed men fuddled when they talk or write on this subject in the Methodist Episcopal Church. As late as September, 1890, Dr.

ever, naturally affected him, so that on his removal to Pittsburgh in 1827 his active participation in Reform grew weaker, and after the action of the General Conference of 1828, he ceased to coöperate altogether. But there is no evidence that he changed his opinions. Even in the letter he wrote Robert Emory for the biography of his father, the Bishop, at the solicitation of Robert in 1839, he utters no word that can be construed into a change of sentiment on his part, but he distinctly states that lay-representation was the objective of his efforts at the time. Why, then, did he give over advocating the principle? For the same, and even stronger reasons, as he was allied to Emory by marriage, that induced hundreds of others to give over public coöperation. He found his family and social ties, his business interests, as a physician, and perhaps more than all, the seeming hopelessness of the struggle, under the combination against it, for some years to come, if ever. He bent to the storm, as did hundreds of others when called upon to face the tremendous odds against them, so that no estimate of the extent of Reform sentiments can be drawn from the comparative few who, “sink or swim, survive or perish,” openly identified themselves with the Associated Reformers.

¹ “History of Methodism,” p. 573.

Buckley, editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, everywhere acknowledged as a representative man of his Church, thus discourses on the question: "The whole system of Methodism, like every other church government, is a compromise of natural rights for coöperation. Church government does *not* derive its *just* powers primarily from the consent of the governed, but from the Word and Providence of God. It can never consistently work direct injustice and oppression; but can and does require the surrender of all abstract 'rights,' the surrender of which is necessary to its existence, authority, and greatest efficiency. It derives its *working* power from the 'consent of the governed,' for if they will not consent they have power to 'go out from it.'" In the same connection, September 11, he also makes the bald declaration, "The Reformers of 1820 were allowed to withdraw, and formed a new sect." Dr. Bond was given credit, earlier in this volume, for having created all the arguments which have since become stock against the Reformers of 1820, and every year since. In the first of the citations made from Dr. Buckley he simply rehearses Dr. Bond, though it may be unconsciously. At the time this writer in the *Methodist Protestant* summarily disposed of the medley of misstatements and fallacies as follows: "Methodist Episcopacy was not a 'compromise of natural rights,' but a well-defined usurpation of them. See the facts of history anent it. The Word shows conclusively that the governed gave their consent and the just powers were derived from them. See the Acts of the Apostles. The Methodist Episcopal brethren lay great stress, when the anomalies of their government are under review, on the 'Providence of God' as responsible for them. That is to say, facetiously, they were not created by good men who loved the preëminence, but, like Topsey in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' they 'just growed.' Their system has worked dire injustice and oppression; witness the private history of many an itinerant, and the whole history of the Reform movement. The argument of last resort of the anti-reformers of 1820-30 was, if you don't like it, leave. So says Dr. Buckley."

But that this matter of rights may be finally disposed of, let Alexander McCaine take Dr. Buckley in hand, as he did Drs. Emory and Bond, in his analysis of the Report of 1828. "If the preachers had this right 'it must be either a natural or acquired right. If a natural right, then being founded in nature it must be common to men as men.' According to this reasoning, if the preachers, 'as men,' had a 'natural right' to choose

for themselves what form of government they pleased, the members, 'as men,' had a 'natural right' to choose a form of government for themselves likewise. Nay, the members had as good a right to choose a government for the preachers as the preachers had to form one for the members. 'If it be alleged to be an acquired right, then it must have been acquired either in consequence of becoming Christians, or of becoming Methodists. If the former, it devolves on those Methodist preachers, or their advocates, who may assert that the preachers in 1784 had a right to choose the episcopal form of government for the societies to 'prove that this right is conferred by the Holy Scriptures; and it is also binding on them to prove that the Scriptures impose on' the members, 'the corresponding obligation to grant the claim.' The Holy Scriptures gave no authority to Methodist preachers, to adopt the episcopal form of government for the Methodist societies when the church was organized; of course no right can be proved from them. Or if the latter be alleged, viz., that it has been acquired in consequence of becoming Methodists, then it must have been either by some conventional compact or by some obligatory principle, in the economy of Methodism, to which as *then organized* the claimants voluntarily attached themselves. That the preachers derived a right to adopt the episcopal form of government from any 'conventional compact' no one will affirm; for no such 'compact' was ever made. Indeed, the societies were not even consulted, much less a 'conventional compact' entered into. That the preachers did not derive a right from any 'obligatory principle in the economy of Methodism' is equally evident. For it was the peculiar glory of Methodism, 'as then organized,' to receive into its societies 'all who desired to flee from the wrath to come.' If any were expelled from the fellowship of the Methodists, they were not thereby excommunicated from their own churches. Expulsion from the one did not imply expulsion from the other. These were the 'principles of Methodism as then organized,' and from these principles the travelling preachers derived no right to organize a church and adopt the episcopal form of government for the societies without their consent." This is an elaborate disposition of the whole matter of rights, and a demonstration offered, that antecedently nothing can be claimed for the preachers which cannot by analogical reasoning be claimed for the membership.

As to Dr. Buckley's second declaration, "The Reformers of 1820 were allowed to withdraw, and formed a new sect," except

the last sentence, it is neither true in whole nor in part. At the time of its publication, before the writer could put his editorial pen into it, Dr. J. J. Murray of Maryland, not given to rash and unbrotherly treatment of our Old Side preachers, felt impelled to its review, and it was published in lieu of an editorial answer. It is courteous, though searching, and, though marked copies were sent in addition to the regular exchanges of the papers, and request made in various subsequent numbers for retraction of the statement, no notice was ever taken of it. Now, while it is true that the next best thing for the offender, when detected in a misstatement, to a frank and honorable correction of it, is silence on his part, and as this was not the first offence, Dr. Buckley may credit his discourtesy with this perpetuation of his fault to posterity. Rare, indeed, have been the instances in which the press of our sister Church has corrected unhistorical averments as to the controversy of 1820-30. In most cases they are made through dense ignorance of the facts, while in others even charity will not allow an excuse. As to the misstatement itself, look at the naked facts. "The Reformers of 1820 were allowed to withdraw." Has it not been shown that instead they were expelled; and has it not been shown that those who withdrew did so without being "allowed" to do it? The only sense in which this could be true is that those so withdrawing were furnished, at their request, with certificates of membership or testimonials of good standing. It has been, and shall be more fully, proven, that in no known instance was this ever granted, though almost always requested. If these requests had been complied with, then with some shadow of truth it might be said "they were allowed to withdraw." But as the case stands, this averment of a high official of the Methodist Episcopal Church is neither true in whole nor in part. The only thing it evidences is, as nervously expressed by a recent writer, "the vitality of a historic lie."¹

The reverse effect of the action of the General Conference was also exhibited. "For the accommodation of themselves, their families, and such of their fellow-citizens as are desirous of worshipping God with them, the brethren have purchased St. John's church, in Liberty Street, a handsome and commodious house, in which they have public worship three times each Sabbath, and the Christian ordinances duly administered. . . . The attending congregation is large and respectable. The members of both Union Societies regularly attend and worship with their

¹ Exceptions to the rule noted later as discovered by the writer.

expelled brethren." The pulpit was filled by the expelled ministers and preachers, as well as by Snethen, Dorsey, Pool, and M. M. Henkle, when the last was in the city. This was undoubtedly the first piece of church realty held by the Associated Reformers. The "Methodist Church in the City of Pittsburgh," without the "Episcopal," was incorporated by the legislature of Pennsylvania, March 5, 1828, a case to be considered presently. The facts stated as to the purchase of St. John's are published in the *Mutual Rights* for May, 1828. How long it was before that date the writer has not been able to ascertain, but as the property was then, in fact and law, held by the Reformers, its priority can scarcely be challenged. They were regularly organized as a society of "The Associated Methodist Reformers" under the conventional agreement of November, 1827. At the June, 1828, meeting of the Society fifty-two were received, nearly all of them from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and most of them of long standing. Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey, William C. Pool, and William Bawden were received as members and ministers of the association. Daniel Gildea, whose license to exhort had been withheld by the Quarterly Conference on account of being a member of the Union Society, was received and duly licensed. He was a venerable man, and one of Wesley's converts. At the monthly meeting for July thirty-three more were received. These increased the association to over 214 members. "The expelled preachers stand higher in public estimation than they did previous to their expulsion. The citizens view them as good men persecuted for righteousness' sake; and the ministers of other denominations frequently call upon them to officiate to their congregations."¹

Everywhere the Union Societies resolved to continue their organization until the Convention, now called by the Committee, to whom it was intrusted by the November meeting, to assemble at St. John's church, Baltimore, November 10, 1828. Delegates were requested to report, on their arrival in the city, to James R. Williams, John J. Harrod, and Dr. S. K. Jennings, to be assigned to homes. It was a crucial period in Reform, everything depending upon the showing it would make at this Convention. The lines were closely drawn, and the whole power, patronage, and persuasive force of the Church brought to bear to prevent withdrawals by every intimidation and influence possible. It is safe to say that hundreds were so deterred. Baltimore Methodism, with its three thousand members, among whom Reform was

¹ *Mutual Rights*, Vol. IV. p. 393.

dominant in 1826-27, now showed but a few hundred who were ready to cast the die and accept the consequences of separation. True, nearly half of these were male members of long and high standing, and they carried with them the substantial sympathy of the Christian community. Everywhere the same general result was seen. Only those of heroic mould could face the sacrifice separation demanded, but, as will be seen, the numbers were respectable and the fidelity to principle marked. The fourth volume of the *Mutual Rights* concluded with the July number, and its salient contents have already been given. By a business compact among the Reformers of Baltimore, and patronage elsewhere, it was succeeded by the *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer*, under the editorial control of Dennis B. Dorsey and a committee of publication.

The scenes of active contention were transferred to Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee. Let brief consideration be given to these in order. There had been a strong and dominating Reform influence at the First Methodist church in the old First Street and new Smithfield Street churches (one in corporation), Pittsburgh, Pa., from an early period. At the time of the incorporation, March 5, 1828, seven of the nine trustees and a large proportion of the membership were openly in sympathy with the movement. August 4, 1828, the realty of the church, consisting of the old and new church with a cemetery property, was formally, on motion of Dr. H. D. Sellers, transferred to the new board of trustees, minus the word "Episcopal." The reason has been a question in dispute. Rev. Dr. Brown says, "It was most significantly left out of the charter, as indicating the reform sentiment prevalent when the instrument was obtained." But Rev. Dr. Charles W. Smith, in a sermon on the centennial of Methodism in Pittsburgh, says it was done to "give possible grounds for perversion of the trust." The question on its merits cannot be traversed here.¹ Litigation followed between the parties, into which the church was divided on Reform, with the

¹ See "Closing Services of the First Methodist Protestant Church, Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., May 11-15, 1892." Pittsburgh. 1892. 8vo. 145 pp. Cloth. Semi-centennial. The whole question as to the incorporation, and the division of the property, and the outcome of the controversy on Reform is here fully exposed, with a clear vindication of Charles Avery, the principal party to the act of incorporation as to the motives impelling him in his course, as well as of the Reformers of that day. The property built out of the proceeds of the one-half value has since been disposed of to such advantage that two churches have been erected out of it.



FIRST CHURCH, PITTSBURGH, PA.

result of a legal decision in favor of the Reformers. They, with unprecedented fairness and generosity, agreed to take one-half the value and surrender the properties to the adhering members. No such example was ever set by the anti-reformers, however equitable the claim might be to church property.

In June, 1829, these Reformers sent a call to Rev. George Brown, yet a minister in full standing in the old Church, to become their pastor under a formal organization of an "Associated Methodist Church." This led to his withdrawal from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and acceptance of the call. An effort was made to prevent his preaching in the Smithfield Street church, but a compromise was effected by which the two parties held Sabbath service twice a day at hours that did not conflict. But this state of amity did not long continue. The anti-reformers brought suit for the possession of the property, and while this was pending disgraceful scenes occurred. The anti-reformers took covert possession, removed the locks, and forbade the Reformers to enter. This trick was offset by a stealthy entry of the Reformers, ending in another compromise and mutual occupancy. The Reformers, that their title might not be invalidated, organized as the "Methodist Church in Pittsburgh." Much bitterness prevailed among the contending parties. On one occasion the Reformers' sexton, having made the preparation for the Lord's Supper, the Presiding Elder asked who had prepared it, and, on learning, said, "Take them away; we want none of your radical bread and wine." This same Elder, David Sharpe, at a camp-meeting communion service, after inviting Christians of other denominations, leaned over the pulpit stand, and said that the "rads and schismatic scamps, he did not mean to invite them." Meantime, the seven trustees and other Reformers were expelled by the preacher in charge, Rev. William Lambdin. The suit at law was not decided by the full bench of the Supreme Court until October, 1832, with the result already narrated. The Reformers numbered over two hundred. A statement says, "We have about 130 male members, among them 14 class leaders, 4 local preachers, and 7 trustees. There are many female members, the number not ascertained until they are arranged in classes." Many others afterward united with them, making a strong, compact church of great influence in the community.

As early as 1822 the Methodists of Cincinnati were aroused to the true nature of their church government by the arbitrary administration of the pastor, Leroy Swormstead, and his assist-

ant, John F. Wright, which led to a circular letter, August 9, 1823, strongly recommending the introduction of the representative principle into the polity. The charges which were preferred against Swormstead for maladministration were dismissed by the Ohio Conference. November 17, 1825, a Union Society was formed by the Reformers, and with it almost all the old and influential members united. In 1827, Rev. John F. Wright was sent, as preacher in charge of the station. The church had some years before been made a corporate body, and the nine trustees annually elected were advocates of the reformation. On the 17th of July fourteen members of the Society were met by a committee, appointed by the preacher, with a demand that they withdraw from the Society and cease to patronize the *Mutual Rights*. Charges were preferred, but so strong was the Reform element that efforts to expel them failed. They were suspended until the Quarterly Conference, when the accused demanded, as was their disciplinary right, trial before the Church. This was refused, and ten lay-members, after a mock trial before a committee of Wright's selection, were expelled.¹ After careful and prayerful deliberation, the Reformers, bereft of all hope of redress from the report of the General Conference of 1828, assembled, August 18, 1828, determined to unite with their expelled brethren, and formed an organization of 279. Fifteen classes were organized, and much sympathy was received from the religious community.

Rev. Truman Bishop, an itinerant of some years' good standing, who had retired on account of ill-health, resided in Cincinnati, and, though not a Reformer, was so impressed with the proceedings of the General Conference of 1828 that he openly expressed his dissent to the report of that body on Reform. The brethren held their services in a public hall and invited Bishop to preach for them. This he did, taking an oversight of them; and met one of the classes a few times in the absence of the leader. By his Conference brethren he was esteemed a holy man, while his abilities were above mediocre. At the Ohio Annual Conference he was charged with preaching for the Reformers and leading a class; and while, after much discussion, his character passed, a resolution was also passed admonishing him that he must no more preach for or assist the Reformers. Such an arbitrary interference with his rights as a minister he could not allow, and, in a dignified letter, he withdrew from the Church of his choice and early labors with the statement, in part,

¹ Williams's "History," pp. 241-260, for full text of these proceedings.

"Contrary to my former calculation I now retire from under the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church (which is near and dear to me), for the reason that the command of the conference and the command of Jesus Christ given to me stand in direct opposition to each other." He was then chosen pastor, but the mental suffering and the treatment he had received, as his physicians testified to the best of their belief, induced a lingering illness, which ended fatally, January 12, 1829. As the new church on Sixth Street was not completed, his funeral took place in the First Presbyterian church, the pastor officiating. His decease was universally lamented, and emphasized the cause of Reform in the city.¹ The brethren subsequently invited Rev. Asa Shinn, who had now recovered from his mental fag and aberration, to take charge of them. He accepted the invitation and entered anew upon a ministry of great power in that city. Shortly after, he formally withdrew from the Pittsburgh Conference and fully identified himself with the Reformers. He once more resumed his powerful pen, and various articles in their periodicals were in proof of his complete recovery. He was now forty-eight years of age, and for a number of years thereafter bent all his energies in furtherance of Reform and the organization of the Methodist Protestant Church.²

Earlier in this History an account was given of the proceedings against Reformers in North Carolina. Eight lay-members had been expelled on account of their opinions concerning church polity. Twelve ministers had been cast out, seven of them after a mock trial, and five by the more summary process of being scratched off the records. Roanoke and Albemarle were the centres of agitation, and the documentary evidence preserved in Paris's "History" is among the most valuable of the Reform archives. Under the leadership of such men as Dr. Bellamy, Ivy Harris, W. W. Hill, Colonel S. Whitaker, James Hunter, Caswell Drake, Rev. R. Davison, William Price, and Lewellyn Jones, strong societies were organized, and the foundations laid for a Conference unexcelled for fidelity to principle and zeal in the cause of the Redeemer. The brethren were diligent in disseminating their purposes, and, having no periodical of their own, made use of the *Tarborough Free Press*, and by this means reached

¹ "The Remains of the late Rev. Truman Bishop," etc., by John Houghton. Cincinnati. 1829. 8vo. 80 pp.

² Brown's "Itinerant Life," and Bassett's "History," furnish many other valuable details for the West.

the eye of the Methodist community. But the charges and specifications against Reformers being everywhere largely identical and the proceedings summary, space cannot be given to the iteration for every section of the country involved, and for not a few localities nothing but bare mention can be made in these pages. Equally worthy, the salient instances must answer for illustration.

In Virginia, Lynchburg and Northumberland County were other fields of expulsion and secession. The amity proclaimed by the General Conference was understood practically as applying to Baltimore only, and that for strategic reasons of Dr. Bond. Elsewhere, as found, no attention was paid to it, and mayhap none was intended. Certainly the fell purpose to "expel Reform out of the Church" was exhibited wherever the sentiment had secured a menacing foothold. A meeting of Reformers was held in Lynchburg, September 18, 1828, at which resolutions of sympathy and approval were passed over the course of Reformers in Baltimore, and delegates appointed to attend the November Convention. It was attended by a large number of the most respectable citizens, being a public one, and was conducted in an orderly and dignified manner, as became the object. Speedily thereafter the preacher in charge, Rev. W. A. Smith, cited to trial two local preachers and nine laymen for "endeavoring to sow dissensions in our church by inveighing against the discipline." The laymen were official members, and, after the same mockery of trial as others had experienced elsewhere, they were expelled. Their appeal to the Quarterly Conference only led to a confirmation of the action of the committee. Soon thereafter about fifty withdrew from the Church. The women, to the number of thirty-seven, imitating their sisters in Baltimore, addressed a letter to the pastor, setting forth their reasons, and withdrew in a body. Among the laymen expelled were the Chairman, Christopher Winfree, and the Secretary, John Victor, of the meeting referred to as "inflammatory." Revs. William J. Holcombe and John Percival were the expelled local preachers. Subsequently others withdrew, until the number associated under an instrument prepared was sixty-two. A subscription of \$2000 was at once secured to build a house of worship, if the Convention should determine to organize an independent Church. The Christian denominations of the city opened their houses, and the Reformers had regular Sabbath service, with their local preachers officiating, as well as social means of grace. In this, as in almost every other instance, the Reformers constituted the cream of the Metho-

dist Church, an allegation not disputed even by their own historians. The expulsions in Northumberland County did not take place until after the Reformers' Convention of November, 1828, but considered in this connection by association. Shortly after the Convention Rev. Benedict Burgess, a worthy and acceptable local minister of many years' standing, who had attended it, with Thomas Berry, John Lansdale, and others, were catechised by the preacher in charge, Rev. T. C. Thornton, and, after public service, the people were detained, and he announced that the "following names are to be considered as having withdrawn from the Methodist Episcopal Church"; and then read out eight or ten names. Whereupon, subsequently, twenty-one united under the Conventional Articles.

In Tennessee the Presiding Elder, Gwynn, who had expelled Reformers, and whose cases on appeal were favorably acted on by the Annual Conference, after the General Conference of 1828, in August, notified the Methodists that the Conference had determined to extirpate Reform, and if, after the ensuing quarterly conference, Reformers in his district did not withdraw from the Union Society, surrender their support of the *Mutual Rights*, and submit implicitly to church authority, they would no longer be considered members. Under this menace, fourteen members signed a paper requesting the preacher in charge to give them letters of dismissal. The request was denied, whereupon, August 30, about sixty members united and formed a union with the "Reformed Methodist Society," which had been previously organized in New York, as found, and of which this was a local Tennessee branch. The union was formed at Union Camp-ground, near Unionville, Bedford County, and delegates were appointed to the ensuing Baltimore Convention. The Birch Grove brethren who sign the article giving these facts in the *Mutual Rights* for October 6, 1828, are William P. Smith, Richard Warner, and W. W. Elliott. In this case, as in others recited, the writer deplores the fact that other names are not now found among accessible records as worthy of embalment in the good and heroic cause.

The first number of the *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer* was issued as the successor to the *Mutual Rights*, September 6, 1828, so that there was an intermission of but two months in the publications. It was a bi-monthly folio sheet of eight pages, under the editorship of Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey, at No. 19 South Calvert Street, price one dollar. It preserved the reputation of its predecessors in Reform for high literary character and me-

chanical finish. All the prominent writers reappear under their old incognitos, and its early numbers are filled with discussions and propositions as to the Convention and its probable outcome. There are also numerous communications giving information of expulsions elsewhere than already named, in the North as well, manifesting the purpose of the Episcopal authorities to "expel Reform out of the Church." There are notices of camp-meetings, held under the auspices of the Reformers, which were very successful in conversions, one at Hibernia woods, adjoining the homestead of Hon. P. B. Hopper in Queen Anne's County, Md., and of which he sent a description to Dr. Bangs, editor of the *Christian Advocate*, with a request to publish, which, of course, was not done. There were sixty white conversions and additions, a number of others having left the ground before the invitation was given. The notice to the *Advocate* was sent in grim humor and solemn travesty of the accusation against Reformers so freely bandied that they were "backsliders" and "evil spirits" whom God had forsaken to their erring ways. Rev. Eli Henkle held what he called a "Local Preachers' Camp," in Baltimore County, Md., which was very successful. He and his brothers, Saul and Moses M., were gifted and active preachers in Reform in these days. The editor of the *Star of Bethlehem*, published at Taunton, Mass., in the interest of the "Reformed Methodists," noticed fully in first volume, made inquiry through it as to the plans and objects of the Baltimore Convention. It may be observed in passing that a considerable numerical accession was made to the Methodist Protestant Church from 1830 to 1832 from these brethren, a whole conference, known as the Rochester, in western New York, uniting their fortunes with the new organization, though, as is the universal result of all attempted Unions, not a few were recalcitrant and sloughed off into other churches.

It would require a volume if the local history of all the Union Societies and the expulsions and withdrawals were recorded in this work, extending as they did from Burlington, Vt., to New Orleans, La., and west to the fringe of settled territory. Salient instances, deemed at the time worthy of special mention, have been rehearsed for the purpose of pointing the fact that in every instance expulsion preceded withdrawal in refutation of the unhistorical averment that the Methodist Protestant Church was a "secession." One instance, that of Georgetown, D. C., is reserved by reason of its striking character and illustrative force, occurring after the November Convention, to which a future new chapter shall be devoted.

CHAPTER XII

Vindicatory comments on M'Tyeire's reflections upon Bishops George and Roberts — Second Convention of Reformers, November 12-22, 1828; roster of members in full, but fifteen absentees out of one hundred and ten; Hon. P. B. Hopper elected President, but declines; Rev. Nicholas Snethen then chosen — Seventeen Articles of Association agreed to; full text with comments, the fifteenth and seventeenth specially noted as bearing upon Slavery and the Local preachers; organizing agents appointed to travel in the two years intervening up to November, 1830, when it was resolved to hold a third General Convention to adopt a Constitution and Discipline for the new Church; a committee appointed to prepare: Williams, Jennings, McCaine, Harrod, and Davis — Proposal to have a General President rejected; action since on the subject.

IN the new *Mutual Rights* for September 20, 1828, appears the notice, "The Rev. Enoch George, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, died on the morning of the 23d ultimo, at Staunton, Va., after a most distressing and painful illness of about twelve days." Bishop M'Tyeire, in his "History of Methodism," p. 573, says of the contentions of 1820-28, "Bishop George in judicial weakness, and Bishop Roberts by amiable irresolution, in the primary movement let the ship drive." It is M'Kendree and Soule who are complimented by him for the "resolute means they used to save the constitution." It was his point of view, but it does grave injustice to George and Roberts. The evidence is abundant that both these men, while loyal to their high office, made earnest endeavor to hold an even balance in the controversy, and the only judicial weakness and amiable irresolution they exhibited was in their unsuccessful purpose to hold in check the overbearing and arrogant attitude of their senior colleagues. Their official rulings, whenever the Reformers came under them, were generally honest and just, the latter contending that the Discipline did not warrant the trial of members by any court of appeal composed of the same persons who had given verdict against them in the primary instance,— a principle which was constantly violated in the trials and expulsions of Reformers, as has been seen; and he assigned Lambdin to the Pittsburgh church, with the pledge from him that he would not take a partisan position between the Reformers and anti-reformers, a pledge he broke so soon as he was in charge. Well had it been for the

subsequent peace and organic unity of American Methodism if the counsels and moderation of such bishops had prevailed, and it is that their memories may be rescued from the odium thus cast upon them that this space is surrendered to them.

The advertised call for the Convention of November, 1828, is in proof how circumspectly and slowly the Reformers acted in the grave emergency, and how little ground there is for the slur upon their memories that they were ambitious and anxious to make opportunity for secession and the organization of an independent Church, than which nothing can be farther from the truth. The call says: "The committee are therefore of opinion that it is proper and necessary that a general convention should be assembled to deliberate upon the course which is now to be pursued by the friends of reform, . . . whether the contemplated convention shall determine to organize for an independent existence, to continue their struggle against these lofty pretensions, or peaceably to surrender their rights and give up all for lost; . . . the committee wish it understood, however, that they in no case advise a separation from the Church, until the sentiments of the reformers generally can be known, in the contemplated convention."

This, the second Convention of Methodist Reformers, was held at St. John's church, Liberty Street, Baltimore, Md., November 12 to 22 inclusive, 1828.¹ It was opened with religious services and a sermon by Rev. Nicholas Snethen, after which Rev. Dr. Jennings was elected Chairman *pro tem.*, and W. S. Stockton and Everard Hall, Esq., Secretaries. The credentials of members having been examined, the following were found to have been elected:—

VERMONT

Rev. Justis Byington

NEW YORK

Rev. Daniel Bromley

Mr. Josiah Wilcox

¹ As to the sources of information anent this Convention it may be observed that the original draft of the proceedings, consisting of forty-four cap pages with paper cover, is now before the writer held in trust by the Book Concern of Baltimore, and attested by Nicholas Snethen and the secretaries. By order of the General Conference of 1854, Rev. W. H. Wills was employed to make a transcript of the proceedings, as well as of the Convention of 1830 and the General Conferences down to 1854 inclusive, which was faithfully performed, and this volume is also before the writer, held in trust in the same manner. The *Mutual Rights* also contains a full copy of the proceedings. The Articles of Association were ordered published by the Convention with a roster of the members, and a copy is before the writer.

PENNSYLVANIA

Rev. Dr. Thomas Dunn	Rev. Charles Avery
Mr. John Mecasky	Rev. Joseph Smallman
Mr. William S. Stockton	Mr. Charles Widney
Rev. Isaac James ¹	Rev. Jeremiah Browning
Mr. L. Tooker ¹	

MARYLAND

Rev. Dr. Samuel K. Jennings	Mr. Samuel Geyer ¹
Rev. Alexander McCaine	Mr. Henry C. Dunbar
Rev. John S. Reese	Mr. Hugh M'Mechen
Rev. James R. Williams	Mr. Beale C. Stinchcomb
Mr. John J. Harrod	Rev. Benj. Richardson
Mr. John Chappell	Rev. Isaac Webster
Mr. Ephraim Smith	Mr. Joseph Parker
Mr. John Kennard	Mr. Amon Richards ¹
Mr. Wesley Starr	Mr. William Bradford
Mr. Henry Willis	Mr. Resa Norris
Mr. Samuel C. Owings	Capt. John Constable ¹
Mr. Henry Yeater	Mr. John Turner
Mr. Richard Ridgley	Rev. S. Linthicum
Mr. John Rose	Thomas C. Keaton ¹
William Copper, Esq.	Mr. Peregrine Mercer
Rev. Daniel Chambers	Mr. John Greenfield
Mr. Samuel Willis	Rev. Eli Henkle
Rev. Nicholas Snethen	Hon. Philemon B. Hopper
Rev. Daniel Zollickoffer	Rev. Thomas Reed
Mr. Elias Crutchley	Rev. William T. Ringgold
Mr. Joshua Smith	Thomas C. Browne, Esq.
Mr. Edmund Rockhold ¹	Dr. Thomas W. Hopper

DELAWARE

Mr. A. S. Naudain

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. Gideon Davis	Mr. James C. Dunn
Mr. John Eliason	Col. William Doughty
Mr. William King	Mr. Richard Holdsworth
Mr. Joel Brown	Mr. Thomas Jacobs
Mr. Wm. C. Lipscomb	Rev. William Lamphier ¹

VIRGINIA

Rev. Dr. John French	Rev. John Percival
Mr. Tildsley Graham	Mr. John Victor
Rev. John M. Willis	Rev. Dr. John B. Tilden

¹ These were not present.

VIRGINIA (*continued*)

Mr. James Taylor	Mr. John S. Denson ¹
Rev. Thomas Blunt	Mr. George W. F. Dashfield
Everard Hall, Esq.	Rev. Ed. Drumgoole, Jr.
Mr. John J. Burroughs	Rev. Thomas Moore
Rev. William H. Coman	Rev. Benedict Burgess
Dr. Robert Musgrave ¹	Mr. William W. Ball
Rev. Dr. C. Finney	

NORTH CAROLINA

Rev. Dr. Josiah R. Horn	Dr. John F. Bellamy
Rev. W. W. Hill	Rev. Joseph B. Hinton ¹
Speir Whitaker, Esq.	Rev. Israel B. Hutchins

OHIO

Rev. James Towler	Rev. William H. Collins
Rev. William Young	Rev. William B. Evans
Mr. Ezekiel Hall	Rev. Jacob Myers

TENNESSEE

Rev. Dr. Wm. B. Elgin	Col. Richard Warner ¹
Rev. Thomas Potts ¹	

ALABAMA

Rev. Armstrong J. Blackburn	Dr. Meek ¹
Rev. Payton Bibb ¹	

NAMES OF DELEGATES FROM THE METHODIST SOCIETY OF NEW YORK

Rev. Dr. James Covell	Rev. A. G. Brewer
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FROM NEW JERSEY

Rev. Thomas Davis	Rev. Daniel Ireland
Rev. Samuel Budd	Rev. Taber Chadwick ¹

Rev. A. Jump and Rev. T. Melvin in attendance from Caroline County, Md.

Thus it will be seen that out of 110 elected, there were but 15 absentees, which, considering both the expense and the difficulty of travel in that day, is an extraordinary exhibit. It will also be seen that, though over one-third were from Maryland, the number was not out of proportion to the Union Societies and the general influence Reform exerted in this State. It will also be seen that a number of lawyers, designated at that time by the affix of Esq., were members, while the laymen as a class were of the best in the membership of the old Church, and the ministers, though largely local, were conspicuous for ability and influence

¹ These were not present.

in their respective neighborhoods. Two sessions were held, from nine until one, and from three until five, and toward the close night sessions also, though earlier, preaching and prayer service was held at night, and a day of fasting and prayer appointed for the second Thursday of the Convention. Thus these godly men strove to keep in Divine touch while discharging their weighty responsibility. At the afternoon session of November 13, an election of President by ballot was ordered, and on counting the votes Hon. P. B. Hopper of Maryland was found to have a plurality. "He arose and expressed his gratitude for the honor intended him, but begged leave, for various reasons, to decline; his resignation was accepted." On a second trial Rev. Nicholas Snethen was duly elected. Thus it will be seen that, as in the first, so in the second Convention, a layman was honored, precedents which were many years later revived and followed. The sessions for about one-half of the time were held with closed doors, the fear of obtrusion deterring what was a clear sentiment of the body, which finally obtained on motion of J. J. Harrod.

A report on the action of the General Conference of 1828 was submitted and approved from Gideon Davis, an able document, to be found in full in the *Mutual Rights* of December 5. The committee to submit plans for Church organization reported, and manuscripts were submitted from Gideon Davis, James R. Williams, S. K. Jennings, and Alexander McCaine, which were read; and finally the Convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole on all the papers offered. As the outcome of their deliberations, seventeen Articles of Association were agreed to, and formally adopted, with a Preamble, which is here given in full. It was from the facile pen of Dr. Jennings.

Whereas, the friends of a fair and equal representation in the Government of the Methodist Episcopal Church, when they have insisted on the necessity of a modification in the polity of the Church, which should recognize this fundamental principle, the only safeguard to the liberties of the people; and when they have submitted respectful petitions and memorials to the General Conference, praying for the admission of the principle, have been met in a manner which has encouraged and prepared the friends of absolute power, to request and urge them to withdraw from the fellowship of the Church, and to threaten them with excommunication, if they should refuse to comply;—And *whereas*, many of our highly esteemed and useful members in the Church,

by an unjustifiable violence, have been excluded from the fellowship of their brethren, and have been thereby compelled for the time being, to form themselves into religious fraternities, for purposes of Christian fellowship; — And *whereas*, all the Methodists of the United States, and perhaps of the world, have been united together in their visible fellowship, under the general rules of Mr. Wesley, which express the only condition and legitimate test of membership; — And *whereas*, in violation of good faith and brotherly love, by an exercise of power, not authorized by the word of God, other tests have been set up for the support of that violence, by which many valuable brethren have been unlawfully excluded, as aforesaid; — And *whereas*, these measures have been so conducted, that we are justified in believing it to have been the intention of the General Conference and the anti-Reformers under their influence, to punish all the avowed friends of representation, and intimidate any who may feel inclined to favor that principle; — And *whereas*, the late decisions of the Baltimore and Ohio Annual Conferences, as also the ultimate proceedings and report of the General Conference, in relation to this subject, have placed every friend of representation in the Methodist Episcopal Church, in such a situation that their opponents have it completely in their power to compel them to renounce their principles, or be excluded from the fellowship of their brethren; — And *whereas*, Ministers favorable to the principles of representation, in sundry places, are no longer admitted to ordination, or to occupy the pulpits in the Methodist Episcopal Church, to the great grievance of many; — And *whereas*, the opposers of representation appear to show no concern for the spiritual welfare of those whom they have excluded as aforesaid, or of those who on account of such exclusions, have considered themselves called on to withdraw out of the reach of their violent measures, but hold them up to public view, as evil-minded persons, and prophesy evil things concerning them, notwithstanding the fact, that those who have had the best means of knowing the injured brethren, have unabated confidence in their moral and religious integrity, and in common with all the admirers of steady adherence to principle, do actually applaud their firmness, in holding fast the principle of representation, although by so doing they have been subjected to such heavy pains and penalties; — And *whereas*, the report of the General Conference, above referred to, not only has sanctioned their unjust proceedings, but in effect asserted a divine right to continue to legislate and

administer the government of the Church in this oppressive manner:—Therefore, we, the delegates of the friends of a REPRESENTATIVE FORM OF GOVERNMENT in the Methodist Episcopal Church, elected and appointed by them to meet in Convention in the city of Baltimore, in November, 1828, with a due regard to the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, as recognized by the Constitution of the United States, and the several States in the Union, in common with other Protestant churches, do in behalf of ourselves, our constituents and our posterity, in the fear of God, solemnly PROTEST against the right of the General Conference to assume such power, or to institute or sustain any such violent proceedings to which it necessarily leads; and we do hereby acknowledge and sustain the right of those brethren who have been excluded, and of those who have on their account withdrawn as aforesaid, to unite and form themselves into communities; and we do this the more willingly, because in so doing, they will now of necessity meet the demand which has been so often made by their opponents, to exhibit a plan explanatory of the changes which they desire, and what they intended to avoid till driven to it by necessity, to demonstrate by its practical operations, the expedience of a REPRESENTATIVE Methodist Church Government, and do therefore adopt the following Articles of Association for the government of such Societies as shall agree thereto, under the appellation of “ASSOCIATED METHODIST CHURCHES.”

The seventeen Articles of Association are thus summarized by Bassett’s “History:”—

Article 1st. Adopts the Articles of Religion, General Rules, Means of Grace, Moral Discipline, and Rites and Ceremonies in the main of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Article 2d. Provides that each church shall have sole power to admit serious persons into full membership, and regulate its temporal concerns.

Article 3d. Declares the right of property as vested in the respective societies, who are to elect trustees.

Article 4th. Provides for the fair trial of accused persons, and the right of appeal.

Article 5th. Provides for constituting a Quarterly Conference in every circuit and station, and defines its prerogatives and duties.

Article 6th. Provides for the organization of one or more Annual

Conferences in each state, composed of an equal number of ministers and lay-delegates.

Article 7th. Provides that each Annual Conference elect its President and Secretary.

Article 8th. Provides that each Annual Conference adopt its own mode of stationing the preachers.

Article 9th. Defines the duties and rights of the President.

Article 10th. Further defines the powers of the Annual Conferences.

Article 11th. Contains regulations for its itinerancy and its ordinations.

Article 12th. Annual Conferences to fix times and places for their sittings.

Article 13th. Travelling preachers subject to the appointments of Conference, and entitled to the same allowance as provided in the Methodist Episcopal Discipline.

Article 14th. Defines the duties of preachers in charge.

Article 15th. Requires that "Nothing contained in these Articles is to be so construed as to interfere with the right of property belonging to any member, as recognized by the laws of the state within the limits of which the members may reside."

Article 16th. Provides for holding a General Convention in Baltimore on the first Tuesday in November, 1830, composed of ministers and lay-representatives elected by the Annual Conferences.

Article 17th. Accords certain rights and privileges to supernumerary and superannuated preachers as to service and compensation.

The fifteenth article was inserted on motion of Speir Whitaker, Esq., of North Carolina, after amendment. There was no concealment of its purpose: the protection of slave property in the Southern states. The motives of the author need not be impugned. By him it was intended as a peace measure so far as the infant Church was concerned. In all the states of the South civil law had placed the question of manumission under restrictions, which no ecclesiastical manifesto could change in the least degree, hence their introduction was seen to be a strife-enkindling motion whenever obtruded upon its legislative assemblies. Methodism was, so to speak, a Southern religion. In the mother Church the vast preponderance of its membership was in the South, and of the entire Reform Convention all but eighteen hailed from slave territory. Viewed from the writer's distance

of time it was, however, a futile measure. So far as it might be utilized as a definition of property rights between the citizens of the several states, it was a nullity, a harmless declaration. It was reënacted in a modified form in 1830 as part of Article 7th. "But neither the General Conference nor any Annual Conference shall assume power to interfere with the constitutional powers of the civil governments, or with the operation of the civil laws; yet nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to authorize or sanction anything inconsistent with the morality of the Holy Scriptures." (See Constitution of the Methodist Protestant Church, 1830.) The qualification was an insistence of the anti-slavery element in the Convention of 1830, and was accepted by the Southern element, each side being satisfied with the implication of personal judgment as to the morality of slavery or any other question. In this form it has remained in the Constitution of the Church to this day, the Union Convention of 1877 allowing it to stand, though not without dissent from some of the representatives who remembered the object of its original introduction. The sober view obtained, however, that to strike out then would revive a controversy which had been settled by the arbitrament of the Civil War, and as an unnecessary reflection upon its original supporters. It was subsequently successfully used as a safeguard against politico-moral legislation by the Annual and General Conferences. It was a futile measure, moreover, as it did not accomplish the object of its enactment in the almost continuous agitation of the slavery question, and tentative efforts to repress the institution by ecclesiastical action, ultimating in the "suspension of official relations" of all the Conferences in the free states with those in the slave after the General Conference of 1858. Slavery ceased to be profitable in the Northern states soon after 1800, and in proportion as it did so, and the slave-trade was declared piracy by act of Congress, thus ending the commercial ventures of New England ships,¹ the conscience of the people became more and more sensitive to domestic slavery in the South; and as found in the mother Church, as well as in

¹ It is noteworthy that the Convention to form a Constitution in Philadelphia in 1787 submitted this question to two committees respectively. The first reported that the slave-trade should be "legalized perpetually." Three of the committee were from the North and two from the South. The next committee reported that "the slave trade should not be extended beyond 1800," and of the eleven, six of the committee were from the South. The period was finally fixed at 1808, the prolongation being secured by votes of Northern members. See M'Tyeire's "History of Methodism," p. 386, foot-note.

the new, it grew to such protesting proportions that everything as to the embarrassing environment of civil laws, State and Conference boundaries, which were plead by the Southern brethren, was of no avail; the question culminated in a political party, as all moral questions in this country must, to insure successful legislation, and the issue was finally joined in battle array. It was a burden upon their consciences, and they applied the precept, "Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor, and not suffer sin upon him." Like the "scarlet letter" A, that burned upon the bosom of Hawthorne's Hester Prynne, so this letter S burned upon the bosom of the Southern Conferences, and they felt complicity in it, and it must out. Thus much of review of a vexed question in its initial act and in anticipation of the after struggle, which may be more briefly disposed of as a dead issue in the Church.¹

Article 17th originated with Dr. Jennings, and was an expression of his contention for the local ministry, so near his heart. Some other proceedings need mention. Agents were appointed for the several states, as propagandists and organizers, who rendered effective service in the two years up to 1830. A committee was appointed to "prepare a Constitution and book of Discipline, and a Hymn-book, to be submitted to the convention to be held on the first Tuesday in November, 1830, in the city of Baltimore." The committee named was: James R. Williams, S. K. Jennings, Alexander McCaine, John J. Harrod, and Gideon Davis. "The Methodist Societies' organized in New York, New Jersey, and elsewhere" were extended a welcome on adopting the Articles of Association with consent of the Annual Conference interested. J. J. Harrod offered the following: "*Resolved*, that a General President be and is hereby considered necessary to travel at

¹ In this late day, 1898, it will do something to protect the memory of such men as Speir Whitaker, Alexander McCaine, and others, of the period of 1820-30, as to their views of American domestic slavery, to cite from a speech of the late Mr. Gladstone, of England, made in Parliament within this same period, as to slavery in the abstract. His father was the owner of a large plantation in Demerara, worked by his own slaves, whom his son "believed was a thoughtful, religious, and good man, and that his slaves were the happiest and most contented of the race." The citation is from an article eulogistic of William E. Gladstone in the *New York Christian Advocate* of May 26, 1898, and is as follows: "As regards the absolute lawfulness of slavery, I acknowledge it simply as imparting the right of one man to the labor of another, and I rest upon the fact that the Scripture — the paramount authority for such a point — gives direction for persons standing in the relation of master to slave, for their conduct in that relation; whereas, were the matter absolutely and necessarily sinful, it would not regulate the matter."

large through the Conferences, and that he be vested with power to transfer any preacher or minister from one to any other Conference when he considers the interests of religion will be promoted by the transfer, provided the minister or preacher consents to the same.” It was lost. The Convention was unprepared for it, and the Church has never yet felt prepared for it, though there has been a wide difference of opinion as to its expediency. Of one thing there can be hardly a doubt: such an arrangement, under proper limitations as to magisterial powers, would have been effective as promoting connectional solidity and uniformity of administration; but the extreme of supervision, the wheels within wheels of the mother Church, so often crushing remorselessly the personal rights of ministers and the autonomy of churches, made even the shadow a portent of evil to these enfranchised brethren. The most that has been secured was by effort of the writer in the Union Convention of 1877, which makes the President of the General Conference its connectional head until his successor is elected, with purely ministerial powers. It supplied a serious connectional deficiency. The *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer* was indorsed as the organ of Reformers, and patronage solicited. Nicholas Snethen was requested to address the Convention before adjournment, and he complied. After continued sessions through eleven days, “the Convention adjourned, *sine die*.”

CHAPTER XIII

An Independent Methodist Church; who is responsible? — Unparalleled conduct of Reform ministers consenting to part with power; these leaders named in part — The Property question fully analyzed and considered in every view of it; property is empire; the philosophy of it, etc. — The Georgetown, D. C., case of Reformers as a type of others considered in detail; original facts — The propagating Agents and their work everywhere; Reform crippled for want of preachers; inchoate societies die out — Reform camp-meetings — Bond resumes open opposition to Reform in Baltimore; the *Itinerant*, with an analysis of it fairly put for its three years' existence — Two schools of Reformers: the McCaine-Williams party and the Sneathen-Stockton party, and what they wished.

AN Independent organization of Methodists — with whom does the responsibility lodge? Both parties were governed, it must be conceded, by conscientious convictions of necessity in either situation. On the part of the Reformers nothing can be more evident. Its leadership expelled, their friends and adherents could not do otherwise than withdraw and stand by them. Wedded to every feature of Methodism except its government of Paternalism and exclusive rule of the ministerial class, legislative, judicial, and executive, they must continue to be Methodists, so that provisional organization was a necessity of the situation, retaining all of Methodism save the exceptionable features of its polity. It was an excised branch of the mother tree. The entailed Paternalism of Wesley's Deed of Declaration, and the same principle foisted upon the American societies, must bear the responsibility of this the second division among them. "The power party," so-called, that is, the ministry, exercised authority as it was "received from our fathers"; their rights were vested. That they were self-created and self-imposed was a question into which few were disposed to look closely. Voluntary surrender of any part of this authoritative heritage was denied by the whole history of human nature thus invested. Surrender under duress simply meant stern resistance to demand. "The institutions of the Church as we received them from our fathers" made a strong government. The strength gave its efficiency. The efficiency must not be sacrificed to abstract right or demonstrated expedi-

ency. It had created an ideal of its own; it must not be marred, as Bishop M'Tyeire puts it, by "constitution-mongers." As one of the class, Rev. John A. Collins, said in a subsequent General Conference, the innovations proposed would "run the ploughshare of destruction through our entire system." It was an honest opinion, shared, not by his ministerial brethren only, but by a large number of the membership schooled in such views by their much loved pastors. They viewed therefore with alarm the assertion of a submerged laity, who pressed Scripture and reason and Protestant ecclesiasticism into the contention for Christian rights in opposition to priestly rule. Scripture, reason, and the example of other denominations made such headway in the seven years from 1821 to 1828, in revolutionizing sentiment in the membership, winning here and there one of "the divinely authorized expounders" and maintainers of "moral discipline among those over whom the Holy Ghost has made them overseers" to liberal views, it was evident that, unless arrested, seven years more would reverse the pyramid, now upon its apex, to its natural position of standing upon its base. The Reformers advanced, keeping within the hedge of disciplinary law in their overt acts. It must be arrested, and as they would not, warned by the example of O'Kelly and company, and the "Reformed Methodists" of the Stillwell school, of 1820-25, secede, the one conceded right of all dissentients, except the peaceful ones, to pray, pay, and obey within the Church, nothing remained: "Reform must be expelled out of it." In their view of it, it was a necessity. Every organized form of society, civil or ecclesiastical, has the reserved right of self-preservation. The Methodist Episcopal Church of that day exercised it, and it need not be criticised. Self-preservation, however, by excision must be according to law. Here the expelled Reformers made their exception, and impartial history will yet sustain them. Recall all the instances and the testimony, and the verdict must be: they were thrust out!

Two vital considerations might as well be disposed of in this argumentative connection. The unparalleled fact that ministers engaged in this struggle for lay-representation in the Church were willing not only to surrender power for its accomplishment, but were bold to demand that their peers should do likewise. The contentions for the right of appeal and for an elective eldership were within the ministerial class. It has been discovered how nearly unanimous they were at different periods in the demand for either, until over-

borne by episcopal power. It was the awakening these discussions produced as to rights at all existing in the organized American Methodist Church, not inherent in the episcopacy, that led thoughtful men to inquire into the origin of authority, and the lay-movement was inaugurated in public form by W. S. Stockton. That any should have been found in the ministry accessory to the views presented is the exception of history. That quite a large number were won over is what might have been expected of intelligent and liberty-loving Americans, though so few finally found themselves either so situated in temporals, or heroically firm, as to withstand that power over the will which comes of extraneous control of one's sustenance in the crucial hour. That the hundreds of the former should have dwindled into the few of the latter only makes the historian's duty the more imperative that pedestals shall be erected on which they shall be elevated for the admiration of all lovers of fidelity. Nicholas Snethen, Asa Shinn, Alexander McCaine, Dennis B. Dorsey, William C. Pool, Eli Henkle, Frederick Stier, Thomas F. Norris, George Brown, Truman Bishop, Adjet M'Guire, Joseph Snelling, W. W. Hill, James Hunter, Samuel L. Rawleigh, Avra Melvin, Cornelius Springer, Justis Byington, William W. Wallace, Thomas Dunn, Zachariah Ragan, Elisha Lott, of the itinerants and ex-itinerants must be accorded places. Historic justice shall yet be done them. Snethen in his sententious wisdom averred: "Those who have nobly contended for liberty, though not always successful, have always been the favorites of fame." The list of expelled and withdrawn local ministers and preachers is a long one, the larger number in Maryland, but found also in various sections, and to them over-commendation cannot be awarded.

After the Convention of 1828, the Union Societies were organized into "Associated Methodist Churches," and the Agents, travelling everywhere, collected the dispersed Reformers, and nuclei of churches were formed in many places. Their urgent primary want was preaching and the ordinances. Not a few of them, in response to the call for such service, yielded, often abandoning promising and lucrative professional and other occupations, as doctors, lawyers, tradesmen, and farmers. In the provisional Conferences organized prior to 1830, the ministerial locality were enrolled as clerical members. They displayed great activity, and often developed into most acceptable preachers and pastors. Like early English and American Methodism, the new

Church was fostered and kept alive by consecrated lay-preachers and a devoted locality. Their names shall receive honorable mention in proper connections, and thus rescue their memories from the swift oblivion coming to many facts and persons of this early reformation. Even the records are perishing. Speaking of the volumes of the *Wesleyan Repository*, Snethen said in 1835: "These volumes have now become scarce, even where they were circulated. It is doubtful whether by the time an impartial history can be written a whole set can be found." In this again he exhibited his phenomenal knowledge of men and things. Perhaps not half a dozen sets exist to-day.

The other consideration is the property question according to its tenure in the Methodist Episcopal Church. More than anything else, perhaps, it deterred the Reformers from independent organization, so long as it was possible to remain under the shelter of the old roof-tree. The subject was discussed in the first volume. It was emphasized by the Reformers, and was one of the "misrepresentations" and "slanders" with which they were charged. It goes for the saying, that it is the very sheet-anchor of arbitrary and irresponsible government. Rome discovered the secret hundreds of years ago. All property rights are vested in the clergy of that Church. Its only parallel in Protestantism is found in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Its paternity in Methodism is due to John Wesley.¹ It developed in him and his American successors in this regard the mental hallucination of denying the fact. Snethen in contrast adduces the case of the Apostles when the primitive Church had "all things in common," who refused to be the custodians, but insisted that seven of the brethren of honest report should have the possession and the right of distribution. He wrote of it: "We have said that Mr. Wesley was rich in Church property; and that he knew and felt he was so. We say the same of our Superintendents; they, too, know and feel that they have a hold on the public property, in virtue of the absolute prerogatives of their office, sufficiently firm to

¹ It is remarkable that Wesley, in sober commentation on the appointment of the deacons by the Apostles, Acts vi. : 3, "Whom we will set over this business," says, in contradiction of his own policy: "It would have been happy for the Church, had its ordinary ministers in every age taken the same care to act in concert with the people committed to their charge, which the apostles themselves, extraordinary as their office was, did on this and other occasions." The contradiction is somewhat relieved by the fact that he never intended in Europe or America to organize a Church. His Methodists were mere "societies" within a Church. See Wesley's "Notes," *in loco*.

enable them to dispossess any preacher whenever they may think proper. It is to no purpose to say that they cannot convert this property to their own private use. There is no reason to suppose that they would do so, if they had the title in fee. Kings are not wont to use the property of the crown for their own private benefit, or, in other words, to impoverish themselves as kings, in order to enrich themselves as individuals. It is not to be supposed that the holders of absolute power will be less ambitious than prodigal or covetous monarchs. The glory of superintendents is proportionate to the amount of property they have in their possession. Every house that is built, and every collection that is made, adds to their consequence, by increasing their influence. Poor bishops of rich dioceses are not common; and poor universal bishops are less so. The travelling preachers also, while their imaginations are dazzled with the idea of their share in the title of property secured by deed to the General Conference, feel rich, and look down upon the poverty of local preachers; their exclusive right to seats in the conferences is, indeed, so flattering to their vanity, as in most instances to blind them to the actual state of things. Few of them can be brought to reflect steadily upon the fact that they are little more than trustees for the bishops, who, so soon as they are elected and inducted into office, are no longer responsible to them. The power or privilege of electing to an absolute office for life is the most dangerous that can be vested in any body of men. The importance such electors are prone to attach to themselves is pleasantly ridiculed in the story of the cardinal and the pope. The cardinal, when he wanted a favor, reminded his holiness that he had made him pope, who, wearied at length with this importunity, replied, 'then let me be pope!' In this Snethen had a sharper nib than usual on his pen; but it was the fact, after all, more than the trenchant rhetoric, that led those who were too prejudiced to be candid to denounce it as false, and even blasphemous.

It is incredible that for long years it was disputed, though nothing is heard of it in these days. As late as 1855-56 the venerable W. S. Stockton felt the necessity of restating the property question philosophically and predictively: "The government of the Methodist Episcopal Church is based on property; much of it is owned, and all of it controlled, by the itinerant ministry, whoever may constitute it for the time. Is it any wonder that those who would be governed by choice, truth, and common con-

sent should object? If a class of men should monopolize all knowledge as well as property, the empire of the class would rest both on property and mind. Dominion itself is property. The sovereignty of the people of the United States is their property. Dominion in itself, wherever found, is property. Dominion is property even without land. But the dominion of which we are treating is founded on real property in lands, money, and goods, over which the subjects of the government have no direct control, nor is it intended that they shall have, otherwise than in the appropriating of certain proceeds contributed by the people themselves. The people of the Methodist Episcopal Church will not be allowed any proprietary rights in pulpit patronage, nor in the periodical press, nor in colleges, chapels, parsonages, nor votes in General or Annual Conferences. Their privileges as contributors to the funds of all kinds will be continued, and the privileges to debate and vote on propositions of appropriation will be added to the privileges of giving; but, mark it well, the people will not be allowed to have any part in the dominion founded on property. Not only a proportion or the balance of property in all the particulars above stated will be retained by the bishops and elders, but it will all be retained. Nothing can prevent this but a revolution; that would transfer dominion from property to mind. Mind would restore the true proprietary rights." He crystallized the whole argument in this pregnant sentence, "Empire follows property, whether lodged in one, or few, or many." As a philosophy, his positions are incontrovertibly true; as a prediction, fulfilled, though forty years have rolled away since he made this record, except that the irrepressible demand for lay-participation in the government has been reluctantly conceded in an emasculated lay-delegation in the Church, North, and accepted as a necessity of the situation in the Church, South. By all the courts of law, both in England and America, Roman Catholicity, Wesleyan Paternity, and Methodist Episcopacy, as to proprietary rights exclusively in the clergy, walk hand in hand, isolated from every other form of Christian ecclesiasticism.¹

¹ Not content with a steel-ribbed church law, as to the holding and entailment of property, as early as 1824-25, the Methodists of New York, prompted by the secession of the Stillwell party, made application to the legislature of the state for an Act of Incorporation to make still more secure their realty holdings, thus exhibiting a quasi trend for national recognition, such as no other denomination had ever asked. The application was earnestly opposed by the "Reformed Methodists" of that day, and they excited such an opposition to the scheme, as a squinting toward union of Church and State, the politicians raised such a

It is admitted this question is pertinent: Is it the contention that connectional religious denomination should have no security for the inviolability of property beyond the will or whim of the autonomous congregation? The answer is prompt: It is not. The contention is that it should not be so vested as to overawe contention for all other rights of empire as well, and this is decisively the case with Catholic Rome and Parental Methodism, and is so in its intent. The contention is that those who create property should hold the proprietary right in it. Where, then, is the security against alienation? In the equities of the common law derived from the English Constitution, and by which American jurisprudence is governed in all cases made and provided. These equities, in numerous cases decided, are in the general principle that associational property inheres in its title in any who retain fealty to its original purpose, and under it Protestant denominations commonly, and the Methodist Protestant Church specially, have been as secure in their realty as a true equity could demand. The latter has had recreant "church stealing" pastors and revolutionary societies,¹ but it is an open question whether with the security of the common law it has lost more property than the mother Church, despite its iron-clad deeds and power of precipitate ejection. In not a few cases that deed, because of the empire it gives over all other rights as

prejudice against it that the measure failed. Again, as late as 1840, the M. E. Church, through its proper officials, made a like attempt in Massachusetts to secure State recognition of its property rights, but it also failed for like reasons. The significance of such efforts cannot be disregarded, inasmuch as no other denomination has thought it desirable to subsidize the civil law in its property behoof by special enactment.

¹ The sufficiency of the common law, and the Discipline of the M. P. Church to secure conferential and connectional rights against revolutionary invasion received as late as September, 1897, an illustration under the administration of President Sheppard of the Pittsburgh Conference, as detailed in his annual report as follows: "Early in September I was called by Rev. B. F. Saddler, the regular appointed pastor of the Mt. Zion Circuit, to Burnside. There I found the quarterly conference of the circuit and Rev. William Bryenton, an unstationed minister of the Pittsburgh Conference, in rebellion against the stationing authority of the conference, refusing to surrender the pulpits and properties of the circuit to the regular appointed pastor. After a careful hearing of the matter, and upon the officials of the circuit declaring publicly that they would not obey the authority of the conference, I immediately took the proper legal steps to secure the properties to the church and to protect Brother Saddler in the exercise of his duties. The matter was heard before the court of Clearfield County, and a decision was handed down, fully establishing Rev. Saddler in charge of the circuit, giving him the use of all properties and the right to the pulpits of the circuit, thus establishing fully the contention of the Discipline, that the conference has power to station its preachers."

well, has been evaded, a strong and wealthy laity thus silently protesting against the usurpation which makes trusteeship a nominal holding. This leads back to the thought that suggested this exhaustive disposition of a vital difference between the Reformers and their quondam friends. To go out was to go empty-handed, stripped of all claim to realty they had in full proportion assisted to acquire. To go out was to seek shelter in the courtesy of other denominations, or public halls and schoolrooms, and then slowly, and with an amazing self-sacrifice, build anew; for there is no recorded instance in which, however equitable the claim, the mother Church ever allowed it to those it had thrust out. There were a few cases in which the Reformers swept so nearly the whole membership and congregation, as at Uniontown, Md., under the lead of Rev. Daniel Zollickoffer, that the few old Church adherents withdrew, and it has remained extinct to this day. At Hampton, Va., it having been found that a large majority of the members were among the original subscribers to the church property, and now pronounced Reformers, they took possession of it. In many other places conflict was precipitated by one party or the other seizing the church, and excluding the other by changing locks and barring doors and windows.¹

¹ A striking example of a church law that invests the officials and ministers with the exclusive proprietary right in realty of every kind has recently been disgracefully exhibited in the division of the denomination known as “The Evangelical Association.” Methodist in doctrine and usage, they organized after the model of the Methodist Episcopal Church in polity. The disastrous division was directly assigned to a difference among the bishops, separating the preachers and people into a Bishop Esher-Bowman and a Bishop Dubs party. After much confessional wrangling, litigation was evoked by the Esher-Bowman party to eject from the churches the Dubs people and preachers, and as they had the same kind of an iron-clad property law as in the M. E. Church, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania decided that the adhering Esher-Bowman section were the legitimate official representatives. It happened that in Pennsylvania and Iowa specially, the Dubs party was in many cases unanimously, and in many others, by large majority, adherents of this Bishop’s side. In both States, however, the Esher-Bowman section, armed with this legal ouster, proceeded to eject their opponents, though in many places they had no membership left holding with them. In Iowa, sixty ministers were Dubsists, and only six Esherites. But the six under Esher elevated two of their number as presiding elders, and they at once entered legal proceedings to recover from the sixty all the church property. At a place called Lisbon, finding that they could not establish a rival church there, they offered to sell the congregation their own property, *de facto*, for which they had expended \$4500, its worth being \$9000, for \$1500. In not a few places these Christian elders seized the property and closed it up, as they had no adherents in the place. How much farther these churchmen Shylocks will press their advantage remains to be seen in the face of a court of public opinion, which must denounce these unchristian proceedings. The Dubs party have organized a General Conference,

Shortly after the adjournment of the Convention, at a monthly meeting of the St. John's Baltimore association, they adopted the articles and organized as the "St. John's Associated Methodist Church."¹ On the return of the delegates who represented the Reformers from Georgetown, D. C., three of the number, William King, Gideon Davis, and W. C. Lipscomb, were accused by Samuel M'Kenny and others in the Quarterly Conference, of "speaking evil of ministers" in their attendance upon the Convention. Rev. Norval Wilson was the preacher in charge and in full sympathy with the proceedings of the anti-reformers. A resolution was passed, the Reformers present declining to vote, requesting the pastor to remove these three from their official positions. It was agreed to by a strict party vote, and the pastor announced that they were so removed. This was Friday evening, November 29. After the adjournment an informal conference of Reformers took place. A meeting was called for the Tuesday night following, permission having been granted by Rev. Stephen G. Balch and the trustees of the Presbyterian church to assemble in that church. After due consideration it was determined to withdraw and form an "Associated Methodist Church." A paper, hurriedly prepared, was signed to this effect by twenty-two males and fifteen females. On the following Sabbath they had public service at the Lancasterian schoolhouse in the morning and at Christ Protestant Episcopal church at night, the use of it being granted by the rector and vestry, a tide of sympathy having at once set in for the Reform party. Others joined them until they numbered fifty, and steps were at once taken to build a church.

Nowhere perhaps was more bitterness evoked. M'Kenny, a lawyer and most influential member and citizen, took the rôle of

and will carry with them a large section of the membership. Warned by this disaster, they revised their Discipline so as to make it conform nearly to that of the Methodist Protestant Church in its principles, and so barred out the possibility of another rupture by a difference among life-tenure bishops, with an empire in property. The new organization will be known as "The United Evangelical Church," by a decree of their General Conference, which assembled at Naperville, Ill., November, 1894.

¹ See "An Act of Incorporation of the Associated Methodist Church of the City of Baltimore," one of the "Associated Methodist Churches," adopted January 19, 1829. Baltimore. Printed by William Woody, 1829. 24mo. 20 pp. At a meeting of the male members in St. John's Church, Liberty Street, the following were named as the first board of trustees: Thomas Mummy, John Chappell, Rev. James R. Williams, Rev. Thomas McCormick, John J. Harrod, Lewis D. Lewis, George Evans, Ephraim Smith, and George Northerman.

Dr. Bond in this local division. John Dickson, a brother-in-law of W. C. Lipscomb, one of the disciplined, and others of good report and social standing, led in the prosecuting spirit; and no one may doubt either the sincerity of their piety or their convictions upon the subject. M'Kenny issued a pamphlet of twenty pages, in which he gave an account of what was done in the Quarterly Conference and the reasons for it. It was answered by the disciplined Reformers, King, Lipscomb, and Davis, the literary work being from the facile pen of the last named, in a pamphlet of twenty-nine pages. Others followed on both sides, until the religious community knew not what to believe, so diametrically opposite were the statements. The excitement in Methodist circles was intense and the social estrangement complete. Families were divided, and the parties passed each other on the street without recognition. It is not contended that the Reformers had grown wings and were angelical in their intercourse, but there are some sober facts that cannot be denied in this special case. The flat denials and affirmations of the several parties were such that, in the interest of a common religion, outside Christians endeavored to interpose and settle it. This led the Reformers to propose that the questions of fact should be submitted to arbitration, they to select two and the anti-reformers two, and the four a fifth. It was addressed to Samuel M'Kenny; but he declined, in behalf of his friends, to have the trouble thus composed, and it makes the averment necessary that he had misstated the facts and garbled the proceedings. This unhappy state of things continued for a number of years, until the Christian community, scandalized by the unseemly dissension, again endeavored to interpose and secure at least a truce.¹ Accordingly, Rev. Dr. Stephen G. Balch, Presbyterian, and the rector of Christ Protestant Episcopal church selected two each of their most respected members as a committee of mediation. A carefully prepared letter was addressed simultaneously to both parties, setting forth the moral damage inflicted by the continuous strife, and asking for a cessation and a reconciliation, at least, as to their respective outward, social intercourse, and denominational recognition. It was sent June 1, 1832, and, on June 2, the Reformers promptly

¹ The inspiration of this movement was the fact that prior to 1829, the several Protestant churches of the town had a union prayer-meeting. On the organization of the Associated Methodist Church they were invited to participate in the meeting, whereupon the Methodist Episcopal Church withdrew from the union. They refused to worship with their quondam brethren. See letter of Gideon Davis in *Methodist Protestant*, October 21, 1831.

assembled and consented to any compromise the mediators might arrange. M'Kenny and his associates waited until June 21, when they answered, taking the strange ground that they were the injured parties, and had the only grievance, which they recited in detail from their point of view. They declined the mediation, except on condition that the Reformers, following the Saviour's advice in Matthew, would confess and repent of the wrong-doing without reciprocation on their own part. It ended the correspondence, but threw the sympathies of the whole community to the Reformers; so that they speedily finished their new Congress Street church, without debt, grew rapidly in numbers, and took position as the rival Methodist Church of the town.¹ Like scenes were frequent in not a few other sections, where the sentiment was so nearly equally divided as in this place.

Immediately after the Convention of November, 1828, the agents appointed in the several States displayed great activity, and by their efforts, often rendered at much personal sacrifice, not only the existent Union Societies were saved from disintegration, but many small groups of Reformers were organized and placed under the care of local preachers or some gifted class

¹ Any one curious to verify these facts can do so by consulting the archives of this church, always accessible, in which the whole original correspondence is preserved as well as a circumstantial record made on its official minutes of all the early proceedings, and from which the writer gathered his information by personal inspection. The writer has also some facts from his venerable mother-in-law, Mrs. Henry Weaver, now in her eighty-fifth year, who recalls the scenes of 1828 distinctly, as a young girl and member of the Methodist church. The division not appreciated in its principles by the younger members, she relates how they would meet in groups after Sabbath service, and weep over the situation so full of strange Christian inconsistency to them, and menacing their youthful friendships as well. The late venerable Francis A. Baker, brother to Mrs. Weaver, also related to the writer that he well remembered going with his mother to the Methodist Church one Sabbath in the winter of 1828, after the division. The pastor, Rev. Norval Wilson, arose to conduct the service, but before he could complete the reading of the first hymn he was overcome with emotion, and sat down. Matthew Greentree, a located minister, was sitting in the chancel, and went to Wilson, then a young man, and after consoling with him, he arose and went through the service without public explanation. Mr. Baker associated it, however, with the division. The pastor, looking over his congregation, and finding the places of many of his former official members vacant, no choir leader, as Lipscomb, who so acted, had withdrawn, and over twenty of his principal male members not in their places, he was distressed to tears over the situation. It is also a part of the record that before the division the contention between the Reformers and the anti-reformers was so bitter that when Lipscomb, the leader in the choir gallery, began to sing, the anti-reformers downstairs attempted to sing his choir down, alleging that they would not sing after a "Radical." These melancholy facts are rehearsed as illustrating better than arguments the controversy and the length to which crimination and recrimination was carried.

leader. Many of these inchoate societies afterward perished. They were frequently isolated; it was impossible to supply them in time with preaching or secure shepherds to watch over them; while the whole social power of the old Church was brought to bear in their extirpation. In the West, George Brown in Pittsburgh, Asa Shiun in Cincinnati, Cornelius Springer near Zanesville, W. B. Evans in the vicinage of Harrisville, and Josiah Foster on the Ohio circuit, did valiant service, and made frequent incursions to other sections in response to call for organization of Associated Methodist churches. There was a strong Union Society at Steubenville, and one in Washington, Pa.; at both places churches were organized. Brown's "Itinerant Life" and the *Methodist Correspondent*, established in the interest of Reform at Cincinnati, November 15, 1830, are fruitful of information, and can be profitably consulted by those who wish particulars of the heroic struggle.

The work of the Agents and the progress of Reform over many states would require a volume for recital. Brief sketching must suffice. Dr. John French, one of the ablest and most self-sacrificing of the early ministerial Reformers, did yeoman service for the cause as one of the Agents for Virginia. In the eastern section he organized a number of societies, and, finally concentrating at Norfolk, built a stately church, and gathered a strong membership; but involved himself financially to such an extent in his zeal for the cause, that he never recovered. He merits embalment in the amber of sacred remembrance. The Agents, and other leaders, made a specialty of camp-meetings, often with great success, and gathering the first fruits of evangelistic labors. A society was organized at Rodman, western New York, October 8, 1828, Joseph Whitehead, Chairman, and John B. Goodenough, Secretary. At Suffolk, Va., Rev. Dr. Finney was active, and, October 7, a meeting of Reformers elected delegates to the ensuing Convention. Also at Xenia, O., a like meeting, with Robert Dobbin, Chairman, and Saul Henkle, Secretary. At Alexandria, Va., a society was formed, and Rev. William Lamphier and Thomas Jacobs were leaders and delegates to the Convention. In Philadelphia two societies existed, and though no large numbers withdrew, partially for the reason that the Reform sentiment, while general among both preachers and people, they did not coalesce with the Baltimore brethren for various reasons, and were leniently dealt with by the authorities; but they sent Dr. Dunn, Dr. James, and Messrs. Mecasky, Stockton, and

Tooker to the Convention. In New Jersey the "Reformed Methodists" had organized in anticipation, and were finally absorbed, sending delegates to the Convention. At Coman's Well, Va., October 27, the meeting appointed delegates: Richard Latimore, Chairman, and W. H. Coman, Secretary. At Autaga, Ala., a society was formed, C. T. Traylor, Chairman, and S. M. Meek, Secretary. At Magathy, Md., a society, Charles Waters, Chairman, B. G. Boon, Secretary. Near Middletown, Hyde County, N. C., a camp-meeting was held, October 16, 1828, with congregations of over one thousand, and one hundred and twenty white conversions. The preachers were Barclif and Norman, ex-itinerants, and Brooks, Giles, Pucket, Floyd, Miller, and Hill, local. The revival continued for months after in the county. Request was made of the *New York Christian Advocate* to publish the good news. Of course no notice was taken of it. After the Convention the organizations were more numerous, as it was the first expression of organic perpetuation of Reform. Churches were organized in Washington, D. C., a secession from the old Foundry church, afterward First church on Ninth Street, now Central, and at the Navy Yard in east Washington. At Chestertown, Kent County, Md., a strong society was organized. At Ruddle's Mill, Ky., a society was formed. The Greenville, Ala., society adopted the Conventional Articles, John Cook, Chairman, Green Vickers, Secretary. At Madison, Ind., the largest town then in the state, a Reformer writes: "We are waiting for a preacher; as soon as we can be supplied with a good one, we are willing to step out of the old Church into the new. This is the largest town in Indiana; Reform has got a good foothold here, and it is absolutely necessary for us to have a good preacher; for we expect the old side will send their best preachers here in order to defeat us." This was a typical case. In scores of instances such buds of promise never matured — the reasons are obvious; with this latent sentiment it is not rash to say the Church was saturated, but by a strange perversion of the facts such failures were heralded as retractions of Reform opinions rather than the absolute inability of the Reformers to man the work presenting on every side. Not only so, but wherever tentative organization took place, at once the whole machinery of a powerful Church was set in motion to crush it. These are facts. How far it was justified by the principle of self-preservation depends upon the means that were employed. In a large number of cases they were certainly against all warrant

of Christian propriety, and in not a few were shameful violations of the social compact and of business comity.¹

Another aspect of the general subject demands brief treatment. It is exhibited by a letter of a western Pennsylvanian to the *Mutual Rights* of this period, who had attended a two days' meeting of Methodists, "where very little had been heard concerning reform; and that he conversed freely with the Methodists on the subject, and found no opposition to the conventional articles." He adds, "The fact is that there would be few opposers of reform, if the subject could be fairly set before the people." The view is correct and in accord with the facts; but in addition to the policy of suppression, wherever it was possible to make it effective, the policy of silence was studiously enjoined that the very existence of Reform might not be advertised, it being intended that the action of the General Conference of 1828 should be a finality to the Reformation. A notable instance of this policy of silence was in the announcement of the *New York Christian Advocate*, shortly after, that its columns could no longer be used for the controversy on either side. It was bad policy to advertise its twenty thousand readers that the "pestilent thing" still lived, in every number. It was for this reason, probably, that Dr. Emory's final strictures on McCaine were published in the *Methodist Magazine*, read chiefly by the preachers. The outcome of this action will be presently seen, when return is made to the Baltimore Reformers and Dr. Bond. A secession took place in Appling, Ga., February, 1829, of some sixty members, and a society was formed. Rev. Moses M. Henkle writes from Springfield, O., on church building and the progress of Reform in that state. Nearly twenty camp-meetings were announced, to be held by Reformers in different parts of the county, for the summer and fall of 1829.

The first volume of the *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer*

¹ There were numerous instances of "boycotting" of Reformers in their business wherever it could be done to any effect. The writer will confine himself to a single case as illustrative because it has been verified by living witnesses. At Carlisle, Pa., a small society of Reformers existed as a part of an adjacent circuit. One of their number, staunch and unflinching in his adherence, was Samuel Hill, a baker. His former customers, most of them Methodists, finding that he could be moved no other way, resolved to move him out of the town by withholding their former patronage of his bakery. They succeeded in starving him out, and he removed to Baltimore, where the Reformers were strong enough and ate bread enough to keep him in business until 1842, when he peacefully departed this life. His widow survived him many years, and was personally known to the writer.

closed with perhaps three thousand subscribers. It had been ably conducted, the principal contributors being Snethen, Shinn, "Erasmus," and James R. Williams in a serial, "History of Reform," afterward enlarged to book form. Much of its space was occupied with local Reform intelligence, and refutation of allegations, diligently circulated and multiplied, that Reform was dying or dead. The new hymn-book, authorized by the late Convention, was compiled and published by J. J. Harrod, who sustained to the Reform movement, as Book Agent and publisher, the same relation that John Dickins did to the Methodist Church as the father of its Book Concern. It was a small 24mo volume, but answered the purpose for some years.

A summary of camp-meetings, held under Reform auspices during the summer and autumn of 1828, will preserve important historical dates and indicate the zeal of the brethren. The first was held near Centreville, Md., in Judge Hopper's Hibernia woods, early in August, 1828, heretofore noticed. The second was at Coman's Well, Sussex County, Va., October 22-27, seventeen white conversions, with large attendance. The Union Camp, near Unionville, Tenn., September 26, had eighteen conversions, and an attendance of from two to three thousand on Sabbath. Henkle's local preachers' camp, in Baltimore County, Md., October 16, with thirty-five conversions. Near Middleton, Hyde County, N. C., October 16, large congregations and great spiritual power, with one hundred and twenty conversions under Rev. W. W. Hill. This, it will be remembered, was prior to the provisional organization under the Conventional Articles of November, 1828.

Returning to Baltimore, challenging always preëminent notice as the cradle of American Methodism, and the birthplace of Methodist Reform, the thread of narrative is resumed. Dr. Bond, it was found, had returned from his pacificatory work at the General Conference of May, 1828, at Pittsburgh, and at once entered upon earnest efforts to separate the Reformers from their leaders, and so throttle, by social disintegration, what he so far failed to accomplish by "writing it down." With his profession upon his hands he yet displayed unusual activity; and but for the stigma attaching to his methods, the old *régime* of governmental Methodism is more indebted to him for the partial arrest of Reform than any man in its history. He took up again the rôle of intermediary, and, adopting a current phrase of the day, he boasted that he was "Jack o' both sides." He now had the

backing of not a few influential laymen, who, counting the cost of a crisis now imminent, and by natural disposition inclined to "let well enough alone," became active in conservative labors. Adroitly sinking, for the time, the question of lay-representation on its merits, Dr. Bond played upon the Church loyalty and preacher-love of the people by making odious use of McCaine's "History and Mystery" and used Dr. Emory's "Defence of Our Fathers," while McCaine was in the South under physical disability, which prevented the appearance of his pulverizing rejoinder in the "Defence of the Truth" until early in 1829. The issues thus raised were effective weapons in Bond's dexterous hand; as it is in accord with all that is known of human nature in acrimonious controversy to be passionately precipitate and partisan; so that there was little calm examination of these issues on the line of evidence; nor were they regarded as of primary importance by the Reformers themselves.

A new opprobrium was invented. The "McCainites" were hissed as vile traducers and infamous slanderers of the "fathers," whose names sat reverently upon the lips of pious Methodists. McCaine, as these pages have clearly shown, was amply vindicated; but it seemed most untimely for lay-representation to reveal the skeleton at this juncture. It affrighted the average Methodist, who closed the whole question by shutting his eyes to it. They redoubled their spiritual labors, and five or six hundred were added to the several city churches; this was claimed as divine approval of the old system, and the pretence might have carried conviction with it, but for the offsetting fact; the city Reformers were also having revivals, and everywhere, as exhibited, conducting most successful evangelistic work. But when the second volume of the *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer* appeared, enlarged and more vital than ever; and the second Convention of Reformers, in Baltimore, in November, was assured; and all attempts to break the solidarity, or check the growth, of Reform proved abortive, — different tactics were resorted to by the "Bondmen," so called. The bimonthly appearance of the *Mutual Rights* and the closure of the *Christian Advocate* to the discussion put anti-reformers at a serious disadvantage. The exigency was met in Baltimore by the *Itinerant or Wesleyan Methodist Visitor*. It was a quarto of eight pages, bimonthly; and the first number appeared November 12, 1828. Melville B. Cox is named editor. He was an itinerant from Virginia, of respectable abilities, and a

former advocate of Reform measures.¹ The volumes are now under the eye of the writer,² and he finds in the Prospectus confirmation of the policy of Dr. Bond as just described. Proposals, it seems, for such a periodical were issued before the late General Conference; but the conciliatory (?) measures of that body and the overweening confidence of the episcopal authorities that Reform had been dealt a finishing stroke, led to a suspension of the purpose for six months. The editor sounds the key-note in this charge, "The writers for the *Mutual Rights* continue to assail, with unrelenting severity, and to misrepresent, with studied ingenuity, whatever is done by our Church to preserve us in the unity of the spirit." Such "evil speaking of ministers" was certainly equal to anything the Reform literature ever produced. Dr. Bond appears in the first number in an elaborate article on "The Convention," that is, the ensuing Reform Convention, signed "C"; and, under this incognito, he continued to write voluminously, and, as a matter of fact, controlled the editor and the conduct of the paper. The article named was his last attempt to be conciliatory. One acquainted with his style has but little difficulty in identifying his writings, commanding as he did an abundant rhetoric, and a perspicacity that always made his meaning plain, and a speciousness of argument that quite satisfied the average reader. A bundle of the first number was sent to the Convention for distribution, "in brotherly kindness and politeness," as a writer signing himself "Justice," says in the next number, who complains lugubriously that the Convention met this piece of effrontery with four motions: one that the papers lie on the table; another that no notice be taken of them; a third that they be burned instantly; and a fourth, which was the one adopted, that they be left in the house, subject to the will of any one; quite as polite a disposition as an open insult could be expected to receive even from Christian gentlemen. Imagine a bundle of the *Mutual Rights* sent to the late General Conference for distribution and recognition! But then, these brethren commiserated the benighted condition of

¹ This he denied, but so did Dr. Bond, to the amazement of all who knew his antecedents. In later years, he utterly repudiated the accusation as boldly as Peter denied all knowledge of the Saviour. It was not, however, it may be charitably assumed, an equivocation, but a mental reservation. They meant that they were never Reformers like Alexander McCaine, for instance, and this was true, both as to the extremes to which he went, and the ability he displayed.

² Kindly loaned the writer by the Methodist Historical Society of Baltimore, to whom he is also indebted for access to other sources of information.

the "disaffected spirits." Christian Keener, before honorably named, came to the assistance of Dr. Bond in a long series of articles styled, "A Defence of Methodism." They were in good temper and of marked ability, traversing the whole question and making the most of the "well enough" view possible. He wrote under his own signature, about the only instance of the kind in the *Itinerant*, though the *Mutual Rights* had been severely arraigned for its anonymous correspondents. Running parallel with this series Dr. Bond, as "C.," reviewed the Report of the late General Conference on Reform, and entered into a sarcastic analysis of the Conventional Articles. They furnished him ground for invidious comparisons and suppositious inferences. The gravamen of his criticism was that the framework was loose and the details unfinished. No allowance was made for the merely provisional nature of the Articles. Not a few of the Reformers were no better satisfied with some of them than Dr. Bond professed to be. And it may be in place to state that while the Reformers were a unit as to the principle of Representation, the mode and degree of it was an open question anent which they differed. In fact, there were two parties of them in the leadership, what may be called a Williams-McCaine party, who were for as much reproduction of the Old Church polity as was not inconsistent with this principle, holding rigid views as to connectionalism and itinerancy; and a Sneath-Stockton party holding to a bold departure from the ancient polity with fuller Annual Conference autonomy, congregational rights, and a flexible itinerancy. This view will be more fully treated when the Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church are considered. It was also reviewed by Dr. Bond, as well as Dr. Jennings's strictures, afterward issued, in book form, in his "Exposition." Dr. Bascom's "Summary of Rights" was also elaborately reviewed by "Inquirer." In addition, the periodical was the vehicle of counter blasts and contradictory statements from correspondents at nearly all points where Reform was organized.

It was continued for three years, accomplishing a great deal as a conservator of episcopal authority; but its patrons gradually tired of the thrashing of old straw. Midway of the first volume Cox's name disappears as editor; and after this it was impersonal, Dr. Bond coming into still closer touch with it, and in the last number he makes a personal explanation as to his relations to the controversy and an acknowledgment of his authorship

of so much in it. The *Itinerant* had had a faithful ally in the *Georgia Christian Repository* for a year or more. The *Itinerant* discharges its Parthian arrow at Reform in the jubilate: "The existing state of things did not any longer require a paper devoted to the defence of our ecclesiastical economy. They consider the war as ended in the total discomfiture of the enemy." The Chinese used to defeat their enemies by a clamorous beating of tomtoms, fireworks, and painted dragons. It is the object of this History, sixty-five years later, to exhibit "the total discomfiture of the enemy." The writer's apology for devoting so much precious space to this periodical in a fairly impartial brief of its contents, is to mark contrast with the scant notice of Reform periodicals by the historians of the Old Church. The last number of the *Itinerant* bears date October 26, 1831.

CHAPTER XIV

Election of representatives to the Convention of 1830 by the Annual Conferences as formed; history of their formation from 1828 to 1830 with rosters of original members; interesting facts connected therewith—Evans's "Questions and Answers on Church Polity," known as "yellow jackets"—Snethen as a travelling organizer in his old age—Camp-meetings—A few exceptions to the rule of withdrawals without certificates—First Auxiliary Superannuated Society, the Phœbian of St. John's Church, Baltimore—Vitality of Lay-Representation as a principle shown; extenuation for the hundreds who lapsed from the cause under crucial tests of the time—Success of the new Church despite all hindrances proven by the figures—Ordination papers and their validity in separatists—Bascom prepares for the Constitution of the new Church his Summary of Rights; its mishap, and the Elementary Principles substituted—Appendix I, first volume.

ARTICLE 16th of the Convention of 1828 requiring that the representatives to the Convention of 1830 should be elected by Annual Conferences, immediate steps were taken to organize such wherever practicable. Accordingly, on the 19th of December, 1828, the expelled and withdrawn ministers, and the lay-delegates deputed by the societies of North Carolina, assembled at Whitaker's chapel, Halifax County, and organized by electing Rev. E. B. Whitaker, President *pro tem.*, and Rev. Miles Nash, Secretary. The only accessible records show that it was composed of eight ministers, seven of whom had been expelled for their Reform principles from the mother Church, and one, W. W. Hill, who, though tried, made such a convincing argument in his own defence that the committee acquitted him. He subsequently withdrew. The seven other ministers were James Hunter, E. B. Whitaker, William Bellamy, Henry Bradford, Miles Nash, William Price, and Abriton Jones. There were also five licensed preachers in attendance and twelve lay-delegates. All were from the Roanoke Union Society except the preachers, the Granville Society not having had time, owing to the short notice of the meeting, to elect delegates. W. W. Hill was elected President and travelling Agent for the state, and at once entered upon active labors. Such are the meagre details of the first organized Conference of three circuits.

The ministers, preachers, and lay-delegates from the Maryland Union Societies assembled at St. John's church, Baltimore, April 2, 1829, to organize an Annual Conference.¹ After provisional formation, on the second day an election by ballot of a President resulted unanimously, save one vote, for Rev. Nicholas Snethen; William H. Bordley, Secretary. The following appear to be enrolled as members:—

MINISTERS	LAY-DELEGATES
Nicholas Snethen	John Chappell
Alexander McCaine	George Evans
Samuel K. Jennings, M.D.	Wesley Starr
James R. Williams	John J. Harrod
Dennis B. Dorsey	John Rose
Thomas McCormick	Richard A. Shipley
John S. Reese, M.D.	George Northerman
Luther J. Cox	Robert B. Varden
Daniel E. Reese	John H. Kennard
Jonathan Forrest	Thomas W. Hopper, M.D.
Eli Henkle	Hon. P. B. Hopper
William C. Pool	William Harper, Jr.
Benjamin Richardson	William H. Bordley
Isaac Webster	James Parrott
John Davis	Rowland Rodgers
William Kesley	Abalard Stevenson
J. B. Fergusson	Christopher Owings
John C. French	Jasper Peddicord
Frederick Stier	Thomas Mummy
William W. Wallace	John Eliason
Joseph Scull	George Collard
Kendall Cropper	James Moore
John Fernon	Daniel Peregoy
David Crall	Dennis A. Smith
James Hanson	John May
Reuben T. Boyd	
William Bawden	
Charles Jacobs	
Thomas Dunn, M.D.	

¹ See manuscript minutes of Maryland Conference in first volume of its Minutes in custody of the Baltimore Book Concern. There are three portly volumes of these Minutes, all of which were printed, save those of the first Conference. Though so ordered, no copies are extant, and it is evident that the order was not carried out.

Also "History of the Maryland Annual Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church," by J. T. Murray and T. H. Lewis, Baltimore. W. J. C. Dulany, agent. M. P. Book Concern. 1882. 12mo. 124 pp. Cloth.

The business of the Conference most important as establishing precedents, was the motion of L. J. Cox to organize auxiliary societies for the support of superannuated ministers, etc., throughout the Conference. The motion of Dr. Jennings was to invest the President with the appointing power, subject to the revision of a Committee of Appeals. "On motion, it was unanimously resolved that we are as much as ever opposed to slavery." This action appears to have been taken by common consent, even such proslavery men as McCaine making no objection to offset the proslavery construction put upon the fifteenth Conventional Article by the anti-reformers in Maryland. Of those enrolled, Jonathan Forrest, Nicholas Snethen, and Alexander McCaine had long and honorable records as ex-itinerants. The Conference adjourned April 7, to meet March 31, 1830, at the same place. On the same day this Conference organized, April 22, 1829, a second Conference assembled in North Carolina, at Sampson's meeting-house, and Paris says: "At the opening of this session, several ministers gave their names and were received as members who had not had opportunity of attending the first session; . . . a fourth circuit was added to the previous number." Arbitrary proceedings in the western part of the State led to other enforced withdrawals. The preacher in charge of Guilford circuit, after service at Moriah chapel, took Col. William Gilbreath aside and admonished him that he "must neither read nor patronize the *Mutual Rights*." He indignantly answered, "What I buy and pay for is my own, and I will read as I please"; whereupon the preacher said, "I will give you four weeks to consider about quitting the *Mutual Rights*, and if by that time you do not discontinue it, I will have you expelled from the church"; to which Gilbreath rejoined, "You need not give me five minutes, for I will read, and also circulate it, if anybody else wants to read the work." It was an illustration of Dr. Bond's averment, that "a man may be a good Christian and not a good Methodist." Gilbreath consulted his brethren of the chapel, feeling alarmed for the rights of himself and brethren as Christians, and on the 7th of the ensuing month of May called a meeting of the members, Rev. John Coe, Chairman, and Joseph Gilbreath, Secretary, and after considering the menace of the preacher, which they set forth in resolutions, also resolved, "That we consider it a duty which we owe to ourselves and our posterity to withdraw from the Methodist Episcopal Church." The society thus organized consisted of thirty-four members, so that when the circuit preacher

reached this appointment on his next round he found but two of the flock in his church. The Rev. John Coe took temporary charge of them. Similar proceedings led to the withdrawal of Alexander Robbins, John Wilburn, and Alson Gray, local preachers, and a society of sixteen members was organized at Liberty, so that from the three, Moriah, Bethel, and Liberty, six circuits were subsequently formed in western North Carolina. Alson Gray took the field and was indefatigable as an organizer. A memorable instance was that at Sandy Ridge, where he formed a class of three women,—Mrs. Lindsey, and Mrs. Anna and Harriet Chipman,—who after more than a year's prayerful fidelity were rewarded with a gracious revival, and their numbers were greatly augmented, so that this class in 1844 had grown into a society of 170 members.

April 19, 1829, a Conference was held in New York, at the Sullivan Street church, of "Methodist Reform" preachers and delegates, claiming to be an adjourned meeting of an earlier date, called, as Secretary, by Aaron G. Brewer, one of the ministers originally of the Stillwell Reformers, but who had now divided, one section adhering to him and his friends, and another, holding stricter itinerant views, inclining to the Associated Methodists. A call appeared in the *Mutual Rights* for November, 1829, to all "Associated Methodists" and "Reformed Methodists" of "New York and eastward" to assemble at Sullivan Street church on the third Thursday in April, 1830. It was signed by Isaiah Sickles, Robert McGee, George Thomas, Aaron G. Brewer, and George Philips. They met accordingly, and after organizing by calling George Thomas to the chair and George Smith, secretary, the following were recognized as members. Elders: George Thomas, James Jorman, George Philips, Asahel Gilbert, Jonas Hobbs, Levi Bronson, John B. Taylor, Joseph Carwine. Deacons: Daniel D. Tompkins, William Clayton, Gershom Howland, Thomas K. Witsel. Lay-representatives: Matthew Vogal, James Fowler, George Smith, Ephraim Barness, Nathaniel Hopper, David Holmes, W. McCutchen, Joseph Weeks. George Thomas was elected President. The stationing power was placed with two ministers and two laymen, with the right of appeal to the preachers. Three were received into the travelling connection: Joseph Carwine, Albert Piercy, and Joseph Lowe. Aaron G. Brewer's name does not appear, as he had meantime removed to Georgia and had become associated with the Appling County society in February, 1829, and thenceforth took a most active part in the Associated Methodist churches.

The first Virginia Conference organized at Lynchburg, Va., May 1, 1829, in the Presbyterian church. Nicholas Snethen was present as a visitor and preached the ordination sermon. From the plan of appointments it appears that Alexander McCaine was elected President, with J. B. Tilden, George Reed, Miles King, B. G. Burgess, William Pinnell, Richard Latimore, William M. Coman, Dr. John French, and John Percival, ministers. No list of delegates is accessible. Three camp-meetings were held in Virginia during the ensuing summer: at Coman's Well; near Blount's meeting-house, Isle of Wight County; and one near Norfolk. The first South Alabama Conference organized May 1, 1829. It was attended by sixteen preachers, whose names are not obtainable from the records. Rev. Britton Capel was elected President, and Seymour Powell, Secretary. The work was laid off, and preachers appointed, among the number Peyton Bibb. A second Conference was held September 16, 1829, which reported 881 in membership in society. It was convened near Smith's Ferry, in Perry County.¹ A call was made for the organization of a Philadelphia Conference June 25, 1829, by Dunn, Cropper, Dickens, and Webb. It assembled in "Keyser's church," October 8-10, 1829. Nicholas Snethen was elected Chairman *pro tem.*, but presided during the whole session. The venerable John Smith, an honorable ex-itinerant from Delaware, was elected Conference President, and the appointing power was placed in his hands, subject to an appeal from the preachers. Eighteen

¹ A "History of Methodism in Alabama," by Anson West, D.D. Nashville Pub. House, M. E. Church, South. 1893. Large 8vo. 755 pp. Cloth.

A very thorough work, devoting to the Methodist Protestant Church much larger space than historians of the M. E. Church allow, and containing some facts which the writer of this "History of Reform" has found nowhere else. Chap. 17, covering pp. 404 to 426, as also chap. 38, pp. 740 to 755, are given to the Methodist Protestant Church. Portions of it are laboriously argumentative to show its polity in the weakest light, with some facts which need not be gainsaid as to the tendencies of extremes in its system. Altogether, however, those who wish intimate acquaintance with the organization of the Church in Alabama cannot afford to overlook these chapters as furnishing much information, which it is impracticable to incorporate in this "History of Reform." Its flippant criticisms can be excused in such a loyal Methodist Episcopalian as Dr. West. He furnishes information on a few points. The first Annual Conference was held at Rocky Mount, and he says that it is certain that Revs. Peyton Bibb, Britton Capel, Arnold Campbell, Peyton S. Graves, Samuel S. Meek, Elijah Meyers, Eli Terry, and probably Joseph Walker, were present. He also informs that as early as 1823, in Dutch Bend, Autauga County, a meeting was held composed of local preachers who memorialized the General Conference of 1824 for larger recognition, and initiated Reform in the state.

ministers and fifteen licensed preachers, with the laity, composed the Conference, but their names are not accessible. There were representatives present from the Reformed Methodists of Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and the western section of New York. From the plan of appointments a list of preachers present is partially supplied, as well as indicating the territory covered by the work in its inchoate condition: Philadelphia, Thomas W. Pearson; Kensington (Philadelphia), James W. Holmes; Darby (Pa.), Thomas L. Coates; Sussex (Del.), Hiram B. Harold; New Castle (Del.), Samuel Budd; Monmouth (N. J.), George A. Raybold; New Hanover (N. J.), James Brindle; Barnesboro (N. J.), William Stevens; Trenton Station (N. J.), John S. Christine; Sharptown (N. J.), Thomas Cheeseman; Andes (Pa.), Thomas West; Salem (Pa.), Joseph Barlow; Havanna (N. Y.), John G. Wilson; New York, Thomas G. Witsel; Missionary in New Jersey, James Chester. Strong resolutions were passed against intemperance, and in favor of Sabbath-schools; also in support of the *Mutual Rights*. The committee signing this report was Thomas Dunn, Joseph Cramer, Ebenezer Cropper, W. S. Stockton.

As early as 1826 "Reformed Methodist" societies were formed in Rutherford, Bedford, and Williamson counties in Tennessee. At a delegated convention of these societies, held at Unionville, August 30, 1828, of which Hayman Bailey was Chairman and Richard Warner, Secretary, these societies consolidated and resolved to cooperate with the Methodist Reformers in Baltimore and elsewhere, and W. B. Elgin represented them in the General Convention of November, 1828. They accepted the Conventional Articles, organized a Quarterly Conference, and supplied the field with preachers until an Annual Conference could be organized. The first Tennessee Conference convened at Union Camp-ground, near Unionville, Tenn., October 8, 1829. The only information concerning it is communicated to the *Mutual Rights* by Thomas Potts and James L. Armstrong, Corresponding Committee, December 5, 1829. Nineteen members were recognized, eight ordained ministers and eleven laymen. Three other preachers were entitled to seats but absent, and seven others under license within the Conference bounds, which now included all the Southwest to Texas. Thomas Potts was the Superintendent of Union circuit, and probably the first President of the Conference. Dr. James L. Armstrong was the leading layman. The second Conference was to be held at "Ebenezer, in Rutherford County, near Hoover's

Gap.”¹ There were twenty conversions at the accompanying camp.

The first Ohio Conference, which included all the western territory occupied by Reformers, assembled in Cincinnati, October 15, 1829. The following is the roster of ministers and laymen, a number of whom were not present:—

MINISTERS

George Waddle	Hector Sandford
John Wilson	Saul Henkle
James McKoy	Jonathan Flood
C. Springer	Ambrose Jones
Evert Richman	Moses M. Henkle
Joseph Thrapp	James Towler
James Flemming	Adjet McGuire
Jeremiah L. Leslie	Robert Dobbins
William Hamilton	Joel Dolby, Sr.
Benson Goldsbury	Reuben McDaniel
Daniel Inskeep	Asa Shinn
William Hughey	John Price
Allison G. Keys	John Haughton
Edward Kearns	David English

¹ A year later Dr. Armstrong, in furnishing minutes of the Conference of 1831, states that an abstract of the Conference of 1830 was furnished the *Mutual Rights*, acknowledged, but never published. It was in this way that these records are irrevocably lost.

The Tennessee Conference of September, 1831, was in “Bedford” county, and therefore probably at the Union Camp-ground near Unionville. The writer, on a visit to this Conference, had pointed out to him by Rev. Dr. B. F. Duggan, the old barn in which the first “Union Society” was organized, on the outskirts of the town. The Conference of 1831 reorganized under the constitution, and from the full minutes furnished by Dr. Armstrong in both the *Correspondent* and *Methodist Protestant*, a list of ministers and laymen is given, most of whom were probably in the original body, and it is here preserved in honor of these outpost pioneers of Reform: President Richard W. Morris, Oswell Potts, James Ray, James Williams, Samuel Elliott,* B. S. Ragsdale, Allen Blankership, Conellum H. Hines, Charles L. Jeffries,* Joseph Walker,* William B. Elgin,* William Peck,* John Cox,* Thomas D. Stanley, Hayman Bailey, David Goodner, Thomas S. Stillwell,* James Edmondson, Thomas Potts, William Potts, and John McClure*; lay delegates: Thomas Burgess, Richard Warner, George Jones, James L. Armstrong, Joshua Hooker, Mark Whitaker,* Bailey Chandler,* Silas Tarver,* Edward D. Tarver, Micajah B. Procter,* John Martin,* William Sanson,* and Elijah Renshaw.* Resin B. Collins and James D. Hines, from southern Kentucky, were received, also a letter from Jacob Sexton, Arkansas Territory, asking to be received with thirty members, also a like request from East Tennessee. The membership reported was 417. “A Missionary and Preachers’ Aid Society” was organized. The next Conference at Civilorder, Bedford County, first Wednesday in December, 1832, James L. Armstrong, Secretary.

* Absent.

MINISTERS (*continued*)

Jesse D. Dorman	Lewis Browning
William B. Evans	Jeremiah Browning
Amos Chitwood	Charles Scott
William B. Collins	George Palmer
Joseph H. Overstreet	Jacob Meyers
Benjamin W. Johnson	Levi Reeves
James Sims	Samuel Thompson
George Brown	James Paris
Charles Avery	James Ward
William Stevenson	Roddick H. Horn
James Meendon	William Reeves
Josiah Foster	Joel Dolby, Jr.

LAY-DELEGATES

R. Thompson	Stephen Bell
Joseph Grubb	Obed Waln
Robert Curran	Amos Metcalf
Olcote White	Philip Hare
William Camp	John Horne
Henry Nash	William Young
John Johnson	Ezekiah Hall
Joseph Rockhold	William Disney
John Adair	Moses Lyon
William Henton	Robert Monroe
Joseph Whitridge	James H. Wallace
Archibald McConkey	Henry C. Dorsey
Joseph Newlove	Joseph J. Amos
Nathaniel Cartnell	Christopher Wallmsley

It was "resolved that W. B. Evans's 'Brief View of the Government of the Methodist Episcopal Church, set forth in Questions and Answers,' be approved and recommended by this Conference, and that another edition be published forthwith." This little pamphlet has a history which may be covered at this its first mention. It was a clear and concise showing, and a few years after a supplement was issued by Rev. John H. Honour of South Carolina in the same form, setting forth the polity of the Methodist Protestant Church in contrast, with a brief outline of Reform history and Dr. Bascom's "Summary of Rights." A copy now before the writer is one of the ninth edition, 1844, and makes a 24mo paper-covered booklet of fifty-four pages. Numerous editions were issued, and it had a wide influence as an educational pamphlet where Reform was little known. From the accident that it was issued in yellow paper covers, it came to be nicknamed

by the brethren of the old Church "the yellow jacket," in travesty of its biting logic and convincing facts. It is estimated that one hundred thousand copies were issued by the Baltimore Book Concern. In later years, when the bitterness of the contention had subsided, its circulation was no longer pressed by the Reformers, until in still later years the continued misrepresentations of the origin and the principles of the new Church by the press of the old-side led to Paris's "Manual," and within fifteen years to Dr. L. W. Bates's "Contrast." Notwithstanding these issues, the writer's sober judgment, reënforced by that of many others conversant with the past forty or fifty years, is that it has been a fundamental error of the Reformed Church that the press was not extensively availed of and large expenditure made to set before Christians of every name in dispassionate argument the history and issues of 1820-30 in Methodism. While there is nothing so disreputable, or that should be utterly frowned out of existence, as Church proselytism, if this denomination had a right to organize under the necessities of expulsion and persecution, and its principles are worth the sacrifice of its noble Fathers and Founders, then no labor can be too great to vindicate their memories and perpetuate their principles in a distinct denomination. It may be truthfully said, to the lasting honor of the Reform Methodists, that it has not been a proselyting body. Dr. Bassett, who was closely connected with it in the West from before 1828, bears this testimony: "The writer never knew an instance in which our brethren sought to effect secession from the old Church," and in the writer's nearly fifty years' connection with it no such instance is recalled in the East and South. If such cases can be historically proven, they must be the exceptions to a certified rule. The Ohio Conference invested the stationing authority in the President, Asa Shinn, with Cornelius Springer and George Brown. Eight preachers were elected deacons, and nineteen deacons elders, so great was the demand for properly authorized ministers in the new and enlarging work. John Houghton was elected Secretary. The numbers reported in membership about two thousand. It was recommended that Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois be set off as Conferences so soon as the resident quarterly conferences shall take the necessary action.

The Rochester Conference of the "Methodist Society" met in Ontario, Wayne County, N. Y., February 13, 1830. In committee of the whole it resolved to adopt the Conventional Articles of the Associated Methodist Churches. Dr. James Covell was

elected President and Orren Miller Secretary, and the body adopted the name of Genesee Conference. The appointments were divided into Rochester, Conhocton, Genesee, and Oneida districts. The membership is reported at 442, though a number of the circuits made no report. Orren Miller was a preacher in the old Church since 1811, and, entertaining Reform principles, awaited an opportunity for church connection akin to them. In 1821 he entered the "Methodist Society," and in 1824 organized the Rochester Conference. The preachers stationed for 1830 were: R. Andrews, Z. Covel, J. Fister, N. Palmer, D. P. Ketchum, Dr. J. Covel, O. Miller, J. A. Miller, S. Brownson, E. Brownson, T. Buck, Joseph Jacobs, B. Landon, H. Sheffield, T. Freeman, Colburn Blake, S. Pierce, C. Mars, J. West, J. Heath, and J. Donnal, missionaries; G. E. Steadman, D. Washburn, O. Medary, without appointments. The next Conference to meet at Ogden, Monroe County, first Thursday in February, 1831.¹

The first Vermont Annual Conference, according to previous notice, assembled at Shelburne, February 19, 1830, and Luther Chamberlain was elected President and Chandler Walker, Secretary. The preachers present were: Luther Chamberlain, Nathaniel Gage, Chandler Walker, David Ferris, and Thomas A. Carpenter. The laymen: Daniel Norton, Solomon Holcomb, Edward Farrington, Nathaniel Stockwell, and Abner Croff. Next Conference to meet at Monktonborough, last Tuesday in May, 1831.

The first Georgia Annual Conference was held in Newton County, on the 22d of July, 1830. It elected Eppes Tucker, an ex-itinerant of the old Church, President, and Harrison Jones, Secretary. The following are named by Paris as ministers: Eppes Tucker, Aaron G. Brewer (who took an active part in bringing about the absorption of the New York "Methodist Society" with the Associated Methodists, and on removal to Georgia, pending

¹ This has also been designated as the First Annual Conference, but as the Rochester Conference of the "Reformed Methodists" complied with the only condition precedent, the adoption of the Conventional Articles to become a Methodist Protestant body, they acted as such, and should be recognized as the first Conference. The ministers present at the conference of 1831 were Isaac Fister, Salmon Brownson, James Heath, Nelson Palmer, Orren Miller, J. A. Miller, Elias B. Dare, Henry Lyon, and Zenos Covel. The laymen were Reuben Moffat, Robert Graham, Edmond Wanray, Washington Rathburn, Jacob Bigelow, James Stevens, Eden Foster, David P. Green, and Samuel Strowger. The deacons were Robert Andrews and Thomas Buck. Orren Miller was elected President, and Zenos Covel Secretary. The number of members reported was 411, with no returns from Bennington circuit and Utica station.

the transition, took a most prominent part in the new Church, and for many years was abundant in labors for the cause of Christ and Reform Methodism), Jesse Morris, R. W. W. Wynne, James Lowery, R. P. Ward, Ethel Tucker, Robert Walker, Charles Williamson, Harrison Jones, John A. Russell, Robert McCorkle, Thomas Gardner, Henry Saxon, B. Sweringen, James Hodges, Abraham Lucas, William Pentecost, J. R. Swain, and C. P. Wither- spoon. There were twelve lay-delegates in attendance, but their names are not given. There were laid off eleven circuits and one mission. A. G. Brewer was appointed Conference missionary. A camp-meeting was held in connection with the Conference. About a dozen churches were soon organized in different counties, some as early as 1827.

The second Virginia Conference was held May 20, 1830, in Suffolk, and continued five days. The following ministers, recognized as members, were probably also members of the first Conference.

MINISTERS

Alexander McCaine
 John French
 Miles King
 Benedict Burgess
 W. H. Coman
 Richard Lattimore
 Horatio E. Hall
 Crawley Finney
 Charles Roundtree
 William Pinnell
 Ira A. Easter
 John M. Willis
 John Blount
 Jacob M. Jennings
 John G. Whitfield
 R. B. Thomson

LAYMEN

Robert H. Gray
 George Percival
 William S. Slater, Sr.
 Samuel Berry
 T. Graham
 J. J. Burroughs
 Lewis F. Cosby
 John L. Diggs
 Elijah Phillips
 David Armistead
 John Phillips, Sr.
 Matthew Powell

J. J. Burroughs was appointed Secretary, Alexander McCaine Chairman, until the election of Dr. John French, President. The Conference by resolution suggested the formation of a Book Room, and to place the official organ under the General Convention with the election of an editor. There were seven circuits and one station, Lynchburg, to which Alexander McCaine was appointed this year.

The Alabama Conference held its second session near Smith's Ferry, Perry County, September 16, 1830. Britton Capel was

reëlected President, and Seymour Powell Secretary. The following ministers were recognized as members, and were probably also members of the first Conference session:—

MINISTERS	LAYMEN
Britton Capel	David Graves
Peyton S. Graves	R. S. Livingston
Elijah Myers	Abner McGee
Eli Terry	Benajah S. Bibb
Peyton Bibb	Larkin Cleveland
William Rice	Stephen Pierce
Joseph D. Lee	Mark Howard
James Sharp	Robert Mayes
George A. Campbell	Samuel Shaddock
William Cole	Benjamin Dunn
James Holley	Seymour Powell
Benjamin Dulaney	James K. Benson
Samuel Oliver	Edward H. Cook
John B. Purdew	Absalom Carter
Samuel H. Meek	John Cook
James Meek	James D. Stanton
John Meek	James M. Powell
Wiley J. Stanton	C. S. Traylor
John McCormick	Thomas M. Smith
	Peter Loper
	Edward H. Cook

Jacob Dorley and Elias Carroll were received as travelling preachers. The work was divided into five vast circuits.

At the second session of the Tennessee Conference, held on the second Thursday in September, 1830, the records give as preachers: R. W. Morris, President, O. Potts, T. Burgess, B. H. Ragsdale, W. M. Elliott, H. Bailey, and T. L. Potts, who received appointments. Four new circuits were formed and the members reported 345.

Thus an effort has been made to preserve from oblivion the preachers and laymen who were foremost in the formation of the new Church in active labors. A few incidental matters need mention to cover the two years from the Convention of November, 1828, to that of November, 1830. The reader will recall the presence of the venerable Nicholas Snethen at various Conferences, notably at Lynchburg, Va., and then as far north as Philadelphia. Recalling his asthmatic ailment and other infirmities, such travel by the slow post-chaise of that day, and largely at his own charges, is an indication of the zeal and fidelity

of this ministerial father of Reform. Alexander McCaine in the South was indefatigable, answering all calls and serving wherever his presence was demanded. The mention is deserved, and besides it serves to refute the calumny of Robert Emory in the "Life" of his father as to McCaine, in the crucial period of 1829-30. His filial zeal betrayed him into the false statement: "The party which McCaine had attempted to promote became ashamed of their champion; and he himself shortly after retired from public view, to repent, we would fain hope, of the wrong he had done to the living and the dead, to individuals and to the Church."¹ Camp-meetings were frequent both North and South. Six were held in Maryland during the summer of 1830, and all of them eminently successful. New "Associated Reformed churches" are announced with phenomenal frequency, considering the difficulties under which in every instance they were formed. Not a few were isolated, and in consequence of the impossibility of keeping them supplied with preaching, after heroic struggle were compelled to disband. A church of over 300 white and some 150 colored members grew up in the city of Louisville, Ky.; but, after various mishaps, suitable pastoral supply being chief, it disorganized, and for half a century the new Church was unknown, until within a very recent period a reorganization has taken place.

An instance has been discovered by the writer in which the pastors of the old Church consented to give certificates to withdrawing members, and it is noted in the interest of impartial history. Dr. John French organized by invitation a church of thirty-two members in Boston, September, 1830, and says: "I am informed that the stationed preachers here conduct with great propriety, and grant certificates of dismissal freely to all that ask for them."²

¹ During McCaine's missionary travels in the South in 1830, arriving at Columbia, S. C., while the legislature of the state was in session, he was invited to preach, on a Sabbath night, by a formal and unanimous resolution of the House, which he accepted. There is said to have been no precedent for this action. It helps to counteract the vilifications of the *Itinerant*, some of whose correspondents hounded his tracks at this very time.

² This is the exception to the rule noted in a previous part of this History as to Dr. Buckley's averment and the "withdrawal" of members from the M. E. Church in the early days, certificates being refused them. Since this exception was discovered and here acknowledged, another has been made by Rev. Dr. George Brown, in his "Itinerant Life," p. 425, referring to the fifty ladies who withdrew in 1827: "All these Christian ladies obtained certificates of their good standing from Rev. J. M. Hanson, the preacher in charge. This was at least one act of justice on the part of Mr. Hanson." If a fact, there is no other mention of it in the Reform or anti-reform literature of the time. Dr. Brown does not give his author-

The first auxiliary Superannuated Society was organized in Baltimore, at St. John's church, known as the Phœbian Society, by the women of the station, which continued a useful existence for fifty years at East Baltimore station, and then was merged into the regular Conference society. It is the first instance on record. The second volume of the *Mutual Rights* was brought to a close with the number of November 1, 1830. It was turned over to the Convention by its editor and publisher, Dennis B. Dorsey. It had been faithfully conducted.

Two years of the organizing and propagating crusade of the agents appointed by the Convention of 1828 had resulted successfully, as the preceding pages give evidence. There was a vitality in the principle of Lay-Representation that could not be extinguished, despite the fact that of the itinerants who had espoused and expressed adhesion not one in ten found it possible to maintain open fealty. From such a distinguished example as H. B. Bascom downward, the alternative was want of bread or plenty. As in his own case, had no dependents been involved,— wife, children, parents, and family ties,— it is morally certain that he and many others would have followed the example of Shinn, Brown, Springer, and their compeers; but while the heroic self-abnegation of such men will never cease to win the meed of approval and admiration, reflection need not be cast upon the hundreds who hesitated and then silently submitted, hoping, it may be, for the more propitious opportunity. Reflection is on those only who, with the zeal of perverts and the ambition of ecclesiastics, not only cowered, but curried favor of Episcopacy by denying their opinions and repudiating Reform associations. It is the province of this History to mark these to the extent the truth of history demands, and to rescue the memory of their quondam friends from the aspersions so persistently cast upon them by criminating chroniclers. That a vastly larger number of laymen should have been intimidated, meeting the crisis with submission, if not repudiation, not only accords with the prophet's

ity for it. He was resident in the West and not presumed to have intimate acquaintance with the local doings of Baltimore. Elsewhere in this volume is also noted the fact that the book of register made by Hanson during his administration was left by him in the parsonage, and came into the possession of a Reformer, Robert B. Varden, and sections of it were afterward published in *fac-simile*, also given in this volume, but this register furnishes no evidence that these women were given certificates. Conceding, however, that it was as Dr. Brown states, it makes only a second exception to what was the well-known rule, and so does not affect the force of my objection to his editorial statement.

plaint, "like people like priest," but is more excusable. Among them defections were plentiful.

As already stated, the pages of both the *Itinerant* and the *Mutual Rights* were largely occupied with gleeesome evidences in the former that "Reform was going down," and in the latter with refutations of false reports during these two years. Some one personally flaunting the declaration "going down" in the face of Asa Shinn, he made characteristic answer: "Yes, it is going down, but it is like the Ohio River, broadening and widening as it goes." It became a catch-phrase with the Reformers, and with much truth, as shall be presently exhibited. Williams, than whom no one was better prepared for a truthful estimate, in his "History" says: "Taking all the circumstances into view, the Methodist Protestant Church had prospered beyond all precedent. When she first organized under the Conventional Articles of 1828, there were perhaps not more than 1000 members, though the Convention represented, probably, 3000 members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Convention of 1830 represented about 5000 members of the Associated Methodist churches. Four years after that period, in 1834, there were, according to the minutes of the respective Annual Conferences, 26,587 members in the Methodist Protestant Church." Of the 5000 estimated for 1830, 2000 were probably conversions under evangelistic labors at camp and revival meetings under Reform auspices.¹

At the several Annual Conferences organized from 1828 to 1830, representatives were elected to the Constitutional Convention. Williams says: "Much anxiety was felt on all hands. The Episcopal Methodists feared the development of principles and rules of government which would cast their system more deeply into the shade, but hoped we would fall out by the way;

¹ The late Bishop Matthew Simpson, in his "One Hundred Years of Methodism," p. 314, says, speaking of the Methodist Protestant Church from 1828 to 1830: "In this secession, within a few years, probably some 30,000 members withdrew." Though in the later years of his useful life he was an uncompromising advocate of Lay-Representation, in common with all the historians of the Old Church, it seems impossible for him to refer to the "Radicals" without manifest prejudice and bias. This thirty thousand secession served a purpose on page 314, though it is a wild guess without data, but on page 125 of the same work he says, in a brief tabulation of statistics for the period, misleading in its character: "The secession, so far as numbers were concerned, scarcely occasioned a ripple on the surface." On page 123, he qualifies, "It was supposed that from 1828 to 1834 there may have been thirty thousand." It more probably did not amount to a third of it in these six years all told.

some of them predicted this with great assurance, and fixed our final dissolution at a period not exceeding three years. The Reformers, on the other hand, while they felt great solicitude that the Convention might prepare a system worthy of admiration, did not appear to dread any fatal diversity of opinion and sentiment which might militate seriously against the general interests of the churches."

About this time some of the leaders of anti-reform, through their periodical, gave utterance to the following Romish dogma: "If a minister expatriate, he thereby dissolves the compact in virtue of which he received and holds his official functions; and of course those functions cease; those official powers are the property of the Church for whose use they were conferred, and were lent on certain stipulated terms, which terms can only be performed *within* the Church to which the property belongs." There seems to have been no care of the logical consequence, for if true, then all the Protestant ordinations of Europe are spurious and invalid as derived from Luther, Zwingli, Melancthon, Calvin, and the fathers of the English reformation. At this day the ministers of the mother Church will marvel at such assumptions, forgetting that the whole trend of ecclesiastical dogmas, as they were "received from their fathers" of the Coke-Asbury-Soule school, was Romeward. On this theory Wesley's ordinations were invalid, and so the "fathers." It was of a piece with the logical incoherence and inconsequence that bolstered the anomalous Methodist Episcopal system. The whole warp and woof of it is fallacy and sophism, however specious.

The Committee of the Convention of 1828 to prepare a Constitution and Discipline had diligently and judiciously used the intervening time in its preparation, while others invented independent drafts. Snethen had said in 1828: "Our book of discipline will never be complete without a bill of rights." A close friend of H. B. Bascom's among the leading laymen, John J. Harrod, had suggested to him that as the Convention would need such a bill he should prepare one. Willing to serve the cause in any way possible to him, he complied. He was travelling agent for the American Colonization Society, in the neighborhood of Cincinnati, at the time. His biographer informs that he went to the city, supplied himself with the "Federalist" and other works, and shut himself up to its composition in a country inn a few miles back of the city. The product was that masterful "Summary Declaration of Rights, explanatory of the Reasons

and Principles of Government."¹ It laid under contribution his strongest and freshest powers, and is the one outcome of his facile pen which will never perish. It consists of twenty-two Articles, links of a chain without that "weakest point" endangering it. It was then forwarded to Harrod in Baltimore, but did not reach him until the Convention had passed its initial work and was far advanced to completion. It was presented, respectfully received, then withdrawn, apparently by Bascom's friend. It was solicited again, but seems no more to have come before the Convention officially. Bascom's biographer, Rev. Moses M. Henkle, offers surmises for its failure, and makes claims for its recognition, even to the exclusion of the "Elementary Principles," which had already passed as a bill of rights by the Convention. It would be futile to consider these surmises. It was prefixed to the first edition of the printed Constitution and Discipline by Harrod, Book Agent, as "prepared by a friend." Its authorship was some years afterward publicly acknowledged by Bascom.¹ It was subsequently, by authority of several General Conferences, bound up with the Constitution as an exponent of its principles, and widely circulated in various forms by Reformed Methodists in America and in England. The full text of it is presented in Appendix I to first volume. A new chapter must recite the doings of the Convention of 1830.

¹ "Life of Bascom," by Moses M. Henkle, p. 371. Also *Methodist Protestant*, September 21, 1850, an editorial producing this evidence of authorship.

CHAPTER XV

Convention of 1830 in Baltimore; organization; roster of members; composition —Principal business forming a Constitution and Discipline; various drafts presented representing the two parties of centrifugalists and centripetalists; analogous parties in the United States Convention of 1787— The Constitution as adopted; incidents of the Convention; contention over certain views; Snethen opposed to another "Church"; preferred "churches"; striking views on New Testament polity by Snethen and Dr. A. Webster; also by Wesley in his Notes —Love the essence of law; law the embodiment of ecclesiasticism; logical philosophy as bearing upon it— History of certain articles of the Constitution; certain moots as to non-action of the Convention, Articles of Religion, etc. —Incidental business of importance— Who finally signed the Constitution — Convention adjourned with prayer by Asa Shinn; Francis Waters, President, Lipscomb and Brown, Secretaries.

THE Associated Methodist Churches met in Convention at St. John's church, Liberty Street, Baltimore, November 2, 1830. Rev. Dr. John French was called to the chair, and the Convention opened with religious service. W. C. Lipscomb of Georgetown, D. C., was appointed Secretary. It may be well to note the fact, as a precedent, that he was not a representative to the Convention, but filled the position with such satisfaction until the afternoon of the 22d of November, that a vote of thanks was unanimously tendered him. The following named persons were found duly elected members of the Convention, by the respective Annual Conferences of the Associated Methodist Churches:—

VERMONT

Rev. Nathaniel Gage

Mr. Daniel Norton

NEW YORK AND CANADA

Rev. Daniel Bromley

GENESEE

Rev. Isaac Fister
Rev. Elias B. Dare
Rev. James Covel¹
Rev. Orren Miller¹

Mr. John Woodward¹
Mr. William G. Miller¹
Mr. Eden Foster¹
Richard Harris¹

¹ These were absent.

NEW YORK

Rev. George Thomas Mr. George Smith

PENNSYLVANIA

Rev. John Smith	Caleb Rodney, Esq. ¹
Rev. Thomas Pearson	Mr. Archibald Campbell ¹
Rev. Hiram R. Harrold	Mr. Ebenezer Cropper
Rev. George A. Raybold	Mr. Arnold S. Naudain
Rev. Samuel Budd	Mr. Jeremiah Stull
Rev. James Brindle	Mr. Uriah Baxter ¹
Rev. Dr. Thomas Dunn	Mr. Elisha Chew
Rev. Kendall S. Cropper	Mr. David B. Salter
Rev. Dr. Phineas Price ¹	Mr. James Moore ¹
Rev. Taber Chadwick	Mr. Robert Hodgson
Rev. Sylvester Hutchinson	Mr. Dr. Wm. K. Mason ¹
Rev. Dr. William Morgan	Mr. Daniel R. Ackley ¹
Rev. John Fernon	Mr. Jeremiah Walton ¹
Rev. David Rundell ¹	Mr. William S. Stockton

MARYLAND

Rev. Eli Henkle	Hon. Philemon B. Hopper
Rev. Wesley W. Wallace	Mr. Gideon Davis
Rev. Dr. John S. Reese	Mr. John J. Harrod
Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey	Mr. Henry Willis ¹
Rev. Thomas H. Stockton	Col. W. Doughty
Rev. Isaac Webster	Mr. Daniel McLeod
Rev. Wm. C. Pool	James H. Devor, Esq.
Rev. Dr. Samuel K. Jennings	Mr. Abner Linthicum
Rev. Francis Waters, D.D.	Mr. Elias Crutchley
Rev. James R. Williams	Mr. Lewis Shipley
Rev. Daniel Zollickoffer	Mr. Henry Webster
Rev. Benjamin Richardson	Mr. John Constable
Rev. Slingsby Linthicum	James Parrott, Esq. ¹
Rev. Thos. Melvin	Mr. Richard Chambers

VIRGINIA

Rev. Alexander McCaine	Everard Hall, Esq.
Rev. Dr. John French	Mr. John Victor ¹
Rev. Dr. Crawley Finney	Mr. William S. Sclater, Sr.
Rev. Dr. W. J. Holcombe	Dr. Andrew Woody ¹
Rev. Miles King	Dr. Hiram Harding
Rev. Benedict Burgess	Mr. B. Starke

NORTH CAROLINA

Rev. Wm. W. Hill	S. Whitaker, Esq.
Rev. Willis Harris	Mr. John F. Bellamy ¹
Rev. Josiah R. Horn ¹	Mr. Ivy Harris ¹

¹ These were absent.

GEORGIA

Rev. Aaron G. Brewer
Rev. Eppes Tucker

Col. Richard A. Blount
Charles Kennon, Esq.

ALABAMA

Rev. Britton Capel

Dr. Edward H. Cook

OHIO

Rev. Asa Shinn
Rev. Cornelius Springer
Rev. Nicholas Snethen¹
Rev. George Brown
Rev. Charles Avery
Rev. John Fordyce¹
Rev. Matthew Nelson
Rev. David Edwards¹

Mr. James Foster
Mr. Wilson S. Thorn
Mr. Thomas McKeever
Mr. J. B. W. Haynes¹
Mr. John Souder¹
Mr. D. P. Wilkins¹
Mr. Stephen Beall¹
Mr. H. C. Dorsey¹

WESTERN VIRGINIA

Rev. George A. Read

Mr. James Carpenter

MASSACHUSETTS

Rev. Thomas F. Norris

Col. Amos Binney¹

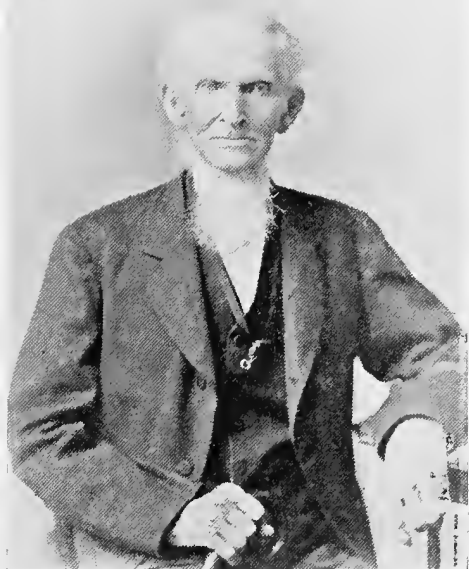
Rev. Baxter H. Ragsdale and Edward B. Tarver were elected representatives from the Tennessee Conference, September, 1830, but, not being present, and the notice of the Conference not having been published in the *Mutual Rights*, though sent and acknowledged, this Conference does not appear at the November, 1830, Convention, as it should have done.

Those specified (see foot-note) were not present, so that out of 114 ministerial and lay representatives elected 83 were in attendance, quite as large a proportion as attended the General Conferences of the Old Church; though these delegates had their expenses provided for, while those of the Associated churches, for the most part, met their own expenses, as well as the loss incident to three weeks' absence from business by all the laity and the local ministers, who, a careful examination shows, were honored with seats in the proportion of one-half the ministerial representation in nearly all the Conferences. This statement is demanded to meet the carping criticism quite frequent at that time by their enemies, that the laymen could not be induced to attend legislative assemblies of the Church, at least from any distance. It was also a principle with the Reformers not to over-

¹ These were absent.



PHILEMON B. HOPPER.



THOMAS MCCORMICK.



FRANCIS WATERS.

weight these assemblies with numbers, for obvious reasons; so that it was a provision of many years' standing in the Constitution of the new Church that a General Conference should not be composed of more than one hundred members, ministerial and lay. The careful reader of these volumes will also observe that this Convention was composed of the ablest and most influential men of the Societies, and represented the intelligence, piety, business and social position of their respective neighborhoods, so that after two generations their names continue to represent these virtues in the Church, though there have not been wanting degenerate sons of these heroic sires.

The sessions were held three times a day, those of the morning and afternoon at St. John's and those of the evening at a school-room on South Street, a kind of executive session, as it was found desirable and necessary to stop the eavesdropping of their quondam brethren, for such deliberations. It will also be noted that Canada and Western Virginia, though recognized, do not appear as separate Annual Conferences; though the Discipline of 1830 notes a New York and Lower Canada boundary for a Conference, while Western Virginia¹ is included in the Ohio district. The Convention then went into a ballot for President, and Francis Waters, D.D., received forty-five out of fifty-four votes.

The writer has just carefully perused the extant records, con-

¹ This Conference, now numerically the second largest in the denomination, not being of the original number, merits distinctive notice as to the initial Reform work in this state. Rev. George Nestor, D.D., at the Annual Conference of 1878, delivered a semi-centennial sermon, bristling with important data and stirring narrative, afterward printed in pamphlet form. Some of the more important facts are gleaned from it. In October, 1829, on Hacker's Creek, in Lewis County, an organization was effected under the Conventional Articles, Rev. John Mitchell and David Smith organizing the first class in what is still called the old Harmony church, yet preserved as the first built in that section (October, 1819), and in which most of the eminent early Reformers had preached. It has been photographed and a framed copy of it is in the picture gallery of the Baltimore Book Concern. Rev. H. K. Bonnet, now deceased, was elected class leader, and six months after the roll showed sixty names. It became a parent society, another being formed shortly after at the forks of Hacker Creek, and Rev. John Smith elected leader. The territory included in these two classes now holds a membership in the Church of over five hundred. An organization was effected in Morgantown by Rev. Cornelius Springer, in the spring of 1830, with Rev. W. H. Marshall as assistant preacher. Three prominent ministers came of this class, Joseph A. Shackelford, Asby Pool, and John Clark, the last a leader in the Conference for many years. In the fall of the same year, probably, Springer and Marshall formed a society at the forks of the Cheat River. A class was formed at Ball Hill, Green County, Pa. (within the West Virginia territory), by Rev. George Brown, February, 1830. Societies were also formed in Palatine and the neighborhood, where William Barnes and J. O. Hartley resided, the former surviving until late years; in Prunty-

sisting of the original draft of a Constitution presented by the committee of seven appointed by the Convention of 1828 for that purpose, of which James R. Williams was chairman. This venerable and almost sacred document is well preserved, and shows all the amendments and additions which were made by the Convention to the Committee's work; it is autographically signed by twenty-nine of the members on the third day before the final adjournment. This signing was a voluntary act, and probably accounts for the absence of some important names, while others undoubtedly withheld as dissenting, in part, from what was done. The signers are: Nathaniel Gage, Daniel Norton, Daniel Bromley, James H. Devor, J. S. Reese, D. B. Dorsey, James R. Williams, John J. Harrod, Gideon Davis, Elias Crutchley, Miles King, W. W. Hill, Willis Harris, John French, Eppes Tucker, R. A. Blount, Britton Capel, Edward H. Cook, George Brown, C. Springer, James Foster, B. Burgess, Isaac Webster, Benj. Richardson, Eli Henkle, John Smith, Samuel K. Jennings, Hiram R. Harrold. Thus, it will be seen that all sections of the country, in about equal proportion, placed their sign manuals to the instrument in final approval. The writer has also before him this original draft, printed for the use of the Convention before amendment, as well as the certified copy as made by order of the General Conference of 1854 by W. H. Wills of North Carolina.

In the examination of these documents, you will be impressed with the prayerful deliberation and wise caution of the Convention, from the second to the twenty-third inclusive, of November, 1830. One magnetic personality is absent: Nicholas Snethen, though honored as a representative from the Ohio Conference, within the bounds of which he had recently removed. His health was impaired, and to recross, by mail-coach, the mountains, was probably too much for his endurance. But the other leaders, Shinn, Jennings, McCaine (late in the session), Brown, Springer, French, W. W. Hill, Gideon Davis, James R. Williams, and others, were continuously present through three sessions a day for

town, between the years 1830-34, and has long been a power in that community. Very early, in Rockford, a class was formed. It is now almost the centre of the Church work in that state. In later years, at Harrisville, the Morrison neighborhood, in Greenbrier County, Flat Woods, Braxton County, and many other places, Reform was early introduced and has held a wide influence ever since. On Teter's Creek, in Barbour County, Rev. George Nestor organized in 1842. The centennial sermon embalms the names of many of these worthies, and to it reference is made for fuller particulars.

three weeks. William S. Stockton and his famous son, Thomas Hewlings, were there. They were not all of one opinion as to general principles and fundamental policy. As in the Convention that formed the Constitution of the United States, in 1787, there were protagonists of centrifugalism and centripetalism, so in this ecclesiastical assembly; and no criticism will hold against the one for this reason that does not hold equally in the other, though there were not wanting old Tories in the one case and old Bourbons in the other who twitted and sneered these patriotic men on the outcome of their deliberations. The revolving years, however, in either case have vindicated the wisdom and equality of both these constitutional instruments. There was another difference of mental attitude among these dissenting Methodists: those who were for adhering in everything compatible with essential principles to the old *régime* of Methodism, and those who were for departing as widely as the new order proposed should demand, without much regard to present expediency, as a factor in organization. These divergencies made the final instrument, as every other of the kind, a compromise of extremes. And to this day it is impossible, without dogmatism, to settle the question as to the wiser course in the light of experience. Notation shall be made, after the fundamentals of the instrument are laid before the reader, of some of the salient differences of view among the representatives, with remarks expressive of the writer's judgment in a retrospect of sixty-five years; which the reader may value accordingly, but will not deem superfluous or impertinent. The following are the essential features of the new instrument; a Constitution ordained by the sovereign will of these Methodist people through their properly constituted representatives:¹—

PREAMBLE

WE, the Representatives of the Associated Methodist Churches, in General Convention assembled, acknowledging the Lord Jesus Christ, as the only

¹ No constitution can be said to be truly representative of those who ordained it, until the instrument as formulated by their delegated authority has been ratified by the primary assemblies of the people. Was this the case with the Constitution of the Methodist Protestant Church, as it was the case with the Constitution of the United States through the Legislatures? The answer is that, while the instrument itself did not make provision for such reference, inasmuch as no Annual Conferences were yet recognized as such, yet the fact of history is that every Annual Conference afterward organized did so under the Constitution by formal vote of approval of its provisions. It was at one time doubted whether a majority of them would so indorse it, but in every instance it proved to be the case, thus securing a unanimous ratification.

HEAD of the Church, and the word of God, as the sufficient rule of faith and practice, in all things pertaining to godliness ; and being fully persuaded that the representative form of church government is the most scriptural, best suited to our condition, and most congenial with our views and feelings as fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God ; AND, Whereas, a written Constitution, establishing the form of Government, and securing to the Ministers and Members of the Church their rights and privileges, is the best safeguard of Christian liberty ; We, therefore, trusting in the protection of Almighty God, and acting in the name and by the authority of our constituents, do ordain and establish, and agree to be governed by the following elementary principles and Constitution :—

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES

1. A Christian Church is a society of believers in Jesus Christ, and is of divine institution.

2. Christ is the only Head of the Church ; and the word of God the only rule of faith and conduct.

3. No person who loves the Lord Jesus Christ, and obeys the gospel of God our Saviour, ought to be deprived of church membership.

4. Every man has an inalienable right to private judgment, in matters of religion ; and an equal right to express his opinion, in any way which will not violate the laws of God, or the rights of his fellow-men.

5. Church trials should be conducted on gospel principles only ; and no minister or member should be excommunicated except for immorality ; the propagation of unchristian doctrines ; or for the neglect of duties enjoined by the word of God.

6. The pastoral or ministerial office and duties are of divine appointment ; and all elders in the church of God are equal ; but ministers are forbidden to be lords over God's heritage, or to have dominion over the faith of the saints.

7. The Church has a right to form and enforce such rules and regulations only, as are in accordance with the holy scriptures, and may be necessary, or have a tendency to carry into effect the great system of practical Christianity.

8. Whatever power may be necessary to the formation of rules and regulations, is inherent in the ministers and members of the Church ; but so much of that power may be delegated, from time to time, upon a plan of representation, as they may judge necessary and proper.

9. It is the duty of all ministers and members of the Church to maintain godliness, and to oppose all moral evil.

10. It is obligatory on ministers of the gospel to be faithful in the discharge of their pastoral and ministerial duties ; and it is also obligatory on the members, to esteem ministers highly for their works' sake, and to render them a righteous compensation for their labours.

11. The Church ought to secure to all her official bodies the necessary authority for the purposes of good government ; but she has no right to create any distinct or independent sovereignties.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I

Title

This Association shall be denominated, **THE METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH**, comprising the Associated Methodist Churches.

ARTICLE II

Terms of Membership

I. There is only one condition required of those who apply for membership in an Associated Methodist Church, viz. : *A desire to flee from the wrath to come, and be saved by grace, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ ; with an avowed determination to walk in all the commandments of God blameless.*

But those who may continue therein must give evidence of this desire and determination, by conforming to such rules of moral discipline as the word of God requires.

II. There shall be a state of probationary privileges, in which persons shall be held as candidates for admission into membership in this Church, preparatory to their being received into full membership, by a compliance with the terms thereof.

III. The children of our members, and those under their guardianship, shall be recognized as enjoying probationary privileges, and held as candidates for membership ; and may be put into classes, as such, with the consent of their parents or guardians.

ARTICLE III

Division into Districts, Circuits, and Stations

I. Those parts of the United States embraced by this Association, shall be divided into districts, having respectively such boundaries as may be agreed on at this Convention, subject to those alterations which may be made or authorized, from time to time, by the General Conference.

II. Each district shall be divided into circuits and stations, by its Annual Conference.

III. Every minister or preacher, removing from one district to another ; and every member removing from one circuit, station, or church to another, having a certificate of his or her good standing, shall be entitled to membership in any other district, circuit, station or Associated Methodist Church within the limits of this Association, to which he or she may apply for membership.

ARTICLE IV

On receiving Churches, &c.

I. Any number of believers united as a religious Society or church, embracing the principles of religious truth held by this Association, adopting

this Constitution, and conforming to our book of discipline and means of grace, shall, at their request, made to the president of an Annual Conference, or the superintendent of a circuit or station, be recognized as an Associated Methodist Church, and be entitled to all the privileges granted by this Constitution; subject, however, to the decision of the most adjacent Quarterly Conference.

II. An Associated church or society shall be composed of any number of members residing sufficiently near each other to assemble statedly for public worship, and to transact its temporal business. And every church shall be divided, when it becomes necessary, into smaller companies or classes, for the purposes of religious instruction and edification.

III. Every church or society shall have power, by the concurrence of a majority of two-thirds of its qualified male members, present at any meeting called for the purpose, to purchase, build, lease, sell, rent, or otherwise obtain or dispose of property, for the mutual benefit of the church. Each church shall also have power to admit persons into full membership; and to try, censure, or expel unworthy members, in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution, and the rules of discipline.

IV. But no church whatever shall be continued in connexion with this Association, which does not conform to this constitution, and the regulations contained in the book of discipline; or which may hereafter reject any part or provision thereof.

ARTICLE V

Leaders' Meeting

In every station there shall be a leaders' meeting, composed of all the class leaders and stewards; the superintendent shall be chairman of the meeting.

ARTICLE VI

Quarterly Conferences

I. There shall be four Quarterly Conferences in each circuit and station, every conference year, to be composed of all the ministers, preachers, exhorters, stewards and leaders, and trustees, in full membership, belonging to the circuit or station. Provided that the superintendent shall have authority to call special meetings of the quarterly conference at other times, when circumstances make it necessary.

II. Each Quarterly Conference shall be vested with power to examine into the official character of all its members, and to admonish or reprove as occasion may require; to grant to persons, properly qualified and recommended by the class of which the applicant is a member, license to preach and exhort, and renew their license annually; to admit ministers and preachers coming from any Associated church; to recommend ministers and preachers to the Annual Conference to travel, and for ordination; to hear and decide on appeals; and to perform such other duties as are authorized by this convention. Provided, nevertheless, that no person shall be licensed to preach until he shall have been first examined, and recommended by a committee of five, composed of ministers and laymen, chosen by the Quarterly Conference.

ARTICLE VII

Composition and Powers of the Annual Conferences

I. There shall be held annually, within the limits of each district, a Conference, to be denominated the Annual Conference, composed of all the ordained itinerant ministers belonging to the district ; that is, all ministers properly under the stationing power of the Conference, and of one delegate from each circuit and station for each of its itinerant ministers, provided, however, that every circuit and station shall have at least one delegate. Each Annual Conference shall regulate the manner of elections, in its own district ; provided, however, that the election of delegates to the first Annual Conferences, under this Constitution, shall be according to such regulations as may be adopted for that purpose by the Quarterly Conferences of the respective circuits and stations.

II. The Annual Conferences, respectively, shall be vested with power to elect a president, annually ; to examine into the official conduct of all its members ; to receive by vote, such ministers and preachers into the Conference as come properly recommended, and who can be efficiently employed as itinerant preachers, or missionaries ; to elect to orders those who are eligible and competent to the pastoral office ; to hear and decide on appeals ; to define and regulate the boundaries of circuits and stations ; to station the ministers, preachers and missionaries ; and to perform such other duties as may be prescribed by this Convention or the General Conference.

III. To make such rules and regulations as may be necessary to defray the expenses of the itinerant ministers, preachers, and their families ; to raise their salaries as fixed by this Convention ; and for all other purposes connected with the organization and continuance of said Conferences.

IV. The Annual Conferences, respectively, shall also have authority to perform the following additional duties :—

1st. To make such special rules and regulations as the peculiarities of the district may require ; provided, however, that no rule or regulation be made, inconsistent with this Constitution. And provided, furthermore, that the General Conference shall have power to annul any rule or regulation which that body may deem unconstitutional.

2d. To prescribe and regulate the mode of stationing the ministers and preachers within the district ; provided always, that they grant to each minister or preacher stationed, an appeal, during the sitting of the Conference.

3d. Each Annual Conference shall have exclusive power to make its own rules and regulations for the admission and government of its colored members ; and to make for them such terms of suffrage as the Conferences respectively may deem proper.

But neither the General Conference nor any Annual Conference shall assume powers to interfere with the constitutional powers of the civil governments or with the operations of the civil laws ; yet nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to authorize or sanction anything inconsistent with the morality of the holy scriptures.

Each Annual Conference shall keep a Journal of its proceedings, and send a copy to the General Conference.

ARTICLE VIII

Composition of the General Conference

I. There shall be a General Conference of this Association, on the first Tuesday in May, in the year of our Lord, 1834, in Georgetown, District of Columbia ; and on the first Tuesday in May every seventh year thereafter, in such place as may be determined on by the Conference.

II. The General Conference shall consist of an equal number of Ministers and Laymen. The ratio of representation from each district shall be one minister and one layman for every thousand persons in full membership ; provided, however, that any district which may not have one thousand members shall be entitled to two representatives, one minister and one layman, until a different ratio shall have been fixed by the General Conference.

III. The number of representatives to which each District may be entitled, shall be elected at the time, and place of holding the Annual Conference of the district, next preceding the sitting of the General Conference, by the joint ballot of an electoral college, composed of the itinerant ministers and delegates belonging to the Annual Conference, and of one minister, who is not under the stationing power of the Conference, provided there be such, from each circuit and station within the limits of the district. The minister thus added from each circuit and station shall be elected at the time and place of holding the Quarterly Conference, by the ministers in his circuit or station, not under the stationing power of the Annual Conference. Provided, however, that the delegates from the respective circuits and stations, be laymen ; and provided also, that it require the affirmative vote of a majority of all the lay delegates present, as well as a majority of the votes of all the ministers present, to constitute the election of any representative to the General Conference.

IV. The General Conference shall elect by ballot, a president to preside over its deliberations ; and one or more secretaries, to serve during the sitting of the Conference ; shall also judge of election returns, and qualifications of its own members and form its own rules of order. A majority of all the representatives in attendance, shall constitute a quorum.

V. The Ministers and laymen shall deliberate in one body ; but if, upon the final passage of any question, it be required by three members, the Ministers and Laymen shall vote separately, and the concurrence of a majority of both classes of representatives shall be necessary to constitute a vote of the Conference.— A similar regulation shall be observed by the Annual Conferences.

VI. The yeas and nays shall be recorded at the call of one-fifth part of the members present.

VII. The Conference shall publish such parts of the journal of its proceedings as it may deem requisite.

VIII. All papers, books, &c., belonging to the Conference, shall be preserved as that body may direct.

ARTICLE IX

Powers of the General Conference

I. The General Conference shall have power to make rules and regulations for the Itinerant, Missionary, Literary, and every other department of the Church, recognized by this Constitution.

II. To fix the compensation and duties of the itinerant ministers and preachers, and the allowance for their wives, widows and children; and also, the compensation and duties of the Book Agent, Editor, &c., and to devise ways and means for raising funds.

III. To regulate, from time to time, the number of representatives to the General Conference; provided, that the General Conference shall at no time exceed one hundred members.

IV. To define and regulate the boundaries of the respective Annual Conference districts; provided, however, that the Annual Conferences of any two or more districts, shall have power, by mutual agreement, to alter their respective adjoining boundaries, or to unite and become one district, or to set off a new district; to receive into their respective limits and jurisdiction any station or circuit, which does not belong to some other district; but every alteration made in the boundaries of the respective districts shall be reported to the ensuing General Conference.

ARTICLE X

Restrictions on the Legislative Assemblies

I. No rule shall be passed which shall contravene any law of God.

II. No rule shall be passed which shall infringe the right of suffrage, eligibility to office, or the rights and privileges of our ministers, preachers, and members, to an impartial trial by committee, and of an appeal, as provided by this Constitution.

III. No rule shall be passed infringing on the liberty of speech, or of the press; but for every abuse of liberty, the offender shall be dealt with as in other cases of indulging in sinful words and tempers.

IV. No rule, except it be founded on the holy scriptures, shall be passed authorizing the expulsion of any minister, preacher or member.

V. No rule shall be passed appropriating the funds of the Church to any purpose except the support of the ministry, their wives, widows and children; the promotion of education, and Missions; the diffusion of useful knowledge; the necessary expenses consequent on assembling the Conferences, and the relief of the poor.

VI. No higher order of Ministers shall be authorized than that of Elder.

VII. No rule shall be passed to abolish an efficient itinerant ministry, or to authorize the Annual Conferences to station their ministers and preachers longer than three years, successively, in the same circuit, and two years successively in the same station.

VIII. No change shall be made in the relative proportions, or component parts of the General or Annual conferences.

ARTICLE XI

Officers of the Church

1. The President of each Annual Conference shall be elected annually by the ballot of a majority of the members of the Conference. He shall not be eligible more than three years in succession; and shall be amenable to that body for his official conduct.

2. It shall be the duty of the President of an Annual Conference to preside in all meetings of that body; to travel through the district, and visit all the circuits and stations, and to be present, as far as practicable, at all the Quarterly Meetings and Camp Meetings of his district; and, in the recess of Conference, with the assistance of two or more elders, to ordain those persons who may be elected to orders; to employ such ministers, preachers, and missionaries, as are duly recommended; and to make such changes of preachers as may be necessary, provided, the consent of the preachers to be changed, be first obtained; and to perform such other duties as may be required by his Annual Conference.

Ministers

1. The Minister, who shall be appointed by the Annual Conference, to the charge of a station or circuit, shall be styled the Superintendent, and shall be amenable to the Annual Conference for his official conduct.

2. The minister or preacher appointed by the Annual Conference to assist the superintendent in the discharge of his pastoral duties, shall be styled the Assistant; and shall be amenable to the Annual Conference for the faithful discharge of duty.

3. It shall be the duty of every minister and preacher belonging to a circuit or station, to render all the pastoral assistance he can, consistently with his other engagements; but no minister or preacher shall be accountable to the Annual Conference for the discharge of ministerial duty, except he be an itinerant minister or preacher; all others shall be accountable to the Quarterly Conference of their circuit or station.

4. No person shall be recognized as an itinerant minister, preacher or missionary, whose name is not enrolled on the Annual Conference list, or who will not be subject to the order of the Conference.

Class Leaders

The class leaders may be elected annually by the members of their respective Classes; but if, in any instance, a class shall neglect or refuse to elect a leader, when one is wanted, it shall then be the duty of the superintendent to nominate a class leader for said class, and from the nomination or nominations made by the superintendent, the class shall make an election.

Conference Stewards

The Conference steward shall be elected annually by the Annual Conference, and discharge those duties assigned him by the discipline, and be amenable to the Annual Conference for his official conduct.

Station and Circuit Stewards

1. The station and Circuit Stewards shall be elected annually; in the stations, by the male members, including ministers and preachers; and in the Circuits, by the Quarterly Conference; but every qualified male member, if present, shall be permitted to vote in the elections of Circuit Stewards. The number of Stewards for each Circuit or Station to be not less than three, nor more than seven.

ARTICLE XII

Suffrage and Eligibility to office

I. Every Minister and Preacher, and every white, lay, male Member, in full communion and fellowship, having attained to the age of twenty-one years, shall be entitled to vote in all cases.

II. Every Minister and Preacher, and every white, lay, male Member, in full communion and fellowship, having attained to the age of twenty-five years, and having been in full membership two years, shall be eligible as a representative to the General Conference.

III. No person shall be eligible as a delegate to the Annual Conference, or as a steward, until he shall have attained to the age of twenty-one years, and who is not a regular communicant of this Church.

IV. No Minister shall be eligible to the office of President of an Annual Conference, until he shall have faithfully exercised the office of elder two years.

ARTICLE XIII

Judiciary Principles

I. All offences condemned by the word of God, as being sufficient to exclude a person from the kingdom of grace and glory, shall subject Ministers, Preachers and Members, to expulsion from the Church.

II. The neglect of duties required by the word of God, or the indulgence in sinful words and tempers, shall subject the offender to admonition; and if persisted in, after repeated admonitions, to expulsion.

III. For preaching or disseminating unscriptural doctrines affecting the essential interests of the Christian system, Ministers, Preachers, and Members shall be liable to admonition; and, if incorrigible, to expulsion: Provided, always, that no Minister, Preacher or Member, shall be expelled for disseminating matters of opinion alone, except they be such as are condemned by the word of God.

IV. All officers of the Church shall be liable to removal from office, for mal-administration.

ARTICLE XIV

Privileges of accused Ministers and Members

I. In all cases of accusation against a Minister, Preacher, or Member, the accused shall be furnished by the proper authorities, with a copy of the charges and specifications, at least twenty days before the time appointed for the trial; unless the parties concerned prefer going into trial on shorter

notice. The accused shall have the right of challenge; the privilege of examining witnesses at the time of trial; and of making his defence in person or by representative; provided such representative be a member of the Church.

II. No Minister or Preacher, shall be expelled, or deprived of Church privileges, or ministerial functions, without an impartial trial before a committee, of from three to five ministers or preachers, and the right of appeal; the preachers to the ensuing Quarterly Conference; the ministers to the ensuing Annual Conference.

III. No Member shall be expelled or deprived of church privileges, without an impartial trial before a Committee of three or more lay members, or before the Society of which he is a member, as the accused may require, and the right of an appeal to the ensuing Quarterly Conference; but no Committee man who shall have sat on the first trial, shall sit on the appeal; and all appeals shall be final.

ARTICLE XV

Discipline Judiciary

I. Whenever a majority of all the Annual Conferences shall officially call for a judicial decision on any rule or act of the General Conference, it shall be the duty of each and every Annual Conference to appoint at its next session, one Judicial delegate, having the same qualifications of eligibility as are required for a representative to the General Conference. The delegates thus chosen, shall assemble at the place where the General Conference held its last session, on the second Tuesday in May following their appointment.

II. A majority of the delegates shall constitute a quorum; and if two-thirds of all present, judge said rule or act of the General Conference unconstitutional, they shall have power to declare the same null and void.

III. Every decision of the Judiciary shall be in writing, and shall be published in the periodical belonging to this Church. After the Judiciary shall have performed the duties assigned them by this Constitution, their powers shall cease; and no other judiciary shall be created until after the session of the succeeding General Conference.

ARTICLE XVI

Special Call of the General Conference

I. Two-thirds of the whole number of the Annual Conferences shall have power to call special meetings of the General Conference.

II. When it shall have been ascertained, that two-thirds of the Annual Conferences have decided in favour of such call, it shall be the duty of the Presidents, or a majority of them, forthwith, to designate the time and place of holding the same, and to give due notice to all the stations and circuits.

ARTICLE XVII

Provision for altering the Constitution

I. The General Conference shall have power to amend any part of this Constitution, except the second, tenth and fourteenth articles, by making

such alterations or additions, as may be recommended in writing, by two-thirds of the whole number of the Annual Conferences next preceding the sitting of the General Conference.

II. The second, tenth and fourteenth articles of this Constitution shall be unalterable, except by a General Convention, called for the special purpose, by two-thirds of the whole number of the Annual Conferences next preceding the General Conference. Which Convention, and all other Conventions of this Church, shall be constituted and elected in the same manner and ratio, as prescribed for the General Conference. When a General Convention is called by the Annual Conferences, it shall supersede the assembling of the General Conference for that period; and shall have power to discharge all the duties of that body, in addition to the particular object for which the Convention shall have been assembled.

Resolved, That the Judiciary tribunal provided for by the 15th article of the Constitution of this Church, shall publish as well the reasons of their opinion upon the part or provision of the Constitution supposed to have been contravened by the law, or laws, provision or provisions, considered to be unconstitutional, together with their decision.

Whereas, It is declared by this Convention, that whatever power may be necessary to the formation of rules and regulations, is inherent in the ministers and members of the Church; and that so much of that power may be delegated from time to time, upon a plan of representation as they may judge proper; therefore, *Resolved*, that all power not delegated to the respective official bodies of the Methodist Protestant Church by this Convention, are retained to said ministers and members.

Baltimore, Nov. 20, 1830.

William S. Stockton had prepared and presented a draft of a Constitution, which Williams has preserved bound up with the original draft finally adopted, and as a substitute for it. It exhibits the centrifugal sentiments of the author, and also largely represented the views of Snethen and others who stood for the wider liberty of societies, annual conferences, and against restrictive regulations of almost every kind. The instrument is one of much intrinsic worth and ability. Gideon Davis also presented parts of an instrument, and others made fundamental suggestions. All the papers were referred to a committee of twelve, one from each Conference in the Convention, who reported back, that they recommend the draft of the committee of the Convention of 1828, to be made the basis of legislation. This draft, as can be seen, exhibited the centripetal sentiment of Shinn, McCaine, and Williams, with the quiet but influential support of Dr. Francis Waters. It is in the chirography of Williams, the chairman of the committee, and his sober and judicious views

dominated a majority of the Convention. Its order is followed, and but few essential modifications were made in it. The same committee formulated a Discipline to accord with their constitutional work, but it need not be considered in this History.¹ It was more radically dissected by the Convention before adoption.

While it might be historically interesting to give conventional details, the limits of this work forbid; but some things ought not to pass into oblivion. Dr. John French, from the numerous times he was called to the chair in the absence of the President, as well as the sedate but prevailing part he took in the proceedings, received high compliment from his associates. Dr. Jennings was of the original committee, and being resident in Baltimore with Williams, his vigorous pen cannot be concealed in the composition of the draft. Dr. Finney made the motion adopting "Elementary Principles" as a title instead of "Bill of Rights." These principles are plain to-day, except, perhaps, the eleventh, deemed one of the most essential at the time as a precaution against legislative assumptions, which was its intent, so little used were even these brethren to the safeguards of a Constitution. They could not forget the arrogations of the past, when bishops made laws,— "independent sovereignties,"—and then had them ratified by subservient Conferences. Gideon Davis thought the wording obscure, if not misleading, and moved to substitute "sovereignties" with "authorities," but it did not prevail.² The style and title of the Church has the history that W. W. Wallace moved it be denominated "The Reformed Methodist Church." Subsequently Asa Shinn moved that it be "The Representa-

¹ "Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church." Baltimore: published for the Book Committee of the Methodist Protestant Church by John J. Harrod, Book Agent of the M. P. Church. William Woody, printer, 1830. 24mo. 160 pp. Half sheep.

The inquiring reader can get access to this book for all the details of the conventional action. It also contains the address ordered by the Convention to the Ministers and Members, understood to be from the graceful pen of Dr. Francis Waters, and appended to the "Discipline" for many years thereafter. The "Discipline for 1834" also contains, as an appendix, Bascom's "Summary of Rights."

² The meaning of the article will be made plain with the statement that any act of an Annual Conference in contravention of the Constitution, or an act of the General Conference or of a Quarterly Conference in contravention of the Annual Conference, etc., would be violative of the article. Ideally and practically it is the strongest connectional bond in the Constitution, and has often, in current history, been employed to arrest incipient revolution. While "Associated Churches," they are also "The Methodist Protestant Church," and under its constitution there has been as little friction and loss as perhaps under any similar instrument ever adopted by Church or State.

tive Methodist Church, comprising the Associated Methodist Churches." W. S. Stockton's draft had proposed "The Associated Methodist Churches," and so the committee, in accordance with Snethen's favorite idea, While the question was under discussion in the Convention, Dr. Waters left the chair and advocated the title "The Methodist Protestant Church." On motion of Charles Avery the word Protestant was substituted for Representative, and carried without opposition. Dr. Waters late in life asserted that he proposed the word Protestant in its broad ecclesiastical sense.

The implications of this decision merit space for historical preservation. Snethen in nothing more conspicuously exhibited his far-reaching as well as retrospective philosophy, and accurate knowledge of New Testament principles and precedents, than in his pronounced objection to a "Church" in the sense indivisible, as set over against "churches" in the sense confederate. As early as 1822-23, before a new Church was conceived of as a possibility of Reform measures within the extant Methodism, he averred: "Almost all the conclusions which were thus forced upon me by this New Testament research were then like so many original discoveries, especially the following; viz., that the primitive churches were *confederate* and not *indivisible*, like the modern episcopal hierarchies. This conclusion you will perceive could not have been admitted by me, had not my mind been so far unfettered as to call no man master. In all these points I may be mistaken; but if I am not, the consequence is unavoidable, and ought to alarm our church hierarchy men exceedingly." And he wrought out the idea in the modification he proposed of the old *régime*: "The first thing, then, that would probably result from a lay-delegation, would be the establishment and security of individual church identity; the second step would be to maintain and perpetuate a confederate union among these identified churches; and a third a modification and accommodation of the travelling plan, bishops' power, etc., to this state of things upon a basis of ministerial identity, so that every preacher might say that his soul was his own. All this it is evident would be a work of time and great labor. In such an event no General Conference must attempt to limit its successors; . . . the only insurmountable difficulty would be the name, for 'Episcopal Church,' not *churches*, under all changes; . . . this badge of our original sin, like our mortal bodies, can only be put off with our death. From the beginning we ought to have been confederated churches, and

our name ought to have answered to our nature." Recurring to apostolical times, he said: "Why this difference between the apostles and our system-makers, who not only fill out their plan to the utmost minutæ, but so provide against all changes and improvements as to render everything from a thread to a shoe-latchet immutable? Was there not as great a danger of latitudinarianism and innovation in the days of the apostles as now? Why then, I ask again, did they preserve such a seeming guarded silence upon the details of Church government? Was it not because they looked forward to consequences, and foresaw that no model could be given which would not be susceptible of abuse or perversion?" A half a century later Rev. Dr. Augustus Webster, with much of the same wisdom, gave to the writer in conversation another reason for the absence of a *plan* in the New Testament church polity. He said in substance: "The early Christians had no need to be governed, because the law of love by which they were controlled made every man a law unto himself. It was only as this law of love died out of their hearts that a system making for control was introduced, and the hierarchy grew apace." Could anything be more true and apposite? To the same purpose Snethen, in 1825, wrote: "When the Lord Jesus Christ ascended into heaven, he sent the Comforter, the spirit of truth, to supply the place of his personal presence; but left no one of his disciples to occupy his place and to govern the rest. All his offices are perpetual and unchangeable, and of course cannot be held or represented in this world by a succession of mortal men. To keep up a succession of mortal heads over the church, a spirit of fear must be kept up in the church. Why these names, these titles, these offices, these powers and prerogatives? Not surely to inspire love, but fear."

It is the difference between the rule of Christ in his churches and the rule of Ecclesiasticism. Ecclesiasticism had its birth with the first aggregation of force as a supplement to love for controlling Christian men, and to control Christian men is the confessed purpose of the Church as it crystallized in Rome, and in every outshoot of it. The clear vision of Snethen took it all in, and for this almost divine reason his preference was not to add another "Church" to the aggregations of force in the denominationalisms called Christian. Force cannot be made an auxiliary to love and not be liable to abuse; and ecclesiastical history from the coming of anti-christ at the close of the apostolic age is a succession of evidence that in every instance it was abused, and

is abused to the present day. At least in this every one must agree with the astute Snethen in a final word upon the subject: "It is much to be regretted that not a few of the Protestants, and of the denominations which have sprung from the Protestants, have shown so great a propensity to make the power of ministers of the gospel to govern the Church, that is, legislate its laws, as well as execute them, a foundation truth."

The framers of the Constitution of the Methodist Protestant Church gave heed to this warning of Snethen, but were not controlled by it. Confederation was accepted as the true bond, but it was incorporated with features of Connectionalism in the conviction that indivisibility could only be preserved that way. It was a compromise, in some things, perhaps, for the highest efficiency and provision for the demands of a future, conceding too much, and in some others conceding not enough in view of the same demands. Even Snethen, however, came to acknowledge that it was as near an approach to the New Testament model as was possible, in that nearly ten years later, when the experiment of a new Church was a demonstrated success, he wrote "The Identifier,"¹ in which the comparison of its principles is successfully run with the apostolic methods and principles. Glancing over it as my pen flows, it is found rich in check-marks for quotation in this work, but space forbids. Suffice it to say that it is a mellow and powerful vindication both of his own views and of the new Methodism. Read it and observe how much wiser he was in his generation than the leaders of either the old or the new régime.

Protestant denominationalism in every form of it, as hinted, is simply an aggregation of force, and its kinship with the Romish hierarchy is in the ratio of unlimited prescriptive right of the clergy to rule; and while, as such a force, it may be used to supplement and potentialize the law of love of the primitive churches,

¹ "The Identifier of the Ministers and Members of the Methodist Protestant Church," by Rev. Nicholas Snethen. Philadelphia: Printed for Book Committee of the Methodist Protestant Church. 1839. 12mo. 107 pp. Cloth. Price, 75 cents.

The writer possesses two well-preserved copies, but the work is now rare. It is worthy of republication by the Church as a mine of ecclesiastical wisdom. Those who would understand the philosophy of the Methodist Reformation will not fail to consult it. While Asa Shinn was incomparably the dialectician of it, Nicholas Snethen was its bright particular star of intellectual cleverness and philosophy. It won for him the designation of a theorist by such matter-of-fact minds as Williams and McCaine, but while they were men for the times, Snethen was a man for all times, so broad was the sweep of his mental horizon and so horoscopic his seer-like wisdom.

the trend of its practical working is dominion over conscience and the proscription of personal liberty. And in the measure of this aggregation of force is the numerical and material success of a denomination, but it is gained by a necessary departure from the law of love as the only evangelistical force recognized by Christ as dominating his earthly kingdom. The ready answer of those who participate in hierarchic administration is that any other method in its ideal is visionary, utopian, as a working hypothesis, that is, it cannot be made to control men. The proposition is denied as applied to Christian men, and it libels the Christly postulate: "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren," as well as the precedents and methods of the first-century Christians so as to deny the potency of love as the essence of law. The very tap-root of ecclesiasticism is the dominion of force. It was and is against this principle that the New Methodism stood and now stands as a Protest. Its method is unhesitatingly declared a success as the nearest approach yet made to the New Testament ideal of this law of love, and it is the objective of this History to demonstrate this success. The nature of its ideal, its shortcomings, while endeavoring to conserve a connectional form as well, must be delayed for treatment to a more apposite period in its ecclesiastical career.¹

¹ How pointedly are these general views enforced and illustrated by the authorities following. Wesley in his Notes, commenting on Acts ii. 45, says: "It was a natural fruit of that love wherewith each member of the community loved every other as his own soul. And if the whole Christian church had continued in this spirit, this usage must have continued through all ages. To affirm, therefore, that Christ did not design it should continue is neither more nor less than to affirm that Christ did not design this measure of love should continue. I see no evidence of this." And the great modern apostle of civil reform on Christian principles, Rev. Dr. Parkhurst of New York City, speaking of this primitive law of love as the basic principle of government in the apostolical church as contradistinguished from the law of denominationalism, pertinently says: "The instant a Christian ceases to become bound up in his Divine Lord his regards begin to settle back in the channel of his own individual proclivities; and that is the genius of denominationalism. Denominationalism is made up, not of the essence, but of the accidents of Christianity. A denomination is another name for some strand of personal eccentricity selected from each of a number of counterparts and tied up into one bundle. . . . This makes the Protestant Episcopal, the Methodist Episcopal, the Presbyterian, the Baptist, and other denominations. . . . It is the genius of the entire performance then and always." But we must have a strong government or you cannot control men, says the hierarchist. True, when Christians cease to be amenable to the law of love, then they must be controlled by force; but the moment this is made a factor they cease to be Christians, and are mere partisans, bigots, Romanists, or Episcopalians, and what not. So if you want a strong control of men, not as Christians but as men, a following under the slogan call of a denomination, nowhere is the ideal so perfect as in Romish or other Episcopal

Article VII. was wrought out in much mental travail. While the sixth Elementary Principle was made to declare that "all elders in the Church of God are equal," the sober sense of the Convention restricted membership in the Annual Conference to itinerant ministers and preachers under the stationing authority of it, thus sweeping away a favorite contention of the locality, which, if it had never been sprung in the controversy, would have secured the continued coöperation of Ezekiel Cooper, and the strong Philadelphia Conference backing he carried with him, for Reform. The contention was one of the misadventures of early Reform. Pertinaciously adhered to until much damage was wrought to the common cause, it was swept away by returning reason, but too late to repair that damage. And while it was also declared in Section 6th of Article X., that "No higher order of ministers shall be authorized than that of elder," as a protection against a bishopric in the ascending grade of a hierarchy, they overlooked entirely the descending grade, and by sufferance continued a diaconate as an order of the ministry, though it was manifestly an invention of the hierarchy. Some forty years later this inconsistency was remedied by expunging the order from the Discipline and ordination service.¹

forms of polity. And never were truer words than those recently uttered by the *Church Standard* anent the union its Church is urging on the basis of the Historic Episcopate, and other Methodisms may take warning in the application made by it: "The very form of an episcopate, even though it be not the Historic Episcopate, has a marvellously uniting power. Thus in the American Methodist Episcopal Church there is a unity almost unknown in any other denomination, and strange to say there is an intensity of denominational individuality which makes the Methodist Episcopal Church the least likely of all American Christian bodies to entertain any overtures whatever looking towards a union with any other body." Hence its recent opposition officially declared against the Christian Endeavor Society as an inter-denominational organization within the respective churches and loyal to each church. Its young people must be organized on an exclusively denominational basis, which means in fact by this confession: that they must be taught to be Methodists even more than to be Christians. What then must be the meaning of all their professed offers of union with other Methodisms, even that of the Methodist Church, North to that of the South? It never has had, and never will have, as officially understood by that Church, any other meaning than a willingness to *absorb* any and all coming within its influence. It is an anaconda that swallows everything, but never disgorges anything. Union! The very genius of the system forbids it with any other form of Christianity, even the kindred Methodist branches, and they are not wise who are deceived by the cry of Union!

¹ From the beginning of Wesley's ordinations in England, except the "setting apart" of Mather for Scotland as a "superintendent" (no conception of a bishopric entering his mind by the act, or a third order), and jealously conserved to this day in all the branches of English Methodism, there is but one order, Elders. That he never intended a third order in America by anything he did as "setting apart"

In nothing was the compromising trend of the Convention exhibited more than in the third section of Article VII., under consideration. "Each Annual Conference shall have exclusive power to make its own rules and regulations for the admission of colored members within its district, and to make for them such terms of suffrage as the Conferences respectively may deem proper." It was a concession from the South to the North on the vexed question of slavery. "But neither the General Conference nor any Annual Conference shall assume power to interfere with the constitutional powers of the civil government, or with the operations of the civil laws." This was a concession of the North to the South; even such antislavery representatives as Judge P. B. Hopper of Maryland, who had given proof of his sentiments by manumitting some forty slaves, nearly his entire patrimony by inheritance, recognized a judicial necessity for some such action. It was finally carried by a vote of forty-eight to sixteen, W. S. Stockton securing this addition to the section: "Yet nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to authorize or sanction anything inconsistent with the morality of the Holy Scriptures." It secured for the whole section a number of votes from antislavery representatives besides Judge Hopper. But for its implications of slavery no one, perhaps, would have made opposition to it, and since the issue passed away it has remained in the Constitution as legislation defining separation of the Church and State.

Article VII. made the General Conference meet in 1834 and "every seventh year thereafter." It was favored by Shinn and others, but after that of 1834 he grew so thoroughly changed in opinion that his efforts secured concurrence of two-thirds of the Annual Conferences, and the ensuing General Conference met in 1838. The seventh Restriction of Article X., on the Itinerancy,

Dr. Coke as a superintendent (he averred that he did nothing more in that case than in the Mather case) is so plain from the cumulation of proofs contained in this History as to place it past controversy by honest Methodists; and yet, if we may believe Dr. Coke, he sent over with the abridged prayer book for the use of the American Methodists, intending only by the enjoinder of this Ritual to assert his own headship and authority over them, as an appendix the forms of a three-order ordination as it obtained in the Established Church of England. While there is no extant evidence on either side, it is reasonably conjectural that not Wesley, but Dr. Coke, appended the ordination forms to the abridged prayer book of 1784. It is at least compatible with Dr. Coke's well-known preferences for an Episcopal form of government. That he was capable of such an addition is clear from his whole procedure with Asbury in organizing an Episcopal Church. It also redeems Wesley from an inconsistency which cannot otherwise be removed.

filled the term in stations at two years, on motion of McCaine, and two on circuits, but already this hard-and-fast feature had its opponents, and they prevailed finally so as to insert three for two on circuits. It was one of the things of which Snethen said in his "Identifier": "To be like the old Church in means and ends, whether we could or not, has engrossed our genius and our energy. Undoubtedly a less rigid rule would have been used to the damage of the new Church by their well-wishing friends of the old. It was the fear of it that tied the hands of the newborn child. The light of experience has shown that it was an error to make the regulation unalterable except by a majority of two-thirds of all the Annual Conferences. It resulted practically in its unavoidable evasion in some of the outlying Conferences, and of not a little local damage in Maryland and elsewhere before stubborn resistance to any innovation could be overcome and the present flexible law of the Church took its place. The older Methodism, still slower in ponderous and restricting machinery, has extended the time to five years, and the end is not yet.

Article XII., on Suffrage and Eligibility to Office, was framed to read, "Every minister and every preacher and every white lay-member . . . shall be entitled to vote in all cases," and the same form repeated as to eligibility to "General Conference." It was a narrow ethnic enactment. It must, however, be conceded as historically true that it was not aimed at the colored man, only as it was originally suggested by the conduct of Presiding Elder Frye, in the expulsion of the Reformers of 1827-28, already fully gone over in this volume. It was found that two witnesses who were present, W. S. Lipscomb of the South and George Brown of the West, agreed that it was incorporated to forestall the possibility of a recurrence of such a procedure. This view is also sustained by the fact, as the minutes show, that it was offered by James R. Williams, than whom there was no more pronounced antislavery man living in a slave State. It was he who answered McCaine's pamphlet issued in 1842 defensive of American domestic slavery. If farther evidence were wanting, it is supplied by the fact that this article was not reached until some time after Article VII. had been passed, which settled the status of the Church as to the slavery question. And yet farther than that there seems to have been none of the contention over it there was over Article VII. Yet these facts make it all the more remarkable. Legally, as framed, it cannot be made to cover ministers and preachers. It does not say, every white minister

and preacher, but "every white lay-member." This legal loophole was not probably intended, but, if so, did the representatives think that the time would not come when the Church would ordain colored men? They certainly had no foreign missionary prospects, for how, as for years past, could our Constitution have gone to Japan or any other country not inhabited by "white" people? It must be repeated, it was a narrow ethnic enactment, and nothing but evil ever came of it.

A non-action of the Convention has been a moot to this day and always must remain such. Were the Articles of Religion, as contained in the Book and taken from the old Book, and Wesley's General Rules, formally adopted by the Convention? The evidence of the minutes is that Aaron G. Brewer made a motion to this effect, but it was laid over. Subsequently the question was divided, and the General Rules adopted. The question as to the Articles of Religion came up again and again, but was always deferred, until, at the heel of the adjournment, there seems to have been some informal agreement that the committee on publication should complete Convention work in this and some other matters. It appears to have been crowded over. Snethen and Shinn, it is alleged, were opposed to legislation on a Creed,¹ and their views were probably shared by others, but the minutes do not exhibit any definite objection by the representatives. The original draft of the Constitution made provision for it in the sixth section of Article X., among the Restrictive Rules: "Nor shall any alteration or additions be made in the religious principles adopted by this Convention." This member of the

¹ Rev. Dr. D. S. Stephens in 1880-1884 issued three ably compiled and written pamphlets on "Views of the Reformers," and a "Defense" of the same, in which the negative of the binding effect of these Articles is taken in controversion of a note appended to them by the General Conference of 1880, making them obligatory as *teaching* authority. A vast amount of material is here brought together with painstaking accuracy, and those who would see what can be said for the widest liberty of private judgment in matters of faith and doctrine are referred to them. These Articles of Religion formed a part of Wesley's abridged Prayer Book of 1784 for the American Methodists. He excised sections, etc., but did not formulate the distinctive doctrines he preached as set forth in his Sermons and Notes on the New Testament, so that they mean but little as expressions of Methodist doctrine. Out of the controversy engendered by the action of 1880, based upon alleged loose doctrinal teaching in the northwestern section, grew an attempt on the part of the writer to secure such a formulation of Methodist doctrine, and a committee was authorized by the General Conference of 1888 to perform this labor. But opposition arose to any such amendment to the Articles, and the work of the committee was laid over, and has so continued as "unfinished business" not soon probably to be revived. The General Conference of 1896 "indefinitely postponed" the whole matter. See "Minutes," p. 54.

section was not adopted. When the Constitution and Discipline of 1830 appeared in book form, the Articles of Religion were in it as now, except as since verbally amended by the Union Convention of 1877. The authority for it was explained by James R. Williams of the publishing committee as found in that alleged understanding of the Convention. Brewer, however, who made the first motion as to the matter, positively objected to the explanation as sufficient authority. The question was revived in the General Conference of 1834, but that Conference refused to disturb their position in the Book, and so the matter stands to-day. It is significant of the intention of the Convention to have passed upon the Articles of Religion in that during their consideration Cornelius Springer moved to amend the twenty-fifth, by inserting after the words “may swear” the words “or affirm,” which was carried.

A few other items non-concurred in must be noticed. Dr. Jennings, as leader of the locality in the Convention, endeavoring to circumvent their defeat in the constitution of Annual Conferences, offered an addition to the Article in these words: “Any minister of the Methodist Protestant Church not properly itinerant, having satisfactory gifts and qualifications for usefulness to the Church, who shall report himself to the Annual Conference as willing to be accountable to that body for his official conduct, and labor regularly and gratuitously in concert with the plan of the circuit or station within the bounds of which he may reside, upon a vote of the Conference in his favor shall be admitted to a seat, and his name shall be enrolled as a member of the Conference.” The yeas and nays were called, and it was defeated by a vote of twenty-nine to fourteen, French of the itinerants voting for it, and Avery, Waters, and Williams of the locality voting against it. Subsequently, Zollickoffer, Bromley, Burgess, Budd, and Richardson entered a protest against the exclusion of the locality from membership in the Annual Conference. The salvo they received was a recognition in Article VIII., making one minister who is “not under the stationing authority” from each circuit and station members of the Electoral College; and, by a legal fiction classing them with the laity, they were at the will of the Annual Conference elected as representatives, and this courtesy for a number of years was allowed in the Maryland and other Conferences. It has passed into desuetude.¹

¹ A representative official of the Church has recently characterized the provision for an Electoral College regulating the matter of suffrage for representatives

J. J. Harrod made an effort to secure under very strict limitations a General Superintendency, but it was laid on the table on his own motion and not thereafter referred to.

Harrod's hymn book was adopted until the next General Conference. He was appointed Book Agent and publisher. The name of the periodical now under the direct control of the General Conference was *The Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant*. A Book Committee was elected by the Convention: Francis Waters, James R. Williams, Samuel K. Jennings, John Chappell, Jr., and John H. Kennard. A committee to nominate for Editor reported the names of William S. Stockton, John S. Reese, Dennis B. Dorsey, and Cornelius Springer. All withdrew save William S. Stockton, who was duly elected in his absence. The periodical and publishing house were located in Baltimore. A committee to prepare an Address to be appended to the Discipline was appointed. Such an Address appears, reputed to have been written by Dr. Francis Waters, and was retained for a series of years. The Book Committee was authorized to prepare a Preface to the book of Discipline. The Convention adjourned with prayer by Asa Shinn. Signed, Francis Waters, President; George Brown, Secretary *pro tem*.

to the General Conference as "nonsense." A careful examination of the reasons for it and the safeguards it provides demonstrates that no wiser measure ever was incorporated in the church law. The declaration was probably a passing impulse — it could not have been a mature judgment. A full history of it is given by J. J. Harrod in the *Methodist Protestant* of March 15, 1851, as also recently justified for its wisdom by Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray. Gideon Davis was the author of it.

CHAPTER XVI

Hierarchic denominations aggregations of force; the Constitution of the New Church made it an aggregation of consent; it must prove its right to exist — The *Methodist Correspondent* established at Cincinnati — The Church growing; yearly increase from fifty to one hundred per cent; statistics — Bascom still writing under pseudonyms — New facts as to Rev. William Burke, a pioneer of Methodism — Gamaliel Bailey editor of the Baltimore paper — General prosperity of the new organization in every direction — Bascom invited to unite openly with the new Church; his certified answer; want of support — Second volume of *Methodist Protestant*; digest of contents — Pastoral Address of the General Conference of the old Church slanderously attacks the new Church; it destroyed the last hope waiting Reformers entertained of change of polity — Second volume of *Methodist Protestant* — The *Methodist Correspondent* removed to Pittsburgh with Rev. Cornelius Springer, editor — Third volume of *Methodist Protestant*; digest of its news — The *Correspondent* removed to Zanesville under Springer — Abolitionism organizes — Secession in Charleston, S. C. — New series of *Methodist Protestant* June 11, 1834.

THUS a new Church was made a necessity in American Methodism. It had as its distinctive peculiarity the representative principle. Denominationally it was another aggregation, but instead of one of force it was one of consent. As the old monarchies of Europe scouted the idea that a republic could, with the same representative principle, vitally cohere in America, so the new Constitution of the Methodist Protestant Church was held up to animadversion as a rope of sand: the sentiment had been ingrained that Christian men can be governed only by force, at least as Methodists. Representation was not, however, a new thing in English Methodism. The Primitive Methodists, with a double representation of the laity as against the ministry, had been organized by the same kind of necessity; and it not only cohered, but succeeded beyond the Wesleyan body, as was exhibited in the first volume. Not only so, the New Connexion Methodists, out of an earlier like necessity, with an equal representation, proved its right to exist, cohere, and prosper, to this day, on a high plane of piety and culture, as has also been exhibited in the first volume. But these bright precedent examples were rarely ever even mentioned in the literature of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and it is an unaccountable fact that the

Reformers of 1827-30 make no use of these examples¹ in their arguments, as could have been done with unanswerable effect. It remained for the Methodist Protestant Church, as an aggregation of consent, to prove its right to exist and prosper. The course of its history shall now be traced as its quadrenniums pass before me.

The Reformers of the West, in the autumn of 1830, felt that the cause must have a periodical among them, and so associated themselves for this purpose. November 1 the first number of the *Methodist Correspondent* appeared.² It was an eight-page quarto, bi-monthly, edited and published by Rev. Moses M. Henkle, in Cincinnati, O., at one dollar a year. It was ably conducted, with Shinn, Bascom, Snethen, Springer, Brown, and other leading writers as frequent contributors. It was under the patronage and auspices of the Ohio Conference, which now included the whole territory west of the Alleghanies. It gives in full the minutes of the second Conference, held September 2, 1830, in Cincinnati, with eighty-five ordained ministers, two-thirds of whom were local, and fifty lay-delegates. The membership was reported at 3791, a net gain of 1765, or nearly one hundred per cent for the year. It published the Constitution of the Church, and Bascom's "Declaration of Rights," anonymously, as he had not withdrawn from the old Church. The series of articles from his pen, running through the whole of the first volume under the pseudonym "Paul," with the title "Paul on the Ministry," attracted wide attention for their ability and defence of the principles of Reformers as to ministerial parity. It was the last consecutive literary work he performed in the direct interest of the new Church. The editor was intimate with him; afterward became his biographer, and in it admits the authorship of these articles. Bascom was never known to retract any argument or principle advocated in them. The *Itinerant* characterized it as "a new Radical paper," and pathetically called on its correspondents to furnish evidence from "those districts

¹ A solitary exception is found in the Address of the Convention of 1827 to the general Methodist Church—the representative principle among the English Reformers is cited casually.

² The six volumes of the *Methodist Correspondent*, bound up in two, now before the writer, are from the Bassett Deposit at Adrian College, loaned by the authorities. The last number was issued November 5, 1836. They are indispensable to a right understanding of Reform in the West, and have been carefully read and freely used in the composition of this History. It is perhaps the only perfect file of it in existence.

infected with the plague of radicalism" to support Dr. Bond's averment: "Reform is dead; let its ashes rest in peace." The unprecedented increase of one hundred per cent in the West was the evidence, mostly conversions. It notes the demise of Rev. Evert Richman, August 19, 1830, one of the truest local Reformers from the old Church. It supplies a brief chapter in the history of Rev. William Burke, one of the brave and devoted pioneers of Methodism in the West, which Dr. Stevens does not include in his panegyrics of him.¹

A Preachers' Aid Society was organized early in 1830 to supplement salaries of itinerants for the Ohio Conference, location Cincinnati. A number of successful camp-meetings were held during the summer of 1830. To these and other meetings the old side ministers were invited, but they never reciprocated—it would have smirched them with "Radicalism"; they durst not if inclined. A seminary was projected thus early for the West; and afterward materialized, with Snethen as its head. Shinn republished, in Cincinnati, a second edition of "An Essay on the Plan of Salvation," first issued in Baltimore, in 1813, revised and extended. It is a masterful and unanswerable argument for Arminian Methodism. The third Ohio Conference reported a membership of 5660, another net increase of about seventy-five per cent. It was thus that Reform kept "going down." Rev. William Reeves and his wife Hannah, both local preachers from the English Methodists, began their career of fidelity to American Reform and loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ in the summer of 1831. At the close of its first volume the *Corre-*

¹ After many years' service he retired and settled in Cincinnati about 1820-22. He was subsequently expelled from the Ohio Conference, the records showing no other charge than "contumacy." He appealed to the General Conference of 1824, which confirmed his expulsion. He then entered the Reformed Methodist movement of the Stillwell school, and did much to organize a society of this kind in Ohio. One of the charges alleged against the Union Society of Cincinnati was that it permitted William Burke to assemble with them. Matters continued thus until 1829-30, when to the surprise of himself and friends he was visited and coddled by Bishop M'Kendree, and by friendly overtures brought back into association with the M. E. Church, without his ever making any "confession, contrition," or "receiving proper trial" as a probationer. It was one of the methods employed to prevent influential men from aiding the Radicals. The Church went back to him lest the Burketes should secede. He was employed as one of the regular Cincinnati preachers, but never absolved from his "expulsion" by official act. It was not Christian charity but church policy; he had acquired considerable property, practically owned the Reform Church he built, and had no heirs. See *Methodist Correspondent*, vol. I. p. 90. See also humorous anecdote of Snethen and Burke while spectators together at the M. E. General Conference of 1836 at Cincinnati, in Brown's "Itinerant Life," p. 263.

spondent had about thirteen hundred subscribers. The editor and publisher was somewhat involved in its publication, and retired from the position.

The Book Committee of Baltimore informed W. S. Stockton of his election as editor, but he declined. It was then tendered to his son Thomas H., who also declined, no positive reason being given in either case. It is a tradition that the restraints of a Book Committee were objectionable to men of such pronounced individuality as made it impossible, despite the almost patronizing attitude of the Church, to keep either of them, for a life tenure, within connectional metes and bounds. It was finally arranged with Gamaliel Bailey, M.D., son of the veteran Methodist itinerant of that name, to take editorial charge, with John Jolly Harrod as publisher. The *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant*, the last name printed in capitals, black letter, and soon received as the abridged title, was issued January 7, 1831, the subscription list, etc., of the *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer* being transferred to it.¹ It was a large quarto, four-page weekly, at \$2.50 a year. Notice is given in the second number that the religious, and not the controversial, side was to be made paramount in the new paper. It also contained a brief obituary of Mrs. Susan H. Snethen, aged fifty-three, who departed November 10, 1830. She died in Indiana, whither

¹ A controversy occurred in the summer of 1898 between the *Christian Advocate* of New York and *Zion's Herald* of Boston as to priority, each claiming to be "the oldest Methodist paper in the United States," but as the *Herald* by its own showing only dates from 1823 and the *Advocate* from 1826, the genealogy of the *Methodist Protestant* makes it plain that it and not either of those carries the palm as the oldest Methodist newspaper in this country of continuous publication. It was the *Wesleyan Repository* from 1821 to 1824, the *Mutual Rights* from 1824 to 1828, and the *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer* from 1828 to 1830, when it became the *Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant*, the latter title soon flying at the masthead alone, where it has been nailed for sixty-eight years. So this paper legitimately dates from 1821, two years before *Zion's Herald* and five years before the *Christian Advocate*. The *Advocate* for November 24, 1898, quite voluminously disputes this claim principally on the ground that the *Repository* was a monthly and the *Mutual Rights* also, and that its claim and that of *Zion's Herald* is as "a weekly Methodist paper." Well, so qualified, that does settle it, but it cannot be unsettled that the *Methodist Protestant* is a successor of the *Mutual Rights* and *Wesleyan Repository*, inasmuch as a moral certainty is established from contemporary evidence that the subscription lists and proprietary rights of both came to the *Methodist Protestant* as such, and were both discontinued one after the other in the succession until the last appeared. This makes it as claimed the "oldest Methodist newspaper in the country." The only thing that could invalidate it would be for the *Advocate* or the *Herald* to show that either of them succeeded to the subscription list, etc., of the *Methodist Magazine*, a monthly, originated in 1818, and that it was discontinued in favor of either of them. This cannot be done.

her husband, Rev. Nicholas Snethen, had removed the previous month of May. Its literary and religious tone was very high. Dr. Bailey did not take charge until the sixth number. It is worth passing notice that T. S. Arthur, the writer of world-wide celebrity in after years, and whose family was of the new Church, resident in Baltimore, offered to it perhaps his first youthful contribution, which was declined with encouraging words. The proceedings of the Convention with the Constitution and Discipline ran through the opening numbers. Colonization was the favorite theory in that day of both pro- and anti-slavery men. Bascom was agent for the Society for several years, and the subject was discussed by the editor and others. Both the Pitt Street (East Baltimore station) and St. John's, Liberty Street, were opened on Sabbath for these meetings. At the close of the first volume, Gamaliel Bailey resigned and removed to Washington, D. C., where he established and conducted for some years the *National Era*, an antislavery paper of great ability and temperate discussion.

To show the spirit of the times, the Genesee Annual Conference, which met in the town of Ogden, Monroe County, N. Y., February 5, 1831, accepting their constitutional privilege, adopted the following resolve, "That all the colored members belonging to the Church, within the bounds of this Conference, be entitled to the same *rights* of suffrage and membership with the white members." February 3, 1831, F. L. B. Shaver, George R. Barr, Thomas Spragen, Robert Comtchfied, David H. Boyd, Adolphus C. Shaver, Hervy Garrison, Philip Rohr, and Christopher Roderfer adopted the Constitution, and withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church at Abingdon, Va. Several of these names are historic. The Pennsylvania Conference, April 5, 1831, reported 111 preaching-places, including six meeting-houses in the District, and 983 members. It convened in Philadelphia. The New York Conference reported, April 7, 1831, a membership of 988, net increase 428, or nearly one hundred per cent. Shinn and most of the leading Reform writers resumed their pens in the *Methodist Protestant*. It contained several articles on Education Societies by "Presbyter," H. B. Bascom. McCaine, as "Veritas," reopened, by permission, the Reform controversy on its merits. "A General Home Missionary Society" for the whole connection, was organized at St. John's, Baltimore, August 4, 1831, with officers selected from every section of the Church, Dr. Francis Waters, Chairman, and J. J. Harrod, Secretary. A great revi-

val at this St. John's occurred a few months prior, when fifty seekers at once filled the altar and the pews. Numerous camp-meetings in Maryland and elsewhere. Dr. Waters's Seminary, Baltimore, received Divinity students. Rev. Robert Sparks, an old ex-itinerant, and one of the first Reformers of Queen Anne's County, Md., died August, 1831. Rev. Thomas H. Stockton was appointed Agent of the "General Missionary Society," September 25, 1831.

The second Georgia Annual Conference was organized at Sweringen's camp-ground, Twiggs County, July 29, 1831, Eppes Tucker, President, Richard Blount, Secretary. Ministers: A. G. Brewer, Thomas Gardner, James Hodge, Harrison Jones, James R. Lowrey, Henry Saxon, James R. Swain, B. Sweringen, Eppes Tucker, Ethel Tucker, Sr., Robert P. Ward, Charles P. Witherspoon, Robert W. V. Wynne, Charles Williamson. Lay-delegates: Richard A. Blount, Philip Causey, Jacob W. Cobb, Maniel Collier, W. P. Gilbert, Charles Kennon, Arthur Lucas, Taliaferro Moore, Geo. W. Ray, James Shields, James Sweringen, Robert Tucker, Ethel Tucker, Jr., Josiah Whitehurst. "Laiicus," W. S. Stockton, furnished a series on "The Elementary Principles," explanatory and defensive. R. B. Thomson and Lewis F. Cosby, both of the Virginia Conference and historic names, appear as correspondents. The first volume closed with the December 30th number. It had heralded prosperity for the new Church in every direction, and its circulation could not have been short of twenty-five hundred, with the West largely supporting the *Correspondent*. Societies were organized far beyond the ministerial supply. A call was made in one of the numbers for fifty preachers, as an emergency supply; but they could not be had.

About this time J. J. Harrod, one of the fast friends of Bascom, wrote him soliciting his help and formal union with the new Church; whose cause he still continued to advocate in a quiet way, as his membership was yet in the Methodist Episcopal Church. He made answer that he would come out and cast his fortunes with the Methodist Protestant Church, if he could be guaranteed a support.¹ It is safe to aver that on this condition

¹ The authority for this statement is Rev. L. W. Bates, D.D., of the Maryland Conference, whose ministry dates from 1840, and who knew Harrod as his pastor in Baltimore. He recently informed the writer that he had the statement from Harrod's own lips. The writer had the same statement some years ago from the late Rev. Thomas McCormick, who was acquainted intimately with Harrod.

an abundant supply could have been secured from the ministry of the old Church, few of whom had such financial necessities as Bascom. Pressed with debt, a large family of his father's dependent upon him, his marital engagement postponed from year to year for the same reason, without habits of economy, those who understood the case uttered no censure for his hesitation. As a support, not even the pastorate of the old Church, though he could command the best, sufficed for him. Hence his acceptance of the Colonization Agency at this time; even this salary was supplemented by the lecture field, as opportunity offered, to replenish a constantly depleted purse. But he had censorious critics, and they stung him into a gradual alienation from his Reform friends; but not from its principles, as shall yet appear. The new Church membership had their financial ability tasked to the extreme, in church building in addition to the meagre salaries they could raise for the preachers, who, in this heroic struggle, accepted a moiety of what they should have received, and could have commanded, in the old Church and elsewhere. Dr. John S. Reese of Maryland abandoned the promise of a lucrative medical practice, for a young man, to enter this ministry, and so with many others in various sections, whose adhesion to principle and their self-immolation the page of history must never cease to mention. Yet with all these almost crushing disabilities and hamperings the new Church of lay-representation grew within a year to more than double its numbers, and was stretching out in every direction, to the joy of its friends and the ill-concealed chagrin of its enemies. The new Church was not only born, but gave unmistakable indications of a thrifty childhood and manhood. It vexed its opponents because it would not die. That doughty, but brusque itinerant of the West, Peter Cartwright, whose vocabulary was noted for its choice epithets, dubbed it "that radical brat." Even the ensuing General Conference of the parent body, through its Pastoral Address, descended from its dignity to fling a false statement into the teeth of the young Church, as shall be presently shown.

The second volume of the *Methodist Protestant* was edited impersonally under the Book Committee. It continued to increase in circulation, its pages filled with revival news and of newly organized churches. W. S. Stockton, Asa Shinn, and others, lead in contributions. As the Annual Conferences met they reported from fifty to one hundred per cent increase of members. Moses Scott wrote often from the work at Connells-

ville, Pa. Rev. James Hunter of North Carolina, one of the truest and earliest Reformers, passed to his reward in heaven December 5, 1831. Rev. J. Cochran, a local Elder, died April 15, 1831. Rev. Swain Swift of North Carolina, passed away October 8, 1831. The Book Committee issued Mosheim's "Church History" as a venture, which, while it was helpful in setting forth a true account of Primitive Church government, proved a disastrous financial scheme; the first of a series in the history of the Book Concern, involving individuals and the corporation. Ezekiel Hall, one of the early and staunchest of lay-Reformers, passed away 1831. "A distinguished itinerant preacher" of the Methodist Episcopal Church, having asserted that a marriage ceremony performed by a minister of the new Church was invalid, a suit at law followed for the slanderous imputation, and he was mulcted by the Supreme Court of the State in \$287 as damages. See *Protestant*, Vol. II. p. 205. The pastors of the two Methodist Protestant churches in Philadelphia, where the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met, in May, 1832, tendered, by written invitation, the pulpits to its ministers, but it refused to send a Sabbath supply.

In its Pastoral Address, of which Rev. William Winans was Chairman of the committee reporting, three paragraphs were given to the Reformers. It says: "Aroused by an attack which threatened the integrity of those institutions, we carefully reëxamined them; and having satisfied ourselves of their correctness and utility we, with our whole charge, have embraced them the more firmly. . . . Seldom has an enterprise resulted in a more complete failure than that in which, at the time alluded to above, a party, under the denomination of reformers, labored to change the economy of our Church, or, failing of that purpose, to overturn the Church itself. . . . We consider it, as now placed, beyond question that our *system of government* is too highly-appreciated by ourselves, as well as too firmly supported by the hand of heaven, to be shaken by designing men." Not through the printed Minutes only, but the columns of the *Christian Advocate*, with its twenty-five thousand subscribers, these unchristian and untruthful declarations received a wide dissemination. It aroused the Reformers, and a public meeting was called at St. John's, Baltimore, to answer the slanderous allegations. It was not convened until July 27, 1832, that patience and good temper might not be unduly taxed, — Asa Shinn, Chairman, Francis Waters, Secretary. Notwithstanding, the "Review," afterward also pub-

lished by the thousand and scattered broadcast as an antidote, was a most scathing one. It covers three pages of the *Methodist Protestant*, and leaves nothing unsaid to a complete refutation. The sharpest sentences in it are these: "Their minions have been harping on this string, with untiring perseverance, during the last four years, at all points of the compass; the bishops carefully brought forward the same favorite theme, and placed it in the front of their Address, at the opening of the session; and, to cap the climax, the whole Conference published a Pastoral Address, roundly affirming that 'seldom has an enterprise resulted in a more complete failure,' while their own case is made to 'flourish more vigorously than ever.'" It is one of a hundred instances showing that the Reformers seldom were the aggressors in revival of controversy; but, as now, they repelled false accusation and acted on the defensive, content to be left alone in their evangelistic work; the writer has already expressed the conviction that they carried their pacific policy to an unprofitable extreme in denominational interest. It was followed in the *Protestant* by a masterful series, from the pen of Shinn, "A Plea for the Methodist Protestant Church." George Brown also came to the rescue: "The late General Conference having wantonly and deliberately assailed the character, motives, and conduct of the Reformers, thereby evincing an inflexible purpose to renew and perpetuate hostilities, the only alternative left the latter is silence or defence . . . we have, therefore, determined on the latter."

Among the most active evangelistic workers of the Reformers must be mentioned, Adjet M'Guire of the West and Eli Henkle of the East. Camp-meetings through the summer months were everywhere held, and a harvest of souls gathered into the new Church. William Price, a staunch Reformer of the laity in North Carolina, passed away July 17, 1832. It is pleasant to note the first departure from the proscriptive policy of the mother church in the Christian conduct of Rev. William Barnes, the brilliant, if eccentric, itinerant of the Philadelphia Conference, who, in Centreville, Md., denounced bigotry and invited Reformers and others to the Lord's Supper. It was seconded by the church inviting Hon. P. B. Hopper, who held a local preacher's license in the new Church and effectively preached a simple gospel, to occupy their pulpit on a given Sabbath afternoon, which was accepted, the two churches in the town uniting in fraternal and Christian worship together, September 27, 1832. Thomas Mummy of Baltimore, a steel-true lay-Reformer, died September,

1832, as also his wife about the same time, one of the heroic Reform women. John Eliason of Georgetown, D. C., and Rev. William Hanna of Easton, Md., both early Reformers, died of cholera, which was then prevailing throughout the United States. Snethen was active in forming "Education Associations," the culture of the Church lying near his heart; but the method did not succeed. Rev. Jesse Morris of Georgia, one of the earliest Reformers, died April 27, 1832. "B. H. R.," a signature standing for Beale H. Richardson, appeared regularly from 1831-32 with miscellaneous, literary, and religious articles, and these were continued at intervals for more than fifty years. He was a prominent layman of St. John's, Baltimore. Bascom, a "Presbyter," commends Shinn's "Plan of Salvation," 1832. As indicating the deep prejudice excited among all classes of the old Church against "Radicalism," it must be noted that one of their popular churches in Philadelphia petitioned the General Conference to rescind the disciplinary law that all churches must be built with "free seats." Though utterly irrelevant they say, "There is no radicalism, either directly or indirectly, concerned in this memorial; and that if we supposed it would have the remotest tendency to promote radical views or principles, we would give it to the moles and bats, and still push on under the old system and do our best to sustain it." Comment is unnecessary.

The action of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was a damper upon the hundreds who had recoiled under the Bond-Emory defection and persecution. They said, to come out is a sacrifice more than can be made. Surely the General Conference will take steps looking to governmental changes, such as are manifestly demanded, on its own motion. What it did, was to extinguish the last hope of this class; and not a few in various places quietly withdrew, and sheltered their Christian manhood in the new Church. Henry B. Bascom was a member of this General Conference. Nothing was left undone to patronize him by the authorities. It is said that a respectable minority made objection to parts of the Pastoral Address; but it was carried by a large vote. The Episcopal election resulted in the choice of James O. Andrew of the South by 140, and John Emory of Maryland by 135 votes out of 223. The closing session was presided over by the latter, the only time he occupied the Chair in a General Conference; before 1836 "God took him." Bishop M'Kendree made a tearful farewell to the body in his trembling old age, to appear no more. Bishop Paine, of the Methodist

Episcopal Church, South, says it was "the most harmonious and conservative session . . . since the delegated body of 1808." Yes, power, if not successfully foiled, is sure to be reactionary. The vast presiding eldership of the Church took the cue, and proscription, prosecution, and persecution of Reformers revived in many places.

The second volume of the *Methodist Correspondent* was edited by a committee of laymen: Moses Lyon, John H. Wood, and W. L. Chappell. Shinn, though he had fully sustained it, suggested that it would be to the interest of the general Church if it should be discontinued at the end of this volume. The church intelligence proper appeared in both the periodicals by transfer, and he anticipated the evils of divided circulation as greater than the local advantages, a lesson this Church never learned. For fifty years its track has been strewn with the wrecks of ill-advised and unsuccessful ventures to establish local Conference and sectional papers. The *Itinerant*, having been discontinued in Baltimore, the *New York Christian Advocate*, inspired by the reaction of the General Conference and appalled, perhaps, by the increased circulation of the *Methodist Protestant*, and the spread of the Church it represented, reopened its columns to the old controversy, and was unsparing in its attacks. George Brown, in the *Correspondent*, notes the decease of John Phillips, one of the expelled Reformers of Pittsburgh, Pa., August 27, 1831. March 10, 1832, "Vindex," H. B. Bascom, appears in vindication of himself from a personal attack by Dr. Bond in the *Itinerant*. October 6, 1832, the *Correspondent* was removed, by authority of the Ohio Conference, to Pittsburgh, with Cornelius Springer and Asa Shinn as editors, to whom Charles Avery was added, at the close of the second volume.

The third volume of the *Methodist Protestant* opened auspiciously, and Shinn utters a warning against a slight, but natural, tendency of some in the new Church toward latitudinarianism in the opening number. The gravitation to extremes was cropping out, and he laid his strong hand upon it. It was timely. The fourth Tennessee Annual Conference, December 5, 1832, reported a net increase in members of nearly one hundred per cent for the year. John J. Harrod, publisher, showed a large deficit for the *Methodist Protestant*, but kept on, in his zeal for the cause, not only publishing, but book-making on a large scale, announcing now Prideaux's "Connexions," in two volumes of 450 pages each. Such financial indiscretion ended in his

business ruin, and clouded his closing days in disappointment. Rev. R. W. W. Wynne of Georgia deceased April 10, 1833. A church was formed in Halifax, N. S., by Rev. William Jackson, of more than fifty members; but this venture, like scores of others, from isolation and other causes, withered away, and was hailed in evidence that the experiment of a new Church was a "failure." February 13, 1833, Gideon Davis departed this life in Georgetown, D. C., and, for the first time, the official paper was ruled in mourning. Much of his Reform history has already been given. Dr. Colhouer well says of him: "As a Reformer he was intelligent and deliberate, and excelled in constructive ability. He was thoroughly American in principle; his theory being that government was from the people, for the people, and by the people. He was the Chancellor Bruck of the American Methodist Reformation, and has imprinted his mental image on the economy of the Methodist Protestant Church."¹ His remains repose in Oakhill cemetery, Georgetown, D. C. John Murray, an early Reformer in Maryland, died February 9, 1833. Rev. T. B. Balch appears as a contributor, and so continued for many years. Rev. John W. Bordley of Maryland, an early and staunch Reformer, passed to heaven May, 1833, obsequies by Hon. P. B. Hopper. A controversy runs through a large part of this volume, instigated by W. S. Stockton, insisting that the Constitutional Convention gave liberty to Annual Conferences to receive into membership ministers not under its stationing authority; which was vigorously combated by other members of the Convention, with the resultant that in a number of the Conferences all ministers, "stationed" and "unstationed," were on the rolls. In Maryland, Rev. Dr. Francis Waters, though never an itinerant, was always a member of the Conference. Many years later the Conference extended an honorary membership to the three surviving unstationed ministers of the Reform period, W. C. Lipscomb, Thomas McCormick, and Amon Richards. David Reese, one of the first Baltimore Reformers, died June 12, 1833. The women of Virginia organized a "Preachers' Aid Society," at

¹ "Sketches of the Founders of the Methodist Protestant Church," by T. H. Colhouer, A.M. Pittsburgh. Methodist Protestant Book Concern, 1880. 12mo. 464 pp. Cloth. This is a most valuable contribution to the Church literature. It is garnished with numerous excellent wood-cut engravings of early Reformers, both lay and clerical, and covers sketches of eighty-one prominent brethren. It contains also, as an appendix, a valuable bibliography. It should be in the course of reading of all our Conferences as an inspiration to young preachers. No Church can boast a nobler list of ecclesiastical heroes.

Norfolk. July, 1833, Rev. Charles W. Jacobs, a brilliant and youthful member of the Maryland Conference, passed to his reward. A 24mo memoir was issued by Rev. A. A. Lipscomb, as the first of literary ventures, which made him a high reputation in after years throughout all Southern Methodism. John Scott, born February 9, 1783, in Donegal County, Ireland, was a Wesleyan Methodist, and, in 1819, emigrated to America and settled in Washington County, Pa. He became a Methodist Reformer from the beginning, and was a subscriber to the *Mutual Rights*. In 1829 almost the entire society at Bethel, where he was a prominent member, withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and organized under the Conventional Articles of 1828. He continued steadfast in his principles and loyalty to Christ until December 23, 1833, when he peacefully departed this life. He was the father of the Rev. Dr. John Scott, who fills so large a place in this History. September 25, 1833, the Ohio Conference resolved to divide, certain territory being set off as the Pittsburgh Conference, — George Brown, President of the former and Asa Shinn of the latter; a net increase in the body of nearly three thousand for the year, or about eighty per cent. J. G. Whitfield took prominence in the Virginia Conference from 1832. Tennessee Conference, October 17, 1833, moved to abolish the order of deacon in the Church. Thomas H. Stockton elected chaplain to Congress, December, 1833, by a vote of 143 to 34 for Mr. Hammett of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The third volume closed with an increased patronage.

Volume III. of the *Methodist Correspondent*, Springer, Shinn, and Avery, editors. Joseph J. Amos is a frequent lay-contributor of church news, and through a long life maintained his loyalty, and bequeathed \$21,000 to Adrian College, in addition to liberal gifts always. An effort was made, December 5, 1832, to secure from the legislature of Pennsylvania, by the Methodist Episcopal Church, a legalization of their trust deed to property; but it was opposed and defeated on the ground that it would make an invidious discrimination in its favor over other denominations, and ally it too closely to the State. It grew out of the recent decision of the Supreme Court, under Judge Gibson, awarding the Pittsburgh property to the Reformers, heretofore explained. The *Correspondent* was ably conducted, but most of its church intelligence was transferred from the *Methodist Protestant*. It was now removed to Zanesville, O., and reappeared after six weeks' intermission, October 17, 1833, the profits, if

any, to be divided between the Ohio and the Pittsburgh Conferences. It assumed more of a literary and agricultural character. John Clarke, Joseph and Israel Thrapp, appear as contributors. The "Editor" corresponds from Georgetown, D. C., the seat of the first General Conference, of which notice shall be made in the next chapter. Numerous camp-meetings were held in the West during the summer of 1834. The extreme antislavery element of the country about this time organized in Abolition Societies, one in the West and one in New York, and other places. Popular sentiment was as yet opposed to what was called "amalgamation," approved by them, intermarriage of the races, etc., and the *Correspondent* notes as follows: "Disgraceful riots have recently happened in New York, in which the Abolitionists are censured as the cause. It seems that this society is destined to become the butt of public reproach and persecution; but this is no sign that they are wrong." It shall be seen how it grew apace in Methodism, and precipitated the alienation of the sections.

The fourth volume of the *Methodist Protestant* began January 3, 1834. "Philadelphia," Joseph Mc KER, a layman, continued frequent contributions, and "Onesimus" appeared, Rev. L. F. Cosby, as a forcible writer. A Literary Institution was proposed by the Alabama Conference. "Lacidar," Rev. A. Webster, appeared as a contributor. A masterful sermon by Rev. Lemuel Haynes (colored) is published in full against Rev. Ballou, Universalist, delivered in Rutland, Vt., June, 1805. A large secession took place from the old Church in Charleston, S. C., instigated by the enforced seating of colored persons with the whites in the church, encouraged by Dr. Capers, and other local questions, involving conflict between the laity and the Conference authorities. Trials and expulsions took place, resulting in the organization of a Methodist Protestant Church; which was a landmark for many years, and continued until the close of the Civil War, which scattered the membership, while the church property was damaged greatly by the bombardment of the city. Such names as Hillard, Laval, Kirkwood, Norton, Thomas, and Honour can never be forgotten as its staunch supporters.¹ January 28, 1834, Anna G. Chappell, wife of John Chappell of Baltimore,

¹ Those who are curious to know all the details of this remarkable case are referred to "An Exposition of the Causes which Led to the Secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, S. C." Charleston, 1834. 8vo. 31 pp., and supplements to it, preserved in the writer's "Radical Church Tracts" volume. In 1838 the church was destroyed in the great Charleston fire. It had cost \$12,000, with a debt of \$4000 upon it, but even such a calamity did not crush

departed this life. Baptized by John Wesley, her Methodist record was unimpeachable, and her Christian heroism merits this embalmment. After the expulsion of her venerable husband for his advocacy of Reform, she addressed the following note to the preacher in charge:—

BALTIMORE, December 29, 1827.

REV'D SIR: After mature deliberation, and with the most poignant feelings (at the cruel and unchristian conduct exhibited toward my dear husband, and many others) I am under the painful necessity of requesting you to withdraw my name from that church in which I have been nurtured from my childhood to the present period, and a member thereof forty-seven years.

Respectfully,

ANNA G. CHAPPELL.

A great revival at St. John's, Baltimore. Members of the old Church united in the services. It continued for several months. An editorial says: "Authority to act for the whole Church on important matters ought to be vested somewhere. We have lost much, very much, from the want of this desideratum. This lack can be supplied by the General Conference"; but, as already noticed, it was not supplied until 1877. Died April 16, 1834, Rev. Charles Roundtree of Virginia, an early Reformer. The fourth volume was made to close May 30, 1834, a period of six months. The General Conference had authorized the Book Committee to issue proposals for a new paper, to be called the *Methodist Protestant Journal*, under the editorship of Nicholas Snethen and Asa Shinn, provided it could be made financially safe. The new paper appeared June 11, 1834, as the *Methodist Protestant*, Snethen and Shinn editors, and published by the Book Committee, as a new series, Volume I., No. 1. Snethen at once took charge, but Shinn did not remove to Baltimore until the autumn. The salutatories of both appear.

these devoted men. The house was soon rebuilt through the sympathy of the community. These brethren had special regard to the religious education of the colored people, and the spacious galleries were set apart for them, and they were organized under class leaders of their own color. This membership of the church averaged some six hundred for a series of years, and what is noteworthy is the fact that after the disintegration of the whites as a congregation and the loss of the property these colored men and women after the Civil War, which set them free, preserved their own Methodist Protestant organization, built a house of their own, and exist to this day as a part of the South Carolina Colored Conference. The Maryland Conference which supplied the white church for a number of years, ordained one of the colored leaders, Rev. Francis Brown, whose frequent visits to Maryland at the Conference time were occasions of renewed fraternity. His name and that of his associate, Rev. E. R. Washington, merit perpetuation in this History.

CHAPTER XVII

The General Conference of 1834; attendance; statistics; the Book Concern and losses under Harrod; moral — Snethen and Shinn elected editors of the Baltimore paper; remarkable prediction of Snethen in an editorial as to Lay-Representation; digest of news from the official paper — The *Methodist Correspondent* in its sixth and last volume; hard times and salaries of preachers; Stockton to prepare a new hymn book; Shinn alone editor of the paper; growth of Abolitionism; recollections of the writer — Rev. Dr. Daniel Davies editor for 1836; new plan for the Book Concern; how it was pushed; depletion of the churches in the East by immigration West — Second volume under Davies; pioneers of Reform — The second General Conference, 1838; roster of members; statistics — Slavery question revived; compromise at this Conference through Dr. Brown; Shinn's decided views; complicated with a movement to remove the official paper to Pittsburgh — T. H. Stockton elected editor of a "free" paper; Book Committee interpose and Stockton resigns; election of E. Yeates Reese — Plea of the Book Committee in their defence; the case made out.

THE ratio of representation having been fixed at one of each class for every thousand members, it kept the General Conference of 1834 considerably within one hundred, and as there were a number of absentees, the body was comparatively small. The following were the representatives elected to the first General Conference, which assembled in Georgetown, D. C., May 6, 1834.

MARYLAND	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
John S. Reese	John Chappell
Eli Henkle	William Quinton
William C. Lipscomb	Thomas Jacobs
James R. Williams	Philemon B. Hopper
PENNSYLVANIA	
John Smith	Jeremiah Stull ¹
NEW YORK	
Thomas W. Pearson	James Wood
CHAMPLAIN	
No representation	No representation

¹ Absent.

	VERMONT	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
Justis Byington ¹		Solomon Mason ¹
	GENESEE	
James Covell ¹		Sylvanus Teber ¹
	MASSACHUSETTS	
James D. Yates ¹		William Wyman
	VIRGINIA	
John French ¹		J. J. Burroughs
	OHIO AND PITTSBURGH	
Asa Shinn		Thomas McKeever
Cornelius Springer		Moses Lyon ¹
Charles Avery		John W. Philips ¹
George Brown		W. Disney ¹
John Clarke		Edward Newton
J. H. Overstreet ¹		James Barnes
Nicholas Snethen		Walter Forward ¹
Ashby Pool ¹		Erastus Hoskins ¹
Saul Henkle		T. P. Armstrong ¹
James Towler		Stephen Bell
	NORTH CAROLINA	
William Harris		Spier Whitaker
	GEORGIA	
Charles Evans		R. A. Blount
	ALABAMA	
James Meek ¹		M. Megee ¹
	TENNESSEE	
William B. Elgin		James L. Armstrong

Forty-eight in all, and of these seventeen were absent. Maryland gave half its ministerial representation to the unstationed ministers, and their claims were respected in some of the other Conferences. The body was harmonious, electing Nicholas Snethen, President, and W. C. Lipscomb, Secretary. No attempt

¹ Absent.

was made to alter the Constitution; the Discipline was revised and altered in minor particulars, so well had the Convention of 1830 done its work. Fourteen Annual Conferences were recognized. A Board of Foreign Missions, located in Baltimore, was constituted of twelve persons, S. K. Jennings, Chairman. Champlain Conference, recently set off in northern New York, was not represented and no statistics furnished, but the others made the following exhibit: Vermont, 800; Boston, 300; New York and Canada, 360; Genesee, 1300; New York, 1600; Pennsylvania, 1600; Maryland, 4227; Virginia, 1000; North Carolina, 1500; Tennessee, 1400; Georgia, 1000; Alabama, 1000; Ohio, 10,500. Some of these were estimates for the previous year, and are mostly in round numbers. The total of 26,587 it was believed should be increased to a round number of 28,000 by adding 500 ministers, about one-third of whom were itinerants, 500 for Champlain and other omissions. The increase was unprecedented in Methodism. Taking the highest estimate for 1830 at 5000, it shows a net increase of nearly 600 per cent in four years. Perhaps 5000 secessions from the old Church to be added to the first 3000 to 5000 of 1828-30, indicating some 20,000 conversions and additions in the quadrennium. The boast of the General Conference of the old Church in 1832 was that its statistics were in evidence that it had not only recovered the full loss, but had made an increase of some 10 per cent from 1828 to 1832, and this was declared the irrefragable evidence that the Lord favored their "system of government," at the same time heralding the mendacious statement that Reform was "a complete failure." Surely here is reason enough that the history of these times should be impartially written, as no amends have ever been made by the latest of Methodist Episcopal chroniclers for these misstatements.

Bascom's Declaration of Rights was appended to the new Discipline of 1834. J. J. Harrod made known the fact that he had expended on account of the periodical \$1900 more than he had received, though there were \$3000 of subscriptions due him. The publication of standard works already named, and a large credit to preachers and others, compelled him to decline the position as publisher. Despite sanguine business views, which were at the bottom of this miscarriage, financial losses which harassed his closing years, no one more fully merits the meed of unstinted praise than this upright and intrepid man of whom Dr. Bond said that the impairment of his friendship was to him the greatest

deprivation of the Radical controversy. In the face of these warnings James R. Williams proposed and organized a joint-stock company of \$20,000 to establish a Book Concern, in shares of \$50 each. It was done, with an eventual outcome of almost total loss of the principal to the subscribers, who had been secured, about one-half in Baltimore, and the remainder through the travelling agency at different times of T. H. Stockton, Augustus Webster, and William Kesley. A Book Concern was one of the things the new Church must imitate in the old, not seeing that such a corporation in the old Church was an integer of a hierarchy for which the new stood in no need. Private enterprise under safe business methods would have furnished all necessary literature; but to this day the other policy has been pursued, happily without the scandal which has overtaken both the Book Concerns of the old Methodisms in this country under the management of ministers untrained to business and open to a serious form of temptation.

Snethen, with Shinn as coadjutor, edited the periodical for one year, when he resigned, as the financial condition did not encourage the expense of a double-headed editorship. He returned to his home in Indiana to renew his activity in other directions. During his term he uttered a remarkable prediction, than which nothing seemed more improbable: "The point of controversy is reduced to a unit—a pure, unmixed question of representation. If we are true to it, if we glory in it, it must finally prevail and *proselyte every Methodist in the United States*. They may indeed remain Episcopal Methodists, but so sure as we are not moved away from our high calling, the whole lump will be leavened into Representation Methodists. . . . The doctrine of representation is just as true and just as plain as the result of two and two. It will finally convince millions as well as thousands, it will indeed convince all the world." This was not only the courage of conviction, but the prescience of a rare wisdom. For a whole generation it was scouted by the hierarchy North and South; it was ridiculed as an impossibility in Methodism. It shall be made plain how nearly it has been literally fulfilled within another generation; and ere the third is numbered, in both the letter and the spirit it may be accomplished. Then shall tardy justice be done William S. Stockton and Nicholas Snethen; it will be the hour of their Methodist apotheosis.

It does not appear that the slavery question disturbed the General Conference of 1834, though but fifteen of the thirty-one

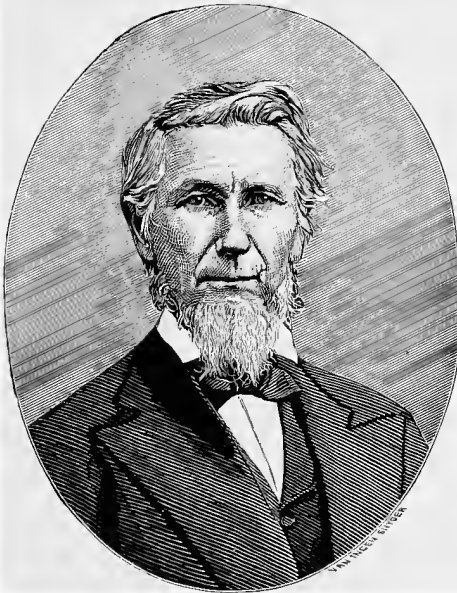
present were from slave states, and of these at least three were conservative antislavery men of the Maryland delegation.

January 12, 1835, Andrew Hunter, a devoted Reformer of Cookstown, Pa., passed to his reward. December 15, 1834, Reuben McDaniel, of Indiana, died. The *Correspondent* gives space to a call for the Ohio Antislavery Convention at Zanesville, April 22, 1835, and "all persons who advocate the righteous principles of Immediate Emancipation" are invited. It closed its fifth volume much indebted to Cornelius Springer, who conducted and edited it.

No less than twelve camp-meetings were announced for Maryland alone under the Conference presidency of Dr. John S. Reese during the summer of 1834. In these the local ministry took conspicuous part, as announced in the *Methodist Protestant*. The following sagacious moralizing in it must not be lost: "The Methodist Episcopal Church, like the Jews, committed a grave error. The latter sought to destroy Jesus for fear he might destroy them; the former sought to destroy the advocates of representation, lest they might destroy the Church. The principle is wrong in itself. But it may be founded in error, or in prejudice, or in passion, or in mere suspicion. It is an excess of the principle of self-defence, and has proved to be the source of half the wars and calamities of the human race. Not the least of its evil consequences is that it is so difficult for us ever again to respect or love those whom we have thus injured through our unfounded suspicions. All the aspects and movements of Methodist representation have now become dreadful, for the fear that is founded upon suspicion, more than fear founded in truth, grows strong by habit." It needs only the qualification that in both cases it was the instigation of the hierarchy and not the body of the people that did it. An editorial appears from Snethen noticing the new aspect of antislavery as a "National Sin," and for "Immediate Emancipation." It is conservative. The circulation of the official paper is announced as 1475. Rev. Thomas Cheeseman died August 26, 1835, in New Jersey, an early Reformer. Rev. Miles King, a Reform itinerant of Virginia, died September 17, 1834. Rev. Williamson of Georgia departed this life June 11, 1834. Baltimore "Book Company" was incorporated by the General Assembly of Maryland, March 17, 1835. James Whidness of Pennsylvania departed this life March 12, 1835. Snethen published his work on lay-representation, hitherto noticed. These are excerpts to the close of the volume, June, 1835.



WILLIAM COLLIER.



ANCEL H. BASSETT.



GEORGE BROWN.

The sixth and last volume of the *Methodist Correspondent* was edited and published by Cornelius Springer at Zanesville, O. An exhibit of the steward of the Ohio Conference throws light upon the meagre support received by the itinerant ministers of the new Church in the West, the only qualification being that the whole country was now in the toils of a severe financial depression. The aggregate of salaries allowed for the entire District was \$5375.53, apportioned among 32 preachers and the President, John Clarke, who was allowed \$400 and received \$228.44. The total received by these 33 preachers was \$3583.09, showing a deficit of \$1888.50. The Conference collection and the Preachers' Aid Society contributed \$271.48, which was distributed among the most necessitous. And yet these devoted men labored on for Christ and Mutual Rights. A monetary crisis in the experience of this country has generally had the effect to make men serious, and religious conditions improved, but in this instance the fact is patent that in all the Churches the numerical increase was greatly minified, as will be seen, not only in the new but in the old Church, and in other denominations. Peter T. Laishley appears as a contributor and active worker. The General Conference of 1834 deputed T. H. Stockton to compile a new hymn book, and he announced that he hoped to finish the work in the spring of 1836. In May of that year the Agent, John Clarke, made choice by purchase of the Mount Pleasant Farm, near Lawrenceburgh, Ind., for the Literary Institution of the West,—250 acres, 135 arable,—for \$12,500, or \$50 an acre, on a subscription of \$5000. The Ohio Antislavery Society within a year reported 100 auxiliaries, so the "irrepressible conflict" hastened. A mob in Cincinnati, August, 1835, destroyed the press of the *Philanthropist*, edited by Birney, an extreme abolitionist. John Burns and A. H. Bassett grew into prominence in Church work. College buildings were proposed for the Lawrenceburgh farm, under the Presidency of Nicholas Snethen, October 30, 1836. The last number of the *Correspondent* was dated November 6, 1836, and by order of the Ohio and Pittsburgh Conferences it was removed to Wheeling, Va., for the accommodation of Rev. D. B. Dorsey, elected editor and publisher, to be printed on a super-royal sheet once a week. Oliver Wells, an original Reformer, deceased October 9, 1836. These are the salient events of the closing volume at Zanesville.

The *Methodist Protestant*, under the editorship of Asa Shinn, "assisted by the Book Committee," began June 10, 1835. Shinn

removed to Baltimore and took charge. So scant was the courtesy received from the old side preachers by the new Church, it was deemed worthy of special mention that Rev. Dr. Olin, President of Randolph-Macon College of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Va., while in Lynchburg at the Virginia Conference, attended a service in the Methodist Protestant Church, and after sermon by another he offered the closing prayer, and "prayed particularly for blessings to be upon our church, which he called a tender vine of the Lord." At once one of the most brilliant and pious of the ministry of the old Church, his soul was too large for narrow bigotry, and though of Northern birth and education, a long residence in the South attempered his views and led him in the General Conference of 1844 to exert all his powers to arrest extreme measures. Notice was made of the fact that the percentage of increase in the new Church conferences was greatly reduced, and in some cases none at all. At the same time the *Christian Advocate* stated that within the bounds of such leading Conferences as Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York they had suffered a decrease of members. July, 1835, the *New York Methodist Protestant and Conference Journal* appeared, folio, semi-monthly. It was about this time that Rev. Daniel E. Reese, Sr., and Rev. John Valiant made their peace with the old Church and returned, which led the press of that Church to report that the Reform cause was on the verge of dissolution in Baltimore. It was quietly disposed of by Shinn, who wielded his pen with trenchant courtesy.

A Convention of ministers and laymen in Lower Canada adopted with some changes the Constitution and Discipline of the new Church and called a Conference to meet at Dunham, February, 1836, Lower Canada. Instigations to insurrection among the slaves of the South greatly excited that section, and a mass-meeting was called at Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass., to protest against such measures, while deprecating the institution as such. The commercial interest of Boston had not ceased in the slave-trade, but was fast declining. Both Maryland and Virginia took some steps looking to the establishment of "A Literary and Scientific Manual Labor School." September 9, 1835, the Book Committee say: "On the subject of slavery and abolition we intend to be silent, for reasons that must on all hands, we think, appear to be just and indispensable." Rev. William McMasters, an early Reformer of New York, departed this life November 17, 1835. Proposals were made for the *Mutual Rights and Southern Intelli-*

gencer, to be published at Charleston, S. C., under the auspices of the Georgia Conference. It was proposed by the Pittsburgh Conference to remove the official paper to the city of Pittsburgh, which was answered by the Book Committee. Rev. Joab W. Ragan deceased October 3, 1835, a devoted itinerant Reformer of the West. Shinn, as editor, notices a resolution of the Georgia Conference requesting the official paper to "declare its disapprobation of Abolition,"¹ in which he calls attention to the action of the Book Committee, dissenting, if it implicates a "disposition to suppress truth or shrink from investigation." It led to differences between him and the Committee, coupled with intimations that Shinn's zeal for a call of a General Conference in 1838, instead of 1841, as the law required, and of which he was largely the author, was to secure a removal of the Book Concern to Pittsburgh. Pamphlets were issued denying and affirming on both sides, and the upshot was Shinn's resignation at the close of the volume as editor. In the great fire in New York the Book Concern of the Methodist Episcopal Church was almost totally destroyed, with a loss of \$250,000. The Book Concern of the new Church was reported to be in good condition, and the Maryland Conference took special action looking to its support. The New York Conference paper was discontinued, April, 1836. The concluding numbers of the official paper were filled with the spe-

¹ The writer, then a youth not yet in his teens, was an eye-witness to the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, in his native city of Philadelphia, by a mob in 1838, growing out of this Abolition question. The Friends of that city were from the first pronounced and honest antislavery people, and were never complicated with it either as bolders of slaves or as commercially interested in the trade as was the case in New England. Unfortunately, perhaps, they fell into extremes and became not only abolitionists favoring immediate emancipation at any cost and without regard to personal rights of others, but to exhibit their sympathy with the colored man, advocated what was afterward known as miscegenation or intermarriage of the races. The writer remembers distinctly the excitement produced in Philadelphia over these teachings and practices. The Pennsylvania Hall was built by them, and here assemblies of both races were held, and white Quaker women made it a matter of defiant pride to socially entertain and be escorted through the streets by colored men, and in some cases marriage was consummated. It was, it must be admitted, to this form of antislavery that the South made strenuous objection, while the incitement to insurrection spread alarm through that section. On the other hand as slavery, as a purely domestic institution, its least objectionable phase, ceased to be agriculturally profitable in the so-called Border States, the mercenary greed of holders led them into slave-breeding for a more southern market, the most offensive phase of it, and thus it too became aggressive, demanding its right to new territory and the unmolested transit with such servants through free States. If there was lack of method in the madness of either side in these extremes, the whole was providentially working out the only possible ultimate.

cial General Conference discussion involving a Book Concern controversy ending in criminations and recriminations, and not a little injury to the general Church. "Laicus," W. S. Stockton; "Amicus," James R. Williams; "Lacidar," Augustus Webster; Snethen occasionally; T. H. Stockton as travelling Agent for Book Concern; Shinn as "Bartimeus," as well as editor,— were the principal writers for this volume.

A new volume, beginning June 8, 1836, flies the name of Rev. Daniel Davies, M.D., as editor, while the "Book Committee" explain their relation to the official paper as set by the General Conference of 1834. The editor was a young man of the Maryland Conference, of exceptional abilities, sweet disposition, but feeble health. He entered upon his duties under favorable auspices. He was unmarried, and this was one of the reasons for his selection, on the score of economy. The General Conference of the old Church met in Cincinnati, May, 1836, and elected Beverly Waugh, Wilbur Fisk, and Thomas A. Morris, bishops. Mason and Lane, both ministers, were appointed agents of the Book Concern, following precedents before and since to the exclusion of laymen trained to business. Why? The decisions of courts of law, as well as the Discipline, made the Book Concern the absolute property of the preachers exclusively; why should they not manage and control it? Under a hierarchy there was no reason, and the General Conferences acted accordingly, with a sequel yet to be revealed.¹ Wilbur Fisk declined for the second

¹ These assertions need the support of examples, and they are at hand. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, twenty odd years ago, their Publishing House at Nashville, Tenn., under the management of Rev. Dr. A. H. Redford, developed a scandal of misapplied funds and unsettled accounts which shadowed the name of the manager to the close of life, either through ignorance of right business methods or weakness of character in yielding to temptation. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, from 1858 to 1868 especially, the mismanagement, to call it by no harsher name, was something almost unprecedented. As in the Church, South, ministers have controlled with almost unnamable freedom the immense funds of the Book Concern, for this property has always been specially claimed as belonging exclusively to the Itinerant preachers. On the election of Rev. Dr. Lanahan assistant Book Agent in 1868, his Spartan courage and Christian honesty unearthed a long series of misappropriation of funds by the senior Agent and his subordinates of which he should not, and indeed could not, have been ignorant. Yet for these exposures the assistant Agent was persecuted with all the crushing power of officialism, with rare exceptions, and compelled him, as late as 1896, in his old age in rebuttal of continued insinuations that he was a traducer of good men, to issue an *exposé* of the whole unsavory business. The animadversion made in both these cases is that there was a failure by the ministerial class—no others were allowed to touch such sacred deposits—rigidly to investigate and condignly punish the real offenders. So palpable, however, were the loose busi-

time the mitre; his fervent piety and educational tact led him to decide that a college presidency was his forte and province. Beverly Waugh, the still-hunt Reformer of 1824-28, received final promotion as a subservient pervert. Thomas A. Morris filled the episcopal chair with credit to himself and honor to the Church, with mediocre ability. T. H. Stockton for several years continued his blank verse contributions of rare poetic merit. Augustus Webster succeeded him as travelling Agent for the Book Concern, in broken health, but used his pen frequently journalizing. In October, 1836, Charles Avery, of Pittsburgh, contributed \$1000 to Stockton for the establishment of a Book Concern. It was munificent for that day. The *Olive Branch*, a weekly paper, was established in Boston, Mass., July, 1836, auxiliary to the cause of the new Church, and under Rev. T. F. Norris as editor and proprietor for many years was successfully managed, and buttressed the Church in the East. T. H. Stockton once more in the pastorate, his fame filled Maryland and elsewhere at the camp-meetings as the most eloquent speaker known since Summerfield, not excepting Bascom. The Western emigration was a cause of severe depletion to the new Church as of the old. William Collier, now springing into prominence, reports from Alexandria, Va., that 131 had removed since the organization of the Church, April, 1829. Rev. Thomas Taylor of Kentucky, an early Reformer, deceased April 24, 1836. He was born in Virginia, 1763. The Book Committee address an historical statement to all the Annual Conferences. E. Yeates Reese makes contributions in prose and verse to the paper. The Board of Foreign Missions in Baltimore, Dr. Francis Waters, President, and P. S. Chappell, Secretary, send out Rev. David James, colored, and a small company from the neighborhood of Elkton, Md., as superintendent of a mission at Cape Palmas, Africa. A public meeting was held at Pitt Street, East Baltimore, on Sabbath, 30th of October, 1836, of a deeply affecting character, of which the editor gives a three-column account in the November 16

ness methods, if not covert frauds in New York, that the General Conference of 1872, for the first time in the history of the Book Concern, elected a layman as assistant Agent. On the appearance of Dr. Lanahan's vindication, again the whispered mandate of officialism arrested the sale of the book in quiet ways known only to the class. For the facts in this case, never disproved, and scarcely admitting of denial, see the work referred to: "The Era of Frauds in the Methodist Book Concern at New York," by John Lanahan, D.D., 1896. Methodist Book Depository, 118 East Baltimore Street, Baltimore, Md. 12mo. 307 pp. Cloth.

number.¹ William Quinton, an early Reformer, died in Maryland, October 19, 1836. The Virginia Conference resolved to establish a Manual Labor College, agents appointed, and \$70,000 asked to accomplish the work. The depletion by emigration and other causes kept the statistics of some of the Eastern and Southern Conferences at zero as to increase. Thomas Nicholson of Halifax, N. C., an early Reformer, died November 27, 1836. Rev. James R. Lowery of the Georgia Conference, an original Reformer, died October 13, 1836. Rev. William Pinnell labored successfully among the colored people under encouragement from the Virginia Conference. The first Annual Conference of Illinois was opened at Alton, October 25, 1836. E. M'Daniel, President; preachers appointed, M. T. Johnson, R. Miller, F. Prather, C. Howard, M. Osburn, W. H. Collins, George Wheatly, Thomas Bennett; George Brown, missionary in the northern, and Reddick Horn, in the southern, part of the district. James Towler, an original Reformer from O'Kelly's time, and prominent in Reform in the West for a number of years, departed this life July 9, 1836. A general declension in religion is marked in all the denominations; business is depressed, while living is high, flour \$10 a barrel and wheat \$1.50 to \$1.80 a bushel. The Book Concern is in straits to continue the official paper with a paid editor, but amid it all the brethren are struggling to build new churches and pay for those already erected, and raise a support for the itinerants. Thomas K. Witsel succeeded George Thomas as President of the seventh New York Annual Conference, and for many years he was a landmark in that section. It met in Albany. Rev. Joshua Swift of North Carolina, an early Reformer, died March 25, 1837. The volume closed financially embarrassed, but its conduct had given general satisfaction; controversy was excluded, and its pacific spirit commended it to all.

The next volume, with Davies as editor, opened with promise, William Kesley, travelling Agent. The Ohio Conference takes a stand in favor of the Book Concern as established by the General Conference in Baltimore, and orders its encouragement. Snethen resumes his pen frequently for the official paper. Thomas Latimer, an early Reformer, died August 3, 1837, at Hampton, Va. Elisha Lott writes from Mississippi, one of the earliest and truest of Reform ministers, and largely the father of the

¹ Nothing more is known of this missionary enterprise; it miscarried, and the writer recalls a tradition of forty years ago that the existence of the word "white" in the Constitution had something to do with it.

new cause in the far South. James R. Williams suggests a method for a General Superintendency of four of the Annual Conference Presidents, to be selected by the ensuing General Conference, to "act in rotation as corresponding presidents," under strict limitations as to magisterial powers; but the dominant idea of the framers of the Constitution was that the connectional bond of travelling Annual Conference presidents was all that would be needed. They believed in an episcopacy, but of the diocesan kind. John Chandler, a prominent layman of the Alabama district, and an original Reformer, passed away October 24, 1837. The Total Abstinence Temperance resolutions of these early Conferences are models for some in this day; they were pronounced and prohibitory. Rev. Levi R. Reese was elected Chaplain to the House of Representatives, December 11, 1837. Rev. Saul Henkle, an original Reformer, brother to Moses M. and Eli, departed this life November 15, 1837. A call appears from Rev. William P. Smith and Rev. Lindsey P. Rucker of the Church for volunteer missionaries in Texas, with its hundred thousand inhabitants. The *Methodist Correspondent* not having materialized as proposed, in Wheeling, under D. B. Dorsey, the whole West reports through the official paper, and many are the glad tidings furnished by Brown, Springer, Ragan, Dalby, Bassett, M'Guire, while all the old writers furbish it with their freshly nibbed pens, and new ones contribute their maiden efforts, — names that, afterward, grew into fame. Snethen, as "N. S.," is an almost weekly contributor. A special General Conference having been called by the necessary two-thirds of the Annual Conferences, it is announced for Pittsburgh, third Tuesday in May, 1838. An era of good feeling is inaugurated, revivals are reported, and the brethren everywhere join in the slogan — forward! The Boston Conference asks for the abolition of the order of Deacon. The fifty-second number of the volume closed July 28, 1838, with a valedictory from the retiring editor, Dr. Davies, who accepted the pastorate of the church in Charleston, S. C.

The second General Conference assembled in the First church, Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa., May 15, 1838. The following were members: —

BOSTON

Ministers
John McLeish

Laymen
W. Wyman

VERMONT

John Croker

A. McLaughlin

	NEW YORK	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
T. W. Pearson		William Wood
J. L. Ambler		William Stead
	CHAMPLAIN	
—		Nathan Green
	GENESEE	
Michael Burge		S. Beecher
	PENNSYLVANIA	
A. Woolston		W. S. Stockton
	MARYLAND	
Thomas H. Stockton		John Clark
Luther J. Cox		E. Crutchley
William Kesley		T. C. Brown
W. C. Lipscomb		J. S. Zeiber
	VIRGINIA	
Dr. Finney		J. M. Smith
	NORTH CAROLINA	
Samuel B. Harris		L. H. B. Whitaker
	GEORGIA	
R. Blount		C. Kennon
	ALABAMA	
Peyton S. Graves		B. S. Bibb
	TENNESSEE	
R. W. Morris		James L. Armstrong
	ILLINOIS	
W. H. Collins		R. A. Shipley
	OHIO	
R. W. Johnston		S. Bell
M. M. Henkle		J. J. Amos
William Disney		M. Lyon
	PITTSBURGH	
A. Shinn		J. Carey
George Brown		J. Bell

PITTSBURGH (*continued*)

<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
J. Elliot	E. Hoskins
C. Springer	T. McKeever
E. Woodard	J. Barnes
D. B. Dorsey	W. Garrard
C. Avery	B. Connell

It will be observed that one-half the Maryland ministerial delegation is given to the unstationed ministers, as in 1834, and so in other Conferences.

Asa Shinn was elected President and T. W. Pearson, Secretary. Nicholas Snethen was present as an honorary member, and by special vote of the Conference was requested to deliver a sermon before the body. The principal committees, with the chairmen, were: Executive, M. M. Henkle; Judiciary, George Brown; Missions, William H. Collins; Finance, Moses Lyon; Means of Grace, John Elliot; Literary, Luther J. Cox; Theological, Cornelius Springer; Slavery Question, George Brown. There were a number of recommendations for changes in the Constitution and Discipline, but the various committees made conservative reports, and but few amendments were made. The time of General Conference was changed from "seven" to four years. The proposition of the Book Committee to establish a Book Concern, with a capital of \$20,000, to be located in Baltimore, with a weekly periodical of improved form, was finally agreed to, and the following named as the Book Committee: James R. Williams, Samuel K. Jennings, John Chappell, John Clark, Dr. Francis Waters, Luther J. Cox, Philip S. Chappell, Beale H. Richardson, and the superintendents of Baltimore city and East Baltimore stations. The name of the periodical was now changed to the *Methodist Protestant and Family Visitor*, and Thomas H. Stockton elected editor. The new hymn book compiled by T. H. Stockton was approved as the hymn book of the Church, and was soon thereafter issued from the press and was used by the churches for twenty years. The Illinois Annual Conference was recognized, and a new one in Arkansas and in New Jersey,¹ making

¹ The action was as follows: "On motion of brother Woolston, Resolved, that all those parts of New Jersey south of the New York district, be constituted a district to be called the New Jersey district." It was adopted, but it had no representative in the General Conference of 1842, and so could not have materialized as a district separate from the New York. Its organization occurred later, as will be seen.

sixteen in all. The proceedings of the General Conference are included in twenty-eight pages as officially printed, and are meagre in details. The members as reported are as follows: Vermont, 532; Boston, 300; Champlain, 505; Genesee, 1000; New York, 1780; Pennsylvania, 1272; Maryland, 4012; Virginia, 1233; North Carolina, 1858; Tennessee, 1400; Georgia, 1076; Alabama, 1000; Ohio, 3900; Pittsburgh, 7280; Illinois, 500; Charleston, S.C., station, 300. Total, 27,948. Thus it will be seen that the percentage of increase for the quadrennium was small, if any, and would have been alarming if the old Church and other denominations could have made at the time a better showing. Unhappily for the cause of religion, a combination of adverse conditions stagnated the churches, depressed the country, and cast a gloom over the land. The Methodist Episcopal Church in 1836 showed so small an increase for the whole denomination, punctuated with actual losses in not a few Conferences, that the Episcopal Address called for humiliation and prayer over it.

The Slavery Question could not be suppressed at this Conference. Held in the West, with a majority of the delegates antislavery in sentiment, a deep, underlying conviction in the opposite sections that it would not be left where the Church Constitution had put it; a civil as well as moral question that could not be settled by Church legislation; and above all the pressure of the abolitionists, so-called, upon the more conservative antislavery element of the free States, precipitated action of some sort, to satisfy if possible the manifestoes against the Southern institution. It was the half-concealed cause of the Book Concern controversy and the effort to remove it and the periodical from Baltimore to Pittsburgh, and it was rapidly engendering ill-will and ecclesiastical strife in the new Church. Various motions were made in the General Conference, and the subject was discussed for two days, Asa Shinn being the protagonist of the antislavery section of the body. The result of the debate and the manœuvring of the leaders on both sides was the reference of the question to the Annual Conferences and the primary assemblies of the people for decision. It was in fact a compromise, which left it where it was found when the debate began. It was excluded from the reports in the official paper, and the General Conference proceedings as published gave nothing but the resulting resolution. A few weeks after the adjournment Shinn availed himself of the *Christian Witness*, a Baptist paper then issued in Pittsburgh, to sum up the issue as he understood it,

and in it voiced the opinion of the North and West. Even now it will be seen he does not lose his judicial judgment: "The committee [Brown, Chairman] reported against slavery; and the subject matter of their report was discussed in open Conference for two days, in the presence of a large number of intelligent spectators. This was all clear gain to the cause of truth and righteousness, and was itself of more value, probably, than any other official action of the Conference. We at first desired an *official testimony* of the General Conference against slavery. But the resolution leaving the matter, for the present, with the Annual Conferences, and with the people in their primary assemblies, will, it is thought, promote the cause of liberty more than would such official testimony at the present time, and in the present state of the public mind." That is, the brethren coöperating with him were content with so much expedient gain, not intending that the compromise should last on their part longer than might be necessary as a fulcrum for future operations, and in this, perhaps, displayed politic finesse and mental reservation; but when he comes to make a personal deliverance, with prophetic sagacity and outspoken candor says: "Every man in the nation must take his stand on the side of liberty or on the side of slavery. The signs of the times are portentous, and will become more so. The day is approaching when every man will find that he *cannot* occupy neutral ground; and it is better to take a deliberate and firm ground before the full power of the storm appears. The liberty of the world and the happiness of the human race are at stake. At such a time and in such a contest *indecision would be imbecility, and cowardice would be a crime.* Almighty God is on the side of righteousness and freedom."¹

As to the Book Concern complication Dr. Brown says: "That night [of the day the compromise was passed] we had a session in view of acting on the report of the Committee on the Church paper. That report being read, Dr. Armstrong of Tennessee offered a resolution to the effect that all matter on the subject of slavery be excluded from its columns. Then followed one of the most excoriating discussions that I ever remember to have heard in any deliberative body on the subject of slavery. Judge H—— of Ohio did battle for the South. . . . Shinn then replied to the whole in a speech of great power." "All this time," continues Dr. Brown, "the discussion proceeded upon the supposition that the General Conference had full power over the question at

¹ Bassett's "History," pp. 136, 137.

issue," and after various efforts he secured the floor to remind the Conference that Article X. of the Constitution settled the matter, — "no rule shall be passed infringing the liberty of speech or of the press," etc.; "the press with us," said Brown, in comment, "is constitutionally free, and this body has no power to make it otherwise."¹ And then followed another compromise, as it was thought, both sides construing for themselves. Quiet ensued, and Dr. Armstrong withdrew his resolution. Dr. Brown farther says: "It was now conceded that the freedom of the press implied that at least all official documents must be published, while communications by individuals should come under the editor's discretionary control." The brethren of the East and South exercised, perhaps, the same politic finesse and mental reservation, not intending that the "free press" of the Church should be construed otherwise than as giving the Book Committee discretionary power to decide what would constitute "an abuse of liberty" of speech and the press, as the same Article provided. Dr. Brown continued: "On the following Monday Thomas H. Stockton was elected editor of our free Church paper. In view, therefore, of the premisses, brother Stockton went on to Baltimore, to enter upon the duties of his office. But on his arrival he had the mortification to find that on the slave question the Book Committee, right in the teeth of the Constitution, and over the action of the General Conference, had gagged our Church paper!"²

This was the decision of the Book Committee, right or wrong, and abstractly, perhaps, more wrong than right, but it was claimed that such a decision was unavoidable as a matter of life or death to the paper and the Book Concern. While it was true, as alleged, that it was difficult to continue old or secure new sub-

¹ No doubt can be entertained of this truth. But unfortunately, both in State and Church, as all precedents and decisions, however professedly "judicial," show, what is "Constitutionally settled" depends on a partisan view of it. For clear as is Dr. Brown's utterance it is not clearer than that "Constitutionally" the slavery question was settled by the Convention of 1830, relegating it to the Annual Conferences, and forbidding ecclesiastical interference with the civil authorities and the civil laws in construing moral questions, and so providing for separation of Church and State. Dr. Brown then, and for years afterward, compromised on this basis, and he equally intended his compromise of 1838 on a Free Press to be a peace measure, but his comments upon it as given were made a year after the close of the Civil War, 1866, which brushed aside things "constitutionally settled," and settled them providentially right, the only way any moral question can be finally settled.

² Brown's "Itinerant Life," pp. 274-276.

scriptions in the North and West for the periodical because of its neutral ground on slavery, it was also true that any other ground could not be occupied and retain old or secure new subscribers in the East and South. Not only did the Conferences of the free states pass resolutions against slavery, but, taking advantage of the "free press," denunciatory language of the extremest type was used in lengthy argumentative form in these resolutions, so that there was to the Book Committee the same difficulty in discriminating against "official" and individual communications on the subject. In fine, it was simply one of the phases of the "irrepressible conflict," now on, and in relation to which either party in the new Church acted according to the best light and conscience then possessed. It needs to be repeated, however, that while the slavery question was the principal occasion of Stockton's resignation, his interview with the Book Committee made manifest what has been already alleged, that neither father nor son could be brought to agree to any kind of censorship of their editorial work, while the committee having the financial responsibility insisted upon reasonable supervision. They elected Eli Yeates Reese as editor, a young member of the Church in Baltimore, of rising literary fame and religious character. And in evidence that there was nothing personal or partisan in the supervision they claimed over Stockton, they exercised it not long after upon their own choice of an editor by administering a censure through the paper to Reese, for brusque and unbecoming conduct officially toward the venerable Alexander McCaine in a matter between them of newspaper comity. The case of the new Church as a whole in its relation to slavery was aptly described in a homely illustration Thomas Jefferson gave of the relation of the States and the Federal government to the same question: "We have the wolf by the ears, and can neither hold on nor let go."¹ The General Conference adjourned after a session of fifteen days.

¹ Rev. Dr. L. W. Bates, in a critical review of this History in Ms., furnishes the following note: "The *Protestant* was mainly supported by the South, and these antislavery communications would have been condemned as incendiary by the legal authorities and denied circulation, as the *New York Christian Advocate* was by the Court of Accomac County, Va., in 1843, or 1844. So the Book Committee had to decide between a paper or no paper."

CHAPTER XVIII

The official organ in 1838; Stockton after an interview with the Book Committee declined his election by the General Conference; causes; result—Passing events—1839 a year of great prosperity to the new Church and the official organ—Dr. Bond reelected editor of the *Christian Advocate*; reasons for it; his course extreme—Sketch of T. H. Stockton's career—Lawrenceburgh College burned—*New York Luminary* established—Obituaries of Reformers now increasing—*Olive Branch* of Boston—E. Yeates Reese, editor at Baltimore; synopsis of news—Third General Conference in Baltimore, 1842; list of members; its doings; another compromise on the slavery question—Revivals—Dr. Bond rampant—Dr. Webster's Presidency of the Maryland Conference in 1842-43; Levi R. Reese his successor; Webster sent to St. John's; division on the pew question; Maryland Conference grants a "mission" relation to it; brief story of this calamitous contention.

THE official organ, as reconstructed, appeared August 4, 1838, as a super-royal folio sheet of four pages: the *Methodist Protestant and Family Visitor*. The Book Committee placed it in direct charge of a sub-committee of three: Beale H. Richardson, Philip S. Chappell, laical, and Andrew A. Lipscomb, clerical. The restrictive resolution of the Book Committee excluded personalities, heterodoxy, and abolition, or slavery; the associated items have the appearance of riders, the objective being to shut out the slavery agitation. The interview of the Committee with T. H. Stockton as to the editorial management proving unsatisfactory to both parties, he resigned for reasons already given, and which he subsequently accentuated as "the violent undoing of the arrangement made by the General Conference of 1838," etc.¹ Meanwhile the sub-committee issued the paper, and these items are noted: Rev. Augustus Webster published "Words to the Thoughtful," a small volume of religious essays. Rev. John Elliot of the Pittsburgh Conference and pastor of the Pittsburgh First Church, departed this life. Rev. John B. Tilden, M.D., deceased July 21, 1838, at Newton, Frederick County, Va. He was born in Philadelphia, December 9, 1762. A student at Princeton, N. J., he enlisted in the Revolutionary Army, and attained the rank of captain at its close. In 1783 he settled in Newton, Va., studied medicine, and secured a large practice.

¹ *Methodist Recorder*, March 4, 1852.

Converted at Martinsburg, Va., in 1787, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and soon became a local preacher and active worker. He was elected a Justice of the Peace and High Sheriff of the county. He early embraced the principles of Reform, and was a contributor to the *Mutual Rights*, etc. Cited to trial for his connection with it, he was refused the privilege of reading his defence, whereupon he arose, left the trial room, and announced that he would read the defence from the first doorsteps he met, when nearly the entire congregation followed him. He assisted in organizing the Virginia Conference of the new Church in 1829. As a preacher he was of noble and dignified bearing, and a profound and earnest expounder of the Word of God; of holy life and spotless character. He was buried at Newton, where he had lived for half a century.

The Address of the General Conference, George Brown and Charles Avery, committee, appeared. Dearborn College, Lawrenceburgh, O., was dedicated, and the institution entered upon its active career under the Presidency of Nicholas Snethen. When the action of the Book Committee became known in the West and North, great indignation was expressed at the breach of faith, and a demand made for the inauguration of a Western paper, through which the vexed question could be discussed; and both the Ohio and the Pittsburgh Conferences, at their ensuing autumn assembly, took action, and Cornelius Springer was engaged to establish and edit it at, or near, Zanesville, O., he to assume the pecuniary responsibility, but the Conferences to pledge their support. The first number did not appear, however, until July 18, 1839, or three years after the suspension of the *Methodist Correspondent*. Its title was the *Western Recorder*, and was a four-page folio sheet of good appearance and well conducted. The first number rehearses the reasons for its inauguration, and the plan on which it would be continued. October 20, 1838, the official paper announced Eli Yeates Reese as editor, and he took charge with that number. He had the intellectual equipment, and was unmarried, so that the Book Committee incurred but a minimum of expense. November, 1838, H. B. Bascom lectured and preached in Baltimore, but not in Reform churches. Another great revival occurred at St. John's, Baltimore, continuing seven weeks, with a large number of conversions. May 11, 1839, the *New York Luminary*, a Conference local paper, was announced, Rev. J. L. Ambler, editor. It was a small four-page folio of good typographical make-up.

A sarcastic query was started in the old side press as to the results of Methodist Reform, which crystallized into, "What have you done?" "Zenas," in the official paper for July 13, 1839, makes such apt answer that it may be given space as covering the extraneous effects of the existence of the new Church for the first decade of its history, demonstrating that while reform from within hierarchic and autocratic systems is hopeless, reform from without is sure to ensue. "And can any one ask seriously, Has this Reform effected anything? Look at the Methodist Episcopal Church alone, and in the short space of scarcely ten years, what changes have taken place, not so much in her written Discipline, as in her administration policy; and, to some extent, the spirit of her power is broken, — she is now content to exercise a more scriptural government over her wide domain; what mildness has usurped the place of command, what leniency in view of positive dictation; her conferences now sit with open doors, and, though denied by her law, her members have, to some limited extent, a self-constituted, irresponsible lay-representation in attendance at her sessions, some official members to say who we will have and who we will not have; what we will do and what we will not do; and are they not heard, and the Church to which they are attached through them respected and regarded; and has it not often occurred since, that churches have been built, and members have held their right to their own property, without reproof or admonition; and how different the trials of her members, besides many other important and minor changes not now enumerated; and has not the tone of that Church widely changed as regards its overweening pretensions, and its overstrained prerogative. Are not these things so? He that runs may read and understand them, so clear and so glorious has this reform been." But for many years nothing was so studiously avoided, officially and non-officially, as the semblance of credit to the new Church for these quiet, reflex changes in the old.

The year 1839 was one of great prosperity to the new Church, revivals were frequent in every section, and a large ingathering was made, and in this prosperity the official organ and the Western paper shared, so that a favorable outlook took the despondent one of a few years before. Yet, on the heel of it came the suspension of specie payment by the banks of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and a corresponding business depression. October 13, on Sabbath at 9 P.M., near Norfolk, Va., that noble

man of God and Christian hero, Rev. John French, M.D., passed to his reward. A generation afterward the writer, in company with Rev. Dr. L. F. Cosby, visited his grave in the Norfolk cemetery, and, pushing back the grass and weeds that grew over the memorial slab covering his remains, Dr. Cosby moralized over one of Nature's noblemen. His memory should be kept green in the Methodist Protestant Church.¹ Another great revival occurred at St. John's, Baltimore, January 16, 1840. The *Methodist Protestant Banner* appeared in Charleston, S. C., a small monthly sheet, in the interest of the Georgia Conference, January, 1840. The first South Carolina Conference convened December 26, 1839, as set off from the Georgia.² Rev. Nathan Bangs, editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, invidiously attacked the new Church, April 18, 1840, which led the editor of the official paper to declare, after summarizing 18 annual Conferences, 200 itinerant ministers, and rising 50,000 members, "that in the history of Protestant churches we challenge an instance of greater success." Bangs was led to his review by the fact that as the General Conference of the old Church of 1840 drew near, numerous memorials and petitions appeared, asking for representation in the body, but always with distinct disavowal that what they asked had any kinship with "radicalism."

The official animus of that Church, however, toward the move-

¹ Dr. Colhouer's "Founders," p. 350, for a full and merited sketch of this great and good man. It was the writer's first plan to incorporate elaborate sketches of these founders in the running text of this History, but it would have necessitated a third octavo volume. The reader who would be fully posted should have at command Colhouer's "Sketches," though a number of worthy men are unrecorded from the difficulty of securing material. The writer repeats that this volume should be revised, enlarged, and republished in the higher interests of the Methodist Protestant Church.

² It convened in the Academy at Mechanicsville, S. C. James Newberry was elected the first President, and G. M. Keils, Secretary. The following preachers were enrolled: T. G. Clayton, A. G. Brewer, J. A. Russell, Alexander McCaine, James Newberry, H. T. Arnold, R. M. Maulden, S. E. Norton, S. H. Miller (licentiate). The delegates were: O. B. Hillard, J. E. Walker, G. M. Keils, J. A. Hines, Thomas Boone, A. Galloway, A. Machaen, W. Kirkpatrick, A. Smith. The members reported were for Charleston city station, 757; for Sumpter circuit, 44; for Abbeyville circuit, 70; for Pickens, 80; a total of 951. Of the number reported from Charleston more than half were colored, but they are returned without discrimination on that account, and were counted for suffrage purposes, though not voters themselves, as was the case under the civil Constitution of the country in the South. A Superannuated and a Temperance society were organized of the Conference members. Though Charleston for many years was supplied by the Maryland Conference and provisionally recognized as a part of it, the South Carolina Conference has perpetuated its existence under the most serious hinderances to this day, though confined largely to its original limits.

ment was little less unfriendly than in 1827-30. The editor of the *Pittsburgh (Methodist) Journal*, repelling a report that his Conference had joined in a petition for lay-rights, uses the choice parallel that it was impossible, inasmuch as radicalism once infected it, and "radicalism is like the small-pox, those who have once had it never get it the second time."¹ It is coincident that these petitions were addressed to a General Conference, which met in Baltimore, May, 1840, the very seat of the radical controversy. The petitions were referred to a committee, but nothing came of them. It was at this Conference that Thomas E. Bond, M.D., was elected editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, partly as a reward for his services in the old, and specially because believed to be the best equipped to cope with this new outbreak of Reform. Besides, the division of 1844 was foreshadowed by the astute leaders, and it was good policy to have at the official helm a man of his peculiar qualifications. He proved himself worthy of the trust thus reposed in him and made himself at once the best loved and the best hated official of the Church. In after years, his friends flattered him with the laudation, "the hero of a hundred battles." During the Conference the pulpits of the new Church, three in number, were put at the disposition of their quondam friends, and were filled on the Sabbath by members of it. August 10, 1840, in the fortieth number of the volume, the official paper appeared in new dress of type, and otherwise improved, under the editorship of E. Yeates Reese, who imbued it with a high literary and religious flavor. November 28, 1840, Rev. John McCormick, an original Reformer, died. Also Rev. William Kern, September 9, 1840, a member of the Ohio Conference and an early Reformer. Thirteen camp-meetings were held in Maryland through the summer of 1840, and the renewed prosperity of the Church in all sections became apparent. It was proposed in the East to hold a Convention of all the Conferences in November, 1840, to secure a census of progress. In Maryland, T. H. Stockton,² who was largely the

¹ This paper, now for some years under the title of the *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate*, as late as 1897, under the editorship of Rev. Dr. Smith, perpetuates this ingrained prejudice and disregard of the true facts of history as to the principle of lay-representation embodied in the Methodist Protestant Church, by officially declaring that lay-delegation in the Methodist Episcopal Church has been belated and handicapped by the continued existence of the Methodist Protestant Church! The suggestion is so unique as to merit this notice of it; it was never before proposed, and likely never will be again by any sane mind.

² In the spring of 1839 T. H. Stockton established in Philadelphia a mission Methodist Protestant Church on Filbert Street, above Tenth, out of original materials

promoter, with Augustus Webster and John Clark, were the committee to arrange preliminaries.

In October, 1839, the Onondaga Conference was organized out of the Genesee. There appear to be no official records of it in either the Baltimore official or the Western paper. They were probably sent by local preference to the *New York Luminary*, which had been established by the New York Conference some six months earlier; but as there is no extant file of this paper, the writer has had great difficulty in securing the facts. They are given, however, in a foot-note.¹ In the autumn of 1839, the Ohio Conference set off as a new district the state of Indiana,

drawn to him by his matchless eloquence. In June of the same year he began the issue of the *Methodist Protestant Letter-Press*, a small quarto of eight pages, to aid in his mission work and give scope to that irrepressible disposition he exhibited to edit and publish something—a medium for his teeming intellects apart from pulpit deliverance for which nature and grace solely intended him. The *Letter-Press* was continued one year with an average circulation of perhaps one thousand, his personal magnetism, and the eloquence of his pen as well, winning subscribers to it. It was a “free” press, but strange to say that on the slavery question it was conservative. It is full of the best reading and much church intelligence. At the end of the year his versatile and vagarious mind proposed to substitute it with the *Christian Review*. Later, 1843–44–45, he issued the *Christian World*, and later still in Cincinnati, the *Bible Alliance*, and still later the *Bible Times*. These and other ventures involved him in debt, which generous friends covered or forgave. He had no practical business sense, but was inventive, and fertile, and brilliant. He was an example of misdirected energy and waste of splendid resources as an orator. The churches in Philadelphia were attached to the Maryland Conference after Stockton began his labors in the city, and then the General Conference of 1842 set off a Philadelphia district with special “mission” privileges and exemptions. Stockton built the First Church at Eleventh and Wood streets, and crowds filled it. Its subsequent history and that of the Philadelphia Conference is one of the saddest of the Church annals, and was the father of the Baltimore “mission” controversy which damaged the Church irreparably by a series of blunders for which both parties were about equally responsible. A portly volume would not suffice to tell the story of Stockton’s life in Maryland, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Baltimore, and finally in Philadelphia, after a second chaplaincy in Washington to Congress, closing with a triumphant death and a glorious immortality. This note is here appended for the reason that it will be impracticable to follow the career of this remarkable genius in the running text of this History. Suffice it to say that he retained by courtesy his membership in the Pittsburgh Conference to the last, though alienated in large part from his quondam friends by causes which neither could fully control. It secured the fulfilment of an eloquent declaration of church fidelity he uttered in the heyday of his Methodist Protestant devotion. Referring to the possibility of disruption and failure he said, “I will fall beneath the ruins of our shattered towers; there shall my grave be!” See official paper, June 10, 1843.

¹ Rev. L. R. Huffsteter has kindly furnished the following data. At a meeting of the itinerant ministers of the eastern section of the Genesee district, convened at Clockville, N. Y., on the 9th of October, 1839, pursuant to notice, organized a new conference out of the eastern section of the Genesee district. The ministers present were: N. N. Bort, Lewis Mervin, Peter Parslow, John Barber, Allen

and the first session of the Conference was held at John Burton's meeting-house, near Mt. Tabor, in October, 1840, and it gave a new impulse to the cause in that State, which has ever since continued. Robert H. G. Hanna was the first President, and associated with him as pioneer laborers, Bassett names Joseph Simpson, Samuel Morrison, William W. Paul, Thomas and Joseph Shipp, John Alter, Harvey Collings, Thomas Hicklin, David H. Stephens, George Wheatly, and Charles H. Williams. It merits notice that the Book Committee of the official paper, not very long after the resolve not to permit personalities or to discuss the slavery question, found themselves, with the editor, confronted with a controversy over the word "white," *pro* and *con*; and while it was confined to brethren East and South they differed so widely anent it that sharpness was indulged, and Dr. W. C. Holcombe of Lynchburg, Va., interposed and rebuked the severity of the polemics, insisting that those who favored expunging it — of which he was not one — "have the right to seek this alteration, provided they do it in a constitutional manner, and ought not to be branded with unchristian remarks for so doing." The *Western Recorder* soon became the vehicle of extreme arguments and Conference resolves on slavery, and drew out protests from milder brethren; and so on either side strife and alienation kindled, and all the more bitterness because they put so much conscience into it.

Now came a calamity to the first educational project of the new Church. Dearborn College, near Lawrenceburgh, Ind., dedicated only about a year, was totally destroyed by fire, thus blighting the hopes of Snethen, and involving a heavy loss. Bassett, the efficient Agent, makes a full report of the disaster, June, 1839. It was destroyed the previous February. August 3, 1839, William L. Richardson was appointed Agent of the Baltimore Book Committee, and he served efficiently for a number of years. J. H. Honour's "Questions and Answers" appeared at Charleston, S. C., in 1837, and in pamphlet form, in November, 1839. As

Murry, John Baum, Ira H. Hogan, Joshua Beebe, Noah Durrin, Lewis Hubbard, O. E. Bryant, Peter Tipple, Michael Birge. The following laymen were present: John A. Seeber, S. P. Robbins, Simeon Bort, Benjamin Snow, J. Whiting, A. P. Grover, J. Smith, Thomas Lawrence, Oliver Swift, Samuel Barnes. There were also a number of local preachers. The Conference received into the itinerancy William Owens, James Richards, Stephen D. Howland. It had representatives in the ensuing General Conference of 1842, O. B. Bryan, minister, L. B. Morris, layman, though the minutes of this Conference do not show the usual official action in recognition of new conferences. It has ever since maintained an effective organization.

already noticed, W. B. Evans in the West arranged "Questions and Answers," and the two compilations were united and extensively circulated. A Maryland Conference Course of Study was arranged by Dr. Francis Waters, T. H. Stockton, and A. A. Lipscomb, April 25, 1840, and afterward much used in other Conferences. The Maryland Conference Convention met on Tuesday, November 4, 1840, at St. John's church, Baltimore, with Rev. Frederick Stier, Chairman, and A. A. Lipscomb, Secretary; but it was a disappointment, both as to the numbers in attendance and the information elicited. It adjourned on the 6th of November. Rev. W. W. Wallace became editor of the *New York Luminary*, in November, 1840, and for a period it was well conducted and promised to be helpful. It was a large, four-page folio sheet, well printed. Rev. Moses M. Henkle, who had done yeoman service for Reform in the West, became involved with his Ohio Conference, and appealed his case to the General Conference of 1838, which sustained the local Conference. The merits of the contention need not be considered. Suffice it to say, that Henkle became so soured and ill at ease that, in November, 1840, he withdrew and connected himself with the Methodist Episcopal Church, receiving, as a reward for change of church relations, an associate position on the *Nashville Advocate*. He was a man of pronounced abilities, and in his "Life of Bascom" deals fairly with his old friends of Reform, though, as might be expected, he finds some things to qualify as reasons for Bascom's continuance in the old Church, which, in turn, need some qualifying. The Maryland Conference Convention, aforementioned, indorsed Dr. Francis Waters's Windsor Theological and Literary Institute, located at Franklin, about four miles from Baltimore. Rev. S. J. Harris of North Carolina departed this life October 16, 1840. He was a devoted original Reformer and an indefatigable worker. Also Rev. Joseph R. Horn, M.D., a delegate to the Convention of 1828, passed away, Obituary, November 28, 1840. Rev. Robert P. Ward, March 6, 1839, an early Reformer, deceased. The First Baltimore Education Society was formed December 19, 1840, Dr. S. K. Jennings, President, and Charles W. Ridgely, Secretary. Rev. Sylvester Hutchinson, deceased December 26, 1840, an original Reformer in the North, and an ex-itinerant under Asbury, who arbitrarily excluded him from the connection, as he did Dr. George Roberts of Baltimore,¹ but, finding cause to

¹ At the Baltimore Conference of 1806, Bishop Asbury said to Dr. George Roberts, an itinerant of some years' standing, and father of Dr. George M. C. Roberts:

review his judgment, made overtures to Hutchinson to return; but the proposal was declined.

At the General Conference of 1836 of the old Church, Rev. Orange Scott made an exhaustive and able speech against slavery, defining the uncompromising position of himself and allies; but the Conference dealt with it cautiously, and, in consequence, a Convention of antislavery members, principally in New York State, met at Utica, N. Y., January, 1841, and organized the "Wesleyan Methodist Church," and, later, coalesced with the Reformed Methodists.¹ Rev. N. Wardner, in a synoptical sketch in the *New York Independent* of March, 1891, of the Orange Scott-Matlack "Wesleyans," dates their organization May 31, 1843. Some of the leaders had been expelled the old Church for extreme utterances and insubordination. The fundamentals of the new Church were opposition to slavery and secret societies. Governmentally it is lay-representative, with most of the features of the Methodist Protestant Church, but adopted, of course, without reference or acknowledgment, as "Radicalism" was still a bugbear, an ecclesiastical ogre, at sight or sound of which Methodists of the old school were affrighted. Further notice of this Church will be necessary later in this History. Death of Rev. Samuel Henderson, President of the New York and New Jersey Conference at Williamsburg, N. Y., March 21, 1841. Also of Rev. John Haughton, an original Reformer of the West, March 21, 1841. He was a leader in the Cincinnati, O., Reform movement, and author of the "Life of Rev. Truman Bishop," and one of the most faithful of that heroic band. He suffered and sacrificed much for the cause of Mutual Rights, and should be thus embalmed.

Dr. T. E. Bond, after his election to the editorship of the *New York Advocate*, understood full well the work he was expected

"George, I am in trouble." "What about, Bishop?" the doctor said. "About you, George," said the Bishop. "Why, Bishop, you need not be in any trouble about me." That was all that passed between them. The next morning in announcing the Appointments for the coming year, he read, "George Roberts located." Dr. Francis Waters and the Minutes are authority for the statement just made, and it was illustrative of the Bishop's method. In 1805 he was chief pastor of Baltimore city station; in 1806 you search the printed Minutes in vain for any sign of his name; the Bishop simply blotted him out. No man to this day knows of his reason, and for such a procedure there was no redress. Perhaps it was right. At any rate under this "strong government" it was law. How in this day marvel is excited that free-born Americans, not to say Christians, should not only meekly submit to, but uphold, such a system.

¹ See *Methodist Protestant*. All the cyclopædias give 1843 for the organization of the Wesleyan Church proper.

to do, and he set himself to the task with unusual zeal. Like Jehu, he "drove furiously" in his "zeal," if not for the Lord, for Episcopal Methodism. By May, 1841, he was rampant against all innovators. The *Zion's Watchman* of Boston, local Conference paper, made a scathing review of "Bond-ana," as his lucubrations were called, on the "Difficulties of Methodism." So hot did he grow as he parried and thrust at all enemies, fancied and real, that he overlooked the sacredness of personal character, and so severely traduced the Reformers that a special meeting of the old Baltimore "Union Society" was summoned, in extraordinary session, July 6, 1841, at St. John's church. A prospectus was issued for a monthly Mutual Rights and Ecclesiastical Reform paper, to be printed simultaneously in Boston and New York, by W. W. Wallace and T. F. Norris, July, 1841. It was not consummated. The *Olive Branch* continued on its prosperous course, attaining great excellence and popularity for its literary catering and incidentally furthering Methodist Reform, while the *New York Luminary*, after a struggle with pecuniary embarrassments, in a few years succumbed. The Ohio Conference passed resolutions defining the status of colored members, in 1840, in harmony with the dominant sentiment. It was their constitutional privilege, and, if the sections had been content to abide by this compromise, each Conference determining for itself the rights of colored members, the solidarity of the new Church might have been conserved; but the slavery question was rapidly becoming, not a moral question only, but a great political one, and the issues so defined that manifest destiny hastened.¹ Both the *Western Recorder* and the *Methodist Protestant*, March, 1841, published in full Bascom's "Summary of

¹ It is a significant fact that of all the Christian denominations in the United States having continental extension, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Episcopal stand alone as undivided by the slavery issue and the Civil War. It will not be alleged that their members took no cognizance of moral questions as involved in it, nor that the ecclesiastics of either were not as warmly partisan as others on the question. How, then, was division prevented so that after the war they had nothing to readjust, but resumed conventional and other relations ecclesiastically considered as though no such interruption of them had occurred? The only answer is that they acted on the principle here named. Dioceses and Conventions on either territorial side of the slavery question "resolved," and thus put themselves on record as satisfying their own conscience. There was something undoubtedly in Churchism at stake which moderated sectional zeal, nor were they under the pressure of necessity as other denominations which entered into the political bearings of the subject. It is probable that if the Methodist Episcopal Church had not divided as early as 1844, and had held together officially without regard to local Conference action, the Methodist Protestant Church

Rights." A decade of years had passed since it was written, and it was a new thing to many now in the Church.

July 31, 1841, the official paper entered upon its eighth volume, under Reese as editor, and the Book Committee, to which Charles W. Ridgely had been added. Among English Wesleyans the canonical fever became recrudescant, and the Rev. Dr. Bunting appeared in full toggery of the Church of England, but, as in Asbury's case, the hard common sense of the people and the conservative preachers shamed it into an "innocuous desuetude." During the summer of 1841, in Maryland, under the Conference Presidency of Rev. Augustus Webster, there were sixteen camp-meetings, and the tide of prosperity turned in all the churches. Webster reviewed the Constitution and Discipline of the new Church, and eulogized it for the careful balance of all its parts. In New England, by a call through *Zion's Watchman*, the laymen of the old Church were invited to meet in Convention to consider the matter of lay-representation, about August, 1841, and for a time the excitement ran high and gave Dr. Bond full play for his dialectical skill. Nothing practical came of it, however, except as an educating agency. Orange Scott took part in it; and there was a great ferment, ending in the secession of a large number, who formed the Wesleyan Methodist Church, already referred to in these pages. Rev. Mr. Ridgway, of the New Connexion Methodists, on a visit to this country, preached in St. John's church, Baltimore, and gave an account of his Church and their desire to fraternize with a kindred body, September 18, 1841. Rev. William Kesley of the Maryland Conference and an original Reformer, died September 23, 1841. He was a self-sacrificing itinerant and devoted his all to the new Church. September 21, 1841, the first Mississippi Conference was organized.¹ The *Youths' Mirror and Sabbath School Gazette*

might have been successful in so doing. And it was without question this Methodist influence in the North and West that like a submerging wave bore down the moderate antislavery men and made the separation of the North and West a necessity of preservation with Methodist Protestants. It will be seen that while the South and East offered compromise after compromise on the issue, and the North and West endeavored to entertain them, it was impossible to resist the rising tide. As it was, the evidence is that not until whole Conferences withdrew in the Northwest did such conservative men as Brown, Israel Thrapp, Burns, and others, yield to the inevitable, as stated by William Collier at the Lynchburg, Va., General Conference of 1858 so forcibly.

¹ It assembled at Sencasha camp-ground in Attala County. Elisha Lott was elected President, and Henry M. A. Cassiday Secretary. The ministers recognized were: A. B. Lucas, A. W. Long, J. Thompson, H. Baley, P. Napier, D. K. Young,

was started in New York, January 1, 1842, by W. W. Wallace, a small bi-monthly paper, which had a brief existence.

James R. Williams enlarged his articles on the history of Reform, heretofore noticed, and issued it in April, 1843, as a "History of the Methodist Protestant Church," published by the Book Committee, large 12mo, 402 pp., sheep. It was a valuable compend in its day, but long since out of print; though a number of copies are in the writer's possession. Late in 1840 Shinn issued his work on the "Benevolence and Rectitude of the Supreme Being," with the imprint of the Baltimore Book Committee. It was a 12mo, 403 pp., sheep; and, though never republished, a number of copies are preserved, several in the writer's possession. It was intended, in some sense, as a supplement to his "Plan of Salvation," already noticed, and is by far the most masterful of his extant productions. It was fiercely attacked by would-be critics of the old Church and in the new, by reason of what was alleged as its tendency to Universalism. Shinn met and quieted these animadversions. His imperial intellect was at its best, and the Church would honor itself and subserve the cause of theology by its republication. In the official paper, March 12, 1842, he gives a series on the "Axioms of Protestant Methodists," based upon the Elementary Principles. March 1, 1842, a remarkable revival of religion occurred on Union Circuit, Pittsburgh Conference, under the pastorate of James Robison, of six months' duration and 218 additions to the Church. Robison will be further noticed as one of the most laborious and successful of the pastors and general agents; of extreme but honest convictions, and always true to his ecclesiastical relations. In the spring of 1842, Bishop Andrew gave a decision officially, which reversed an action of the Virginia Conference. So arbitrary was it regarded that the well-known "Parson" Brownlow of Tennessee scathingly reviewed it, and uttered sentiments fully indorsing the principles of the new Church. The Maryland Conference entered upon a period of unusual pros-

D. Carstarphen, W. McCormick, J. Long, Samuel Butler, B. Sweringen, J. Lee. The laymen, W. T. McDonald, B. Kitchen, M. Wade, R. H. Griffin, Peter Loper, G. D. McCormick, F. McCormick, Anderson Parker. James Ford and T. W. Jones were appointed Conference missionaries. H. M. A. Cassiday missionary to Texas, then a province of Mexico, and in fact foreign missionary ground. J. G. Sibley and A. G. Lane were without appointments. The president, being a man of some property, threw himself with all he possessed into the work, and, mounting his horse, traversed not only the extensive district just laid off, but made incursions into distant parts, planting Reform churches and pioneering the cause.

perity. At the Conference of April, 1842, under Augustus Webster's Presidency, a net increase of fifteen hundred members was reported, equivalent to twenty-five per cent, and it was made the occasion of a special address to the Church from a committee of Dr. Waters, Josiah Varden, and J. W. Richardson. The devoted and accomplished Webster rode through the Conference district preaching with power and visiting the camp and protracted meetings, which were aflame during the year. April, 1842, Ancil H. Bassett furnished for the official paper an account of Church growth in the West, indicating the prevalence of revivals everywhere during the year 1841-42. He sums up for the Ohio, Pittsburgh, Indiana, and Illinois districts: circuits and stations, 96; itinerant ministers and preachers, 197; unstationed ministers and preachers, 232; members, 17,821, showing that within ten years the field had increased threefold, the number of preachers fourfold, and between three and fourfold in members. The work had spread into Michigan and Iowa. Rev. James Day, an early Reformer, passed away February 19, 1842.

During Augustus Webster's Presidency, in 1842, of the Maryland Conference, he was attacked by Rev. William Spray of Easton, Md., who refused to give out the notice sent him of Webster's preaching in the Reform church. This led the latter to publish a catechism of the discourtesies he had experienced from the old side brethren in an article in the official paper of March 5, 1842. One instance must suffice out of the bead-roll. While Webster was pastor of Reisterstown circuit, in 1833, he had a regular appointment at an old church occupied jointly by Reformers and the old side; but some of their members at this point raised objections to Webster preaching there, preferring to be without preaching oftener than once a month, rather than have his occupancy of the pulpit; but he persevered in his appointment, as the people generally indorsed him, and gave a large congregation when he preached. This so excited the opposition that, in their misguided zeal, a charge was trumped up against him, placed in the hands of the sheriff of the county, and Webster was arrested under the warrant, while walking through the village of Reisterstown, and carried before a magistrate. At the hearing, the community exhibited such indignation that the parties to the unchristian affair were glad to abandon the prosecution.

The third General Conference assembled at St. John's church, Baltimore, Tuesday, the third day of May, 1842, at 9 A.M., Asa

Shinn, President *pro tem.*, and John J. Reed, Secretary. The following were reported as members:—

PITTSBURGH	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
Asa Shinn	Thomas Freeman
Charles Avery ¹	John Souder
John Burns	J. M. Philips ¹
H. Heberline ¹	H. Springer ¹
George Brown	Dr. M. Adams ¹
Z. Ragan	P. Lewis
J. Clarke, Jr.	James Clarke ¹
J. Herbert ¹	Edward Stevens ¹
C. Springer	J. J. Barnes
George Hughes	W. S. Thorn
OHIO	
A. H. Bassett	D. C. Carson
Robert Dobbins ¹	J. Whetstone
David Cralle ¹	J. Foster ¹
ILLINOIS	
W. H. Collins	O. W. Kellogg ¹
MISSISSIPPI	
Samuel Butler	James Wade ¹
NEW YORK	
Thomas K. Witsel	John J. Reed
Enoch Jacobs	J. D. Frambers ¹
VIRGINIA	
J. G. Whitfield	H. D. Woodhouse
INDIANA	
Dr. H. P. Bennett	William Smith
Thomas Hicklin	John Burton
TENNESSEE	
B. H. Ragsdale ¹	Dr. J. L. Armstrong ¹
NORTH CAROLINA	
A. Albright	W. C. Whitaker
John F. Speight ¹	R. C. Rankin
BOSTON	
Thomas F. Norris ¹	J. K. Dunham
¹ Absent.	

<i>Ministers</i>	MARYLAND	<i>Laymen</i>
Dr. Francis Waters		W. S. Stockton
Augustus Webster		A. S. Naudain
Dr. John S. Reese		Peter Light ¹
Frederick Stier		E. Crutchley
James R. Williams		J. B. Thomas
W. C. Lipscomb		Alexander Waugh
W. H. Bordley ¹		William Rusk
	SOUTH CAROLINA	
Alexander McCaine		William Kirkwood ¹
	ALABAMA	
P. S. Graves		B. S. Bibb
C. L. Nash ¹		B. Little ¹
	CHAMPLAIN	
N. Crary, Jr.		E. Engel ¹
	PENNSYLVANIA	
John Smith		J. Van Camp ¹
	VERMONT	
George Smith ¹		Lewis L. Fish
	GENESEE	
A. Pennell		Thomas Barkley
	GEORGIA	
Charles Evans ¹		John Bass ¹
	ONONDAGA	
O. E. Bryan		L. B. Morris
	ARKANSAS	
None		None

Twenty-nine were absent, showing eighty elected and fifty-one present. It will not be forgotten in reflecting upon this percentage of absentees that travel in those days of no railroads meant not only heavy expense but serious discomfort. The roster is copied from the official manuscript minutes in custody of Baltimore Book Concern, and are consulted by the writer for this and all future General Conferences of the Church as thus preserved. Of the Maryland laymen Alexander Waugh was present,

¹ Absent.

brother of Beverly Waugh, now Bishop, but, as intimated elsewhere, he had so thoroughly indoctrinated Alexander with "Radicalism," that despite his own tergiversation the loyal brother could not shake it off. The woods in Frederick and Baltimore counties were full of the converts the Bishop had made, and they continued for the most part faithful to his instructions. Twenty Annual Conferences were recognized, the Onondaga having been set off by the Genesee, with the consent of Champlain, on a certain condition, which the General Conference finally waived, and its representatives were admitted. The chairmen of committees were as follows: Literary, T. F. Norris; Journals, John Smith; Executive, George Brown; Means of Grace, W. S. Stockton; Memorials, Enoch Jacobs; Missionary, John S. Reese; Financial, P. S. Graves; Judiciary, Cornelius Springer. At the election for permanent officers, on the second ballot Asa Shinn was named President, and on the first John J. Reed and A. H. Bassett Secretaries. Nicholas Snethen, Samuel K. Jennings, and Benjamin Richardson, being present, were invited to participate in its deliberations. The Virginia Conference memorialized for but one order of ministers, "elders or bishops." Evans' and Honour's "Questions and Answers" officially indorsed and ordered to be kept on sale at the Book Room. The Michigan Conference was recognized and boundaries appointed. The report of the Book Committee is detailed and covers the changes of the quadrennium, the failure of the original committee, and the new incorporation with its present condition, more favorable than previously. The official paper had had an average of about two thousand subscribers, but the credit plan prevailing, many had not paid. Eli Yeates Reese was voted a compensation of \$400 for the year past, and he was reelected editor by a complimentary vote.

The slavery question revived by the introduction of various Conference resolutions and numerous private memorials.¹ They

¹ The entire batch of these Conference resolutions and private memorials is now before the writer. No one can doubt the serious nature of the question as they present it. A number of them are printed as to the "declaration," and as they came from various sections of the North and West it is in evidence that some one was zealous in the printing and circulation of them for local signatures in which both brethren and sisters unite. Scanning these signatures, you are impressed with the uncompromising opposition of the persons — free from the sin themselves, they could not and would not suffer sin upon their Southern brethren. They rebuke it in no measured terms. There must be action, immediate action for emancipation; the consequences are not considered to the unfortunate holders of slaves forbidden to free them by the civil law. And yet but eight or nine of the twenty Conferences and less than five hundred signers to the thirteen or more memorials made this demand.

were referred to a special committee, which brought in majority and minority reports. Then followed much discussion occupying several days, with the final result that both reports were laid upon the table, that discreet and self-possessed man, Dr. John S. Reese, conferring with the conservatives and bringing in a resolution, which finally passed as another compromise measure by a vote of twenty-three to twenty. It read: "Resolved, that in the judgment of this General Conference the holding of slaves is not under all circumstances a sin against God; yet in our opinion, under some circumstances it is sinful, and in such cases should be discouraged by the Methodist Protestant Church. The General Conference does not feel authorized by the Constitution to legislate on the subject of slavery; and by a solemn vote we present to the Church our judgment, that the different Annual Conferences, respectively, should make their own regulations on this subject, so far as authorized by the Constitution." Then followed written protests by groups of the brethren against the action, and one in support. Alexander McCaine defended the institution of American Domestic Slavery, drawing his arguments from the Scriptures; Shinn, Stockton, and others answered, much severity of speech being indulged at times on both sides, and the reading of the manuscript minutes shows into what a sad plight the struggling Church was brought by this agitation. Sneathen's sermon before the General Conference, and his speech on the slavery resolution, are both reported by Eli Yeates Reese in the official paper for May and June, 1842. George Brown and A. H. Bassett, who were both present during the entire session, give accounts of the proceedings, and indicate how widely the point of view of even Western brethren differed.¹ J. J. Reed of the New York Conference withdrew, with the Journal and papers of that body, amid the excitement of debate on the subject, declining to ask the usual leave of absence, and A. A. Lipscomb was appointed acting Secretary for the closing session. The statistics of the quadrennium, as furnished by Williams in his "History," are the most elaborate ever furnished, itemized by Conferences and carefully recapitulated. The totals are: stations, 49; circuits, 259; missions, 52; stationed ministers and preachers, 634; unstationed ministers and preachers, 525; members, including ministers and preachers, 55,341; whole number of churches, 421; value of Church property, \$412,225. The Conference adjourned, May 16, 1842, after thirteen days' deliberation, to meet in Cincinnati, May, 1846.

¹ Brown's "Itinerant Life," pp. 286-288. Bassett's "History," pp. 159, 160.

The extremists returned to their homes only to renew the contention. McCaine published his defence of slavery in pamphlet, to which James R. Williams replied, showing how Southern men differed on the abstract question. J. G. Wilson of Philadelphia, an able debater, took part by addressing "Amicus" through the official paper an article admitting that the General Conference, under the Constitution, had no power through its "judicatories" to determine what is sin and heresy, to which Williams, as "Amicus," replied. Charles Avery and Cornelius Springer entered the lists in the *Western Recorder*, and Brown was severely criticised for his conservative views, giving an exhibition of blind partisanship on both sides. Meantime as the result not a few persons in the North and West, dissatisfied with the outcome of the General Conference action, withdrew from the Church and allied themselves with the Wesleyan Methodists, or stood aloof altogether. The strain upon the youthful organization grew more tense as the months rolled on, and antislavery as a political force received accretion of numbers and increased momentum, stimulated by a like condition of things in the old Church, now arranging itself in sections on the same question.

Rev. Jonathan Forrest departed for his heavenly home June, 1842, in the ninety-first year of his age. He was an ex-itinerant of the old Church, of unblemished character and fair abilities, well known in Maryland, and who sided with Reform from the beginning as a retired minister, and did what he could in his old age to further it. Rev. W. W. Wallace resigned as editor of the *New York Luminary* May 28, 1842, owing to a local difference with his Conference which the General Conference had declined to decide, and it led finally to his withdrawal from the Church after some years of faithful service. He was succeeded by Enoch Jacobs. Meantime everywhere those who were more intent upon soul-saving than controversy gave themselves to evangelistic work, and gracious was the result in many places, East, West, and South. In Maryland twenty-one camp-meetings were held in the summer of 1842, with Webster as President the second year, into which he was pressed against his inclination. In the midsummer a great revival occurred at Easton, Md., under the stimulation of Hon. P. B. Hopper and others of the regular ministry, with sixty additions, many joining elsewhere. The *Cumberland Presbyterian* makes favorable notice of the new Church and the similarity of origin and polity.

Dr. Bond, as editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, con-

tinued to belabor the "Radicals" and the new Reform in the North, and by such methods that the editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, who knew him personally in Baltimore as his father's physician, thus characterized him,— "a cunning, sophistical, shrewd, managing controvertist," a depiction even his sober friends did not deny. There was a growing disposition in some parts of the South to fault the official paper because of its conservative position as to the slavery question; in a few cases Conferences passed resolutions calling upon the editor to denounce "Abolitionism," threatening to establish an opposition paper if he did not. This led the ever prudent Snethen to address to such an open letter through the paper, December 24, 1842, deprecating their antagonism in this form, and predicting that unless extreme men in either section should cease their unreasonable demands division would ensue. He did not live to see the fulfilment of it, but it came in due course of events. McCaine and the editor became involved in this discussion, and it was at this time, December 31, 1842, that the Book Committee censured him for personal references to McCaine. Shinn published a series on Universalism in the Western paper, in part a vindication of his work on the Supreme Being, about the same time.

In July, 1842, the first Michigan Annual Conference was held; James Gay, President, and eighteen ministers and preachers, five of whom were itinerants: Jeremiah T. Pratt, Elisha Hall, Laban Smith, George B. Wooster, and Beniah Bayn. There were three circuits, Adrian, Franklin, and Jackson, formerly part of the Ohio district, and about 250 members. In September, 1842, the Pittsburgh Conference, at its session at Mt. Vernon, O., decided to divide, setting off the portion lying within Ohio as the Muskingum Conference, and the remaining portion retaining the name of Pittsburgh. Before division the Conference elected two Presidents, George Brown and Israel Thrapp, leaving them to decide their allotment. Thrapp having been given the choice, selected Muskingum, which retained Brown in the Pittsburgh. They soon grew to be large organizations.¹ Rev. J. A. Gere of the Balti-

¹ After the division Israel Thrapp made one round as President before the Muskingum met for organization. The first session as reported in the official paper and the *Western Recorder* elected Joel Dalby, Jr., President, and the roster was as follows: John Burns, Thomas Cullen, Wm. Turner, W. Maynard, D. Kinney, Wm. Munhall, John Hamby, N. Burgess, James Heath, Wm. B. Moody, A. Tracy, R. Andrews, Jer. Jack, T. B. Cushman, A. K. Brown, J. W. Case, Prentis Kindsley, George Clancy, M. Scott, A. S. Robinson, E. S. Hoagland, S. H. Heath, Wm. Marshall, Wm. Reeves, S. Lancaster, Thomas Porter, A. W.

more Conference made a public attack upon the character of Rev. Dr. John S. Reese at Liberty, Md., asserting that he was expelled in 1827 from the old Church for immorality. It led to sharp answers by both Reese and Webster in March, 1843. In this way, as has often been exhibited, the old sores were reopened and the controversy revived, but always, as may be inferred, to the advantage of the Reformers in public estimation. A great revival of religion occurred in Georgetown, D. C., March, 1843, under the pastorate of Rev. Levi R. Reese, now one of the strongest men of the Church and rapidly taking commanding position. There were 120 conversions.

At the close of Webster's Presidency of the Maryland Conference in April, 1843, there was reported a net gain of twenty-three hundred in the membership, and he retired to assume the pastorate of St. John's, Baltimore, with these signal tokens of a wise and laborious administration. At this Conference Levi R. Reese was elected President, and the St. John's church asked to be recognized as a Mission. The church had but recently divided in an amicable manner through a difference upon the free-pew question, etc., adherents of Wesley Starr and others insisting upon a continuance of the free-pew system, while John Clark and others desired the rent system, in accordance with his early educational predilections. He was wealthy and munificent. The free-seat brethren withdrew after an agreement to pay them \$6000 as their share of the property valuation, and with this as a basis built the West Baltimore station. It was claimed that this, and a purpose to make extensive improvement upon the old church, necessitated a change of relation to the Conference, so that under a pastor, now the most popular preacher in the Maryland connection, they might compass their objects and make a greater success of the work than they could otherwise. Besides, the General Conference of 1842, through the persuasion of Stockton, had granted the Philadelphia churches special Mission relations. The Maryland Conference acceded to the request of St. John's, and

Avery, H. T. Lawson, W. W. Tipton, Wm. Remsburg, Jno. Huntsman, M. Winn, Wm. Ross, C. Callihan, N. Linder, J. Roncliffe, J. Herbert, C. J. Seares, J. Nichols, Joel S. Thrapp, T. Fairfield, Wm. Duling, Wm. Boardman, Charles Caddy, J. Thrapp, Wm. Baldwin, Wm. Hatfield, L. M. Cochran, G. D. Williams, Jno. Baker, E. E. Parish, Jno. Wilson, A. Barnes, Jno. Dorcas, S. Bloomer, C. Woodruff. Left in hands of President, at their request, J. M. Piper, and J. D. Garmar. In hands of President, Z. Ragan, A. K. Earl, J. Beatty, John Burnett, and Thomas Foster. Without appointment, George Waddle, P. Inskeep, D. B. Dorsey. Supernumerary, and editor of *Western Recorder*, Cornelius Springer. R. Bamford removed by certificate.

Webster was sent as a missionary; and Stockton as a missionary to Philadelphia, where he inaugurated the First church with pews and a relation unaffected by the "Restrictive Rule." It was his fourth year's appointment. It was the beginning of an internecine strife that set back the new Church in the East and entailed a loss from which it was more than a score of years in recovering. The same trouble as to pews and the "Restrictive Rule" was brewing in the old Church, evidence in both cases of the ecclesiastical folly of legislating for future generations on utilitarian questions. In December, 1843, the St. John's church was reopened, the President of the Conference, Levi R. Reese, preaching the sermon. The pastor in some remarks among other things said, as an inducement to pew renters, that by the Conference action "the frequent rupture of the tender pastoral relation will be avoided," as reported in a city paper under the editorship of Beale H. Richardson, one of the leading laymen of the church. The President felt it his duty to demand retraction from John Clark, who refused, whereupon the President publicly announced that the law of the Church would remove Webster at the end of the second year. Crimination and recrimination followed, parties were formed throughout the Conference, and an acrimonious and unrelenting contention sprang up between the "Restrictive" and the anti-restrictive rule men. Suffice it to say that it culminated in the separation of St. John's and its pastor from the Conference, to the serious final detriment of both. In Philadelphia it ended in the ruin of the cause.¹

The *New York Luminary* was discontinued under financial embarrassments, April, 1843.

¹ For a fair synoptical statement of the merits of the controversy see "History of the Maryland Conference," by J. T. Murray and T. H. Lewis, pp. 30-39. Baltimore, 1882. 12mo. Cloth. Also in writer's possession one of various pamphlets published during this so-called "Mission War," with the title, "A Statement of the Facts alluded to in an Address to the Ministers and Members of the Methodist Protestant Church in the Maryland District." 8vo. 21 pp.

CHAPTER XIX

Dr. Webster editor of the Baltimore official paper — New Jersey Conference set off; current events — General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1844; division; slavery question; Dr. Bond; futile meeting of protesting laymen; moralizing — Proposal to establish Snethen Seminary at Iowa City — Bascom again — Bassett editor of the *Western Recorder* — Whitfield-Smith discussion at Shiloh, Va. — Third mental lapse of Asa Shinn — Decease of Nicholas Snethen; sketch of his life — Slavery conflict in the new Church intensified by the division of the M. E. Church — Paris's "Church History" — Fourth General Conference at Cincinnati, May 5, 1846; roster of members; slavery discussion renewed; another compromise by Dr. J. S. Reese — The Philadelphia "mission" question next in interest; result of the slavery debate; dissatisfaction with the action North and West; secession of whole Conferences in consequence; the issue ripening — Statistics showing the remarkable growth of the new Church in face of the misrepresentations of old-side writers — Bishop M'Tyeire's "History," and his estimate of the Reform Church dissected — Foreign mission board continued — Adjournment.

AFTER the resignation of Reese as editor, the Book Committee elected Augustus Webster, now pastor of St. John's church, and he entered upon his duties with the number of July 29, 1843, the paper appearing in new type and with a new titular head. During the summer of 1843, under Levi R. Reese's Presidency, no less than twenty-three camps were held in Maryland, but the "mission" controversy, like a baleful fire, scorched or consumed the tender spiritual plant of the Lord; the personalities and extremities of partisanship discouraged evangelistic work, and at the close of the year an actual loss of numbers was reported, to the mortification of all concerned, and various reasons were assigned to account for it other than the true cause. July 29 the paper contained a full account of the setting off of the New Jersey Conference, March 29, 1843.¹ The *Olive Branch* in Boston claimed

¹ The following was the action of the New York and New Jersey Conference anent this division: "Resolved that so much of the New York and New Jersey District south of a line running from the Raritan river to New Brunswick, and thence to the Delaware river, opposite Easton, be set off, and to be called the New Jersey District, and that the Maryland District be requested to agree to the above arrangement, and that the Maryland District be recommended to set off the city of Philadelphia to be added to the New Jersey District . . . the words

nine thousand subscribers, and as a full page in each number was devoted to the Methodist Protestant Church, it did much to further the cause in the Northeast. The *Western Recorder* was ably edited, and much of its space was occupied with the slavery controversy. The attitude of the official paper was severely criticised as to slavery March 3, 1843, and in 1843-44 a series appeared in a bout between Rev. Luther Lee, D.D., and Alexander McCaine, a veritable battle of giants on the same subject. It gave cheering intelligence weekly of the advance of the new Church in the West through active evangelistic labors of devoted men, and by accretions from the East through the migratory movement now going on; the losses from this cause were as ten to one, inasmuch as they located where no organization of the new Church existed,—a serious drawback to every small denomination. There is no computing what the new Church through fifty years contributed to other churches as a feeder for this and other reasons.

Rev. James Ward, early Reformer, died July 27, 1843. Rev. Jeremiah Browning, from Maryland, an original 1828 Reformer, also passed away September 28, 1843. Rev. Samuel L. Rawleigh of the Maryland Conference deceased November 21, 1843. He was an ex-itinerant of the old Church and an original Reformer, who continued to labor actively until his departure, leaving a fragrant memory. Rev. Alexander Albright of North Carolina deceased November, 1843. His name is inseparably connected with the founding of the cause in that State, and was in labors more abundant. Rev. Wesley Jones Stanton deceased November, 1843.

New Jersey to be stricken from the name of Conference." Copied from Rev. Dr. J. J. Smith's manuscript sketch of New York Conference. The New Jersey Conference organized immediately thereafter, assembling at Glassboro', April 19, 1843. Herman Bruce was the first President. Ministers—Edward Shock, Allen Nickson, Bartine Twiford, William Perkins, Samuel Budd, and Jonathau Timberman. The laymen—Joseph D. Frambes, John C. Sheets, and Uriah Brooks. The official minutes in the Church organ July 29, 1843, give as the list of unstationed ministers and preachers: David Kane, James Abbott, Jacob Andrews, Benj. S. Thackary, Robert Hutchinson, Samuel Hill (this is probably typographical for Samuel Budd as Bassett gives the list), James E. Smith, Samuel Herbert. The appointments of the first Conference were: Centreville circuit, J. N. Timberman; Glassboro' and Bridgeport circuit, to be supplied; Red Bank circuit, Bartine Twiford; New Brunswick circuit, William Perkins; Dover circuit, to be supplied; Egg Harbor circuit, Edward Schock (Shock). The proceedings of the early sessions of this small but stanch body do not appear in the official paper, and the manuscript records were lost for a number of years, but were accidentally recovered, and are in the possession of Rev. Edward D. Stultz, now the senior member of the body.

Rev. John Smith, first President of the Pennsylvania Conference, deceased December, 1843. He was an ex-itinerant of the old Church of a number of years' standing and irreproachable character, but espoused the cause of Reform from the beginning and spent his closing years in faithful service in the new Church. Rev. Daniel Davies, M.D., of the Maryland Conference, after a struggle of several years with pulmonary disease, passed to his reward, January, 1844. His last appointment was to Charleston, S. C., after the close of his editorship of the official paper. He died peacefully among his friends in Maryland, universally loved and lamented.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met in New York, May, 1844. It was the memorable Conference which consumed its days and nights on the Harding case of appeal from the Baltimore Conference and the Bishop Andrew case, both involving the merits of the slavery question, the agitation upon which now culminated, and these cases were made a test and the occasion for the separation of the Church. Its place in this History is due principally to the fact that not a layman was present as officially representing the Church. The ministry, as arrogating to themselves all legislative powers, after fruitless efforts to compromise by the conservative men of either section, agreed upon conditions of separation, which, however understood, by mental reservation or otherwise, in the North as only tentative and in the nature of a mere resolution, were understood in the South as honestly intended to provide for peaceful separation. If it cannot be affirmed with certitude that the separation would not have occurred had the Church been present in its laical character, it can be affirmed that at least no such chicane and double-dealing would have disgraced the proceedings as afterward invoked the civil courts for the adjudication of the property question, with but one good result: an exposition by the supreme legal authority of the hierarchical character of the exclusive government of the Church, with not only an absolute control, but an absolute ownership, vested in the ministry alone, thereby sustaining every point made by the Reformers against the system.

To the border Methodists the division was very distasteful, as it left them between the upper and lower millstones. A large meeting of laymen was held at Wesley chapel, Washington, D. C., in July, 1844, at which remarkable resolutions were passed, claiming the "right" to frustrate, if possible, the action of the General Conference in dividing the Church. They learned, how-

ever, that they had no "rights" the ministers of their Church were bound to respect. The lesson has been repeated many times since then, and for nearly thirty more years they were kept in tutelage before a grudging concession of an emasculated delegation was allowed them by the General Conference of 1872. The patient submission and generous forbearance and lavish contributions of the laity of that Church, while thus divested of all rights and all privileges such as for more than a hundred years they have exercised and enjoyed under the civil institutions of the country, are without a parallel in history. At the same time the almost unintermitting agitation kept up by them as episodes in the current annals of every section of the Church is in refutation of the gratuitous slander that they have been so governed by their own consent and free will.

Webster, as editor of the official organ, exhibited his mental mastery by discussing the issues, and repelling the extreme declarations of writers in the *Western Recorder* as to the meaning of the fathers in certain constitutional enactments, as the word "white," and the full power of Annual Conferences over the matter of colored members. The first session of the North Illinois Conference, having been set off from the Illinois, met at Princeton, 1843, and P. J. Strong was elected President. It included in its territory Iowa, where a few societies had been formed. Nicholas Snethen was in attendance at this Conference, and it was proposed to open a literary institution at Iowa City, to be called Snethen Seminary. It was indorsed by the two Illinois Conferences, and Snethen, in his old age but full of zeal for the cause, accepted the Presidency of the proposed school and prepared a number of lectures; but within a year his earthly labors were ended, and the project came to nothing. Meanwhile W. B. Snyder, an original Reformer of Cincinnati, had removed to Iowa City. He was one of the Seminary founders and commenced the publication of a religious paper, the *Iowa Colporteur*, but after six numbers it was suspended. The same year T. H. Stockton issued a volume of his poems, "Floating Flowers from a Hidden Brook," and his father, W. S., issued an edition of Whitehead's "Life of Wesley," with plates, heretofore noticed. Alexander McCaine was now living at Lott's, Edgefield district, S. C., with his children. His eldest son, a young physician, embraced religion, and declined into a pulmonary consumption. His father advised him to seek membership in the Methodist Episcopal church of the place, as there was no Methodist Protestant church

either there or within any reasonable distance. The son did so, and, when it became known, some of McCaine's friends, with more bigotry than piety, criticised the act as encouraged by McCaine. Whereupon he addressed a letter to the Boston *Olive Branch* of some length, which was republished in the official organ, the gist of which was that his difference was not with Methodism as such, but with episcopacy, and defended his course in the matter. It is one of the brightest spots in the career of this stalwart ecclesiastical leader. Would that the writer could produce parallels to it in the career of his renowned opponents, Dr. John Emory and Dr. Thomas E. Bond, but they are not at command.

It is fitting, however, to place in juxtaposition with it a citation from H. B. Bascom's "Review of the Manifesto of the Majority," p. 102, which he gave to the press some months after the adjournment of the General Conference of 1844, already noticed. Incisively he says—and all of that day, his contemporaries in both the old and the new Church, who could read between the lines felt how incisive it was: "It has always, moreover, been the doctrine of the Church, *right or wrong*, that the sole right to govern the Church in all its diversified interests belongs to the travelling ministry to the exclusion of the local ministry and laity, and that the travelling ministry constitute the government. . . . I speak of things as they *are* and not as they *ought* to be, if any think them wrong." It was treason of the Patrick Henry order, even if he covered his own personality in more guarded speech; and his quondam friends were not slow to give him the benefit of the heroic utterance as thus understood. (See "Luther," W. W. Hill, in the official organ for 1844-45.) That five years later Bascom accepted the bishopric is a fact his new friends of the Church South can wrestle with; the writer claims only as a final word for Bascom that he can never be classed with ex-reformers of the Emory-Bond-Waugh specimens, and needs no such weak apology as Bishop M'Tyeire gives for him in his "History" of these times: "Even Bascom uttered some sentiments, in the heyday of his blood, which were not in harmony with his maturer life," etc. Not a syllable can be produced that he ever changed his opinions, and his biographer gives the true cue to his ultimate conduct: "In the meantime [1846-47] his pecuniary affairs were becoming so desperate that immediate temporary ruin appeared inevitable. The cancer that consumed his vitals was carefully concealed from even his friends; . . . an observant friend . . . sought and found the cause of his deep

mental disquiet, and through his agency a nominal loan from a number of Southern gentlemen, in sums of \$500 and less, was procured, the whole amounting to some \$15,000."¹ How he would have administered the episcopal office no one knows, as he deceased a few months after his election. If any still insist that his course was inconsistent, and will not condone the fault, at least it has been shown that "it lies gently on him."

John W. Hamilton is announced as editor *pro tem.* of the *Western Recorder*, March 13, 1845. He continued until November 13, when A. H. Bassett became editor, with Springer as associate, Vol. 7, No. 1, September 11, 1845. The new editor was painstaking, and his more extreme views better satisfied the patrons, and the *Recorder* was pushed with energy. In connection with it he issued yearly the *Methodist Protestant Register and Almanac*, a kind of year-book.² The *Christian Sun*, a quarto semi-monthly publication, was issued in New York City, with Rev. J. W. Greene as editor and publisher, at \$1 a year, and intended to take the place of the extinguished *New York Luminary*, but its existence was very brief. Rev. J. G. Wilson of the Maryland Conference issued, 1844, the *Young Preachers' Homiletic Magazine*, but after a short career it was discontinued with loss, though ably conducted. In the autumn of 1844 a great public camp-meeting discussion took place between Rev. Dr. W. A. Smith of the old Church in Virginia and Rev. J. G. Whitfield, also of Virginia, and both leading men of their Conferences. It became known far and wide as the Shiloh discussion, and was continued for some days, and afterward through the *Richmond Advocate* and the official organ. It put Whitfield among the foremost debaters of his Church, and gave its Virginia work an impulse forward which continued until the Civil War. Dr. R. B. Thomson, F. L. Cosby, and a number of strong men, backed by liberal and zealous laymen, gave prestige to the rising cause. In North Carolina, as the veterans superannuated, their places were taken by a devoted band, of which Rev. J. F. Speight, Rev. Alson Gray, and Rev. W. H. Wills were leaders. In Georgia, Thurman and others were in the van. In Alabama and the far South P. T. Graves, Bibb,

¹ Henkle's "Life of Bascom," pp. 296-297.

² It was first issued in 1846, and continued until 1853, inclusive, and was a valuable repertory of church statistics and general information, quite useful in its day. Several attempts have since been made at various times to revive such a publication, but have failed either of proper presentation or support. The Bassett series complete is in the writer's possession.

and others rallied the scattered forces and established foci for missionary ventures.

It was a period of unwonted activity, excited by a renewal of the controversial aspects of Reform and the slavery agitation by the partisans, North, South, and in the newly formed Wesleyan Methodist Church in the Northwest. Dr. Bond, as editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, intimidated by the bold and formidable front the South presented, had the temerity to offer as a compromise an arrangement very similar to that which the Constitution of the Methodist Protestant Church offered; to wit, Annual Conference jurisdiction over the matter of slavery. About this time Rev. W. A. Smith retired from the so-called Shiloh discussion with Whitfield on the merits of "radical" Reform, and made a public challenge to Dr. Bond to discuss the issues of the now sundered old Church on slavery, and this was immediately followed by another challenge from Rev. Luther Lee of the *True Wesleyan* to meet Dr. Bond, if he declined to accept that issued by Dr. Smith; but between these cross fires he discreetly declined them both, but rang his shield more noisily than ever in the official organ. To cap the climax of this polemical rage, Alexander McCaine, from his home in the South, taking advantage of the recrudescence of controversy, made a public challenge through the official and secular papers to any Bishop or Travelling Preacher of the old Church, offering to prove fraud in the organization of that Church by the suppression of true and the substitution of false documents at its Conference of 1784. It goes for the saying that it was not accepted.

A shadow comes over the brightening prospects of the new Church by the announcement that Asa Shiun had been removed from his Western home to the Maryland Hospital for the insane in the autumn of 1844, his malady having returned for the fourth time. It was hoped that he would again recover, but soon thereafter he lost by a fire nearly all his property in Pittsburgh, so that his family were no longer able to bear the expense of his maintenance at the Maryland asylum, and arrangements were made for his removal to one in Philadelphia, where he continued until June, 1847.

In the late summer of 1844, a camp-meeting was held near Snow Hill, Maryland, by Rev. L. W. Bates, then a youthful itinerant, which was so remarkable in its spiritual power that it was adjourned to Drummondtown, and continued some weeks, with an aggregate of conversions of fifty at the camp and thirty-

two at the Drummondtown schoolhouse. A narrative of its pentecostal character is given in the official paper, October 19, 1844. The *Olive Leaf*, with Rev. E. M. Lathrop as editor and proprietor, was started at Vandalia, Ill., October, 1844, in the interest of the Western cause, despite the fact that the *Western Recorder* was struggling to maintain itself in the same section. It had but a brief existence,¹ and was another melancholy illustration of this eruptive fever for Church papers without a basis of support. The *Christian Sun* of New York ceased to shine by the expulsion of its editor from the Conference, October, 1844. "Tracts for the Times," a pamphlet by Rev. S. Lowell, was issued at Boston, in answer to Rev. Dr. Abel Stevens's "Tracts for the Times,"² on church government, November, 1844. The Norfolk, Va., church was destroyed by fire, March, 1845, involving great loss and corresponding discouragement to the local cause, but it was finally rebuilt at much self-sacrifice. A. S. Naudain, an original Reformer of Maryland, deceased February 13, 1845. Rev. Albritain Jones, of North Carolina, original Reformer, passed away July, 1845. Rev. James Reed, an early Reformer, deceased September, 1845.

Pause is made that the death of Rev. Nicholas Snethen may be announced and such tribute paid to his memory as restriction of space in this History makes possible. While industriously engaged in preparation for the principalship of Snethen Seminary, in Iowa City, he called on one of his daughters at Princeton, Ind., where he was taken seriously ill, and after six weeks of suffering passed to his heavenly home in the triumph of faith, on Friday, May 30, 1845. He was born November 16, 1769, and was consequently in the seventy-sixth year of his age. The events of his useful and remarkable life have already been given in the course of this History, of which he makes so large a part. For a

¹ Within a year it was reported defunct, but it was premature—arising from its removal to Greenville, Ill., where it was increased in size and the name changed to the *Protestant Banner*, with E. M. Lathrop as editor, January, 1846, at \$2 a year. One cannot but admire such zeal for a cause, if without business knowledge. It did not long survive its rejuvenation.

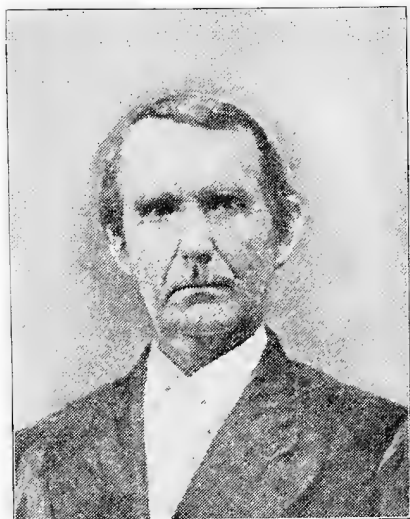
² It was during the course of these Tracts that Stevens provoked anew the old controversy by averring "it cannot be denied that their innovation has proved abortive." This in the face of a numerical growth quite equal to anything in church history and under disabilities experienced by all new denominational ventures. The Wesleyan Methodists had practically adopted the constitutional framework of the Reformers, and it was a renewal of the lay-delegation question in sundry places that made such partisan declarations a necessity in the absence of better arguments. The official organ vigorously refuted the loose and unwarranted averment.

masterful recapitulation of these stirring events, as well as much other matter of just reflection and appropriate moralizing, the reader who would have the career of this distinguished man before him in bird's-eye view is referred to Colhouer's "Founders," which devotes thirty-three pages to the task of portrayal of his unique and preëminent character. Of these reflections none is more true than the dictum: "He did not only seem to hear the footstep of coming generations, but by intuition to anticipate their wants and the means and manner of supplying them. His zeal for the cause of Christ was as great as his sagacity, and limited only by his ability to do good." Characteristic of him is the incident of his dying bed. Calling for a looking-glass and two candles to be held, one on either side, he requested to be raised in bed that he might for the last time survey his own features. Examining his face for a few moments, he uttered this prayer of faith: "My God, I thank thee that thou hast made me in thine own image, and hast preserved me to show forth thy glory. Now, O Lord, I resign the body which thou gavest into thine own hands." His remains repose in a family lot with an appropriate monument in the cemetery at Princeton, Ind. Though memorial services were held in various places in the new Church, notably that in Baltimore with the sermon by Dr. Francis Waters, but two of the old side *Advocates* made any mention of his death at the time. Taking advantage of a phrase used by James R. Williams in a eulogy upon him, and out of its associated place, — "he theorized about everything," — Dr. Stevens in his "History" seizes upon it as a clew to his differences with the old Church polity. It was not ingenuous, but even thirty years ago nothing better could be expected from her chroniclers. Shortly after Snethen's death, his son, Worthington G., issued a prospectus for a biography, but, not meeting with the requisite response, it was delayed until the generation that knew him had all passed away. His posthumous literary remains as compiled by the son have passed into the possession of the Pittsburgh Book Concern. The writer once made a careful examination of them, and they are so voluminous that the whole could not be contained in less than eight octavo volumes: sermons, essays, lectures, periodical contributions, and the biography. General Methodism has a future day of reckoning which may call for the publication of at least large selections from these remains. Prophet, Priest, and King of Methodist lay-representation, making this record just fifty years to a month since thy departure, the period hastens

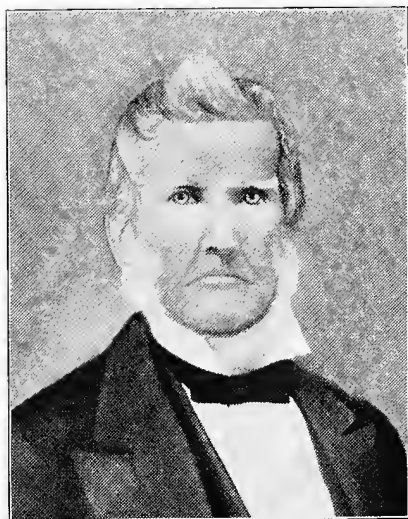
when the dissevered Churches of a common Methodism shall acknowledge thee Right and Righteous, and shall crown thee with the bays and blessings of a complete Vindication!

The irrepressible conflict in the new Church since the division of the old, was formally declared at Louisville, Ky., by the Convention of Southern Conferences in May, 1845, by a vote of ninety-four to three, giving momentum and power to the antislavery sentiment and determination of the Conferences North and West, so that within a year the *Western Recorder* of March 26, 1846, published the resolutions of quite a number of the Methodist Protestant Conferences expressed in varying degrees of acerbity and uncompromising opposition to the institution of slavery and of any moral complicity with it. Representatives to the ensuing General Conference were selected in view of it as the burning question of the times. Statistics showed a numerical decrease in the Methodist Episcopal Church for the year 1844-45 of 36,000 members in the Northern states, many of them seceders to the Wesleyans in northwestern New York. Gettysburg College, Pa., of the Lutheran Church, conferred the doctorate of divinity upon Thomas H. Stockton, September, 1845, which he subsequently declined. October, 1845, Rev. John Percival, of Virginia, one of the "expelled," and an active original Reformer, deceased, followed about a month later by John Victor of Lynchburg, Va., one of the "expelled" laymen, and a noble original Reformer. July 26, 1845, at the close of the volume, Augustus Webster resigned the editorship of the Church organ, but accommodated the Book Committee by service until they could select a successor. Dr. J. F. Bellamy of North Carolina, from Greenville circuit, and representative-elect to the ensuing General Conference, deceased February, 1846. Some months before he had reviewed Williams's "History" in the official paper as partial to Maryland, and had collected material for a history doing for North Carolina Reformers what this had done for Maryland, as he saw it. This material, during his last illness, he ordered destroyed. Rev. John Paris wrote a "History," which was published in 1849, and is an admirable compend, preserving important documents and speeches of Reformers in North Carolina, and presenting succinctly the course of Reform East and West, as well as a valuable appendix on the origin of Methodist Episcopacy.¹ It found a

¹ "History of the Methodist Protestant Church, giving a general view of the causes and events that led to the Organization of that Church; and a more particular account of Transactions in North Carolina never before published, with



JOHN PARIS.



ALSON GRAY.



W. W. WILLS.

wide circulation, but was not republished. The Church never had a truer friend and more devoted minister than John Paris, D.D., and his name is wrought into the very warp and woof of the cause in North Carolina.

The frontiers South and West were plentiful of examples of individual missionary zeal and heroic devotion to the principles of the new Church. Laboring with their own hands, or expending in self-support the hard earnings of earlier days, these men carried the banner of Mutual Rights into distant fields, not a few of them subject to the temptation of good support in the mother Church, if they would turn aside; and it is the purpose of this History to embalm their memory wherever extant records make it possible. Notwithstanding the distractions of the slavery agitation, much true evangelistic work was done in the quadrennium now about to close, and deep interest was manifested in the election of representatives to the impending fourth General Conference of the Church. The old leadership was dropping away by death and age, and it remained to be demonstrated whether or not the younger men would conserve its principles with anything like equal self-abnegation.

The fourth General Conference assembled at the Sixth Street church, Cincinnati, O., on Tuesday, May 5, 1846, at 9 A.M. Dr. Francis Waters was called to the chair. The following were found to be members: * —

PITTSBURGH

Ministers

George Brown
Charles Avery¹
William Reeves
P. T. Laishley
F. A. Davis
John Cowl

Laymen

John H. Deford
F. H. Pierpont
J. W. Phillips
Charles Craig
T. L. Porter¹
W. Hart¹

MUSKINGUM

Cornelius Springer
Z. Ragan
Joel Dalby, Jr.
John Burns
Geo. Clancy
R. Andrew
Israel Thrapp

John Bell
S. Rodman
W. B. Kerlin
J. Hildreth¹
T. Campbell
J. Reed¹ (deceased)
A. W. Beatty

an Appendix," etc., by Rev. John Paris. Baltimore. Printed by Sherwood & Co. 1849. 12mo. 411 pp. Sheep. Several copies are in the writer's possession, but like Williams's "History," it is now rare.

* Official Manuscript Minutes.

¹ Absent.

	OHIO	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
A. H. Bassett		James Foster
R. M. Dalby		D. C. Carson
Jos. J. White		M. Kennedy
James E. Wilson		H. Snowden ¹
	ILLINOIS	
John Clarke, Jr.		Joel Rice
W. H. Collins		C. Rice
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
W. E. Martin (Alt.)		S. Turner
	MICHIGAN	
James Gay		H. Brownson
	PENNSYLVANIA	
R. Baird ¹		B. Marvin ¹
	INDIANA	
D. H. Stephens		William Smith
Samuel Morrison		N. T. Catterlin ¹
Cyrus Jeffries		Wm. Morrison ¹
W. B. Evans ¹		Edward Jeans ¹
	GENESEE	
S. M. Short		Daniel Upton
	ONONDAGA	
Ira Hogan		L. B. Morris ¹
	MAINE	
B. Danforth ¹		R. Johnston ¹
	VERMONT	
Z. Boynton		Eli Smith ¹
	VIRGINIA	
J. G. Whitfield		M. Langhorne, Jr. ¹
R. B. Thomson		J. G. Atkins ¹
	SOUTH CAROLINA	
A. G. Brewer ¹		Geo. M. Keils ¹
	NORTH CAROLINA	
Wm. Bellamy		Spier Whitaker
Wm. H. Wills		John F. Bellamy ¹ (deceased)
John Paris		J. L. Swift ¹
	¹ Absent.	

	GEORGIA	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
M. W. Smith		John Webb ¹
J. C. Wallace ¹		John Bass ¹
	ALABAMA	
W. W. Hill ¹		B. Little ¹
P. S. Graves ¹		B. S. Bibb ¹
A. A. Lipscomb ¹		J. H. Smith ¹
J. Meek ¹		E. Fowler ¹
	MISSISSIPPI	
Enos Fletcher		N. B. Whitehead
	TENNESSEE	
R. W. Morris		J. L. Armstrong
	ARKANSAS	
J. G. Walker ¹		Abel Johnston ¹
	LOUISIANA	
A. Rushing		S. P. Gee ¹
	CHAMPLAIN	
J. B. Goodenough ¹		Allen Windsor ¹
	HUNTSVILLE	
H. C. Stillwell		H. R. Beaver
	NEW JERSEY	
Samuel Budd ¹		E. Carlisle ¹
	MARYLAND	
Francis Waters		J. W. Richardson ¹
Eli Henkle		Wesley Starr
Jno. S. Reese		Wm. Doughty ¹
J. Varden		A. L. Withers
Isaac Webster		T. R. Brown
U. Ward		J. Shriver
J. R. Williams		R. Tall ¹
Thomas Sims		Peter Light ¹
L. R. Reese		J. B. Mathews ¹
	BOSTON	
T. F. Norris ¹		W. H. White
	NEW YORK	
T. K. Witsel ¹		Wm. Wood ¹
	¹ Absent.	

This roster shows that 120 had been elected, and 48 of these were not present. Twenty-seven Conferences were recognized, indicating that the new Church had now become continental, with an organization in nearly all the States of the Union, and in some of them two Conferences. While there is no extant evidence that the slavery agitation had anything to do with this large absenteeism, as entire delegations of the extreme sections, such as South Carolina and Alabama, were solidly absent, as well as a number of the smaller ones of the North and East, this consideration may have entered into it, but the proportion of over one-third absent can easily be accounted for by the distance, expense, and hardship of such a journey as it involved. In Maryland four of the nine ministers are unstationed. The question of the legality of alternate delegates came up in this Conference, as no provision had been made for such in the Electoral College; and it was decided that all alternates should have their seats, and the defect of legislation was remedied. T. H. Stockton was elected to honorary membership with the privilege of debate, as it was known that he was present in the interest of the Philadelphia "mission" question. Thus, on this, and not a few other occasions, the Church expressed its respect and deference to this gifted brother, a fact he did not always seem to appreciate. Evidence was called for in proof of the legal existence of a number of Conferences, of whose organization the official paper had received no account, but were represented in the General Conference. On the afternoon of the second day an election of permanent officers was held, and on the first ballot James G. Wilson and Ancil H. Bassett were elected Secretaries, both of the Ohio Conference, and on the fourth ballot Dr. Francis Waters of Maryland was elected President, the vote not recorded.

It is evident from the minutes that Rev. James Gay of Michigan was the extreme antislavery representative of the body, and John H. Deford of the Pittsburgh representative of the conservatives. Their motions and counter motions, reports and counter reports, run through the deliberations. This and the Philadelphia "mission" question occupied nearly all the time of the Conference. On the slavery question a resolution, offered by H. Brownson, lay-member from Michigan, reads, "Resolved, that this Conference declare slavery, or slaveholding, to be sinful in all its relations, and that no Conference shall be bound to hold fellowship with any Conference that sustains slavery." J. H. Deford of the Pittsburgh Conference offered a resolution, "Re-

solved, that this Conference regard the efforts of Abolitionists, and all other attempts to interfere with the slave question, as improper, on the part of a religious body, and an unwarrantable disturbance of the regulations of the civil government." To complete a triangle South Carolina Conference had passed a series of resolutions indorsing slavery and recommending Alexander McCaine's "Defence of Slavery from the Scriptures." One sagacious, quiet man, himself in sentiment antislavery, amid all this conflict and divergence, was moving among the representatives, and, when he was sure of his ground, toward the close of the session, and after the majority and the minority reports on slavery had been discussed to the full, offered the following compromise resolution: "Resolved, that in the judgment of this General Conference, the holding of slaves is, under many circumstances, a sin against God, and, in such cases, should be condemned by the Methodist Protestant Church; nevertheless, it is our opinion that under some circumstances it is not sinful. This General Conference does not feel itself authorized by the Constitution to legislate on the subject of slavery, and by a solemn vote we present to the Church our judgment, that the different Annual Conferences, respectively, should make their own regulations on this subject so far as authorized by the Constitution." Signed, John S. Reese; while Cornelius Springer moved its adoption. Then a division of it was called for, and, after much manœuvring, it was passed in sections. The first was carried by a vote of 54 to 6, the second by a vote of 45 to 11, the third by a vote of 45 to 16. Subsequently James Gay and others offered protest, and the question was only disposed of by a motion to admit no more reference to it during the session.

Running abreast with this question, the Philadelphia "mission" subject was considered. The action of the Maryland Conference in recognizing Stockton's church in Philadelphia and St. John's, Baltimore, as missions, was declared unconstitutional. This was a score gained by the Restrictive rule men. Then, after reports and counter reports, Dr. Waters found a medium of settlement, to the effect that the General Conference set off the churches in Philadelphia as a Mission Conference, under certain regulations. The motion setting off a new district, to be called Philadelphia, was carried by a vote of thirty-five to twelve, those voting in the negative being Springer, Henkle, L. R. Reese, Williams, Varden, Rodman, Foster, Whitaker, Beaver, Starr, J. Rice, and William Collins. Levi R. Reese made strenuous

efforts to have it modified, so that any churches formed in the new district of thirty or more members should be subject to the Restrictive rule; but it failed by a large majority, and the question passed out of the General Conference, leaving it, in fact, as unsettled as it was before; and the respective champions returned home to renew the discussion on "Missions."

The unstationed minister question came in for its share of attention, but nothing was done to alter the status of this class. The ratio of representation was fixed at fifteen hundred instead of two thousand. Delegates were appointed to the "World's Convention of Christian Protestant Ministers," to meet in the city of London, England, August, 1846. T. H. Stockton, who was one of the delegates named, proposed to attend, but declined after correspondence with the originators, who had not invited Universalists and Unitarians as "Christian ministers." On the election for editor of the official paper the vote stood, E. Yeates Reese, 25; D. B. Dorsey, 15; T. H. Stockton, 8. The Book Committee was instructed to inquire into the expediency of establishing a Branch of the Book Concern in the West. Dr. Waters offered a series of resolutions on the decease of Nicholas Snethen. On motion "the Champlain District was dissolved." There had been some irregularities in its proceedings, and now, yielding to the pressure and in full sympathy with the Abolition movement, as it was distinctively called in those days, they had passed over to the Wesleyan Methodists. The membership was about eight hundred, and the action was a menace to the new Church in the Northwest, which finally necessitated the separation of 1858; not individuals only were implacably dissatisfied with the relation of the Free State Conferences to those of the South, but whole churches and Conferences seceded as the politico-antislavery party strengthened in the North. Action was taken looking to the enlargement and extension of Williams's "History of the Church" as a permanent record of Reform, with Williams, Waters, and Levi R. Reese as a committee; but nothing ever came of it.

The following chairmen of standing committees were announced by the President on the third day of the session: Journals, P. T. Laishley; Judiciary, John S. Reese; Executive, George Brown; Literary, John Burns; Means of Grace, Eli Henkle; Finance, Wesley Starr; Orders, Isaac Webster; Home Missions, J. S. Reese. A Committee of Foreign Correspondence, appointed by the previous General Conference, was continued, to keep in

touch with the Reform Methodists of England. The affairs of the Book Concern were thoroughly investigated, and its relation continued by resolution offered by J. S. Reese, "Resolved, that in our opinion the Church Periodical should be continued, and remain under the control of the General Conference." The *Western Recorder* was commended to the patronage of the Church. For the first time the new Church had methodized its affairs sufficiently to be able to offer something like a full tabulation of its statistics; still they were very imperfect. A summary of the full table presented by the committee, A. H. Bassett, Chairman, is as follows: Annual Conferences, 26; stations, 66; circuits, 325; itinerant ministers and preachers, 746; unstationed ministers and preachers, 628. Members by Conference segregation: Pittsburgh, 6412; Muskingum, 7244; Ohio, 4509; Indiana, 3764; Illinois, 2393; North Illinois, 788; Michigan, 1733; Pennsylvania, 1022; Genesee, 1443; Onondaga, 1400; Vermont, 1024; Maine, 500; Boston, 500; New York, 1730; New Jersey, 840; Maryland, 9175; Virginia, 2675; North Carolina, 3689; South Carolina, 1645; Georgia, 2078; Alabama, 4082; Mississippi, 1008; Louisiana, 500; Arkansas, 1000; Huntsville, 800; Tennessee, 1609. Total, including ministers stationed and unstationed, as reported, 64,944. Value of church property, total, \$563,971, of which amount sums over \$10,000 were in: Pittsburgh, \$65,490; Muskingum, \$58,756; Ohio, \$42,000; Indiana, \$16,900; Genesee, \$10,800; New York, \$53,000; Maryland, \$160,000; Virginia, \$41,150; South Carolina, \$29,500; Alabama \$37,000. Yet with these totals, an accretion of thirteen-fold in members, taking 5000 as the unit for 1830, within 16 years, and an excess of half a million of church property, 746 travelling ministers, and 325 circuits, and 66 stations in 26 Annual Conferences, the new Church made answer to the knowingly false declaration of Dr. Bond, in 1833, "Reform is dead; let its ashes be undisturbed," and to Dr. Stevens's equally false dictum of 1845, only a year before these statistics were published, "It cannot be denied that their innovation has proved abortive."

Such bald statements can be accounted for only on the score of gross ignorance, deep-seated prejudice, and a perpetuation of Dr. Bond's impotent purpose to "write down Reform." For nearly fifty years since this General Conference the press of the mother Church, largely, it may be conceded, by mere echo of each other's voices, has continued to write down Reform; and, truly, if it had been possible in the nature of the case to write it

down by slurs, minifications, disparagements, invidious declarations, not wanting in some of the latest issues of their *Advocates*, it had long since ceased to be. Bishop M'Tyeire, only a decade of years ago, in his "History of Methodism" from the point of view of the Church, South, sees and deplors this weakness of historiographers, and employs language in his Preface which the writer adopts, but from which it shall be shown M'Tyeire departs when he comes to speak of the Reformers: "Moral or abstract truth knows no point of the compass, but historical truth does; and the truth of history proves this. Methodism in the South has suffered injustice from the manner in which it has been presented by learned, honest, and able writers in the North. The writer does not presume to be free from the infirmities to which he is liable in common with others. He proposes to tell the truth as he sees it; and this may lead him to tell truths affecting others which they have not seen, and to present admitted facts in a different light." Applying this touchstone, how well does he succeed when he comes to speak of the new Church? Let him be cited: "A pure doctrine has been ministered at its altars; and while the denomination has not prospered, not a few bright examples of devout congregations, and of personal piety, have adorned it. Its ministry and press have never been without strong men, and the members have been generous. Its polity has been marked with an extreme jealousy of power, which is lodged nowhere, but 'distributed'; and there are guards, and balances, and checks. A brake on the wheels of a railroad train is a good thing to keep from going too fast; but a railroad train constructed on the principle of a brake, will not go at all. This honor justly belongs to the Methodist Protestant Church: its one good, peculiar principle — lay-delegation — has of late been incorporated into the chief Methodist bodies of Europe and America."¹ The compliments are extorted — the detractions

¹ "History of Methodism," p. 574. It may be well to note another deduction he makes from partisan information, for it is evident the Bishop never read the Reform literature of 1820-30; he says, p. 573: "Unfortunately, a reform which began in principles drifted largely into personalities. 'The most ungracious assault,' says a writer well informed in the literature of the day, 'was that which was made upon Bishop George.'" It ought to be sufficient to offset this averment with Alexander McCaine's own review of the case, as he was the other party to it, as found in the *Mutual Rights* of that day. And if anything were wanting to rebut the statement of a "writer well informed," the testimony of Dr. Francis Waters ought to be sufficient. By general consent of Reformers and anti-reformers he was a witness of unimpeached veracity and calm, judicial mind, who knew every Reform writer personally, and what he wrote from end to end of the

may be excused. The good man chuckled, it may be imagined, when he penned the railroad brake illustration; but what about the "will not go at all," as a "truth of history"? Dr. M'Tyeire's knowledge was confined to the South during and after the Civil War, when the new Church had been scattered and peeled, and, like his own, its houses of worship burnt, and congregations disintegrated by the threshing of the iron-teethed harrow, and may excuse his "has not prospered." Like the plumed knight, it has one bright feather streaming in the wind: "its one, good, peculiar principle — lay-delegation." But his Church and the parent Methodism everywhere had been proclaiming for a hundred years that it was not "good." They had remorselessly expelled and persecuted its advocates; and is it not a fact that it is time ingenuous treatment should acknowledge that but for the New Connexion and the Primitive Methodists in England and the Methodist Protestant Church in America the "principle" of lay-delegation would never have been "incorporated into the chief Methodist bodies of Europe and America"? The absolutely jocose thing about this "damning with faint praise," by Bishop M'Tyeire, is the fact that in immediate connection he says: "An irrepressible cause of discontent and schism was thus removed by a secession, which carried with it ministers and members, who were followed by sincere regret. Then the Church had rest for a season, and entered upon an era of unprecedented prosperity." And then he cites the statistics, showing that from "1828 to 1832 — the chief period of secession — etc.," the increase of the old Church was about an hundred and thirty thousand, or "the largest increase the Church has ever known in the same period." That is, the Lord prospered them, for getting rid of lay-delegation and its agitators, to this unprecedented extent, and yet, at the same time, their increase does not compare with that the Lord gave the Reformers for introducing lay-delegation for the sixteen years from 1830 to 1846. The brethren have so little skill in handling edged-tools that it could be wished they would let them severely alone in certain connections.

The reader will excuse this long, but important, digression controversy, and yet as touching personalities, abuse of speech, evil speaking, and all the other forms of crimination, he deliberately declared, "No other use of personal character had been made in the *Mutual Rights* than personal illustrations of the defects of the government and its administration, and that any travelling preacher had been defamed in its pages amounted to mere assertion." And if any critical reader would farther verify its truth the literature complained of is all accessible.

from the General Conference proceedings, and recurrence is made to record the fact that in the light of the favorable statistics it was moved that "the Board of Foreign Missions be continued," and it was further moved that this Board "be authorized to employ missionaries to serve in Oregon"; and out of it came the devoted and successful labors of Rev. Daniel Bagley, who survives to see the fruition of his labors there and elsewhere. Place and time for the first meeting of the Iowa and the Wabash Conferences were made; and then, by special request, the Conference closed with prayer by the President, Dr. Waters, to meet in Baltimore, May, 1850.

CHAPTER XX

E. Yeates Reese reelected editor of the official paper—Obituaries of Reformers; new Conferences—The slavery issue—Inauguration of fraternity between the new Church and the old at the General Conference of the latter in Pittsburgh, 1848—Secessions in Brooklyn, N.Y., and Philadelphia, but stood aloof from the new Church—More obituaries of Reformers, notably of Rev. J. R. Williams—Madison College at Uniontown, Pa., tendered to the new Church, and finally accepted; brief history of the misadventure; sectional questions at the bottom; heroic efforts of Rev. Dr. Brown to save the college; after five years it was abandoned—College started at Cambridge, O.; buildings first destroyed by a storm, and, when rebuilt, destroyed by fire, ending the project—Sketch of Rev. W. W. Hill, the "Luther" of Reform literature, deceased—Anxiety among the representatives elect to the ensuing General Conference of 1850 on the slavery issue.

JUNE 30, 1846, Augustus Webster retired from the temporary extension of his editorship of the official paper, and the reelected editor, after a retirement of one quadrennium, E. Yeates Reese, took charge of it, with new type and a promising outlook. The circulation at this date was about three thousand, and its financial condition would have been fair but for the credit system, which kept its reported assets in the hands of non-paying subscribers. Rev. D. H. Stephens, President of the Indiana Conference, deceased September, 1846. He had been an active member of the preceding General Conference. Rev. Samuel Norment passed away August, 1846, an able member of the Virginia Conference from 1832. Alexander Waugh, brother of Bishop Beverly Waugh, heretofore noticed, deceased October, 1846. Rev. W. H. Bordley of the Maryland Conference, an original Reformer and devoted minister, died October, 1846. Rev. William Bellamy of the North Carolina Conference, an original Reformer, deceased November, 1846. Rev. R. Davidson of the same Conference, died November, 1846. Rev. James H. Overstreet of Kentucky, an original Reformer, deceased February, 1847. Rev. J. D. Hines, original Reformer of Kentucky, deceased June, 1846.

A Convention was called in New Jersey, December, 1846, to protest against being set off from the New York Conference; J. F.

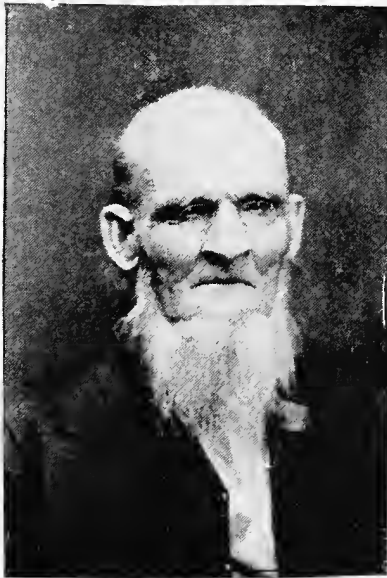
Felty, Chairman, and W. W. Strickland, Secretary. It was confined to the northern section of the State, and as the outcome Paterson and a few other points were annexed to New York, and so remain to this day. September 16, 1846, the first Wabash Annual Conference, as set off from the Indiana by the General Conference, was organized at Pleasant Hill chapel.¹ The first Iowa Conference, as set off by the General Conference, met in the State House, Iowa City, October 13, 1846.² The first Philadelphia Conference organized after the action of the General Conference, and as a sequel to their temporary agreement so to set themselves off in the autumn of 1846, met at First church, March 17, 1847. It elected J. G. Wilson, President, and E. W. Davis, Secretary. T. H. Stockton offered a series of six resolutions, which prevailed with some dissent, the substance of which was that each congregation should elect their own relation to the Conference, whether as circuit, station, or mission, and that all the territory should be declared "unoccupied" for this purpose. As the General Conference of 1846 granted this Conference exceptional privileges, there were counter petitions which expressed a preference for the Restrictive Rule feature. After the action of the General Conference a number of the members of the First church withdrew on this issue and organized the "Bethlehem Station." Stockton, in an after conversation, admitted that they were the "cream of his church." As a consequence he found himself without the usual financial support, and resigned the charge, accepting a call to Cincinnati, where he organized "The Association of Brotherly Love," an ideal Christian society, which he continued to foster for some years, but which was in evidence of his utter unfitness for practical affairs. The Philadelphia Conference survived three years, with varying condition, but its abnormal relation to the Church as connectionally established, as well as the relation of St. John's, Baltimore, produced continued friction, and the itinerant party under the Presidency of Levi R. Reese, in Maryland, getting the ascendancy, and his merited

¹ Joseph Shipp was elected President, and C. Jeffries, Secretary. The ministers were: G. Williams, J. C. Wright, J. Alter, H. Beal, W. Williams, A. Paris, J. McClure, P. Smith, G. L. Bodell, G. Evans, F. Long, R. G. H. Hanna, S. W. Widney, T. S. Fackenburg. The delegates: A. Pearson, A. Scales, L. Garrettson, A. H. Whitford, J. Boxell, N. T. Cutterlin, J. G. Crawford, J. Bice, T. N. Jones, J. Zipes, J. Barbee, S. Duling.

² The ministers were: Wm. Patterson, Robert Miller, Geo. S. Pierson, W. K. Talbot, W. K. Barnes, Oliver W. Kellogg, Alexander Coldwell. The delegates: Preston J. Friend, Dr. Enos Metcalf, Henry Nesmith, Geo. Davison, Wm. H. Collins (honorary).



JAMES ROBINSON.



ISRAEL THRAPP.



JOHN BURNS.

preferment as the President of the ensuing General Conference of 1850, which met in Baltimore, led that body to undo what it had done four years prior, and the Philadelphia Conference was annexed to the Maryland, leading to the independence of several of the congregations, and the final destruction of the cause in that city.¹ The membership within the Philadelphia Conference at its first session was 843.

The Michigan Conference proposed to establish the Michigan Literary Institute, at Leoni, Jackson County, with Rev. R. Bamford as Agent, but it did not materialize as to buildings, though its initial work was promising, forty pupils being in attendance. Rev. Edmund Rockford, original Reformer, deceased April, 1847. Rev. Dr. Samuel M. Meek, an original Reformer, died April, 1847. Rev. Thomas Taylor, of North Carolina, deceased just before the General Conference, and to which he was a representative-elect. Amasa Hollister, a Reformer of the Pennsylvania district, deceased June, 1847, aged seventy-nine. Rev. Solomon Longworth, original Reformer, deceased November, 1847. Rev. Arington Gray, original Reformer, deceased December, 1847. Henry Wigert and Francis Coates, of Baltimore, original Reformers, deceased December, 1847.

The official paper makes note that Rev. Asa Shinn, accompanied by his son William, spent a short time in Baltimore on his way home to Pittsburgh from Philadelphia, apparently again restored to mental soundness, June, 1847, but it proved illusive. The Genesee Conference, at its session of 1847, passed resolutions asking the other Conferences to unite with them in a call for a Convention to legislate upon slavery and blot it from the Church. The Muskingum Conference reported through a committee,—W. Marshall, Israel Thrapp, and John Burns,—declining to unite, and assigning in substance three reasons: They did not feel themselves as a Conference implicated in the sin of slavery, though convinced of its moral wrong; it would result in a division of the Church; it would not further the cause of emancipa-

¹ It will preserve an interesting episode in the church history from oblivion to give the Plan of Appointments of the first Conference, etc. First church, T. H. Stockton (mission); Ebenezer, J. G. Wilson (mission); Brickmakers, J. R. Nichols (mission under the pastor's protest); Schuylkill, 6th street, W. T. Eva (mission); Penn township, W. Matchett (mission); Aston, P. Price; Bethlehem, A. S. Eversole (station). Conference missionary, H. D. Moore. The lay-delegates present: John Porter, John Mills, James Galliard, John S. Fellton, John Weble, E. W. Davis. Unstationed ministers and preachers: James Moore, Allen Worthington, G. A. Shryock, John Mills, J. J. Gray. The printed Minutes of the three Conferences held are in the writer's possession.

tion. But as the years passed by and the political power of the antislavery party augmented, it was found impossible to adhere to such conservative ground in the West and North. The Methodist Episcopal Church, North and West, had emancipated itself from all complicity by the act of separation; the Wesleyan Methodists, growing strong upon this issue, sent messengers to the Conferences, and invited them to come out of "Sodom," and these were the upper and nether millstones that were grinding the new Church into a coalition with them.

Rev. James M. Coy of Pennsylvania, original Reformer, deceased November, 1847. In September, 1848, the Onondaga Conference undertook to establish a weekly religious paper at Clyde, N. Y., *The Northern Methodist Protestant*, with J. H. Hogan and James P. Long as editors; but after a year or more debts were contracted, and the enterprise was abandoned at considerable loss to members of the Conference. The *Western Recorder* for 1847-48 contained obituaries of Rev. Jeremiah Johnson, Reformer, December 9, 1847; Nicholas Amos, layman, and delegate to General Conference, March 16, 1848; Rev. Daniel Ireland, Reformer and member of Genesee Conference at the time of his death, April 13, 1848; Rev. John Fordyce, of Green County, Pa., early Reformer, June 15, 1848. September 20, 1848, the first Texas Conference, at Spring Grove, met near Moore's store, Bowie County, with H. M. A. Cassiday, President, and W. S. McClure, Secretary.¹ Rev. William Reeves of the Ohio Conference published a defence of the ministry of women, at Putnam, O. His devoted wife, Hannah, had license in England, and in this country throughout the West, and occasionally in the East, officiated acceptably in the pulpits, and that of the old Church at times, and her case raised at this early period a question which has been slow of solution among Methodists. Though sanctioned by John Wesley, the new Church has been much agitated by it in the West, and, as will be seen, it later became a General Conference question. During the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church held in Pittsburgh, Pa., May, 1848, the pulpits of the two Reform churches were tendered it. The tender led no doubt to careful consideration, as on its determination not a little

¹ The ministers were; Azariah Bone, A. Rushing, Wm. Southward, W. M. Elliott, R. R. Tucker, Jesse Mings, Geo. P. King,* John Freeman, Joseph Friend.* Unstationed, Thomas Stallcup,* Ward Taylor, W. S. McClure, W. R. Hart. Laymen: Iredell Southward, J. H. Painter, Samuel Davis, W. S. McClure, James L. Weir,* Bryant Brown,* John Hart, Sr., David Lowe.*

* Absent.

depended, but, whether from a high expedience or true Christian recognition and denominational fellowship, it was accepted and emphasized, Bishop Waugh preaching in the Pittsburgh church and administered the Lord's Supper with its Discipline, and Bishop Morris next Sabbath preached in the Allegheny church. They were both strong, flourishing congregations; and with nearly thirty Annual Conferences and seventy-five thousand members, these high functionaries, both of whom were parties to the proceedings of 1828, must have had curious speculations upon the subject of Methodist Reform, and the treatment meted out to its originators. In this act, however, the olive branch was tendered by the new to the old, and accepted by them, and Christian fraternity inaugurated between the two denominations. Charles Kennon of North Carolina, an original lay-Reformer, deceased, June, 1848. Elijah Philips, of Accomack County, Va., died July, 1848. Rev. Slingsby Linthicum of Maryland, original Reformer, deceased August, 1848.

In the summer of 1848, an agitation over church government led to a secession from one of the large Methodist churches of Philadelphia, and an organization on a congregational plan, supplemented by a secession in Brooklyn, N. Y., from the Centenary church, by the summary expulsion of the pastor, Dr. Green, who was implicated in the matter of Rev. John Newland Maffit. An Association was formed, and the dissension grew into four churches in Philadelphia and others elsewhere. Why did they not seek an alliance with the new Church? For two reasons, perhaps: first, it was not a pure lay-representation movement—a large personal equation was in it; and, second, "Radicalism" had been so stigmatized and slandered that most Methodists of this later day knew of it only by "bad report." As was inevitable, the Association, for want of connectional bonds, was short-lived, and left only disaster in its trail. Daniel Bagley, volunteer missionary to Oregon, organized the first mission church in the autumn of 1848. The Illinois Conference repudiated the *Protestant Monitor*, and proposed to establish, if found practicable, the *Western Fountain* in its stead, in the autumn of 1848. Accordingly the attempt was made, and the paper started at Greenville, Ill., with Rev. John Waite as editor. It was about half the size of the official paper, and at half the price. Rev. Benedict Burgess of the Virginia Conference, original Reformer, deceased November, 1848. Also Rev. James Hunter of North Carolina, one of the "expelled" ministers for Reform, January, 1849; Rev.

Robert Wilson of Maryland, an original Reformer, March, 1849; Rev. George Reed of Winchester, Va., original Reformer, April, 1849; Rev. James Moore of the North Carolina Conference, original Reformer, April, 1849. Rev. Gamaliel Bailey, aged eighty-four years, an ex-itinerant of the old Church, and original Reformer, and father of Gamaliel Bailey, once editor of the official paper, deceased April, 1849. Rev. James Jenkins of Alabama, original Reformer, deceased June, 1849. Rev. Elijah Eliason of Maryland, original Reformer, deceased July, 1849. Thus the participants in the movement of 1828-30 were passing away, and the plan of this History calls for such record that their names at least may be rescued from oblivion. Rev. G. Cumming Wild was appointed missionary to California by the New York Conference; he reached his destination with the migration of gold-seekers of this period, and began operations, but his untimely death ended the movement to introduce the cause in this Eldorado. Rev. Thomas Stillwell, original Reformer, of the Indiana Conference, deceased June, 1849. Rev. John Philips, original local Reformer, died June, 1849. Isaac Conkling, lay-Reformer of Cincinnati, deceased July, 1849. Rev. Thomas Maple, local original Reformer, of Pittsburgh Conference, deceased October, 1849. Rev. David Ferris of Vermont Conference, died December, 1849. Rev. Jeremiah Mason, of Maryland, original Reformer, deceased November, 1849.

Rev. James R. Williams departed this life October 2, 1849. Born in Baltimore, November 11, 1780, a dyer by trade, which he carried on successfully until his death; with such educational advantages as the city schools furnished, he diligently improved his mind until he acquired a creditable knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French, as well as of the physical sciences. In 1800, in his twentieth year, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, was soon after licensed as a local preacher, and so continued until September, 1827, when, with ten other preachers, he was expelled for advocating the Mutual Rights of the ministry and laity in that Church. He was a contributor to the *Western Repository*, and took an active part in the controversy for Reform, commanding as he did a vigorous English style and exhibiting a rare judgment in counsel. Leadership in the movement for Reform came to him unsought, and he ever proved himself worthy of the trust reposed in him. He was a member of all the Conventions and General Conferences, and his name is inseparably connected with the Constitution and Discipline of the

Church, as to him, largely, must be ascribed the framework of these instruments. A Methodist of the olden type, he clung tenaciously to the usages and methods, and departed only in the fundamentals of governmental reform. He was one of the earliest of the unstationed preachers to discover that the claims of this class could not be successfully pressed, as at first proposed; and while in this and other features of the changes suggested his convictions were clear, he was not stubbornly unyielding, so that in the close contentions his answer was, "Brethren, if you will not go with me, then I will go with you." He stood, perhaps, fifth among the voluminous writers for the cause of Reform, both under his favorite *nom de plume*, "Amicus," and his proper name, as historian and author of several valuable treatises on religious subjects. As a preacher he was instructive, but not popular in the sense of large congregations; and as a Christian, his reputation was unblemished and commanded the respect of his church opponents. He retained the full possession of his faculties during his protracted death sickness, and, on being interrogated by his close friend, J. J. Harrod, he answered with characteristic thoughtfulness: "Yes, all is well! All is clear! There is not a cloud in my sky! I have power over sin. I am saved by grace alone, through faith in my crucified Saviour. My faith has two fruits. The first is dominion over sin; the second, peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." A large concourse attended his funeral services at West Baltimore station, and his mortal remains repose in Greenmount cemetery, to await the resurrection of the just.

In the spring of 1849, the trustees of Madison College at Uniontown, Pa., tendered to the Church that institution, as after the connection of Bascom and Fielding of the old Church had been severed it was abandoned for another enterprise. Founded and partly endowed by ex-President Madison, it had a chequered history. The proposition was favorably regarded; and a large majority of the Annual Conferences having meanwhile signified their approval, it was formally accepted by the ensuing General Conference of May, 1850, in Baltimore.¹ The connection with it

¹ As early as January, 1848, in the *Western Recorder*, Rev. William Hamilton, one of the ablest of our Western ministers, submitted a proposition for the organization of a new college in the West. The Zanesville circuit took up the subject favorably soon after, and the citizens of Brownsville, O., made a move for the proposed institution in their midst. Hamilton continued to write, and proposed a plan in 1849. J. H. Deford and others took part in it, bringing forward the offer of Madison College and its acceptance as here detailed.

proved disastrous, and its brief career under such auspices may be here succinctly narrated. The Board of Trustees selected and secured the acceptance of the Presidency by Rev. R. H. Ball, A.M., a successful educator and well-furnished man, but, in the judgment of Dr. George Brown, whose opinion is weighty as more intimately associated with its whole course than any other, a primary mistake was made in the effort to open it as a full-fledged college instead of an academy or high school. The Pittsburgh Conference of September, 1850, was held in Uniontown, and the college came largely under its immediate care as to trusteeship, etc., while the Faculty was drawn, — except the notable instance of Rev. Dr. G. B. McElroy, so distinguished for his lifelong adherence to the Church of his choice under embarrassments of a most discouraging nature, and who remains in the front of the Western educational work to this day, loved and honored of all, — from the South: Maryland and Virginia. Rev. P. T. Laishley was selected as college agent, and did yeoman service for the institution. But it is evident that an error back of too pretentious a start, was the acceptance of the college at all after the Methodist Episcopal Church had found it expedient to abandon it for obvious reasons. Early and commendable zeal for education in the new Church, and the disaster by fire at Lawrenceburgh, Ind., led to the favorable consideration of almost any opening for a new venture.

It would not be to edification or instruction to detail the personal difficulties between the President, R. H. Ball, the students, faculty, and trustees, which led to his resignation, broken in health by the harassments to which he was subjected. Appeal was then made to Dr. Francis Waters to accept the position, which he did as there had been a fair attendance of students and the outlook was not altogether without promise; but, after a brief residence with his family, Dr. Waters resigned, assigning no reason at the time, but it was afterward ascertained that the climate was uncongenial to the delicate health of his wife. Dr. Brown was President of the Board of Trustees, and, for a time, President of the college and professor in the faculty. Dr. Waters recommended, as a successor, Rev. S. K. Cox of Maryland, who accepted, and, in the autumn of 1854, removed to Uniontown. A pupil of Dr. Waters, well educated and gifted, but of highly sanguine temperament and a lofty ideal without practical business endowment, he faced the situation boldly; introduced the military drill for the students, and extravagantly involved

himself and the institution. In March, 1853, the trustees had contracted debt to remodel the college building, adding another presage of ultimate disaster; but the college was kept running, and graduates were sent out, some of whom have since made a mark in the world; and so matters continued until the spring of 1855, when a case of college insubordination among two of the students occurred, which set President, faculty, and trustees by the ears, with crimination and recrimination. Dr. Brown, in his "Itinerant Life," details the matter with microscopic particularity. Mr. McElroy, under pressure from the President and faculty, Dr. Brown avers, because the only member not from the South, was called upon to resign; though, on the other hand, it was put on the ground that he was not a college graduate at the time and so did not measure up to his colleagues. The military system was in full glory, drills, muskets, and the college an armory, and in violation, it is said, of the charter. In fine, the Southern question was at the bottom of the differences; and the ferment went on, with rumors and denials, the choice tidbit being that colored students would be pressed for admission, and that endowment had been promised by Charles Avery to this effect. Denial did not arrest the rumor, and the finality was, at the Commencement of 1855 the President announced that the faculty had resigned, and that a college would be opened at Lynchburg, Va., in the autumn of the same year. It transpired that arrangements had been made to this effect. Dr. Collier was now President of the Board, and steps were at once taken to reorganize the faculty, with Dr. Brown as President, the recall of Mr. McElroy, and the election of Bancroft and Hutton as coadjutors, all from the free States.

The college was reopened in September; but eighty-five of the ninety Southern students did not return, and the whole situation was most discouraging. At this juncture Charles Avery came to its relief with a donation of \$1500. Mrs. T. A. Reese of Maryland had conditionally given \$2000, which finally reverted to the Book Concern at Baltimore. Uniontown did but little for the college, owing to partisan influences and the decadence of the place. The narration of the personal sacrifices made by the President and the faculty to run the institution is a story of martyr-devotion to ideas and principles as they understood them. The following year a successful Commencement was held, with McElroy as the only graduate, however. The herculean efforts of the President to relieve the financial situation make a page

unequaled in the Church history, as he and others travelled not North only, but South, in Maryland and Virginia; and he candidly admits that he met with success in securing the payment of old obligations, and, on visiting Lynchburg, where the new college had been inaugurated, he relates his hospitable reception by old students and the founders of the new *régime*. He met with but meagre success in the North and West, and the upshot was, that by the ensuing September Dr. Brown announced his failure to make possible the further continuance of the college; and it was closed, involving much pecuniary loss, more in prestige, with an aggravation of the internal slavery dissensions in the new Church.

Returning to the autumn of 1849, the Michigan Conference declined to elect representatives to the General Conference to meet in Baltimore the ensuing May, 1850, thus ridding themselves of complicity with slavery, as they interpreted it. It was probably this, or disintegration, so extreme had the situation become in the Northwest. The Muskingum Conference at its September session, 1849, took steps to inaugurate a college in Cambridge, O.; buildings were erected, and considerable money spent upon the enterprise, but a storm demolished the erections, and a collapse was threatened, when, principally through the efforts of Rev. George Clancy, they were rebuilt; but again, before completion, a fire destroyed the whole, and the enterprise was abandoned.

The new Church was now called to mourn the loss of Rev. W. W. Hill, the "Luther" of the Reform controversy. William Wallace Hill was born in 1788, in Halifax County, N. C., received a liberal education, was converted, united with the old Church, entered the Conference, embraced Reform principles, and, in August, 1825, was tried for "sowing dissensions" in the Church, but was triumphantly acquitted owing to his masterful defence. With others he organized the North Carolina Conference, December 19, 1828, and was elected President, and travelled extensively as a missionary propagandist throughout the State. He was a member of all the Conventions and early General Conferences, a frequent contributor to the periodical press, and a leader in the best sense. Colhouer says: "Mentally, he was profound in thought, clear in comprehension, positive in conviction, and fearless in expression. Physically, he was a grand specimen of the human family. Tall in stature, symmetrical in proportion, intelligent in countenance, classic in feature,

with a melodious voice, and an emotional spirit, he presented a majestic appearance before his audiences, and would move them with the power of his eloquence, as the trees of the forest are swayed by the mighty wind." In 1835 he removed to Alabama, where he took up the work of the Church as a leader in organization, and was elected President in 1846, and a representative to the General Conference of that year. He was unremitting in labors to the close, which came to him peacefully, September 7, 1849, in the sixty-first year of his age. "He lived beloved; he died lamented!"

Colonel R. Blount of North Carolina departed April, 1850. He was an early Reformer and one of the staunchest of its lay-advocates. American Methodist Reformers received much encouragement from the extensive Reform movements in England and the establishment of their organ, the *Wesleyan Times*, of which note was made in the first volume of this work. Rev. James Coval of the New York Conference deceased March, 1850. As the General Conference approached and the several Annual Conferences elected their representatives, much anxiety was felt as to the issue of the slavery question, which impended as a discussion in it. In April the *Western Recorder* contained an address to the body by anticipation, on slavery and other matters, by W. M. Reeves, and there were other indications of a renewal of former contentions. This quadrennium may be closed with the record in the Western paper of the decease of Thaddeus Hanford, a prominent lay-Reformer, May, 1850.

CHAPTER XXI

The Fifth General Conference, of 1850; roster of members; large absenteeism; reasons for it—The slavery question in abeyance largely—Madison College accepted—Charleston, S. C., and Steubenville, O., in nomination for the next Conference and the latter carried by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-three—Statistics show a small gain for the quadrennium; significance of it; a like arrest of development in the old Church—Report of the Book Concern the most favorable ever made; E. Yeates Reese unanimously reelected editor—Two other measures; right of appeal to the General Conference, and option of Annual Conferences to have a travelling President or not; the last indorsed by the Annual Conferences; reflections on the first—The Constitution of the new Church after twenty years' trial a success; tentative efforts in both the Church North and South to introduce the principle of lay-delegation—Moralizing upon the cultivation of individualism in the new Church in opposition to automatism in the old Church.

THE fifth General Conference assembled at West Baltimore station in Baltimore, Md., on the 7th of May, 1850. George Brown was called to the Chair, and A. H. Bassett appointed Secretary. The following is the certified list of the members as made from both the manuscript and printed Minutes.

	MAINE	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
N. S. Davis ¹		A. Ransdell ¹
	BOSTON	
Thomas F. Norris		Wm. Wyman
	VERMONT	
Z. Boynton ¹		M. Smith ¹
	NEW YORK	
J. J. Smith		Thomas Brown
	ONONDAGA	
J. H. Richards ¹		G. White ¹
	GENESEE	
Isaac Fister		E. Foster ¹

¹ Absent.

	NEW JERSEY	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
Samuel Budd		James Clark
	PHILADELPHIA	
J. G. Wilson		John Porter
	PENNSYLVANIA	
A. Abbott ¹		J. Van Camp
	PITTSBURGH	
George Brown		J. W. Phillips
John Cowl		J. H. Deford
J. Robison		Wm. Miller
Samuel Clawson		Dr. Z. Kidwell ¹
	MUSKINGUM	
Z. Ragan		A. W. Beatty ¹
Geo. Clancy ¹		B. S. Cone
John Burns		T. Hanna ¹
C. Springer		F. Scott
	OHIO	
A. H. Bassett		D. C. Carson
J. M. Young ¹		J. M' Cabe ¹
Joseph J. White ¹		J. Foster, Sr.
	MICHIGAN	
	Declined to send delegates	
	INDIANA	
Samuel Morrison		L. Barton ¹
	WABASH	
Joseph Shipp ¹		N. T. Catterlin ¹
	ILLINOIS	
Reddick Horn		Joel Rice
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
Daniel Bagley		S. Loy ¹
	IOWA	
	No delegates sent or announced	
	MARYLAND	
Wm. Collier		Wesley Starr
Josiah Varden		J. M. Fooks
L. R. Reese		P. B. Hopper
W. C. Lipscomb		Alexander Norris
	¹ Absent.	

	VIRGINIA	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
R. B. Thomson		J. J. Burroughs
J. G. Whitfield		H. F. Woodhouse
	NORTH CAROLINA	
John Paris		Dr. B. F. Folger
W. H. Wills		Dr. L. W. Batchelor
	SOUTH CAROLINA	
James Newberry		H. D. W. Alexander ¹
	TENNESSEE	
B. F. Duggan		R. Warner ¹
	GEORGIA	
M'Kendree Tucker		John Bass
	FLORIDA	
Dr. M. Nash ¹		R. Whitaker ¹
	ALABAMA	
S. Johnston		B. S. Bibb ¹
W. Rice ¹		Bolling Hall
B. S. Anderson		Edmund Harrison
	HUNTSVILLE	
H. K. Beaver ¹		S. Goodner ¹
	MISSISSIPPI	
Elisha Lott		Peter Loper
	MISSOURI	
B. T. Nowlin ¹		C. Edmundson ¹
	ARKANSAS	
John Miller ¹		John Gott ¹
	LOUISIANA	
Peyton S. Graves		S. P. M'Gee ¹
	TEXAS	
Azariah Bone ¹		David Lane ¹

There were eighty-eight in all, of whom but thirty-five were present on the first day, and thirty-three were not present at all, a majority of them from the extreme North and South, indicating that distance, expense, and hardship of travel were the causes, there being as yet no continuous lines of railroads, except

¹ Absent.

the Baltimore and Ohio, which had just surmounted the almost insuperable physical barriers to the West by piercing and scaling the mountains, and over which the members of Conference westward bound were invited to accept free return passage through Wesley Starr, who was largely interested in it. Thirty-two Conferences are recognized. On the second day Levi R. Reese was elected President on the fifth ballot, A. H. Bassett and B. H. Anderson, Secretaries on first ballot.

The President announced as Chairmen of the following committees: Journals, John Burns; Boundaries, T. F. Norris; Judiciary, George Brown; Executive, C. Springer; Literary, Z. Ragan; Means of Grace, J. G. Whitfield; Finance, Bolling Hall; Orders, P. S. Graves; Sabbath-schools, D. C. Carson. The minutes cover fifty printed pages, and are made up of slight changes in the Discipline; the two salient questions before the body being the status of the Philadelphia Conference and the acceptance of Madison College; the slavery question, when introduced, being speedily disposed of in accordance with decisions of previous Conferences. A running synopsis will be given of the more important items. A recommendation for the purchase of the *Western Recorder* by its editor and proprietor, A. H. Bassett, was declined. A recommendation to discontinue the order of Deacon was favorably reported, but referred to the concurrence of two-thirds of the Annual Conferences. A memorial from Charleston station, S. C., asking to be annexed to the Maryland Conference was conditionally approved. An Oregon and California Conference was set off. A republication of McCaine's "Defence of the Truth" was recommended to the Book Committee, and afterward carried out by them. John Cowl presented a memorial from Manchester circuit, Pittsburgh Conference, asking that "a more definite expression be given upon the sinfulness of slavery . . . and that the extent of the power of the Annual Conference to legislate on the subject be defined." Ragan moved that it be referred to Committee on Executive, and the Secretary says, "After a friendly and fraternal interchange of sentiments by numerous brethren from both North and South, the motion to refer prevailed." Dr. J. G. Morris of the Lutheran Church offered, unofficially, to the Church the advantages of Gettysburg College and Seminary, with special privilege—in lieu of the acceptance of Madison College, the difficulties and expense of its rehabilitation being pointed out in a friendly and foreseeing manner in his letter. An investigation of the Philadelphia Conference was ordered through a committee

of five: Hopper, Brown, Deford, Paris, and Burroughs. A resolution from the New York Conference asking that the word "white" be stricken from the Constitution was referred to Committee on Executive. It was the only other action on slavery and its incident referred to this Conference. C. Springer, Chairman of the Executive Committee, reported on the Manchester resolution and that from New York anent the slavery matters as follows: "That they are of opinion this General Conference has no jurisdiction over the subjects referred to in these papers. In reference to the request of the Manchester brethren asking this body to define the powers of the Annual Conferences to 'legislate on the subject of slavery,' they do not think that the General Conference should assume the right to expound the Discipline to the Annual Conferences; but that each Annual Conference is the judge of such matters as are referred to it by the Constitution, respectively for themselves, and are only held responsible to the General Conference, when, in their judgment, they shall have passed 'rules and regulations' contravening the Constitution." The simple record of the Secretary on this report is, "The above report was, on motion, adopted." A pacific spirit obtained, and the brethren, North and West, without the slightest change in their views as to the sinfulness of slavery, had agreed, in their love for the Church, that this disposition should be made of it as an ecclesiastical question. But the winds of a manifest destiny could not be long locked in their caves, — it will be seen how they presently burst forth, and a great and condign moral retribution swept over not the South only, but the North; and a moral wrong, entailed alike by the fathers in both sections, was righted in a baptism of blood.

Madison College was accepted, and commissioners appointed to adjust the conditions. Its history has been given. A paper asking the Conference to define the rights of females as voters reported "that they only possess the right of voting in the election of class leaders, in the appointment of committees of trial of accused members, in cases where trials are had before classes, and the reception of members into the Church." It was adopted. Steubenville, O., and Charleston, S. C., were nominated for the next place of meeting of the General Conference, and the former selected by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-three. The Philadelphia Conference, it was declared, had acted unconstitutionally in allowing the charges to elect whether they would be stations or missions, and ordered that the district be annexed to the Maryland Conference.

The disastrous results of this action have been elsewhere detailed. They were honest and able men, such as Williams, Hopper, Levi R. Reese, Starr, Brown, Varden, and others, who believed that a menace to the Restrictive Rule was a menace to Methodism; but the light of events has shown the gravity of the error, and however precipitate the methods and indiscreet the resolves, the more far-seeing wisdom rested with J. S. Reese, Webster, the Stocktons, father and son, as they were taught by the prescient Sneathen. The Committee on Statistics submitted a report from the thirty-two Conferences, and the summation is: stations, 63; circuits, 351; missions, 104; itinerant ministers and preachers, 778; unstationed ministers and preachers, 697; members, 65,694; houses of worship, 803; parsonages, 57; value of church property, \$708,415. A comparison with four years previous does not make, seemingly, a favorable exhibit, and it is full of instruction. The Maryland Conference had lost in the quadrennium nearly three thousand members. Wherefore? There is no answer but the acrimonious and alienating "mission" controversy, already referred to, which prevailed through this period. There was a loss of about a thousand in the Muskingum Conference for the same time, and also in the Indiana and Wabash combined of about a thousand, due, it must be assumed, to the "Abolition" controversy; and for the same reason there are losses in most of the Northwestern Conferences. Yet there is a slight aggregate gain, due to the active evangelistic efforts in a number of the Southern Conferences, the statistics for 1850 reporting a separate column for "missions" to the number of 104, which were so in the accepted sense of the word, as there is no decrease of stations and circuits. There is also an increase of two hundred houses of worship, with an advance in property valuation of \$150,000. So it will be seen that, discriminately considered, the Church had done well to hold its own with growth in material of about twenty-five per cent. The Methodist Episcopal Church experienced a similar arrest of development, not fully accounted for by the Southern separation. The reunion of the Wabash with the Indiana Conference was recommended and consummated.

The report of the Book Concern and Periodical was an exhaustive one, and must be noted in its recapitulations and special features. Assets, \$16,402.94, but these were largely in stereotype plates, subscriptions due, and book stock which, though discounted, were found unrealizable to a much larger extent. Liabilities, \$6610.67, by far the best showing that had ever been

made, and the editor and agent, E. Yeates Reese, was complimented by increasing the salary from \$900 to \$1100 a year. Wesley Starr had been generous, and Mrs. T. A. Reese made two donations of \$1500 and \$500, with life annuity in books, etc., attached. The favorable outlook for the Concern was due largely to the sale in the quadrennium of ten thousand copies of the hymn book, and an increase of the periodical from 2337 to 3187. The Book Committee says, significantly, in the light of future events, "The profits on the *Book* Business are inconsiderable — probably little more than will pay its proportion of the general expenses of the Concern." The principal supporting Conferences of the periodical were: Arkansas, 101; Illinois, 123; Alabama, 309; Georgia, 162; Tennessee, 103; North Carolina, 219; New York, 217; Pennsylvania, 229; Virginia, 403; Maryland, 614. E. Yeates Reese was unanimously reelected editor and agent, and the same Book Committee was reelected, except Dr. Francis Waters, Chairman, in lieu of James R. Williams, deceased, Wesley Starr, Joseph Brown, John Coates, J. W. Richardson, and Robert B. Varden, with the ex-officio addition of the ministers of West and East Baltimore stations. The Board of Foreign Missions was changed from Baltimore to Pittsburgh with the following members: William Collier, Charles Avery, George Brown, and the ministers of Pittsburgh and Alleghany stations, ministerial; and J. L. Sands, William Troth, J. Macaskey, William Miller, J. W. Phillips, T. Hanna, and M. M. Laughlin, laical.

Two other actions were had looking to emendation of the Constitution, the one investing the General Conference with "authority to hear and decide on appeals," which meant further protection of personal rights in accord with the fundamentals of the Church; and the other to provide amendment "by which presidents of the Annual Conferences may be stationed, if these bodies see proper to do so." This call for relief to the diocesan episcopacy of the Church grew out of the fact, not fully considered by the framers, that in not a few cases the poverty and paucity of numbers in an Annual Conference made it practically impossible for the President to travel and secure a support. The last measure received a two-thirds vote of the Annual Conferences, and so prevailed.¹

This and other minor emendations to the Constitutional instru-

¹ The first proposition to grant the right of appeal to the General Conference came from the Judiciary Committee and after discussion a vote by order was called, and it was passed by twenty-four to twelve, just a two-thirds majority; and yet this measure on submission to the Annual Conferences was rejected, a

ment were in evidence that, as a whole, the framers had builded even wiser than they knew. Twenty years had now elapsed since its formulation, a reasonable time in which to test its provisions; and it had disappointed all the dire forebodings of its enemies. It was pronounced a "rope of sand," and such prophets of evil as Dr. Bond gave the new Church three years as a limit in which to disintegrate and perish. To the contrary, it was found that with the utmost flexibility it was yet sufficiently cohesive, and though "built upon the principle of a brake," as Bishop M'Tyeire felicitously phrased it, as a working hypothesis it was found to run smoothly, and yielded unexpected satisfaction to its framers and friends. The Methodist Protestant Church stood forth as a demonstration that a lay-representative form of government, so far from being a hinderance to Methodism, was an unprecedented success, and began to extort the reluctant admiration of its critical foes. In evidence, in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1848, Rev. Dr. W. A. Smith introduced a plan for a lay-delegation; and though it had some peculiar features that differed it from lay-representation in the new Church, it, nevertheless, was a confession of the rightfulness of the principle. Dr. Smith probably acquired his ideas from the Shiloh controversy with Rev. J. G. Whitfield, already noticed; for it was easy enough for the most uncompromising of exclusive-rule preachers to modify his views when once contact with liberal men had chance to break the hard crust of ecclesiastical prejudice. And in the ensuing General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1852, a similar movement for lay-delegation occupied its attention, as shall be exhibited. The simple truth is, that lay-representation was an undying principle in Methodism, and was again sapping at the old foundations. But in neither of these cases was there any admission of the modifying effects of the new Church success;—it was no such naughty "radical" thing they proposed, it was a new discovery, and it was brought forward on its unique merits!

It had been a crucial period; it was a test between centralized authority and individual spontaneity. This differentiation has never been better phrased than by a recent writer: "The polity of the Methodist Protestant Church is peculiar in this, that the success or failure of our work depends largely on the individu-

singular and instructive illustration of a reversal of judgment by the sober second thought of the body of ministers and laymen in the Annual Conferences. See General Conference Minutes, p. 44.

ality of her pastors. They are not so many automatic machines controlled by a grand central power, but each an individual entity, supposed to be competent to stamp upon his parishioners a consciousness of his own individuality to the upbuilding of the Church. Methodist Protestantism will suffer the loss of many, otherwise excellent men, who can not use their individuality to advantage. Made a part of a great machine, such as episcopacy is, they fill a place, draw a support, and become so many automata, acted upon from without, surrounded on all sides by a pressure which, sooner or later, effaces their individuality and makes them parts of one stupendous whole, intercogged with other portions of the machinery, and receiving power from that grand motor known as ecclesiastical authority.”¹ It is an exact philosophy of the Roman hierarchy and of the Methodist Episcopal polity as well. And as a prophecy in part, for over sixty years the observant have marked its fulfilment. The new Church has and must continue to lose, such men as cannot use their individuality — they have no place in manhood suffrage and individual responsibility. It need not be said, however, that this ideal is levelling and descending in its trend; to the contrary, the ideal of Christian manhood taught in the New Testament gathers about it all of that type, and utilizes many others by its upward educating process. There is no other way to account for the accumulation in the itinerant ministry of the new Church of over fifteen hundred men contributing everything, not to further their own selfish advantage, but to cultivate and perpetuate the ideal of equal brotherhood in a Methodist Church. It is a spectacle for the admiration of thinking men, and receives it from all denominations having the same ideal.

¹ Rev. A. H. Widney in *Methodist Recorder*, December 1, 1894.

CHAPTER XXII

Bascom elected Bishop in the M. E. Church, South; his decease—Obituaries of Reformers—Missions to Oregon and China—Reform agitations in England and in the M. E. Church renewed—Obituaries of Reformers—McGehee College in Alabama; history of it—Dr. T. E. Bond, Sr., recalled as editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*; the purpose of it—Obituaries of Reformers; Harrod, Chappell, and others—The North Illinois Conference on Slavery; renewal of the controversy—The Platte Annual Conference organized; local conference papers—South Illinois Conference organized—Sketch of Asa Shinn and his decease.

THE General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, met in St. Louis, May, 1850, and Rev. Dr. W. A. Smith, probably enlightened by his controversy with Rev. J. G. Whitfield, at Shiloh, heretofore noticed, introduced a plan for a lay-delegation. It was unique in its features and ardently pressed by him, but the body was not yet ripe for the innovation. A step in advance, however, was taken: the Joint Board of Finance made provision for an equal number of ministers and laymen—one from every Elder's district—to take charge of the money matters of each Annual Conference, etc. It was at this Conference that Bascom was elected Bishop, on the second ballot, by a vote of fifty-nine out of one hundred. He died the ensuing September 8, leaving the testimony, "All my trust and confidence is in Almighty God as revealed in the cross of Christ." This year noted the decease of the following early Reformers: Rev. James Covell, M.D., June 8; Rev. Samuel S. Prather, June 22; Rev. Joel Whitley, August 3; Rev. G. Cummings Wild of New York, missionary to California, of typhoid fever, at Sacramento, August 9; Rev. James Williams of North Carolina, November 30. The dates are of obituary publications in the Baltimore paper. Also of William Disney, of the Cincinnati original Reformers, August 15, and Thomas Wright, of the Missouri Conference, one of the Expelled, August 15. These are from obituaries as dated in *Western Recorder*.

Union Academy of Washington County, Vt., was dedicated October 15, 1850, with Rev. Ruel Hanks, a rising young min-

ister of the Church as Principal. Rev. Frederick Stier, an original Reformer of Maryland, was appointed Agent of the Board of Foreign Missions, October, 1850, with China as the objective for missionary operations. The writer formed the acquaintance of this venerable and pious man in this, the first year of his itinerant connection with the Church, at the hospitable home of Hon. P. B. Hopper. Final notice of him later. It was during this year that the Wesleyan trials and expulsions took place in England, and the reforms agitated convulsed the parent body to its centre. The *London Wesleyan Times* was established as the organ of the Reformers. What infinite pains autocratic Methodism has taken to suppress the natural and acquired rights of Christian freemen! Impartial generations coming will marvel at the blindness of entailed power. The Alabama Conference proposed to establish a Male High School at Robinson's Springs, January, 1851. The Muskingum Conference College at Cambridge was reported under roof, \$2700 having been raised in the town and \$3000 to be raised by the Conference, March, 1851. July 26, 1851, it was reported that the Southern Institute of the Alabama Conference at Robinson's Springs had secured land worth \$2000 or \$3000 and subscriptions to the amount of \$25,000. The Board of Foreign Missions selected Rev. David Wilson for the China mission, and Rev. Daniel Bagley for Oregon, March, 1851. The latter reached his destination and did a successful work, whose fruit remains to this day, in the Oregon Conference; the China mission miscarried. The Wesleyan English Conference for 1851 reported the loss of 55,000 members, due to the expulsion and secession of Reformers. Bascom's "Declaration of Rights" was published as an extra to the official paper, September 6, 1851.

A controversy took place in Virginia between Rev. Alexander Doniphan and Presiding Elder Rousee on the "Question and Answer" book of Evans and Honour, with the usual outcome of polemical defeat for the defender of exclusive prerogatives in the ministry. A prospectus was issued for a Southern paper to be called the *Christian Telegraph*, November, 1851. Some of the averments and expositions of the early Reformers as to the governmental structure of the old Church were fully vindicated in the opinion delivered by Judge Nelson for the Supreme Court, sitting in New York City, in the suit of the two old Methodisms over the Book Concern property. The full text is published in the official paper, December 15, 1851, with comments by "S.,"

W. S. Stockton, through the December numbers of the paper, in which striking parallels are pointed out, thus putting the highest legal authority of the country on the side of the Reformers of 1820-30. It was during this year that extensive agitation took place among the Philadelphia Methodist churches in favor of lay-delegation. Conventions were held, and the rights of the laity to participate urged with much moral force and intelligent conviction. It became widespread. A Convention was held in Washington, D. C., to sustain the Philadelphia Reformers, in January, 1852. W. S. Stockton and Hon. P. B. Hopper offered strictures on the movement in the official paper, showing the perfect parallel; while these enlightened brethren of the new Reform carefully abstained from any reference to the “Radicals,” either through ignorance of history twenty years before or a prudent expediency. The now venerable Dr. Thomas E. Bond nibbed his prolific pen anew to “write down” both Judge Nelson and the new Reformers in a series of articles in the *New York Christian Advocate*, addressed to Hon. Reverdy Johnson, reproducing his stale “purse-string” argument, republishing his “Appeal to the Methodists,” etc. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met in Boston, May, 1852, and not only was it confronted by numerous memorials, but large and influential delegations appeared advocating the reforms specified; they were heard before a committee, which finally reported that “any action at that time was inexpedient, as there was no evidence that it was generally desired by the members or ministers of our Church.”¹ It was adopted by vote of one hundred and sixty-nine to three, and was precisely what officials answered twenty-five years before, to the disgust of the loyal but intelligent men of the delegation, who knew the answer was but an evasion of the issue. Rebuked and discouraged, they did not surrender, and, at the General Conference of 1860, a more favorable report was wrested from the official body. It was in the early part of this agitation, February 7, 1852, that E. Yeates Reese, editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, made the prophetic declaration, “Lay-delegation is a certain futurity in the Methodist Episcopal Church.” It was received with hooting and derision by the entire circle of its official press. It was also during this general discussion that W. S. Stockton made plain in an article for the Baltimore paper, January 10, 1852, that the forms of ordination of bishops, elders, and deacons, as taken from the Church of England, were added to the Discipline of

¹ Simpson’s “One Hundred Years,” p. 174.

1784 by Dr. Coke without Wesley's authority or knowledge. The question has been heretofore considered and need not be reopened.

Rev. Isaac Webster, of the Maryland Conference, departed this life on the fourth day of February, 1851, and was buried in the Westminster cemetery, Carroll County, Md. His father was Rev. Richard Webster, a local preacher of Harford County, Md. Isaac was born March 4, 1787, licensed to preach in 1819, and, soon thereafter, embraced the principles of Reform, and, in 1828, withdrew from the mother Church and entered the itinerancy of the new Church, 1829. In 1848 he was paralyzed, which ended his active career. He made a farewell visit to the Maryland Conference in 1850, the first the writer ever attended. He was of respectable abilities and unflinching in his loyalty. Colhouer's "Founders" contains a full sketch, pp. 244-248. Rev. William Lamphier, an original Reformer, died May, 1851, a local preacher of Maryland. Rev. James H. Harris of North Carolina has obituary embalment, May 7, 1851. He was honored by his brethren. Rev. Daniel Weeden of Maryland, local preacher, died July 19, 1851. Rev. Archibald Hawkins, of the Pittsburgh Conference, is recorded departed August 23, 1851, — an early Reformer and a leader in his day.

Rev. Levi R. Reese of the Maryland Conference departed this life in Philadelphia, September 19, 1851. His obsequies took place at West Baltimore station Sabbath morning, September 21, Dr. Francis Waters preaching the sermon and Rev. Augustus Webster, Thomas H. Stockton, L. W. Bates, and W. T. Wright assisting in the services. His remains were deposited in the Baltimore cemetery. He was born February 8, 1806, in Harford County, a son of David and Mary Reese. As a Christian he was consecrated, as a scholar studious, as a preacher popular and successful, as a Reformer one of the eleven Expelled in Baltimore city, and for a score of years he asserted and maintained leadership in the Church of his choice. He was chaplain of the House of Representatives for two years, 1837-38, and had the close friendship of Henry Clay. In the autumn of 1848 he was married, for the second time, to Miss Tamsey Ann, daughter of Colonel William Hughlett of Talbot County, Md. After the death of her gifted husband, she devoted what was then esteemed a large fortune to the benevolences of the Church and other Christian enterprises, and so continues to this day to dispense almost her entire income in works of charity and mercy, with

shrinking modesty. She is preëminently Maryland's "elect lady." Thus passed away in the prime of his days a man of noble physique, exalted intellect, warm heart, and magnetic presence, whose seals and impress are all over his native State. He died of malarial fever, and his death-bed was a scene of Christian triumph. Colhouer's "Founders" has a full sketch, pp. 206-212. Rev. Frederick Stier, while pursuing his agency for the Board of Foreign Missions, was stricken with paralysis at Fremont, O., and died at the home of Rev. A. Abbott, October 17, 1851, after penning the experience, "my mind is at peace; my soul cleaves to my Saviour." He was born in Frederick County, Md., May 17, 1784. Received as an itinerant in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Baltimore Conference, in 1802, in his nineteenth year, he continued to travel, one term as Presiding Elder, for twenty-three years, when he became one of the original members of the Maryland Conference, in 1829. A full sketch is in Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 261-266. Rev. Joshua W. Rutledge was appointed to succeed him as Agent, February, 1852. Rev. Horatio Hall, an original Reformer of Virginia, is recorded departed February 7, 1852. He was prominent in Christian and Reform work. Thus, the necrology of the new Church grew apace as her worthies departed, and the least recompense that can be paid them is this rescue from oblivion.

The Tennessee Conference at its twenty-third session, at Gainesville, October 17, 1851, was divided into Tennessee and West Tennessee. The boundaries are in the Discipline of 1858.¹ Bascom's "Summary of Rights" was published in the *Wesleyan Reformer*, organ of the expelled and seceding English Methodists, from a copy sent by E. Yeates Reese, in 1852. October 18,

¹ The following ministers and preachers were retained in the Tennessee: J. L. Hawkins, B. F. Duggan, Joseph Camper, W. J. Finley, J. Hutchinson, R. P. W. Balmain, B. H. Stewart, Thomas Burgess, R. Hooper, G. Yost, George Jones, N. A. Keys, J. B. Saunders, M. P. Thompson, Z. Taylor. R. W. Morris removed to Texas. Unstationed ministers and preachers: Samuel Elliott, Allen Wallis, Isaac H. Williams, M. Nelson, John Spinks, Jordan Chandler, R. B. Collins, Isaac St. Clair, Samuel Cash, L. Satterfield, P. M. Meyers, James Tillet, J. A. Sharp, William Gambol, John Spaw, William Brogdon, Uriah Davis, and Mark Murry.

In the West Tennessee, ministers and preachers: Aswold Potts, Coleman Smith, J. C. Lewes, J. H. Cobb, J. C. Crues, Joseph Holms, W. D. Wilkenson, Lewis Davis, Thomas Smith, T. D. Stanley, B. H. Hunt, E. G. Williams, H. N. Ausbrooks. Unstationed ministers and preachers: Z. Biggs, D. Simons, J. J. Rodgers, William Blair, P. White, W. M. Ray, R. Burton, B. W. Johnson, W. R. Fayle, William Cottingham, R. Wright. A number of these unstationed men in both conferences joined the itinerancy.

1851, the Wisconsin Annual Conference was formed under circumstances that make detailed mention instructive as illustrating the heterogeneous character of Western population.¹ The *Western Fountain*, at Greenville, Ill., heretofore noticed, was enlarged, price fifty cents a volume, Rev. John Waite, editor. Rev. Josiah Varden of Maryland, now stationed in Cincinnati, as Western correspondent of the official paper, February 28, 1852, recites the following facts: "To-day I met an aged and honorable member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This brother was one of the prosecutors in 1827-28 in this city. Having informed me of the part he took in that sad affair, and assuring me that in seeking the expulsion of those men he thought he was 'doing God service,' viewing them as 'restless spirits' up to the last General Conference of the entire body; 'but, since that time,' said he, 'I confess my opinions have changed, and I now see differently. The action of that body dividing the Church [1844] without its request, or without even asking the members to consent to division, convinced me that the preachers had a power beyond their right, and that a change of government was indispensable; for, had laymen been in that Conference, this chopping of the Church in two had never occurred.' Then, looking me full in the face, he said, 'Ezekiel Hall and others whom I helped to expel are in heaven, whilst I am here; and now I honestly confess to you, brother, that these men were right and I wrong.'"

Rev. Abner McGehee of Alabama donated \$10,000 to Robinson Springs College. The Central Female College of Atlanta, Ga.,

¹ The following is the unique record of the organization as officially reported to the Baltimore paper, October 18, 1851: "Immediately after the first quarterly conference of the First Methodist Protestant Church, town of Marcellon, Wis., organized April 13, 1851, a convention was called to organize an Annual Conference. Rev. Z. Boynton was called to the chair and L. A. Bliss appointed secretary. It was then declared by the convention that the first Church might be organized into a Conference, whereupon those present proclaimed the Conference organized. An election for President by ballot resulted in the choice of Z. Boynton, formerly of New York. Members: Rev. J. Briggs, formerly of North Indiana, nativity South Carolina; Rev. E. Leahey, formerly a monk of La Trappe; Rev. E. Pickering, formerly of M. E. Church, nativity England. Laymembers: L. A. Bliss, formerly of M. E. Church, nativity Petersboro', N. Y.; John Cruckson, nativity England; H. E. Austin, formerly of M. P. Church. It was resolved that the Conference should be bounded by the state lines. E. Leahey was made a Conference missionary. Done by order of 'the Annual Conference of the First M. P. Church of Wisconsin.'" Marcellon, August 23, 1851. Monk Leahey afterward travelled in the Church, making something of a sensation, as such pervers from Rome are apt to do, but he passed under a cloud and so departed. At the General Conference of 1854 the Wisconsin Annual Conference was represented by S. P. Huntington, minister, W. J. Ensign, layman.

organized with Rev. M. F. Rosser as Agent. Rev. Andrew Adgate Lipscomb, D.D., was elected President of the McGehee College, Robinson Springs, Ala. Anent the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Boston, May, 1852, Hon. Daniel Webster was invited to address the body in Faneuil Hall, in the course of which he made some remarkable animadversions upon the division of the Church, in 1844, not very palatable to the brethren. Just before the Conference assembled, to offset the laymen's Convention in Philadelphia favoring lay-representation, Dr. Thomas E. Bond, Sr., and his son Thomas E. manipulated a counter meeting of laymen in that city. It was known as the "Scapegoat Conference." Dr. Bond, Jr., addressing the laymen's Convention, had the effrontery to declare that Nicholas Snethen on his death-bed had acknowledged lay-representation in the new Church a failure. It evoked an indignant and absolute denial from Worthington G., son of Nicholas Snethen, then a practising lawyer in Washington, D. C. Thus, the tongue of slander was employed by the fervid partisans of the old Church, not for the first nor for the last time, as will be seen. How thoroughly alarmed the leading members of that General Conference were at the progress of lay-sentiment in the Church may be inferred from the fact that, casting about for an editor of the New York official paper, the most thoroughly equipped for a controversial bout with its advocates, they recalled Dr. Thomas E. Bond to the position. He entered upon his second contest with laical Reformers with such a heated zeal, and gave such an insipid rehash of the old arguments, and exhibited so much mental enervation, as to disappoint expectation. He was now nearing the close of his eventful career. About this time, also, the *Southern Methodist Pulpit*, edited by Rev. Dr. Charles F. Deems, expressed sentiments favorable to the lay-delegation movement in Philadelphia. He was at once taken to task by Rev. Dr. M'Ferrin, in the *Nashville Christian Advocate*, for his audacity. Among other things, in reply, Dr. Deems uttered the following prophecy, "In regard to the question at issue, we have no doubt that if he [Dr. M'Ferrin] should be living twenty years hence, he will sit in his Conference beside lay-delegates." It came to be literally true within fifteen years, as will be seen. Like the movement of 1820-30, it would not down at the frown of officialism; but the experience of that period taught them that the thumb-screws of expulsion and defamation could not be successfully employed the second time. No extreme measures were

attempted against the gritty and determined leaders.¹ It will be seen how it culminated, and, at the very verge of enforced success, in 1860, was swallowed up and defeated by the Civil War crowding out all other issues for the time in that Church.

Rev. Benjamin Richardson, local minister of Maryland and an original Reformer, passed away; obituary March 6, 1852. His worthy sons, John W. and Beale H., honored their father's principles to the close of life. Obituary of Rev. Theron Newman of the Maryland locality, March 13, 1852, an original Reformer. Obituary of Rev. Samuel Butler, an original Reformer of Alabama, April 10, 1852. Obituary of Rev. Randolph S. Smith of Virginia, an original Reformer, May 1, 1852. Obituary of Rev. Rhesa Norris, an original Reformer of the Maryland locality, May 8, 1852. Obituary of Rev. Jesse Wright, M.D., an original Reformer of Pennsylvania, June 26, 1852. Obituary of Rev. Mark Howard of Alabama, an original Reformer, July 3, 1852. Obituary of Rev. John Coe, original Reformer of North Carolina, September 25, 1852. Obituary of Rev. Elias Carroll, original Reformer, January 29, 1853, resident in North Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana. Obituary of Rev. Thomas Dunn, M.D., original Reformer, March 19, 1853. His labors and fidelity must not be forgotten in Maryland and Philadelphia. See sketch in Colhouer's "Founders," p. 382. He died at the residence of his eldest son, in Louisiana, in 1852, in his seventieth year. Obituary of Rev. Noah Dunin, original Reformer of New York, May 7, 1853. Obituary of Rev. Avery Melvin, original Reformer of the Maryland locality, June 4, 1853. Obituary of Rev. David Watts, original Reformer of the Maryland locality, June 11, 1853. Obituary of Rev. William Coman, original Reformer of Virginia Conference, July 28, 1853. He was abundant in labors and sacrifices. Rev. Thomas Melvin of the Maryland locality, original Reformer, obituary June 18, 1853. Obituary of Rev. William E. Bellamy, original Reformer of North Carolina, September 3, 1853. The name of Bellamy is inseparable from the history in North Carolina. Obituary of Colonel William R. Stuart, elected President of the initial Reform Convention of 1827, November 12, 1853. Obituary of Rev. Samuel Elliot, original Reformer of Tennessee, November 19, 1853. He did a noble work for the cause of Christ and ecclesiastical liberty. Obituary of Rev.

¹ For several years they had an organ, the *Philadelphia Christian Advocate*, but in the autumn of 1853 it met an enforced discontinuance from want of support and pressure to squeeze it out by those unfriendly.

Thomas F. Norris of the Boston Conference, and editor and proprietor of the *Olive Branch*, April 22, 1854. He was born on the 7th of November, 1792, was self-educated, and, in 1811, was admitted to the itinerancy of the New England Conference of the old Church, being in his nineteenth year. He withdrew and united his fortunes with the Reformers of 1827-30, and spared neither labor nor means to further the cause. As a preacher, he was commanding in appearance and effective in address; was frequently elected President of the Boston Conference, and was a member of the General Conferences of 1842 and 1850. He peacefully expired on the 21st of December, 1853, having successfully conducted the Boston *Olive Branch* for seventeen years. See Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 393-396.

Obituary of John Jolly Harrod. He was born in Harford County, Md., in 1785, and early in life united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1806 he opened a book store in Baltimore, which was the headquarters of the preachers, and where he heard, in later years, the reforms in the Church government discussed; which he intelligently embraced, and for whose advocacy he was Expelled the Church of his conversion and choice, being of the twenty-two who suffered proscription in 1827-28 as laymen. He was the father of the Methodist Protestant Book Concern; of great administrative ability, though over-sanguine in temperament, and lacked the cautious sagacity of John Dickins, who sustained the same relation to the mother Church. He died peacefully on the 6th of January, 1854, and was buried from West Baltimore station, Rev. Drs. T. H. Stockton, S. K. Jennings, and S. B. Southerland officiating; and was buried in Greenmount cemetery, Baltimore. Obituary of John Chappell of Baltimore, original Reformer and another of the Expelled of 1827 for opinions' sake. Born in England, June 24, 1765, he was converted and united with the Methodists in the fourteenth year of his age. He was well acquainted with John and Charles Wesley, and heard the former preach the funeral discourse of Whitefield when he was about six years old. It was from a daughter the writer obtained the copy of this sermon, now in his possession. Accompanied by his parents he left London on the 7th of April, 1795, arrived in Philadelphia, and soon thereafter settled in Baltimore and united with the Light Street church. As early as 1824 he embraced the principles of Reform, and steadfastly adhered to them at every sacrifice. He was honored by the new Church, filling all the official positions. His reputation was without a

stain, and his piety of the highest order. He aged grandly, reaching his eighty-eighth year, expiring peacefully on the Sabbath, October 23, 1853. He was buried from St. John's church. The obsequies were by T. H. Stockton, Dr. Jennings, Rev. Henry Furlong, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Augustus Webster, pastor of the church, and Josiah Varden. That such a man should be esteemed unworthy of membership in the mother Church, is a blot upon her persecuting history which cannot be wiped out—worse than this, no attempt has ever been made by her historians even to qualify the declaration of the senior Dr. Bond, that the expulsions of that day were a "high and holy vindication." See Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 325-328. Obituary of Rev. Allen W. Blankenship, original Reformer of Tennessee, February 18, 1854. Obituary of Rev. Samuel Budd, original Reformer of New Jersey Conference, March 25, 1854. Obituary of Rev. Seth Speight of North Carolina, original Reformer and one of the pioneers of this Conference not to be forgotten, April 1, 1854. Obituary of Rev. Nicholas Dorsey, original Reformer of Maryland, April 15, 1854. Obituary of Rev. Joshua Inskeep in *Western Recorder*, Reformer of Ohio Conference, August 28, 1851. Obituary of Rev. John Williams, Reformer of Ohio Conference, April 22, 1852. Rev. Joseph Shipp, early worker in Indiana Conference and first President of Wabash, August 5, 1852. Obituary of Rev. Lewis Browning, local Reformer of West Virginia, December 1, 1853. Obituary of Rev. Daniel Inskeep, local Reformer of Ohio, December 1, 1853. Rev. Jeremiah F. Pratt, one of the founders of Michigan Conference, January 12, 1854. Rev. James Munden of Pittsburgh, Pa., March 9, 1854. Basil Longworth, lay-Reformer of Ohio, May 18, 1854.

The North Illinois Conference having passed emphatic resolutions on slavery, it led to a controversy in *Western Recorder* between C. S. Callgan, Samuel Dilly, and Daniel Young, in 1851-52, as also between the editor and the Baltimore paper.¹ The *Christian Telegraph*, of Atlanta, Ga., lost its editor by death, the Rev. B. S. Anderson, who was succeeded by Rev. M. F. Rosser, and he by Rev. A. G. Brewer, 1852. A storm damaged Cambridge College, to the extent of \$1500, October, 1852, and it never was put in operation. The first session of the Platte Annual Con-

¹ Bassett's "History," pp. 170, 171, gives these resolutions in full, with the details of the controversy growing out of their publication in the two papers of the Church. Subsequent resolutions of the same conference were refused publication in the official paper.

ference met in Missouri.¹ The *Missionary and Sunday-School Journal* was issued by the Board of Foreign Missions at Pittsburgh, Pa., with Rev. John Scott as editor. It was a monthly at twenty-five cents a year, and well conducted. The Vermont and New York Conferences were united in the spring of 1853;² and this was the beginning of a consolidation of self-protection of the church work in the Northeast. Its soil had never been congenial to Methodism, and the new Church found itself environed with obstacles to which it has gradually succumbed in the last forty years. Rev. Ruel Hanks resigned the principalship of Union Academy in Washington County, Vt. Independent Methodists, to the number of two hundred, united with the New Jersey Conference, with four ministers and two preachers, April, 1853. Some very important private letters of Rev. H. B. Bascom were published in the Baltimore official paper, April 30, 1853, which throw much light upon his character and career. Rev. Dr. Samuel K. Jennings returned from a residence of some years in Alabama, now aged eighty-three, broken in health from a stroke of paralysis, in May, 1853. He took up his residence with his daughter, Mrs. Dr. Thomas Owings, where he continued until his demise. Yadkin Institute was projected by the North Carolina Conference, in 1853. The name of the *Christian Telegraph*, local paper of Georgia and adjacent Conferences, was changed to the *Southern Olive Tree*, March, 1854. Bassett's "History" says, p. 179: "In 1853 the South Illinois Conference was set off from the Illinois. Its first President was Richard Wright, and

¹ The record in the official paper is that it was held at Collins's camp-ground, near Princeton, Mercer County, Mo., some time in September, 1852. There was "a full attendance of the members," but there is no list given of those who "completed the organization." The first plan of appointments is given, from which it is known that J. M. Tuton was elected President; Oregon and Soners's circuit, N. Winters; Savannah, to be supplied; St. Joseph, Hugh Maxwell; East Grand River, Lewis Ellis; Des Moines Mission, John Sexsmith; Lagrange, John Huntsman; Maryville, to be supplied; Kingston, E. Picket; Jesse Gilliam, without appointment; R. Horn, A. L. Collins, J. Holloway, in hands of the President. John Sexsmith continued in this work for a long series of years, and has been succeeded by a worthy son who holds up the banner of the Church. Born in Virginia, he continued to adhere to the Methodist Protestant Church with some others in that section after the separation in 1855-58.

² The New York Conference met this year at Williamsburg, N. Y., March 9, 1853, with W. H. Miller, President. The committee from the Vermont Conference asking for consolidation was: P. Weaver, Ruel Hanks, J. B. Wiggins, and L. J. Fish. After consideration the proposition was approved. The affairs of Union Academy, under the auspices of the Vermont brethren, were considered, and a debt of \$800 reported. It was resolved to seek for another principal to succeed Ruel Hanks. It subsequently passed from our patronage and control.

its first session was held at Brooks's camp-ground. This Conference stood connected with the 'Methodist Church' until the reunion in 1877. But, meanwhile, a Conference of the same name, connected with the Methodist Protestant Church, after the suspension of the other Conferences, was organized, and was also in operation when the reunion took place." No other data are discoverable by the writer anent these Conferences. Rev. E. C. G. Nickens was prominent in organizing and perpetuating the Conference adhering to the Methodist Protestant Church. The two bodies were merged after the Union Convention of 1877, and has had a heroic struggle, as the South Illinois Conference, for enlargement. Rev. R. F. Shinn, a prominent minister of the Church in the West, delivered fifteen lectures in review of the old Church polity, which were so cogently, yet tersely, presented that a strong demand led to their publication in book form, and a large sale followed; but in every such instance, evidence of the liberal and Christian temper of the people, decadence of interest in it followed, and a second edition was not published.¹ The indisposition to provoke and foster controversy is to be commended on general principles among Christians; but the reasons for the existence of a denomination forced into organization by the arbitrary expulsive power of a parent body, are worthy of a diligent literary propagandism until every Methodist has had opportunity of an intelligent and voluntary acceptance or rejection of them.

The salient events of the past quadrennium may be fittingly closed with the announcement of the decease of Rev. Asa Shinn, clouding the Church with gloom, relieved only by the certainty of his departure to the world of eternal light and love. He was born in New Jersey, of Quaker parents, May 3, 1781. In 1788 he removed with them to one of the inland counties of Virginia. Here he lived until 1795, cut off from educational advantages, but thirsting for knowledge and seizing every means to gratify it. Removed to Harrison County, now West Virginia, in that year with his parents, in 1798 he was converted under the Methodist preaching of Rev. Robert Manly. In 1801 he entered the itinerancy of the Baltimore Conference and was assigned to Red Stone circuit under circumstances heretofore mentioned. Passing over his career until 1815, having a few years before issued his masterful "Plan of Salvation," he fell into mental alienation, caused, as his physicians testified, by an accident in his fifteenth

¹ "A Tribute to Our Fathers," etc. By Rev. R. F. Shinn. Cincinnati, Applegate & Co. Baltimore Book Concern, 1853. 12mo. 264 pp. Cloth.

year. Passing between some men who were pitching horseshoes for quoits, he was struck on the head by a calk of one of these shoes, fracturing the skull. A successful trephining restored him, but left him liable to mental disturbance, which four times laid him aside, the last permanently. He was early interested in Reform literature, but advanced cautiously to the acceptance of its principles. The expulsions in Baltimore, with McCaine's unanswerable reply to Emory, in his "Defence of the Truth," settled convictions in favor of the Methodist Reformation, from which he never swerved a hair's-breadth. As late as 1842 he pronounced McCaine's work "one of the ablest and most masterful productions that has appeared on any subject during the present century; and the pretension that the arguments of this book have been answered is a mere burlesque, and an imposition on the public mind, of which those who make the pretension ought to be ashamed." *Western Recorder*, Vol. III. No. 30. As a polemical writer he was unexcelled, the more in that his opponents always admitted his perfect fairness. As a preacher, his reputation was as wide as the land, and his piety deep and spiritual. The peroration of his sermons was often overwhelming. In 1843, after suffering an attack of inflammation of the lungs, his mental condition lapsed into senility. He was removed to an asylum in Philadelphia, and thence to that at Brattleboro, Vt., where he lived quietly, receiving the visits, at times, of his quondam friends, and where he expired, February 11, 1853, in the seventy-second year of his age. His remains were returned to Pittsburgh, and, after impressive obsequies in the First Methodist Protestant Church, the sermon being preached by his convert and friend, Rev. Dr. George Brown, supplemented by Rev. Dr. Cook, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and others participating, he was laid to rest in Allegheny cemetery, a fitting monument covering him. This is a meagre sketch of one of the greatest men Methodism ever produced. For fuller particulars see the official papers of the Church and Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 120-152.¹

¹ Rev. Dr. John Scott, now among few surviving men who have ever seen Shinn, says that he saw him and heard him preach in 1842. "He was a man of medium height, of well-rounded form, high and broad forehead, placid countenance, and keen and penetrating eyes. His whole appearance and bearing was deeply impressive." This answers to the several portraits of him preserved in the picture gallery of the Baltimore Book Concern. See "Recollections of Fifty Years in the Ministry, with numerous character sketches," by John Scott, D.D. Methodist Protestant Board of Publication, Pittsburgh and Baltimore. 5½ x 8 inches. 495 pp. Cloth, with a frontispiece of the author. 1898.

CHAPTER XXIII

The sixth General Conference; roster of members; sparse attendance — Digest of its doings — *Missionary and Sunday-School Journal* had been established in aid of the Board of Foreign Missions; report of its doings — Report of the Book Concern the best ever made both for book sales and subscriptions to the paper — Option given Annual Conferences to hold Electoral College on any day of its sessions — Report on slavery question conservative from a committee of Northern brethren, and adopted — A plan for a division of the Book Concern reported by Rev. John Scott, and subsequently adopted under protest from some of the brethren; intended as a peace measure, though it failed of this purpose — New hymn book ordered — Statistics, and reflections thereon — was the new Church a success? Proven by the facts — Necrology of the new Church in old Reformers; Jennings, John S. Reese, Avery, McCaine, Hopper, and others.

THE sixth General Conference assembled at Steubenville, O., Tuesday, May 2, 1854. John Burns was elected President *pro tem.*, and W. H. Wills, Secretary. The following are the representatives elected to this Conference:—

	MAINE	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
David Hill ¹		Abner Ramsdell ¹
	BOSTON	
William Tozer		William Wyman
	GENESEE	
S. M. Short		William N. Burt ¹
	ONONDAGA	
J. R. Robison		J. W. Little ¹
	NEW YORK AND VERMONT	
J. J. Smith		D. C. Jordan ¹
	PENNSYLVANIA	
R. E. Gorman		J. Moss
	NEW JERSEY	
T. T. Heiss ¹		T. W. Stanger ¹

¹ Absent.

	MARYLAND	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
J. S. Reese		George Vickers
E. Y. Reese		Wesley Starr
S. B. Southerland		C. W. Button
Josiah Varden		W. D. Massey ¹
Washington Roby ¹		J. B. Thomas ¹
	VIRGINIA	
R. B. Thomson		H. B. Woodhouse
J. G. Whitfield		James M. Smith
W. W. Walker		M. Langhorne ¹
	NORTH CAROLINA	
William H. Wills		A. Nicholson
John F. Speight		M. C. Whitaker
Alson Gray ¹		Calvin Johnston
	SOUTH CAROLINA	
John Burdine		R. A. Cates ¹
	GEORGIA	
Isaiah C. Wallace		John Webb
	ALABAMA	
O. H. Shaver		B. Hall ¹
James F. Smith		John P. Cook ¹
Alexander McCaine ¹		Edward Harrison ¹
	MISSISSIPPI	
James Meek ¹		W. B. Lott ¹
	LOUISIANA	
G. W. Johnston ¹		Samuel Johnston ¹
	TEXAS	
H. M. A. Cassidy ¹		David Lane ¹
	TENNESSEE	
Joseph Camper		J. L. Armstrong
	WEST TENNESSEE	
W. D. Wilkerson		J. M. Hayes
	INDIANA	
Fletcher Tevis		J. J. Amos
	WABASH	
J. C. Wright		N. T. Catterlin
	¹ Absent.	

<i>Ministers</i>	PITTSBURGH	<i>Laymen</i>
George Brown		William Miller
John Clark		J. T. Dagg ¹
John Scott		C. W. Newlon ¹
P. T. Laishley		J. L. Phillips ¹
D. B. Dorsey		John Davis
	MUSKINGUM	
Zechariah Ragan		T. A. Reed
John Burns		Francis Scott
George Clancy		T. Hanna
	OHIO	
J. M. Flood		J. Ashton
W. B. Evans		Shadford Easton
A. H. Bassett		D. C. Carson
	ILLINOIS	
J. P. Johnston		S. K. Swingley ¹
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
Daniel Young		William Cullen
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
James Edmonson ¹		Nelson Moore ¹
	MISSOURI	
Samuel Hughes		J. Carpenter ¹
	MICHIGAN	
J. L. Turner		T. Hinman
	WISCONSIN	
S. P. Huntington ¹		W. J. Ensign ¹
	IOWA	
William Patterson ¹		William Pettitt ¹
	ARKANSAS	
J. G. Walker ¹		P. P. Vanhooose ¹
	PLATTE	
Reddick Horn		J. Coleman ¹
	OREGON	
E. E. Parrish ¹		G. Parrish ¹

Huntsville and Florida Conferences were not heard from. There were twenty-three Conferences represented by thirty-

¹ Absent.

seven ministers and twenty-five laymen, total, 62 out of 102. On the first day but thirty-one answered the roll-call. The writer can discover nothing special to account for this large absenteeism, except as in former assemblies. The work being continental, travel by horseback and mail stage for the most part a necessity, and no provision, as a rule, being made for the travelling expenses of the representatives, even in Maryland, in that day, must be accepted as reasons for the fact. The manuscript minutes, of which the printed are a literal transcript, are unusually full, making of the latter forty-eight printed octavo pages, and fifty-six of reports. Condensed, the salient transactions are as follows:—

On the second day the ballot for President showed 29 out of 51 votes for John Burnes, declared elected; William H. Wills and John Scott, Secretaries. On the third day the President announced the permanent committees, with chairmen as follows: Journals, J. G. Whitfield; Boundaries, P. T. Laishley; Judiciary, George Brown; Executive, Z. Ragan; College, R. B. Thomson; Church Periodical and Book Concern, George Clancy; Means of Grace, S. B. Southerland; Finance, W. W. Walker; Orders, S. M. Short; Sabbath-schools, J. M. Flood; Home and Foreign Missions, J. P. Johnston; Ratio of Representation, E. Yeates Reese; Statistics, A. H. Bassett; Allowance of Ministers, H. B. Woodhouse. From the various reports of committees, as printed in the Appendix to the Minutes, a summary of business may be gleaned. The trustees of Madison College give, in detail, all the facts of its history to date, no longer of special interest to the Church beyond the digest already given. On petition of the Platte Conference, Des Moines mission was placed under the care of the Board of Missions, and the report is in full of Platte district and the Mission territory. The Report of the Board of Foreign Missions is elaborate and interesting, as noting the initial work of the new Church in this direction. They report for the Oregon mission, under Daniel Bagley, the organization of a mission conference in that distant territory, with five ministers, two preachers, and 120 members, one house of worship erected and others building. The miscarriage of the China mission is detailed, and the special funds on hand still reserved for that purpose. The establishment of the *Missionary and Sunday-School Journal* is adverted to, with the statement that it had paid its own expenses; and it is urged for continuance. The Board had obtained a charter from the Legislature of Pennsylvania, which

is given in full, as also a full report of the Treasurer, W. J. Troth, from which it appears that \$4925.03 had been collected during the quadrennium by the Agents, Frederick Stier and J. W. Rutledge, and \$3404.27 disbursed.

Stuebenville station, where the Conference was held, petitioned for a modification of the Restrictive Rule in certain emergencies. The Baltimore Book Directory reported in detail, showing that of the pulpit edition of the hymn book of 1500, 730 had been sold, and of the common hymn book nearly all of 8000 had been disposed of, and of the revival hymn book 3000, and of Disciplines 7000. Of McCaine's "Defence of the Truth" nearly all of 1500, and of the "Question and Answer" book 4000 out of 5000, and 750 out of 1000 copies of the last General Conference Minutes. The official paper had slowly increased in circulation, and was in improved typographical condition. The assets are enumerated at a total of \$13,914.52, consisting of books, stereotypes, book accounts, promissory notes, and \$7000 of overdue subscriptions to the periodical, believed to be good, and cash in hand of \$2014.52. The liabilities are set down at \$8192.27, indicating a net gain during the quadrennium of \$4922.25. For the first time in its history the Concern was free of debt, with over \$2000 cash in hand. Tables of receipts for books are given, showing the sales to be a total of \$13,720.64 for the quadrennium, and for the *Methodist Protestant* of \$20,223.41, for the same period. The actual circulation of the periodical is not given, but it was about 4400, or the largest it has ever attained in its history, before or since, plus the circulation of the *Western Recorder* and the *Southern Olive Tree*, together about 4000 more, in a church membership of 72,000, or about one in nine, a showing also never since equalled, and unsurpassed by any of the old Church *Advocates* then or since. It must be remembered, however, that the religious literature in competition with official church organs in that day was a mere bagatelle compared with that of recent years. Much of the success of the publishing interests was due to the exceptional ability displayed, both literary and business, by the editor and Agent, Rev. E. Yeates Reese, at a salary of \$1100 a year. Of the book sales and subscriptions to the periodical, Maryland contributed about one-fourth of the total. For the latter, Virginia, Alabama, North Carolina, Pittsburgh, and Georgia stood in the order named.

Option was given the Annual Conference Electoral Colleges to meet on any day of the session. A number of petitions and Con-

ference resolutions were presented to strike out the word "white" from the Constitution and Discipline. Others demanded its retention. There was, however, quite an irenic and pacific spirit exhibited by the representatives on the slavery question, as it came before the body on the demand of the North Illinois Conference for the censure of the editor of the official paper for refusing, after the first time, to continue publishing the drastic resolutions of that body. It was referred to a special committee, with the usual result of a majority and a minority report. The resultant action of the Conference as to the North Illinois Conference resolutions, which the editor of the official paper declined to publish, and the slavery question, as such, appears to be summed up in the report of the Executive Committee: "First, resolved, in the opinion of this General Conference, that the holding of men, women, or children in a state of involuntary servitude, for the purpose of gain, where the civil law will admit of emancipation, and where the interest of the slave would be promoted thereby, is a violation of the morality of the Christian Scriptures. Second, resolved that, according to the Constitution of the Methodist Protestant Church, taking the word of God for the rule, the local judiciary, and not the General Conference, is the proper tribunal by which all questions of morality, bearing upon the standing of members of the Methodist Protestant Church, should be determined." The committee was Z. Ragan, S. M. Short, Truman Hinman, and J. J. Smith, all from the North and West. It seems to have passed with practical unanimity. The portion involved in the second resolution, though not by this action made a part of the organic law of the Church, was looked upon by many, then and since, as a solemn declaration of a general principle, under which, in recent years, resolves upon the prohibition of the liquor traffic, specially with a party bias, by the General Conference, were declared inconsistent with this compact. There can be little doubt of the correctness of the general principle, otherwise such resolves would be construed rightly as having the force of additions to the Articles of Religion and of Wesley's General Rules. The principle has, however, been overruled on the theory that, as a General Conference resolution, it could not bind restrictively any future assembly of that body. It is probable that the unanimity exhibited in this disposition of the foregoing matter was due to a quiet understanding that the grievance complained of by North Illinois, and those who wished a medium for the free adverse discussion of slavery,

would be provided for in future by a division of the Book Concern and the establishment of a Western official paper. This provision may now be considered.

The report of the committee of six, of which John Scott was Chairman, on the "Church Paper," foreshadowed the plan. The prosperous condition of the Concern seemed to favor its execution by brethren from the North and West, while those of the East and South acquiesced in it as another peace measure by which both parties hoped the menace of Church division might be laid. Thus favorably entertained, it was referred to a special committee, which matured and reported a Plan for Division, and which was subsequently adopted by a practically unanimous vote. It may be found in full in Report No. 52, Appendix to Minutes of 1854. Its provisions, when condensed, were to the effect that the "Western establishment shall be called the 'Western Methodist Protestant Book Concern,' and the paper to be called the *Western Methodist Protestant*." The Annual Conferences that agree to support it were to meet in delegated Convention on the first Wednesday of the ensuing November at Zanesville, O., which was to mature all the details for its government. It was agreed that if ten Western Conferences enter it, the Baltimore Book Concern should pay that of the West \$2000. If a less or greater number of Conferences should enter the plan, then the sum should be graduated accordingly, not less than \$1500 and not more than \$2500. Provision was made for a like Convention of the adhering Conferences to meet in Baltimore the first Wednesday in June, 1855, and to have like authority for developing details of government. The old charter was to be abrogated and new ones secured for the respective Concerns, both hereafter to be controlled by Conventions of Conferences, to meet at the time and place of the General Conference, but to be independent of its control. As far as the representatives then present felt free to pledge their constituents, the following Conferences adhered to the Western Concern: Muskingum, Ohio, Wabash, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, North and South Illinois, Iowa, Genesee, and Onondaga; eleven. Those adhering to the Eastern Concern: Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, West Tennessee, Boston, Missouri, and Pennsylvania; ten. As viewed at this distance of time, it was a bold movement, and constructively, at least, a violation of the Eleventh Elementary Principle forbidding "independent sovereignties." As viewed at the time, it was heroic treatment of a serious church

malady, justified by the unanimity of consent. It will be seen that the representatives who were doubtful of the choice of their constituents deferred decision until they could be consulted, notably Pittsburgh and New York. One honest and far-sighted representative, Dr. J. L. Armstrong, layman of Tennessee, entered his formal protest against the whole plan. See Appendix No. 56 to Minutes.¹

The Board of Missions was constituted as follows for the next quadrennium: Revs. William Collier, John Scott, George Brown, P. T. Laishley, and John Clark; Messrs. W. J. Troth, William Miller, John Macaskey, Charles Craig, William Henderson, John N. Sands, and James Rind. Several Conferences having petitioned for the abolition of the order of Deacon, the action of the Conference was, "No necessity for the change." The Committee on Ratio of Representation report that they find the number elected to this General Conference "to be over one hundred — the constitutional limit." The ratio was fixed at one minister and one layman for every 1750 members, instead of 1500. Rev. Josiah Varden having been appointed for the third year to Cincinnati station in violation of the Restrictive Rule, it was brought before the Conference by the Committee on Journals, who reported that it was such a violation, as he was not transferred to the Ohio from the Maryland Conference after the second year. Various motions were submitted, and, finally, the following, by that ever discreet and sagacious man, Dr. John S. Reese, was adopted in substance, that the action of the Ohio Conference does "not call for censure by this General Conference;" and so men of his type circumvented the hard and fast sticklers for absolute adherence to cast-iron law. The essential fact in the case was, that Varden had a grown daughter so ill of a nervous affection at the time of the third year appointment that it was impossible even to remove her from the parsonage. She died during the third year. A revised edition of the hymn book was ordered, and a committee of eight appointed from widely sepa-

¹ Rev. George Brown in his "Itinerant Life," p. 365, states that "while he did not enter formal protest he did declare that the General Conference had 'started an entering wedge — division would follow.' When I sat down with a sad heart, unable to restrain my tears, Dr. Thomson of Virginia came to me and in the blandest tones possible said, 'I regard this as a peace measure.' But I said, 'Where will be the use of the General Conference at all when our general interests are thrown out to be managed by conventions?'" Armstrong and Brown had the prescience of seers, but to what avail? The condition of public sentiment in State and Church was such that nothing could stay the inevitable.

rated Conferences, more than half of whom failed to act. The work went on, however, principally devolving on E. Yeates Reese; the book was adopted East and South, as ordered by the General Conference of 1858, and it remained the book of the Methodist Protestant Church until the General Conference of 1880 ordered a new book for the reunited Church; the Conference West and North, as the Methodist Church, having, after 1858, compiled a new book, principally by Alexander Clark. The committee of fifteen, of 1880, adopted the "Tribute of Praise," and it has since been used by the entire Church, now once more continentally bounded.

A paper was passed, offered by George Brown and John S. Reese, calling the attention of the Electoral Colleges to the provision of the Convention of 1830, recognizing the claim of the local ministers to election to the General Conference in suitable proportion. The courtesy was largely disregarded in the elections of 1854, the Maryland Conference allowing but one in E. Yeates Reese, a local elder, and editor of the official paper. Lynchburg, Va., was selected as the place of the next General Conference by a vote of thirty-five out of fifty-eight. Rev. Ulysses Ward of Washington, D. C., having issued a volume of Snethen's Sermons, tendered a gift of seven hundred and fifty unbound copies for the benefit of Madison College, and it was so reported to the General Conference. They appear to have at last become the property of the Baltimore Book Concern, bound, and, after a number of years, finally sold. They show the imperial intellect of Snethen, but give no sign of his fervid eloquence, written as they were in his old age.¹

The Committee on Statistics presented the fullest report ever submitted, through the painstaking labor of its Chairman, A. H. Bassett. As this was the last General Conference attended by the representatives North and West until the reunion in 1877, it is instructive to give the tabular statement in full, and justifies the space given to its transactions. It will be seen from these statistics, in comparison with preceding ones, that from a membership of about 5000 in 1828-30, within twenty-five years a total is shown of 70,000, from 100 or more itinerants to nearly 1000. There were 78 stations, 405 circuits, and 103 missions. Nearly 1000 houses of worship had been built at a valuation of over \$1,000,000, with 118 parsonages. It meant an average value of \$1000 for each building, — and this sum went far in that day out

¹ A volume is preserved in the writer's collection.

of the cities, — and an average of one church in about every eight days of the whole twenty-five years. Had the new Church succeeded? Compare this success with that of the mother Church, for the same relative period of time, at her initial, or with any other Church in the country; and by this very unreliable test of true success, numbers and property, the Methodist Protestant Church was a success, all prejudiced historic statements to the contrary notwithstanding. It shall be shown by the same class of facts that it is a success to-day, after seventy years of trial and effort, with a marvellous moral and collateral aggregation established by concomitant facts, atrabilious brethren from within and ignorant partisan traducers from without to the contrary notwithstanding.

STATISTICS OF THE METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH

Annual Conference Districts	Stations	Circuits	Missions	Itin't Min. & Pre.	Unsta. Min. & Pre.	Members	Houses of Worship	Parsonages	Est'd val. of Church Property
Maine	..	6	..	10	4	500	1	1	1,800
Boston	13	..	..	11	3	426	13	..	22,100
N. Y. & Verm't	8	17	5	28	33	1,609	37	6	70,000
Onondaga	1	19	3	44	27	1,308	8½	6	11,100
Genesee	1	13	1	18	13	925	9	3	12,100
New Jersey	1	7	2	11	16	702	10	..	8,000
Pennsylvania	..	7	1	8	14	555	5	..	4,100
Pittsburgh	8	30	8	59	68	6,066	66	6	121,725
Muskingum	6	29	7	56	66	6,100	126	9	70,855
Ohio	5	26	9	60	70	5,689	91	12	101,250
Michigan	1	19	7	47	28	1,469	6	..	4,800
Indiana	1	11	5	22	24	2,031	25	..	13,000
Wabash	..	8	3	20	17	1,014	10	2	4,925
Illinois	..	14	3	17	26	1,264	17	4	14,500
North Illinois	2	23	..	43	33	1,549	12	15	12,550
South Illinois	..	12	..	15	20	1,264	10	4	3,670
Iowa	..	8	3	19	10	800	1	..	2,000
Maryland	14	28	4	66	74	6,746	165	46	348,000
Virginia	3	12	8	37	25	4,729	51	1	44,750
North Carolina	1	12	3	41	21	5,397	66	..	22,080
South Carolina	..	6	..	9	6	733	10	..	30,000
Tennessee	1	5	3	17	11	1,800	12	..	10,000
West Tennessee	..	4	4	20	10	908	24	..	3,500
Georgia	3	18	2	55	12	3,162	25	1	5,000
Florida	3	..	3	12	1	800	11	..	5,400
Alabama	5	17	2	39	50	4,375	91	2	44,500
Huntsville	..	6	1	9	13	1,000	..	..	..
Mississippi	1	10	3	33	21	2,421	38	..	5,570
Missouri	..	7	2	18	6	1,800	..	..	..
Platte	..	7	6	15	12	650	1	..	1,000
Arkansas	..	10	..	15	11	880	10	..	3,000
Louisiana	..	6	1	13	7	676	20	..	10,000
Texas	..	8	4	22	5	550	..	..	..
Oreg'n Mis. Con.	..	..	..	7	..	120	1	..	1,000
Total	78	405	103	916	767	70,018	982	118	1,009,275

After sessions during two weeks, the General Conference adjourned, May 16, 1854, with closing religious services by George Brown.

A few notes may be made of the doings of the mother Methodisms North and South meantime. In the General Conference of the latter, in 1854, at Columbus, Ga., their Book Concern was permanently located at Nashville, Tenn., and George F. Pierce, John Early, and Hubbard H. Kavanaugh were elected bishops. In the General Conference of the former, in 1856, their missions in Africa, owing to the peril to health and the expense of the journey, were accommodated by the election of Francis Burns, a colored member of the Conference, Missionary Bishop to Liberia. It was the first inroad upon the Asbury-M'Kendree idea of the "General Superintendency," as the resignation of the episcopacy by Bishop Hamline, at the previous General Conference, was a blow at its life-tenure, and the recognition of his doctrine, that the bishopric was a mere creature of the General Conference. It is a strange fact, also, that, notwithstanding the Methodist Episcopal Church was divided in 1844 on the slavery question, the North by that act putting itself on record that it would not have complicity with it even to the extent of allowing an involuntary slaveholding Bishop to preside over their Conferences, from the period of division onward to the Civil War the brethren North exerted every influence to keep the border slave territory Conferences within their own fold; and went farther by establishing, with mission funds, other Conferences in Kentucky, Arkansas, and Missouri, all then slave states. There was method in it, however, as will be seen hereafter.

The necrology of the new Church for the ensuing quadrennium included, among early Reformers, Rev. Regan B. Collins of Tennessee, obituary in official paper July 22, 1854. Also of Rev. Jesse H. Cobb, August 5, 1854. William King of Georgetown, D. C., was a stanch early Reformer, cabinet-maker and undertaker, who lived to an age that made a fact in his local history: he buried an entire generation of his townspeople. His unblemished life closed (obituary July 22, 1854) with a peaceful death.¹

¹ On his dying bed he left with his pastor, Rev. Dr. Southerland, a testimony as a protection to his memory in view of the frequent misrepresentations of the early Reformers that they had repented of their course or had returned to the old Church, a pertinent case in Dr. Jennings soon to be noticed in this History; he said after a calm review of the past, "With my present light in these last hours of life I would do just what I did were it to go over again." See Baltimore official paper, p. 4, January 15, 1887.

On the 19th of October, 1854, the whole Church was thrown into mourning over the demise of Rev. Samuel Kennedy Jennings, M.D. He was born in Essex County, N. J., a state which has produced a number of the eminent Reformers, June 6, 1771. He was of Scotch Presbyterian lineage, well born, with every advantage of early education, and a graduate of Rutgers College, in New Brunswick, N. J., with high honors, 1790. He removed with his father's family to Virginia, where he studied medicine and entered upon its practice. When about twenty-three years of age he was thoroughly converted under the close conversation of Heath, a Methodist itinerant, of which there is detailed narration, as well as much interesting matter, which space forbids introduction here, in Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 60-89. After useful residence as physician and preacher in New London, Lynchburg, and Norfolk, Va., he came to Baltimore, and settled for a life-work, in the spring of 1817, being then forty-six years of age. His ministry here as a local elder has scarcely a parallel. No minister was ever more popular, his congregations crowded and overcrowded whenever he preached, and great revivals occurred under him. As a writer, he also excelled, having a lucid, pointed, and logical style. As has already been found, through the current of this History, he was a foremost writer for the *Western Repository* and the *Mutual Rights*. In 1831 he published his "Exposition of the Controversy of 1827-30," an octavo of 247 pages, and in 1846 the fruit of his old age, "A Compendium of Medical Science." He was an unremitting writer, contributing to the medical journals and other periodicals. As a Reformer, his record has been already given in these pages, — in its faith he lived, labored, and died. In the sketch of Dr. Whitehead, as found in an appendix to the first volume, the promise was made to point out the remarkable parallels in the two men. Both of them were Methodist reformers; both were expelled from the Society and Church, for opinions' sake; both were physicians as well as preachers; both were biographers of the chief leaders of English and American Methodism, Whitehead writing the only reliable "Life of John and Charles Wesley," and Jennings appointed by the Baltimore Conference, in 1817, to write the "Life of Bishop Asbury"; both of them were persecuted and traduced for this work, the latter by reason of it never completed, as explained in the "Exposition"; while in minor particulars the likeness is striking. As a professional teacher he was also eminently successful. In 1818 he was elected President of Asbury College of

Baltimore, on the recommendation of Bishop Soule. During its brief career it exceeded in its progress, perhaps, any institution in this country. For more than twenty years he held professorships in the Washington Medical College of Baltimore. In addition to all these pursuits, he commanded a large medical practice, which he continued to within about ten years of his death. In 1845 he removed to Alabama, that he might be with his children; all of whom were worthy of their ancestry, but none of whom now survive. While in the South he was stricken with paralysis, which greatly enfeebled him in body and mind. In 1853 he returned to his loved Baltimore. Within a year, while taking one of his accustomed walks along Baltimore Street, he had a second and fatal attack of paralysis, and was removed to the home of his son-in-law, Dr. Owings, where, after lingering six days in a state of insensibility, he passed away, as noted. His obsequies took place from St. John's church, Liberty Street, the sermon being by Thomas H. Stockton, then associate pastor with Rev. Dr. Webster. It was a masterful effort of this prince of preachers, a printed copy of which is in the writer's collection. His remains were removed to Howard County, Md., where, in the family lot of his kindred, he was laid to rest between the graves of his first and second companions. These graves are unmarked, so that his own is no longer distinguishable from his kindred dust, but his memory is imperishable, and his record on high.

During his last years, one of his pathetic utterances was, "I am nothing; I never was much, but now I am nothing!" but, rallying, he added, "But I hope to live forever!" and then, with tears of grateful emotion, "Thank God! I expect to live forever." Shameful to relate, the grass was not yet green upon his grave, when the tongue of slander began to gnaw at his spotless name. Dr. Abel Stevens, writing from Baltimore, gave currency to the statement that prior to his decease Dr. Jennings had returned to the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was promptly denied through the official paper, and this brought a retraction, with honorable apology, from Dr. Stevens, as a Christian gentleman. But, in 1886, Dr. A. W. Cummins of the old Church published "The Early Schools of Methodism," in which he declared, p. 92, on the authority of Rev. Isaac P. Cook, local elder of the old Church, resident in Baltimore, that Dr. Jennings had "regretted his severance from our Church as the mistake of his life," while on his dying bed. It fell under the eye of the writer, then editor of the

official paper, and, after careful investigation from still living witnesses and the facts of his decease, he addressed an open letter to Dr. Cummins (see *Methodist Protestant*, p. 4, January 15, 1887), refuting this second slander; which he acknowledged personally and promised to make the correction, as requested, through the *New York Christian Advocate*, as the only medium that would reach the readers of his book; but he afterward declined to make any amends. It was conduct in contrast with Dr. Stevens.¹

Rev. Samuel Cash of Kentucky, Reformer, obituary January 20, 1855. Rev. Nathaniel Gage of New York and Vermont Conference, Reformer, obituary March 3, 1855. Rev. Samuel Haslett, Pittsburgh Conference, Reformer, May 14, 1855. Thomas Jacobs, father of Rev. Charles Jacobs of Maryland Conference; Reformer, June 9, 1855. Rev. Anthony Spaur, Virginia, aged eighty years, Reformer, October 6, 1855. Rev. John W. Porter, Reformer of Maryland, November 3, 1855. Rev. William Perkins of Pennsylvania, Reformer, February 2, 1856. Rev. Jacob Hoopman, local Reformer of Maryland, June 7, 1856. Rev. Matthew Nelson of Kentucky, Reformer, August 3, 1856. Rev. Crawley Finney, M.D., of Virginia, Reformer, September 14, 1856. Rev. James Meek, M.D., of Alabama, early Reformer, obituary March 1, 1857. Rev. Ira E. Norman of North Carolina, Reformer, August 1, 1857. Rev. William Morgan, local

¹ It sometimes happens that there is a clew to these misrepresentations. In the case of Dr. Stevens it was based upon the fact that one of Dr. Jennings's sons, a physician and local elder in the Church resided in Alabama, but in a county in which the Church had no organization, and on the recommendation of his father he united with the nearest M. E. Church, South. Dr. Jennings, like McCaine, had a soul too large for petty prejudices. Their difference was not with Methodism, but with Episcopacy, and the hierarchy of American Methodism; hence in like circumstances both recommended their children to unite with the mother Church, rather than be unchurched, or in one not Methodistic in doctrine and usage. In the case of Dr. Cummins no such clew can be found. It is simply impossible that his statement should have been true, but something may have passed between Dr. Jennings when feeble in intellect from disease, and Rev. Isaac P. Cook, who for some years before his death was mentally unreliable from softening of the brain, that the latter misconstrued. There is something so patronizing in the air of Dr. Cummins in retailing this slander, and of mock commiseration in Dr. Cook, as reported by Dr. Cummins, that his exact words demand quotation: "The truth of history requires another item, furnished by Dr. Cook of Dr. Jennings; in the radical controversy of 1828 he was expelled from our Church and adhered to the seceders. On his dying bed he regretted his severance from our Church as the mistake of his life! This seems not to have shaken the confidence of Dr. Cook in, or lessened, his admiration of Dr. Jennings." Verily, the sainted Jennings is under obligation to these clerical gentlemen.

Reformer of Maryland, October 10, 1857. Rev. Hayman Bailey of Mississippi, Reformer, November 21, 1857. Rev. A. B. Lucas, November 21, 1857. In 1857 Rev. Reddick Horn, early Reformer in the West, conspicuous for his devotion and fidelity, passed to his reward, in Nebraska, February 17, 1858. Too much could not be said of him.

In addition to these, heaven claimed, during this quadrennium, the following distinguished brethren: Rev. John S. Reese, M.D., the eldest of four preacher brothers, was born May 15, 1790, in Harford County, Md., and in his youth united with the old Church. July 7, 1819, was licensed to preach, ordained deacon a few years later by Bishop George. He was graduated from Washington College as doctor of medicine, about 1820, and entered upon the practice with flattering prospects. He took an active and prominent part in Reform, and was one of the eleven Expelled in Baltimore, in 1827. Feeling his call to preach as paramount, and realizing that the Associated Methodist churches needed ministerial service, he united with the Maryland Conference at its first session, in 1829. He was a member of the General Convention of 1830, and most of the General Conferences for years after, and was repeatedly elected President of the Maryland Conference. In all these relations his chief characteristic as a wise, sagacious, and prudent counsellor was exhibited. His pulpit abilities were much above mediocre, and, at times, at camp-meetings and other occasions, he rose to the height of a rare eloquence. His domestic necessities compelled retirement from the active work earlier than he wished. In 1852 he was called by the Standing District Committee to the presidency, to fill out the term of Rev. William Collier, resigned. Re-elected by the ensuing Annual Conference, he continued to fill the position until his illness, which began in October, 1854; pneumonia developed, after some months of confinement to his room, and, on February 14, 1855, he triumphantly passed away. On the 16th his obsequies took place at East Baltimore station, participated in by a number of leading ministers and laymen; and his remains were deposited in Baltimore cemetery, where also now repose those of his three brothers in the flesh and in the gospel. Among his dying utterances was the declaration, "My body is miserably broken by disease, but my soul is free. Disease cannot touch that." When speechless, he laid his hand upon his heart and, in a well-known gesture, waved it heavenward. The funeral sermon was preached by Rev. S. B. Southerland, D.D., a bosom

friend, of which large extracts may be found, as well as other interesting matter, in Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 193-205.

Abner McGehee of Alabama, obituary March 3, 1855. He was devoted to the principles of Reform from an early period, a devout man, successful in business, and generous in gifts to religious enterprises, and, conspicuously, to the Church of his choice. He contributed \$10,000 to the proposed college at Robinson Springs, and, also, \$10,000 to the Samaritan Fund of the Annual Conference; but, being in the West Point Railroad stock, these subscriptions subsequently greatly depreciated. He was the father of the Alabama branch of the Bible Society; and so good an authority as Rev. A. A. Lipscomb estimated his charitable contributions as aggregating during his life \$100,000. He lived an irreproachable life, and died a peaceful death.

Rev. Alexander McCaine departed this life at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. James M. Brett, in Augusta, Ga., on Sabbath morning, June 1, 1856, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, being born in Dublin,¹ Ireland, in 1768. He was educated for the Roman Catholic priesthood¹ early in life. He emigrated to this country in the twentieth year of his age, reaching Charleston, S. C., in 1878. Here he came under the ministry of Rev. William Hammett, heretofore mentioned, one of Dr. Coke's missionaries, and experienced a change of heart, Methodistically understood, and henceforth devoted himself to its ministry. Asbury became acquainted with him, and, struck with his superior education and attainments, eagerly put him forward; but it was not until ten years later that he was received into the Conference, in 1797. These pages have already exhibited how large a place he occupied in his affection and confidence. In 1806 he retired from the itinerancy, having been Asbury's traveling companion for a year or two meantime, in order that he might educate his family; but, in 1815, having lost his wife, he reëntered the itinerancy on the urgency of Asbury offering him choice of stations; and so continued until 1821, when he finally retired, residing in Baltimore and devoting himself to school-teaching. His personal characteristics were all remarkable.

¹ There seems to be some difference of opinion as to these facts. Rev. A. G. Brewer, who knew McCaine intimately, alleges that he had them "from his own mouth." Whereas Rev. S. E. Norton, who was also intimate with him, and preached his funeral sermon, alleges in an obituary that he was born in Tipperary county, and was educated for the Church of England priesthood. McCaine was indifferent to these early events, so his birthday is unknown, and the year in some doubt.

Standing six feet four inches in his stockings, erect, and well proportioned, with a finely developed head and classic features, he was an Agamemnon among his peers in the ministry. As a preacher, he was preëminent, his intellectual equipment and mastery of theology, supplemented by wide attainments and versatility of gifts, gave him a command over audiences, as, with these weapons and a recognized spiritual power, he sent home the unadulterated gospel: Christ and Him crucified. Of indomitable will, clear convictions, honest to the core, despising shams and makeshifts, his naturally impetuous nature carried him forward like a torrent in defence of the truth as he saw it. An excess of impetuosity was his one infirmity, and laid him open at times to the cynical criticisms of his enemies and the regretful deprecation of his friends. As a writer and critic, these pages have given abundant evidence. Aroused from his quiescent loyalty to Methodist Episcopacy by the action of Soule and the General Conference of 1820, he set to investigating the subject with results that made him at once the most feared and hated of the Reformers of 1827-30, proving himself more than a match for Dr. Thomas E. Bond, as a controversial strategist, and of Dr. John Emory, as an apt and well-furnished dialectician. If this be still claimed as a moot, let posterity decide it by reference to their respective extant polemical productions anent the controversy inseparably linked with their names. The challenge has often been made and is here repeated with deliberate confidence. It was not until past eighty years of age that he finally retired from the field as writer and critic, spending his closing years quietly with his devoted daughter. During these years he seemed reserved to the casual visitor; but it was his intellectual preëminence that isolated him, surviving, as he did, nearly all of his generation. As Rev. Dr. Norton aptly said in his funeral discourse: "Men of intense thought are not always good companions. Lions go not in herds. The eagle soars alone." His mental poise remained to the last; only a few months before his decease he published a series of twelve articles on "The Catholic Issue," fresh and vigorous as in his palmy days. Nine weeks prior to his death he began to fail, experiencing something of an apoplectic attack; but he rallied, and a few days after preached his last sermon. He then took to his bed, and for a month or more comforted his friends with his pious confidence, often repeating those spiritual hymns: "Vital spark of heavenly flame," "Not a cloud doth arise," "Jesus can make a dying bed." To an in-

quiry of his daughter if he knew her, he answered, "I shall know you forever." Hearing him, as he sank into death, say, as she thought, "happy!" she asked him if that was the word, to which he nodded assent. At intervals she caught from his lips: "hope — home — golden city." June 3, 1856, his obsequies took place in St. James Methodist Episcopal church, South, as there was no Reform church in the town, and was largely attended; Rev. S. E. Norton of the Alabama Conference, of which McCaine died a member, preaching the sermon, a copy of which is now before the writer. For other interesting matter see Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 90-119, barring a few errors corrected in this sketch.¹

Rev. Charles Avery departed this life January 17, 1858. Born in Westchester County, N. Y., December 10, 1784, he embraced religion in his youth and united with the old Church in New York City; soon felt a call to preach, but contented himself with a local relation, realizing that he had business capacity that would enable him to be useful as a philanthropist. In 1812 he married and removed to Pittsburgh, Pa., where he amassed his wealth in the drug, the cotton-mill, and the copper-mining enterprises. His benevolence was early exhibited, and continued through life with a lavish hand. His connection with the Reform movement has already been recited. He was a member of the first Union Society of that city, and elected to the General Conventions of 1827, 1828, and 1830, also of the General Conferences of 1834 and 1838. He was active and useful as an unstationed minister. His special trait, as wealth increased, was liberality.

¹ It is most regrettable that a score of years after McCaine's death, and that of his compeers in Reform, Methodist Episcopal writers insist upon rehashing the old slanders and misrepresentations against them. In 1876, Rev. Dr. Porter issued his "Compendium of Methodism," in which he says of the Reform periodicals: "Indeed it was an abusive concern, and it became obvious enough that no person was fit to belong to the church who would patronize it," i.e. *Mutual Rights*. And Rev. Dr. J. M. Boland, writing in the *Nashville Christian Advocate*, in 1876, says of McCaine that he "wrote a rehash of all his falsehoods against Episcopal Methodism, and called it 'A Defence of the Truth,' etc. This book fell from the press stillborn, etc. If such writers as McCaine and Cobbett are to be received as authority, then whose church or personal character is safe in this land?" The excuse for such men is that they are mere echoes of Bond, Emory, and others, no care being taken to investigate for themselves. Within the score of years since 1876 there has been some abatement of this rancorous treatment. The writer of this "History of Reform," would fain hope that its circulation among them, if that be possible, will do something toward enlightening their ignorance and mending their manners. If in these pages he has in anything fallen into the bad example, he is willing to blot it on discovery. Dr. Stevens, just elected editor of the *New York Advocate*, gave respectful notice of McCaine's death, but slurs the Reform movement.

In addition to numerous gifts during his life, the larger sums being \$20,000 to the Preachers' Aid Society of the Pittsburgh Conference, and \$5000 to each of the three churches of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, and \$25,000 to Oberlin College, Ohio, and the same sum to Avery College, Allegheny City, numerous smaller sums under \$500 need not be enumerated. His estate at death was found to be worth about \$800,000, after having given away in life, maybe, an equal sum. As he had no children, all of it, save \$150,000 to relatives and friends and special bequests, about \$416,000, he left to residuary legatees, to be equally divided between the American Missionary Association, "for the purpose of disseminating the gospel of Christ among the colored tribes of Africa," and to a perpetual fund, the interest to be "applied to the education and elevation of the colored people of the United States and Canada." Out of it normal schools have been instituted for their use in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Canada. He was an abolitionist from honest convictions, and was respected in his views, as, without truculence of language, he expressed his convictions and proved his practical benevolence more in deeds than in words in behalf of the colored race. The writer was once introduced to him, and found a tall, well-proportioned man, inclined to corpulence, of regular features, bright gray eyes, dark auburn hair, and an open countenance that fairly beamed with kindness and charity. His death was full of hope, peace, and triumph. Being asked by his pastor, Rev. John Cowl, D.D., if he had any message for his brethren, he murmured the characteristic answer, "The tree is known by its fruit," the rule of his own life. As to his experience, he said, "My hopes are as immutable as the promises and attributes of God." He was buried from his home in Allegheny City, and was laid to rest in Allegheny cemetery; a monument devised by his executors covering his remains, at a cost of \$18,000.¹

The writer cannot forbear the reflection that the Methodist Protestant Church, in its current history, has had but few wealthy laymen, for the reason that such men do not unite with numerically small denominations; and, if grown within one of them, though it may stand for the noblest principles, secular, social, and other worldly interests pull them out of it as they come to

¹ For further particulars, see Bassett's "History" and Colhouer's "Founders." Also Rev. Dr. John Scott's "Fifty Years in the Ministry," etc., twelvemo volume, hereafter more frequently cited.

financial consequence. This Church has had to deplore hundreds of such instances; and it adds to the marvel of such material increase as it has made, thus handicapped by a membership, as a rule, poor in this world's goods, if rich in faith. Under the furthering providence of God the Church has been preserved and perpetuated by its principles, its personal manhood, and its heroic devotion to ecclesiastical rights. Charles Avery was not one of the class of wealthy men who barter their principles for social preferment and churchly ambitions. And this reflection accounts for the anomalous fact that to-day there are hundreds of thousands of Methodist Protestant laymen in sentiment in the Methodist Episcopal Church. The reasons for it are obvious, if not always creditable.

Hon. Philemon B. Hopper departed this life on the Sabbath, March 28, 1858. He was born in Queen Anne's County, Md., January 23, 1791. His parents were Methodists, and their house a preaching-place until the erection of the church in Centreville. He was converted at a camp-meeting near Chestertown, in 1810, and at once united with the old Church. Being an educated young man, he was put in charge of a colored class as leader, and he bore testimony that some of the happiest hours of his life were "spent in endeavoring to teach and encourage this unfortunate race of people." He was at the time a young lawyer of promise at the bar. He was soon licensed to preach, and, as a preacher, though his preparation was confined to a few notes thrown together, and these not taken into the pulpit, he depended fully upon the inspiration of the moment, and certain signs in his congregation he interpreted as guides to what he should say; and, looking for immediate results, he was often highly effective in revivals and conversions. He had great confidence in the old-time methods and pursued them to the end. He was the leader and inspiration of the great revival in the Easton church in the midsummer of 1842, and a part of the fruit of that meeting was Rev. T. D. Valiant and Rev. Josiah Clift, and Mrs. Tamsey A. Reese, *née* Hughlett. Over a hundred souls were converted. He established a preaching-place at Hall's Crossroads, some six miles from his residence, near Centreville, where wonderful displays of saving grace occurred. His sterling integrity soon won for him a large legal practice; he was elected to the legislature of the State and filled other responsible positions. In 1826 he was appointed to the bench of his district, and afterward received a letter from a member of the court, suggesting to him

that it would not be in accordance with the dignity of his new position to continue to preach. He made prompt answer, that if called on to decide between the office and preaching he should resign the office. In 1850 the judgeship was made elective by the new constitution; but so popular was he that there was no practical opposition to him, and he was elected by the suffrages of his constituents for ten years, eight of which he lived to fill. The manumission of his forty slaves has already been noticed as a behest of his individual conscience; but he never assumed to judge for others, or indulged in vituperation of his neighboring slaveholders and fellow Christians. As a Methodist Reformer he was pronounced and uncompromising. He became a subscriber to the *Wesleyan Repository*, at the instance of Rev. Ezekiel Cooper. He was confirmed in these views, as he underwrites himself, by Thomas Ware, Lawrence McComb, and James Smith of the travelling preachers of the Philadelphia Conference, then including the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and adds: "I had no intention to unite in forming a new Church in my first advocacy of Reform, nor do I believe that any of the original Reformers had the most remote expectation of doing so. But the expulsion of Revs. Messrs. Dorsey and Pool, and, afterward, the expulsion of the ministers and laymen in Baltimore, left us no alternative, except a dishonorable course toward the expelled." This only confirms the general testimony at the time, and should, with honorable opponents, acquit them of the stigma of voluntary secession, or ecclesiastical ambition to that end; but to this day the libel is repeated by the old Church chroniclers. He was a member of the early Conventions of the new Church, and often representative to the Annual and General Conferences. He was a prolific writer for the Church paper, on a variety of subjects, under the familiar signature "P. B. H.," rivalling those of "B. H. R.," heretofore noticed, in popular interest and frequency. His house had an open door to all itinerants, and he continued universally loved and respected. In the autumn of 1857 he began to fail, but he lingered until March 28, 1858. His natural moods were from elation to depression, the latter prevailing, from physical causes, during much of his illness. But a short time before his departure his son, William James, repeated the hymn, "Away, my unbelieving fears," in which he joined, and, coming to the last two lines, he raised his eyes and hands toward heaven, and said, with great emphasis: —

"No, in the strength of Jesus, no!
I never will give up my shield."

Afterward he said: "I have a home, a home not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. I have no fear of death." His obsequies were held in the Centreville church by Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray and others, and his remains deposited in the town cemetery with his kindred. (See Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 317-324.)

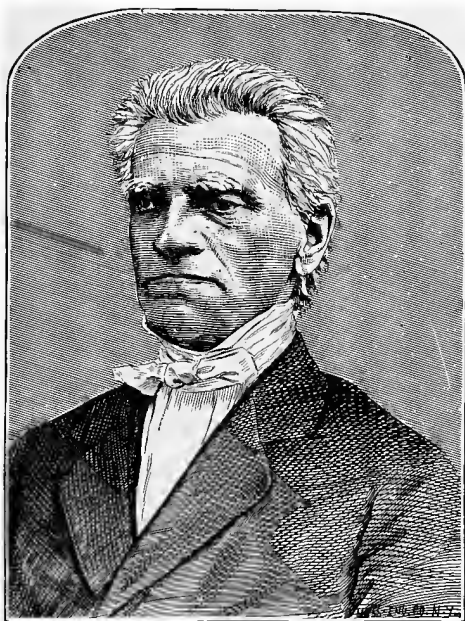
In addition to these the *Western Methodist Protestant* furnishes the obituaries¹ of Rev. J. Baker of Ohio Conference, Reformer, June 25, 1856; Thomas Barnes, lay-Reformer and brother-in-law to Asa Shinn, January 21, 1857; Rev. Jeremiah Leslie of Ohio, Reformer, February 11, 1857; James Foster of Cincinnati, O., lay-Reformer, and delegate to four General Conferences, November 11, 1857; Rev. D. D. Hughes, Reformer of 1830, May 5, 1858.

¹ In these and all occurring instances, when "Obituary" is named the date given is of it and not the death. Otherwise the date is of the decease.

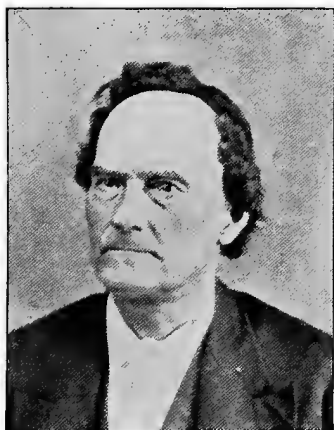
CHAPTER XXIV

Dissatisfaction over the division of the Book Concern, but the Conventional Conferences met and consummated the act on both sides — It was found that it did not suffice the West and North — Separation broached; acrimonious discussion in the papers; upshot was the Cincinnati Convention of 1857 and its ultimatum to the East and South; Some good resulted — Convention of 1858 at Springfield, O. — Current events of the quadrennium; Central Female College, Culloden, Ga.; North Hebron Institute, Vermont; incorporation of Tennessee Conference; *Southern Olive Tree* suspends; D. B. Dorsey, Sr.'s "History" and what came of it; sketch of Lynchburg College and final failure — Decease of Dr. T. E. Bond; reflections; old issues revived in the *New York Christian Advocate* and the answers of Brown, Hopper, Dorsey, and Stockton, Sr. — Yadkin Institute, North Carolina; Board of Missions; Drs. Brown and Scott in the South — Culmination of the slavery issue.

THE representatives of the General Conference of 1854 were not long returned home before the sober second thought, to a number of them, from the North and West, led to the conclusion that a mistake had been made in the division of the Book Concern and the establishment of two official papers under independent conventional control. In the East and South there was more general acquiescence with unity of sentiment on the divisive question of slavery; while in the North and West, though the antislavery sentiment was general, there was an important minority opposed to legislative and overt ecclesiastical action of a coercive complexion within the Church. This minority had to be overcome, and it cost struggle and loss to accomplish it. In the *Western Recorder* and the official paper in Baltimore the action was attacked and defended, from different points of view, from June until November, when the Zanesville Convention, as provided, assembled. It was organized on the 1st of November, nine Conferences having elected delegates, seventeen of whom were present. The roster may be found in the Western paper and Bassett's "History." John Burns was elected President and J. J. White, Secretary. George Clancy and Jonathan M. Flood, commissioners appointed by the General Conference, reported the purchase of the *Western Recorder* from A. H. Bassett for \$1250. The Book Concern and periodical were located for the future at



SAMUEL CLAWSON.



GEORGE NESTOR.



P. T. LAISHLEY.

Springfield, O., the title to be the *Western Methodist Protestant*, with A. H. Bassett, editor. Upon investigation, it was found on the plan suggested by the General Conference that the Western interest would be entitled to receive, as their equitable share from the Baltimore Book Concern, \$2300, and George Clancy was designated to confer with it and pay the money, on receipt, over to a new Board of Trust. Nine trustees were elected: Israel Thrapp, E. A. Wheat, George Clancy, A. H. Trumbo, J. M. Flood, William Steel, William Fish, D. A. Jones, and L. Newlove. They organized themselves into a Literary and Publishing Society. The Convention designated another to be called at Springfield in November, 1856. At the end of the current sixteenth volume, in September, 1855, the establishment was removed to Springfield, and the paper appeared, October 11, 1855, under its new title, with a dress of new type, and a subscription list of twenty-five hundred. Meantime, a settlement was effected by George Clancy with the Baltimore Directory, for the sum of \$2300 in cash, books, and promissory notes. Eleven Conferences in all adhered to the Western interest. There being some rumor that the Convention might be tempted to transcend its powers, the brethren were placed on their guard, and confined the deliberations to the legitimate call for it.

The action of the General Conference excited alarm along the sectional border. All that section of the Pittsburgh Conference lying in Western Virginia dissented from the adhesion of it to the Springfield Book Concern; and when the Conference met at Allegheny City, Pa., September 20, 1854, it was agreed to set them off as a separate body. Following the example, when the Muskingum Conference was set off, they elected two presidents, Rev. P. T. Laishley being named for Western Virginia; but as only one Plan of Appointments was made, the division can be defined only by the assessment made for his support. This included Fairmont station, Morgantown circuit, Evansville, Philippi, Taylor, Harrison, Lewis, Buchanan, West Fork, Braxton, Pocahontas, Greenbrier, Jackson, Freeport, Randolph mission, Harrisville and Tyler circuit, Gilmore, Kentucky, Fairmont, and Pruntytown.¹

¹ On October 2, 1855, the West Virginia Conference held its first session at Pruntytown, as appears from the reported proceedings in the Baltimore paper. D. R. Helmick was elected President, and the following brethren appear in the Plan of Appointments: W. B. Bolton, William Wragg, R. Potts, R. J. Norman, J. C. Bolton, D. H. Lilly, J. E. Mitchell, William Sisk, George Nestor, G. G. Westfall, R. S. Welch, John Clark, J. B. McCormick, R. H. Walker, J. S. Hacker,

Pursuant to agreement the Baltimore Convention assembled at West Baltimore station, June 6, 1855, to "mature a permanent plan for the future management and control of the *Methodist Protestant* newspaper and Book Concern." Hon. B. S. Bibb was elected President and W. H. Wills, Secretary. The following Conferences had elected delegates to the number of eighteen, of whom twelve were present:¹ Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, New Jersey, Missouri, Tennessee, Arkansas, Georgia, and, subsequently, South Carolina was included in the charter, making eleven, the same number as adhered to the Western Concern. Pennsylvania also became a patron of the Baltimore paper. The Book Directory made a report covering the year since the General Conference. Tabular statements were furnished, from which it is seen that the circulation of the *Methodist Protestant* was 4209, not counting exchanges, or nearly as large as was reported to the General Conference of 1854, but few papers having been discontinued in consequence of the official recognition of the Western paper. Its financial condition differed but little from that of 1854. A draft of a charter, amendatory of that of 1839, was offered by George Vickers, and approved. It named as directors, Wesley Starr, John W. Richardson, John Coates, Robert B. Varden, William Dulany, Ebenezer Strahan, and the ministers of East and West Baltimore stations at the time, *ex officio*. E. Yeates Reese was unanimously elected Editor and Agent, and his salary fixed at \$1500. It was resolved that "this Convention reciprocates the fraternal sentiments of the brethren of the Western Convention, and desire the perpetuation of the existing harmony between the two institutions." The Convention adjourned on the 7th of June, 1855.

At the Illinois Conference, in the autumn of 1855, the question of the division of the Book Concern was discussed and elicited such a difference of opinion that it refused to espouse either side, but deferred its consideration to the next Conference. The result

A. Morrison, M. Stewart, S. Leslie, Samuel Clawson, A. D. Thomas, P. T. Laishley, J. Bolton, Sr., A. Lister, W. M. Betts, J. C. Haines, and J. Holland. The Conference determined to adhere to the Baltimore Book Concern, and passed in definition of its position a resolution that "the Conference will not directly or indirectly interfere with the social institutions of the States (to wit, slavery), leaving their management entirely to the control of the governments of the different States in which they exist." It was offered by P. T. Laishley and William Hamilton. John Clark had represented them in the Baltimore Convention of June 6, 1855. The statistics showed 3836 members, fifty churches, and a valuation of \$24,850.

¹ The roster of those elected and those present may be found in the manuscript Minutes preserved at the Baltimore Book Concern, and now before the writer.

gained of an official paper coequal with the Baltimore official was not satisfactory to many when other consequences were considered. The pressure from without increased as the antislavery tide rose higher and higher in the West and North. No such tame position as that of the West Virginia brethren would suffice. The Wesleyan Methodists made inroads upon the people, and there grew up a demand for utter separation. The brethren in the free states were twitted upon their continued official relation to Conferences in the slave states; and in the more extreme sections some of the Conferences seriously decreased in numbers owing to this cause. The wisest and most conservative men yielded to the infection. In this condition of affairs the second Convention of delegates, as called, assembled at Springfield, November 6, 1856, to consider the *Western Methodist Protestant* and Book Concern. Nineteen were present from seven Conferences, and others heard from by letter. The Convention again elected John Burns, President, and J. J. White, Secretary. The report of the Western Book Concern showed that extra expenses had been incurred by moving, and the new plant, so that there was a considerable shortage. The editor and agent was complimented on his management and was reelected to the twofold position. The subscription of the Western paper claimed an increase of 550 over the last report, or 3050.

And now these brethren took up the question of “a peaceful separation” from the East and South. It was illegitimate business, but a number of the Conferences having instructed their delegates to consider it, an advisory committee of one from each Conference was appointed to “propose suitable action in the case.” After much deliberation they reported through the Chairman, Rev. Samuel W. Widney, a statement, with a series of Resolves, the gist of them being: “In our opinion, the advantages derived from our relation to the General Conference, as now constituted, are overbalanced by the disadvantages arising from it,” and “as we cannot hope for reasonable permanent harmony,” it is a question whether “the peace and interests of both the Southern and Northern Conferences will not be promoted by a peaceful separation.” The several Conferences North and West are recommended to “clothe their representatives with conventional powers, and instruct them to meet in the city of Cincinnati, O., on the second Wednesday of November, 1857, and then and there determine whether they will attend the General Conference, to be held at Lynchburg, Va., in May, 1858, or whether they will take

measures for the organization of a General Conference embracing only Annual Conferences opposed to the system of American slavery." Sympathetic coöperation is invited from any in the South who favor their view; and that the "local officary be requested to call attention to the action in order to gather the sentiment of the whole Church in relation to the matter."

The report was adopted by ayes and nays, the President, John Burns, alone recording his vote in the negative. The Literary Society representing the Book Concern, at its annual meeting, June, 1857, unanimously approved what was done, and A. H. Bassett and J. M. Flood were appointed to draft a circular address to the West and North. It ably sets forth a synoptical history of the Church from 1828 onward, and the conflict of sentiment on the slavery question, with arguments apologetic and justificatory of the proposed separation. It also set forth evidentially the loss incurred in the North particularly, from "Vermont to Iowa," by reason of slavery and their official connection with it. It specified the loss of the entire Champlain Conference of over five hundred members, one-half the Vermont and the Michigan Conferences, and numerous declensions all over their territory. The concluding paragraph says, "We have reached a crisis."¹ It was manifestly so, while there can be no mistaking the meaning of the action of the Convention. A necessity was upon them which had to be met and mastered, or gradual disintegration would follow. It was the same kind of necessity that obtained in the East and South, which forbade, with or without General Conference recommendation, the publication of incendiary papers against slavery, fastened upon the territory within which the Baltimore official paper circulated by civil laws no ecclesiastical action could abrogate. The knotty problem with them was: How to separate and not secede. The former they must do; the latter they repudiated. It was Scylla or Charybdis.

These proceedings led to a discussion in both the official papers, not without acrimony. George Clancy, Daniel Young, and others, zealously supported by the editor, led off, defensive of the doings, while John Burns, Dennis B. Dorsey, Joel Rice, a layman of Illinois, argued its unconstitutionality with a logical force that made such a position untenable. Hon. P. B. Hopper, as a conservative, deprecated the call of the Cincinnati Convention, and Dr. Armstrong of Tennessee showed that his Protest in 1854 was prophetic. The Western paper for months together contained

¹ See the official papers and Bassett's "History" for full text of papers, etc.

little else but the discussion, the opposing Western writers finding cover in the Baltimore paper.¹ The drift made it evident that separation was foregone. William Collier, then pastor of Pittsburgh, first church, an antislavery man of prudent speech, even in Maryland, did much to direct the storm by his sagacious counsels.

The upshot of the agitation was the assembling of the Cincinnati Convention in the George Street church, November 11, 1857. A day of fasting and prayer had been observed a short time before for wisdom to act advisedly, and their motives under a dominating idea cannot be questioned. Forty representatives in all from fifteen Annual Conferences had been elected, of whom twenty-five were in attendance. They had been elected as members of the General Conference as well, — they were here in pursuance of the call to determine whether they would attend or not. It was an anomalous condition of things. William Collier was chosen President and J. J. White, Secretary. Six committees were appointed, and the burden of business resolved itself into three propositions: Was it their duty to attend the General Conference at Lynchburg, Va., the ensuing May 4, 1858; the Memorial to be addressed the body setting forth their grievances; and their course of action on ascertaining the decision of the General Conference. On the first proposition J. M. Flood, for the committee, reported a series of resolutions, in substance that free discussion of slavery would not be allowed at Lynchburg, and this destroyed the equality of debate; that it was unnecessary for the North and West to be represented in a body to secure redress; that no censure is implied of any representatives of their section who might attend, and that a committee of five be appointed to present to the General Conference their Memorial. A. H. Bassett, of the committee on the Memorial, presented a well written and carefully worded paper of considerable length. It sets forth their grievance as antislavery men, declares that they do not further wish to reiterate appeals for redress “ungrateful, if not insulting, to their feelings, much less would we be unreasonable to make demands of the General Conference, which it is out of the power of the body to grant.” Then three modifications are demanded of

¹ The Muskingum Conference at its session of October, 1857, developed strong opposition to the Convention as contemplating separation, and the delegates were elected against the protest of a strong minority of twenty-four. Palmetto circuit passed a resolve against separation. See Baltimore paper, October 24, 1857. Also Quincy station, Illinois, Lancaster and Steubenville stations, and other places.

the Constitution and Discipline: First, the word "white" to be struck from Article XI., sections first and second. Second, the third item and annexed proviso of fourth section, Article VII., as understood as insuring civil protection to slaveholders and dealers. Third, the insertion of a clause making voluntary slaveholding and dealing a bar to membership in the Church.¹ They ask a release from the obligation to attend one General Conference, and that a call be made for a Convention to make these changes, in May, 1859. In this case they will await the action of the Annual Conferences; "but if this General Conference shall not see good to adopt action necessary to remove our difficulties, we cannot conscientiously consent to a further continuance of our ecclesiastical connection." They would indulge in no reproaches and do not assume to be judge of their neighbors. Signed, William Collier, President.

As to future action, George Clancy, for the committee, reported a proposition for another Convention, to assemble at Springfield, O., November 10, 1858. It sets forth that its powers and objects shall be to hear and take such action on the answer of the General Conference as may be necessary; in case of its refusal to amend, etc., to issue a new edition of the Discipline, with the amendments and alterations, but to be confined to those objectionable features specified; and that said Convention shall have full power over the *Western Methodist Protestant* and Book Concern. All three papers were adopted with unanimity, those in the West of the representatives elected and opposed to the action not attending. The Convention held until the 16th, a period of five days, much harmony prevailed, and its proceedings were generally approved in the North and West.² George Brown was all this time

¹ It is in evidence of the weakness of human nature and the poverty of human logic under stress of external pressure that in the General Conference of the M. E. Church in 1856 this very question was argued. The Baltimore and some other border Conferences in slave territory adhered to the Church North, and to save another division under extreme enactments against slaveholders, etc., even Dr. T. E. Bond, the doughty champion of the antislavery party in 1844, and onward, said in the *New York Advocate*, which he then edited, that if a rule should be enacted by that General Conference to "exclude all slaveholders from the church, whatever be their condition or circumstances, it would become the duty of the border Conferences to disregard the rule." And Dr. J. P. Durbin, in that same General Conference, showed in a masterful speech, both from the Bible and the example of the primitive church, buttressed by expositions and comments of the most learned scholars, "that the apostles admitted slaveholders into the church."

² For the full text of these papers see the *Western Methodist Protestant* of even dates, and Bassett's "History."

absorbed in the tangled affairs of Madison College, and took no part in the Conventions. Antislavery in sentiment, he may speak for himself as to the matter. "I was as certain as any of them that an end of the coöperation of the churches North and South would soon come; but for a time I did not agree with them as to the manner of bringing it about. I now believe [1868] that they were right and I was wrong."¹

The brethren of the East and South, as these several Conventions were held, each taking more advanced ground looking to separation, were aroused from their dream that the division of the Book Concern would be accepted North and West as a "peace measure." While no better satisfied of its constitutionality than not a few in the other section, it seemed to them the only solution of a vexed question, holding out a hope that the connectional bond of the Church, as a continental organization, might be preserved. Two good results were attained by the property division and the antislavery discussion. It saved the brethren from the temptation to reënact the unseemly squabble of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1845-50, denying the right of the South to their equitable proportion of their Book Concern. The brethren North and West were amicably allowed their equitable share. It is to be regretted that it did not surcease the efforts after the reunion of 1877, to make Pittsburgh, or the West, the sole location of an official paper and Book Concern. Fraternity suggests that the evidence be reserved until challenged. It also provoked the Christian slaveholders of the South to look after the educational and religious interests of the colored people. The Virginia Conference of November, 1856, passed strong resolutions on the subject.

Recurrence must now be made to the current Church events of the quadrennium of 1854-58. The General Conference of 1854, as part of its incidental business, had adopted the English Wesleyan Catechism for the use of the Church. In a few months an edition was published by the Baltimore Book Concern; but it did not meet with the favor of the people, and soon fell into desuetude. The Central Female College of Culloden, Ga., under the auspices of the Conference, elected Rev. R. H. Ball, A.M., ex-President of Madison College, President; and it entered upon a career that promised success. The North Hebron Institute, under patronage of Vermont and New York Conference, was also inaugurated with a hopeful outlook. At the fall session of the

¹ Brown's "Itinerant Life," p. 398.

Tennessee Conference, 1854, steps were taken, and subsequently matured, for the incorporation of the body under the State law to hold property, etc. It was a protective and useful act, afterward followed by the Pennsylvania, and by the Maryland Conference in 1890. The General Conference not being incorporated,¹ it is the more important that the Annual Conferences should be, that there might be some central legal receiver for bequests not coming under the specific direction of local societies thereof. In this default considerable sums have been lost to the denomination. It was proposed to divide the Texas Conference into two by a line drawn through the State from east to west, and to be called "Texas" and "Southern Texas," November, 1854. T. H. Stockton had issued a volume of "Sermons for the People," which were so popular that a fourth edition was demanded. The Mississippi Conference was divided into North and South at the session of 1854.²

Quite an animated controversy took place in 1855 between Dr. T. E. Bond, of the *New York Advocate*, and Dr. Abel Stevens, of the *Zion's Herald*, the latter having expressed liberal opinions as to the Reformers of 1828 and lay-representation, which the former vigorously attacked. Any charity toward the "Radicals" excited the doughty "hero of a hundred battles," like a red flag flaunted in the face of a fiery bovine. It gave W. S. Stockton a coveted opportunity to review the opposite opinions of these leaders in Methodist Episcopacy; in the course of which he justified the Reformers for not accepting silence as the condition of membership in the old Church, on the irrefragable ground that, as honest men, "they could hardly, in their own estimation, have maintained their *private* virtues, had they not made evident their *public* virtue in efforts to reform the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church." The *Southern Telegraph*, now the *Southern Olive Tree*, local paper of Georgia and adjacent Conferences, suspended publication, owing to financial embarrassment. A. G. Brewer was its last editor. Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey announced,

¹ See action of General Conferences of 1892 and 1896.

² It was the fourteenth session of the Conference held at Liberty church, Lafayette county, November 22, 1854. The Plan of Appointments shows the division as follows: South: P. H. Napier, President; C. P. Gallespie, J. H. Bounds, W. C. Pridgeon, J. N. Rieves, R. Bankston, F. Harman; General Missionary, Elijah Lott. Other members not named in the hands of the President. North: A. A. Houston, President; J. B. Spencer, W. G. Bulger, S. W. Montgomery, Z. D. Tatum, R. C. Jeeter, M. Cofer, M. Montgomery, J. F. Smith; Book Agent, H. D. Beaven, in hands of President. An increase of 800 members was reported for the whole district.

as in preparation by himself, a new "History of the Church," May, 1855. He spent the leisure of his old age upon it; and the writer had an interview with him in the fall of 1858, at Fairmount, W. Va., where he then resided, and he spoke of it as nearing completion. It was probably never finished, as, after his death, this and other manuscript came into the custody of his son, Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey, Jr., who, after again announcing it for publication, in later years, had a personal difficulty with the authorities of the Western paper, which he then edited, that led to his resignation and retirement from the ministry for secular business, at Chillicothe, O. The writer had correspondence with him anent the "History," about 1880; but, while courteously answered, no satisfaction could ever be obtained from him or other members of the family, except that this son had destroyed it. Dorsey Jr. was a strong and powerful preacher and a ready and graceful writer, and a veil must be drawn over the disturbing controversy alluded to, in which he was probably as much sinned against as sinning, as to newspaper management, — the gist of it. Efforts of A. H. Bassett to recover the manuscript of Dorsey Sr. also failed. This much in dismissal of the whole matter by anticipation. Dr. Clarke, afterward Bishop, in a biography of Bishop Hedding published in 1855, is an example of the bitter prejudice yet existing among their leading ministers. He speaks of Asa Shinn, whom even Dr. Bond admitted was without guile and without reproach, as "a talented, zealous, laborious, but radical man, and a great disturber of the peace and quiet of the Church." Like disparaging language is used of Bascom and Brown.

Rev. Alexander Doniphan, as agent of Lynchburg College, announced its organization, with Dr. S. K. Cox as President, and the old faculty of Madison, with fifty students engaged and \$10,000 subscribed by the citizens of the place for a building. In October it was formally opened with eighty students, and one hundred in all expected. The most of these had withdrawn from Madison, which, at its opening session of this year, still reported fifty in attendance. The Virginia Conference formally accepted Lynchburg College, and the buildings were ideally created. They were to be in good architectural style and in a commanding situation on one of the Lynchburg hills. It was incorporated by the Legislature of Virginia in January, 1856, with one hundred pupils. Corner-stone of the College was laid in July, 1856. The entire cost was \$30,000, as reported in August, 1857, of which \$20,000 was paid. In December, 1857, it reported \$25,262

expended on buildings and furniture, of which \$5000 was due a Building Association.¹ The President, Dr. Cox, sanguine in everything, had it furnished and equipped expensively, for which he made himself, to some extent, personally responsible. The financial involvement led to his resignation in the late winter of 1858, and Professor R. L. Brockett was elected President *pro tem.*, while Dr. Cox opened in the town an "Institute for Young Ladies," which involved him further. Ten thousand dollars was promised the college, and Brockett was elected President, in June, 1858, after favorable unofficial reports to the General Conference in Lynchburg, May, 1858. It was continued with varying fortune and had its fifth annual Commencement June, 1860, with W. W. Walker as President. He resigned, and Rev. Dr. Thomson accepted the Presidency. Meanwhile, the Female College, under Dr. Cox, was sold by Rev. William McGwigan to satisfy a large claim upon it due him, and it passed from under church patronage. In 1861 the Civil War scattered the pupils and faculty of Lynchburg College, and, some years after, it was sold to satisfy the mortgage of the Building Association, and turned into dwelling-houses. Its turrets may yet be seen, melancholy reminders of two ill-advised educational ventures in this place.

Dr. Thomas E. Bond, editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, departed this life in New York City, March, 1856. His abilities were marked and his career is largely sketched in this work. His closing days were philosophically calm, and his retrospect of his course supported by the confession that he believed it was for the good of the Church he loved so well and so zealously defended. In his palmy days no man commanded so wide an influence. For long years his controversial dicta were accepted as exponents of its polity; but, essentially erroneous as was the polity itself, a rapidly coming future will repudiate them, and his memory fade for lack of emulation. His end was peaceful, and no one will question his Christian integrity. He has met McCaine in heaven, though in the hot blood of his partisan zealotry he was emphatic in the declaration that he would not. Jennings and Snethen and Shinn and Stockton and Harrod are now all of one company. His son Thomas E. was elected to fill

¹ Let it be placed upon record that of this sum \$6000 was contributed by Hon. B. S. Bibb of Alabama, and \$6000 by Captain William Harding of Virginia, and \$5000 by Mr. Steele of Alabama, and \$5000 by the citizens of Lynchburg, mostly in the church. For that day these were liberal sums.

out his unexpired time to the General Conference of the old Church, which met in May, 1856, at Indianapolis, Ind. It was fretted by the presentation of numerous memorials asking for lay-representation, some of them remarkable for the manner in which they traverse the arguments used by the Reformers of 1827-30, but cautiously abstaining from any credit to the naughty "Radicals." These petitions were again respectfully considered, but the final report rehashes the old statement: The petitioners represented a minority of the Church. The educating process, however, was bearing fruit, so that Dr. Abel Stevens was elected editor of the official paper, though, as editor of the *Zion's Herald*, he was known as a convert to lay-representation. Opposing writers in the *Advocates* did not fail to revive the old issues, and with the usual misrepresentations. It brought Brown and Hopper and Dorsey and Stockton into the official papers on the defensive.

Under the patronage of the North Carolina Conference, Yadkin Institute was set in operation, and a building contracted for thirty by sixty feet on an eminence overlooking the Yadkin River. Halifax Female Seminary, at High Point, was also proposed by the North Carolina Conference, February, 1857. The *Conference Quarterly* of New York and Vermont Conference, a small quarto sheet, edited by Rev. Ruel Hanks, was inaugurated July, 1857; and the *Independent Press*, Rev. D. B. Dorsey editor and proprietor, a religious and literary paper, started at Martinsville and Bridgeport, Belmont County, O., August, 1857, and soon removed to Moundsville, Va. Rev. Peyton S. Graves, whose career had been marked with irregularities in the Church, under the stress of poverty, recanted formally his Reform principles and associations, and was received into the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The Illinois Conference entertained the idea of a North Illinois University, and elected trustees in October, 1857. As an instance of English intolerance of Reform Methodists among them, the Wesleyans, with one consent, closed their chapel doors against the celebrated revivalist, Rev. James Caughy, because he consented to labor in the Primitive and Free Methodist chapels. He afterward met with great success in a tour of the United States, but was wise enough not to antagonize similar intolerance by confining his ministrations to the old Church. The *Christian Advocate* of Memphis, Tenn., and the *Northern Advocate* of North-western New York came out for lay-representation, in November, 1857. Bowdon Collegiate Institute of Georgia was recognized by

the Georgia Conference and patronized, in 1857. Rev. George Brown remonstrated before the Pittsburgh Conference against any form of "separation" from the East and South, as proposed by the leaders of the call for the Cincinnati Convention. A large Convention of clerical and lay-delegates assembled at Rochester, N. Y., December, 1857, and passed earnest resolutions favoring lay-representation and the abolition of the presiding eldership; and Rev. Dr. Leroy M. Lee, editor of the *Richmond Advocate*, Virginia, took strong ground in favor of lay-representation in his branch of the Church. The reader will ejaculate, "Surely something came of all this agitation and memorializing!" Unsophisticated reader, nothing came of it; and not much has been effected to this year of our Lord 1895, forty years after. Entailed and entrenched clerical Methodist power never has capitulated,—it never did, or can, reform itself. Under great pressure in recent years, it has abated a little of its pretentious claims, but only to mollify by a limited and circumscribed lay-delegation, still under clerical control in its last analysis; but a lay-representation from "the people called Methodists" never has been conceded, and probably never will be.¹

The Board of Missions, soon after the General Conference of 1854, elected Rev. John Scott, Agent, and he entered upon his duties, travelling quite extensively not in the North only, but among the Southern Conferences, meeting with welcome everywhere and a fair measure of success. He was accompanied South by Dr. George Brown, as President of Madison College, collecting old subscriptions to it; and he acknowledges that, as a rule, the claims were honorably settled by brethren whose whole interest was now concentrated upon Lynchburg College. Much space is given by both these brethren, Brown in his "Itinerant Life," and Scott in his "Fifty Years," to their experience as to the attitude of the South in prospective resistance and secession in given circumstances. There matured undoubtedly a latent purpose in both sections by extreme men: in the North to extirpate slavery

¹ Rev. T. H. Lewis, D.D., in a pamphlet used in connection with the seventieth anniversary, 1898, of the Methodist Protestant Church, has clearly set forth the vital differences between a lay-delegation and a lay-representation in Methodism. This difference has been often pointed out in this History, but not with such elaborate force, and it has been embodied in Appendix J, at the close of the first volume. This showing is all the more necessary now for the reason that in both the General Conferences of the dominant Methodisms of this country *equal lay-delegation*, after a long struggle in the M. E. Church, has been secured, but it is in no sense a *lay-representation*. Why it is not, Dr. Lewis makes very apparent. The reader should carefully peruse it before proceeding.

as a national institution by force of arms as a last resort, and in the South to resist aggression by force of arms as a last resort; only with the former it was more pronounced and overt. The conspiracy of John Brown and his confederates, with Harper's Ferry, Va., in 1859, as the objective of attack for a forcible emancipation, and the concentration of the material of the army and navy by the Southern secretary of War, are part of the evidence.

E. Yeates Reese, as editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, January 27, 1857, makes sad comment upon the recent suicide of the Scotch geologist, Hugh Miller, and adds a touching moral. In September, 1861, but four years after, he did the same thing, and from the same cause, — overtaxed mind and body. Aberration to the point of irresponsibility was clearly traced in the case of the Christian scientist, and will be made equally clear in the case of the lamented Dr. E. Yeates Reese.

CHAPTER XXV

Seventh General Conference at Lynchburg, Va., 1858 — Roster of members; Rev. W. C. Lipscomb, President; the only instance of a local minister being thus honored in the Church — Overshadowing business was the Memorial of the Cincinnati Convention of the West and North; various reports on it; full particulars and an impartial statement of the case made up from all sources, as well as after differing recollections of intentions and actions — “Prayer of Consecration” in the M. E. Church rubric and its abolition in the new Church finally; a relic of the Mass — Various incidental matters at this Conference; statistics; Board of Missions — General Conference of the M. E. Church, South, forbidden by the Bishop’s Address to discuss the lay-delegation question — Call of the Springfield Convention; roster of members; its action on the call; suspension of official relations with the East and South so long as the evil complained of (slavery) should exist among them; its construction by both sides; Discipline changed to conform to the separation — The *Western Methodist Protestant*.

THE Seventh General Conference of the Church convened at Lynchburg, Va., May 4, 1858. Both the manuscript and the printed Minutes are before the writer. A roster of those present the first day is given by the Secretary, and, also, of those who subsequently appeared in person, or by written communication, and wished to be recorded as members, making a total in attendance of twenty-three ministers and sixteen laymen. These will be designated in the following roster, made up and added as an appendix to the printed Minutes by the editor of the official paper, who was deputed by the secretaries to codify and print them. Those who will be at the pains to compare this list with that of the delegates to the Springfield Convention of November, 1858, as given in its minutes by A. H. Bassett, will observe that the same brethren were not in all cases elected as representatives in both Conference and Convention, notably in the New York and Vermont, which elected and instructed separate delegations. The New Jersey Conference elected representatives to the Conference, and were so recognized by letter, but not to the Convention, and New Jersey does not appear in its list.

The General Conference was organized by calling Hon. B. S. Bibb to the chair, and W. H. Wills, Secretary *pro tem*.

The following is believed to be a correct list of the members of the General Conference of 1858. It is no part of the Record, but is made up from the best facilities that are at hand. — *Ed. Meth. Prot.*

	MARYLAND	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
J. J. Murray ¹		J. B. Mathews, Alt. ¹
Josiah Varden ¹		J. W. Richardson
W. C. Lipscomb ¹		Luther Martin ¹
Dan'l Zollickoffer ¹		J. B. Thomas ¹
		Geo. Vickers ¹
	VIRGINIA	
R. B. Thomson ¹		C. W. Button ¹
J. G. Whitfield ¹		W. Harding ¹
G. R. Barr ¹		H. B. Woodhouse ¹
	WESTERN VIRGINIA	
P. T. Laishley ¹		C. W. Newlon
D. R. Helmick		F. H. Pierpont ¹
D. B. Dorsey, Sr., Alt. ¹		Hon. Z. Kidwell ¹
Sam'l Clawson ¹		
	PENNSYLVANIA	
J. K. Hembold		Wm. Dale
	PITTSBURGH	
William Collier ¹		J. R. Griffith
Wm. Reeves ¹		J. Redman
	NEW YORK AND VERMONT	
R. Hanks		A. Seaman
	NEW JERSEY	
T. T. Heiss		E. C. Pancoast
	BOSTON	
J. M. Mayall		George Pierce
	OHIO	
A. H. Bassett		J. M. Johnson
J. M. Flood		S. Graham
Joseph J. White ¹		E. D. Norris
	NORTH MISSISSIPPI	
A. A. Houston		W. R. Montgomery
	MISSISSIPPI	
Elisha Lott ¹		N. B. Whitehead

¹ These only were present.

<i>Ministers</i>	NORTH CAROLINA	<i>Laymen</i>
J. F. Speight ¹		Jas. N. Speight ¹
Alson Gray		Calvin Johnston
W. H. Wills ¹		M. C. Whitaker
	SOUTH CAROLINA	
H. T. Arnold		Hiram Yarborough ¹
	GEORGIA	
C. A. McDaniel ¹		John Webb ¹
	TENNESSEE	
B. F. Duggan ¹		J. L. Armstrong ¹
	WEST TENNESSEE	
O. Potts		Zach. Biggs, Jr.
	LOUISIANA	
G. W. Johnson		S. M. Grigsby
	ARKANSAS	
M. Stimson ¹		J. Cottingham
	ALABAMA	
F. L. B. Shaver ¹		Hon. B. S. Bibb ¹
S. E. Norton ¹		E. H. Cook
		J. H. Smith, Alt. ¹
	MISSOURI	
Samuel Hughes ¹		G. Hendricks ¹
	OREGON AND CALIFORNIA	
Jeremiah Dodson		M. P. Gilliam
	ONONDAGA	
I. H. Hogan		B. G. Swift
	GENESEE	
O. C. Payne		B. A. Nichols
	MUSKINGUM	
G. Clancy ¹		I. Cassell
R. Andrew		J. Wells
J. S. Thrapp		J. Fordyce

¹ These only were present.

	INDIANA	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
T. Shipp		Wm. Smith
	WABASH	
S. W. Widney		Jas. H. Williams
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
W. E. Martin		Wm. Cullen
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
R. Wright		I. Patterson
	ILLINOIS	
Joel Dalbey		T. R. Markillie
	IOWA	
Wm. Patterson		J. B. Bass
	TEXAS	
R. A. Sloan		Samuel Oliver

After a most careful and rigid analysis of the Minutes by the writer, he finds that there were twenty-three ministers and sixteen laymen present, though Bassett's "History" gives forty as the attendance. Rev. Jeremiah Dodson of the Oregon Conference failed to reach the General Conference before adjournment, owing to a miss of connection by ocean steamer, but came on to Baltimore, a distance of between five and six thousand miles, and at his own expense. Such was the devotion and zeal of not a few Reform ministers even in that day. The Conference gave honorary seats to a number of ex-members and visitors who were present, with the privilege of debate, and several availed themselves of it. On the second day of the session Rev. William C. Lipscomb, an unstationed minister of the Maryland Conference who had been honored with an election (as well as Rev. Daniel Zollickoffer, also an unstationed minister), was duly elected President of the General Conference, and J. J. White and D. B. Dorsey, Jr., Secretaries. It was the first and only time in the Church history that an unstationed minister was thus honored; but his Reform record made him worthy, while his commanding presence and parliamentary ability made it a wise choice.

The business of the Conference that overshadowed all other was the Memorial from the Cincinnati Convention, presented in person by William Collier. Its substance has already been given

in the notes upon that Convention. It was referred to a special committee on Memorials and Petitions: J. J. Murray, William Collier, George Vickers, B. S. Bibb, and Z. Kidwell. May 12, J. J. Murray, chairman of the committee, submitted a report, signed by himself and George Vickers. It was elaborate and argumentative, taking up all the points of the Cincinnati Convention paper, and traversing the whole ground of the questions at issue, making four closely printed pages of the Minutes, and it declined acceding to the requests of the memorialists. Another minority report was also submitted from Z. Kidwell and B. S. Bibb, of the committee, in brief substance that "this General Conference has no constitutional authority to grant the prayers of the petitioners." On the 13th of May, William Collier, of the committee, offered a third report, reviewing the others at length and summing up in four points, the last of which is the gist of his position: "A severance from this General Conference is not a severance from the Methodist Protestant Church; for this General Conference is not the Methodist Protestant Church, it is only an institution of the Church; and, if two-thirds of the Annual Conferences shall so determine, they can as legally and consistently provide for two General Conferences as for two Church Book Concerns." It makes two printed pages of the Minutes. All three reports were laid on the table.¹ Subsequently, a motion to take them up and vote upon them "without debate" was lost. So there was opportunity for free and full discussion, the citizens of that town largely attending; and the most extreme utterances met with no interruption. Thus, one of the chief reasons of the brethren North and West for not attending, as declared by J. M. Flood in the Convention of 1857, that freedom of debate would not be allowed and that they could not be present except on a full equality with their brethren in this regard, was disproved. A motion made to lay the first report on the table as a finality was accepted, and J. J. Murray called for a vote by orders and by yeas and nays. It resulted: ministers, yeas thirteen; ministers, nays five. Laymen, yeas thirteen; laymen, nays three. So the motion to lay on the table was carried by a joint majority of twenty-six to eight. Collier, Reeves, Clancy, and White were excused from voting. At the afternoon session pending a motion to adopt the second report, Collier, Reeves, Clancy, and White were granted leave of absence, and the Con-

¹ The full text of these three reports may be found in both the manuscript and printed Minutes, and in the *Methodist Protestant* of even date.

ference adjourned. At the morning session of May 14, the last day of the Conference, a motion was made to take up the second report of the Memorial Committee; and, after discussion, it was adopted. The Minutes then state:—

Bro. Varden presented the following document, and moved its adoption:—

Resolved, That this General Conference hereby recommend to the several Annual Conferences of the Methodist Protestant Church the call of a Convention as provided for in the Constitution of said Church, Art. XVII., on the following specified conditions:—

1. That the several Annual Conferences represented in the Cincinnati Convention, and petitioners to this body, shall severally at the first session of their respective Conferences, after the rise of this body, sanction said call, immediate notice of which shall be given in the *Western Methodist Protestant*, and *Methodist Protestant* of Baltimore.

2. That the said Annual Conferences making this call shall, with the resolution of call, solemnly pledge themselves to legislate on no subject whatsoever, except the three points specified as follows:—

(1) To make no change in that portion of the Constitution relating to suffrage except the reference of the whole question of suffrage to the Annual Conferences, so that each Annual Conference shall be left free to define its own terms of suffrage.

(2) The explicit declaration by the said General Convention that the General Conference shall never hereafter legislate or express an opinion on questions of morality affecting membership; leaving all offences to be determined by the local judiciaries, according to the Word of God.

(3) Providing for a Book Concern to publish only our Hymn Book, Discipline, and General Conference proceedings—periodicals to be published by Annual Conferences separately, or by conventional agreement.

3. That the Conferences making the call solemnly agree to abide by the decision of said General Convention, within the said prescribed limits.

4. On the above stipulated terms a Convention is recommended. But if, between the present time and the meeting of the General Conference in 1862, a majority of the Annual Conferences represented in the Cincinnati Convention should refuse to pledge themselves as above specified, or by any Conference or conventional act of legislation shall attempt to change the provisions of the Constitution or Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church, then this General Conference recommend that the Annual Conferences immediately preceding the General Conference of 1862 recede from the arrangement and refuse to call a Convention.

JOSIAH VARDEN,
WM. C. LIPSCOMB,
R. B. THOMSON,
J. G. WHITFIELD.

It was made the order of the day for 3 o'clock P.M. When it arrived, it was called for by Dr. J. J. Murray, who moved to lay the paper on the table. Though he prepared the original, it was so amended by Varden and others that he made this motion;

which was lost. The paper was taken up by items. "The vote was then taken on the whole paper, and it was adopted." The vote is not given, but it is known that Dr. Murray and some others dissented. The intent of this paper having been subsequently variously construed, it seems pertinent, that it may be disposed of in the present connection, to anticipate events bearing upon it. A. H. Bassett, having affirmed in his "History," 1877, first edition, p. 164, commenting on this so-called "pacificatory" measure, that "The subject of slavery was not named in the paper adopted. The word 'white' was, of course, to remain in the Constitution;" exception was taken to it by Dr. J. J. Murray, and, in the second edition, the author so far modified his statement as to give his exception, coupling with it a note from Dr. William Collier on the same subject. They may be found in the revised "History," pp. 199, 200. Dr. Murray's exception is, in substance: "The design of the paper amended by brother Varden and adopted by the Conference, was not, in its inception, whatever may have been thought of it afterward, to retain the word 'white.' It was to remove that word from the book; and thus remove a bone of contention. This I *know*, having prepared the original paper with this intent, and believing at the time that the proposition would save the Church. . . . I am gratified to think that, substantially, the proposition I made to save the Church from division, became the basis of reunion in 1877." Dr. Collier substantially says: "I was a member of the General Conference of 1858. . . . In the discussion of the subject, especially upon the question of striking out the word *white*, great interest was excited in the community; and full audiences were in attendance. . . . I do not believe that any considerable number of the members of the Conference would, at the time, have consented to any measure striking out the word *white*. . . . It was evident to me at the time, and is still evident to my recollection, that the document, as received and understood, by no means involved or implied the striking out of the word *white*."

A few observations may be made by the writer on the difference between them in a sincere purpose, on this subject particularly, "to record and not make history." Dr. Collier's affirmations are that "at the time" the word "white" could not have been stricken out; while Dr. Murray only claims that, if such a Convention as proposed by the paper had been agreed to, it would have been stricken out. It was impossible that the former should know the mind of the brethren, not having their confidence on this subject;

while the latter had, and could *know*, as he affirms. Again, the essential part of the paper is in the words of the first provision of the second section as to suffrage. It is true that what was then refused was practically accepted as the basis of union in 1877. This is the writer's reason for introducing the full text of this paper to the exclusion, because of their great length, of the three reports previously made on the question. A. H. Bassett says of the paper: “This so-called peace measure was regarded by those concerned as trifling with a respectful and dispassionate appeal from a deliberative assembly, representing, as it was believed, not less than half the Methodist Protestant connection. The proposition was nowhere entertained.” It was not named in the Springfield Convention of 1858. The truth of the matter probably was, that the East and South were in no mood to make concessions, having the Constitution and Discipline, as it was in their favor, and the necessities of their situation pressing upon them; while the North and West, in foregone conclusion of separation as the only remedy for the necessities pressing upon them, were in no mood to listen to concessions, — if they had been made.

The other salient events of the General Conference may be more briefly stated. An effort was made to strike out the preamble to the invitation to the Lord's Supper, “the officiating minister or ministers may now partake, after which the following invitation shall be given.” It was declared simply permissive, and not mandatory, as the word *may* makes plain. In after years it was, however, stricken out; thus abolishing the last preferment, even in a rubric, of the clerical over the laical class, esteemed specially objectionable in the Lord's Supper. It was the ultimate of a protest against one of the Romish forms of the old Church inherited from Coke and Asbury, and in mimicry of hierarchic episcopacy. Reference is of course made to the “prayer of consecration” of the elements preserved to this day in their ritual, with the direction: Then shall the minister first receive the communion in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to the other ministers in like manner, if any be present.” “Then a hymn may be sung and the communicants invited to the table.” It was formerly indicated in the consecrating prayer that the minister touch the bread where the word occurs and the wine where it occurs. This part of the mummery was stricken out, as too palpably Romish, and aping the “transubstantiation” or the “consubstantiation” errors of Rome or Luther.¹ It is still

¹ See M. E. Discipline, 1832, p. 98, and later editions.

required, so great is the stress yet laid upon this "consecration" of the elements: "If the elder be straitened for time he may omit any part of the service except the prayer of consecration. If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent before all have communicated, the elder may consecrate more by repeating the prayer of consecration." Nothing can be claimed for the instructions save that it is a fiction of the "Mass," the real presence of the body and blood of Christ. The statements here made will be revelations to not a few readers, and will accentuate the differences between the Methodist Protestant and the Methodist Episcopal Churches for those tender-footed people who say that the variances, both ritualistic and governmental, are unimportant.

A committee to revise the hymn book was appointed; the work was subsequently performed principally by E. Yeates Reese, published by the Baltimore Concern, and largely sold, as it was a very complete and popular collection. The Board of Missions made a full report, with a financial statement by the treasurer, William J. Troth. It showed that a total for the quadrennium had been received of \$5752.15 in subscriptions and for the *Missionary and Sabbath-School Journal*, and a like sum expended for the *Journal*, general Agents, and Missionaries, plus \$67.35, balance in hand. A new Course of Study was adopted. A committee to prepare a catechism was appointed, with Dr. Francis Waters, chairman. He afterward produced a larger and a smaller Catechism, which were issued by the Baltimore Concern, and largely sold; and it remains the Catechism of the Church, with some important emendations on church polity to the larger, by Rev. Dr. L. W. Bates, to this day; and it merits closer attention from the parents and Sabbath-schools of the Church. The application of the Charleston, S. C., church for a mission relation to the Maryland Conference, the object being to retain the pastor more than two years, as prohibited by the "Restrictive Rule," was reported favorably, but warmly contested by the strict constructionists of law; but the effort to defeat the report under a "vote by order" failed by nearly two-thirds majority. It opened the way for more liberal legislation on the subject in the future. The Ratio of Representation was much discussed, in view of the menace of separation of the brethren North and West, and, finally, fixed at fifteen hundred, a reduction of two hundred and fifty. The place of the next General Conference was named as Georgetown, D. C. There being no reports from the North and West, it was found impracticable to furnish the statistics of

the Church. Taking the basis of 1854, about 72,000 as a total of ministers and members, and an increase of ten per cent for the quadrennium, — the usual average heretofore, — about 80,000 would have been the numerical strength in 1858. Of this number A. H. Bassett, a painstaking tabulist, claimed for the adhering twenty-one Conferences, North and West, including the increase for the six months from May to November, most all these Conferences being held in the autumn, about 36,500; houses of worship, 479; and value of property, \$551,000, or nearly one-half of the entire denomination in numbers, churches, and valuation.

The Convention of the *Methodist Protestant* and Book Concern was held May 11, 1858. P. T. Laishley was called to the chair, and Samuel E. Norton appointed Secretary. The Book Directory made its report, but it does not appear in the manuscript minutes of the Convention. F. H. Pierpont moved to elect an editor, and E. Yeates Reese was elected. After incidental business the Convention adjourned. The Huntsville District having become "inoperate," the territory was divided between the Tennessee and the Alabama Conferences. It was recommended in the report of the committee that the "Board of Missions be continued as heretofore." A report from the trustees of Madison College, now suspended, was received, and a committee, composed of Whitfield, Woodhouse, and Pierpont, reported, that as it had been placed by its "trustees in an advisory relation to the General Conference, therefore, resolved that this Conference is willing to continue the relation, unless the Board of Trustees think proper to change it." Lynchburg College did not come before the body officially. It was under the special patronage of the Virginia Conference. A "Methodist Protestant Annual Register" was recommended to the Book Concern; but nothing came of it. W. G. Snethen, Esq., son of Nicholas Snethen, announced his purpose to publish his father's biography and works, in eight volumes, octavo, and it was commended; but, as already found, nothing came of it. Dennis B. Dorsey's new "History" was commended, but, as also found, nothing came of it. Slight amendments were made to the church law, which appear in a revised edition of the Discipline, issued a few months after the Conference adjourned. It had bound up with it Dr. Waters' Address, as found in the Discipline of 1830, etc., Bascom's "Summary of Rights," and an Order of Business for Annual Conferences. Its sale, and that of the revised hymn book, greatly relieved the Book Concern, financially, for several years.

The General Conference adjourned, with prayer by the President, May 14, 1858, after a session of ten days.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had been in session at Nashville, Tenn., about the same time. As has been found, the discussion of lay-delegation was widespread in that Church, several of the *Advocates* favoring it, and, in consequence, a number of petitions were sent up asking for its introduction. And now came another instance of the untruth of Dr. Emory's dictum after he had abandoned his reform principles, to wit: that the General Conference had no power to stifle legislation through its episcopacy. The bishops of the Church, South sprung a surprise upon its General Conference by forestalling, in their episcopal Address, the discussion of the lay-delegation question, and advised that the editors be admonished not to discuss it, nor suffer others so to do. In consequence, the petitions received but cavalier treatment from the committee, who reported, adversely, the threadbare declaration that it was "not generally desired by the Church." The adversities suffered during the Civil War, however, broke this arrogant and unresponsive spirit; and in 1866 it was entertained favorably, as will be seen.

The incidental transactions of the Church in both sections, as culled from the respective official papers, worthy of notation, were the following. George Clancy, William Collier, and others discussed, in their paper, the action of the General Conference with sharpness, and earnestly advocated the proposed Springfield Convention, not without rebuttals from John Burns, D. B. Dorsey, Sr., and others; the problem being: a General Conference acting under a Constitution and Discipline for the Methodist Protestant Church being given, how to organize another General Conference under another Constitution and Discipline for another Methodist Protestant Church. It involved serious ethical, legal, and prudential questions. What came of it will be presently seen. The Literary Committee of the Book Concern approved what the Commissioners did at Lynchburg, and an Address was issued, prepared by A. H. Trumbo, urging unanimity of action of the Northern and Western Conferences in the call for the Springfield Convention of 1858. Every argument and influence was brought to bear against the recalitrants in their own section and, in the end, successfully. "On June 17, 1858, a noble band of brethren organized a Conference in the then young and frontier state of Minnesota. This took place at Louthrie school-

house, Filmore County, upon the call of Stephen Jones, who has since proved himself, these many years, a veteran of the cause, through ardent toils and many discouragements incident to frontier work. At the first session, five ministers and four lay-delegates were in attendance. James P. Long was the first President."* Obituary of Rev. James Murray, M.D., an original Reformer of the Indiana Conference, November 3, 1858. Miss Susan Ramsburg, a maiden lady of Frederick County, Md., bequeathed her property, nearly \$8000, to a local benevolent society of the Church in that section, which is still available for local purposes. Obituary of Rev. John Godwin, M.D., of Virginia, a Reformer, August 28, 1858. The Cincinnati station voted against sending delegates to the Springfield Convention as late as September, 1858, and the election of such delegates was in the Muskingum Conference accomplished under the protest of a strong minority, led by John Burns, about the same time. A Convention of seventy lay-delegates met at Lebanon, O., in connection with the Cincinnati Conference of the old Church, in September, 1858, which passed a series of resolves demanding lay-delegation from the next General Conference. Obituary of Rev. Jeremiah Swain of Georgia, early Reformer, November 6, 1858. The *Layman's Advocate*, a small periodical, was issued in New York, for a season, November, 1858, in support of the movement for lay-representation in the old Church.

Pursuant to notice a "General Convention of Delegates from the Northern and Western Conferences of the Methodist Protestant Church" was held at Springfield, O., November 10-16, 1858. The proceedings make an octavo pamphlet of forty pages. Rev. George Brown was elected President, and W. H. Miller and R. Rose, Secretaries. The following is a list of the Conferences, with the delegates:—

BOSTON	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
J. M. Mayall	Geo. Pierce ¹

NEW YORK AND VERMONT	
W. H. Miller	Thos. Brown
J. J. Smith	C. Tomkins

ONONDAGA	
Ira H. Hogan	G. White

* Bassett's "History," p. 201.

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	GENESEE	<i>Laymen</i>
N. Palmiter		B. A. Nichols ¹
	PENNSYLVANIA	
R. E. Gorman ¹		Wm. Bartly ¹
	PITTSBURGH	
G. Brown		John Redman
Jas. Robison		G. W. Pogue
Jno. Scott		S. Horner ¹
	MUSKINGUM	
Geo. Clancy		J. Fordyce
H. Heberling		J. Ashton
J. S. Thrap		I. Cassell
R. Andrew ¹		H. Fullerton ¹
J. Nichols ¹		J. D. Daton
A. Abbott ¹		A. W. Beatty ¹
	OHIO	
J. M. Young		R. D. Rowsey
R. Rose		S. Graham
A. H. Bassett		F. A. Finley
J. J. White		J. K. Ogden
W. R. Parsons		J. M. Johnson
	MICHIGAN	
R. C. Lanning		G. J. Daniels
	WESTERN MICHIGAN	
A. Acheson		T. Hinman ¹
	WABASH	
E. Horner ¹		N. T. Caterlin
	INDIANA	
S. Morrison		Wm. Smith
T. Shipp		E. Bassett
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
P. J. Strong		J. W. Bush
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
G. Wright ¹		J. Laughead ¹
	ILLINOIS	
Joel Dalby		J. Connelly
	¹ Absent.	

	IOWA	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
G. Wheatley ¹		J. Youngman ¹
	NORTH IOWA	
J. J. Watson		Thos. Snyder
	WISCONSIN	
J. W. Fried ¹		G. W. Williams ¹
	MINNESOTA	
S. Jones ¹		R. Freeman ¹

Total, delegates elect, sixty-four. Number in attendance, forty-four, viz.: twenty-three ministers and twenty-one laymen.

A new Historical Preface for the Discipline was offered by A. H. Bassett, reciting the action of the Church upon the slavery question from the beginning to date, which was subsequently adopted. A Committee on Business recommended five subjects, to which were added three others, and then considered in order. They were the *Western Methodist Protestant*, Book Department, Financial Department and Location of Concern, Communication, Relations and Revisions, Missions, Education, Temperance. The Illinois Conference proposed that the decision of separation should be delayed one year, and it was referred, as well as other objections, to the proposed action of the Convention; but they died in committee. The report of the Committee on Relations, etc., was taken up and acted upon item by item. On suspension the report proposed that it be “now and forever suspended.” Dr. Brown amended “until the evil complained of be removed.” John Scott had inserted the word “slavery.” And Dr. Brown further amended, “and they agree to put back the general interests, and work with their brethren of the West and North in sustaining them under the Constitution.” The paper as amended was then passed, the delegates from Illinois alone voting in the negative, according to their instructions. The chairman of the committee was George Clancy, and, after reciting certain transactions involved in the former negotiations, declared that the late “General Conference” of the Methodist Protestant Church was “a legal nullity,” and, therefore, the Church had been resolved into its original elements as Associated Methodist Churches, which made it competent for independent action by the Conferences

¹ Absent.

represented. The gist of the paper is, "Therefore, resolved, that indisputable facts, the inductions of sound logic, the dictates of Christian prudence, and an enlightened sense of our duty to God and man, justify and warrant this Convention, in the name of the several Annual Conferences herein represented, to now declare all official connection, coöperation, and official fellowship with and between said conferences, and such conferences and churches, within the Methodist Protestant Association, as practise or tolerate slaveholding and slave-trading, as specified in said Memorial, to be suspended until the evil of slavery complained of be removed; and they agree to put back the general interests, and work with their brethren of the West and North in sustaining them under the Constitution."

Thus the problem was solved. Rev. Dr. John Scott, one of few surviving members of this Convention and an active participant, says, in his "Fifty Years," 1893, that "whatever may be said of the action of this Convention it was not intended to be a withdrawal from the Methodist Protestant Church, but a suspension of official intercourse and the adoption of such changes, for the time being, as were essential to our life as a church. Our action was designed to be temporary, 'until the evil of slavery complained of be removed.'" The committee further reported amendments to the Discipline. The word "white" was stricken out of Article XII., sections 1st and 2d; also fourth section of Article VII., providing for the admission and government of colored members, and terms of suffrage, and that the ecclesiastical powers shall not assume to interfere with the powers of the civil government or the operation of the civil laws, etc. An item was inserted, strongly worded, against slavery. The questions: "What right has this Convention to make such changes;" and "Should not such changes be submitted to a vote of the laity in the churches?" are argued and settled in harmony with the Convention. On this Dr. John Scott, in his last book, says: "This action was based upon an absolute necessity. It was this or ecclesiastical death. Some claimed that the action was warranted by the Constitution, Article VII., section 4th, . . . but this did not cover the case. Its only justification was its necessity." In this view there is now no dissent. Rev. Dr. John Paris of North Carolina, a visitor at the Lynchburg General Conference and a careful note-taker, affirmed, not long after, that on the floor, in answer to an interrogation on this point, Collier said, "We do not claim it to be Constitutional."

Rev. A. H. Bassett was elected Editor and Book Agent by "an almost unanimous vote." Rev. C. Prindle of the Wesleyan Methodists, having been introduced officially, proposed affiliation and union if desired,¹ and suggested that a joint committee be named to compile a new hymn book for the two organizations; which was approved, as also the publication of a new Discipline. The Finance Committee, through J. S. Thrap, rendered the report of the Book Committee, from which net assets were claimed of \$5195.92, including \$3000 due on account of the church paper. A claim of \$2170.03 due Bassett on final settlement for his plant and interest in the Western paper was also deducted. A new Board of Missions was elected, John Scott, Chairman; and the *Missionary and Sabbath-School Journal* ordered continued. Strong resolutions on temperance were passed. Another Convention was called for November, second Wednesday, 1860, in Pittsburgh, Pa. The question, "Shall the Convention appoint the meeting of a General Conference, as the central government of this Confederation?" etc., was referred to the Annual Conferences. The ratio of representation was fixed at one of each class in every thousand members. The names and boundaries of the "Conferences with which we have suspended relations," were to be left out of the new Discipline. The Committee on Education reported a commendation of the University of the Annual Conferences of Illinois. The Convention adjourned, with prayer by the President, November 16, 1858. In the East and South these proceedings, taken together, were declared a secession from the Methodist Protestant Church. The continental character of the denomination was broken, and each section went on its way striving, under serious disabilities, to overcome the local besetments and obstructions with which they were environed. That both did not disintegrate is a marvellous exhibition of the inherent vitality of the lay-representation principle in the new Methodism. Whatever individuals may have felt, and at times displayed, either at Lynchburg or at Springfield, there was no official bitterness or unchristian alienation. It made a reunion possible after a separation of a score of years—a restoration of the only true continental Methodism in the land.

¹ He was one of a Committee of Fraternalization from the Wesleyans, and a like committee was appointed by the Convention to meet with them and confer.

CHAPTER XXVI

Influential opposition in the North and West to the Springfield Convention doings — Obituaries of original Reformers: Winfree and Doughty; Dennis B. Dorsey, Sr.; William S. Stockton; and others — Abel Stevens, editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, pronounces for lay-representation in annual and general conferences; rebuked by the ensuing General Conference for this position and liberal views as to the border Conferences by a defeat as editor; the *New York Methodist* established by Drs. Crooks and M'Clintock as the organ of these views—New hymn book and Catechisms of the Church announced—First courtship of the Wesleyans and the brethren West and North; Allegheny Seminary at Sharpshurg, Pa.; General Convention North and West at Pittsburgh, Pa., 1860; synopsis of its doings—The Methodist Protestant Church meantime; the Civil War inaugurated; death of E. Yeates Reese, with sketch of him; War Secretary Stanton and his favor to his mother's Church—Cincinnati Convention North and West, 1862; roster of members; synopsis of its doings; extreme action against the East and South; consideration of it, with opinions impartially presented.

THE action of the Springfield Convention in "suspending official relations" with the Conferences East and South was strenuously opposed by a small but influential minority in the North and West. Rev. John Burns of the Muskingum Conference issued a Manifesto in his own behalf and that of others agreeing with him against the proceedings of the Convention as a separation from the Methodist Protestant Church. (See Baltimore paper, January 8, 1859.¹) In September, 1859, the Illinois Conference, which had preferred a request to the Convention that separation should be delayed one year and was disregarded, had a warm discussion when it assembled, with the result of a division and the organization of a small Conference adhering to the Methodist Protestant Church. The Muskingum Conference, when it assembled, October, 1859, found a "minority" so determined in their opposition to separation that it was found advisable to treat with them through a "Committee of Conciliation." In a summary

¹ Conditioned on the further step of "separation" through a union with the Wesleyans, now broached, his principal allegation was, that such a step would be legally a secession from the Methodist Protestant Church, and gave warning as to its effect upon church property, etc., in the words, "all property deeded or chartered to societies or conferences belongs to those who remain."

review by Rev. W. H. Collins of the separating Conferences, in the Baltimore paper, February 11, 1860, much dissatisfaction was exhibited. But the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry, Va., October, 1859, and the presages of resistance by force of arms to the Lincoln administration, culminating with the assault on Fort Sumter by South Carolina, quelled into silence or changed the opinions of this dissenting class.

Christopher Winfree of Lynchburg, Va., one of the Expelled Reformers of that town, departed this life in assured hope, obituary January 15, 1859. Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, early editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, deceased on steamer *Arago*, outward voyage, July 2, 1859, an ardent and consistent abolitionist. Colonel William Doughty, of Georgetown, D. C., an early Reformer, deceased September 10, 1859. Generous in life, he left by will various bequests, among them one to the Superannuated Fund Society of the Maryland Conference. Rev. Dennis B. Dorsey, M. D., died March 18, 1860. He was born December 28, 1799, in Baltimore County, Md. Early in life he removed with his parents to Wellsburgh, Va., and at fifteen years of age lost his father, leaving the mother and three sisters dependent upon his labors. He accepted manfully the task and labored at his trade as a carpenter, meanwhile picking up the rudiments of an education. In his seventeenth year he was converted, and in his twentieth received into the itinerancy of the Baltimore Conference. In 1827 he was "suspended" for advocating Reform principles and circulating its literature, and in 1828 was the first Reform martyr. His subsequent career makes a section of this History. As a self-made man his literary acquirements, as exhibited in a facile pen and preaching ability, were of a high order. As editor of the *Mutual Rights*, as successful physician, as earnest and logical preacher,—in all relations he was conspicuous and influential. A life-long invalid, he alternated between the itinerancy and secular employ, and spent his closing years with his son, D. B., Jr., at Fairmont, W. Va. Pain, poverty, and sorrow were his heritage. Several times during his last illness he said with emphasis to his children, as in recollection of the wrongs done him in old Church relations, "Remember, I forgive everybody that ever offended me, and I desire all to forgive me." No shadow darkened his spiritual sky. He anticipated heaven, "I hope before long to see the celestial city, whose glory shines afar off." When his pulse had nearly ceased, he drew Hon. F. H. Pierpont close to him, and said with much difficulty, "I

put my trust in the Lord, I believe I shall never be confounded." A discourse commemorative of his life and labors was preached at his funeral by Dr. E. Yeates Reese, editor of the Baltimore paper, at Fairmont, and his remains were laid to rest in its cemetery, March 20, 1860. His son and namesake also delivered subsequently a discourse in his memory; both were published, and copies are before the writer. For an extended sketch see Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 153-173. Rev. Caswell Drake, an early Reformer of North Carolina, obituary May 19, 1860. Rev. J. F. Speight, early Reformer of North Carolina, obituary September, 1860, also January 12, 1861. He was one of the noblest and most active of the band of Reformers who laid the foundation of the North Carolina Conference. Rev. Elisha Lott, father of the Mississippi Conference, and a liberal giver on a small competence, and an indefatigable worker in the cause of Christ and Methodist Reform, obituary October 13, 1860.

William S. Stockton departed this life November 20, 1860. He was born April 8, 1785, at Burlington, N. J., and was a descendant of two good families,—the Stocktons, notable in Church and State, and the Gardiners, honorably known in colonial times. Classically educated and early religious, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and in his house at Easton, Pa., the first Methodist class of that town was held. He spent the early years of his married life in the store of his uncle at Trenton, then the principal bookseller of the city. In that place, in 1821, he issued the *Wesleyan Repository*, and in 1822 he removed to Philadelphia, where he lived the most of his days. He was, next to Snethen, the first to advocate Methodist Reform, and antedated even him as a publisher of such opinions. His career as a Reformer is preserved in these pages, and this sketch has been anticipated in many particulars of moment. For many years he was in charge of Blockely Almshouse, Philadelphia, where his executive abilities had full and successful play. A voracious reader and a prolific writer, of independent mould of mind and spotless purity of character, his memory is blessed wherever known. Removing to Burlington, N. J., in his seventy-fifth year, an accident fractured his thigh and brought him to a bed from which he never rose again. Surrounded by wife, children, and relatives, he peacefully closed his mortal pilgrimage. On the 22d of November, 1860, his remains were brought to the Methodist Episcopal church of the town, and Rev. J. G. Wilson, a life-long friend, delivered a funeral discourse, assisted by others, and

his body was deposited in the cemetery beside his father and first wife. For a full sketch, see Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 48-59.

Dr. Abel Stevens, editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, had since his installation advocated lay-delegation, now, January, 1859, became outspoken, and declared for "a fair and square lay-representation in both the annual and general conferences." A month after, at Geneva, N. Y., a Layman's Association assembled and passed resolutions in favor of representation in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the following October a committee on lay-delegation in the Cincinnati Conference of the old Church reported favorably, and the report was adopted. A large meeting of laymen urging representation convened in Philadelphia, and in the Baltimore Conference Rev. Alfred Griffith, now an aged man, revived his "radical" memories, and advocated lay-representation. It was in the air, but officialism, that potency in a hierarchy, put an extinguisher upon the movement, as it had done in 1820-30. When the General Conference had assembled at Buffalo, N. Y., in May, 1860, the memorials poured in, this time not a few of them, notably one from Philadelphia, demanding representation as a right as well as an expediency. The bishops in their Address for the first time in Episcopal history treated the subject with a degree of liberality. It was at this Conference also that extreme measures as to slaveholding were passed. The committee on the memorials for lay-delegation, while proposing nothing, was more cautious and recommended that it be approved so soon as the voice of the Church can be ascertained as in favor of it. Again the hopes of the pleading laity were dashed, but they did not despair. Dr. Stevens, for conservative views as to the border slaveholding Conferences, and for liberal views as to lay-representation, was defeated for the editorship. It was done by inimical officialism. Soon thereafter the *New York Methodist* was inaugurated by Rev. Drs. Crooks and M'Clintock, two of the ablest men of the ministry, and it took up the discarded positions on both subjects, and for a series of years did valiant service with a strong support from the laity in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. As already foreshadowed, the Civil War diverted attention, and a decade of years passed before lay-representation again came boldly to the front. It illustrated the fact not only that large bodies move slowly in the direction of innovations upon established usages, but also the tenacity with which clerical power has ever been retained under hierarchical auspices.

In the autumn of 1859 the new hymn book, and the new Catechisms ordered by the General Conference of 1858, were announced ready for sale. Dr. E. Yeates Reese was the principal compiler of the former, and Dr. Francis Waters the sole compiler of the latter. The *Methodist Protestant Sentinel*, published by J. E. P. Dorsey, and edited by Dennis B. Dorsey, Jr., was established at Fairmont, Va. It was under the auspices of the West Virginia Conference, and the editor wielded a trenchant but graceful pen. It continued about a year, when it was offered to the West Virginia Conference on fair terms and was accepted. The plant was removed to Morgantown, with Rev. Dr. Lashley as editor of the *West Virginia Methodist Protestant*, but it did not long survive. The committee of five of the Springfield Convention to permanently locate the *Western Methodist Protestant*, selected Springfield, and the Board of Trust determined to erect suitable buildings for its use. Rev. J. B. Walker was appointed soliciting agent; liberal subscriptions were made; \$1100 by the Ohio Conference. In March, 1860, a lot was purchased and a brick building erected sixty by thirty-two feet, three stories. The two committees of the Wesleyan and the separated Conferences of the Methodist Protestant Church met as a committee of conference in the First church, Pittsburgh, and continued in session for two or three days. The joint hymn book proposed for the two organizations was the principal subject, and as a finality Dr. George Brown was appointed to compile a book, which he did. The agent of the Wesleyan Church could not agree to publish it before the meeting of their General Conference, and the West could not wait. It was pushed to publication by a private firm in Cincinnati, and sold among Methodist Protestants quite freely. The Wesleyans were cautious, so that nothing came of this first courtship.

The Pittsburgh Conference took steps to establish a seminary for the education of young preachers, a sum of \$1500 having been given in trust for that purpose by Charles Avery. Dr. John Scott was the inspiration of the movement, and with the coöperation of the Conference a good substantial brick building was erected at Sharpsburg, Pa., and the Allegheny Seminary was opened 1861-62, and continued with varying success until Adrian College came under the care of the Western brethren. Seven thousand dollars remained from the sale of the building, the interest of which is pledged to the Board of Ministerial Education. Rev. G. B. McElroy was for some time Principal, and

Rev. Dr. Collier was associated with Dr. Scott in the active labors of building, etc.* “In 1860 a small Conference was organized in Nebraska, which was then just rising into statehood. The nucleus of the organization was chiefly John M. Young, who had been an early and sacrificing laborer in the Ohio Conference, William S. Horn from Illinois, and Hugh Doyle, formerly of the Maryland Conference. Subsequently Cyrus Carter, Daniel Kinney, John Lamb, C. S. Bradley, and J. W. Davis from Ohio, and others good and true, were added to their numbers.”† In the Baltimore official paper for December 15, 1860, there is an interesting and reliable historical sketch of Methodist Protestantism in the empire state of Texas. In the autumn of this year the Colorado and the McCaine Conferences were separated from the Texas. Owing to its vast territory nowhere has the Church work been subject to so many divisions, reunions, and separations for local convenience as in this State, so that space would fail to keep the run of them; and nowhere have more faithful pioneers labored at every sacrifice, eminent among whom were Rev. Messrs. Boyd, Rosser, Aaron, Miller, Biddison, and others to be noticed in current connections.

“Proceedings of the General Convention of delegates from the Northern and Western Conferences of the Methodist Protestant Church, held at Pittsburgh, Pa., November 14–19, 1860.” This is the title-page of the printed Minutes, issued in 1862 by the Book Concern at Springfield, O. Rev. Dr. George Brown was elected President, and J. J. White, Secretary. The following is a list of the Conferences represented and the delegates elected:—

	BOSTON	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
J. M. Mayall		A. B. Maxim
	NEW YORK AND VERMONT	
J. J. Smith		C. Tomkins
W. H. Miller		Th. Brown ¹
	NEW JERSEY	
T. H. Colhouer		L. L. Campbell ¹
	ONONDAGA	
D. Cook ¹		G. White ¹

* For full details of its inception, progress, and ending, see Dr. Scott's "Fifty Years."

† Bassett's "History," p. 230, revised edition.

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	GENESEE	<i>Laymen</i>
E. A. Wheat ¹		Ira Cary ¹
	PENNSYLVANIA	
J. K. Helmhold		S. Whitaker ¹
	PITTSBURGH	
G. Brown		H. C. Swart ¹
W. Reeves		J. Redman
H. Palmer		W. J. Troth
	MUSKINGUM	
J. Burns		J. D. Tingle ¹
G. Clancy		H. Cassell
W. H. Marshall		I. Hull ¹
J. S. Thrap		R. Beckham
E. S. Hoagland ¹		J. D. Daton ¹
A. Abbott ¹		S. Cupp ¹
	OHIO	
W. R. Parsons		J. Whetstone
J. Kost		J. M. Johnson
A. H. Bassett		S. Graham ¹
J. J. White		J. G. Rockhill
J. B. Walker		F. A. Finley
	INDIANA	
S. Morrison		A. D. Amos
	WABASH	
J. C. Wright		A. D. Whitford
	MICHIGAN	
Joshua Leach ¹		G. J. Daniels ¹
	WESTERN MICHIGAN	
H. H. Hulbert		R. Ramsby
	ILLINOIS	
J. P. Johnston		J. Lingle
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
C. Gray		Wm. Cullen ¹
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
R. Wright ¹		J. Laughead ¹
	NORTH IOWA	
Joel Dalbey		O. M. Culver ¹

¹ Absent.

MINNESOTA

Ministers
S. Jones¹

Laymen
C. Closson¹

NEBRASKA MISSION

J. M. Young

Dr. R. Perry¹

Iowa, Wisconsin, and Maine Conferences were not reported. Thirty-eight out of sixty-two were present.

A committee on subjects outlined the business, and committees were appointed on each department. A number of the Conferences had given their delegates special instructions. George Clancy, chairman of the Committee on "Present and Future Policy of the Church," reported that a majority of the Annual Conferences had not authorized the Convention to make changes in either the "constitution or discipline." Afterward a call of the roll of Conferences represented showed that fourteen believed themselves instructed to make changes and four did not, but the Convention adjourned without making any changes. The Editor and Book Agent reported in detail, showing the Western paper out of debt. A report on the Editorial Department recommended that the financial and editorial departments be separated, etc. The report of the committee on the Fraternal Messengers from the Wesleyan Church expressed regret at their personal absence, and recommended that a delegate be appointed to their next General Conference. The election of Editor resulted in the choice of George Brown by thirty-four out of fifty-seven votes, indicating that visiting members were allowed the ballot. A. H. Bassett was elected Book Agent by a vote of thirty-three out of sixty-one ballots. Both were, however, declared "unanimously elected by a rising vote." The salary of the editor was fixed at \$700, and that of the agent at \$600. The report of the Committee on Statistics showed: 614 itinerants, 455 unstationed ministers, 36,099 members, 504 houses of worship, 96 parsonages, and value of church property \$639,655. As compared with the estimated statistics prepared for the Convention of 1858, it showed a gain of 80 itinerants, 25 churches, 593 members, and \$88,000 of church property, accounted for in part by including the New Jersey Conference. J. S. Thrap of the Committee on Book Concern reported that it was out of debt, with the stereotype plates of the hymn book to be added to the assets of 1858, and made sundry

¹ Absent.

recommendations to the management. Rev. Dr. J. Kost of the Committee on Education reported on the North Illinois University at Henry, under the superintendence of Prof. G. B. McElroy, property worth \$15,000, debt \$6000. Also an offer from the citizens of Chillicothe, O., for a college under certain conditions. Also the Allegheny Seminary, Drs. Scott and Collier to conduct the theological department. The *Missionary and Sunday-School Journal*, now edited and conducted by Rev. Dr. Collier, was approved. The Committee on Missions made recommendations, and a new Board was elected, located at Pittsburgh. The Committee on Future Policy reported a recital of the preliminary steps leading to the doings of the Convention of 1858, and then declared: "This suspension was an official withdrawal of all official countenance to the evils deprecated; and the resolution was adopted as a bond of union among the Northern conferences. Now it would seem clear as the light of day, that while the said conferences in good faith adhere to the platform adopted, as above, they are an organized brotherhood, agreeing to work under the Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church, and are as loyal Methodist Protestants as the Southern section possibly can be." A Convention with full powers to legislate on the Constitution and Discipline was called for the first Wednesday of November, 1862, at Cincinnati, O., the rate of representation to be one of each class for every one thousand members and above six hundred as a fraction. The Convention then adjourned. There are appended five closely printed pages by A. H. Bassett, "Our Position Vindicated," and also a statement by him as to the Western paper and Book Concern.

Meanwhile the Methodist Protestant Church in the East and South pursued the even tenor of its way, but was not unaffected by the serious difficulties confronting it. In its border territory, including the whole of the Maryland Conference, its environment called for the most discreet official conduct. Laymen's conventions were held in the early spring of 1861, both in Baltimore and in Staunton, Va., to consider the "New Chapter" on slavery promulgated by the Buffalo Conference of the old Church. Protests against its extreme action were passed, and open rebellion in many individual cases occurred in Baltimore and other places, and inaugurated the Independent Methodist movement in the former city under Charles J. Baker. Old prejudices barred a union of these people with the new Church at the time. The strongholds of the Reformed Church outside of Maryland were

Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi. They were under the leadership of able and commanding men, both ministers and laymen; Virginia, particularly, was supporting the Lynchburg College, and had the next largest subscription list to Maryland itself of the Book Concern and official paper. The latter had been conducted by its directory and editor on the non-partisan basis as to political questions,—as antislavery had now become an organized and successful political party,—and had just been enlarged, with a font of new type, and other improvements, while the Book Concern was in fair condition financially. Its conservative and non-partisan position was generally approved, and not a few Christians of other denominations came to its support as a religious journal pure and simple. The Maryland Conference, under whose special care it had been placed by the Convention of Conferences, taking warning from the disruption of the Baltimore Conference,¹ took the same conservative ground, and passed no resolutions compromising this position. Among its itinerants were men of both parties in their political views, but in Conference relations they dwelt together in harmony.

The passage through Baltimore of the Massachusetts regiment, under President Lincoln's call for volunteers to defend the Capitol, was attended with riot and bloodshed. The city was intensely excited, business suspended, and the compositors on the *Methodist Protestant* yielded to the contagion, so that the number of April 27 was omitted, the next being that of May 11. The issue of June 1 was reduced three inches in size, as a retrenchment, while Vol. 28, No. 1, began with the number of July 20, 1861, to make up to the subscribers the omitted papers. More than half its circulation was south of the Potomac, and the interruption immediately of all mail facilities reduced its issue to less than two thousand. Its editor about a year before had met with the severest loss of his life in the death of his loved wife and the mother of his children. It greatly affected him, and for relief, after the day's toil was over, he had retired to his home only to work on until midnight at literary pursuits.

¹ The Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church divided on this issue in March, 1861, fully one-half of it revolting against the General Conference action, and organized as the Baltimore Conference. The Secretary of the undivided body, adhering to the Church, South, maintained possession of the Conference minutes and records, but subsequently the other section was allowed to copy them, and both have ever since contended to be the original body, and date their minutes with the same number of sessions, etc. The protesting Conference was received into the M. E. Church, South.

It needed only such an occasion as the bursting of the war-cloud over him completely to break him down. He lingered through the summer, conducting the paper by the aid of brother ministers and literary friends who furnished material. He was haunted with fearful forebodings of starvation for himself and family, and though kept under medical aid and constantly watched by loving friends, on the morning of Saturday, the 14th of September, after having shaved, and breakfasted (asking a blessing at the table) with his devoted sister, Anna Mary, and his children, he went to his room, and in her absence for a few moments drew a razor across his throat, severing both the carotid arteries, and died in a few minutes. Seldom had any death so shocked the whole city. His funeral took place on Monday, the 16th of September, West Baltimore station, the audience filling the edifice. Nearly all the prominent ministers of the city were present, of all denominations, Dr. Francis Waters, the pastor, David Wilson, and Rev. Thomas Sewell of the Methodist Episcopal Church making the addresses. His remains were deposited in Baltimore cemetery.

Eli Yeates Reese was born in Baltimore, January 18, 1816, and was the youngest of four preacher brothers. He early embraced religion and united with the Reform Church, and displayed literary gifts of a high order from his childhood. In 1838, in his twenty-third year, he was elected editor of the official paper and took charge October 20. Reëlected in 1842, but receiving the appointment of principal of one of the male public schools of the city, and conjecturing that his editorial work was not altogether approved, he resigned, July, 1843. In 1846 he was again elected, and continued in the position until his death, a period of nineteen years and about two months, with the interim of two years and ten months in 1843-46. He was elected one of the Board of School Commissioners, and filled other reputable positions. While not a learned man in the scholastic sense, his knowledge of English literature and *belle-lettres* was perhaps unexcelled. As a public lecturer on poetry calling for elocutionary skill he was in great demand at home, filling the Maryland Institute, then the largest hall of the city, while abroad his fame was widening and brightening; but the inscrutable ways of Providence cut him off in his prime. The Church in the East and South staggered under the loss; the hour of all others seemed most unpropitious. The manner of his taking off will ever be associated with that of the Christian Scotch scientist and geologist, Hugh

Miller, upon whose suicidal end he had so ably moralized only a few years before. It is fitting thus that the memory of Eli Yeates Reese should not pass into oblivion, though blurred with a like act. For an extended obituary by Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray see the official paper for November 16, 1861. A fine and accurate steel engraving of him is preserved in the picture gallery of the Baltimore Book Concern. Below the medium size, slenderly built, not weighing over 120 pounds, his head of unusual size and finely developed, clean-cut features, large gray eyes, light brown hair, and fair complexion, he would command inquiring attention in any company.

The Directory appointed E. G. Waters, M.D., Rev. David Shermer, and Rev. David Wilson an editorial committee, who served the paper without compensation, as it was with difficulty its faithful agent, Thomas W. Ewing, kept up its publication. In the spring of 1862 an effort was made to reach the subscribers in the South. With this intent a file of it was sent to the Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, with a request that it might be allowed to pass through the lines as a strictly religious journal that did not discuss the war issues, and consequently would give no information to the enemy. In a short time an order was received at the Book Concern, accompanied by a letter, authorizing the transmission of the paper, *via* Fortress Monroe, by flag of truce, into Virginia, and commending the conduct of the paper. Secretary Stanton's mother was then and had been for many years a member of the Church in Ohio, and the paper was probably familiar to him in his childhood. By a similar special order Dr. George Brown was enabled to secure the release of his son early in the war and his transit home to die. But the privilege was of no avail, as in a few weeks it was reported that the papers accumulated at the outpost, there being no mail facilities in the South to carry them forward. Large numbers of the male membership of the Church in the South volunteered or were drafted into the Southern army, and the ministers, though not subject to military draft as in the North, found employment as chaplains and in the commissary department. As many as could stood to their ministerial work, but as the South was overrun, devastation followed in the path, churches were burned, or, as at Harper's Ferry, Va., turned into stables for cavalry horses; congregations assembled fitfully, if at all; Conferences were rarely held, though in the case of the North Carolina, not being under fire so closely, it managed to continue its sessions with a meagre attendance all

through the war. Rev. Dr. S. B. Southerland, pastor of Charleston, S. C., church, from Maryland, was heard from only at very distant intervals; communication was almost entirely cut off, so that the official paper had little news outside of Maryland and the border. Obituary of Rev. J. B. Ferguson of Maryland, Reformer, October 5, 1861. Also of Rev. Samuel Clark of Illinois, Reformer, February 22, 1862. Rev. Dr. McGwigan of Virginia, early Reformer, July 12, 1862. As physician and minister he was eminent in his day. Rev. Daniel Zollickoffer of Maryland, early local Reformer of great prominence, and a member of the first Conventions, died November 7, 1862.

“Proceedings of the General Convention of the Methodist Protestant Church, held at Cincinnati, O., November 5-12, 1862.” This is the title-page of these minutes. They make a printed pamphlet of thirty octavo pages, closely typed. Dr. George Brown was elected President, and J. J. White, Secretary. The following are the Conferences and the delegates therefrom:—

	BOSTON	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
J. M. Mayall ¹		D. Hall ¹
	NEW YORK	
J. J. Smith ¹		C. Tomkins ¹
	NEW JERSEY	
T. H. Colhouer ¹		E. C. Pancost ¹
	ONONDAGA	
N. R. Swift		Philip Swift
	GENESEE	
O. C. Payne		Edward Piper ¹
	PENNSYLVANIA	
S. Homan ¹		C. Blackman ¹
	PITTSBURGH	
G. Brown		W. Rinehart ¹
J. Cowl ¹		H. T. Reeves
J. Scott		J. Redman ¹
J. Robison		G. W. Pogue
	OHIO	
T. B. Graham		J. M. Johnson
J. J. White		J. Whetstone
R. Rose		S. Graham
J. B. Walker		W. Gunckel
A. H. Bassett		T. Douglass

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	MICHIGAN	<i>Laymen</i>
R. C. Lanning		C. Cooley
	WESTERN MICHIGAN	
A. Acheson		C. R. Underwood
	INDIANA	
S. H. Flood		Wm. Smith
T. Shipp ¹		A. D. Amos
	WABASH	
E. Horner ¹		A. D. Whitford
	ILLINOIS	
T. Finkbine		Jos. Hughey
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
P. J. Strong		J. Woodmansee
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
R. Wright		C. Link
	IOWA	
H. C. Boyers		R. F. Hall ¹
	NORTH IOWA	
J. Dalbey ¹		W. H. Bolton ¹
	WISCONSIN	
Z. Boynton		E. D. Warner ¹
	MINNESOTA	
J. P. Long		Amos Steers ¹
	NEBRASKA	
Isaac Chivington		Jas. Masters ¹
	OREGON	
D. Bagley		L. D. Cross ¹
	COMMISSIONERS FROM WESTERN VIRGINIA	
Dr. D. B. Dorsey		C. Hooton ¹
J. L. Simpson		A. F. Ritchie ¹
S. Young		
P. T. Laishley ¹		

Maine Conference was not reported. Muskingum Conference declined the call. Forty were present out of sixty-four.

¹ Absent.

Rev. Dr. G. R. Crooks, editor of the *New York Methodist*, was present as a visitor. Rev. Dr. Asa Mahan, President of Adrian College, was semi-officially present, representing the college authorities. The commissioners from West Virginia who were present,—Dorsey, Jr., Simpson, and Young—were met by commissioners from the Convention, and, after formalities, were received, the chair announcing that “Western Virginia Conference is received into the association of Northern and Western Conferences.” The first report was that from the Committee of “Legal Transfer” of the Western Book Concern from a Convention of conferences to “the control of a General Conference.” It was unanimously adopted. The report of the Board of Trust is of great length. It shows a deficit for the two years for the paper and publishing house of \$1085.03, but makes a total capital of \$14,088.97, including as an asset \$4725 due on the Church paper. The Civil War had seriously crippled the finances. The circulation of the paper was reported as 3112. The Committee on Education and Literature reported that Adrian College was offered on a mutual plan between the Wesleyan Methodists, the citizens of Adrian, and Methodist Protestant bodies, Dr. John Kost having been elected a professor in the college, and it was represented that the buildings already erected had cost \$45,000, and a capital stock of over \$60,000 secured by trustees; said partnership was tendered on condition that a further sum of \$60,000 be raised by the Methodist Protestants, etc. It was resolved to accept, and commissioners were appointed to settle the details.

Dr. John Scott offered a resolution, which was passed, restoring to the “General Conference the Paper and Book Concern.” The committee on Sunday-schools authorized the Book Concern to issue semi-monthly the *Sunday-School Protestant*. There was a majority and minority report on the “Powers of the Convention,” the former by Dorsey, Jr., and others, alleging that it had “full powers over the Constitution and Discipline,” and the latter from J. Robison alone, alleging that it had not. The Committee on the “State of the Country,” Dorsey, Jr., chairman, reported a series of whereases and resolutions, the main one reading:—

“Resolved, That we heartily indorse the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln; because it strikes at that baleful cause of all our civil and ecclesiastical difficulties, American slavery, the sum of all villainies, the darling idol of villains, the central power of villanous secessionism, but now, by the wisdom of the

President, about to be made the agent of retributive justice in punishing that culmination of villanous enterprises, the attempt to overthrow the most glorious civil government that God's providence ever established upon earth."

The paper also deprecated "dissensions and divisions" among themselves, and pronounces it a "strong evidence of sympathy with our enemies" by those who do so on "any pretext whatever." A committee of Dorsey, Jr., John Scott, and John Whetstone was named to address the President of the United States. The whole was passed by a rising unanimous vote. The fourth resolve against dissenters among them is clear only in the light of the fact that Muskingum had declined to be represented in this Convention, and there were mutterings of dissatisfaction at the steps taken, which were construed as much more than a "suspension of official relations" with the Conferences East and South.

The Committee on Statistics reported 464 itinerants, 314 unstationed ministers and preachers, 40,479 members, 328 houses of worship, 87 parsonages, with a value of \$575,507. As the membership column included West Virginia, of 1787, it shows a decline in numbers and also in all other features in the past two years. The pending war depressed all religious denominations. It was resolved to make changes in the Constitution and submit them for approval to two-thirds of the Annual Conferences adhering to the "association." After a careful canvass of the instructions of the Annual Conferences sent to the Convention, the following changes were made. The Restrictive Rule was amended, so that exception was made in "cases of necessity, of which the Annual Conferences shall be the judge." It was left with the Conferences to decide whether the President should travel or not. The word "male" was stricken from Article XII., section 1,¹ and some minor points amended. It was resolved that "there shall be a General Conference of this association on the second Wednesday of November, 1866," etc. The ratio of representation was fixed for one of each class in every thousand members and a fraction over six hundred. The cash system was determined for the Church paper, and on election for Editor, Dennis B. Dorsey, Jr.,

¹ Dr. Scott, in his "Fifty Years," distinctly repudiates for himself and a majority of the Convention any intention that this action should be construed as making women eligible to the General or Annual Conferences, though he voted for it at the time, and at the ensuing Pittsburgh Conference when it came up for ratification.

was elected, and for Agent, A. H. Bassett. The Committee on Missions reported that \$366.57 had been collected and \$155.17 expended for relief of Western brethren. J. M. Young was made missionary to Kansas; the ensuing General Conference to elect a Board of Missions, three ministers and three laymen, and that they reside at or near Springfield, O. Also a Corresponding Secretary, etc. George Brown, J. J. White, William Gunckel, C. Cooley, were made fraternal messengers to the General Conference of the Wesleyan Methodists to meet at Adrian, Mich., in 1864. Dr. George Brown offered a Declaration restoring the General Conference. It recites the 23d Article of Religion on allegiance to the government, etc., and that certain States, naming them, are now "in armed rebellion," and whereas "the position assumed by the Methodist Protestant Church in the rebel States aforementioned in repudiating the 23d Article of Religion and taking part in the rebellion, must be considered in the light of a revolt from the Methodist Protestant Church in the free States," therefore the Methodist Protestant churches in the West and North were "absolved from all obligations to ask the official concurrence of the Conferences, now involved in the double sin of slavery and rebellion," etc., therefore be it, "Resolved, on this twelfth day of November, 1862, in Cincinnati, O., that the General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, by action of the aforesaid Convention, be and the same is hereby restored to its full original authority under the Constitution of said Methodist Protestant Church." On motion of Dr. Scott it was unanimously passed by a rising vote. The Convention then adjourned *sine die*.

Dr. John Scott, in his last book, "Fifty Years," says of this action, "The intention of this paper was to show that in the judgment of the Convention the conferences of the free States constituted the true original Methodist Protestant Church." It may be observed that since 1858 no General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church had convened, and consequently that no official deliverance had ever been made by the Church as such. Even the Annual Conferences in the Southern states, with perhaps the exception of North Carolina on one occasion, had followed the example of Maryland in abstaining from resolutions on the whole subject. Whatever the members of the Church did as chaplains or officers or privates in the Confederate army, they did in their capacity as citizens and not as Methodist Protestants. Therefore the gravamen of the Declaration was disavowed in

the East and South as utterly invalid; to wit, "Including the Methodist Protestant Church in those States, did renounce their allegiance to the United States, and are now in armed rebellion against the government of our country, and whereas the position assumed by the Methodist Protestant Church, in the rebel States aforementioned, in repudiating the 23d Article of our religion and taking part in the rebellion, etc."

CHAPTER XXVII

Sketch of Joel Dalbey and Robert Dobbins and others deceased — General Conference of 1862 at Georgetown, D. C., a default, except informal organization, by the war — The Church papers; how conducted at this time — Termination of the war; aggression upon the Church South by Bishop Ames, backed by the civil government; moral — Dr. Brown as fraternal delegate to the M. E. General Conference makes a proposal of "Union"; logical incompatibility of it — General Conference of May, 1865; list of members; its action on Articles V. and XXIII.; never repealed by it, hence no reaffirmation called for; J. T. Murray elected editor of the official paper — The Wesleyans and Methodist Protestants North and West; renewal of courtship — Wesley Starr deceased; sketch of him and reflections — "Union" in the air among Methodists; each seeking its own advantage; nothing but absorption meant by any of them — Regular General Conference in Georgetown, D. C., May, 1866; roster of members; action as to the Western Conferences; proposal from the Church South for "Union," as they had adopted lay-delegation; ground of it; commissioners appointed; convention on Book Concern; initiation of Western Maryland College — Centennial year.

PICKING up the thread of incidental transactions where it was dropped in 1858, with the organization of the Minnesota Conference, Bassett's "History" furnishes a few items associated with this period. "In 1858 the West Michigan Conference was set off from the Michigan, and the North Iowa from the Iowa. Same year was commenced a religious paper, called the *Olive Leaf*, at Lowell, Mass., under the direction of the Boston Conference. It was conducted by Rev. J. M. Mayall, and continued for four or more years." The Western paper furnished a sketch of Rev. Joseph Snelling, an early Reformer, died December 1, 1858; and of Rev. Joel Dalbey, M. D., an original Reformer and unstationed minister of the Indiana Conference at the time, March 3, 1859. He was born in Ohio on the 1st of June, 1810, and was the eldest of four sons of Rev. Joel Dalbey, Sr., all of whom became preachers of the gospel. With his father, he was associated with the Reform movement from the beginning. He assisted in organizing the first Ohio Conference. He also served in the Pittsburgh and the Muskingum Conferences. He was graduated in medicine from the Cincinnati College. He was also in the Illinois Conference and the North Iowa, in all of which he served as President.

He died on his farm in Missouri on the 22d of November, 1859, in the sixtieth year of his age. He was zealous, emotional, and useful as a preacher, and spared not himself as a pioneer in Christian work and Methodist Reform. At the close of the Sabbath on which he died, his breathing became short and labored, and his wife inquired if he suffered much. He answered, "Yes, but I have great peace of mind." Just before the end he called his wife to "come and see the joy!" He said: "This is a beautiful day, my dear; there are many stars in my crown of rejoicing. My sheaves are gathered around me. The joy! the joy!" He folded his hands upon his breast and was gone. Colhouer, in his "Founders," pp. 451-453, says, "He was the Robert McCheyne in fervor, and the sweet singer of our Methodist Protestant Church." Rev. Robert Dobbins was born in Pennsylvania, April 20, 1768. Early converted, and a local preacher of the old Church for many years, on the inauguration of the Reform movement he identified himself with it; entered the itinerancy in 1830, in the sixty-second year of his age, and continued therein until past fourscore. In 1836-37 he was elected President of the Conference, and travelled the district when it included Ohio, Indiana, and a part of Kentucky. He had a voice of great compass, and was very effective in outdoor speaking. He died January 13, 1860, in the ninety-second year of his age, and was buried near Washington Court-house, O.; and the spot is marked with a neat monument. The funeral sermon was preached by Rev. W. B. Evans, the oldest member of the Conference. A "Life of 'Father' Dobbins" was issued by Rev. Charles Caddy, in 1868. Rev. Levi Bunson, early Reformer of Connecticut, April 25, 1860; John Wood, layman of Cincinnati and early Reformer, May 23, 1860; Joseph Rockhold, Reformer of 1827, August 29, 1860; Rev. William Ross, Sr., Reformer of Illinois Conference, October 17, 1860.

The General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, which was ordered for May, 1862, at Georgetown, D. C., could not assemble on account of the war, the representatives from Maryland alone being present. It was duly organized, however, with Joseph Libby, President *pro tem.*, and D. E. Reese, Secretary. The full Maryland delegation answered, and the roster of names will be given for the General Conference of 1865, at the same place, the same representatives holding over. Dr. Francis Waters was elected President, and Daniel E. Reese, Secretary. A resolution was offered, and carried, that when the Conference adjourns it is

to meet again at the call of the President. No other business was proposed, at the suggestion of West Virginia and others.

Dennis B. Dorsey, Jr., as editor of the *Western Methodist Protestant*, nibbed a sharp and, at times, a caustic pen, though displaying great intellectual ability. Within a year a personal controversy was introduced, and the acrimonious debate gave much dissatisfaction. The *Sunday-School Protestant* was issued from Springfield, O., February, 1863, a semi-monthly, price thirty cents a year. In the Methodist Episcopal Church the lay-delegation agitation continued on the non-committal attitude of the General Conference of 1862, and a large Convention of laymen assembled at St. Paul's church, New York City. A number of notable ministers and laymen were present, and Dr. T. E. Bond, Jr., made a remarkable speech, misrepresenting Reformers. The *New York Methodist*, under Dr. Crooks, was doing yeoman service for this cause. April 2, 1864, the official paper, Baltimore, was restored to its former size. Meantime it had had for editors, serving without compensation, stationed ministers of the city, as follows: 1862, L. W. Bates and H. C. Cushing; 1863, Francis Waters and L. W. Bates; 1864, Francis Waters and J. T. Murray. Thomas W. Ewing was continued as Agent by the Directory, and diligently managed its affairs, taking such compensation as the meagre income of the paper would allow. Under flag of truce a supply of Bibles and hymn books was sent to Rev. Dr. S. B. Southerland at Charleston, S. C., August, 1864. In November, 1864, the editor of the Western paper retired under pressure, but still claimed the position. Dr. George Brown was elected editor *pro tem.* by the Book Committee, with J. S. Thrap, Agent, relieving A. H. Bassett. This was in November, 1864. A month later, Rev. Dr. John Scott was elected editor by the Book Committee under a positive prohibition of personal controversy in its columns. He soon took charge, and, with the coöperation of the Agent, J. S. Thrap, brought order out of much confusion; in the next few years its finances were much improved. The Maryland Annual Conference College was incorporated, empowered to bestow degrees, by the Legislature of Maryland, through Rev. H. P. Jordan, in 1864. Its Faculty of Instruction still acts under this charter in local jurisdiction. The New York Methodist Episcopal Book Concern thought it good policy to advertise in the *Methodist Protestant*, Baltimore, the local paper, the *Baltimore Christian Advocate*, Dr. T. E. Bond, Jr., editor, having suspended shortly after the opening of the Civil War.

Obituary of Rev. R. T. Boyd, early Reformer of Maryland and one of the Expelled of 1827, April 1, 1865.

The Civil War having terminated in the spring of 1865, by the surrender of General Lee to General Grant, followed by the assassination of President Lincoln, and the inauguration of Johnson as President, the whole country, after recovering from its mourning and surprise, entered once more upon the pursuits of peace; the North, in full possession of the government, making the most of the advance gained, and the South, prostrate and conquered, yielding to the inevitable. The churches entered upon the work of rehabilitation. The old animosities between the Methodist Episcopal Church, North and South, were exaggerated during and at the close of the war; and, as the Federal armies advanced and took permanent possession in the South, the officials of the former, under a conviction that the latter could have no rights they were bound to respect, secured an order from Secretary Stanton, as early as November 30, 1863, which was enforced by the military authorities, as opportunity occurred, under the prompting of Bishop Ames; and, wherever it could be done, the churches were seized and pastors appointed under his jurisdiction. In this vandalism it stood alone among the Christian denominations, — it was one of its covert quasi-claims to a national character, enforced for a period, with both the military and civil power of the government.

Reform churches and people were "scattered and peeled," and the task of gathering up the shattered fragments was onerous indeed, if not hopeless. Happily, the brethren of the North and West did not entertain the infamous political maxim, "To the victors belong the spoils," and did not think of, much less attempt, the dragooning method of the Methodist Episcopal Church with their unfortunate brethren South. They, too, had suffered, and were intent upon recuperation, which had in it no element of aggression upon the East and South. Indeed, they repelled, as insulting to their Christian honor, the imputation, as will be presently seen. The Methodist Episcopal Church showed a loss of membership from 1860 to 1864 of over sixty-eight thousand, mostly along the border States. The Church South from 1860 to 1866 had a loss, not including colored, exceeding one hundred and thirteen thousand. The Reform Church, comparatively, seems to have been disorganized, and, in some of the States, was not represented in the regular ninth General Conference of 1866, and it made no attempt to tabulate statistics.

In the North and West coquetting was going on between the brethren and the Wesleyans in order to "strengthen the things that remain"; and in the East and South, the same process was carried on with the Church South with the same intent. The Baltimore official paper was sent South to the old subscribers as rapidly as mail facilities could be restored under the general government, and correspondence was resumed.

Obituary, in Western paper, of Rev. James L. Smith, Reformer, unstationed minister of Ohio Conference, July 8, 1863. Also Rev. Adam Shaner, Reformer and unstationed minister of Ohio Conference, March 16, 1864. Rev. W. W. Strickland, Reformer, member of New York and Vermont Conference, June 16, 1864. The North Missouri Conference was organized. See first page of Western paper, November, 1864.¹ William Wyman, early Reformer and representative to General Conferences from Boston Conference, November 16, 1864. His wife, Ruth, had made a large donation to the Church. In West Virginia and in Pennsylvania the relation of these Conferences was the subject of much discussion and change during and after the Civil War; but the local coloring is not sufficiently important for detailed account in these pages. Dr. George Brown, as a fraternal delegate to the Pittsburgh Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in March, 1860, in a colloquy with the Presiding Bishop Janes, himself of liberal views, though not authorized by his Conference, and he so stated, ventured to indicate terms of union between the two Churches, a single sentence giving the gist of it, "We will take your episcopacy if you will take our lay-delegation," under the reserved belief that the latter would modify the former. He had reason in after years to change his mind as to the feasibility of any such barter, and was probably moved to it by a sense of denominational loss incident to the division of his Church. The basic principles of the episcopate and the presbytery are utterly irreconcilable, and nothing but a hodgepodge

¹ The Minutes read: "Convention of the old Platte District on the 29th day of September, 1864, at Bradley schoolhouse in Mercer County, Mo. J. Leach was called to the chair, and J. S. Brownlee, Secretary. On motion of brother Williams the convention resolved itself into the Annual Conference of the North Missouri District, embracing all the state of Missouri lying north of the Missouri River. Rev. G. Williams was elected President. Mount Moriah, Wm. Yates; Lindley, L. D. Cooper; Maryville, James Smith; Breckenridge, H. B. Tell; Kerkville, J. Leach; Union, M. Crawford; Toakio, W. Emerson; Des Moines, J. S. Brownlee; Muscle Mills, J. H. Linder. Jacob Holloway in U. S. service. James McEwen, Home Missionary." No list of laymen. Gabriel Williams was a heroic worker in these days for Christ and Reform.

could come from an intermixture. This essential fact is often lost sight of by well-meaning brethren, and it may be taken as a postulate that any and all overtures of union, so called, should always come from the stronger to the weaker organization, and are never made out of this order without sensible depreciation of the latter; and when made in this order all history proves that there is such a measure of ecclesiastical finesse in the proposition as reduces it, in its last analysis, to one of simple absorption of the weaker by the stronger, — union by mutual concession and recognition is not intended. This History will give frequent illustrations of the fact that in nothing has the Methodist Protestant Church suffered such loss, not even the regrettable separation of 1858, as from such guileful suggestions from within or without, to or from, other American Methodisms. This argument will be further elaborated in later connections. In November, 1860, Dr. Brown was elected editor of the *Western Methodist Protestant* for the ensuing two years. He entered upon the duty, though past seventy years of age, and gave proof that his moral and intellectual force had not abated. He removed with this intent to Springfield, and found here a resting-place for the conclusion of his useful career; forty years an itinerant, then college president, then editor, and, finally, retired veteran of hard-fought battles for Christ and Reform.

At the close of the Civil War suggestions were made for the reconvoation of the adjourned General Conference, and, accordingly, pursuant to agreement, a call was issued by the President, Dr. Francis Waters, to meet in Georgetown, D. C., May 9, 1865, one year in advance of the regular period; and, therefore, though an "adjourned" Conference, it was regarded as only tentative, inasmuch as the Conferences out of Maryland could have no opportunity for electing representatives, or, if elected, in 1862, by any of them, — of which there is no information, — the absence of facilities of travel would make it impracticable for them to attend, not to name their utter poverty. At the hour and day appointed Dr. Waters, as President, called the representatives to order, and D. E. Reese resumed his position as Secretary. The following ministers and laymen were elected to the Conference of 1862.

MARYLAND

<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
Francis Waters	George Vickers
Thomas Sims	J. B. Mathews

MARYLAND (continued)

<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
Daniel E. Reese	Joseph Libby
J. W. Everest	J. B. Thomas ¹
Washington Roby ¹	Luther Martin ¹
J. K. Nichols	John Smith ¹
L. W. Bates	J. W. Richardson ¹
J. J. Murray	David Price ¹

ILLINOIS

Orestes Ames

WABASH

David Clark

B. F. Perry

Ames, Clark and Perry's credentials were so informal, however, that they were received as honorary members only. Adonijah Parrish was received as a messenger from the Des Moines Mission, Missouri. Cornelius Springer was also accorded an honorary membership from Muskingum.

The brief minutes were published in the official paper of even date. A committee of three was appointed, Dr. Waters, Chairman, to revise the Ritual and report to the next General Conference. The Conference, as a body, under the lead of its venerable President, visited the White House and made their respects to President Andrew Johnson, who expressed appreciation of the prayers and support of good men. On resumption of business Dr. Thomas Sims, the unstationed minister of the Maryland delegation, offered resolutions on "the relation of this Church to the government." He was, during the war, an intense "Union" man, and he embodied quite radical and semi-political sentiments in his paper. George Vickers, also a pronounced "Union" man during the war and commissioned as a general of volunteers, offered a substitute, which was more favorably received as "a better expression for a Church to give upon the subject." The substitute was adopted by a large majority. It recites, with approval, the 23d Article of Religion on allegiance, and also the 5th Article, declaring the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, and then the following deliverance, "The Methodist Protestant Church has never repealed these articles of religion, and has never entertained the purpose of doing so, or of denying any duty enjoined upon it by the Scriptures, we deem

¹ Absent. Roby and Thomas had deceased in the interim.

it unnecessary to make any further declaration of our principles; but, in view of the condition of the country at this time, and our duty at all times, exhort ministers and members of the Methodist Protestant Church, not only to submit to the powers that be, but most earnestly pray for those in authority, that they may be ministers of good, and that every and all our fellow-citizens may be able to live quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty." Rev. J. T. Murray, who had acted with Dr. Waters as an editorial committee the previous year of 1864, was elected editor of the *Methodist Protestant* by a formal vote. Montgomery, Ala., and Lynchburg, Va., were suggested as places for holding the next General Conference, as more central and less expensive to reach by a majority of delegates; but, on balloting, Georgetown, D. C., was again selected as the place. The Conference adjourned, with the benediction by the President.

The agitation in the Methodist Episcopal Church on lay-delegation at the close of the war was much revived, and the New England Conference voted, as a unit, in favor of it in the spring of 1865. As an exclusively clerical body it had much significance. The initiative movement between the Wesleyans and the Conferences West and North, looking to "union," gradually ripened, the former taking the lead, as apparently most anxious to consummate it. A consultation was held at Springfield, in 1864, with several of their number, and George Brown, A. H. Bassett, and others. In February, 1865, Rev. Cyrus Prindle, then Book Agent of the Wesleyans and a leading man, came to Springfield and preached on Sabbath in the church, decidedly advocating union. Partly as the result of this interview, a circular was prepared by Dr. Brown, with Prindle's concurrence, calling a Convention of Non-Episcopal Methodists, of the various branches, to meet at Cleveland, O., June 21, 1865. Meanwhile Rev. Dr. Hiram Mattison had withdrawn from the Methodist Episcopal Church and organized some independent churches. These, in September, 1864, had appointed a committee, of which he was principal, to confer with other Methodists for a like union. They finally coalesced with the Dr. Brown committee, and a joint call was made for a Convention, as stated. It was published in the *Western Methodist Protestant* and the *Wesleyan American*. It assembled, accordingly, Dr. John Scott, of the "Methodist" Church, President, and John McEldowney, of the Wesleyans, Secretary. Fifty-six delegates from the Conferences West and North were present; sixty-three of the Wesleyan branch; three

from Union Chapel, Cincinnati, which continued to maintain an autonomy of its own; two Free Methodists, and Dr. Mattison of the Independent churches. After mature deliberation, in which unanimity prevailed for union, Rev. Dr. L. C. Matlack prepared a paper to this effect, which was unanimously adopted, and recommended the call of a delegated Convention to be held in Union Chapel, Cincinnati, May 9, 1866, said Convention to be authorized to fix a basis of union, and the mode of its consummation.

The Wabash Conference was merged into the Indiana, now covering the whole State, in the autumn of 1865. The Virginia and the North Carolina Conferences published the minutes of their autumn sessions of 1865. Six months later the official paper contained the minutes of the Mississippi Conference, June 2, 1866. Obituary of Rev. George H. Ewell, early Reformer of Maryland, aged eighty-five years, December 30, 1865. Dr. Augustus Webster, pastor of St. John's Independent Methodist Protestant Church, Baltimore, was invited by the Maryland Conference to resume official connection, personally, with it, as an effort to heal the breach of the old "mission" controversy, already narrated. He accepted and, until his death, maintained close relations with it. Wesley Starr departed this life in much peace May 9, 1866. He was born in 1789, in Westmoreland County, Va. Converted in his seventeenth year, he united with the old Church, and was a zealous Christian. Being strongly American in his ideas of government, he was of the first to embrace the Reform principles in Baltimore, whither he had removed, in 1808, and where, in the mercantile business, he acquired wealth and influence. He was one of the twenty-two laymen Expelled in 1827 for his church Reform advocacy. A man of iron will and firm convictions, he differed from his more liberal brethren of St. John's as to Methodist usages, and the itinerancy in particular of the "two year" order; and led in the separation that resulted in the organization of the West Baltimore station, in 1843. His liberality abounded on all occasions. Failing to carry some of his favorite Methodist ideas, he removed from the West Baltimore station, and, during the Civil War, built, at his own expense and after his own model, the Starr Chapel, which, at its completion, he offered to any Methodist organization that would comply with the "old usage," conditions he made imperative and binding forever. Among these was a declaration against instrumental music of every and any kind; the seating of men and women apart; the lining of hymns, and



Western Maryland College, Westminster, Md. View from Railroad Road.



the absolute non-use of the church for everything of a social or festival nature having any price of admission. It was finally accepted by the Maryland Conference, and has had a career of prosperity, principally among railroad men, for whom he specially designed it by location, etc., though it has been greatly hampered by his restrictions in several particulars, showing the unwisdom of regulations, either by individuals or corporations, of an irrevocable kind for future generations, when conditions have changed. He expended on ground, church, and parsonage some \$40,000, and left an endowment of realty realizing about \$900 a year. It was his idea of a "child's portion" of his worldly possessions. He was often elected representative to the Annual and General Conferences. Positive to dogmatism, blunt in expression, yet courteous and genial, he was highly respected in all relations. His funeral was largely attended in the Starr Chapel, the sermon being preached by his old friend in Reform, Rev. Dr. Francis Waters, some twenty other ministers being present. His remains repose in the family lot of Greenmount cemetery.

"Union" was in the air among Methodists in this epoch. All of them had suffered losses from the ravages of the war, and seemed to be casting about to recoup themselves out of each other. The brethren of the Church South looked lovingly upon discouraged Reform ministers and people in the South. There were fraternal interchanges, and lay-delegation became more than usually popular with the officialism of that Church, with a sequel presently to be exposed. The non-Episcopal Methodists of the North and West would come together; yes, there were no differences among them to keep them apart, and they loved each other so dearly they could not keep from ecclesiastical wedlock. The Methodist Episcopal Church, finding the courtship going on, like a belated lover, made amends by overtures such as a rich suitor only could offer. They would embrace any and all Methodists, however naughty in the past, except the Church South, — these unrepenting rebels were simply overslaughed. Conferences were organized throughout the South out of disreputable elements, for the most part, thus ignoring all principles of ecclesiastical comity with their quondam brethren. In the mountain region of North Carolina there were a few Reform brethren who claimed to be "union" men during the war, and, as soon as communication could be established, fraternized with the brethren West and North as the "Deep River Conference"; and they were lovingly

encouraged. How all these overtures miscarried disastrously to the Methodist Protestants, in some sense already defined for the want of official honesty in the movers that insidious element of "ecclesiastical finesse," — shall be duly exhibited. Meantime, also, while the brethren West and North were so intent upon union with something else as to forget, seemingly, that their "suspension of official relations" with their Southern brethren "until the evil complained of should be removed," had now no longer a reason, yet a few were far-seeing enough to discern that such a reunion was, after all, the only rational thing to do in the emergency. Accordingly, friendly letters passing between Rev. Daniel W. Bates of Maryland and Rev. William Collier of Pittsburgh and others "popped the question" to each other; and out of it came fraternal messengers and preliminary negotiations, to be considered later.

The regular ninth General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church convened at Georgetown, D. C., Tuesday, May 1, 1866. W. H. Wills of North Carolina was elected President, and J. K. Nichols of Maryland, Secretary. The following is the roster of members, some of them, notably in Maryland, having been elected as alternates; and the Conference recognized the right of Annual Conference delegations to make changes from time to time in the sitting members of their own number, a practice which, in later assemblies, was disapproved, and the rule established that an alternate once admitted to a seat must retain it to the close of the Conference.

MARYLAND

Ministers

Francis Waters
 J. J. Murray
 L. W. Bates
 S. B. Southerland
 Luther J. Cox
 J. K. Nichols
 John Roberts
 J. T. Murray

Laymen

W. D. Massey
 J. B. Mathews
 Joseph Libbey
 Richard Thomas
 J. A. Kennedy
 T. A. Newman
 L. J. Cox, Jr.
 F. J. Bartlett

NORTH CAROLINA

W. H. Wills
 John Paris
 T. H. Pegram
 J. L. Michaux
 R. H. Wills

L. W. Batchelor
 G. J. Cherry
 S. V. Pickens
 D. M. Lee
 M. T. Whitaker

NORTH CAROLINA (continued)

<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
J. C. Deans	J. F. Harris
J. H. Page	D. B. Bell
A. W. Lineberry	W. D. Trotter

VIRGINIA

J. G. Whitfield	H. B. Woodhouse
W. McGee	C. W. Button
R. B. Thomson	Wm. Harding
M. J. Langhorne	J. F. Crocker

ALABAMA

F. L. B. Shaver	B. S. Bibb
S. K. Cox	P. T. Graves
D. B. Smedley	C. M. Howard
Luther L. Hill	Milton Jenkins
Isaac Spangler	C. E. Crenshaw

ILLINOIS

Orestes Ames

DES MOINES

John Sexsmith, messenger

Ames was not present, but sent his certificate of election; which was referred to the committee on "Conference Relations."

Rev. J. T. Murray, editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, was admitted to honorary membership in the body. Of fifteen Conferences recognized by the General Conference of 1854, in the slaveholding states, only four were represented in the ninth. Some had not yet been able to reorganize, and in others poverty and lack of railroad communication debarred attendance. It was determined that the Conference was not invested with conventional powers. The regular Standing Committees were appointed by the President. Montgomery, Ala., was selected unanimously as the place for the ensuing General Conference. The rule on missions was altered so as to allow the change of a station or circuit into a "mission," if it need missionary money to assist it. Sundry other minor changes were made (see amended Discipline). The Conference, under the lead of its President, waited upon the President of the United States. Under head of "Advice to Ministers," Discipline, p. 59, it was ordered inserted, "that the bearing of arms in military service by ministers of the Methodist

Protestant Church is inconsistent with their professional calling, and the nature and intent of their ordination vows." On Conference relations, J. J. Murray presented a paper rehearsing the action of the Conferences West and North in the several Conventions held by them since 1858, the gist of the paper being, "It is evident that the Conferences which have adopted said Constitution and Discipline, having voluntarily separated themselves from this Conference, have no right to representation therein." It was passed, with the addition of the following resolution: "That while the General Conference cannot approve the course pursued by certain Conferences in the North and West, in separating themselves from us, and while we disavow all responsibility for anything done by said Conferences, individually or in Convention, we also disclaim any unkind feeling for those who have gone from us, and will most cordially receive any Conference that shall hereafter evince a desire of reunion by conformity to the Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church." Separate efforts by Dr. Francis Waters and by L. W. Batchelor to send fraternal messengers to the Convention of non-Episcopal Methodists, announced for May, 1866, in Cincinnati, failed by being laid on the table.

A document was received on the eighth day of the session from Bishop M'Tyeire of the General Conference of the Church South, now in session at New Orleans, conveying the information that it had adopted a scheme on "Lay-Representation by a two-thirds vote," and as "several prominent brethren of the Methodist Protestant Church had suggested," in view of such action, that "a commission be appointed to confer with a similar one from your Conference on the subject of union between the two Churches and with powers to conclude the terms of union, if it can be agreed upon." The Commission named was: Bishops Pierce and M'Tyeire, Dr. L. M. Lee, Dr. Deems, Revs. Messrs. Evans, Head, and Register. It seems that the Alabama and the Mississippi Conferences of the Church, at their previous sessions, had passed such resolutions of invitation; thus taking an initiative which, in its consummation, finally disregarded the theory of Mutual Rights and General Conference authority. The Bishop's letter is coaxing and fraternal. Rev. Dr. Charles F. Deems came hurriedly to Georgetown so as to anticipate the adjournment of the Conference as one of the Commissioners and a fraternal delegate, and was most cordially received. His address was animated and stirring, and the gist of it in one sentence, "Brethren, you

have converted us!” After analysis revealed that the Lay-Representation introduced was a Lay-Delegation of an equal number of laymen in the General Conference and four for each elder’s district in the Annual Conferences, the mode of their election still keeping it within the power of the ministry to influence and control it in the minor official bodies. It was, however, such a long stride in advance, that it was received almost with acclamations by the brethren, particularly those who were diligently manœuvring for a union on any terms that would save them from the poverty of the new situation.

J. G. Whitfield, from a committee on Dr. Deems’s fraternal relation, reported flattering resolutions and “gratification at a movement designed and adapted to promote increasing brotherly love between the members of our own and our sister denomination.” Dr. R. B. Thomson and Rev. F. L. B. Shaver were appointed Fraternal Messengers to their next General Conference. It was resolved “that the condition and necessities of the Methodist Protestant Church are such, we believe, that a General Convention is required for the promotion of its interests,” and the Annual Conferences are recommended to consider it and elect delegates to such a Convention, to meet in Montgomery, Ala., first Tuesday in May, 1867, provided certain articles and sections of the Constitution be excepted from change. It was adopted after much discussion; and it may be noted that the excepted parts do not include Article XII., on suffrage and eligibility to office involving the word “white.” The special committee on Bishop M’Tyeire’s communication reported at length, reviewing and affirming, “In the opinion of your committee, this General Conference has not authority to act in the premises, this power being alone with the people; but the commission they appointed are recommended and invited to confer with the Convention to be called for Montgomery in 1867, or, in default, the General Conference of the Church in May, 1870, by which time their Annual Conferences would have decided to accept or reject the ‘Lay-Representation’ plan adopted at New Orleans,” etc. The minutes were then read and approved, and the Conference adjourned, after singing the 569th hymn, and prayer by Dr. Waters, having been in session nine days.

The Convention of Conferences on the Book Concern and Periodical met May 5, J. G. Whitfield called to the chair, and J. L. Michaux, Secretary. The report of the Book Directory was submitted by the editor, J. T. Murray. It was adopted, but does

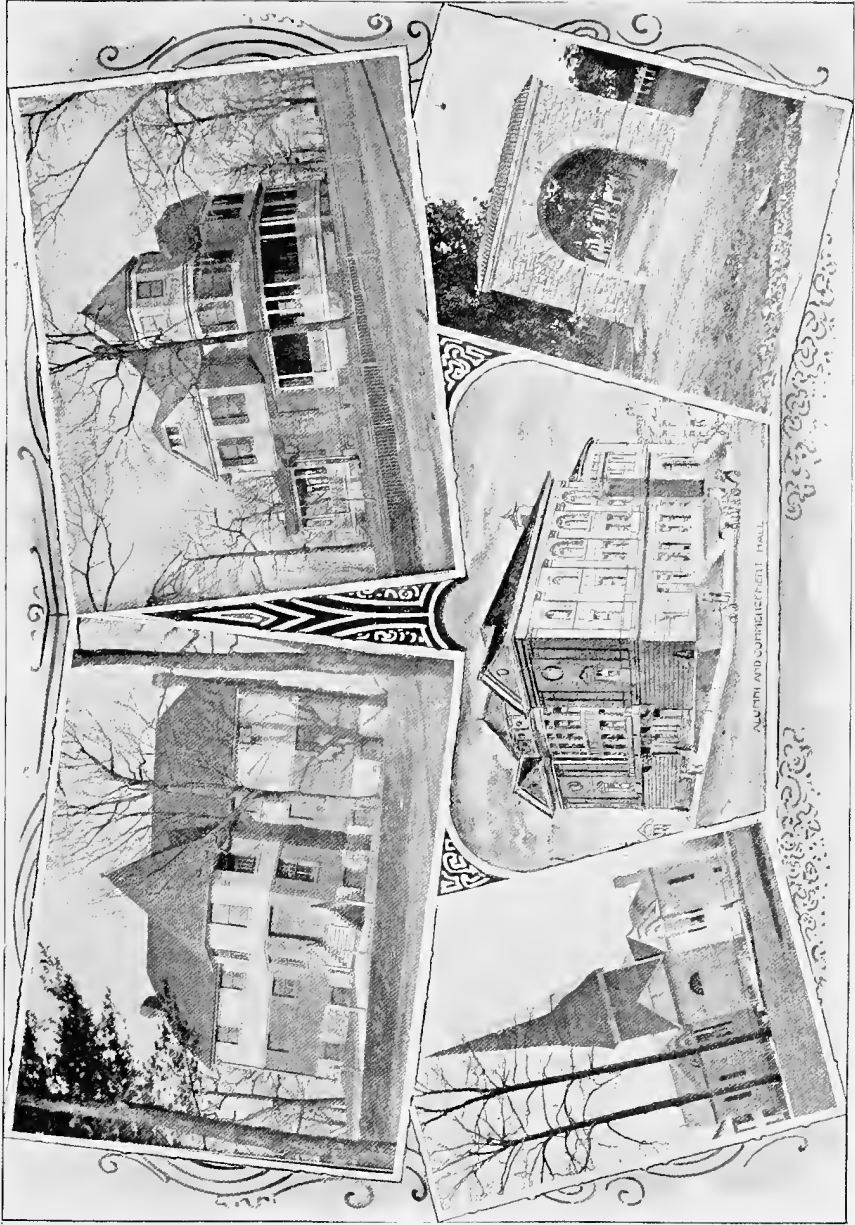
not appear in the minutes or in the church paper. J. T. Murray was reëlected editor by twenty-two out of twenty-five votes cast. Thomas W. Ewing was elected agent. Complimentary resolutions were passed on the brethren who had acted as editors, and one expressing the loss of the Church at the "sad and untimely end" of Rev. E. Yeates Reese. The Convention adjourned.

An informal meeting of the members of the General Conference was held, during its session, in the Alexandria church, Virginia, which was addressed by brethren from the South reciting the calamities of the war, the sufferings and deprivations of the people, and the destruction of church property, especially in Virginia, both the Federal and the Confederate armies often traversing the section where Reform people were principally located. The narrations often brought the large congregation to tears. In after years reclamation was made for some of this property, and successfully, as at Harper's Ferry, Va., and many other cases are still before the Court of Claims, never to be adjudicated, in all probability, allowance being made only when the property had been utilized for army purposes.

A Convention was called of New England ministers and laymen, in equal proportion, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which met in Boston, June 5, 1866. It was announced that no debatable questions would be introduced, but papers read and addresses made on general subjects. It was a unique assembly, 566 ministers responding and 599 laymen, making a Convention of 1165, not to name the spectators. It was an object-lesson in Lay-Representation, though that subject was not discussed, and did much to further it indirectly, the ministers discovering that laymen of their Church were not stolid dummies who could neither think nor speak. They actually shared the honors with the preachers, and parried with them in such a way that they were looked upon with surprised admiration by their "godly pastors."

Fayette R. Buell, an educator of Westminster, Md., projected a college for both sexes, under the auspices of the Maryland Annual Conference. A site was selected, commanding a prospect for miles, and the corner-stone was laid with appropriate ceremonies, Rev. Messrs. R. S. Norris, J. T. Ward, E. J. Drinkhouse, Daniel Bowers, and others making addresses or participating, September 6, 1866. It was the nucleus of Western Maryland College.

The Methodist Episcopal Church having determined to cele-



WESTERN MARYLAND COLLEGE BUILDINGS.
 Top to the left, PRESIDENT'S HOUSE; top to the right, GYMNASIUM; bottom to the right, WARD MEMORIAL ARCH;
 centre, ALUMNI HALL; bottom to the left, CHAPEL.



MAIN BUILDING OF WESTERN MARYLAND COLLEGE.

Location, Westminster, Md.

Estimated value of Main Building and six others, with the grounds attached, \$200,000.

brate their centenary, quadrating the event with the preaching of Embury in New York, in 1766, vast preparations were made to insure it as a financial success in contributions to various benevolences of the Church. It was carried out, and over \$8,000,000 subscribed, a large portion of which was afterward expended in the Freedmen's Bureau and in missionary efforts to establish the Methodist Episcopal Church throughout the Southern territory. Reform people in Maryland became infected with the centenary idea, the invitation from the old Church to participate covering all the Methodisms, coupled with an open door, to return to her bosom if disposed, and the Annual Conference appointed a committee to carry out the plan. It worked diligently and wisely, a certificate embellished with the Conference group being printed and a medal struck for Sunday-school use, bearing on the obverse a profile of John Wesley and the reverse appropriately inscribed.¹ Efforts were made to secure subscriptions, but the project did not succeed largely, except at West Baltimore station, John Coates subscribing and paying \$1000 to the Conference superannuated society, and other brethren making liberal additions for sundry objects, notably at Georgetown, D. C. The distress in the South had called for the practical sympathy of the people, and there were no rich men to boost the enterprise.² The brethren North and West did not enter into it, the Non-Episcopal Convention absorbing all their attention. It is time to consider it.

¹ Several hundred of these medals, in perfect condition, are in possession of the writer, waiting for some suggested use, which has not come in nearly thirty years. They will never, perhaps, be anything but souvenirs.

² The total cash receipts, as reported by the committee to the Maryland Conference in 1868, was \$7194.93. Expenses, \$1320.66. It was distributed: To the debt of Lexington Street church, \$4530.92; to the relief of Broadway, \$642.77; to Delaware Mission, \$130.00; Potomac Mission, \$86.37; balance in hand, \$483.65. In the light of future events all this aggregate sum was lost practically, except that to Broadway church, which is still in possession.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Non-Episcopal Methodist Convention of May, 1866 — Synopsis of its proceedings; difficulties of coalescence; extreme views; final adjustment — General Conferences at Cleveland and Allegheny respectively to adopt the conditions; meanwhile Constitution and Discipline to be formulated — Proceedings of the Allegheny Conference; roster of members; dissentients in North Carolina recognized; steps taken to recognize the doings of the Cincinnati Convention of Non-Episcopals; latitudinarian drift, as to the appointments of preachers, in the General Conference — A number of the prominent Wesleyans fall away from the compact; betray their friends and return to the M. E. Church; default of the Union movement; carrying with it disaffection in the North and West to the new Church, baptized as "The Methodist Church" — Decease of Rev. Dr. Holcombe with sketch — Union with the M. E. Church, South proposed — More "Union" schemes.

THE "Minutes of the Non-Episcopal Methodist Convention, held in Cincinnati, O., May 9-16, 1866," now before the writer, occupy fifty-six closely printed octavo pages. Only a digest can be given in this work, specially as its relation to the Methodist Protestants of either section is but incidental. "The Representatives and Delegates" assembled at Union chapel, Rev. Zachariah Ragan being called to the chair, and Rev. John McEldowney, Secretary. The roll of the Convention showed: Methodist Protestants: West Virginia, twenty, thirteen absent; Pittsburgh, sixteen, two absent; Muskingum, twenty-one; Ohio, eighteen; Boston, two, one absent; New York, six, three absent; New Jersey, four, two absent; Onondaga, four; Genesee, four; Pennsylvania, two, one absent; Indiana, four; Michigan, five, two absent; West Michigan, four; Wabash, three; North Illinois, four; Illinois, four; South Illinois, four, two absent; Iowa, two; North Iowa, four, two absent; Missouri, two; North Missouri, two, one absent; Nebraska, two, one absent; Oregon, one, one absent. Wesleyan Methodist Conuexion: New York, one; Rochester, three, two absent; Syracuse, two; Allegheny, six, four absent; Central Ohio, six; Michigan, seven, two absent; Indiana, five, one absent; Miami, four; Iowa, four, one absent. Independent Churches: Union chapel, Cincinnati, two; Union chapel,

Livonia, Mich., one; Sumpter, Mich., one. Quite a list of honorary members was submitted, and their names entered, most of them men eminent in their denominations, and the roll was increased from day to day, until the assembly was promiscuous, with one intent, however, in the outward seeming at least—Union.

It became evident that there were not a few Church politicians, and State politicians among them, and some who finally illustrated the Saviour's declaration, "Wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together." The Methodist Protestants were in the numerical majority, and gave evidence that they were for fair play and an honest count. The committee on Permanent Organization reported for: President, Rev. S. A. Baker of the Wesleyans; for Vice-Presidents, Dr. John Scott and P. T. Laishley of the Methodist Protestants, Dr. Luther Lee and Cyrus Prindle of the Wesleyans, and Rev. C. Moore of the Independents; for Secretaries, Rev. J. McEldowney, Wesleyan, and Rev. G. B. McElroy, Protestant. The Champlain Conference, which had gone in a body to the Wesleyans on account of the slavery matter, now addressed this Convention, in lieu of a delegation, distance the excuse, and set forth their views favoring this Union on certain conditions; to wit, "absolute local church independency, as opposed to a central judicial power in the body," and "secret oath-bound societies." These two conditions, the sequel will show, were the rock on which the whole project was wrecked. Another large batch of brethren were accorded honorary seats, and all this class were allowed votes on some of the fundamental enactments of the Convention. The committee on Basis of Union was: George Brown, Luther Lee, C. Moore, Cyrus Prindle, J. S. Thrap, D. B. Dorsey, H. B. Knight, S. B. Smith, R. Rose, G. W. Bainum, John Burns, S. M. Short, G. G. Westfall, Messrs. E. R. Hall, A. M. Searles, A. Backus, J. W. Bush, E. Starbuck, H. Cassell, M. Thompson, George Johnson, W. W. McCaslin, G. Hendricks, and John Redman.

The Convention proceeded to work at once, and on the second day the committee offered Elementary Principles for adoption. They are those of the Methodist Protestant Church reduced from eleven to ten by a little ingenious garbling, omission, and addition. It must have been thought an improvement even by those who knew them in their original shape, for they were unanimously adopted by a standing vote, honorary members and all. Then came in order the committee's report on "a Constitution." It

is a patchwork of the two Methodist bodies represented. Two names, as a Church style and title, were earnestly pressed: "United Methodist" by the Wesleyans, and "Methodist" by the Protestants, the latter finally being carried by a vote of 107 to 24. A daily United Methodist paper was published during the proceedings. A motion to vote by denominations on the final adoption of the Basis of Union was rejected. A paper on the existing civil condition of the country, with advice to Congress and exhortation to President Johnson, couched in denunciatory adjectives of all who entertained any other views than those of the author of the paper, was offered and pressed, and delayed by the more conservative element of the Convention. Every few days some member offered a resolution reflecting his political views. These iterations at last provoked that loyal and Christian man, Rev. Alexander Clark, to offer a paper offsetting these resolves, the gist of it being, "It has not been thought by the members of this Convention to be legitimate business to introduce questions that belong exclusively to individual conscience or national politics." Reported favorably by a committee, it was, however, substituted after a long and warm debate by a semi-political manifesto on a yea and nay vote of eighty-one to four. There was much excuse for extreme views. It takes a community flushed with the victory of their moral and political sentiments over a prostrate foe a long time to recover its Christian reason. A year before, just as the Civil War closed, the brethren of the New York Conference made a deliverance concluding with these words, "that expediency, constitutional law, justice, and the Bible, all unite in demanding that at least some of the principal leaders of the rebellion be punished with death."

The "secret oath-bound society" question gave much trouble and was handled cautiously. It was declined to make such a test a part of the corporate law of the new Church, while sentimentally acknowledging that it had much force. Out of it came a singular action in its final disposition, the Convention taking precisely the position of the Methodist Protestant Church on the subject of slavery prior to the war: "Whereas this Convention has left all moral questions with the local churches, recognizing their right to determine their own tests of membership," etc. The sequel will show that this did not satisfy the Wesleyans, any more than the same position satisfied the West and North under the agitation against slavery as a moral question. Rev. L. C. Matlack, one of the original Wesleyans, was an honorary member,

and gave intimation from time to time that with three or four other prominent ministers of the old Church he was present to watch the course of events and to give, if possible, a trend to the Convention that would commit it to general Methodist Union, as proposed by the last General Conference of the M. E. Church. Rev. Dr. Luther Lee, another original member of the Wesleyans, was a delegate, but seems to have taken no prominent part; he watched and waited, but was so outwardly friendly to this movement that no one suspected that he had ulterior purposes, with a number of others. The Constitution was matured and passed, and a committee appointed to prepare a Discipline to harmonize with it, to report to a "General Conference" of the new Church, third Wednesday in May, 1867, at Cleveland, O., while the "Methodist Protestant Church" was to meet in a "General Conference" six months earlier, or on the 12th of November, 1866, at Allegheny City, Pa. Meanwhile the work done was to be submitted to the respective Annual Conferences of both the contracting parties for adoption or rejection. The "Primitive" and the "Free" Methodists¹ were invited to participate in the ensuing General Conference with the same ratio of representation, one of each class in every thousand. No "Union" on paper was ever more predetermined, and the Convention adjourned in a gale of enthusiasm, not, however, before brother S. Rodman, a warm-hearted layman from the Illinois Conference, had moved, and it was "Resolved that the bodies herein represented consider the Union complete now and forever, amen!" nor before "Dr. Lee had tendered his resignation as a member of the committee to prepare an Address to the Churches—not accepted." On a

¹ The Methodist Centennial Year Book of 1884 makes no mention of either of these minor bodies in America, though very elaborate in its statements of all others. The Primitives are a small organization in New York and the Eastern states, still adhering to the mother Primitives of England. They number probably less than 5,000, and with a liberal form of polity overtures have been suggested with the Methodist Protestant Church at different times. The Free Methodists are largely confined to Western New York, with scattered small conferences West and farther South. Their organization dates from 1860, owing to some alleged arbitrary ruling of Bishop Simpson. They are "old time" Methodist as to dress, wearing of gold, and are in absolute opposition to all secret societies, as are the Wesleyans. They number, perhaps, 30,000. Later, November, 1897, this foot-note needs correction, as follows:—

FALL RIVER, MASS., September 21.—The General Conference of the Primitive Methodist Church, which is meeting here, has chosen Rev. John Mason, of Providence, R. I., general secretary; Rev. H. G. Russell, Rev. Geo. Lee, Aaron Rowell, and others, executive committee. The statistical report shows 73 ministers, 90 churches, 6,122 members, and church property valued at \$426,756. The next Conference, in 1901, will be held at Scranton, Pa.

motion to adjourn, the President, S. A. Baker, made a congratulatory address, and after singing two verses of the hymn:—

“And let our bodies part,
To different climes repair,”

and prayer by Dr. George Brown, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

Dr. Lee, June 6, 1866, wrote to the *Western Methodist Protestant* an approval of its action and his purpose to work “with heart and will to finish up the Union,” etc. The *True Wesleyan*, however, spoke cautiously of it. The committee to formulate a Discipline met at Springfield, O., in July, 1866, Dr. Luther Lee, G. W. Bainum, and G. B. Smith, of Wesleyans, and George Brown, John Scott, and J. S. Thrap of Methodist Protestants, being present. A draft was made and published in the Western paper, principally the work of Dr. Luther Lee, who was domiciled for the time with Dr. John Scott, and he gave no sign of disloyalty to the Methodist Union it proposed. The sequel of the Wesleyan disaffection toward the Union shall be considered later. It was evident to not a few in the North and West that these proceedings foreshadowed a total and final separation of the brethren from the East and South in a new denomination. Union chapel, Cincinnati, where the Convention was held, demurred, which led to the resignation of the pastor, Rev. Alexander Clark, who was committed to the new order of things. Dissenters elsewhere found themselves in a helpless minority. There was much discussion and difference of opinion anent this reconstruction in the Western paper as to its legal and logical effects. The editor, Dr. John Scott, reviewing the question in October, 1866, a month before the “General Conference” of the brethren was held in Allegheny City, Pa., made admissions which were regarded in the East and South as logically fatal to their claim as “The Methodist Protestant Church” in the event of the Non-Episcopal Union. (See Baltimore paper, November 3, 1866.)

“Proceedings of the Ninth General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, held in Allegheny City, Pa., November 14–22, 1866.” This is the title-page of its printed proceedings, sixty-four pages. The salient matters are as follows: Dr. John Scott was called to the chair, and J. H. Hamilton and T. B. Graham, Secretaries. A list of representatives showed these brethren present:—

	ONONDAGA	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
N. R. Swift		George White
	GENESEE	
E. A. Wheat		Nicholas Hiller
	MUSKINGUM	
J. S. Thrap		H. E. H. Hartsock
J. W. Southard		J. Manley
J. L. Scott		Thomas Chambers
William Hastings		Francis Scott
W. H. Marshall		Daniel Chandler
Joseph H. Hamilton		
	PITTSBURGH	
John Scott		R. H. Marshall
John Cowl		William Rinehart
George Brown		John Redman
Valentine Lucas		William Miller
William Reeves		John Sargent
	OHIO	
T. B. Graham		T. Douglass
Jonathan M. Flood		William Gunckel
Reuben Rose		G. W. Kent
M. B. V. Euans		
A. H. Bassett		
J. J. White		
	NEW JERSEY	
E. D. Stultz		
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
Tobias Finkbine		
P. J. Strong		
	MISSOURI	
O. P. Carlton		W. F. Hughes
	NEW YORK	
		A. Seaman
	INDIANA	
Samuel Morrison		
	MICHIGAN	
John Kost		

WESTERN MICHIGAN

*Ministers**Laymen*

O. F. Howland

NORTH IOWA

George M. Scott

Letters from the following representatives-elect were read: Daniel Wait of Wisconsin, W. W. Tipton of Nebraska, and G. Williams of North Missouri.

Permanent officers were elected: John Scott, President, and J. J. White and E. R. Wheat, Secretaries. A committee on Non-Episcopal Union of this country was appointed: George Brown, R. Rose, W. Hastings, J. Sargent, G. M. Scott. The regular standing committees were appointed by the chair. Rev. J. B. Walker, Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Missions, made "a report of a self-constituted Board having for its object the education of young men preparing for the ministry of the Methodist Protestant Church." Report of "The Commissioners to visit Adrian College" was offered. A. H. Bassett made a statement outlining his career as Publishing Agent from 1855 to 1864, vindicatory of his official conduct. Board of Ministerial Education was formed, and a Constitution submitted. The committee on the Sixth Street church of Cincinnati, and the action of the Pittsburgh Conference in recognizing it without concurrence of the Ohio Conference, reported it "irregular," but softly passed it over. The Board of Missions reported \$10,513.71 had been collected during the quadrennium and disbursed. A new Board was elected: Euans, Bassett, Snowden, Gunckel, Evans, Johnson, and located at Springfield, and Rules and Regulations for its guidance formulated.

The following trustees of the Endowment Fund of Adrian College were named: J. S. Thrap, J. Fordyce, Z. Ragan, T. A. Reed, J. J. Gillespie, R. H. Marshall, J. Redman, J. Whetstone, G. Brown, N. R. Swift, R. Rose, T. J. Finch, J. B. Walker, J. J. White, W. Gunckel, J. M. Flood, A. H. Bassett, J. J. Smith, J. M. Mayall, J. Kost, James Ross, H. Stackhouse, A. Mahan, E. D. Stultz. The Constitution and Discipline adopted at the Cincinnati Convention was presented by Dr. Brown, and the points made that twenty of twenty-four Annual Conferences had indorsed the Union of the Non-Episcopal Convention, one made no report, and the other three yet to act. It was also found that



J. S. THRAP.

"twenty-four conferences have clothed their representatives to this body with full conventional power and authority to so change the Constitution of the Methodist Protestant Church as to enable our denomination in an orderly way, through this Conference, to place itself under the ecclesiastical economy agreed upon at the Cincinnati Convention." The new Constitution and Discipline were passed by items, and then "adopted as a whole." New Conference boundaries were set, and the petition from "Jamestown, N. C.," for recognition, on the complaint that they were "isolated by rebellion and oppression," was favorably entertained and resolves made of sympathy and "prayer to God for their protection from tyranny and oppression"; therefore they are set off as a district, to be known as the "North Carolina District of the Methodist Church;" and that the Conference be requested to send representatives to the ensuing General Conference at Cleveland. "We also recommend that all territory of the United States not embraced in this report be considered 'missionary ground,' to be occupied and assisted." The brethren, however, did not practically attempt to carry out this resolve for reasons other than those prompting the Methodist Episcopal Church in its raid upon Southern territory. The war had ended eighteen months before, and in after years they discovered that they had been deceived by these malcontents as to their numbers, character, and influence, so that in the Union Convention of 1877 they sent no representatives, and, refusing to coalesce with the Methodist Protestant Conference of North Carolina, were left in a few years to find other associations befitting their political status.

The publishing interests were formally placed under the "General Conference," and an "investigating committee" appointed to consider its affairs, and a suggestion of a removal of the location from Springfield to some other more eligible situation. But slight changes were made in the Ritual as found in the Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church. Dr. John Scott was reelected editor. J. S. Thrap having declined a re-nomination from the Board of Publication for the position of Agent, on the fifth ballot A. H. Bassett was elected by a majority of one vote. The name of the Church paper was changed to the *Methodist Recorder* and of the Sunday-school paper to *Sabbath-School Methodist*. A. H. Bassett reported statistics as follows: itinerants, 618; unstationed ministers and preachers, 474; members, 43,164; churches, 525; parsonages, 110; value of church property, \$961,350. Reuben Rose was elected Corresponding

Secretary to the Board of Missions, and J. B. Walker, Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Ministerial Education. Dr. Brown was requested to prepare a "History of the Methodist Protestant Church." The title "Methodist Protestant" was ordered stricken out of "our book of Discipline" wherever it occurs, and the new name "Methodist" substituted in "all our chartered institutions." The report on Church Union recommended that "the Constitution of the Methodist Protestant Church, in all its obstructing parts, be and the same is hereby so changed, repealed, and set aside, by action of this General Convention, having full conventional powers to do this act, as to enable the said Church to adopt the Constitution and Discipline agreed upon at the Cincinnati Convention in May, 1866." Also "that throughout this whole Union movement, we have acted in good faith toward all parties concerned, and in the fear of God; and now in the final consummation in humble faith and prayer we ask the divine blessing on all that we have done." George Brown, chairman.

The Convention resolved itself again into the "General Conference," and finally adjourned with an address from Dr. Brown. John Scott, President; J. J. White and E. A. Wheat, Secretaries. Appended to the minutes is a full text of the new Constitution and Discipline, prefaced with a new historical statement, which rehearses in brief the history of English and American Methodism, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Protestant Church, the Wesleyan Connexion, and the Methodist Church. The Articles of Religion are amended by the addition of three: on Relative Duties, the Resurrection of the Body, and of the General Judgment. Among the constitutional provisions is the following: "All ministers and licentiates who are laboring under the direction of the Conference shall be at liberty to enter into negotiations to serve any pastoral charge for one year from the next session of the Conference; and it shall be the duty of all ministers and licentiates and churches having entered into such arrangements to report the same to the Conference at its next session." This, coupled with the restriction, "or which shall prevent the maintenance of an itinerant ministry," seem to give the law of the new Church to be that of annual appointments, but with no restriction as to time and no control of appointments by the Conferences themselves, if otherwise provided for by negotiation. The latitudinarian drift of this regulation wrought much connectional damage, and though it has not been

the law of the reunited Church since 1877, in the West and North, it is still constructively observed as of effect, but a growing reaction promises to arrest the congregational trend. On the whole reconstruction, Dr. Scott, who took so active a part in it, says in his last book, "Fifty Years": "By this action the name of the Church was changed from Methodist Protestant to the Methodist Church. But this change was made by a body clothed with conventional powers, and having authority according to our own law to do so, and was perfectly legal. In the exercise of the powers with which we were clothed, we so changed our own Constitution and Discipline as to make them harmonize with the Constitution and Discipline provided by the Union Convention, and so our part toward the Union of the various bodies therein represented was accomplished, and still we were perfectly intact as a denomination, our organization being complete."

Meantime not a few of the leaders in this Non-Episcopal Methodist Union were quietly making arrangements to return to the Methodist Episcopal Church. "Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon!" Let Dr. Scott again express his disappointment. "It soon became evident that the Union, if anything, would be far from what had been hoped. Many of the Wesleyan leaders proved unfaithful, not only to other churches which were parties to the union, but to their own church, and the great body of the Wesleyans backed out of the union altogether. I had been in correspondence with Dr. Luther Lee until within a week of our General Conference, and he still professed great devotion to the union movement, and expressed his purpose to be at our Conference, if he could make the necessary financial arrangements to do so. He did not come, however, and before our Conference was over, I heard that he had returned to the Methodist Episcopal Church. I was never more shocked in my life. I could not understand it. I have no hard things to say about Dr. Lee. I had esteemed him very highly, but he disappointed me sorely. I had one or two of his books, but I could not consult them with satisfaction, and I gave them away. I never met him afterward, or had any communication with him. Dr. Cyrus Prindle, Dr. L. C. Matlack, Dr. H. Mattison, Rev. S. B. Smith, and others, leaders in the union movement, and who had uttered the severest things against the Methodist Episcopal Church, all went back to that Church. Most of them are dead and I hope are in heaven, but they went by a way I would not choose."

While the brethren were cementing the Union hard and fast at Allegheny, the Michigan Conference of the Wesleyans, their strongest and most influential, was having a three days' discussion over it, and it was rejected by a vote of thirty-five to twenty-nine. The minority withdrew from the Conference in the heat of the decision, so that disunion among themselves was the fruit in this and other instances. They discovered that they would be in the minority in the new Church, and officialism, that bane of all honest attempts of the membership for union, could not brook the probable loss of occupation, and "ecclesiastical finesse" did the rest. In the Western Virginia Conference a division arose so serious that it was determined as the only solution that the societies and the preachers should make choice whether they would be Methodist Protestants or "Methodists," and fully one-half came back to the Methodist Protestant Church. They reasoned that it was more than they could understand how Methodist Protestant Conferences could "separate" from each other, and then resolve that the separating section was the original Church, and then resolve again, by conventional action among themselves, that they would enact a new Constitution and Discipline, and rename themselves "The Methodist Church," and still legally and logically remain the Methodist Protestant Church. It was too much for the brethren, and they vaulted back on the right side of the fence. About the same thing occurred in the Pennsylvania Conference. In Illinois a respectable body adhered to the East and South on the same theory, known as the South Illinois Conference, and also in Missouri about Des Moines. Individual congregations, like that of Union chapel, Cincinnati, did likewise; all was not serene.

The Baltimore official paper, under the editorship of J. T. Murray, from the General Conference of May, 1866, to March, 1867, was ably conducted; but the impoverished South was slow in responding to its support, so that it was found that the Book Concern had incurred a net loss of near \$1000 for the current year, which made it a necessity in the judgment of the Directory that recourse should be had again to the uncompensated editorial service of the city ministers as a committee. The change was made, and for the ensuing year the paper was conducted by Dr. S. B. Southerland, E. J. Drinkhouse, and Daniel Bowers.

Rev. W. J. Holcombe, M.D., departed this life February 21, 1867. He was born March 1, 1798, in Amelia County, Va., was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, removed to

Lynchburg, Va., where he successfully practised for many years. Converted in 1822, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was soon licensed to preach, joining with his extensive practice regular Sabbath preaching, with great popularity in both callings. He was refused ordination because a Reformer and a patron of the *Mutual Rights*, and was among the Expelled at Lynchburg in 1828. He was one of the founders of the Virginia Conference of the new Church. He was a man of large culture and literary gifts, and was by the *Richmond Medical Journal* rated at the head of his profession. Like Judge Hopper of Maryland, he was an emancipationist, freeing his slaves; and subsequently coming into the possession of about one hundred more through a relative, he removed in 1840 to Indiana, that within a free State he might carry out the provision of the will which declared their freedom unless he continued to reside in a slave State. He returned to Amelia, Va., in 1855, where he remained until his death. Like Judge Hopper also, he raised no issue with his slaveholding Christian neighbors, and preferred to spend his closing days in their society. He issued late in life an octavo volume of his poems, but the venture was a financial disaster. He expired suddenly of heart disease. The funeral was preached in the Lynchburg church by Rev. Dr. R. B. Thomson, and his remains deposited in the Presbyterian cemetery.

The call for a Convention to meet at Montgomery, Ala., in May, 1867, provoked a wide difference of opinion throughout the East and South, but it was favored in Maryland, Virginia, Alabama, and Mississippi, the strongest conferences. North Carolina held aloof, and some of the smaller conferences, but they all elected representatives in the contingency of its assembling. South of the Potomac the membership was poverty-stricken, large sections of the country desolated, church property destroyed, and a pall of gloom spread over a disintegrated organization. Largely the same condition of things obtained in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, but with desperate energy they set to repairing their waste places, and, as found, popularized their Church government with a lay-delegation, for some time favored by many of their leading preachers, and now stimulated by the resolves of Protestant Conferences under a combination of brethren who kept themselves in correspondence with the bishops, for a Union on its introduction as a compromise of differences. The commissioners the General Conference of the Church South had appointed in May, 1866, were active in furthering the scheme.

Thirty-odd thousands of Methodist Protestants would help to recoup their losses and give them a united front for Methodist evangelization in the South. Hence individual offers from ministers, and even from Conferences, were discouraged; they said they did not wish to disintegrate, but have Union as a Church.

It must be confessed that a man clothed and well fed cannot appreciate the appeal any prospect for material betterment made to these bare and hungry preachers. A number of leaders in Virginia came to Baltimore and proposed as a last resort that Maryland should man some of their fields with her single men and receive as many as possible of their married men in the emergency. It was not entertained, not being thought practicable, because Maryland, while approving the call for a Convention, more for the power it would give over certain portions of the Constitution than any serious idea of Union with the Church South, as a border state Conference had not seceded, and composed largely of "Union" preachers so called, all of them conservative, it was a menace to its confessional integrity, and the proposal was clearly a sectional one. The formation of the "Methodist" Church out of the Non-Episcopal Union Convention seemed to cut off all hope of a future restored continental Methodist Protestantism. It was a perplexing situation for the largest and strongest of the Conferences, but for these very reasons covetous eyes were turned upon it from every direction. The Methodist Episcopal Church had appointed commissioners to treat with any Methodists who would like to be taken in, housed, and fed. It will be seen that a delegation came to the Maryland Conference making loving tenders. In fine, "Union," as the several parties understood it, filled the very air. Thoughtful and loyal men to the principles and the memories of good men who had suffered for them heard these dulcet notes with suspicion. The sequel will show that the result of all this "ecclesiastical finesse" was to make farther disunion in the East and South, as "Union" had done for the North and West. These were the circumstances in which the Montgomery Convention assembled.

CHAPTER XXIX

The Montgomery, Ala., Convention of May, 1867; roster of members; J. J. Murray, President; C. W. Button and F. H. M. Henderson, Secretaries—The Commissioners of the M. E. Church, South, were introduced, and a committee to confer with them appointed; minor changes in Discipline proposed; provision for colored conferences—The overshadowing business was the proposal of the Church South for Union; the more it was canvassed the less the brethren understood the terms as interpreted by Bishops Pierce and M^rTyeire, Revs. Bros. Lee and Evans; the Conference replied in fifteen propositions; “ecclesiastical finesse” operating on both sides; reference ordered to the Annual Conferences of both Churches; the “managers” of the Union scheme baffled; Commissioners retire, and the whole scheme died of inanition—Convention adjourned—Holston Conference organized—Great Sabbath-school demonstration in Baltimore; five thousand computed present—Decease and sketch of Rev. Eli Heukle and Dr. Francis Waters—A lay-delegation in the M. E. Church proposed and carried; an emasculated thing in their General Conference of 1872—General Conference of the Methodist Church at Cleveland, Ohio, in May, 1867; roster of members; the Wesleyans do not attend; disappointment, and resolves to cover the awkward situation; synopsis of its doings; statistics, etc.—Adrian College transferred from the legal trustees to the “Methodist” Church.

ON the first day, May 7, 1867, of the seventy-one representatives elected to the Montgomery Convention, but thirteen were present at the roll-call. W. C. Lipscomb of Maryland was called to the chair, and F. H. M. Henderson of Georgia made Secretary. It adjourned to meet at 9 A.M. the next morning. It was then found that a quorum was present. Others arrived from time to time, so that the full roster of those elected was as follows:—

MARYLAND

Ministers
 W. C. Lipscomb
 J. J. Murray
 L. W. Bates
 S. B. Southerland
 J. K. Nichols
 Daniel Bowers
 H. F. Zollickoffer
 John Roberts
 D. E. Reese

Laymen
 T. A. Newman
 W. D. Massey
 A. Donelson
 Wm. Turpin
 W. H. Wheatley
 L. J. Cox, Jr.
 B. H. Richardson¹
 John Coates¹
 Richard Thomas¹

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	NORTH CAROLINA	<i>Laymen</i>
W. H. Wills		G. J. Cherry
T. H. Pegram		L. W. Batchelor
J. L. Michaux		Henry Walser ¹
C. F. Harris		D. M. Lee ¹
W. B. McRoberts		S. V. Pickens ¹
Alson Gray ¹		W. A. Coe ¹
John Paris ¹		W. A. Coble ¹
W. C. Kennett ¹		John F. Harris ¹
A. W. Lineberry ¹		M. C. Whitaker ¹
	VIRGINIA	
R. B. Thomson ¹		C. W. Button
J. G. Whitfield		H. B. Woodhouse ¹
G. R. Barr		Wm. Harding ¹
Wm. McGee		M. T. Peebles ¹
	ALABAMA	
D. B. Smedley		B. S. Bibb
S. K. Cox		P. T. Graves
L. L. Hill		J. B. Clayton
J. C. Davis		C. E. Crenshaw
	GEORGIA	
F. H. M. Henderson		John Bass
S. C. Masters ¹		
	MISSISSIPPI	
P. H. Napier		Peter Loper
	NORTH MISSISSIPPI	
A. A. Houston		W. R. Montgomery
	TENNESSEE	
B. F. Duggan		R. H. Whitaker ¹
	INDIANA	
B. F. Perry ¹		I. Burkhead ¹
	SOUTH CAROLINA	
C. McSmith ¹		J. G. Grant ¹
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
E. C. G. Nickens ¹		J. W. Newton ¹
	WEST TENNESSEE	
G. F. A. Spiller ¹		George Reems ¹
	LOUISIANA	
Isaiah C. Wallace ¹		E. Hearn ¹

¹ Absent.

Thirty out of seventy-one were absent. Considering the disruption of the railroads and the poverty of the men the attendance was remarkable.

Bishops Pierce and M'Tyeire, Rev. Dr. L. M. Lee, and Rev. J. E. Evans of the Commissioners of the Church South were introduced. On the election for permanent officers, J. J. Murray, on the second ballot, was elected President, and C. W. Button and F. H. M. Henderson, Secretaries. Communications were received from Rev. John Sexsmith of Des Moines, Ill., and also from Rev. W. W. Tipton, President of the Illinois Conference. The Standing Committees were named by the chair. The official papers from the Commission of the Church South were presented and addresses made by Bishops Pierce and M'Tyeire, Dr. L. M. Lee, and Rev. J. E. Evans, responded to by the President and sundry brethren. A resolution was passed to appoint one minister and one layman from each Conference represented to confer with them as a Commission. The President named them as follows: W. H. Wills, G. J. Cherry, J. G. Whitfield, C. W. Button, S. B. Southerland, L. J. Cox, Jr., B. F. Duggan, F. L. B. Shaver, P. T. Graves, F. H. M. Henderson, John Bass, P. H. Napier, Peter Loper, A. A. Houston, W. R. Montgomery. It will be observed in the occurrence of names that alternates were substituted for principals in the Alabama list as given in the roster, making F. L. B. Shaver, Isaac Spangler, and Edmond Harrison members.

The gist of the Church South papers was: "Union between the Methodist Protestant Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, with power to settle terms of union." The Commissioners in a letter defined their understanding of this "power": "We propose a formal and corporate union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South and the Methodist Protestant Church. . . . We propose a union with your ministers, itinerant and local, and your members, each in their several relations, and entitled to all the rights and privileges common to our own ministers and members under the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South." It will be developed that there is an essential difference after all, between tweedledee and tweedledum as thus defined. An hour was spent by the Conference in a love-feast, or class-meeting experience, very refreshing and spiritual. The Maryland brethren had taken with them the sum of \$800 for distribution in the South, and it was so disposed of to the most needy. A Des Moines Mission Conference was created and the Illinois

recognized. The Florida had ceased to exist, leaving eighteen adhering Conferences. Sundry amendments were made to the Constitution and Discipline; the most important was a change in the relative position of the word "white" in Article 12th, so as to extend the inclusive force to ministers and preachers as well as members, a question heretofore referred to in this History. "The Monthly Meeting" in stations was made a feature of the Discipline, but it has fallen into desuetude. The next General Conference was appointed for East Baltimore station, Baltimore, Md. A movement was inaugurated for the appointment of a Conference Missionary in each of the Conferences where needed, to "organize the colored people into societies for instruction and evangelization, as shall comport with the genius of the Methodist Protestant Church, and for the formation of Annual Conferences of their own under the style of . . ." It was further amended: "It is highly desirable that we retain our colored membership in our own connection," etc. Under this encouragement various conferences of the colored brethren were organized, and a number now exist in the South.¹ The ratio of representation was fixed at one of each class in every thousand members.

The overshadowing subject occupying the attention of the Convention was the proposal from the Church South already cited. The Committee of Conference held numerous interviews with the Commissioners of that Church, and the more they conferred the less the brethren seemed to be able to understand the interpreta-

¹ A secession took place from the A. M. E. Church in Maryland in the year 1848, and they adopted substantially the Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church at a meeting at St. Thomas's Church, Baltimore. Some years prior to this period there had been organized principally in Maryland and Delaware the African Union Methodist Protestant Church, taking the Book of the Methodist Protestant Church as their polity with such changes as would adapt it to their condition. These two branches had a temporary Union, but for a number of years have been working on independent lines. The African Union is much the larger body, with some able preachers, and a number of churches well organized in the territory named. A small monthly paper, *The Dawn*, has been issued semi-officially by them under the charge of Rev. Brother Scott, for a number of terms, also President of their Conference. The writer has been unsuccessful in securing their statistics. Rev. Brother Lee, President of the Colored Methodist Protestant Conference furnishes the following for his Church. No extant records between 1848 and 1881, at which latter date they claimed 15 ministers and preachers, 5 churches, and 3 missions, and about 400 members, and 500 Sabbath-school scholars. Between 1881 and 1896 they lost 2 churches by default of ground rent, 9 ministers by death and withdrawals, received 13 ministers and 4 preachers. They now claim 4 churches, 8 missions, 200 members, with 12 Sabbath-schools and 260 scholars. The African Union was a secession from the colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

tion placed upon the action of the Church South as made by the commissioners present. It slowly dawned upon them, however, after the first answer was made to their proposal. It covered fifteen points, made upon the supposition that the Commissioners were empowered to "settle terms of union." Essentially they called for a change of the united Church style and title; the abolition of the Eldership; the creation instead of as many bishops as Annual Conferences; the right of appeal of ministers; no veto power of the bishops; no transfer without the consent of the party; the parity of local and itinerant preachers; equal delegation in the Annual Conferences; the vote by order; the first newly elected bishops to be taken from the Protestant brethren; their system for trial of members; the Maryland Conference autonomy to be guaranteed, etc. It is an open secret that several of these points were made by brethren opposed to the "Union" altogether — riders to kill the bill. The "ecclesiastical finesse" developed on both sides. The Commissioners made reply in order. And now it became clear even to hazy vision that what was proposed was not "Union," but Absorption. The ministers and officials would be received into the Church South and the members would be received also; but not a vanishing point was to be left of the Methodist Protestant Church as such. And yet over the reply which made this fact manifest the brethren higgled and disputed and took votes by ayes and nays and entered upon the journal explanations of their votes, and a number of them finally uttered a protest against the whole farcical business. The brethren who in their individual and conferential capacity had presumed to speak for the whole Church in their letters and personal interviews with the bishops, etc., found themselves in an embarrassing position; they could not deliver the goods.

The final action was that "the Convention take no decisive action at this time, . . . and that a commission of one from each Conference be appointed to call another Convention at Lynchburg, Va., in May, 1868," in certain contingencies, and this was amended to the effect that if the Convention was not called, then the next "General Conference" of the Church should be held in 1870. The commissioners of the Church South took their formal leave with courteous greetings and resolves, the hand-in-glove brethren relieving the disgust these commissioners could not altogether disguise, as much as possible. And so ended a fiasco as notable as that of the Non-Episcopal Union Convention of the brethren North and West, but attended with much more disas-

trous results. It is but fair to state that literally the bishops were beguiled into the part they took by the resolves of the Alabama, Mississippi, and Virginia Conferences. The fifteen points presented were never submitted by them to their Annual Conferences, as suggested, and the "Union" of the two Churches was abandoned mutually. They soon began the work of "taking into their Church" the preachers and people individually, and as Annual Conferences piecemeal, but always at the invitation of those who had predetermined to unite with them. The full text of the papers on the subject may be found in the Appendix to the minutes of this Convention. A Board of Missions was elected by the Convention, with location in Baltimore, as follows: S. B. Southerland, W. C. Lipscomb, J. J. Murray, H. F. Zollickoffer, L. J. Cox, E. C. Thomas, John Coates, B. H. Richardson, William Bond, J. G. Clark, A. J. Fairbank, and James Bond. The Convention adjourned, after a night session, on the tenth day; its business was hurried, as the representatives had painful reminders of the impoverished condition of their whole-souled hosts which forbade a strain upon such self-denying hospitality. Prayer was offered by the oldest member, Rev. W. C. Lipscomb, at the close. J. J. Murray, President; C. W. Button and F. H. M. Henderson, Secretaries. The printed proceedings occupy forty-four octavo pages.

The *New York Methodist*, under Dr. Crooks, refuted elaborately Dr. Bond's "purse-string" argument of 1827, and so it received at last its death-wound in the house of its friends, August, 1867. In November, 1867, the Philadelphia lay-delegation reformers, as a step furthering their plans, practically reorganized the "Union Societies" of the Reformers of 1824-30; it did not occur to them that they could not legitimately do so as members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and no attempt was made to discipline them for so doing. A Holston Annual Conference was organized out of parts of the West Virginia and the Virginia and the Tennessee Conferences in the winter of 1867, with George Barr as President, at Russellville, Tenn. (See official paper, January 4, 1868, and August 29, 1868.¹) Bowdon College was

¹ The organization took place December 13, 1867, and the first Plan of Appointments was as follows: George R. Barr, President; Abingdon Station, G. R. Barr; Good Hope Circuit, W. T. White; Jonesville, J. B. Mickle; Rye Cove, John Rasnie; Guess's River, Samuel Stallard, W. H. Bond and H. Stallard, assistants; Providence, J. R. Thompson, J. G. Johnson, assistant, and James Thompson, super-assistant; Hopewell, S. B. Sizemore, J. M. Slaughter and W. Wallace, assistants; Paint Mountain, N. J. Roberts; Buncombe, J. P. Eller; Saltsville Mission, G. R.

reorganized in Georgia, January, 1868. The churches of Baltimore determined upon a great Sabbath-school demonstration in its interest. It was held at the Maryland Institute, the largest hall then in the city, in March, 1868, and proved a great success. It was the Sabbath of the Maryland Conference meeting, and the entire body was seated on the platform. At first but half the great hall was opened, but as the Sabbath-schools with the attendant church members and interested friends filed in, the remaining half was opened, and yet the number surging in overcrowded the building, and not a few could not find admittance. It was estimated that between four and five thousand children and adults were present. A programme of music, and addresses by Rev. Dr. L. W. Bates, Luther Martin, Esq., and Rev. W. S. Hammond occupied the time, and the assembly dispersed. The Annual Conference for the year 1867 had reported a net gain of about eight hundred, and that of 1868 a net gain of about one thousand, or ten per cent. These things greatly encouraged the churches in this central position, and the hope inspired went out and saved perhaps the utter disintegration of the denomination in the South under the wileful influences now at work for "Union." The Maryland Conference also took action on the question, and recited that the fifteen propositions which were submitted at Montgomery for reference to the Annual Conferences of the Church South, and accepted as such, had not been submitted, and information having been received that the commissioners had indicated that no other terms than those offered would be proposed to the Methodist Protestant Church, *i.e.* absorption into its ministry and membership, adverse recommendation was made as to the expediency of the Convention named for May, 1868, not passing upon its unconstitutionality, which had been by this time clearly exposed, as the instrument made no such provision for its own destruction; and the Commissioner made announcement that no such Convention would be held.

In the old Church the lay-delegation question was of paramount interest, not a few of their Annual Conferences resolving in its favor, and numerous memorials and petitions again going up to the General Conference of 1868, to be held at Chicago. The *New York Methodist* was manfully marshalling the forces, and

Barr; Clinch Mission, J. P. Johnson; Poplar Creek Mission, Wm. Petty; French Branch Mission, W. L. Worthington. No list of laymen is given. Dr. M. T. Peebles has furnished me a detailed and reliable history of the Holston Conference, which is preserved among the archives of the writer for reference.

Philadelphia swarmed with Methodist Reformers. Almost single-handed, and with a courage and persistence worthy of a better cause, and assuming the fallen mantle of Dr. T. E. Bond, Sr., Rev. Dr. Hodgson of the Philadelphia Conference entered the lists and out-Heroded Herod with his extreme and unrelenting opposition to lay-delegation in any form. He was possessed with a species of clericomania and averred that from the time of Constantine onward the division of ecclesiastical responsibility with the laity was the "source of untold woes," and extended his congratulations to the Methodist Episcopal Church that "Methodism guided by the providence of God had shunned this mystery of iniquity." He passed away, however, before his righteous soul could be shocked at the profanation of the Methodist Temple by the presence of laymen.

Obituary of Rev. Eli Henkle of the Maryland Conference, August 24, 1867, in the eighty-first year of his age. He was born in Pendleton County, Va., April 15, 1787, his father being an itinerant of that day. The father raised a family of nine sons and two daughters, and six of the sons became preachers of the gospel, perhaps an unexampled case. Eli was converted in his youth, in his twentieth year, 1807, he was received by appointment of the Presiding Elder into the work, and continued until 1813, then located until 1815, when he resumed until 1824; then he again retired, and this closed his connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was a radical Reformer from the first, the John Knox of the American Methodist reformation. He took an active part in the early Conventions and did much to mould the new Church. He was elected President of the Maryland Conference in 1830, succeeding Nicholas Snethen, and again in 1846, 1847, 1848. One of the sweetest of singers and deeply spiritual, with a lucid, plain, practical style, he won a high place with the people as an evangelical preacher. He lived to see the Church he had done so much to found established on a sure basis, and rejoiced in it, continuing steadfast as a rock to its principles. Time touched him lightly on his farm in Baltimore County, where he peacefully met the last enemy. The obsequies took place in Mount Gilead church, by Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray, and he was laid to rest in its cemetery. A memorial service was held at West Baltimore station, September 29, 1867, Dr. Francis Waters officiating, and other senior ministers. As of rather rare occurrence, Dr. William Hamilton of the Methodist Episcopal Church sent a written tribute, and Rev. John Baer of the same Church, both

of them old colleagues, attended the services. (See Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 238-243.)

Daniel Perrigo, an early Baltimore Reformer, died February 1, 1868; Rev. William Griffin of Georgia, aged eighty-two, Reformer, March 28, 1868; Rev. Ulysses Ward, early Reformer, of Maryland, an unstationed minister, a liberal contributor, a wise counsellor, and firm adherent of the Church, and father of Rev. Dr. J. T. Ward: obituaries April 11, 1868, and May 16, 1868. He died as he had lived, a consistent Christian; services at his residence in Washington, D. C., by Rev. W. C. Lipscomb, a lifelong friend, Rev. Dr. J. P. Newman, now Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the writer; Rev. Thomas Burgess of Tennessee and Kentucky, early Reformer, May 2, 1868.

Rev. Francis Waters, A.M., D.D., died April 23, 1868, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, at his residence in Baltimore city. He was born January 16, 1792, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, of religious parents; his early education received their first care; and after an elementary course he was entered at the University of Pennsylvania, and was honorably graduated in 1810. He then read law, but was led to abandon it for the Christian ministry, and received ordination in the Methodist Episcopal Church. His evident bent was teaching, so he took charge of Washington Academy in Somerset County, Md., and on the 30th of December, 1817, was elected to the Presidency of Washington College, Chestertown, Md., before he was twenty-six years of age. He resigned in 1823, and returned to his home in Somerset, and remained in the peaceful pursuits of farming until 1828, when he moved to Baltimore, opened a private school, which developed into the academy at Franklin, near Baltimore. It was during this period that he took an active part in the Reform movement in Methodism. While he did not write voluminously, every touch of his pen was masterful, and was felt by friend and foe as unanswerable. In 1840 he took part in a Convention of the new Church, his connection with which has been already detailed in these pages, reflecting honor upon himself and the cause he had espoused, which was held in Baltimore, and among its results was the Windsor Academy, a theological and literary institute, which continued about three years, and at which several useful ministers were educated. Returning to the city, he united with Drs. R. H. Ball and A. A. Lipscomb in a first-class female seminary, of which he was Principal; but in 1853 he was elected

Principal of the Baltimore High School, which he resigned at the earnest solicitation of the trustees of Madison College, at Uniontown, Pa., but which he was compelled in turn to resign, owing to the ill-health of his wife. He then consented to a second election to the Presidency of Washington College, Md., where he remained, useful and respected by all who knew him, until January, 1860, when he retired to Baltimore and spent his declining years in the quiet of his home. As a writer, ecclesiastic, and teacher evidence has been given, and as a preacher he was transparently clear but unemotional, classical and at the same time spiritual; a graceful delivery with a commanding presence, being tall and erect, clear-cut in features, and of noble bearing, gave his public efforts a wide influence and reverent hearing. He frequently occupied the pulpits of the Protestant Episcopal Church before high church tendencies enforced the canon against such courtesies.¹ He was a member of the Maryland Annual Conference from the beginning, sustaining a supernumerary relation by special favor of the body and in recognition of his eminent services to Reform. A severe fall, which superinduced pneumonia, resulted in a tedious illness. Softening of the brain set in, and apoplexy closed his earthly career. The funeral sermon of this ideal Christian gentleman was preached by Dr. L. W. Bates, and his remains laid to rest in Greenmount cemetery. (See Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 182-192.)

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, stimulated from within by the growing pressure for lay-delegation and from without by the example of the representative Methodisms in their success, and the introduction of the feature into the Church South, led to a favorable consideration of the subject, and a plan, emasculated, it is true, as are all the schemes adopted in the hierarchic branches, of lay-delegation in the General Conference was formulated. It was the scantiest recognition, the proportion about that of one in three of the ministers, which was to be submitted to the Church, and if a majority of the members, male and female, favored it, then it was to be passed upon by the ensuing General Conference of 1872 by a two-thirds vote. It was

¹ Rev. Dr. L. W. Bates is authority for the statement received from Dr. Waters's own lips, that during the years of his residence in the country, on his visits to Baltimore, he was often invited, and as often accepted invitations, to preach in the St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church, corner of Charles and Saratoga streets. It indicates the change for the worse that has come over the venerable Church under altitudinous teaching of the historic Episcopate, etc. Think of a Methodist preacher, however eminent, preaching at St. Paul's in these days!

hotly contested on its passage in 1868, the old Bourbons predicting all manner of evil, but they went down chewing the last bitter cud of opposition to a scriptural, rational, and inevitable modification. The official paper of Baltimore was edited for 1868 by J. J. Murray, Augustus Webster, and Daniel Bowers. Reconstruction of Conferences continued in the South, with signs of religious revival, but side by side with it went on the work of insidious destruction by “Union” with the Church South. The negotiating parties felt that they had gone too far honorably to withdraw, as they understood it, so that with or without the authority of law or the membership they did all they could, not to go into the lap of the old South Methodism empty-handed in an ecclesiastical sense.

While the Convention of the Methodist Protestant Church was in session in Montgomery, Ala., in May, 1867, the “General Conference of the Methodist Church” was in session at Cleveland, O., May 15–22, 1867. It met by courtesy in the Wesleyan church. T. B. Graham was elected permanent President; W. H. Brewster, J. J. Smith, and C. Gray, Vice-Presidents; and A. H. Lowrie and T. B. Applegate, Secretaries. The following were declared elected Representatives to the Conference:—

	NEW YORK	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
J. J. Smith		Thos. Brown ¹
CHURCH OF THE PILGRIMS, NEW YORK CITY		
S. A. Baker ¹		
	NEW JERSEY	
T. B. Applegate		J. M. Brown ¹
	ONONDAGA	
J. H. Richards		
	GENESEE	
N. S. Clark		Thomas Barclay
	PITTSBURGH	
V. Lucas		R. H. Marshall
J. Scott, D.D.		J. Sargent, M.D.
G. Brown, D.D.		J. Redman
Alex. Clark		W. Miller
W. Reeves, D.D.		

¹ Absent.

ADRIAN (MICH.) CHURCH

*Ministers**Laymen*

Prof. I. W. McKeever

Prof. A. H. Lowrie

BRIDGEPORT (PA.) CHARGE

W. H. Brewster

SECOND CHURCH, PITTSBURGH

J. B. Graham

Geo. Fawcett

MT. VERNON (O.) CHURCH

H. B. Knight

M. Thompson, M.D.

MUSKINGUM

J. Burns

J. Fordyce

Z. Ragan, D.D.

Henry Cassell

J. H. Hamilton

F. Scott

C. Springer

H. E. H. Hartsock

G. W. Hissey

J. Slosser

E. S. Hoagland

J. Wells

Wm. Hastings

J. Springer¹

OHIO

R. Rose

Thos. J. Finch

J. M. Flood, M.D.

W. Gunckel¹

A. H. Bassett

T. Douglas

J. J. White

J. G. Rockhill

T. B. Graham

G. W. Kent¹

J. B. Walker

J. B. McKinnon

MICHIGAN

R. C. Lanning

Chester Cooley

WESTERN MICHIGAN

L. Mills

Erastus Williams

INDIANA

H. Stackhouse

T. Hansell

WABASH

A. S. Bissell

Izri Hall¹

NORTH ILLINOIS

C. Gray

M. Mead

W. E. Martin

P. F. Rensburgh

SOUTH ILLINOIS

R. Wright¹C. Link¹W. M. P. Quinn¹E. Erwin¹¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	WISCONSIN	<i>Laymen</i>
S. P. Kezerta		B. H. Pritchard
S. Jones ¹	MINNESOTA	J. E. Bolls ¹
G. Williams	NORTH MISSOURI	T. L. Jeffers ¹
Q. Holton	NORTH CAROLINA	J. Thornton ¹
J. M. Young	NEBRASKA	J. Queen. ¹
J. C. Nodurft ¹	MISSOURI	O. C. Lyon ¹
A. J. Chittenden ¹	WISCONSIN (WESLEYAN)	— Webster ¹
G. G. Westfall	MORGANTOWN (W. VA.) CHURCH	J. Canaco ¹
J. Biddison ¹	KANSAS	Jonathan Watson ¹
S. B. Dunton ¹	CALIFORNIA	
D. Bagley ¹	OREGON	

Twenty-five out of eighty-six were absent. But four ministers and three laymen of the Wesleyan Church were officially present. The whole denomination had repudiated the Union, as well as all the faculty of Adrian College, except I. W. McKeever and A. H. Lowrie. Less than a dozen of their ministers came to the Methodist Church, and, as already recorded, a number of their leading men returned to the Methodist Episcopal Church, while the body rallied around their publishing interests at Syracuse, N. Y., and have maintained to this day a separate existence under their peculiar views as Methodists.² The situation was a perplexing

¹ Absent.

² They were reputed to number at the time of the proposed "Union" about 20,000. Rev. A. J. Jennings, editor of the *Wesleyan Methodist*, their official organ, furnishes me with these statistics up to date: Membership, 18,141; Sab-

one, and a committee on "Status and Relation" reported as follows, which was referred as the sense of the Conference: "Resolved, that we regard this General Conference as the outgrowth and culmination of the Cincinnati Convention; and the action of the Methodist Protestant General Conference at Allegheny City, in November last, in accepting the action of said Convention, as the necessary final doings of the late Methodist Protestant Church, by which it became the nucleus of the present Methodist Church, whose interests this body represents and has in charge." It was considered, and on motion subsequently to pass it, John Burns moved to lay it on the table, which was negatived. Finally the committee elaborated it, giving substantially the same views, and it was passed, the expression "the late Methodist Protestant Church" being eliminated. For full text see Document B, Appendix to the printed Minutes. Committee on new hymn book: William Reeves, Alexander Clark, J. A. Dorhman, I. W. McKeever, W. Rinehart. It was subsequently prepared, mostly by Clark, published as the "Voice of Praise," and continued in use until after 1880 in the North and West. A committee on a Catechism was appointed. Dr. Brown offered the new Discipline, which had been prepared to harmonize with the new Constitution, which was finally adopted after amendments. John Burns offered the following, which was accepted: "Each Annual Conference respectively shall have power to make its own rules and regulations in regard to stationing its ministers and preachers, provided it shall make no rule inconsistent with the Constitution of the Methodist Church." Adrian was fixed upon as the place for the ensuing General Conference, third Wednesday in May, 1871. The name of the Sunday-school paper was changed to *Sabbath-School Recorder*. Rev. John Scott, D.D., was reelected Editor, and A. H. Bassett, Agent of the publishing interests. Among

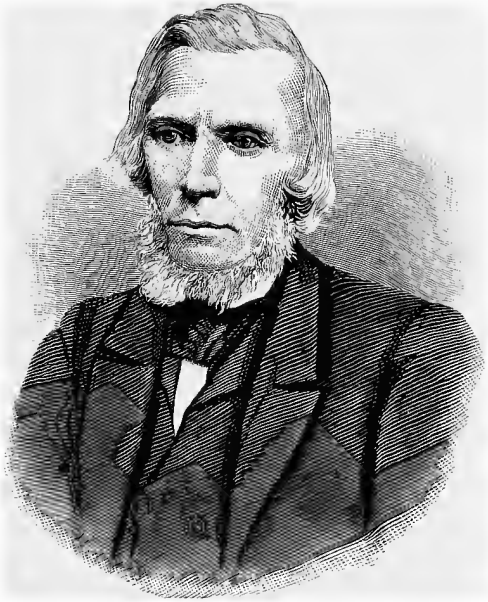
bath-schools, 465; scholars, 18,344; value of church property, including churches, parsonages, and publishing house at Syracuse, N. Y., \$580,472.24; Theological School, value, \$12,000; teachers, 5; missionary collection, \$6082.19; donations, \$40,000. President of the General Conference, Rev. N. Warder. They claim about twenty Conferences, most of them small. The support of their official paper and publishing house is their forte, having a subscriber for every three or four of their membership, an unprecedented number in any denomination. No member of a secret society of any kind can be a member of this Church, and this is a fundamental; in most other respects, their doctrine and discipline are Methodist. Their conferences are confined to the North and West. Between them and the Free Methodists of the same section there is scarcely a point of difference, and yet they preserve distinct organizations, officialism in this, as in not a few cases, being the bar to illusive organic "Union" among American Methodists.

the Boundaries prescribed in the new book are the following: North Carolina, North Carolina (colored), Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Georgia. At the suggestion of “Rev. Col. Anderson,” the body determined that they would act through the American Missionary Association and the Cleveland Freedman’s Bureau in whatever efforts they might make in the direction indicated. The report of the publishing Agent showed that the receipts from all sources about equalled the expenditures, and assets were claimed in the sum of \$20,912.20, minus \$2543, liabilities. *Methodist Recorder* list, tabulated, 3557; *Sabbath-School Recorder*, about six thousand. J. B. Walker, Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Ministerial Education, reported operations for the year, and was reelected. About \$1500 was collected for current use, and \$11,000 for permanent fund. Dr. John Kost reported for College Endowment Fund \$100,000 as property trust, and for the nonce its trustees must be kept intact from the college trustees. Reuben Rose, Corresponding Secretary of Board of Missions, reported for appropriation \$1132.01, paid out, \$1100. Tentative efforts were making to establish Conferences in the South, one of five hundred members reported in North Carolina. Rev. J. S. Thrap, who had been appointed Adrian College Agent soon after the rise of the General Conference of 1866, reported that \$40,000 had been secured for endowment, and that in accordance with the conditions precedent to the transfer of the college to the Methodist Church the steps had been legally taken and the property held for the Church. The success of the plan was largely due to his indefatigable efforts. A change of the location of the Publishing House was again mooted and referred to a commission. The statistics tabulated are as follows: itinerants, 624; unstationed, etc., 444; members, 49,030; houses of worship, 482; parsonages, 104; value of church property, \$1,145,150. It appears from Document P that the editor had had some difficulty as to the “liberty of the press,” and had exercised his discretion, which called for a mollifying deliverance. The Diaconate as an order having been abolished, provision was made for this class up to their ordination as elders. “The Minutes were read up and adopted, when the Conference adjourned *sine die*.”

CHAPTER XXX

Decease and sketch of Rev. Thomas H. Stockton and others—The dissevered Methodist Protestants coming together; steps in that direction; fraternity with other Methodisms at the Maryland Conference of 1870—Tenth General Conference of the Church in Baltimore, May, 1870; roster of members; Rev. J. G. Whitfield, President; report on the fraternal delegations—Convention on periodical and Book Concern—Virginia Conference, secession resolve presented; action on it—Secessions to the Church South from the Alabama and Mississippi Conferences; the Virginia case in detail; violent proceedings—Gift of \$21,000 by J. J. Amos of Indiana to Adrian College—Trouble in the West over the church name “Methodist”—Obituaries of Reformers, L. J. Cox and others—Bishop M’Tyeire on surrender of power by the preachers in their lay-delegation; comments—Western Book Concern removed to Pittsburgh.

REV. THOMAS HEWLINGS STOCKTON deceased October 8, 1868. He was born at Mount Holly, Burlington County, N. J., on the 4th of June, 1808. He received from his father, William S. Stockton, and his saintly mother all the advantages of education their personal supervision and the accessible schools could afford. He was never a linguist, but became one of the purest and greatest of idiomatic English writers and speakers. He joined the St. George’s Methodist Episcopal church, Philadelphia, in 1826, made tentative efforts in the choice of a calling, as compositor, medical student, and litterateur. God meant him for a preacher, and so it was decided. His associations and convictions made him a Methodist Protestant, and this he remained until his death, despite his vagaries of departure in his unique notions of a “Society of Brotherly Love.” Both as a writer and a preacher he was original, and, in his day, peerless. Dr. Colhouer aptly depicts him: “He was the prince of modern pulpit orators. His tall, majestic form, dignified manner, pallid face, blue eagle eyes, intellectual forehead, with long, silvery hair at forty years onward, expressive mouth, sweet, musical voice, his whole classic appearance seemed to stamp him with almost angelic faculties and features; and, when radiant with divine light and love, he entranced and thrilled the vast congregations, to whom he ministered, like the mighty wind moves the waves of the sea.” As a writer, his posthumous remains, published and unpublished,



THOMAS H. STOCKTON.

make a catalogue in which, as prose-poet, word-singer, dialectician, and rhetorician, he had few equals and no superiors. All these elements combine in the last of his productions, given to the public after his death, 1870, "The Book Above All." As a Reformer he was unflinching, and, while at times personal considerations turned him awry, his convictions remained unchanged; and, to the last, he pronounced the Methodist Protestant Church the very best of denominational forms. In his sermon upon the death of Dr. S. K. Jennings, 1854, his deliverance is crystallized in these words, true in every syllable: "But originally Methodism was only spiritual. Since then it has become ecclesiastical. Its spiritual character has always been its glory. Its ecclesiastical character has always been its shame. From the beginning its government has been an intermitting volcano, starting, at various intervals, into flaming eruption and filling the circuit of its power with saddest devastations. Alas! for all man's governments! Alas! for all *over*-government—all unyielding government—all *idolized* government." His career has been largely traced in these pages elsewhere, and the notable events of his life are too numerous for this casual mention. His lingering illness of pulmonary affection, which followed him through his life, was a triumph of redeeming grace and the eloquence of Christian victory. His funeral was from his old church at Eleventh and Wood streets, Philadelphia, and the sermon to the crowded congregation was by his old friend, J. G. Wilson, assisted by Alexander Clark and J. W. Jackson. He was buried in Mount Moriah cemetery. Memoirs were written both by Wilson and Clark, and Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 291-307, gives a merited tribute.

Rev. Mrs. Hannah Reeves departed this life November 13, 1868. She was the wife of Rev. Dr. William Reeves, and the first of women preachers in the new Church who was honored as having "a call to preach," which it could not fail to recognize. She died in peace at New Brighton, Pa., after a marriage union of thirty-seven years, a "helpmeet" to her husband in a double sense. "The Lady Preacher," by Rev. Dr. George Brown, published in 1870, records her useful life and private virtues. Rev. Samuel Roberson, early Reformer of Georgia, aged seventy-nine, died January 6, 1869; Rev. Allen Wallis, early Reformer of Tennessee, died January 30, 1869. James L. Armstrong, M.D., early Reformer of Tennessee, deceased April 5, 1868, full of grace, full of glory, and in the eighty-seventh year of his age. He was born in Greenbrier County, Va., April 2, 1782, and removed in

his youth to Kentucky, studied medicine, and, in 1809, settled in Bedford County, Tenn. Early converted, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, served his country as surgeon in the War of 1812, and during the cholera scourge of 1832 stood to his professional post. He embraced Reform principles from the beginning, and was expelled, without trial, by Elder James Gwinn in April, 1826. Henceforth he devoted himself to the new Church, was often elected to the early Conventions and General Conferences, and as delegate to the Annual Conferences. A forcible writer and speaker, a wise counsellor and earnest Christian, the Church in the West never had a truer friend.

Notwithstanding the steps taken in the North and West and those in the South and East at this period seemed to widen the breach between these sections, the old Methodist Protestant instinct and unity of ecclesiastical principles were quietly working, but need not be diffusively traced. The task has been impartially performed by Rev. Dr. Scott, in his work, "Fifty Years." As early as January 3, 1866, as editor of the Western paper, he wrote of the Baltimore paper, as the first of his exchanges, "This is natural enough because of cherished *memories* and cherished *hopes*," the words here italicized being so in the article. The correspondence between Rev. Dr. Daniel W. Bates and Rev. Dr. William Collier, already referred to, ripened into the appointment of fraternal messengers from the Pittsburgh to the Maryland Conference in 1869. This was cordially reciprocated by the appointment of messengers to the ensuing Pittsburgh Conference. The fraternity was repeated at the Maryland Conference of 1870, but came near miscarrying by reason of a misunderstanding as to some two hundred and seventy-five brethren in the West Virginia Conference, Pocahontas County, who had preferred a connection with the Pittsburgh Conference, and which the Baltimore paper interpreted, for lack of full information, as a proselyting scheme of the brethren West. This is the incident referred to early in these pages as in evidence that the "Methodist" brethren spurned the imputation of poaching or of imitating the Methodist Episcopal Church in its inroads upon the South. These reciprocations were not so favorably regarded in the South, especially in North Carolina, made sore by the recognition of the disaffected in that State by the West. At the Maryland Conference of 1870, other messengers were present: Drs. Scott and Cowl, Dr. John Paris from North Carolina, and from the Church South in the persons of Drs. Rozel and Poisel,

who were profuse in their compliments and overdid the courtesy. And, inasmuch as a few months later, at the Tenth General Conference in Baltimore, Rev. Drs. Eddy and Lanahan, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Rev. Drs. Linn, Huston, and Kepler, of the Church South, appeared with loving congratulations on fraternal grounds, one would have been impressed with the idea that the era of good feeling was indeed inaugurated by these brethren of a common Methodism; but some things were subsequently found in the ointment that spoiled the flavor.

The Tenth General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church convened in East Baltimore station, Baltimore, on Friday, the sixth day of May, 1870. Rev. George Nestor was called to the Chair, and G. J. Cherry, Secretary. The roster is as follows:—

MARYLAND

<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
L. W. Bates	Gaven Spence
J. J. Murray	J. W. Hering
J. K. Nichols	J. W. Thompson
Augustus Webster	Joseph Graham
S. B. Southerland	John T. Dodd
J. T. Murray	Southey F. Miles
T. D. Valiant	Ormond Hammond
D. E. Reese	R. S. Griffith
H. C. Cushing	John G. Clarke
E. J. Drinkhouse	J. D. Cathell
John Roberts	B. H. Richardson

WEST VIRGINIA

John Clarke	C. W. Newline
George Nestor	Samuel Engle
J. G. Weaver	J. W. Williamson
G. W. Barrett	Z. Kidwell
Oliver Lowther	J. A. Hartley
W. M. Betts	Wm. Vandervort

NORTH CAROLINA

W. H. Willis	G. J. Cherry
T. H. Pegram	J. W. Hancock
A. C. Harris	P. A. Cox
A. W. Lineberry	J. P. Speight
C. F. Harris	L. W. Batchelor
A. W. Lowe	J. M. Adell
John Paris	J. T. Pickens

SOUTH CAROLINA

John Burdine	Lewis Yarborough
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	ARKANSAS	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
Thomas Aaron		W. F. Wallace
	TENNESSEE	
J. W. Chandler		Wm. Collins
	ILLINOIS	
W. W. Tipton		Orestes Ames
	VIRGINIA	
J. G. Whitfield		C. W. Button
L. F. Cosby		Wm. Harding
	HOLSTON	
G. R. Barr		M. T. Peebles
	ALABAMA	
A. J. Grove		C. E. Crenshaw
G. H. McFaden		Edmund Harrison
L. L. Hill		J. D. Houser
	TEXAS	
M. F. Rosser		G. W. Simmons
	GEORGIA	
F. H. M. Henderson		J. B. McDaniel
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
E. C. G. Nickens		
	LOUISIANA	
J. C. Wallace		Dr. Herring
	PENNSYLVANIA	
Joseph Watrous		James Vancamp

There is no notation of absentees, if any. The writer was a member of the Conference, and his recollection is that there were few, if any, absent of those named, though it is to be observed that there is no representation from Mississippi, Missouri, McCaine (Texas), or Des Moines. The minutes show that Rev. William Trogdon was recognized as a representative from Arkansas. He had been elected by the new North Arkansas Conference, with G. W. Simmons, layman, though not in the roster of Conferences.

On the afternoon of the first day J. G. Whitfield was elected President, J. G. Cherry and J. T. Murray, Secretaries. The following are the chairmen of the standing committees: Journals,

W. H. Wills; Boundaries, G. R. Barr; Judiciary, Augustus Webster; Executive, L. W. Bates; Literature, S. B. Southerland; Means of Grace, John Clarke; Finance, B. H. Richardson; Home and Foreign Missions, H. C. Cushing; Sabbath-schools, E. J. Drinkhouse; Temperance, G. H. McFaden; Ecclesiastical Visitors and Communications, J. J. Murray. On motion of George Nestor the word "Western" in Discipline was stricken out and West Virginia substituted. Much time was consumed in amendments to the Discipline, few of which were adopted (see revised edition). The form for a Church Register was submitted from Rev. B. F. Benson, and adopted. The papers from the fraternal Commissioners of the Methodist Episcopal Church were read, the gist of them being, that they were "appointed to treat with a similar commission from any other Methodist Church desirous of union with us," etc. It consisted of seven bishops and seven prominent brethren. The fraternal messengers from the "Methodist" Church were: George Brown, William Collier, and Alexander Clark. They addressed the Conference by courtesy first, and "expressed the fraternal regards of the Church they represented for the Methodist Protestant Church, and their earnest desire that the old ecclesiastical union might be restored." Then Drs. Eddy and Lanahan spoke for the Methodist Episcopal Church, and "expressed brotherly regard for your Church, and the hope that there might be a closer bond of union between the different parts of the Methodist family," etc. Later Drs. Linn, Huston, and Kepler, of the Church South, fraternal messengers, were introduced and "bore the fraternal greetings of their Church to the Conference," etc.

To all these addresses the President made suitable replies at the time, and, subsequently, the Committee on Visitations, through J. J. Murray, reported responses in much detail. To the Methodist Episcopal Church suggestions were made for a "closer union," some of them quite wholesome and effective, with a request that they be referred by that Church to their Annual Conferences. It was not done, however, for the reminders were probably not agreeable, it may be assumed. To the "Methodist" Church the gist of the response is in the resolution that "whenever the Conferences aforesaid shall see fit to rescind their act of suspension and place themselves again under the Constitution and Discipline of the Methodist Protestant Church, they will be cordially received as colaborers in the cause of Christ and constituent members of this body." It was

also suggested that if they would appoint Commissioners to "consider the subject of union between that Church and the Methodist Protestant Church," the President of this body is authorized to reciprocate such appointment of Commissioners. To the Church South congratulations are extended on their introduction of a lay-delegation into the General Conference, and the hope expressed that they will go forward until the differences are still less pronounced, etc. On final passage the report was agreed to except the words "rescind their act of separation," and the provision for Commissioners to the "Methodist" Church.

The question as to whether the Conferences had ordered a Convention was a vexed one, and not decided until near the close, when it was negatived, with an order for the submission of the same question at the ensuing Conference, set for Lynchburg, Va., May, 1874. Many changes were made in the form of the Ritual. Des Moines and Missouri Conferences were united. Statistics were referred for completion. Western Maryland College was recognized as a general institution of the Church. Boundaries were fixed, and the Convention of the Book Concern and Periodical held May 11, Rev. D. E. Reese in the chair and H. C. Cushing, Secretary. The report of the Book Directory was submitted, with an estimated worth of the Concern, March 1, 1870, \$7355.67, and a net profit in four years of \$2036.06. The circulation of the official paper in March, 1867, is given as 2151, and for March, 1870, 3185, an increase of 1034 in the three years. A *resumé* of the management for the three years is given, and suggestions made for the future conduct of the paper were carefully considered. On motion, at a second session of the Convention, the report was adopted, with thanks to the Directory and the brethren who rendered voluntary service as editors, and that portion of it as to the future management of the paper referred to a special committee of one from each Conference represented. It was so appointed, and they reported that it seemed expedient to continue the service by editorial committee until the Concern was in assured condition to employ an editor. A paper from the Virginia Conference set forth that they had agreed with the Commissioners of the Church South to accept corporate union on the terms offered, and asked the General Conference to unite with them in effecting such a union for the whole Church. A detailed answer was made from a special committee, deprecating this action, and earnestly appealing to them not to disintegrate or unite with another denomination, but, "if at their ensuing

Conference they shall find self-preservation no longer possible, in that event the Presidents of the Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland Conferences are hereby authorized to distribute the territory, with its ministers, members, and church property, in their present relations, etc., by and with the consent of the Virginia Conference." Fraternal messengers were appointed to the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Methodist Church. On the twelfth day, May 18, 1870, the Conference adjourned, with prayer by Dr. L. W. Bates.

At the Maryland Annual Conference, March, 1869, Rev. W. C. Lipscomb was admitted to membership, to sustain the same relation vacated by the decease of Rev. Dr. Francis Waters, in recognition of his Reform services. The privilege was afterward extended to the remaining survivors in the unstationed ranks; to wit, the venerable Rev. Thomas McCormick and Amon Richards, of the Maryland District. Jamestown Female College of North Carolina, which had become very much involved, was rescued temporarily from enforced sale by the intervention of Rev. Alson Gray and T. H. Pegram selling their farms to meet \$3000 of the \$9000 due. Such acts of heroism merit record, however futile in the end. It was afterward destroyed by fire. Rev. T. H. Colhouer issued a volume, twelvemo, on "Non-Episcopal Methodism," ably written and trenchantly enforced. Three editions of it were sold, and it is still obtainable.

The Virginia Conference, at its session of November, 1869, had passed decisive resolutions on union with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, already referred to. A strong minority opposed and endeavored to have the question referred to the societies in their primary assembly; this the majority voted down, but agreed to submit it to the Quarterly Conference of the District, with the result that there was a majority of one against the revolutionary and destructive movement. Bent, however, upon the accomplishment of their purpose, at the ensuing forty-first session, held at Norfolk, Va., November 3, 1870, Rev. J. G. Whitfield was elected President, and, on motion, a committee was appointed to consider the proposition from the Church South, Rev. Dr. Leroy M. Lee of that Church being present to assist, by his counsel and assurances, the dismemberment of the Conference by invitation of the malcontents. The committee reported favorably to disbandment and "union" with the Church South. The writer was present as spectator, and also to assist, by counsel and encouragement, against the disruption. The debate was

able and often eloquent. The President insisted, in his rulings, that the matter must be referred to the churches, as the issue had been met and defeated in the Quarterly Conferences; but the strange logic of desperate men was advanced, that the Quarterly Conferences voting affirmatively were inclusive of the majority of the members, the very proposition they had submitted in 1869 and now refused to entertain. Finally, pressed to a vote, it was carried by fourteen to twelve, three lay-delegates, whose Quarterly Conferences had voted against dissolution, disregarding their instructions, and voted to dissolve the Conference. The President vacated the chair, and they adjourned to the basement for final adjustment with the Agent of the Church South, Dr. Lee; the minority, as they passed out, repudiating such action as revolutionary and unconstitutional, remained in their seats, elected Rev. L. F. Cosby, President, and resumed business. It is fair to state that those who retired were the real itinerants of the Conference, and had most, personally, at stake. They made terms for themselves, but discovered that the Church to which they had gone, in the eastern section of Virginia, was as impoverished as their own people, the armies of the Civil War having left it a wilderness of desolation. The Virginia Conference of the Church South was unable to take care of the work they thus received; but so complete was the wreck of church interests that no recovery has ever been made of the Methodist Protestant Church in the east of Virginia; a section lying nearest North Carolina was absorbed by it, and the Holston Conference, uniting with the minority at Norfolk to perpetuate the Virginia Conference, took care of the western section. Maryland received Lynchburg, Heathsville, and Amelia on the Potomac border. Dr. Whitfield and Dr. R. B. Thomson, now aging, found a church asylum, the first in the North Carolina and the last in the intact Virginia Conference. Subsequently, a suit to recover the Hopewell church property, Virginia, in 1871, led to judicial decision by Judge Wingfield, that those who adhered at the Norfolk Conference (and those who adhered in any divided society, as well) were the "Virginia Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church."¹ The dissolution was heralded, however, as legal and complete, in the *Richmond*

¹ About this time, or not long after, a case in Noble Connty, O., was decided by the resident judge, the Methodist Protestants entering suit to recover a church from the "Methodist" brethren, after reviewing all the evidence, that the possessing parties were the "Methodist Protestant Church." Thus, as to this question, the one thing made clear is that there are judicial decisions and judicial decisions. Neither of these cases was appealed.

Christian Advocate by Dr. Lee and those who had left; a paper by Hon. Charles W. Button, refuting the allegations, was refused publication in it, but may be found in the official organ of Baltimore. The Preachers' Aid Society Fund of the Conference, held by Dr. Whitfield as Treasurer, on demand was surrendered to Rev. Dr. Barr, and is now in possession of the Virginia Conference, which, though greatly decimated of its old, able leadership, has not ceased to meet in annual session, and is gradually growing. The whole transaction is the saddest and most disastrous in the history of the Church.

Within a year six ministers of the Alabama Conference withdrew and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in some cases carrying societies with them. The same occurred in the Mississippi Conference, the leading men making terms for themselves and carrying off societies. In some other places there were isolated withdrawals, the Church South now taking all who offered; losing sight, apparently, of their expressed determination not to assist in a disintegration, but now chagrined, it may be, over the failure to capture the Church denominationally. Those who retired found themselves lost in the Conferences to which they had gone, and nothing came of another "union" scheme but disunion and disorder. Too much praise cannot be accorded those who adhered through all the enticements, and who have struggled heroically against wind and tide to maintain organization. There must have been not a little of intrinsic worth and alluring power in the principles of the Methodist Protestant Church to conserve it in these circumstances. The membership generally, except under menace of being left without pastoral supply, adhered to the Church; but great damage was wrought, and it has taken long years of struggling effort to recover, even partially, in these States as well as in Virginia, from the illusive union scheme.

In December, 1869, J. J. Amos, a liberal and loyal lay-brother of the Indiana district, deeply interested in education in the Church, donated to Adrian College \$21,000 for endowment. He was not a wealthy man, and offered this example of gift by sacrifice. The Muskingum Conference inaugurated fraternal intercourse with the Maryland Conference early in 1870. The North Arkansas Conference was organized out of the Arkansas, November, 1869.¹ Paris's "Manual," a compend of Methodist Protes-

¹ The division of the Arkansas Conference took place in the autumn of 1869; and the new North Arkansas Conference met December 29, 1869, and elected

tant history and polity, was reissued and enlarged from the edition of 1859, and was a timely stimulus to fidelity in these days of blatant union. It is now out of print. Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray, and his brother J. T. Murray, conducted the official paper of Baltimore, editorially, in 1870, with the faithful T. W. Ewing as publisher and Agent; and nothing was left undone by these brethren to render its pages attractive and to increase the circulation. Volume 37, No. 1, began with July 9, 1870.

In the West the gravity of the situation as to the "Methodist" Church confronted the brethren. The old name was graven in stone on tablets facing nearly all the church property and in all the deeds. It was not found an easy legality to change the name in the chartered funds and institutions; the reason for making it and, much more, for retaining it, had passed away; Dr. Brown and Dr. Collier, in the *Methodist Recorder*, advocated a return to the Methodist Protestant name, in June, 1870, and others united in discussing the proposal. About this time the Jamestown College in North Carolina had met with its crowning disaster of destruction by fire, in the autumn of 1870. Yadkin Institute was also discontinued. The financial pressure in the South, superinduced, in part, by the reconstructive legislation of Congress, crippled every enterprise. Dr. John Scott, for private reasons, resigned the editorship of the *Methodist Recorder*, and was succeeded, in October, 1870, by Rev. Alexander Clark. He brought to the position youth, energy, and gifts of a high order. He placed himself in touch not only with the subscribers, but, by his facile pen and genial manners, secured personal following in other churches, much to the advantage of the paper in popularity and increased circulation.

George W. Haller, early Reformer of Maryland, deceased September, 1869, aged seventy-six. It was at his home in Georgetown, S. C., that Lorenzo Dow found hospitality and a dying bed, in 1833. Rev. William Haisten, early Reformer of Georgia, deceased January, 1870. Rev. Abraham Woolston, born in New Jersey, November 9, 1791, became a Reformer in 1828, labored

J. Sexton, President, and T. Leach, Secretary. The ministers were, J. Sexton, William Trogdon, T. Leach, J. E. Carnette, W. G. Teague, W. B. Wilson, D. C. Mason, T. M. Hallifield, A. D. Evans, C. L. Manus, G. Droak. Preachers, J. P. Boyd, J. Chapman, S. F. Kuykendall. Delegates, W. B. King, J. Elms, J. G. A. Bates, E. Shackelford, G. Turney, W. B. Whitaker, G. W. Simmons, R. White. The new district comprised 882 members, 10 circuits and missions. William Trogdon and G. W. Simmons were elected representatives to the ensuing General Conference.

faithfully for Christ and the cause of Reform in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, and departed this life in Ray County, February 8, 1870, full of years and honored by his brethren. Rev. Thomas Sim, M.D., unstationed minister of Maryland and early Reformer, died April 20, 1870. He was a man of mark both as physician and churchman. Rev. Luther J. Cox, early Reformer and one of the Expelled of Baltimore in 1827, deceased, obituary July 30, 1870. He was born in Queen Anne County, Md., on December 27, 1791. Converted in 1807, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church; was licensed to preach in 1819, and labored successfully in the local ranks until expelled in 1827. He was a pillar in the new Church, and did much, by his counsel and means, to establish it. Successful in business, venturesome, and ardent in temperament, fortunes were made and faded away, but nothing deterred him in his devotion to the Church of his choice; the Hampden church and congregation are in evidence of his almost single-handed endeavor to crown his closing days with this last achievement. He was made a supernumerary member of the Maryland Conference in 1869. He was forcible as a writer and had gifts as a poet of no low order. He is the author of the hymn preserved in the Church Hymnal:—

“An alien from God and a stranger to grace,”

which was, years afterward, published in an English paper and ascribed to a distinguished poet of Great Britain. It has been garbled and mis-ascribed often, but stands now properly credited, with other hymns of his composing. In June, 1870, almost at the close of life, he wrote the poem:—

“O precious book! O book divine!”

of no inferior merit. He died of cancer of the stomach—his end peaceful and happy—on the 26th of July, 1870. The funeral services were held by Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray and others, and his remains deposited in Greenmount cemetery, Baltimore. Daniel H. Horne, born November 26, 1788, deceased March 27, 1870. He was one of the original members in Cincinnati, and contributed liberally of his means to the cause of Reform a sum aggregating \$10,000, though not a wealthy man. Rev. James S. Ferguson of the Pennsylvania-Philadelphia Conference, early Reformer, died October 1, 1870, aged ninety years; John Webb, early Reformer, layman of Georgia, aged seventy-seven, October

29, 1870, honored and loved; Rev. Oswald Potts, pioneer and Reformer of West Tennessee Conference, aged seventy-seven, December 17, 1870; Rev. George Redding, early Reformer of Illinois, aged seventy-eight, February 4, 1871.

Rev. William Reeves, D.D., of the Pittsburgh Conference, departed this life April 20, 1871. He was born, December 5, 1802, at Stapleshurst, England, of poor but pious parents, so that his early education was limited. Converted at twenty-three years of age, he applied at once to the Missionary College to prepare for that work in India, but the plan failed. He turned his face to America, where he arrived in 1829, and came into association with the Reform Methodists of the day. He united, accordingly, with the first Conference of the Ohio District, in 1829, where he labored until 1833, and was then set off with the new Pittsburgh Conference. Intellectual, philosophical, a good theologian, his forte was as a revivalist, and he had great success. He held the confidence of his brethren and was frequently a member of the early Conventions, General Conferences, and President of his Annual Conference. He married Miss Hannah Pearce, the first of women preachers in the Church, though of English birth and education, in 1831. She departed this life November 13, 1868. Brother Reeves contracted a second marriage, but soon thereafter was afflicted with rheumatism and neuralgia, and succumbed to the disease. He was buried at New Brighton, Pa., beside his first wife. A memorial service was held by the Pittsburgh Conference, September, 1871, the venerable Dr. George Brown delivering the sermon. "He was a great and good man—a worthy compeer in the great work of Reform." Rev. William H. Collins, aged seventy-five, early Reformer of the Illinois Conference, died May 6, 1871. He was active and useful, and his memory is blessed. John Duke of Harper's Ferry, Va., but in the Maryland District, aged ninety years, an early Reformer and stanch friend of its supporters, died May 13, 1871; Rev. George Smith, born in Connecticut, in 1795, converted at fourteen, licensed to preach at twenty, a Reformer from 1830, as preacher, teacher, and President, he was devoted, and died in peace at North Hebron, N. Y., June 13, 1871; G. J. Cherry of North Carolina, one of the secretaries of the General Conference of 1870 and a previous one, a leading layman of his Conference, died May 27, 1871.

The lay-delegation scheme of the Church South was adopted by the two-thirds vote of the Annual Conferences and formally

introduced at the General Conference of that Church in 1870. Bishop M'Tyeire says of it: "So ripe was public opinion, and so propitious the times, and so well digested the scheme, that this great change was introduced without heat or partisanship. Unstintedly, voluntarily, on their own motion, the ministry, who had held this power from the beginning, divided it equally with the brethren. Their appearance in the chief council of the Church, and their influence, justified their introduction, even to those who had feared; a new power was developed, a new interest awakened, a new progress begun."¹ The Methodist Protestant Church had been teaching all this for forty years — an object-lesson always before them, had they heeded its instructions. The good bishop lays great stress upon the voluntary surrender of power by the ministers. It is true that the Church South, after looking askance at the bugaboo for half a century, marched up to it, only to find, to their surprise be it said, that it was a friend, if it did not wear a white cravat and a shad-bellied coat. It was more of an impromptu affair than in the Church North; but to this day what was conceded is, indeed, a lay-delegation, and in no proper sense a lay-representation, inasmuch as the machinery of the election of the laymen in the official bodies of the churches is such as to be always under the influential control of the ministers, if politic to exercise it. The mild boasting of the generous divide "equally with the lay-brethren" is rebuked in the light of the axiomatic truth of Bishop Hooker and Dr. Barrow in the citations upon the title-page of the first volume of this work. It was a movement, however, in the right direction, and they are to be congratulated on the illumination.

The Arkansas and the Louisiana Conferences were united in the autumn of 1871. It was the second change in its original boundary, afterward so frequently made by divisions and subdivisions for a series of years, with a final reunion; but it would not make edifying reading to follow them closely as of purely local moment. Rev. J. T. Murray, pastor of East Baltimore station, was elected editor of the *Methodist Protestant* by the Book Directory, in the spring of 1871, and was continued for one year as a hopeful experiment that the paper would become self-supporting; if it proved unsuccessful as a venture, it was not for want of any literary or executive ability on his part. After the first flush of the zealous reception of the secedent ministers

¹ "History of Methodism," p. 669.

and churches in the South had expired in cold, practical work, it was discovered that the Church South could not man the work it had received, so that much of it lay open to gradual disintegration as congregations, or was recovered by the faithful men who tried to rebuild the fallen walls of the Church in that section. The ill-starred movement only impoverished the Reform cause still more, without enriching it to any appreciable degree. The Book Concern and periodical of the "Methodist Church" was removed from Springfield, to Pittsburgh, Pa., in October, 1871, by General Conference action. A generous offer was made the Publishing House by the trustees of the First church, by which they came into possession and occupancy of the large parsonage property adjoining the church on Fifth Avenue, which was transfigured into a store and printing establishment in this commanding location. This and the facilities for mailing and other considerations decided the change. Revs. T. H. Colhouer and E. R. McGregor were sent as fraternal delegates from the Pittsburgh to the Maryland Conference at its March session, 1871, and the Conference, through a committee, resolved, in part, as to this visitation: "Conscientiously differing in some points of church polity, which have broken our ecclesiastical unity, we patiently bide the time when, in the providence of God, we can see eye to eye; and that unity may be restored without the sacrifice of principle or prejudicing the interests of either organization." Messengers were appointed in return.

CHAPTER XXXI

General Conference of the Methodist Church, May, 1871; roster of members; Hon. F. H. Pierpont, President; fraternal messengers from Maryland; Revs. J. T. Murray and McCormick suggested Union with the Methodist Protestant Church; five messengers appointed to reciprocate; statistics; Adrian College report by J. S. Thrap very favorable; Book Concern and periodical in good condition; fraternal delegates made a commission on Union, etc.—Decease and sketch of Rev. Dr. George Brown—Virginia Conference met at Norfolk, Va., November, 1871, in refutation of the allegations that it had been “dissolved”—Dr. J. J. Murray as fraternal messenger to the General Conference of the M. E. Church; what he said, and what they did; curious denomiational reserve, but characteristic—First Foreign Missionary Society by the Women of the Church in Baltimore in 1872—The *Central Protestant* in North Carolina, under Rev. J. L. Michaux—Obituaries of Reformers—General Conference at Lynchburg, Va., May, 1874; roster of members; Rev. Dr. L. W. Bates, President; the diaconate abolished; call of a Convention for Ahingdou, Va., for May, 1878; reconstruction of the Book Concern; none of the Commissioners of the “Methodist” Church appeared officially; reasons for it—A perilous period to the Church; fidelity of the ministry to the cause; examples; their moral heroism; elaboration of the idea as an encouragement to-day.

“MINUTES of the Second General Conference of the Methodist Church (formerly Methodist Protestant), held at Pittsburgh, Pa., May 17–27, 1871.” This is the title-page of the twelvemo, 80 pp., pamphlet containing the minutes. Its assembly at Adrian, Mich., had defaulted on a difference of opinion. Francis A. Pierpont was called to the chair and H. B. Knight, Secretary. The following is the roster of members:—

<i>Ministers</i>	NEW YORK	<i>Laymen</i>
J. J. Smith		Lewis Johnson ¹
J. H. Robinson		Calvin Tomkins ¹
	ONONDAGA	
Hosea Ure		Daniel Eddy
N. R. Swift		Peter Weaver
	GENESEE	
E. A. Wheat		Alexander Cary
	NEW JERSEY	
E. D. Stultz		J. M. Brown ¹

¹ Absent.

NORTH CAROLINA

<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
W. M. Kerr	W. A. McCall ¹

PENNSYLVANIA

Benjamin R. Smith	S. Bloes ¹
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PITTSBURGH

George Brown	F. H. Pierpont
William Collier	F. H. Collier
John Scott	G. W. Pogue
Alexander Clark	Thomas F. Scott
Peter T. Laishley	Benson Fordyce
Horace B. Knight	William Rinehart

MUSKINGUM

John Burns	Joseph Wells
William Hastings	Lewis Browning
E. S. Hoagland	William Deford
Cornelius Springer	Henry Cassell
Joel S. Thrap	Samuel Moore
J. C. Ogle	J. B. Hamilton
Joseph H. Hamilton	H. E. H. Hartsock

OHIO

W. R. Parsons	Thompson Douglas
Thomas B. Graham	James M. Johnson
Jonathan M. Flood	Thomas J. Finch
S. B. Smith	H. C. Hamilton
Martin B. V. Euans	J. C. Murphy

MICHIGAN

Asa Mahan	Chester Cooley ¹
William H. Bakewell	Harmon Owen ¹

WESTERN MICHIGAN

John Kost	E. Williams
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INDIANA

S. M. Lowden	A. D. Amos
H. Stackhouse	Joseph Hall

NORTH INDIANA

J. H. Luse	E. Hall ¹
R. Hussey ¹	A. D. Whitford

NORTH ILLINOIS

W. H. Jordan	J. R. Mulvane
Cornelius Gray	Richard Mount

¹ Absent.

SOUTH ILLINOIS	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
S. M. Gentry	C. Link
W. M. P. Quinn	George Stout
IOWA	
William Rensburgh	John M. Murphy
W. Huddleston	David Patterson ¹
A. S. Elliott	J. Bartholomew
NORTH IOWA	
William Purvis (deceased)	T. B. Carpenter
NEBRASKA	
John M. Young ¹	Alanson Jones ¹
KANSAS	
Samuel Young ¹	F. W. Johnson ¹
MISSOURI	
William McFarland	R. Calvert
A. W. Motz	J. W. Bush
NORTH MISSOURI	
R. A. Bathurst	Robert White ¹
TENNESSEE AND NORTH GEORGIA	
William J. Witcher ¹	A. S. Vining ¹

Hon. Francis H. Pierpont was elected President, H. B. Knight and J. R. Mulvane, Secretaries. The salient business was as follows: A resolution by J. H. Hamilton was referred, "That the committee on legislation be instructed to inquire whether the change of name from Methodist Protestant to that of Methodist Church does not require a more particular statement of the steps taken to bring about that change, with the view of more fully assisting in litigation in regard to church property." The fraternal messengers from the Maryland Conference, Rev. J. T. Murray and Rev. Thomas McCormick, were heard, with responses by Rev. Cornelius Springer and Rev. A. H. Bassett; and the messengers from the Methodist Episcopal Church, Rev. J. G. Bruce and Rev. S. M. Merrill, responded to by George Brown and William Collier. Five fraternal messengers were appointed to the ensuing General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church. The removal of the Book Concern from Springfield to Pittsburgh,

¹ Absent.

Pa., consumed much of the Conference time, but was finally determined in favor of the change, "say by October 15, 1871." The new hymn book was accepted, with modifications. The report of the committee on ordination of women was received, and with it a minority report by J. J. Smith. It was several times discussed, and, finally, on a motion to adopt the minority report, which was against the ordination of women, it was carried by a vote of forty-six to seventeen. The next day "sister Bradford" was allowed to address the Conference on the ordination of women, stating her experience. The following motion was offered, but not passed, "That each Annual Conference shall have power to authorize females to preach the gospel in the Methodist Church." The report on the Book Concern showed assets, \$23,000, liabilities, \$700. The subscription list of the *Methodist Recorder* was 4604, including free and exchange papers. It was an increase of 1047 in four years. Alexander Clark was reelected editor by a practically unanimous vote. On the second ballot A. H. Bassett was reelected Book Agent. F. H. Pierpont, George Brown, and H. B. Knight were made a committee "to inquire and report on what further legislation, if any, is necessary for securing our church property, and, if any, procure the same." The report of J. S. Thrap, agent of Adrian College, showed, as an exhibit for the past four years and five months: College ground, buildings, and other appurtenances, \$150,000; lands transferred to us with the college, \$2000; notes for payment of debts, \$10,540; other promises, \$3000; interest now due, \$11,000; endowment invested and collectible, \$100,000; total, \$276,510. Debts unprovided for, \$14,017.04. The Board of Missions reported for the quadrennium, receipts, \$5554.64, expenditures, \$5559.65. C. H. Williams was elected Corresponding Secretary. The Board of Ministerial Education reported that thirty-three students had been under its care in the four years, fifteen of these had joined their Conferences. Receipts for the same period were \$21,690.82; expenditures, \$19,009.23. J. B. Walker was reelected Corresponding Secretary. The committee on Methodistic Union reported in part: "In the love of the Saviour, and by the precious memories of those honored servants of God, who were the founders of the Methodist Protestant Church, we invite our brethren to meet us in an effort to effect union of the two churches. We recommend that the fraternal delegates appointed by the General Conference be constituted a Commission to receive any propositions looking toward union



NORTH HALL.

ADRIAN COLLEGE BUILDINGS.

Location of Buildings, Adrian, Michigan.

MUSEUM.



Downs' Hall.

South Hall.

Metcalf Hall.

ADRIAN COLLEGE AND CAMPUS.

Estimated Value of all the Buildings and Grounds, \$150,000.

that may be made by the General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, and report the same to the next General Conference of the Methodist Church. We also hope that the literature of both churches will be freely interchanged." The statistics were: itinerants, 766; unstationed ministers and preachers, 432; members, 52,000; probationers, 1796; churches, 569½; parsonages, 143; value of church property, \$1,609,425. In North Carolina, 50 itinerants, 1731 members, 13 churches, with value of \$1600 were claimed, and are included in the totals given, but no reliance can be placed upon the representations; and a critical examination of the figures upon their face shows a misstatement and exaggeration as to North Carolina. Princeton, Ill., was fixed as the place for the next General Conference. A brief address from the President, and the Conference adjourned.

South Hall of Adrian College was destroyed by fire early in 1869, but was rebuilt at a cost of \$13,000. The last issue of the *Methodist Recorder* at Springfield, O., bears date October 25, 1871. The plant was then removed to Pittsburgh in hired apartments. The publisher, A. H. Bassett, was prostrated with disease, and the editor, Alexander Clark, failed in health, leading to a protracted absence in California of some months. In February, 1872, the publisher resigned, and was succeeded, the ensuing July, by James Robison. About May, 1873, the Board of Publication came into possession of the old parsonage of the First church, and established the paper and Concern in it, to enter upon a course of reasonable prosperity, the subscription list of the paper running up to the highest figures it ever reached under the popular and versatile editor.

And now came a shock to the West and the whole Church. Dr. George Brown departed this life October 26, 1871, in the fifty-sixth year of his ministry and the seventy-ninth year of his age. He was born in Washington County, Pa., January 29, 1792, his parents having first settled at Pipe Creek, Md., and were members of the first class formed in America by Rev. Robert Strawbridge, not later than 1762.¹ In 1800 his parents removed to Ohio, and built a cabin on Cedar-Lick-Run, now in Jefferson County. His educational advantages were limited, but, by unre-

¹ Not only is this date in evidence, but there is collateral proof that within a year after, or in 1763, Strawbridge had organized a work on what is known as Patapsco circuit of the Baltimore Conference of the M. E. Church, and regular Methodist preaching can be traced from that year. In the old Patapsco church the one hundred and thirty-fifth anniversary was celebrated in the autumn of 1898, under the present pastor, Rev. W. F. Roberts.

mitting application, he gained knowledge enough to teach school in 1811. In 1812 he enlisted, and rose to orderly sergeant in the American army. August 21, 1813, at a camp-meeting near Baltimore, Md., under the preaching of Snetten, Shinn, and McCaine, he was converted, and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the twenty-first year of his age. Joining the Baltimore Conference in 1815, he labored until 1823, when he was appointed Presiding Elder on the Monongahela District. In 1826, while stationed at Steubenville, O., he heard the first discussion on church polity, between the Elder Swazie and Dr. David Stanton, father of War Secretary Stanton, whose mother belonged to the old Church at the time. On the 3d of June, 1828, having lingered for a season, he cast in his lot with the Reformers, leaving preferment and a good support for the labors and sacrifices of a new Church. The motives of such men cannot be impugned. His controversy with Bishop Hedding, which he has traversed in his "Recollections of Fifty Years in the Itinerancy," in vindication of his actions and his memory, led to much slanderous abuse, as already exposed in these pages. In 1829 he assisted in the organization of the Ohio Conference, a member of the Convention of 1830, and of numerous Conventions and General Conferences thereafter, as stated in current connections, filling all the responsible positions of the Church, College President, Editor, and voluminous writer for the press, and to the last maintained a phenomenal activity, as late as 1869 travelling seven thousand miles, and preaching eighty-five times in his seventy-seventh year. Blessed with splendid health, he never missed his Conference from 1815 to 1871. Physically, he was of large stature, well developed, of robust frame and iron constitution. Mentally, he was largely endowed, a fine debater, an entertaining conversationist, of pure life and unspotted reputation built upon a character of great symmetry and beauty. The life of every company, witful and genial, he was loved by old and young. His attainments were considerable, a preacher of power, and even for the years after a nervous affection gave to his speech a staccato utterance, he seemed all the more interesting as talker or declaimer. At last the remarkable vital powers failed, though conscious to the end. He said to Rev. A. H. Bassett: "What a blunder it would have been, if I had come to this hour without securing the comforts of religion. But I have unshaken faith in God! I know whom I have believed." His funeral, at Springfield, was largely attended, twenty-six ministers of the various

denominations, with the venerable Bishop Morris, one of his close personal friends, adding their presence in respect to his memory. He was buried in the town cemetery, and a suitable monument marks the spot. (See Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 406-411.)

The Virginia Conference assembled at Norfolk, Va., November, 1871, selecting the place in refutation of the allegations, that those who had withdrawn in 1870 had dissolved it, either practically or legally. The Hopewell church property case had established its legal status; the Holston Conference, which had been set off in the southwest of the State, was merged in it, and its annual sessions have been continuous ever since. Yadkin College, having been repaired and reconstructed in organization, was formally accepted by the North Carolina Conference at its annual session of 1871, and has continued under its patronage, with varied fortune, to the present time. President S. Simpson labored for a series of years to establish it, and his successors likewise, under disadvantages of location and other discouragements.

Rev. Dr. D. D. Whedon, editor of the *Methodist Episcopal Review*, and editor Nesbit, of the *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate*, sharply discussed Prelatical and Presbyterial Episcopacy, the former stoutly contending for the prelatical view of Methodist Episcopacy, and was the head of a school of thought, not yet quite extinct in that Church, with its inconsequent reasoning, its bald assumptions, and its inconsistent positions as to Wesley, Coke, and Asbury. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church assembled in May, 1872. The lay-delegates, elected in the proportion of one to three of the ministers, took their seats by action of the Conference, just ninety-nine years after the assembly of the first Conference, — it had cost a century of struggle to wrest the pitiful boon from the exclusive clerical governmental aristocrats. The General Conference of 1870 had appointed Hon. George Vickers and Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray as fraternal messengers; the former was detained by his duties in the United States Senate, so that the latter represented the Church. He was cordially received, and made an acceptable address; even his declaration, "You would not have me say that you have made no mistakes," with mental reference to the doings of 1820-30, elicited no dissent, except to put the body in more alert attitude as listeners. This, or something like it, seems to have put the grave and reverend seniors into a pacific mood, as they invited the coöperation of other Methodist bodies, with their

Missionary Church Extension Society, the Freedman's Aid Society, etc., but mark the inevitable provisos, "but only so that no loss shall accrue to us through such arrangements"; with instructions to their officials to "be careful to locate the schools where they will be of the most advantage to our Church."

The Maryland Conference at its session of March, 1872, made a tentative effort to reconstruct the Book Concern by raising a fund of \$10,000 on a coöperative plan, through W. J. C. Dulany's book establishment, but it did not materialize. An effort was made by the West Virginia Conference to establish a school, or college, at Pruntytown, W. Va., in the autumn of 1872. Rev. Henry Nice, pastor of Cumberland, Md., station, leading a disaffected section, was tried and suspended by Conference action for malfeasance. The proceedings culminated in the secession of the majority, who held possession of the church and parsonage, and the disloyal pastor was received into the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, carrying the property and his adherents with him. Litigation to recover it by the minority resulted in a favorable decision by the civil court on the principle of common law and equity, that those who adhere are the legal representatives of those who built the property for specified use denominationally. Coming so near the General Conference action of the old Church just referred to, it is not known whether the Baltimore Conference took their cue in thus making themselves a party to the transaction as an illustration of the coöperation invited with other Methodist bodies, "so that no loss shall accrue to us," or not. To say the least, it was utterly discourteous to a sister Methodism.¹

A Woman's Foreign Missionary Society was formed at the

¹ The disaffected majority held possession under encouragement from the presiding elder of that district for several years before the minority could secure legal decision, which was finally made in our favor by Judge Pearre in 1874. During the pendency of the case the Maryland Conference, trusting in the sense of ecclesiastical comity of the Baltimore Conference, appointed the venerable Rev. Dr. Augustus Webster to visit the annual session of 1874, and secure if possible a hearing in the case. He was kindly received, and the matter referred to a committee, with the assurance to him that when they met he should have an opportunity of being heard before it. He attended with this purpose for several days, when he was surprised to hear that the committee was ready to report, and did so with the decision that they had "no jurisdiction" in the case, and without debate it was approved. The elder then blandly approached Dr. Webster, who was present, and asked him what he thought of the report. Righteously indignant over the breach of faith with him, he bluffly answered, "I think the receiver is as bad as the thief." Not a few of the brethren have never since been proud of their conduct on this occasion.

East Baltimore station in 1872, largely through the efforts of the pastor's wife, Mrs. Mary Ann W. Murray, and Jane R. Roberts. It was the first of its kind in the Church, and, as no such work existed as yet in it, this society for some years operated as an auxiliary to the Woman's Union Society of New York, on an un-denominational basis. Dr. Curry, editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*, in January, 1873, put a damper of discouragement upon the movement for general Methodistic Union, with the result that Alexander Clark, of the *Methodist Recorder*, earnestly advocated a reunion of the Methodist with the Methodist Protestant Church. Rev. Dr. L. W. Bates, having succeeded J. T. Murray as editor of the official Baltimore paper, assisted by Dr. Augustus Webster and Dr. S. B. Southerland, he resigned in May, 1873, in favor of the former committee plan with joint powers, and for 1873, to the ensuing General Conference of 1874, the committee was Drs. Augustus Webster, L. W. Bates, and S. B. Southerland. Volume 40 of the paper began with the issue of July 12, 1873. Quite a discussion arose in the paper over a proposal to strike out the word "white" by the ensuing General Convention, which elicited a diversity of opinion, but strongly in favor. The Maryland Conference at its session of 1873 had, through A. Webster, J. K. Nichols, and others, resolved to recommend to the Annual Conferences to substitute for the 12th Article of the Constitution, "Each Annual Conference shall have power to define terms of membership and eligibility to office within its own district." This would have eliminated the word "white" from the book, and it was a growing sentiment in the Church. The *Protestant Advocate*, a weekly paper, was inaugurated in Georgia, by Rev. J. G. Coldwell, under the auspices of the Conference. He was a strong writer, and the enterprise was pushed with energy; but after a few years declined to its extinction, adding one more to such wrecks along the ecclesiastical shore. The *Central Protestant*, a weekly paper, was proposed for North Carolina, by J. L. Michaux, editor and proprietor. The first number was issued February 14, 1874, at Greensboro', N. C., folio sheet of four pages. It was patronized by the Conference and assisted by brethren, but without financial responsibility by the body. The editor, having lost his preaching voice, resorted, in part, to this enterprise for a subsistence, and, through toils and sacrifices, and a single-eyed devotion rarely equalled, he maintained its existence, under varying fortune, until 1890, a period of sixteen years, the best sustained effort to

keep alive an Annual Conference organ in the history of such enterprises. The *Pennsylvania Methodist Protestant* was inaugurated by Rev. G. W. Sterigere of that Conference, and its first number appeared April 11, 1874. It was a monthly at fifty cents a year, small quarto of four pages. It was continued about a year, and then went the way of all ephemeral things, despite the devotion and ability of its projector. The Book Concern at Pittsburgh, Pa., was burnt out early in January, 1874, but soon recovered its normal condition.

Ivy Harris of North Carolina died October 19, 1872, aged eighty-six years. He was one of the most influential and pronounced of the original Reformers and the progenitor of a family whose consecration to the cause is perpetuated to this day. The name of Harris and Methodist Reform in that State are identical. His masterful correspondence with Rev. William Compton of the old Church anent the expulsion of Lewellyn Jones for his Reform principles is preserved, in the full text, in Paris's "History," pp. 102-125. He departed in peace, and his memory is blessed. Rev. H. T. Arnold of South Carolina, Reformer, died November 30, 1872; Rev. W. C. Pool, the co-martyr with Dennis B. Dorsey, in 1827, of Reform, after a varied experience of ministerial and secular employ as surveyor, etc., found an honored grave in Nebraska, then a frontier, December 14, 1872; John Jervis, Reformer of Maryland, aged eighty-four years, obituaries January 18 and 25, 1873; Henry Webster, Reformer of Harford County, Md., January 25, 1873; David Arthur of Chestertown, Md., early Reformer, aged eighty-three, April 5, 1873; Hiram Harding, M.D., of Virginia, early Reformer, April 19, 1873; John Rose, M.D., of Baltimore, Md., early Reformer, March 14 and 28, 1874; Rev. Jordan Chandler, early Reformer, May 9, 1874.

The Eleventh General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church convened at Lynchburg, Va., May 1, 1874, by calling Rev. John Paris of North Carolina to the chair, and J. W. Charlton of Maryland, Secretary. A committee on credentials reported the following as representatives-elect to the body:—

VIRGINIA

Ministers

M. J. Langhorne
George R. Barr
J. G. Johnson

Laymen

I. S. McQuown
S. K. Brooks
C. W. Button

MARYLAND	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
L. W. Bates	W. J. C. Dulany
D. A. Shermer	R. S. Griffith
David Wilson	W. B. Usilton
E. J. Drinkhouse	J. W. Thompson
S. B. Southerland	O. Hammond
D. W. Bates	A. Donelson
J. W. Charlton	Pere Wilmer
W. S. Hammond	T. A. Newman
W. M. Strayer	S. S. Ewell
J. J. Murray	J. A. Kennedy
T. D. Valiant	Charles Billingslea
NORTH CAROLINA	
John Paris	F. H. Whitaker
J. H. Gilbreath	S. Simpson
J. R. Ball	W. A. Harris
A. C. Harris	W. J. Ellis
J. L. Michaux	W. A. Lindsey
J. H. Page	J. M. Odell
T. H. Pegram	L. W. Batchelor
	J. L. Ogburn
GEORGIA	
F. H. M. Henderson	J. W. Adamson
J. Q. A. Redford	J. B. McDaniel
ALABAMA	
G. H. McFaden	B. S. Bibb
D. J. Sampley	C. E. Crenshaw
W. J. Nolen	A. H. Townsend
WEST VIRGINIA	
George Nestor	J. B. Watson
O. Lowther	A. T. Cralle
G. W. Barrett	B. Jackson
John Clark	W. Vandervort
W. M. Betts	W. J. Lowther
H. P. F. King	Samuel Saylor
E. F. Westfall	J. H. Curry
SOUTH CAROLINA	
John Burdine	Lewis Yarborough
TENNESSEE	
W. J. Finley	Wm. Collins
TEXAS	
G. W. Johnson	Young Smith

PENNSYLVANIA	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
J. K. Helmbold	John Kitson
INDIANA	
G. W. Bozell	J. Rodgers
MISSISSIPPI	
Elijah Red	W. B. Nance
ILLINOIS AND DES MOINES	
John Sexsmith	Orestes Ames
ARKANSAS AND LOUISIANA	
J. W. Harper	W. F. Wallace
J. M. P. Hickerson	Elijah Hearn
WEST TENNESSEE	
J. A. Fussell	J. T. Ray
NORTH TENNESSEE	
John Stone	J. W. Patrick
MCCAINE	
G. P. Miller	J. C. Wayland
COLORADO	
Eli Terry	J. J. Mabry

There are no notations of those absent, but the writer's recollection, as a member present, is that it was not large, and confined to the outlying Conferences.

The election for permanent officers resulted in L. W. Bates, President; A. C. Harris and J. B. Watson, Secretaries. The President announced the usual standing committees. The order of Deacons was stricken from the Discipline, with the form of ordination. The fraternal greetings of the Conference were sent to the General Conference of the Church South, then in session at Louisville, Ky., and a reciprocating message was received in return. Lynchburg, Norfolk, and Heathville of Va., were added to the Maryland District. The Committee on Literature reported, commending Yadkin and Western Maryland Colleges with the Theological department of the latter to the care and patronage of the Church, and favorable mention made of a proposal from the

trustees of Bowdon College, Georgia, to make it a Conference institution on given conditions. Rev. Dr. R. B. Thomson of Virginia was made an honorary member of the Conference. Rev. Dr. Wesley Kenney, from the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was introduced, and addressed the Conference fraternally and officially, Dr. L. W. Bates responding. Two-thirds of the Annual Conferences not having concurred in any of the proposed changes of the Constitution, none was made. The Committee on Home and Foreign Missions reported, deploring that the Church had done so little in this direction, and making sundry recommendations, among them one for a new Board: S. B. Southerland, R. S. Rowe, F. Swentzel, Thomas McCormick, H. T. Gernhardt, ministers. Laymen: W. S. Greenwood, F. A. Fairbank, J. G. Clarke, William Bond, J. E. A. Cunningham, James Bond, and James Frame. Rev. Alexander Clark, editor, and James Robison, publisher, of the *Methodist Recorder*, were introduced, and expressed the cordial fraternal greeting of the Methodist Church, which was responded to by Rev. Dr. L. W. Bates on behalf of the General Conference. A report from a special committee, through John Paris, was read three times and adopted, with great unanimity, as follows:—

WHEREAS, this General Conference is satisfied that there is a growing desire on the part of the membership of the M. P. Church to hold a General Convention to take into consideration certain changes in the Constitution of the Church—Therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That we recommend the Annual Conferences composing the Methodist Protestant Church, to unite unanimously in a call for a General Convention for the purpose of effecting such changes in the 2nd, 10th and 14th Articles of the Constitution of the M. P. Church as may be deemed by said Convention necessary, together with such alterations in all other articles of the Constitution and book of discipline, as they may judge proper.

2. *Resolved*, That said Convention shall meet at Abingdon, Va., on the first Friday in May, 1878.

3. *Resolved*, That a committee of nine persons be appointed by this General Conference to confer with any like commission from any Methodist body in America who may signify a desire to confer with them upon the subject of union with the M. P. Church; and especially with a committee of 9, to be appointed by the General Conference of the Methodist Church, which has made overtures to us for a reunion, believing it to be the desire of the majority of the members of the Methodist Church to effect a union of the Methodist and Methodist Protestant Churches, upon terms which shall be alike agreeable and honorable to each; and to submit the terms of union to the General Convention herein before provided for.

4. *Resolved*, That said Commissioners shall be appointed as follows: 2 Ministers and 1 Layman from Maryland; 1 Minister and 1 Layman from

West Virginia ; 1 Minister and 1 Layman from North Carolina ; 1 Layman from Virginia, and 1 Minister from Tennessee. The representatives from the respective Conferences shall nominate by ballot from among their own number, to be confirmed by this General Conference.

In the event of the death of any Commissioner thus chosen before the time of meeting as heretofore named, the standing District Committee of the Conference having the vacancy shall have power to name a substitute.

The following are the nine Commissioners elected under the 4th Resolution: Rev. L. W. Bates, Rev. S. B. Southerland, and O. Hammond of Maryland; Rev. E. F. Westfall and W. V. Chidester of West Virginia; Rev. R. H. Wills and S. Simpson of North Carolina; M. T. Peebles of Virginia; Rev. B. F. Duggan of Tennessee.

The Committee on Revision of the Discipline suggested sundry minor changes, which were adopted (see revised edition). The Committee on Statistics reported by Conferences, several not heard from and others imperfect as to details, giving totals: itinerants, 546; members, 49,310; value of church property, \$1,122,351. Abingdon, Va., was selected as the place for the next General Conference. Fraternal messengers were appointed to the Methodist, the Methodist Episcopal, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The Conference adjourned May 12, 1874, with prayer and benediction.

The Convention on the Book Concern and Periodical was held May 5, in an interval of General Conference. C. W. Button was called to the chair, and W. S. Hammond, Secretary. The report of the Book Directory was read, and made the following exhibit:—

GENERAL VIEW OF THE BUSINESS OF THE CONCERN

1. *Estimated worth of Concern, March 1, 1874:*

Ledger accounts	\$813 05	
Merchandise (stock on hand)	1,985 14	
Baltimore City Stock	2,500 00	
Cash	1,014 86	
		\$6,313 05

LIABILITIES

Ledger accounts	809 22	
Amount due 2,834 subscribers, aggregating 867 full subscribers, for one year, to the <i>Methodist</i> <i>Protestant</i>	1,647 30	
		2,456 52
Net worth of Concern, March 1, 1874		\$3,856 53

2. *Estimated worth of Concern, March 1, 1870 :*

Bill receivable	\$1,312 88	
Merchandise (stock on hand)	1,682 34	
Baltimore City Stock	2,500 00	
Cash	1,860 45	
		\$7,355 67
Liabilities	188 85	\$7,166 82

Net loss in four years was \$3,310 29

Showing an average loss for each year of \$827.57.

The loss for the year just closed was \$1,019.80, which further shows that our losses are increasing.

The item of amount due subscribers, \$1,647.30, has not heretofore been estimated a "liability," the "good will" or "list" of the Concern being considered a just offset.

3. *Subscription to the Methodist Protestant :*

Number of Subscribers March 1, 1871	3,260
an increase over 1870 of 75.	
Number of Subscribers March 1, 1872	3,374
an increase over 1871 of 114.	
Number of Subscribers March 1, 1873	3,254
a decrease on 1872 of 120.	
Number of Subscribers March 1, 1874	2,834
a decrease on 1873 of 420.	

4. *Management of Methodist Protestant.*

On the 3d of April, 1871, the Directory elected Rev. J. T. Murray, D.D., editor, at a salary not to exceed \$800 per annum; which position he filled till March, 1872, and received for his services the supposed or real profits of the Concern for the year ending March, 1872, amounting to \$462.95.

On the 11th of April, 1872, the Directory elected Rev. L. W. Bates, D.D., editor for one year, without compensation, which position he held till 20th May, 1873, when he resigned, since which time the paper has been conducted under the management of an Editorial Committee, composed of Dr. L. W. Bates, Dr. A. Webster, Dr. S. B. Southerland, and Dr. J. T. Murray.

An elaborate plan from the Maryland Conference for the reconstruction of the Book Concern was submitted, referred, and, by the General Conference committee, disapproved as impracticable. (See printed Convention Minutes, pp. 25, 26.) May 8 another session was held, with unimportant results. May 11 another meeting, when the Committee on Book Concern and Periodical submitted a plan, the salient points of which are as follows:—

1. In reference to the Book Concern, to secure the services of some one established in business in the book trade, as agent, who shall furnish office room for the Book Concern and Periodical, light and fuel; and shall have

exclusive control of the business of the Book Concern, keeping always on hand an ample supply of our Church Hymn Books and Disciplines. As compensation for his services and the facilities furnished the Periodical and Editor, he shall have the use of the copyrights and plates of the Book Concern.

In entering into this arrangement he may purchase the present stock in trade of the Concern at the just valuation of three disinterested persons in the book trade.

2. The Convention shall elect a new Directory, whose duty it shall be to carry into effect the measures herein proposed.

The Convention shall also elect an Editor, who shall have charge of the Church paper and manage all the business pertaining thereto.

The Directory shall exercise a general supervision and control of the publishing interests of the Church. They shall fix the salary of the Editor, and act for this Convention in the interim of its sittings in any matter relating to its publishing interest; and should said Directory fail in perfecting the arrangements herein proposed, then full authority is herein given for the adoption of any other plan that will best subserve the interests of the Methodist Protestant Church.

And we would recommend these arrangements to go into effect, at as early a day as may be found practicable.

As to the change proposed in a paper referred to us, looking to a change of the paper from a folio to a quarto, we advise that it be left optional with the Directory.

JOHN PARIS,
WM. B. USILTON,
GEORGE NESTOR,
GEORGE R. BARR,
J. W. ADAMSON,

WILLIAM COLLINS,
G. W. JOHNSON,
B. S. BIBB,
JOHN BURDINE.

The plan was adopted. The salary of the retiring Agent, T. W. Ewing, was, by order, continued until October 1, 1874, as a gratuity. May 12 a final session was held and the following new Directory elected: H. F. Zollickoffer, T. B. Bateman, H. T. Gernhardt, J. G. Clarke, W. J. C. Dulany, James Frame, with L. W. Bates and D. E. Reese, *ex officio*s. All were new members but Clarke and Dulany. "Dr. E. J. Drinkhouse was elected Editor of the *Methodist Protestant*. Whole number of votes cast, thirty-six; number cast for Dr. Drinkhouse, twenty-four." Pledges were made to support the periodical and Concern. After incidental business the Convention adjourned.

Some facts of history demand recognition not heretofore considered, so as not to break the flow of the official business of this Conference and the Convention on Book Concern. Not one of the "Methodist" Commissioners appointed to treat with the Church on union appeared at Lynchburg, on the ground that the General Conference of 1870 had stricken out the authorization of

Commissioners to meet those appointed by their General Conference of 1871, consisting of John Scott, John Burns, F. H. Pierpont, A. H. Bassett, and H. E. H. Hartsock, who were empowered to "receive any proposition looking toward union that might be made" them, but not to offer any. Dr. Scott, in his work, "Fifty Years," says, "These commissioners, for what they considered good and sufficient reasons, did not attend." He also gives the full text of a private correspondence between the writer and himself anent this matter. The fraternal messengers, Alexander Clark and James Robison, made and received some explanations at Lynchburg, which led to the action the Conference took, as already given. As a finality, Dr. Scott adds, "There is one amusing thing, however, which cannot fail to be noticed in connection with the action of each of the parties to the proposed union, and that is the caution taken to prevent the impression that it was the party that first proposed the union." He leaves the reader to his own inferences, and the writer will do the same.

It was the gloomiest period in the history of the Methodist Protestant Church, and was felt by the representatives at Lynchburg. Then were revealed the devastating effects of the aborted Union movement with the Church South. The condition of the Book Concern and periodical was critical in the extreme. After the greenback issues of the Civil War, and the inflation of artificial values, there came the necessary reaction, and the period of 1872-76 was one of depreciation and well-nigh panic. All the Churches shared in the depression, and, as is the case in times of discouragement, they cast about for helps; and it inaugurated among the Methodists in particular the era of fraternity and "Union." It developed a marvellous tenacity and fidelity to principles at the same time, and, if the writer were disposed to claim special providential oversight, it is apparent that nothing but such oversight saved the Methodist Protestant Church, in its disunited sections, from absorption, and proclaimed its mission among the Churches, not yet accomplished. With the best motive ecclesiastical selfishness is capable of, not a few of the prominent ministers were baited to change their Church relations. The futility of such a struggle, as churches, was pointed out, and the fatuity of preachers, whose abilities would command ample temporal support, still adhering, with the love of personal sacrifice, to a theory of church government, insidiously urged. One case is fresh in the recollection of the writer. A minister of the Tennessee Conference, who had won reputation in all his section

as a forcible and eloquent preacher, was approached by a Presiding Elder, a personal friend, with the kindly meant suggestion that his own destitution, as well as that of his family, could be relieved, with the promise of an appointment that would amply support him and family, if he would come into the Methodist Church, South. The ill-provided brother listened in tearful silence, knowing that the offer was one of friendship and sincerely made, and then gave answer, "I cannot do it!" He is still a minister in the Church. It was about this time that the writer, not among the ill-paid and not open to such a temptation, wrote for the encouragement of all true men, an article for the official paper on the "Moral Heroism of the Methodist Protestant Preacher," which is here in part reproduced with a like purpose.

Not the fathers only, but their honored sons in the gospel, are worthy of such designation, the contention of to-day losing none of the features of the contention of 1820-30. It was one of those anomalies in governmental reform, whether profane or sacred, when concessions are proposed by those who represent the throne, and authority itself suggesting the distribution of its powers. That ministers should have engaged in this scheme of self-abnegation, and joined the voice of the people, whose rights had been overslaughed by the divinely authorized lawmakers and expounders, is irrefragable proof of their distinguished moral worth and exalted heroism. The churchmanship which could anticipate the struggle which has since marked the political history of both the great mother organizations, resulting in lay-delegation in their respective councils, could also vaticinate the bitter prejudice, loss of social position, personal hardship, and other attendants of a state of persecution which followed the dangerous experiment upon which they resolved to enter. They were men of inflexible will and leonine heart, and for what? Redress of personal grievance as ministers? Party ambition in those who were behind the throne in their day, and courted to share the irresponsible functions? Who, in consenting to expulsion and separation from all the loved associations of their spiritual mother, also consented to slanderous aspersions of their fair names, the inquisition of their motives, and the traducement of their purposes? Was it to leave the strong side for the weak? He has read the history of human nature without profit who cannot see a sublime spectacle in this procedure of a privileged class of men voluntarily descending from their elevation, and, on their own motion, *parting with power*, that element whose tendency is to

accumulation, and its march ever onward, and accepting position in a Christian brotherhood where the minister is the equal of all, but the superior of none.

All great movements in Church or State, under the leadership of advanced ideas, never find the people, in their average mental and moral status, abreast with the progress proposed; otherwise advanced ideas would be a solecism, and leadership a name. Progress would then be in masses, and such coincidence of revolutionary thought contradicts all historic experience in science or religion. When it is admitted, therefore, that popular Methodism, in the early days of Reform, was not prepared for what has been stigmatized as "radical" changes, it is no argument against the truth for which the Church has set itself in defence; but a simple iteration, in fact, of what is true of every step taken by advancing society. It does not strip the garlands, which their children have woven, from the reverend heads of the hero fathers. They were men of advanced ideas, as their writings attest; imbued with a sense of religious liberty, so Christ-like in its breadth of love, as might not suffer the exercise of exclusive rule in themselves, but insisted on division of authority with all who are in our Lord Jesus Christ; and it may be questioned whether the people, as such, were not much better prepared for this onward movement in the days of 1828, than the Episcopal brethren are willing to admit; if judgment may be based on the violent means employed for the suppression and extirpation of the suspicious innovation by the velvet-gloved, but iron hand of priestly authority.

But, as in all kindred measures, an elective affinity attracted to its standard the true and tried from out the serried ranks of the Methodist host; and around them, for more than fifty years, there has been an accretion of the same material, constituting, for the most part, an intelligent and appreciative community of men and women known as the Methodist Protestant Church. It is no derogation, then, of her worthy lay-element, if stress is more particularly laid upon the heroism of her ministry. Few have entered her itinerant ranks who would not have received a hearty welcome to the Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North or South, and have been borne upon their wings to positions of honor and usefulness. Those who were, and are, the young men have chosen otherwise. They must be credited with an intelligent discrimination. They espoused the cause because they found it worthy. Now and then some one who has

been nursed upon the Church bosom, for policy or pelf, turns away from his maternal love, and gives his strength to another denomination, more respectable (?), mayhap, or overweening in numbers and influence. And now and then some one, confessing weakness in the act, — the lack of that grit which carries a true man forward to the hero's crown, — drops out of the ranks, and joins himself where weak things can cling and live, like barnacles on the ship's bottom. But these exceptions granted, the Conference records are rolls of honor — brave spirits who have worn their escutcheons untarnished by the thought of desertion or the feeling of dismay. And that, too, under discouragements which, while they should not be magnified on the one hand, need not be minified on the other.

The assertion shall not, then, be qualified that the Christian Church, denominationally understood, cannot boast a more self-sacrificing ministry, men truer to principle, and a high sense of ecclesiastical honor, than this heroic ministry of loyalty and love. Laboring in many places, amid local weakness, to uphold the distinguishing name, until "our mission" shall be accomplished in its completeness, the symbol of the toil-worn brethren might be Issachar: an ass between two burdens. Despised for paucity of numbers, when compared with the parent bodies; the wonder of those who do not understand; compelled to carry the Church because not strong enough, compensatively, to carry her ministry, — bating other reasons not so creditable to portions of her laity, the defence of whose rights, be it forgotten never, is the sole ground of its separate existence as a struggling organization, — the Methodist Protestant ministry is conspicuous for Moral Heroism, and yet to be crowned by the annalist as worthy of mention on the same page with those who have given an impulse to the progress of liberal Christian ideas, and died in daring to carry their Excelsior to the topmost peak.

CHAPTER XXXII

Reconstruction of the Book Concern in Baltimore; Sunday-school department opened in it—Twelfth General Conference of the Methodist Church at Princeton, Ill., May, 1875; roster of members; fraternal messengers from the East and South; from other Methodisms; synopsis of its doings; nine commissioners appointed to the Methodist Protestant Church to meet its nine previously appointed; a plan of Union agreed to in October, 1875—The M. E. Church General Conference; homily by the writer on their ecclesiastical system; glorification of the machine by its admirers; its true genius; union with any other system incompatible with it; the three F's the only modus—Obituaries; Peebles, Ragan, Springer—Union convention called for Baltimore, May, 1877; local church papers—Clerical speculators and Book Concerns.

THE Book Concern and periodical in Baltimore underwent the radical changes proposed by the General Conference in Convention. The ex-committee of editors, still resident in the city, expressed a desire to be relieved as soon as possible, and the ex-agent, after a few weeks, also retired, having been paid salary up to October 1, 1874, or for five months. The new editor, though at the time and for several months thereafter the pastor of a station in an adjoining city, found it necessary to assume immediate control. The arrangement contemplated was made with Wm. J. C. Dulany; the Concern was removed from its dilapidated quarters to his book establishment on Baltimore Street, with proper sign designation, controlling only the copyright and book business of the Concern, while the editor found himself not such only, but publisher, bookkeeper, and factotum of the new arrangement. He was allowed a salary of \$1500 for the combined service, a less sum than that received at the time by the city pastors of the Church. With the full coöperation of the new Directory, the paper was at once changed at the end of the volume, July 4, 1874, from a four-page folio to an eight-page, somewhat reduced in size, being the same form and measurement as the *Methodist Recorder*, without increase of price. The contracting printer, Jesse F. Chesney, furnished a clean typographical dress; the then new mailing system of Dick's, expeditious and accurate, was introduced, and a set of new books opened by double entry.

Within a year the subscription list had risen nearly one thousand; the Church writers came to its support, and the preachers generally pressed its circulation among the people under the new auspices. More than this it would not be seemly in the writer to record. A Sunday-school column was opened, and Dr. Webster for a period furnished Notes on the International Lessons.

This year Rev. Jos. P. Wilson, pastor of the Broadway church, led a disaffection and united with the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The writer secured a private interview with the presiding Bishop, J. T. Peck, whom he had known in San Francisco, Cal., in 1863-66, anent this affair, and the lesson taught them in the Cumberland church case made them chary of haste as to the property, which by reason of its involvement in debt was lost for several years, but finally recovered by amicable repurchase from the ex-Lutheran brethren in possession, and has ever since been the property of the Maryland Missionary Society under the Conference authority. It was the last effort in the East to steal a church by disaffected pastors. And the moral of these cases is that the Church law as to property, while it gives proper liberty to local trustees and congregations, does not give license, and the common civil law defends the rights of those who build for denominational use, even though reduced to a minority of one loyal adherent. Rev. John Clark departed this life December 24, 1874, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. He was an early Reformer of the Pittsburgh, and afterward was prominent in the organization of the West Virginia Conference, laborious and true.

"Journal of the Twelfth General Conference of the Methodist (Protestant) Church, held at Princeton, Ill., May 19-31, 1875." This is the official title-page of the minutes, twelvemo, 117 pages. Rev. A. H. Bassett was made temporary President and G. B. McElroy and S. M. Lowden, Secretaries. The following is the roster of members:—

	NEW YORK	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
J. J. Smith		C. Tomkins ¹
S. Homan		J. Savage
J. H. Robinson		A. H. Holgate ¹
	NEW JERSEY	
F. Stringer		J. F. Asay
L. D. Stults ¹		J. D. Stults

¹ Absent.

	ONONDAGA	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
H. L. Bowen		P. Weaver
M. Prindle		C. D. Graham
	GENESEE	
E. A. Wheat		H. Justice
	PITTSBURGH	
J. Scott		J. J. Gillespie
G. G. Westfall		F. H. Pierpont ¹
J. L. Simpson		T. F. Scott
T. H. Colhouer		H. T. Reeves
H. Palmer		G. W. Pogue
J. Cowl		W. Tate, Jr.
A. Clark		W. E. Miller
	MUSKINGUM	
J. Burns		L. Browning
G. W. Hissey		R. H. Halstead
J. M. Woodward		J. H. Carr
D. Trueman		H. E. H. Hartsock ¹
J. C. Ogle ¹		J. Keller ¹
W. L. Baldwin		G. Porter ¹
F. A. Brown		S. Moore
W. Hastings		T. Chambers
C. Springer		J. B. Hamilton ¹
	OHIO	
J. M. Flood		T. Douglas
A. H. Bassett		T. J. Finch
R. Rose		J. M. Johnson
T. B. Graham		G. B. Hamilton ¹
W. R. Parsons		N. M. McConkey
C. S. Evans		G. W. Kent
	MICHIGAN	
G. B. McElroy		D. F. Osborne
J. Warner		A. Babcock
	WEST MICHIGAN	
J. Kost		J. Sanders
W. Bakewell		C. S. Underwood
	INDIANA	
S. M. Lowden		D. V. Buskirk ¹
S. H. Flood		N. H. Jones
H. Stackhouse		O. P. Wellman

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	NORTH INDIANA	<i>Laymen</i>
T. E. Lancaster		J. Wright
J. H. Luse		C. W. Gift ¹
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
P. J. Strong		P. F. Rensburgh
R. Burns		W. P. Lewis
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
D. B. Turney		G. Stout
S. M. Gentry		T. Keen ¹
	IOWA	
W. Huddleston		F. W. Johnson
W. Rensburg		J. W. Murphy
E. S. Brown		D. Patterson ¹
	NORTH IOWA	
J. Selby		O. M. Culver
	MINNESOTA	
S. Jones		W. Waldron
	NEBRASKA	
W. S. Horn		R. Pearson
	KANSAS	
R. Baker		T. N. Newton
	MISSOURI	
J. Jones ¹		J. W. Bush
	NORTH MISSOURI	
L. C. Pace		H. Giffin
	KENTUCKY	
J. Locey ¹		E. L. Woody ¹
	EAST NORTH CAROLINA	
S. A. Cecil		J. B. Cecil
	WEST NORTH CAROLINA	
W. M. Kerr		J. W. Davis ¹
	OREGON AND WASHINGTON	
B. N. Longworth		W. F. West ¹
	TENNESSEE AND NORTH GEORGIA	
	No representation	

¹ Absent.

The *Daily Recorder* was issued by Rev. A. H. Widney and made the official record of the Conference. For permanent officers John Burns was elected President, and G. B. McElroy and A. H. Bassett, Secretaries. Seventeen standing committees were appointed. Many communications were received and amendments proposed to the Discipline. A communication from Dr. L. W. Bates, one of the commissioners of the Methodist Protestant Church, was received, and also letters from Rev. George Nestor and Rev. A. C. Harris, fraternal messengers from its General Conference, which were referred. Several proposals were made for the union of the Methodist and the Methodist Protestant Church by members of the Conference. Referred to committee on Methodist Union. Hon. C. W. Button arrived, delegated as a fraternal messenger by the President of the Methodist Protestant General Conference, who was most cordially received and made a winning address, hoping that the divided stream of the Church would soon be united, etc. Responses were made by Revs. W. R. Parsons, T. H. Colhouer, and John Scott, advocating the organic union of the two Churches. It was found that the Annual Conferences had not conferred conventional powers upon the Conference. Bishop Janes of the Methodist Episcopal Church was introduced and addressed the Conference on fraternity and union. Also Rev. Dr. Hunter in the same vein, to which a response was made by A. H. Bassett, reviewing past history, congratulating the brethren on the advances made toward the new polity, and kindly suggesting that the mission of the Reform Church was not yet accomplished. John Cowl also addressed fraternal words to these brethren. Messengers were appointed to their ensuing General Conference.

The report of the Committee on Methodistic Union was read and adopted, the first and pregnant paragraph being as follows: "Inasmuch as the cause for suspension of official relations by the Conferences of the North now represented in this General Conference is now entirely removed by the providence of God, and the suspension having from the first been declared to be only contingent upon the continuance of the cause complained of. And whereas, furthermore, the General Conference of the South, assembled at Lynchburg, Va., May, 1874, did in accordance with mutual and reciprocal advances for reunion elect nine commissioners, to meet nine coördinate commissioners expected to be appointed by this General Conference now in session, to deliber-

ate together and devise plans for reunion alike honorable and desirable to each; therefore this committee unanimously recommend the election of nine persons as commissioners for said purpose." The report also declares against "the policy of absorption in the Methodist Episcopal Church," etc. Nine commissioners were at once elected by ballot to carry out the purpose expressed: John Burns, J. J. Smith, T. J. Finch, F. H. Pierpont, J. J. Gillespie, E. A. Wheat, P. F. Remsburg, A. Clark, G. B. McElroy. The Methodist Board of Publication reported totals as follows: Receipts from all sources for the quadrennium, including loans of \$7735.48, the Springfield property, rents, etc., \$105,470.06. Expenditures, including book-room property, \$7000; improvements on same, \$2583.27; loans, etc., \$105,470.06, minus \$675.16, cash in hand. Assets over liabilities, \$17,985.04. The subscription list of the *Methodist Recorder* had grown to 6456 through the popularity of the editor. The Sunday-school paper some time before had been changed to *Our Morning Guide*, and under Alexander Clark's tasteful management was a beautiful monthly, which rose in circulation to eighty thousand. The Board of Trustees of the First church, Pittsburgh, had tendered the Concern their parsonage property in fee for \$15,000, appraised at \$25,000, \$7000 in cash and the remainder at 6 per cent interest for twenty-five years. It placed the Concern in eligible quarters, and with the management of J. J. Gillespie in making advances during the panic of 1873, settled the business house upon a secure foundation. Through him a new charter had been secured from the legislature of Pennsylvania, and the affairs of the Concern were on a tide of prosperity. Alexander Clark was reelected editor, and James Robison, Agent.

A. H. Bassett was requested to prepare a Church History. A motion of S. H. Flood was adopted to the effect that the Commissioners on Union be restricted in their authority to a reference of their action to the ensuing General Conference of the Methodist Church for ratification. The place of the next General Conference was left to the editor and the agent of the Church paper. Dr. John Scott offered resolutions, which were adopted, redeclaring, as at former General Conventions and Conferences, in substance that the Methodist Church was not a new Church, but "that it is substantially the Methodist Protestant Church," etc. The report of the Board of Missions, C. H. Williams, Corresponding Secretary, showed that during the quadrennium \$5041.23 had been collected, and \$4239.77 expended; in hand,

\$801.46. The Treasurer of the Board, J. C. Clane, had received in the same period \$1812.03. Of the whole sum, \$1940 had been expended in missions, the remainder in salary and travelling expenses. This interest had received a backset through untoward causes. Williams was reelected. The Board of Church Extension reported, and a new Board was elected, located at Princeton, Ill.; A. H. Widney, Corresponding Secretary. The report of the Committee on Fraternal Relations appointed messengers to nearly all the American Methodisms and those of England. The reports of the Adrian College agents, J. S. Thrap for two years and N. R. Swift for two, are very encouraging, and submit figures which, in the aggregates, run up net assets to \$239,358, putting the grounds and buildings, etc., at \$150,000. The report of the Board of Ministerial Education, J. B. Walker, Corresponding Secretary, showed for the quadrennium, \$16,547.47 collected, of which \$11,418.18 went to beneficiaries,—students for the ministry. Walker was reelected on this excellent showing. (See Appendix E in first volume.) A detailed Plan for Centennial Offerings synchronizing 1776 and 1876, was matured, but did not materialize. A number of changes were made in the Articles of Religion. The statistics showed: itinerants, 775; unstationed ministers and preachers, 507; membership, 53,400; church edifices, 667; parsonages, 171; value of church property, \$1,767,140. Among the last resolves of the Conference was a respectful declination of the overtures from the Methodist Episcopal Church: "We deem it our bounden duty to adhere to our distinctive organization," etc. The Conference adjourned, being memorable for the fact that it was the last General Conference ever held by the brethren West and North.

The appointment of nine commissioners by the General Conference of the Methodist Church, in response to the action of the Methodist Protestant General Conference in appointing nine commissioners to confer with a "like number from any Methodist church" desiring Union, at once opened the way to negotiations. An early meeting was suggested, and after private correspondence, it was agreed between them to call an initial meeting at the First Church, Pittsburgh, Pa., October 22, 1875. In pursuance, notice was sent the Commissioners to assemble at the place and time mentioned. They were: Methodist Church: John Burns, F. H. Pierpont, J. J. Smith, P. F. Remsburg, E. A. Wheat, J. J. Gillespie, G. B. McElroy, T. J. Finch, and Alexander Clark; Methodist Protestant Church: L. W. Bates, O. Hammond, S. B.

Southerland, W. V. Chidester, B. F. Duggan, M. T. Peebles, R. H. Wills, S. Simpson, and E. F. Westfall. Those who actually attended, some as alternates and by proxy, were: Methodist Protestant: L. W. Bates, S. B. Southerland, B. F. Duggan, R. H. Wills, W. M. Betts, O. Hammond, William Vandervort; Methodist: John Burns, J. J. Smith, E. A. Wheat, Alexander Clark, G. B. McElroy, P. F. Rensburg, J. J. Gillespie, T. J. Finch, F. H. Pierpont. Interesting preliminary services were held. L. W. Bates elected Chairman, and G. B. McElroy, Secretary, and a committee on Basis of Union agreed upon as follows: S. B. Southerland, R. H. Wills, W. Vandervort, J. J. Smith, E. A. Wheat, P. F. Rensburg. After a day's deliberation, this sub-committee reported a Basis of Union, having received and considered numerous suggestions from the remaining commissioners, taken from the two Constitutions and Disciplines mutually. The full text of these changes may be found in the official paper of November 6, 1875. The salient points are: The Methodist Protestant Church to be the name of the reunited Church, the sections containing the word "white" in the old book to be stricken out, the Restrictive Rule as to itinerants to be restored under a four-year limit, and the ratio of representation to be one of each class in every thousand members. The basis was agreed to without dissent except that R. H. Wills objected to striking out the word "white." It was "Resolved that a Convention of the Methodist Protestant and Methodist Churches be held in Baltimore the second Friday in May, 1877, to consummate the whole work." After sessions running through three days this good understanding was reached, and the Commissioners adjourned on the night of the 9th of May. The adjustment was generally hailed with approbation, the criticisms and protests coming from North Carolina through W. H. Wills, John Paris, and A. H. Harris, and from Alabama through L. L. Hill. Their objections were local and technical. The Commissioners had acted so wisely upon the whole that little room was left for controversy, and the churches settled down in anticipation of the coming General Convention. The Maryland Conference, at its ensuing session, March 14, 1876, led in the call, and before the time required it was officially announced in both the Church papers that the requisite two-thirds had united in the call, and preparations were made in Baltimore to receive the respective representatives.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met in Baltimore in May, 1879, at the Academy of Music, there

being no church with capacity to receive the overgrown body. About 350 delegates were in attendance, with Bishop Janes as senior presiding officer. The Methodist fraternal messengers were represented by Dr. Alexander Clark, who delivered before the Conference an able and irenic address, while Dr. S. B. South-erland and Hon. C. W. Button represented the Methodist Protes-tant Church, and were equally happy in their deliverances. Dr. Clark was on his way to England to attend fraternally the several Methodist Conferences meeting through the summer. He was everywhere most cordially received after making plain the puzzle of his Church’s name to the brethren, fulfilled his mission, and returned in improved health. The Methodist Episcopal Church Conference had embarrassing questions before it: the “color line” in their Southern inchoate Conferences, the presiding elder ques-tion, and the enlargement of the lay-delegation from about one in three to something like a respectable recognition. Very little was done, however, lay-delegation being referred to a committee of five of each order to report at the next General Conference. The writer took considerable note of the proceedings and the animus of the delegates, and embodied his thoughts at the time on the “Great Iron Wheel,” and they are herewith submitted as at once excusatory of these divinely authorized brethren in their views of prerogative and providence in their Church history, and animadvertive of the ecclesiastical machine and its methods, as not only then but always exhibited in such legislative gatherings.

Confessedly it has no parallel except in that remarkable monastic order founded by Ignatius Loyola. The Jesuits, or Society of Jesus, had ulterior aims never dreamed of in the philosophy of Methodist Episcopacy; but as a militant system, designed for absolute supremacy over men’s minds, and a sub-ordination of all outlying interests to a great central force, the likeness is most striking. The ideal of this system is in Ezekiel’s vision of a “wheel within wheels and a fire infolding itself.” To make men content under the yoke of a higher estate, they must be invested with authority over the lower. And this is the philosophy of Methodist Episcopacy. Is the itinerant subject to the elder? and the elder a creature of the bishop? So must the class leader and steward and trustee be subject to the itinerant. But is there no way of preferment for the voiceless people? Oh, yes! unquestioning obedience is the way, and so the circle is com-pleted. Recently this new estate has been recognized in the old Methodisms. But it must be conceded an anomaly. It is not in

gear with a system to which it is not native. And those who were honest enough to resist its introduction on this ground were consistent. As it is, lay-delegation must go farther, and with its advance the machinery must be modified to suit the new genius of things, or it will be finally cast out as an abnormal element. A spectator at the late General Conference must have been impressed in all the proceedings with the very general and no doubt sincere disposition of the actors and speakers to glorify the machine. Has Methodism been a numerical success? The machine did it. Can the Bishop stand in the centre and touch the circumference? It is the perfection of the machine. Is heaven peopled with the redeemed of Wesley's name? All honor to the machine. Does some independent mind point out the danger of irresponsible power? The cry is, disloyalty to the machine. Does some devout heart sing, "It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes"? The discord is hushed amid cries of, "Long live the machine." No one impartially examining it can fail to accord to it very great efficiency. It is a marvel of success, and, adds the admirer, "ergo, it is right and approved of God." Here issue is joined. The argument proves too much. For if success is an infallible sign of divine approval, what of the greater success of Romanism and Islamism, not to say of Mormonism? All these are typical systems, having a centralized power, and the cohesive force of a subordinating discipline. They point to British Methodism and American Non-Episcopal Methodism, and the argument made to demonstrate the inferiority of a Presbyterial form of government on the same score of success or non-success. But this will not do. The fallacy was crushed to atoms by the representative of British Methodism, Rev. Dr. Pope, before this very General Conference, when he reminded the bishops and brethren, on this very point, that American Methodism had no State religion to contend with, and no preoccupied country, as had British Methodism with a Presbyterial system. And for the Reform Church reply may be made, other things being equal, compare its success with that of the mother Church for the first twenty or forty years of its history, and the showing of success makes no argument for Episcopal Methodism.

As a militant system it must be cheerfully accorded the palm, in which the individual is nothing, and the company and the regiment and the division and the army corps, with its single-headed chief, are everything. Nor is it surprising that with the education received the itinerant juniors echo the sentiments of

their seniors, albeit not a little restless in latter days as they chafe under the self-imposed yoke. This is the inevitable result of the system. Individuality is lost in the machine; and the prizes of ambition, however laudable, are quickest won by him who soonest sinks his personality in the "Methodist Episcopal Church." Bright lights beacon her century history despite these facts, but all of them self-asserting men, who were hindered and not helped by the system. It is its genius to make men, but they must subordinate all positiveness of character and suffer themselves to be machine made. And it is confessed that great and good men have been created by it; and so of Romanism, but at what loss of a certain nobility of independent thinking you need but turn to this whilom General Conference for examples. Nothing was more patent than the policy of silence or subjection. Not that there was any special want of free thinking and bold speaking, but it was a study to mark the result upon the college of bishops, and those ambitious to be nearest the throne, and to note the occasional interruptions from the fawning creatures of the body with flings of disloyalty at the men of brave utterance upon such questions as an elective eldership and lay-delegation. Speakers felt the necessity of an apologetic style, and delivered their opinions with an ill-concealed consciousness that they faced an invisible presence of power, to be propitiated rather than provoked. There need be no denying that this fear has some wholesome uses; forsooth, it is the balance-wheel of the great machine. This is a simple limning of its salient features, and a challenge of its right to fulsome worship, and a denial that the machine is in any sense an essential of Methodism, as its admirers contend. There are not wanting those who have bent their necks to the yoke who speak patronizingly of other Methodisms,—English, Irish, American,—as out of the succession; as in some way to be pitied for having missed being a "child of providence," to use a pet phrase of the machine worshippers. Pray, was there no providence in the other Methodisms? The exclusive claim is an absurdity, and the divine element of this unexampled soul-saving organization is overslaughed and minified by the habit of super-exaltation of what is merely incidental — the accident of a human mould.¹

¹ The allegations in this paragraph are so broad that the writer believes it well to fortify them by an unimpeachable witness. In 1876 Dr. G. R. Crooks of the M. E. Church issued a biography of his lifelong friend in the same ministry, Dr. John M'Clintock, than whom few brighter lights or nobler men have appeared

The future of this machine will continue to be marked with success, numerical and material; it is networking the globe; its missionary ventures are everywhere. And the greatest danger of the ecclesiasticism is in this direction. The overweening confidence of numbers, wealth, and influence can be neutralized only by a modification of the machine. It is now working from within as well as from without. The framework of the original model is creaking. It is being seen that a "General Superintendency" is no longer practicable, and the districting of the college of bishops is called for by an imperious necessity, and with this accomplished the presiding eldership will be modified as an increasing excrescence, and a lay-delegation will win its way so as to push it aside altogether. The Church is to be congratulated, and the modifying force in the working of a liberal system in the Methodist Protestant Church can afford to be denied recognition as such a force, and bide the time of its full vindication, not of its fathers only, but of the system itself they inaugurated. The genius of the hierarchic model, however, can never be changed in its entirety, and it is not needful for practical purposes of a working Church that it should be, and liberal Methodism will ever remain so far diverse as to make successful combination impossible. So that what the Methodisms of broad America need — bating the

in its history. While yet a young man in that Church, he kept a journal, from which, under date of January 17, 1839, he made record: "There is too much *prescription* in the Methodist Church, and there is too much *proscription* for individual opinions. A man can hardly be independent with any hope of rising in the church. This state of things causes a mean, truckling spirit to grow up among the young men, which in a great degree renders them intellectual slaves to a few not very intellectual masters. . . . 'The spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind' is incompatible with this sort of mental bondage, and sooner or later the Methodist Episcopal Church will pay the penalty of this encroachment upon the absolute freedom of the individual mind, by storms and contentions, if not by her entire disorganization and dissolution unless a wiser policy be struck out." He also speaks of having raked, from the bookshelves of his father, the *Wesleyan Repository* of 1821-24, and says: "I suppose, though I am not sure of it, that the publication was very unpopular with the Methodist preachers of that time. It was too bold entirely — attributed too little infallibility to our system. The same spirit exists to this day to a considerable extent." His vaticination as to the ultimate of it in the M. E. Church, after fifty years, at this writing has not come to pass, therefore, says an advocate of the system, he was wrong in all his premises. Not so. He simply did not properly estimate the force of entrenched and entailed power — the habit of obedience to existing things. From like premises for a century, men have predicted the downfall of Romanism as a logical sequence, but instead it grows stronger all the time. Either system has thousands of admirers and adherents; and even those who are galled by the shackles cannot break away from them, so powerful are the influences it can command over men, so that himself and his biographer, despite their convictions, remained in its ministry, hoping to reform what is irreformable.

Union in Canada, a mere province in space and numbers on a liberal anti-hierarchic basis—is not Union, meaning thereby absorption of the weaker by the stronger, but, as Bishop Fitzgerald of the Church South has so aptly put it, it needs the three F's, which he interpreted as Federation, Fraternity, and Forgiveness. For this his Church is ready, and it will never probably be ready for anything else. For this the Methodist Protestant Church is ready, and it should never be ready for anything else. And dreamers who may suppose otherwise, if not warned by the failures of the past recorded in this History, and the damage wrought the Church by the tentation, will be warned, if ever officialism in it enters upon another illusive scheme of "Union," and should even succeed in arranging preliminaries, by the churches assuming their autonomy as never before, and declining to be ecclesiastically extinguished. It is an unwritten fact of the futile attempt of 1866 to unite with the Church South, that those who moved among the people in their congregational capacity could not fail to hear the undertone of protest, "If selling out is on the tapis, we propose to be at the sale." The only thing that dreamers of corporate Union with the Methodist Episcopal Church, North or South, can hope to accomplish in its last analysis will be the disintegration of the Methodist Protestant Church. It is a siren voice and should never again be heeded.

But is the plan of the three F's practicable? The writer confesses that even for it he is not hopeful. Federation would mean a mutual Council, whose object and authority should be to oversee all missionary work of the respective Methodisms at home and abroad; coöperation in the foreign field, that there may be no waste of men and means. It would mean respect for each other's autonomy, so that rival churches should no longer be erected in the same towns and villages. It would mean that the stronger organizations should help the weaker, if anything, so that Fraternity should be a reality and not a sham, a Christ-love above a church-love; and out of Federation and Fraternity would grow Forgiveness. This would demand the absolute abandonment of historical misstatements about each other. It would seem strange to some readers that Bishop Fitzgerald should have made this third F forgiveness, but any one impartially reviewing the wrongs suffered at the hands of officialism by them in 1844-50, and again in 1865-70, cannot wonder that surcease forever of all such methods of Church aggression and aggrandizement was desired.

Who that heard it—and the writer was one—the tearful, and pathetic, and honest appeal of Bishop Foster for organic Union, his remarks being intended specially for the representatives of the Church South, in the Second Ecumenical Council of Methodists in Washington, D. C., in 1891—can forget the answer, massed in a single sentence, by Dr. Hoss, editor of the *Nashville Christian Advocate* at the time, as intimating the self-imposed bar to such a Union: “Cease your manœuvring!” What did he mean? It needed no explanation to the brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for it meant that the official efforts to undermine, not by direction, perhaps, but by indirection, that Church’s existence wherever possible in the Southern states; the failure to recognize its work as sufficient in given localities for gospel evangelization, and a persistent effort to occupy territory not heretofore supposed to need their attention, were all manœuvres. The Methodist Protestant Church can employ the same language: Cease your manœuvring. Recognize what the Church claims to be, and then Forgiveness will come for the misdeeds of 1827–30 and onward; and if in anything it can be made clear that forgiveness is needed to be asked, the writer at least will not be slow to do so. But the fact remains that the plan of the three F’s, in the very nature of the case, must be inaugurated by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Will it do so? Can it be importuned to do so? It is not probable; for they have nothing to gain by such a plan, and may have something to lose. An unchecked career of Church prosperity, abundant resources, and entire independence of kindred Methodisms, make it an indifferent question with them. In its whole history it has never been known to give support to any measure not purely denominational. Every interdenominational measure,—the latest the Christian Endeavor movement, though safeguarded in a principal feature of its pledge: to be loyal to the denomination of which the local society may form a part,—was by them eschewed. Not Rome itself holds more tenaciously to an exclusive fidelity to its own. It emblazons everywhere their slogan: The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America,—“In this sign conquer!”

There was so much fraternity at this General Conference that its Committee on Methodist Union advanced a step, and the manifesto was now not so much “to receive” any proposals from other Methodisms—which of course estopped anything of the kind, though the General Conference of 1872 did not seem to be witty enough to see it. Now they expressed themselves willing

“to confer” with any such body, which made it reasonably possible; but nothing came of the advance; it was, in fact, now too late. The venerable Rev. Thomas McCormick, of the Baltimore Expelled preachers of 1827, discussing these issues in the official paper not many months before, while an ardent friend of Union under mutual concessions, clearly saw what is now more than ever manifest, that a proposition of the kind in any other form cannot be entertained, and therefore cogently said, “I think that while there is a Methodist Episcopal Church, there should also be a Methodist Protestant Church in this country.” It is an interesting episode in this General Conference that this venerable minister was publicly introduced to it from the platform, by the presiding Bishop Janes, as a Methodist Protestant minister and the last surviving pall-bearer of Bishop Asbury’s funeral; it was indeed a stretching of fraternal hands across a gap of nearly fifty years since his expulsion for Reform principles, and the Conference at once honored itself and Thomas McCormick.

The fathers were rapidly falling asleep, and as the years ran on they grew fewer in number. John Whetstone was born October 25, 1788, deceased August 10, 1874. He was an original Reformer of Cincinnati. He left bequests of \$11,000 to various Church interests. True as steel, and devoted as true, his memory must not perish. William Peebles, Esq., is on record June 3, 1875, aged eighty-eight years. He was an original Reformer of Tennessee and southwestern Virginia, always faithful, his last residence being some fifty miles from Abingdon, Va., yet it being the nearest new church, he deposited his membership there. He was the father of Dr. M. T. Peebles, still true to his father’s Church and his own convictions. Rev. Zachariah Ragan departed this life November 27, 1875. He was born in Westmoreland County, Pa., November 27, 1804, being exactly seventy-one years of age. Converted at eighteen, he united with the old Church, and was licensed to preach in 1825, and joined the Pittsburgh Conference, having for fellow-members such staunch Reformers as Asa Shinn, George Brown, and H. B. Bascom. After serving three years, his health failed and he retired. In 1829 he united with the Ohio Conference of the new Church, and continued in the ranks until 1850, but from 1856 to 1861 was assigned to labor with J. S. Thrap as an assistant, and others, in the Muskingum Conference. During this time he published a weekly periodical, the *True American*. He accepted the chaplaincy of the 25th Ohio Volunteers, and in 1863 was appointed Hospital

Chaplain in the regular army, and served to the close of the Civil War; and in 1868 accepted a chaplaincy in the regular army, was stationed at Fort Russell, and held the position until death. As a Reformer he was bold and fearless, and able as bold, both as speaker and writer. Physically he was of majestic bearing, tall and straight and well developed. He was a representative to General Conference and President of his Annual Conference. His death was peaceful; his last words, addressed to his wife: "It is all right, Martha, all right!"

Cornelius Springer finished his course in peace, August 17, 1875, in the eighty-fifth year of his age and the fifty-ninth of his ministry. He was born of Swedish parents, near Wilmington, Del., December 29, 1790. In 1798 he removed with his parents to Virginia, near where Wheeling now stands. Converted in 1808, he united with the old Church. He served in the War of 1812, as a lieutenant, and at its close resumed his profession of teacher, but in 1816 entered the Ohio Conference and labored for about fourteen years. He was one of the first men in the West to advocate Methodist Reform, and in 1822 became a contributor to the *Wesleyan Repository*, writing under the signature of "Cincinnatus," through the years 1822-24. The expulsion of Dennis B. Dorsey settled his convictions that a new Church was inevitable, and though reluctant to leave the old he felt himself bound in honor to stand by the expelled for opinions' sake. Therefore on the 7th of March, 1829, he withdrew from the old Church, and assisted in the organization of the Ohio Conference. He was active in forming new churches. In 1830, he was President of the Conference, and in 1831 stationed in Cincinnati, and became editor of the *Methodist Correspondent*, and conducted it as long as it was published, or for four years. In 1837 he was President of the Pittsburgh Conference, and in July, 1839, edited and published, under the patronage of the Pittsburgh and Ohio Conferences, the *Western Recorder*, which he conducted with marked ability for six years, supporting it largely out of his own funds. His eyesight failing, he relinquished the position and retired to Meadow Farm in private life. He was a member of the Convention of 1830, and of a number of the General Conferences, and for two years served in the legislature of Ohio. Physically he was of giant stature, and, like McCaine, stood above most men nearly a head and shoulders. As a preacher he was intellectually forcible, but it was as a writer and editor and supporter of the enterprises of the Church with abundant liberality that he is best known. He

was thrice married, his last wife being a daughter of Rev. Israel Thrapp. For eighteen years she watched over him with wifely care and assiduity, until he finished his course. Obsequies were by Drs. Scott and Cowl, and a memorial discourse before the Muskingum Conference by Alexander Clark. His widow, since married, Mrs. Elizabeth Springer Oliver, belongs to a family of preachers, her paternal grandfather and father and one brother, J. A. Thrapp, and an uncle, J. S. Thrap, being preachers in the Church. She has demonstrated her right to preach the gospel by fine abilities and successful work, and continues to this day in her favorite employment, a worthy successor of Mrs. Hannah Reeves as a woman preacher.

About 1875 the *Methodist Protestant Magazine* was inaugurated by President D. S. Stephens of Adrian College, a monthly of fair form and appearance, and it was continued for a series of years with J. F. Cowan as associate. The editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, after his return from fraternal visitations to the British Conferences, devoted himself with that unstinting energy characteristic of him to the publications of the brethren West, *Our Morning Guide* receiving great attention. For the International Lessons they had unofficially adopted the Berean system of the old Church, and some eleven thousand copies were circulated. A department in the *Methodist Protestant* had from 1874 been given to the lessons, with original comments furnished by Dr. Webster, Rev. H. C. Cushing, and others, and a need of this kind grew up, which was subsequently met. In May, 1876, the Commissioners, as authorized, issued the call for the Conventions of the two Churches for Baltimore, in May, 1877, and as the Conferences assembled the action was approved or disapproved and representatives elected. Mrs. Letitia, widow of John Coates, departed this life in Baltimore, August 25, 1876, and at her death his will bequeathed \$3000 to West Baltimore station, and \$3000 to its Sabbath-school to replenish the library perpetually, and \$4000 to the Superannuated Society of the Maryland Conference. The *Methodist Missionary* was published for some time at Allegheny, Pa., by T. H. Colhouer. The *Protestant* was issued from Greenville, Tenn., in the interest of the Virginia Conference, by Rev. J. G. Johnson. These were monthlies with a life of a few years each. The Publishing House of the Church South, at Nashville, Tenn., in 1876, was discovered to be in a perilous financial condition. Investigation showed that the Agent had managed its affairs loosely and speculated with its means in hope of personal advan-

tage. Appeal was made to the Church, and a considerable sum contributed to save it from menacing disaster. The clerical speculator was removed, but action against him was suppressed. Pity took the place of justice, and, as in the case of the misapplications of large sums by the Agent of the New York Book Concern of the Methodist Episcopal Church, efforts were made to condone the malfeasance and conceal the true condition of affairs. Since both occurrences the lay-element has been partially introduced as guards to better business management.¹ Nothing is more anomalous in either Church than the liberal sums contributed by the laity, running up into millions, with the jealous control of it always claimed by the ministry.

¹The Book Committee of the M. E. Church now, and for some years past, consists of twelve members, — six ministers and six laymen, — located in different sections of the Church territorially, but meeting as a committee once a year in New York. It is one of the concessions wrung from the ministry by disaster and wisdom.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Obituaries of Reformers; Rev. A. G. Brewer and others— Preparation for the General Convention of the two Churches in Baltimore as it was now assured— Assembly of the Methodist and the Methodist Protestant Conventions May 11, 1877; roster of members in each and preliminary business; L. W. Bates, President of the latter, and J. J. Smith of the former; a committee of seven from each body jointly to formulate a basis of Union; its numerous sessions; the basis as finally presented and accepted by the two Conventions by a nearly unanimous vote in either— First day's proceedings of the united body; officers and committees; a new Constitution and Discipline agreed to; Book Concerns and Church papers left undisturbed until the ensuing General Conference, called for May, 1880, at Pittsburgh, Pa.; unwritten history of the hymn-book question in detail; Pastoral Address; representatives to the Ecumenical Conference of Methodists in London, 1881, appointed; day of thanksgiving; photograph of the entire body; statistics of the reunited Church.

REV. AMON RICHARDS, a local minister of Maryland, and an early Reformer, deceased July 13, 1876. He had been made an honorary member of the Annual Conference in recognition of his services and fidelity to Reform. He was in his eighty-ninth year. Rev. David Crall, deceased September 12, 1876, born February 5, 1798. He was an original Reformer and united with the Maryland Conference at its first session, in April, 1829. He afterward removed to Ohio, where he served the Church, and departed this life. John Long of Pleasant Valley, Carroll County, O., deceased October 17, 1876, in his eighty-first year. He was an original Reformer and worthy of this mention. Peter M. Pierson of Washington, D. C., an original Reformer and exemplary Christian, departed this life April 23, 1877, in his eighty-second year. Rev. D. E. Reese, the last of the four Reese brothers of the Maryland Conference, deceased April 23, 1877, aged sixty-six years. He was identified with it from the beginning and honored as its President, as well as of General Conferences and Conventions of the Church as a member. (See Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 108-113.) Rev. A. G. Brewer, April 23, 1877. He was born in Monmouth County, N. J., December 5, 1795, of Quaker parents. He was converted in his twenty-first year, and was remarkably successful in winning his quondam Friends to an

experiential knowledge of Christ. He joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, and, in connection with the wonderful revivalist, Charles Pitman, had an evangelistic bout with an infidel military company, who fired their cannon and discharged fusillades of musketry while these brethren held divine service; but the grace of God conquered. He was of an inquiring mind and independent views, so that the arbitrary proceedings of the bishops in 1820 so disgusted him that he withdrew and, in 1821, united with the Stillwell "Methodist Society" of New York. His history has already been anticipated down to his active participation in Reform in Georgia from 1827. He was a member of the Convention of 1830, organized the church in Charleston, S. C., and the South Carolina Conference, in December, 1839. He taught school for his support when other resources failed, and about this time he was offered a salary of \$2000 if he would continue Principal of the Academy at Mechanicsville, S. C.; but having relieved himself of debt, with the heroism of so many of the early Reform ministers, he declined the tempting offer and took to the ill-compensated labors of an itinerant missionary in Georgia. With Elisha Lott, he was the Apostle of Non-Episcopal Methodism in the South, incessantly active, counting no sacrifice too great for the cause he loved. His connection with the *Southern Olive Tree*, for a number of years the local paper of Georgia and Alabama, as editor and publisher, gained him his financial ruin. He served as chaplain in the Confederate army, and, at the close of the war, in his seventieth year, he found himself broken in health. He departed this life at the residence of his son, Rev. G. E. Brewer, in Alabama, peacefully. All honor to his memory.

December 20, 1876, official announcement was made, through the *Methodist Protestant*, Baltimore, that twenty Annual Conferences of the Methodist Protestant Church had voted affirmatively in calling a Convention, and four in the negative, to wit: North Carolina, by a vote of twenty-nine to twenty-six, Colorado (Texas), Mississippi, and North Mississippi. All of them, however, elected representatives. In North Carolina the situation was complicated by the presence among them of a mongrel Western and Eastern Conference of the "Methodist" Church, both small in numbers and smaller in local influence. The North Carolina Conference refused to go into the Union unless control of these factious bodies was given to them as to which of their number should be recognized by them, while these "Conferences" demanded equal terms and privileges. The disposition of the

matter has already been recited earlier in this History — it does not deserve further mention. There were, also, other causes of opposition in North Carolina to the proposed Union. About the same time it had been announced, through the *Methodist Recorder* of Pittsburgh, that all the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church, twenty-one in number, had agreed to the call, — several of their Conferences having been merged, and twenty-two of them having elected representatives on the basis of union. Arrangements were matured for the entertainment of the two Conventions in Baltimore, and, as the numbers aggregated several hundred, a considerable sum of money was raised for boarding facilities, when private hospitality in the churches failed to provide for the representatives. It was satisfactorily accomplished, after great labor, by the Committee, the West Baltimore church, Greene and Lombard streets, being assigned the Methodist Convention, and the brethren, as far as possible, massed in that end of the city; and the East Baltimore church, corner of Fayette and Aisquith streets, being assigned the Methodist Protestant Convention, and the brethren, as far as possible, massed in that end of the city. Expectation was high, and forebodings, if any, were kept in abeyance.

Pursuant to the call already noticed, the General Convention of the Methodist Church met in the West Baltimore church, Friday, May 11, 1877, at 10 A.M. It was called to order by Rev. John Burns, Chairman of the Union Commissioners, and he was chosen President *pro tem.*, after religious services by Rev. Dr. J. J. Smith, and G. B. McElroy, Secretary. The following representatives were declared elected: —

	OREGON MISSION	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
W. F. West ¹		
	MINNESOTA	
L. A. Bliss ¹		W. G. Reed ¹
	WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA	
W. M. Kerr ¹		W. H. Bradley ¹
	EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA	
Ike J. York ¹		A. E. Holton ¹
	NEBRASKA	
E. T. Hudson		Wm. McKenney ¹

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	GENESEE	<i>Laymen</i>
E. A. Wheat		Martin Webster ¹
	NORTH MISSOURI	
G. Williams		J. W. Antrim ¹
	NEW YORK	
J. J. Smith		Calvin Tompkins ¹
Mark Staples		B. F. Swingle
	KANSAS	
D. Young ¹		J. Rinehart ¹
S. Clark ¹		J. S. Mitchell ¹
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
Richard Wright ¹		John Puleston
A. L. Reynolds		C. Link
	MISSOURI	
T. J. Sheppard		J. W. Bush ¹
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
P. J. Strong		P. F. Remsburg
J. M. Mayall		A. Borton ¹
	MICHIGAN	
G. B. McElroy		H. O. Sternberg ¹
J. F. Kellogg		L. Morrell ¹
	ONONDAGA	
N. R. Swift		P. Weaver
J. H. Hogan		B. G. Swift
	NEW JERSEY	
T. B. Appleget		R. H. Turner
E. B. Stultz		J. A. Scheible
	WEST MICHIGAN	
J. Kost		T. Gilkes
F. H. Chase ¹		E. Williams
	IOWA	
E. S. Brown		W. Workman ¹
J. Selby		J. N. Shedenhelm
W. Remsburg		T. Weidman
W. Huddleston		S. Russell ¹

¹ Absent.

	OHIO	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
R. Rose		G. W. Kent
A. H. Bassett		T. J. Finch
C. S. Evans		G. B. Hamilton
W. R. Parsons		T. Douglass
J. J. White		D. Dunbar
	INDIANA	
H. Stackhouse		J. J. Amos ¹
T. E. Lancaster		P. W. Patterson ¹
J. H. Luse		D. V. Buskirk ¹
S. H. Flood		N. H. Jones ¹
S. M. Lowden		A. D. Whitford
	PITTSBURGH	
H. Palmer		F. H. Pierpont
John Scott		W. J. Troth
Wm. Collier		J. I. Robinson
A. Clark		F. H. Collier ¹
T. H. Colhouer		S. J. Fox
G. G. Westfall		A. Harper
P. T. Laishley		G. W. Pogue
	MUSKINGUM	
John Burns		H. E. H. Hartsock
D. Trueman		William Gray
J. A. Thrapp		J. H. Carr
W. Hastings		V. J. Powelson
O. V. W. Chandler		W. R. Peters ¹
Joel S. Thrap		John W. Scott
G. W. Hissey		James Brown
J. H. Hamilton		William Porter
F. A. Brown		Ragan Scott
	KENTUCKY	
John Riggs ¹		E. H. Cox ¹
F. G. Tyree ¹		L. F. Tyree ¹

Thirty-three were absent out of one hundred and eleven, showing seventy-eight present.

A committee of one from each Annual Conference was appointed to nominate permanent officers. Also a committee on the action of the several Annual Conferences as to the call for this Convention. A number of brethren were invited to honorary seats. Afternoon session held at 3 o'clock. The committee to nominate permanent officers reported: J. J. Smith for President,

¹ Absent.

G. B. McElroy, Secretary, and W. H. Jordan and C. S. Evans, assistants. It was adopted. The committee on action of the Annual Conferences reported, rehearsing the steps preliminary to the Convention, and that it was "invested with full conventional powers for the purpose of effecting the Union of the Methodist and the Methodist Protestant Churches, on the Basis as published, and to complete the same." It was agreed that the order for the next day should be to consider the Basis of Union. Adjourned.

Pursuant to the call already noticed, the General Convention of the Methodist Protestant Church convened at East Baltimore station on Friday, May 11, 1877, at 10 A.M., and was organized by calling Hon. B. S. Bibb to the chair, and appointing M. L. Barnett and R. H. Wills, Secretaries. The following representatives were declared elected:—

PENNSYLVANIA

Ministers
J. K. Helmbold

Laymen
John Fern¹

MARYLAND

L. W. Bates
J. K. Nichols
J. J. Murray
S. B. Southerland
David Wilson
T. D. Valiant
R. S. Norris
J. T. Murray
D. W. Bates
W. S. Hammond
E. J. Drinkhouse
B. F. Benson

J. W. Hering
C. W. Button
O. Hammond
J. W. Thompson
J. G. Clark
H. F. Zollickoffer
W. B. Usilton
R. S. Griffith
Gaven Spence
S. S. Ewell
John Smith
E. B. Bates

VIRGINIA

G. R. Barr
M. J. Langhorne¹
J. G. Johnson¹

W. E. Jones
R. S. Lane¹
M. T. Peebles¹

WEST VIRGINIA

George Nestor
W. M. Betts
O. Lowther
H. P. F. King
J. J. Mason

J. Morris
J. H. Curry
P. Donly
W. Vandervort
W. Mearns

¹ Absent.

WEST VIRGINIA (*continued*)

<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
M. L. Barnett	C. P. Hudson
G. W. Barrett	W. J. Lowther ¹
E. J. Wilson	D. Bassel
B. Stout	R. Maxwell ¹

NORTH CAROLINA

W. H. Wills	L. W. Batchelor
John Paris	J. M. Hadley
J. G. Whitfield	J. F. Harris
T. H. Pegram	S. V. Pickens
J. H. Gilbreath	J. C. Roberts
A. W. Lineberry	J. E. Hunter
J. L. Michaux	F. H. Whitaker
R. H. Wills	J. A. Gray ¹
G. E. Hunt	S. S. Norman ¹

SOUTH CAROLINA

C. McSmith ¹	L. Yarborough ¹
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GEORGIA

F. H. M. Henderson	W. D. Mitchell
E. Morris ¹	C. L. Bowie ¹

ALABAMA

L. L. Hill ¹	B. S. Bibb
A. G. Grove ¹	W. G. Little ¹

MISSISSIPPI

E. Red ¹	Wesley B. Hance ¹
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NORTH MISSISSIPPI

L. J. Hubbard¹

TENNESSEE

B. F. Duggan	Wm. Collins
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WEST TENNESSEE

J. J. Smith ¹	S. O. Hooper
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NORTH ARKANSAS

T. Leach ¹	W. Irvin ¹
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ARKANSAS AND LOUISIANA

J. M. P. Hickerson	G. M. Adamson
J. W. Harper ¹	W. F. Wallace ¹

¹ Absent.

TEXAS	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
J. S. York	James Morris ¹
COLORADO (Texas)	
E. M. Owen ¹	J. J. Mabry ¹
McCaine (Texas)	
G. P. Miller ¹	N. G. Ferguson ¹
ILLINOIS AND DES MOINES	
J. E. Darby	N. Davis ¹
SOUTH ILLINOIS	
E. C. G. Nickens ¹	Samuel Dowdy ¹
INDIANA	
G. W. Boxell	W. A. Quick

Thirty-two were absent out of one hundred and three, showing seventy-one present.

The Convention proceeded to elect permanent officers, resulting in L. W. Bates, President, and M. L. Barnett and R. H. Wills, Secretaries. After routine business and notification to the Methodist Convention of its hours of meeting, the Convention adjourned.

Methodist Convention, second day, May 12. The order of the day postponed, and a committee of conference ordered to confer with a like committee of the Methodist Protestant Convention on the Basis of Union; four ministers and three laymen. The following were elected: S. M. Lowden, J. Burns, G. G. Westfall, E. A. Wheat, T. J. Finch, P. F. Remsburg, and A. Harper. Notice was given to the other Convention with a request that a similar committee be appointed. The venerable Rev. Thomas McCormick and Rev. Dr. Augustus Webster were introduced, and, after historical allusions by A. H. Bassett, they addressed the Convention in interesting and feeling remarks. At the afternoon session W. R. Parsons presided, in the absence of the President. A communication from the Methodist Protestant Convention announced that a committee of seven for conference had been appointed by it. The Convention adjourned. In the Methodist Protestant Convention, second day, May 12, S. B. Southerland, of the Joint Commission on Basis of Union, reported its action,

¹ Absent.

and the call of this Convention to consummate the Union. A committee of conference was appointed, consisting of J. K. Nichols, H. F. Zollickoffer, B. S. Bibb, W. H. Wills, J. M. P. Hickerson, G. R. Barr, and W. Mearns. The Convention adjourned.

Methodist Convention, third day, May 14. A verbal report of the Committee of Conference was made by J. H. Hamilton. Afternoon session, a communication from the General Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in relation to an Ecumenical Conference of Methodists, was received and referred to a committee. Resolutions of thanks were passed for the welcome and hospitality received in Baltimore. The Convention adjourned. Methodist Protestant Convention, third day, May 14, the report of the Commissioners on Union was referred to the Committee of Conference, and a paper by J. T. Murray defined that the Convention had power over the Constitution upon the Basis of Union. Afternoon session, official announcement of the Convention of 1877 was made by E. J. Drinkhouse, showing that twenty Conferences had voted for, and four against, a Convention; but all had elected representatives. The Convention adjourned.

The Methodist Convention, fourth day, May 15, resolutions were passed commending Bassett's "History of the Church," and requesting its publication. Afternoon session, the proposal of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for an Ecumenical Conference of Methodists was approved, and a committee appointed to carry out the purpose. Afternoon session, the Committee of Conference, consisting of seven members from each Convention, made their report as follows:—

To the General Convention of the Methodist Church, in the City of Baltimore assembled:—

We, the Joint Committee of Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church and of the Methodist Church, would most respectfully submit the following report as the result of our deliberations:—

Resolved 1. That the Basis of Union agreed upon by the Joint Commission of the Methodist Protestant and Methodist Churches, at Pittsburgh, Pa., be adopted, and that we interpret that Basis of Union on the condition of receiving members into the Church to be substantially the same as is now in the *New Edition* of the Methodist Book of Discipline—the third item, relative to children, having been inadvertently omitted in the published Basis of Union.

Resolved 2. That the matter of suffrage and eligibility to office be left to the Annual Conferences respectively, — *Provided.* That each Annual Confer-

ence shall be entitled to representation on the same ratio, in the General Conference: *And provided*, That no rule shall be passed which shall infringe the right of suffrage or eligibility to office.

Resolved 3. That this Joint Committee of Conference recommend to the General Convention of the Methodist Protestant Church, and to the General Convention of the Methodist Church, now in session, the immediate Organic Union of the Methodist Protestant and Methodist Churches — upon the Basis of Union set forth in this report.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN BURNS, *Chairman.*

J. M. P. HICKERSON, *Secretary.*

W. H. WILLS,	G. R. BARR,
B. S. BIBB,	T. J. FINCH,
E. A. WHEAT,	J. K. NICHOLS,
P. F. REMSBURG,	G. G. WESTFALL,
W. MEARNS,	A. HARPER,
H. F. ZOLLICKOFFER,	S. M. LOWDEN.

BALTIMORE, MD., May 15, 1877.

It was signed by all the members of the Joint Committee, but S. M. Lowden dissented to the item on suffrage, and W. H. Wills reserved for North Carolina the right to change position if the Joint Convention made no provision for the protection of its Conference against the brethren claiming to be organized as "Methodist" Conferences within the territory. The report was adopted with unanimity, and G. G. Westfall was designated to inform the Methodist Protestant Convention of their action. The Methodist Protestant Convention, fourth day, May 15, E. J. Drinkhouse presented a communication from the Methodist Episcopal Church, proposing an Ecumenical Conference of Methodists. It was referred to a special committee, to be hereafter appointed. Afternoon session, J. K. Nichols presented the report of the Committee of Conference, which was read and adopted by items, pending which the messenger from the Methodist Convention arrived and announced that they had agreed to the report of the Joint Committee. The Convention adjourned with the doxology, and the benediction by G. G. Westfall.

The Methodist Convention, fifth day, May 16, T. B. Appalet offered a resolution that the Convention is ready to meet our brethren of the Methodist Protestant Church in General Convention on the basis and plan agreed to, etc. It was deferred until the action of the Methodist Protestant Convention could be ascertained. Afternoon session, the following paper was adopted, as offered by J. S. Thrap: "That in the consummation of the union of the Methodist and Methodist Protestant Churches, the bodies,

which are parties thereto, take with them all of the boards, institutions, and property belonging to the General Conferences represented in the two Conventions now assembled, or in the Joint Convention. That this Convention appoint a committee of three persons to inquire into, and make provision for, any alteration that may be deemed necessary or important to make conformity and uniformity in all of the titles of property and boards to the new conditions and relations thus assumed." A paper, offered by John Scott and signed by S. M. Lowden, A. Clark, E. A. Wheat, and A. H. Bassett, "was adopted by an *informal* vote," defining their understanding of the meaning of the article on suffrage as adopted from the Committee of Conference. H. F. Zollickoffer, messenger from the Methodist Protestant Convention, announced that the Convention had agreed to the report of the Committee of Conference. The report of the Joint Committee on programme of Formal Union was read, and T. B. Applegat named as Marshal. The Convention adjourned *sine die*.

The Methodist Protestant Convention, fifth day, May 16, the report of the Committee of Conference was further considered, and adopted by a yea and nay vote, sixty yeas and five nays, the latter all from North Carolina delegation. It was resolved that when the Convention adjourns it shall be to meet at Starr church, in accordance with the programme of the Joint Committee of arrangements. Afternoon session was convened in Starr church, and the programme of arrangements was read and approved. J. T. Murray was appointed Marshal. It should be read between the lines of these five days of deliberation of either Convention, as recorded so pacific and irenic, that the contention was earnest and serious over the matter of suffrage in the reorganized Church. The Committee of Conference held numerous futile meetings, and at one period agreement seemed impossible. An incident will illustrate. The writer had for guests John Burns, Alexander Clark, S. H. Flood of the West, and J. L. Michaux, of the South. Those from the West, returning to luncheon at noon of the fourth day, gravely announced that the Committee of Conference could not agree, and a failure seemed to impend. The writer said to the brethren: "Well, if that be the fact, there seems nothing for the brethren of the Methodist Church but to return home; but our Convention will remain in session. It will strike out the word "white" and so readjust our Constitution and Discipline as to leave you logically without excuse for a separate existence."

Happily, when the brethren returned in the evening, it was to announce, joyfully, that the Committee had agreed and Union was assured.

The Methodist Protestant Convention about 4.30 P.M. of the fifth day marched to the corner of Lombard and Fremont streets, about half-way to the Methodist Convention at Green and Lombard streets, who marched to the same junction. Then two by two, under the direction of the marshals, they joined, one from either Convention, and so proceeded to the Starr church, a united body. The spectacle attracted much attention from the citizens, as well it might. The two Conventions had been noticed in all the secular papers of the country, even the large New York dailies giving up space to them, while the family of *Christian Advocates*, North and South, not wont to advertise anything Methodist Protestant, sent felicitations, so that the Church came into notice as never before in its history, and to its manifest advantage. It was the first formal reunion of dissevered ecclesiasticisms since the Civil War, and once more the country recognized a Continental Methodism, knowing no North, no South, no East, no West, sectionally.

GENERAL CONVENTION

The first day's proceedings cannot be better expressed than in the official minutes prepared by the secretaries at the time. "In accordance with the Plan of Union agreed to by the Conventions of the Methodist Protestant and Methodist Churches, at Baltimore, Md., May 15 and 16, 1877, the representatives of the two Churches assembled in Joint Convention at Starr Methodist Protestant church, Baltimore, Md., May 16, 1877, at 4.45 P.M., for the purpose of consummating the Union of the Churches represented.

"The Joint Convention was called to order by Rev. L. W. Bates, D.D., President of the Methodist Protestant Convention.

"Rev. J. J. Smith, D.D., President of the Methodist Convention, then addressed the assembly. He said:—

"Brethren, I rejoice to see this day. For years I have longed for it, and yet often felt it was but hoping against hope. I recognize in it the result of the many earnest prayers that have gone up from every quarter of the land. Many thousands of hearts shall rejoice when the tidings come of this great consummation. The scene reminds me of that which transpired in the upper chamber at Jerusalem when all the disciples were with one accord, in one place, and the Holy Ghost fell on them all. It is the work of the Gospel to

unify, to break down barriers of separation, and hind the good in brotherhood. From this time onward our influence shall be wider and deeper. The time is not far distant when all the denominations shall see more nearly eye to eye, and become one army to face successfully every form of opposition and march on to the conquest of the world for Christ. Let us determine that our resolution to work for Christ and humanity shall now be intensified. We may have diversities of opinion, and yet, as in the natural world, with diversity there may still be unity—unity of heart and unity of work. This day's work will swell the great wave of unification that rolls on to conquer the world."

"Dr. L. W. Bates then addressed the Convention. He said:—

"Twenty-three years have passed since the Churches here represented have been represented in the same body. The universal Church and world will recognize our action as the accomplishment of a great, noble, and glorious purpose. We have done what it is exceedingly difficult for men, or any form of organization, to do. But it was not difficult for us, because in our separation there was less crimination and bitterness of feeling than ever attended a like severance of relations. Still retaining the old respect, and confidence, and love toward each other, we found it easy to blend. It was also easy for us, because we represent the sentiment of the people who compose our Churches. They speak to-day. We are the echo of the voice of the united Church we represent. Our separation has proven this fact—divided we were too strong to fall, and now united we must do more than stand. The basis of union is not entirely acceptable to any of us. No measure of compromise ever was. We had to reach the point by mutual concessions. So long as we maintain that disposition and follow that policy we have nothing to fear; nothing can break our harmony. We should now be a stronger, and holier, and more successful Church. As it was our mission to take the initiative in establishing the doctrine of lay-representation among Methodists, so to-day in reuniting our several members, we take the initiative in the glorious work of unification among such Churches of the land. They have followed us in that, may they also imitate us in this. I now pronounce this the General Convention of the Methodist Protestant Church. I call upon you to arise and sing, 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow.'

"The scene that ensued beggars description. As the great assembly arose, and the triumphant measures of the old doxology rolled through the sanctuary, every eye was dim with tears, and every form trembled with unutterable emotion. 'The place where they were was shaken, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost.' Business was suspended, and speeches, brief, earnest, joyful, impressively eloquent, filled up more than an hour. Alexander Clark of Pittsburgh; Dr. Southerland of Maryland; Dr. Batchelor of North Carolina; Walker of Michigan; the venerable Father Williams of Missouri; Duggan of Tennessee; Colhouer of Pittsburgh; Hickerson of Louisiana; Hon. C. W.

Button of Virginia; Flood of Indiana; John Smith of Maryland; ex-Governor Pierpont of West Virginia, and others, spoke, while fervent responses and joyful exclamations broke out on every side. The climax was reached when William H. Wills, D.D., of North Carolina said 'that he had been opposed to the union; but now the union is consummated he pledged himself before God and his brethren to do nothing that shall mar the peace and prosperity of the union.' He turned to the Convention, and said, 'Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee, for whither thou goest I will go, and where thou lodgest I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God; where thou diest will I die, and there shall I be buried.'

"At this moment, Dr. Scott of Pittsburgh, the extremist of the other side, crossed the chancel, and, suddenly, the two men were folded in each other's arms. The example was contagious; Whitfield of North Carolina shook hands with Smith of New York across the altar rail; on all sides hands were grasped, and men were in each other's embrace. And the sound of song was not hushed, nor the holy communion of brethren broken up, till the shadows of evening fell upon the earth. So closed this most memorable day in the history of the Methodist Protestant Church."

The doxology was sung by two hundred voices, as never before by these brethren; and the General Convention adjourned, with the benediction by J. J. Smith.

On the second day permanent officers were elected by ballot, resulting in the selection of L. W. Bates for President, J. J. Smith, Vice-President, and G. B. McElroy and R. H. Wills, Secretaries. In the afternoon session, and subsequently, the President announced the Standing Committees:

Revision: John Burns, S. B. Southerland, H. Stackhouse, E. J. Drinkhouse, F. H. Pierpont, G. W. Kent, B. S. Bibb, and W. Vandervort; Boundaries: G. R. Barr, W. H. Wills, S. H. Flood, G. W. Boxell, F. H. Pierpont, J. Curry, S. V. Pickens, and E. D. Stultz; Periodicals: J. Scott, A. H. Bassett, and J. F. Harris; Colleges: J. S. Thrap, N. R. Swift, and P. Donly; Missions: R. Rose, B. F. Benson, and T. J. Finch; Ritual: J. T. Murray, C. S. Evans, and J. W. Scott; Hymn Book: A. Clark, D. W. Bates, and P. Remsburg; Means of Grace: J. H. Hamilton, T. D. Valiant, and O. Hammond; Sunday-Schools: R. S. Norris, E. S. Brown, and L. W. Batchelor; Ministerial Education: D. Wilson, A. Harper, and W. R. Parsons; Greet-

ings to his Excellency the President of the United States: A. Clark, William Gray, J. M. P. Hickerson, B. S. Bibb, and W. S. Hammond; Ecumenical Conference of Methodism: J. J. Murray, B. F. Duggan, J. W. Hering, John Scott, J. S. Thrap, J. F. Kellogg, T. Douglass, and O. Lowther; Church Extension: C. S. Evans, F. H. M. Henderson, E. Williams; Blank for Statistics: B. F. Duggan, G. G. Westfall, W. D. Mitchell; Historical Preface: P. J. Strong, J. G. Whitfield, A. H. Bassett, E. B. Bates, H. F. Zollickoffer; Pastoral Address: J. Kost, J. J. White, T. H. Colhouer, T. B. Appleget, J. K. Nichols, J. C. Roberts, J. W. Hering.

The President of the United States having indicated, by letter to a member of the Conference, that he would be pleased to receive a delegation from the body, the foregoing committee was appointed accordingly, who performed the duty and brought the body the congratulations of the President on the accomplished Union. The third day, and every day with frequency thereafter, the Committee on Revision reported sections of the new Constitution and Discipline. Their voluminous work need not be recorded in detail, as the revised Book shows what portions of the Methodist Protestant and what portions of the Methodist Book were incorporated. An investigation will evince that the Methodist Protestant Book was substantially adopted, with the additions of the new and successful Boards of Ministerial Education, Foreign Missions, and Church Extension, which had been organized in the Methodist Church. There was much unanimity in the Revision Committee and on the part of the Convention in this important proceeding. The Committee on an Ecumenical Methodist Conference reported favorably, and advised the appointment of a Committee of Correspondence, and of four ministers and four laymen to represent the Church in it. The Fraternal Messenger from the Methodist Episcopal Church, Rev. Dr. Alexander Gibson, was introduced, and addressed the body, with a response from the President. The Committee on Periodicals reported that it would be "injudicious to interfere with the existing arrangements for the publication of our Church papers; and that the present editors and publishers be retained and the matter of readjustment referred to the ensuing General Conference." The Committee on Colleges reported giving in detail the facts as to Yadkin in North Carolina, Adrian in Michigan, and Western Maryland in Maryland. The Catechisms of the Methodist Protestant Church were adopted. The Committee on Hymn

Book reported that the existing books be used until another shall be authorized by the Church, and that the Committee be empowered to correspond with other committees of the Methodist family to secure uniformity in the service of praise, and report to the next General Conference.

It is a part of the unwritten history of this action, that the Chairman, Alexander Clark, in the writer's presence and after consultation with him, wrote to Bishop Simpson of the Methodist Episcopal Church, while the Convention was yet in session, inquiring if their new book could not be made to recognize the Church by the introduction of a few original hymns, in view of the adoption by the Churches of a general hymnal. He answered courteously, that the committee on revision of their new book had finally adjourned, but he would be pleased to further the common use of their book in any way possible. Dr. Clark and the writer both construed this answer to mean that no recognition could be given the Church by the insertion of any of the original hymns found in its two books; and the matter was dropped. Dr. Clark did not live to the ensuing General Conference, and hence no report of these facts was made by him. The proposition to adopt their book was, however, pressed by another member of the committee, A. H. Bassett, and as earnestly opposed by the writer, who furnished the Conference these facts, with the result that a large and able committee was appointed to compile or adopt a new hymn book for the Church. Investigation showed how stupendous was the undertaking. After much futile labor, they adopted the hymn book of Dr. Eben Tourgée, which had been prepared by him for the use of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was so popular and largely introduced that their ensuing General Conference was prompted to make preparations for their present book, and thus Tourgée's was gradually superseded. It was revised by the Committee, and a number of original hymns introduced, making it, substantially, what was needed. It has been used for the past twenty years, with the usual result of sporadic dissatisfaction; as in the matter of church hymn books the destructive critics are much more numerous than the constructive ones. It was pointed out by the brethren of the East and South that their sectional prejudice was against the adoption of a Northern book.

The writer has recently, under a revival of the agitation that something was lost by the rejection of the new Methodist Episcopal Church book, made a critical examination of this hymnal.

It consists of 1117 hymns, with or without music, and in various convenient forms. It must be admitted that, as an anthology of sacred song, it is unequalled by any collection in existence. It cost the competent committee the labor of four years, and its whole expense, from beginning to end, is reputed at \$25,000. It is evident that the committee had before them, for reference and selection, all the collections of every denomination, from the Sarum breviary downward, and for nearly all there is some recognition. But you look in vain for any Methodist Protestant hymn, as such. Either the committee strangely overlooked the two books then in use, or, if before them, found nothing to approve in the splendid lyrics of Stockton, the admirable hymns of Clark, Scott, Cox, Varden, and others. Almost everything ever written before and since the Luther reformation is here, but the exception named. Charity says it may have been purely accidental, but the fact remains. Two-thirds of these hymns are never sung, either in their public congregations or social meetings; and it has come in for a larger share of criticism than Dr. Tourgée's book, as adopted, and with more cogent reasons. As an anthology it is crowned a success; as a singable, every-day hymnal, it is declared, by not a few of their critical people, a failure; and already the destructive critics, who never have constructive ability themselves, are clamoring for a new book. It is noteworthy, also, that at the Ecumenical Conference of 1881, in London, and that of 1891, in Washington, earnest efforts were made to secure a concentrated movement for a universal Methodist hymn book, as the first and only practical step toward unification; but nothing came of it. The Methodist Episcopal Church, with its overshadowing wealth and numbers, made no sign, though it was plain that initial action had to come from them. And yet their reticence spoke, and it said: Here is our book; adopt it. There might have been an immense pecuniary saving to all the Methodisms, if either of these Conferences had appointed and empowered a committee, the Methodist Episcopal Church leading in a generous concession, to compile a book, which should bear the imprint of all the followers of Wesley the world over. It was not done, and it is easy to place the responsibility. It remains, at this writing, to see what the ensuing General Conference will do with the hymn-book question. It is to be hoped, at least, that the destructives will not have their way in a blind foray.

The Committee on Pastoral Address made their report, which

was adopted (pp. 45, 46, of the Minutes). The Committee on Nomination of Delegates to the Ecumenical Conference, etc., reported: Committee of Correspondence, E. J. Drinkhouse, Alexander Clark, W. J. C. Dulany, and J. J. Gillespie; Representatives: G. B. McElroy, S. B. Southerland, J. M. P. Hickerson, J. Burns, B. S. Bibb, P. F. Rensburg, C. W. Button, T. J. Finch. The Committee of Correspondence was added to the number. E. J. Drinkhouse, on behalf of the Baltimore Directory, suggested that the Convention of Conferences on its publishing interests by the church law should meet at the General Conference, which had been superseded by this Convention. The Directory was ready to report to such Convention of Conferences, if a call was made. No demand being made, it was referred to the ensuing General Conference. Fraternal messengers were appointed to the English Methodists, the Methodist Episcopal, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The next General Conference was set for Pittsburgh. A. H. Bassett and E. J. Drinkhouse were made a Committee on Statistics, to report their work in the printed Minutes. A proper celebration by the Annual Conferences of the semi-centennial of the Church, in 1878, was recommended. A new Constitution for the Board of Foreign Missions was submitted and approved. (See Appendix H, in first volume.) Ministerial Education through the Theological Schools at Adrian and Westminster was approved. A new Constitution for the Board of Church Extension was submitted and approved. A day of thanksgiving was ordered for the "providential guidance which has resulted in the now happily consummated Union," etc. The General Conference adjourned, at 11.40 P.M. of the seventh day, May 23, 1877, by singing the doxology, and the benediction pronounced by G. B. McElroy.

The Committee of Statistics made the following report, very imperfect, and as to Sabbath-schools omitted entirely in the Methodist minutes, and very defective in the Methodist Protestant, chiefly for the reason that the system of "Union" schools prevailed over the South, and these are not denominationally reported. The tables are added.¹

¹ Some dissatisfaction was expressed with the brevity of the Minutes of the Conventions as printed. Those who wish to consult the proceedings in full will find them in the *Methodist Protestant* of even dates. The debates and addresses are given with detailed accuracy and fulness as furnished from the original Minutes of the secretaries and the editor's notes.

An incident of the General Convention was the photograph group of all the members, to the number of 146, which was secured through the enterprise of the pastor of West Baltimore station, Rev. J. M. Holmes. A framed copy now hangs on the study wall of the writer, and as he looks into these faces he is struck with the heavy percentage of those who no longer respond to the greetings of their earthly friends. Soon the entire body will be a memory to the Church.

The returned brethren everywhere sounded a key-note, and the reunited Church, for the next score of years, entered upon a tide of prosperity unexcelled in the history of denominations.

STATISTICS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH—MAY, 1877.

ANNUAL CONFERENCES	Itinerant Minist'rs and Preachers	Unstationed Minist'rs and Preachers	Members	Probationers	Churches	Parsonages	Value of Church Property
New York	28	9	2,711	149	31	8	\$169,000
New Jersey	21	35	1,841	280	30	6	93,850
Onondaga	54	37	1,984	132	23	16	71,150
Genesee	17	1	765	....	7	6	26,900
Pittsburgh	51	51	7,088	....	88	21	371,000
Muskingum	64	57	9,506	73	130	8	161,157
Ohio	47	55	5,604	285	93	21	166,275
Michigan	51	42	2,212	217	18	22	53,340
West Michigan	53	20	1,842	81	15	9	29,150
Indiana	47	45	4,835	268	63	7	66,200
N. Illinois and Wisconsin	44	46	3,140	....	60	16	152,000
South Illinois	24	5	1,889	159	31	4	25,000
Iowa	57	67	3,607	280	34	18	69,500
Minnesota	21	3	300	....	1	....	15,000
Nebraska	8	8	339	39	1	1	500
Kansas	37	32	1,542	....	1	1	1,440
Oregon	7	4	100	....	2	1	5,000
Missouri	35	45	1,855	24	12	3	6,570
North Missouri	35	25	1,309	42	8	1	7,000
Tennessee	6	....	230	....	1	....	300
Kentucky	18	3	1,795	....	....	....	....
E. North Carolina	15	5	519	15	11	....	1,800
W. North Carolina	18	7	987	28	14	....	2,215
Totals	758	605	56,000	2,072	674	169	\$1,494,347

A. H. BASSETT, } Committee
E. J. DRINKHOUSE, } on Statistics.

STATISTICS OF THE METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH— MAY, 1877.

ANNUAL CONFERENCES	Itinerant Minist'rs and Preachers	Unstationed Minist'rs and Preachers	Members	Probationers	Churches	Parsonages	Sunday School Scholars	Value of Church Property
Maryland	110	53	12,383	1,019	204	44	12,447	\$785,265
Virginia	28	18	3,300	...	33	..	600	27,000
West Virginia . .	43	16	9,480	...	93	13	4,220	69,550
North Carolina . .	45	59	9,300	...	85	13	3,567	74,750
Georgia	30	6	2,462	...	42	..	1,152	15,899
Ark. and Louisiana	32	21	2,645	...	20	..	....	22,900
Texas	35	15	1,700	...	15	..	....	2,500
North Mississippi .	18	10	1,300	...	15	..	....	3,000
North Arkansas . .	31	18	1,800	...	20	..	....	5,000
Alabama	35	15	2,900	...	30	6	....	60,000
Pennsylvania . . .	15	14	671	36	12	3	930	26,800
Tennessee	18	4	1,209	...	19	..	1,996	9,200
West Tennessee . .	17	6	1,140	...	10	..	....	3,500
Illinois & Des Moines	6	6	500	10	10	..	300	11,000
Indiana	30	21	2,110	...	25	2	1,300	29,500
South Carolina . .	9	11	1,075	...	8	..	....	9,775
McCaine	11	7	1,100	...	10	..	....	3,000
Colorado	19	8	800	...	8	..	....	2,000
South Illinois . . .	11	6	800	...	10	..	700	4,000
Mississippi	8	4	580	...	5	..	....	2,750
S. E. Missonri . .	5	2	150	...	3	..	....	1,000
	556	320	57,405		677			\$1,168,389
METHODIST CHURCH	758	605	56,000	2,072	674	169		1,494,347
Totals	1,314	925	113,405		1,351			\$2,662,736

The blank spaces mean that no report could be secured, hence such columns are not summed up.

A. H. BASSETT, } *Committee*
E. J. DRINKHOUSE, } *on Statistics.*

CHAPTER XXXIV

The Annual Council; history of it—New Church life inspired by the Union of 1877—The W. F. M. S. of Baltimore city, and what it did—Obituaries of Reformers—Editors of the official papers travel together through the Southwest, visiting conferences—The Bible School Series inaugurated by the editor of the Baltimore paper, and successfully carried forward for a series of years—J. B. Walker's agency for the Western Maryland College—Obituaries; Rev. Dr. J. G. Whitfield and others—Decease of Alexander Clark—Evidence of the great success of the reunited Church statistically proven—The General Conference of the M. E. Church, 1880; lay-delegation and laymen in the Book Concern—The Ecumenical Conference of 1881 called.

THE General Conference of the Methodist Church, in 1875, authorized an annual meeting of the President of the General Conference, the president of the college, the editor and publisher, and the corresponding secretaries of the different Boards. It met at Adrian, Mich., July, 1875, and adopted the title: The Annual Council. The second meeting was held at Springfield, O., July 12-13, 1876, and published in pamphlet form its first report, octavo, thirty-two pages. "Its powers are simply advisory, and its jurisdiction limited to the consideration of the general interests of the Church." It supplied in part that executive branch of our governmental system, which the "fathers" left lacking through a belief that the Annual Conference presidents would supply it by a uniform adherence to the forms of law, and the original limits of the Church did not to them seem to call for a more decisive executive branch, and a general prejudice against even the seeming of a central authority. The Annual Council, restricted as it was, answered a good purpose; it was overlooked by the Committee on Revision in 1877, but it was continued until the General Conference of 1880. By an effort of the writer in the General Union Convention, this serious executive defect, as the Church enlarged and had interdenominational business, was partially remedied by the following provision: "The President of the General Convention or Conference. He shall be recognized as the connectional officer of this body until the succeeding General Convention or Conference. He shall be invested

with no powers or prerogatives, except the purely ministerial one of receiving and answering such correspondence as may be addressed to him in the interval of the quadrennial sessions of our legislative assembly. The Secretary of the General Convention or Conference shall also hold his office until the succeeding General Convention or Conference, and, if present, shall call the body to order." It was so carefully guarded that it was passed despite the anecdotal opposition of a respected member of the body, who warned the Convention that it was a gosling which after awhile would become a bishop gander. The writer also succeeded at the General Conference of 1892 in investing the President with power to change the place of the General Conference, with the coöperation of the Board of Publication, no provision having been made for such an exigency otherwise. "The Annual Council" was reënacted by the General Conference of 1880 (see pp. 83-84 of Discipline), on the same basis as before. It held regular meetings during the quadrennium, but found itself so hampered by severe limitations of authority, that even some of its friends reached the conclusion that, unless strengthened, it did not answer the purpose intended. Meanwhile a few writers in the official papers raised the old alarm of a centralized authority, though there was not a vestige of it, and the expense was also declaimed against, though every Board had its annual meeting anyhow; so on the motion of a member, in 1892, without debate, the Annual Council was wiped out, as no one had a plan for its better constitution. But the demand for an executive authority in the interval of the General Conference continued to grow with the growth of the Church, until now there is a decided reaction, and it is hoped that the ensuing General Conference will make proper provision for the unification of Annual Conference business, the enforcement of forms of law, and the efficiency of the General Boards.

After an inauguration of fraternity by the Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Commissioners were mutually appointed, who met at Cape May, N. J., August 17-23, 1876, and agreed to federation between the severed brethren, which included an amicable settlement of Church property and the recognition of each as legitimate Methodist Episcopal Churches. In part it led to the first Ecumenical Methodist Conference.

The official papers for the year 1877-78 exhibit the new ecclesiastical life inspired by the reunion, the Annual Conference

meetings reported increase of membership and general prosperity, while the home and foreign mission operations of the Church received a new impulse. It is worthy of note that the movement of the women for foreign missions in the Maryland Conference took so broad a Christian form that the Conference of 1876 authorized the woman's society of Baltimore city, in lieu of established work in foreign lands, to coöperate with the W. F. M. S. of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the collections to be lifted paid to the editor of the official paper, and by him to be transferred to the treasurer of said society. It was done for that year, and then its funds were transferred to the Foreign Board, as it was meantime making initial preparations for work of its own.

Anderson Landers was born July 3, 1807, and deceased April 8, 1876. He was an original Tennessee Reformer from the year 1828, being a member of the "Reformed Methodist Society," afterward merged into the "Associated Methodist Churches." He was often a delegate to the Annual Conference, and was true to his convictions to the end. George Percival of Lynchburg, Va., deceased June 8, 1877, in his eighty-sixth year, the last of the eleven brethren expelled in that city for Reform principles. Joseph Wilson deceased June 30, 1877, aged ninety-five. He was the father of Revs. Thomas M. and David Wilson of the Maryland Conference, and spent his life on its Pennsylvania border. He was a Revolutionary soldier, an original Reformer, and steadfast to the Church and Christ to the close of his long life. This church History should make record of the departure out of this life of Rev. T. B. Balch of the Presbyterian Church. Like his father, hitherto mentioned, Rev. Dr. Stephen Balch, he was a true friend of the new organization from the beginning. The son, a literary recluse for many years, was a voluminous contributor to the Baltimore paper through his life, and made it a rule to attend the Maryland Conference whenever its proximity to his Virginia home made it practicable. The elders will not forget his thin, gaunt figure, eccentric habits, and brilliant intellect. He died February 14, 1878.

In the autumn of 1877 the editor of the Baltimore paper, worn down by a combination of labors, at the suggestion of Alexander Clark, editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, resolved in the interest of reunion fraternity to make with him an extended itinerary among the West and Southwest Conferences. They travelled through the Mississippi valley, the Indian Territory, and Texas,

as far as Galveston, striking Conferences whenever it was possible, if but a single day could be spent with the brethren. The intent of the journey was appreciated, and a large number of new subscribers were added to both the official papers. Much enthusiasm was awakened by this personal contact, while the editorial correspondence excited a lively interest all over the Church. The writer closed a seven weeks' absence by attending the Alabama Conference, making a travel of some five thousand miles. The Annual Council having been announced to meet July, 1877, at Springfield, O., did so, and published its reports by a mutual arrangement in the form of a four-page supplement to the official papers of September 22. J. B. Walker, Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Ministerial Education, announced that Calvin Tomkins of Tomkins' Cove, N. Y., had made a mortuary gift of \$10,000 to the Endowment Fund of Adrian College.

May 4, 1878, the editor of the Baltimore paper, impressed that the Church should not be dependent upon other denominations for its international Sabbath-school lessons, and a suggestion to add such a publication to the Pittsburgh *Morning Guide* having been declined, the Baltimore Directory authorized its issuance at the individual expense and responsibility of the editor. The first number of the *Bible School* was issued July 1, 1878, a four-page large quarto monthly paper at 50 cents a year, the inside devoted to the lessons and the outside to illustrations and reading matter. For two years and a half the lessons were furnished by Dr. Webster and Rev. T. H. Lewis, the latter having given suggestions from the first. From January, 1881, the lessons were by Dr. Webster and Rev. J. D. Kinzer, and from July, 1884, to January, 1885, by Dr. Webster and Rev. J. F. Cowan, when it was discontinued. It was very popular from the beginning, and rose in circulation to an average edition of twenty thousand, but confined almost entirely to the East and South. It paid current expenses, but allowed no compensation to those laboring upon it.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, met at Atlanta, Ga., May, 1878, and Dr. Alexander Clark and Dr. F. H. M. Henderson made addresses as fraternal messengers, which were well received, and responded to cordially by Bishop Pierce. In Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Fairmont, W. Va., and other places semi-centennial celebrations were held. That in Baltimore was in the old St. John's church, Liberty Street, where the original Conventions were held, the address

being by Rev. Dr. S. B. Southerland, a production of great force and beauty, which was published in the official paper and reproduced in other connections. Bishop Simpson's "Encyclopædia of Methodism" was issued in 1878, a large volume, illustrated, seven pages being given to a sketch of the Methodist Protestant Church furnished by the writer, as also fifty-five portraits and sketches of prominent ministers and laymen, those of the East and South prepared by the writer, and those of the North and West by Alexander Clark mainly. Though the sketch of the Church is impaired a little by the Bishop's editing, it is the fairest presentation ever made in a Methodist Episcopal publication. Also, in the summer of 1878, Jackson Grove Camp, on the B. & P. Railroad, midway from Baltimore to Washington, was established as a permanent ground commemorative of the Church's semi-centennial. After a number of years' successful operation, it was arrested by untoward circumstances and ceased to be. Other permanent camps were established, near Pittsburgh and in Ohio, and other places, which have been fruitful of good.

The forty-ninth volume of the *Methodist Protestant* was issued June 29, 1878, in a dress of new type, and with a fresh array of contributors, while it grew in circulation, along with the *Bible School*. The *Methodist Recorder* and the *Morning Guide* were kept abreast with the best literature of the day by the indefatigable and popular editor, Alexander Clark, whose prolific pen poured out volume after volume in addition, supplemented with lectures and other engagements, which kept him in a whirl of exacting toil, the Sunday-school publications rising within a year from this date, three in number, to some sixty-three thousand copies. Rev. J. B. Walker, Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Ministerial Education, undertook the Agency of Western Maryland College as well, by the permission of the Board, and for some eighteen months travelled incessantly over the State of Maryland soliciting subscriptions to the oppressive debt of about \$25,000 under which the college was laboring. He pressed its claims with a zeal and fervor misunderstood by some, who tried to evade his importunity, until about \$21,000 of the amount was pledged, and enabled the trustees to cancel the heavy liabilities. It was a herculean labor, of which this mention is very inadequate. The North Carolina Conference was divided in the autumn of this year, which, with the Allegheny and the Deep River Conferences, recognized by the Methodist Church before the Union, gave four Conferences for the State, and which injuriously con-

tinued for a few years, until the last-named Conferences disintegrated, and the North Carolina Conference once more covered the country. During 1879, the women of the Church in the Pittsburgh Conference, like those in Baltimore earlier, interested themselves in the foreign missionary work, and expended their energies, through Miss Guthrie, in the employ of the New York Union Missionary Society, before referred to, and their initial work in foreign lands was the education of seventeen young Japanese girls at Yokohama under her care. For a detailed account of the women's work thereafter, see Appendix E to the first volume. The *Western Protestant*, with J. M. P. Hickerson as editor, and J. W. Harper as agent and manager, was issued at Haynesville, La., and Dallas, Tex., as the local organ of the trans-Mississippi Conferences. It was about one-third the size of the Baltimore paper, at one dollar a year. It was well conducted, but soon became financially embarrassed and was discontinued, the fate of many such predecessors. So great was the success of the *Bible School* that it was supplemented, June 15, 1879, with the *Bible School Journal*, a sixteen-page booklet, bound, and issued monthly, containing the lessons and cognate matter, as also the *Weekly Lesson Leaf*. It added to the accumulated labors of the editor, and the three publications were continued until the whole series, West and East, were placed under an independent management after the General Conference of 1884.

Robert B. Varden of Maryland deceased May 7, 1878, aged eighty-one years. He was an original Reformer, and occupied official positions in the Church through his long life. The same may be said of his brother, John Varden, of Washington, D. C., brothers of Rev. Josiah Varden. Rev. Parker Bowden deceased March 20, 1878, aged seventy-three years, an original Reformer, resident on Chincoteague Island, Va., but within the Maryland Conference lines. John Stauffer of Maryland deceased December 21, 1878, aged seventy-seven years, an original Reformer. William Whitney of Maryland deceased at Newark, N. J., July 10, 1878, an original Reformer, and one of the founders of the cause in Newark, and the father of Rev. Dr. Whitney of the Methodist Episcopal Church, one of her most popular educators. Henry W. Nichols deceased at Mexico, O., January 3, 1879, aged sixty-eight years; a native of Maryland and an original Reformer, and brother to Revs. J. K. and J. R. Nichols of that Conference. Solomon Robbins deceased May 19, 1879, an original Reformer, born January 14, 1791, in North Carolina, died in Alabama.

Rev. Dr. J. G. Whitfield deceased at Enfield, N. C., August 28, 1879, born September 1, 1810, in Virginia. Converted at a camp-meeting in Isle of Wight County, Va., in 1827, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, but soon became acquainted with early Reform literature, and, being an intelligent reader, with a good English education, he embraced its principles, and in March, 1829, at Smithfield, Va., he with a number of others were organized into an Associated Methodist Church. Licensed to preach, he at once began itinerating, receiving his first appointment September 1, 1829, in the newly organized Virginia Conference, and he continued in the work for nearly half a century, and filled every position of honor and responsibility his brethren could bestow upon him. He was a prominent member of all the General Conferences from 1842 to 1870, the last of which he was President; a member also of the Convention of 1867, and of 1877 when he was a representative from the North Carolina Conference. His end was triumphant, though for several weeks his bodily suffering was very great. An extended obituary was furnished the official paper by his lifelong friend, Dr. R. B. Thomson, of the Virginia Conference. He was apt as a debater, and often defended in public the principles of the Church; practical and strong as a preacher; socially engaging; an affectionate husband and father; conservative and cautious; a wise counsellor and steadfast friend.

Hon. George Vickers of Maryland, born November 19, 1801, deceased October 8, 1879, in Chestertown, where he spent his entire life. Well educated, he selected the law as a profession, and this training probably did much to give him, while yet under age, a fixed preference for the Reformers of 1827-30, so that when, in 1842, at a camp-meeting he openly professed faith in Christ, he at once united with the Church of his choice, and was honored by elections to its General Conferences. His professional career was successful, and he bore the credentials of college graduate, major-general, and United States senator with becoming dignity and unostentation. Through a protracted illness from angina pectoris he was calm and trustful. David Clark, born June 24, 1795, deceased September 14, 1879, at Clinton, O.; an original Reformer and devoted churchman. John Gephart deceased September 19, 1879, at Cumberland, Md., in the ninetyeth year of his age; an original Reformer, with a clean life record and a peaceful end.

Rev. William Corrie Lipscomb, born in Virginia, September

13, 1792; he departed this life peacefully in Washington, D. C., December 6, 1789. Early in life he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, being but fourteen years of age. He was rapidly advanced to the official positions of the Church, and as early as 1823 took intelligent ground in favor of a modification of the Church government, into whose character he was fully initiated. He was a member of the first Convention of Reformers in Baltimore, November, 1827; of 1828; and Secretary of that of 1830. It was, as these pages have already noted, on his return to his home in Georgetown, D. C., that the Official Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church, sanctioned by the pastor as executive, deprived him of his official positions, for the avowed reason that he was an attendant on the 1828 Convention. The subsequent steps of his indignant retirement have also been narrated. He was a member of various General Conferences, and held a foremost position in the Church as advocate and intelligent contributor to its official paper, exhibiting a strong, logical intellect and uncompromising adherence to his convictions. Many times a member of the Maryland Conference, his commanding person was familiar to the brethren. As a preacher he was clear, forcible, and tender, though his close attention to secular pursuits made his ministrations in later life unfrequent. His obsequies were conducted in the Georgetown church, of which he was a founder, by the pastor, Rev. J. T. Murray, in an address, assisted by Rev. Thomas McCormick and W. S. Hammond. His remains repose in Oak Hill cemetery. Rev. George Jones of the Tennessee Conference deceased April 17, 1879, in his eighty-second year. One of the "Reformed Methodists," and a member of the "Union Society," and the last survivor of the fourteen expelled for Reform opinions, without the form of a trial, by Presiding Elder James Gwyne. J. J. Burroughs, of Norfolk, Va., deceased February 3, 1872, aged seventy-four years, but of whose demise the official paper made no note until 1879, an original Reformer, and Secretary to the Convention of 1828. Samuel Tucker deceased March 12, 1880, aged eighty-seven years, in Washington, D. C.; an original Reformer. Rev. William Bowden, born May 13, 1793, in England, but soon came to this country; an original Reformer and early member of the Maryland Conference, he removed to the West, and was a member of the Muskingum Conference; and still later in life removed to Fort Scott, Kan., where he peacefully departed, February 9, 1880.

Alexander Clark, editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, left his

home on the banks of the Ohio near Wellsville, May 26, 1879; passed through Baltimore; dined with the writer, who found him very weak from recent illness, the result of overwork; travelled to Yadkin College and delivered the Commencement Address, though compelled to rest midway of the effort; returned to Greensboro', N. C., fulfilling a lecture tour; reached Nashville, Tenn., ill and worn, with intestinal disease; thence to Atlanta, Ga., where he was compelled to tarry; carried from the hotel to the hospitable home of Governor Colquitt, where he received all the attention Christian devotion could render, and where, after several weeks' illness, he peacefully departed this life, July 6, 1879, Sabbath evening, at 7.35 o'clock. Only a few days before, his physicians held out hope of his recovery, but the recuperative force was used up in continuous and laborious pursuits and travel, closing a varied intellectual and moral career in the forty-fifth year of his age. His remains were brought to his late home by his son, who attended him in his last days, and buried in the cemetery overlooking the river he so much loved. Memorial services were held July 11, in the First church, Pittsburgh, in the presence of a large congregation, Dr. Scott, the writer, and ministers of other denominations delivering addresses. No death since that of the lamented E. Yeates Reese so shocked the general Church, and no loss was more heavy to the publishing interests. He left a family of twelve children and a devoted companion. Our space will permit only this inadequate sketch, though it would be strikingly interesting to trace the many points of parallel between his career in the Church and that of Eli Yeates Reese.

In evidence of the progress of the Church after the Union Convention, Rev. J. F. Cowan furnished the information from the official papers that from 1878 to 1879 forty new churches had been dedicated, fifteen were under construction, and sixteen thoroughly repaired, or more than one a week. New churches were built at Atlanta, Ga., Montgomery, Ala., and many other places, where the cause had been almost extinguished by the Civil War. Colored Conferences were also organized under the reconstructed Discipline in Maryland, Alabama, Georgia, Texas, and South Carolina. The colleges at Westminster, Adrian, and North Carolina were prospering, and young men entering the ministry. The outlook was most hopeful. Bassett's "Concise History" of the Church appeared late in 1877. It had been written from the point of view of the "Methodist Church," and

while adequate in this regard, it was greatly deficient as a history of the Methodist Protestant Church, and thought partial in some of its statements. The author, however, cordially accepted suggestions, and when the new and enlarged work appeared in 1882, it was more generally approved, and has answered an admirable purpose as a historical record since that period. The writer has endeavored to preserve in these pages all its valuable information. The *Protestant Recorder*, J. W. Harper, editor, a four-page folio, published at Magnolia, Ark., took the place of the *Western Protestant*, and had, like it, a short career. The Annual Council assembled for the last time prior to the General Conference at Springfield, and published its reports through the official papers. The *Methodist Protestant Missionary* was issued by C. H. Williams, at his own risk, in the interests of foreign missions, sixteen pages, quarto, the first number bearing date August 30, 1879. Rev. Dr. John Scott was elected in September to fill out the unexpired time of Alexander Clark, as editor of the Church paper and Sunday-school issues at Pittsburgh. He entered upon the task, and successfully coped with its many difficulties. The editor of the Baltimore paper continued his visitations to the Conferences, mostly in the West. The *Western Record*, a sixteen-page quarto, was issued at Indianapolis, Ind., in the interest of Western Conferences putatively. The reader cannot fail to have observed, as a coincidence, the extreme age of so many of the early Reformers. As an instance, there met in the Baltimore Book Room, in October, 1879, at the same time and not by concert, Rev. Thomas McCormick, then eighty-eight, Rev. W. C. Lipscomb, eighty-eight, and Abner Webb, an original member of St. John's church, aged ninety-six and seven months. An effort was made in the autumn Conferences to invest the ensuing General Conference with Conventional powers, but it was unsuccessful.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met in May, 1880, and a few things will be profitable for mention. The roll of members from 95 Conferences showed 247 clerical delegates and 141 lay-delegates. Of the clerics, 142 are presiding elders, 68 pastors, 17 educators, 11 editors, 7 are agents of societies, and 2 secretaries of church boards. This vast preponderance of presiding elders has ever been a feature and is one of the inevitable results of a hierarchic system, while the lay-delegation is seen to be in a minority of one-third. This General Conference through its committee suggested some improvement

on this plan. Dr. Haygood, the fraternal messenger from the Church South, gave the brethren great encouragement to do better, in that he lauded the operation of lay-delegation on its plan of equal numbers as a great success, as well as the conservative force of the laymen. The several Book Concern reports, when submitted, were referred to a committee for auditing, and the strange spectacle was exhibited that some of the agents were named to audit their own accounts. On this subject Rev. Dr. Smart uttered treasonable things: "I object to the principle of putting men on the committee to pass upon their own work. Now as to laymen being on the committee, I have this to say: This is business, secular business, and if there is any committee to which laymen are especially adapted, this is that committee [applause]. Indeed, I think laymen ought to do all our business in reference to the Book Concern [applause]. If I had my way, I would have one Book Concern with one head [applause], with three good laymen to manage it [applause]. I think we treat the laymen a little gingerly. They ought to have equal representation with us in this General Conference [applause]. It is an outrage that they have not." As the last sentence fell from his lips the Bourbon element was aroused, and "one brother called the speaker to order for wandering from the subject." It would have been well for the Methodist Episcopal Church if it had heeded these wise premonitory words, and thus saved it from the scandal of a few years later under clerical control of the New York Book Concern. The Committee of Correspondence on the Ecumenical Conference met by appointment in Cincinnati, O., May 10, 1880. Of the Church committee only the writer and W. J. C. Dulany were in attendance. Great harmony prevailed, with Bishop Simpson, Chairman, and it was agreed to hold such a Conference in London some time in August, 1881, to be composed of four hundred delegates, one-half to be from the Wesleyan Conference of England; the trans-Atlantic brethren exhibiting great fear that they might be overshadowed in numbers and influence, so they were protected in this way.

CHAPTER XXXV

Thirteenth General Conference at Pittsburgh, Pa., May, 1880; roster of members; Rev. Dr. G. B. McElroy, President; Mrs. Clancy of the W. F. M. S. addressed the Conference; also subsequently Miss Brittain on Foreign Missions; fraternal messengers from all the Methodisms except the M. E. Church; its significance explained; note added to the Articles of Religion; a plan for the unification of the publishing interests presented from Baltimore, and adopted as "The Board of Publication"; conditions and terms of union in autonomy; reports from General Boards; Ecumenical Conference representatives elected; Book Concerns' exhibit; statistics—The *Methodist Protestant* closes its fiftieth year; Rev. Dr. A. A. Lipscomb as a contributor; the Bible School Series; declinature of the Pittsburgh house to put the Sunday-school papers under a separate editor, etc.; obituaries of Reformers; hymn-hook committee and its difficulties—Ecumenical Conference in London, 1881; incidents of it—Year Book of the Church; comparison of statistics in the Methodisms; School of Theology at Westminster organized by Rev. T. H. Lewis—Significant doing in the General Conference of the Church South—Annual Council of the Church—Obituaries of Reformers; semi-centennial of the Pittsburgh Conference; other incidents of Church work—A homily on Church fidelity in preachers and people; an argument—Obituaries of Reformers.

THE Thirteenth General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church assembled in First church, Pittsburgh, Pa., Friday, May 21, 1880, and was called to order by the Secretary of the last Conference. L. W. Bates took the chair under the new law, and, after preliminary business, the following were declared elected members of the Conference:—

MARYLAND

Ministers

L. W. Bates
 J. J. Murray
 S. B. Southerland
 J. T. Murray
 E. J. Drinkhouse
 W. S. Hammond
 J. D. Kinzer
 David Wilson
 T. D. Valiant
 J. T. Ward

Laymen

C. W. Button
 W. J. C. Dulany
 J. W. Hering¹
 O. Hammond¹
 W. B. Usilton
 J. W. Thompson
 W. H. Wheatley
 Gaven Spence
 W. G. Baker¹
 S. H. Green¹

¹ Absent.

	PITTSBURGH	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
John Scott		J. J. Gillespie
S. F. Crowther		H. T. Reeves
John Gregory		G. W. Pogue
John Cowl		F. H. Pierpont
G. G. Westfall		W. P. Herbert
	MUSKINGUM	
J. H. Hamilton		J. Wells
D. Trueman		B. McCormick
S. A. Fisher		J. Murphy
W. Hastings		L. Browning
E. S. Hoagland		J. W. Scott
J. M. Woodward		W. J. Hibbs
G. W. Hissey		H. E. H. Hartssock
	OHIO	
T. B. Graham		J. M. Johnson
A. H. Bassett		W. White
W. R. Parsons		J. J. Ware
J. W. Spring		D. Dunbar ¹
	WEST MICHIGAN	
I. W. McKeever		S. J. Badcock
	MICHIGAN	
G. B. McElroy		J. S. Duffy
J. F. Kellogg		A. A. Rust
	INDIANA	
H. Stackhouse		J. Van Buskirk
J. H. Luse		A. D. Amos
I. H. C. McKinney		T. S. Johnson
S. H. Flood		N. H. Jones
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
W. H. Jordan		Jas. Ross
V. H. Brown		A. V. Whitney
	IOWA	
G. M. Scott		C. H. High
W. Sparks		J. W. Murphy
E. S. Brown		
	NEW YORK	
J. J. Smith		
J. H. Robinson		
		¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	WEST VIRGINIA	<i>Laymen</i>
S. Clawson ¹		W. A. Strickler
J. J. Poynter		J. W. Hull
George Nestor		W. Mearns
M. L. Barnett		A. Lantz
A. L. McKeever		John Linn
B. Stout		C. P. Hudson
A. T. Cralle		W. I. Lowther
	COLORADO (Texas)	
T. Aaron		J. J. Mabrey ¹
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
R. Wright		George Stout
S. A. Long		
	NORTH CAROLINA	
W. H. Wills		J. W. Hadley
J. H. Page		L. W. Batchelor
	McCAINE (Texas)	
J. E. Bounds		J. J. Heffin
	ALABAMA	
J. A. Spence		C. E. Crenshaw
	OREGON	
D. Bagley		D. B. Ward ¹
	GEORGIA	
F. H. M. Henderson		W. C. Adamson
R. S. McGarity		W. D. Mitchell
	NERRASKA	
E. T. Hudson		
	KANSAS	
W. M. Woodward		W. W. Shaw
	NEW JERSEY	
T. B. Appleget		E. S. V. Stultz
	VIRGINIA	
G. R. Barr ¹		I. P. Robinett ¹
J. G. Johnson		W. E. Jones
	TENNESSEE	
W. J. Finley		G. B. Moon

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	CENTRAL TEXAS	<i>Laymen</i>
G. P. Miller		
	DEEP RIVER	
Solomon Long ¹		E. L. McHargue
	WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA	
J. R. Ball		W. J. Ellis
C. F. Harris		
J. L. Michaux		
W. W. Amick		
C. A. Pickens		
	MISSOURI	
John Jones		
	NORTH MISSOURI	
		J. Morris
	MINNESOTA	
W. Priddy		
	MISSISSIPPI	
A. H. Widney		Joel D. Ross
	NORTH KANSAS	
D. L. Fordney		I. Rhinehart
	PENNSYLVANIA	
		G. P. Miller
	ONONDAGA	
M. Prindle		S. R. Swift
N. R. Swift		
	GENESEE	
E. A. Wheat		W. B. Williams ¹
	ARKANSAS AND LOUISIANA	
J. W. Harper		
	ALLEGHENY	
R. R. Brookshier ¹		

Baltimore Mission Conference (colored) was represented by Thomas Wells. Georgia, G. M. Barga,¹ James Smith.¹

One hundred and forty-five in all, the list as will be noticed, is imperfect in some Conferences. Thirteen were absent, not

¹ Absent.

counting the omitted names. It was, however, one of the most imposing bodies ever assembled in the name of the Methodist Protestant Church. Rev. Thomas Wells (colored), representative messenger from Baltimore, was the first of his race to sit in such a body of the Church; and he was recognized by all sections alike.

At the afternoon session Rev. G. B. McElroy was elected permanent President, and W. S. Hammond, Secretary, with W. H. Jordan and A. H. Widney, Assistants. The President announced the Standing Committees. For several days the time of the body was occupied in receiving business from Annual Conferences, and work preparatory to legislation. Mrs. J. H. Claney, of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, was granted leave to address the body in her official relation, the first instance of the kind in Methodist Protestant history. It was resolved, as the outcome of her address, that the Committee on Missions report "a provision for the discipline, officially recognizing this society as one of the permanent organizations of the Church," etc. (See Appendix F to first volume.) The action of the Committee of Correspondence on the Ecumenical Conference was approved, and steps taken to elect the three ministers and three laymen, to which the Church was entitled, to represent it in that Conference. The report of the Committee on Relation of Book Concerns, F. H. Pierpont, Chairman, rehearses the antecedent action of the Church creating the two Book Concerns, etc., a feature of which was, "Your committee is of opinion that all the property, real and personal, and franchises owned by the Methodist Church, is now owned by the Methodist Protestant Church; and is held by the same right, and for the same use," etc. The Committee on Fraternal Relations introduced the fraternal messengers from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Rev. Dr. Harrison and Hon. P. Hamil; and Rev. W. H. Black, of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. They addressed the Conference, with response from the President. The Committee on Judiciary reported "that two-thirds of the Annual Conferences entitled to representation have invested their representatives with full conventional powers." But on a division of the Conference it failed to adopt the report of the Committee by the close vote of fifty-eight yeas to fifty-nine nays. A special committee of ten, with the editors and publishers, was appointed on Publishing Interests. Miss Brittain, who had been selected by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society Board to succeed the lamented Miss Guthrie, who died in San

Francisco, *en route* to Japan as missionary, addressed the Conference on the subject. A committee of fifteen to prepare a new hymn book was appointed, with instructions as to its character, etc. The following, by J. T. Murray, was adopted as a note to be appended to "The Articles of Religion," to wit: "These articles of religion set forth the doctrinal teachings of the Methodist Protestant Church, and those who enter the ministry thereof, thereby avow their acceptance of the teachings thus formulated; and good faith toward the Church forbids any teaching, on their part, which is at variance with them." Fraternal messengers were authorized to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. It will be noticed that at this Conference no fraternal interchange occurred with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and it needs explanation historically. It having been found by that dominating Church that much of its General Conference time had been occupied in the reception of fraternal messengers during the era of such interchanges inaugurated by it; and having also discovered that organic Union, *i.e.* absorption of other Methodist bodies, did not materialize as the ulterior purpose of such fraternity, it was officially announced that, with certain exceptions named by it, such interchange in future would be, if desired, by correspondence only. As the Methodist Protestant Church was one of the American Methodisms omitted, self-respect made it impossible for it to accept the poor boon of a recognition by correspondence, with the result that there has been no personal fraternity between these Methodisms since; though Drs. J. J. Smith and David Wilson had been cordially received at their May, 1880, Conference, as well as Dr. Henderson and Dr. Barr by the Church South at its last Conference. The New Connexion Methodists of England had, at the General Conference, now in session, responded most cordially to the letters of fraternity sent them; and between these bodies, so analogous in structure, other civilities have since been exchanged.

The Committee on Publishing Interests reported a plan for the unification of the Book Concerns under a system which preserved their autonomy. The plan was outlined in the report of the Directors of the Baltimore Concern, and was suggested by the writer.¹ It provided for a change of the incorporation at each

¹ The "idea" was suggested by Dr. John Scott during a fraternal visit to the Maryland Conference in the spring of 1880, and was matured as a "plan" by the writer and indorsed by the Baltimore Directory.

location, so as to place both Concerns and papers under the General Conference; each to be responsible for its own debts; the title to be "The Board of Publication of the Methodist Protestant Church"; the two papers to be official organs; the general Board to have power to decide what works shall bear the imprint of the Church; a majority required as to this matter, and the prices of the respective issues; an annual meeting with reports from each Directory; special meetings; the expense of the joint annual meeting to be met at the place selected by alternation; the Directories to be elected quadrennially; the General Conference to decide what use shall be made of any surplus profits; the present Sunday-school publications to be placed under "The Board of Publication," with control thereof; the editors and publishers to be elected by the General Conference; the Sabbath-school publications to be made a separate department, and an editor employed to conduct them at the option of the general Board. The full text may be found in the minutes and in the Discipline. This arrangement was in the nature of a compromise between the former sections of the Church analogous to the 12th Article of the Constitution, the pivotal subject of compromise in the Union Convention; and, as such, ought no more to be disturbed in its essential features, except by mutual consent of the whole Church, than the 12th Article. The historical antecedents demand this observance of covenant faith. As the Book Directory of Baltimore the following were elected: J. T. Murray, J. D. Kinzer, H. F. Zollickoffer, Horace Burrough, and J. G. Clark. As the Pittsburgh Directory: J. J. Gillespie, J. Munden, T. W. Shaw, G. G. Westfall, and John Gregory. E. J. Drinkhouse was elected Editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, and Wm. J. C. Dulany, Publisher and Book Agent. John Scott was elected Editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, and James Robison, Publisher and Book Agent.

The Committee on Missions reported a new constitution for the Board, and made recognition of certain missionary fields as such. The Committee on Boundaries reported changes, which may be seen in full in the revised Discipline. The Western North Carolina Conference reported that the Allegheny Conference had been merged into it, and that commissioners had been appointed to reunite with the North Carolina Conference, which action was approved and authority given to merge the Deep River Conference into it, so as to recognize but one Conference in that State. Adrian, Western Maryland, and Yadkin colleges reported to the

body, and were recognized in their respective relations. The Board of Ministerial Education reported: assets, \$3234.27; liabilities, \$100. Since 1875 eighteen had been educated under its auspices, eight of them now in the ministry, one withdrawn, and nine still beneficiaries, four at Adrian and five at Western Maryland College. The Discipline was amended in sundry particulars. C. H. Williams was elected Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Missions, and J. B. Walker of the Board of Ministerial Education. The General Board of Church Extension was discontinued. The division of Annual Conferences into sub-districts was recognized. Sabbath-schools were placed under the supervisory control of the Quarterly Conferences, and any member of the Church made eligible as a voter on election of superintendent, if present. A committee of five was appointed to fix the place of the ensuing General Conference in the interval. The following were elected representatives to the Ecumenical Conference: L. W. Bates, G. B. McElroy, S. B. Southerland, C. W. Button, J. J. Gillespie, F. H. Pierpont. The Hymn Book Committee was authorized to adopt a book already compiled, under conditions. An overture was sent to the Annual Conferences to invest the General Conference of 1884 with conventional powers for specific purposes, — the restrictive rule and some other points. The Annual Council was reënacted with enlarged and specified powers (see minutes and Discipline). The Pastoral Address was reported and published, reviewing the three years past with its encouragements. The reports of the Book Concerns show for Pittsburgh, value of real and personal property, \$18,367.33; Baltimore, with no realty, \$7433.33. Both reports are in detail and occupy much of the space in the printed Minutes. The Committee on Statistics reported as follows. It will be observed that there are no returns from Sunday-schools, the special committee not being able to secure accurate returns, owing to the fact, principally, that throughout the South, since the Civil War especially, schools are conducted on the Union plan, and these are not denominationally reported. (See p. 18 of printed Minutes.)

On the 3d of June, 1880, the Conference adjourned, with prayer by Dr. J. J. Murray, and the benediction by Dr. John Scott.

STATISTICS OF THE METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH, 1880

ANNUAL CONFERENCES	Itinerant Ministers and Preachers	Unstationed Ministers and Preachers	Members	Probationers	Churches	Parsonages	Valuation of Church Property
Alabama	29	..	2,025	8	59	1	\$47,560
Allegheny	19	..	561	..	15	..	3,000
Arkansas and Louisiana	15	33	1,500	..	35	..	10,000
Baltimore (Colored)	4	6	187	10	4	..	13,800
Batesville	10	5	600	..	6	..	1,000
California	6	..	70	..	..	..	.....
Central Texas	14	6	480	..	5	..	1,750
Colorado (Texas)	20	19	1,053	7	7	..	2,750
Deep River	14	..	500	17	10	..	2,000
Genesee	13	2	754	17	8	7	29,200
Georgia	32	20	2,552	32	51	..	14,325
Georgia (Colored)	15	7	642	15	10	..	1,490
Indiana	61	50	7,000	200	94	10	94,520
Iowa	33	21	2,280	525	23	11	40,900
Kansas	23	12	2,000	..	..	2	600
Kentucky	26	6	1,270	84	2	..	500
Maryland	110	60	14,950	902	218	45	683,375
Michigan	59	18	2,582	164	24	26	52,050
Mississippi	15	5	1,000	..	10	..	2,000
Minnesota	18	8	375	2	2	..	2,425
Missouri	53	40	2,523	25	15	2	10,000
Muskingum	68	36	10,000	83	139	11	189,300
McCaine (Texas)	10	6	600	..	10	..	3,000
Nebraska	11	9	484	14	2	2	1,000
North Arkansas	23	6	800	10	3	1	1,000
North Carolina	21	3	2,900	340	34	2	26,925
New Jersey	20	18	1,818	58	29	6	85,225
New York	36	14	2,426	87	26	10	126,300
North Illinois	41	30	2,570	50	53	17	109,000
North Mississippi	18	10	1,300	..	15	..	3,000
North Missouri	35	25	1,900	42	8	1	7,000
North Kansas	23	14	593	..	2	..	2,300
Ohio	46	43	6,009	204	103	23	216,700
Onondaga	56	20	2,170	160	25	16	48,600
Oregon	6	4	200	..	2	1	5,000
Pennsylvania	16	14	879	36	14	5	26,300
Pittsburgh	47	25	7,000	250	80	16	464,000
South Carolina	11	7	950	..	23	1	7,000
South Illinois	33	10	2,275	20	33	4	26,500
Tennessee	20	6	1,063	..	..	..	9,950
Texas	25	..	2,400	..	..	..	.....
Texas (Colored)	10	3	300	..	2	..	1,000
Virginia	13	16	2,551	266	41	1	26,200
West Arkansas	14	..	930	..	5	..	1,300
West Michigan	43	36	2,000	42	21	3	30,360
West Tennessee	17	6	1,140	..	10	..	3,500
West Virginia	53	85	9,736	166	120	15	93,615
West North Carolina	31	21	8,534	123	106	51	38,700
	1,345	755	118,502	3,559	1,503	290	\$2,563,870

Several Conferences made no returns of statistics. A small Conference is yet existing in Massachusetts, including eight or more ministers, holding regular sessions, but we have no further statistics. A Colored Methodist Protestant Conference has been organized in Alabama, but not making application, it was not recognized.

(This report was delayed several weeks and correspondence had, yet but few additional data could be obtained; in some instances resort was had to the figures of 1877.)

The aggregates reported here, when compared with those of 1877, do not show a numerical increase commensurate with reasonable expectation in view of the revival intelligence, the new churches built, and the general uplift of the denomination by the reunion through the intervening three years. True, they are very imperfect, as were those of 1877. But now, as then, the writer cannot account for the seeming shortage in the per cent of increase. From this period until 1896, however, the aggregate growth will be seen as something phenomenal — no denomination will show a heavier increase, other things being equal.¹

The *Daily Christian Advocate*, issued during the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Cincinnati, gave a hint of the ultimate purpose of that Church in furthering an Ecumenical Conference in these pregnant and significant utterances: "It is to be hoped there will be a revival of churchly loyalty which will henceforth rid it of those destructive theories, that at the Conference just closed were so determinately put forward to make us a Methodist Presbyterian instead of a Methodist Episcopal Church." It may be queried, what destructive theories? The only answer is, Lay-Representation, an elective Eldership, etc. Rev. E. B. Byckerman, D.D., of the Canada Methodist Church made a "radical" address to that Conference, under which the Bourbons, like the writer of that editorial, winced, as he depicted in glowing colors its success under the Union of the Methodisms in that province, not as an Episcopal, but a Presbyterian Methodism, with lay-delegation by equality, and elective superintendency, not a bishopric, and no presiding elders. Yet to this day, in America, by the dominating Methodism, their statistics are put in the Episcopal column in any recapitulation. (See Baltimore official paper, June 26, 1880.) The *Methodist Protestant* closed its fiftieth volume under that title. A series on Nicholas Snethen, by Rev. Dr. A. A. Lipscomb, was republished in the Baltimore paper from the *Quarterly Review* of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Dr. Lipscomb,

¹ A recurrence to the subject later brings out the fact that the net increase of the M. E. Church for the quadrennium was about two hundred thousand, or a little less than four per cent. The foregoing statistics show for the Church a net gain of about five thousand for the three years from 1877 to 1880, or about five per cent. In other words, the M. E. Church in the past four years has increased about one per cent a year, and the M. P. Church about one and a quarter a year for the past three years. Before the close of this History, the growth of the respective Churches, as accepted in evidence of the efficiency of the systems, will be further and conclusively exhibited, though it is by no means a fair test of the scriptural and logical consistency of a Church government.

now esteemed one of the brightest literary and religious lights of the South-land, was, through these years, a voluminous contributor to the *Methodist Protestant*. Largely for lack of a position in the Church commensurate with his abilities, he accepted a professorship in the Vanderbilt University of the Church South, which he filled for a number of years with great acceptance and literary reputation. Though so closely allied with a sister Methodism, with every inducement before him to choose otherwise, he maintained an unflinching loyalty to the Church of his father, holding the relation of an unstationed minister to the Montgomery church, Alabama, to the close of life. It was an example to all sons of worthy sires; but from its default the Church has suffered greatly in the past. It takes grit to wed yourself to a principle at the sacrifice of social preferment and a good support.

In December, 1880, the *Bible-School Quarterly* was added to the series of international lessons by the Baltimore Directory, putting a fresh burden on the editor in his single-handed work, without increase of compensation, about this time reduced, on his own motion, to \$1200 a year. Increase of current expenses in other directions made it a necessity. It was also proposed by the Baltimore Directory, under the permissive legislation of the last General Conference, to make the Sunday-school papers a separate department; but the Directory at Pittsburgh did not acquiesce at the time. The Annual Council was held in July, 1880, at Steubenville, O., with a large attendance. A plan was arranged for Conference visitations by the Church agents, so as not to concentrate their attendance at some to the neglect of others. The editor of the Baltimore paper made a wide circuit in the Northwest.¹ At Pittsburgh the *Sunday-School* was discontinued, leaving the *Morning Guide* with the *Child's Recorder*, bi-monthly, both of them beautiful issues, with large circulation. Dr. Scott pushed these, and the official church paper, with unflagging zeal in conference visitations.

Rev. Alson Gray, of the North Carolina Conference, departed this life September 23, 1880. He was an original Reformer, and spent his years in the service of the Church, identifying himself with every interest, and always in the van of struggle. Once a

¹ The writer is constrained to make this mention of the continuous and uncompensated assistance in conducting the Church paper during his frequent and often prolonged absence at conferences of Rev. J. D. Kinzer, while serving as pastor of Baltimore churches, for a series of years. It was a service to the general Church demanding this notice.

member of the General Conference and President of his Annual Conference, his fidelity was never questioned, and he ranks with the Reform heroes of his section. Announcement was made of the decease of Rev. William Neal of Texas, an original Reformer; but no data were furnished at the time. James A. Kenneday of Washington, D. C., departed this life October 4, 1880. He was born September 26, 1795, in Philadelphia. He settled in Washington in early manhood, soon became a Methodist Christian, and, as early as 1829, embraced Reform principles, and was a charter member of the First church (Ninth Street), laboring with his own hands in its erection, and giving liberally of his limited means all through life to the support of it. While the church was building, to save it from embarrassment, he placed a mortgage on his home as security. When an aged man, finding that his means were more limited, he counted the cost of a life-long habit of tobacco smoking, cut off the habit, and thus saved his church subscription from enforced reduction. He was a man of rare qualifications, frequently a member of the Maryland Conference, honored in the community for his business fidelity, and in the Church for all the elements of matured Christian character. Rev. Dr. W. S. Whitehurst, of the Virginia Conference, deceased, aged eighty years, at Hawkins, Tenn., October 2, 1880. Such is the brief mention of another original Reformer.

The first number of Volume 51 of the *Methodist Protestant* contains an elaborate review of its history by the editor, and that of his predecessors, from 1821 to 1881, a period of sixty years. Much valuable information is here condensed. The Hymn Book Committee of fifteen had numerous meetings and much correspondence, and the official papers flamed with light upon the subject; but the insuperable difficulties of copyright upon hymns and the immense expense, led, as a finality, to the adoption of the book now in use as the only method of securing a hymn book with the music. The first Ecumenical Methodist Conference, in London, shaped itself. Among the things agreed upon was an equal representation of clerical and lay members from the twenty-six Methodisms taking part. The number allotted to the Methodist Episcopal Church was eighty; but when they came to distribute them, there were so many worthy aspirants that it did not seem to these brethren, so long used to do everything and to be everything as ministers, possible for forty laymen to be appointed; so they disregarded the agreement and sent but twenty-four laymen, or something near the delegation they had

conceded to them in its General Conference. It was not a matter of moment except for its significance, and hence this mention. The Gittings Seminary had been instituted at La Harpe, Ill., and was prospering, under Conference auspices, as a school for young women. The Annual Council met this year at Sharpsburgh, Pa., and was well attended, and exhibited the general interests in an improved condition.

The first Ecumenical Methodist Conference assembled in City Road chapel, London, September 7 to 20. A volume would not suffice for its presentation, so notice must be brief. It was composed of four hundred representatives, one-half of them laymen, except in the case of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as noted. The Methodist Protestant representatives were Dr. S. B. Southerland, Dr. G. B. McElroy, Rev. J. H. Robinson, J. J. Gillespie, and Charles W. Button, lacking one of the full number to which the Church was entitled. The official papers contain exhaustive correspondence on the subject by several of these brethren, and the proceedings were afterward issued in a portly volume. It was presided over by brethren selected from the different Methodisms, and the Church representatives were courteously and fairly treated in the arrangements. Dr. Southerland presided one day and also read one of the programme papers. At one of the side meetings he was requested, by a number of foreign brethren, to make an address on the Non-Episcopal Methodisms of America. He complied reluctantly, knowing the delicacy of the subject. General Clinton B. Fisk, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was appointed to preside as pertinent. An unfortunate episode occurred on his introduction of Dr. Southerland as from "the Protestant Methodist Church," though the proper title was before him on the printed programme. In such a representative body of Methodisms, Dr. Southerland was impressed that it ought not to be overlooked, and, accordingly, in his opening remarks made the correction and stated the difference of implication in such a reversal of the Church title, as, undoubtedly, any other representative brother present in like circumstances would have done for his Church. That address may be found in the official paper of Baltimore of even date, and an examination shows it to have been cautiously and prudently worded; yet anything defensive of Liberal Methodism seemed to be unpalatable to the Episcopal brethren, and there were signs of unrest and impatience expressed in discourteous methods, as well as a time-call of the presiding officer indicative of his own dissatisfaction. This Conference was re-

puted to represent 4,800,000 of world-wide Methodists. There was great enthusiasm and blending of brethren, out of which came a proposition to hold another Ecumenical Conference in 1887, and also a suggestion that the American Methodisms should have such a Conference of their own. Bishop Simpson and Dr. H. K. Carroll were active in promoting such a scheme for 1884, marking, in their estimation, 1784 as a starting-point of its Methodism and a centennial commemoration. A paper for such a call was passed, and numerous signed by the Episcopal brethren, as also the names of three of the Methodist Protestant representatives. When the information reached this writer, as editor of the official paper, he called attention to the incongruity of such a date as 1784, and fomented opposition to the participation in such a centennial as a Non-Episcopal Methodism. Several of the brethren whose names were attached to the call could not recollect their signatory act, and this led to a regrettable question of veracity between them and Dr. Carroll, which the writer has ever since deplored.

The Methodist Protestant Year Book was announced for 1881-82, by Rev. Dr. Stephens of Adrian College, and it was issued, for a series of years, by himself and Rev. J. F. Cowan, but finally surceased for lack of support. Rev. I. H. C. McKinney of Indiana continued and enlarged the *Western Record* as representing a group of Conferences. The necrology for the period included Rev. R. R. Prather of North Carolina, who deceased March 4, 1881, aged eighty-seven, for fifty years a minister, and an early Reformer. Rev. Jesse Mings of Texas departed this life, and was known as "father" Mings for his years and long association with the Church in that section. Rev. Jonathan M. Flood, M. D., of the Ohio Conference, deceased July 21, 1881.¹ He and his brother Sandford H., both active and early Reformers of the West, were nephews of Rev. Jonathan Flood, who died October 21, 1867, after fifty-eight years of service. He was born in Virginia, December 29, 1781, entered the Methodist Episcopal Church in his twenty-first year, licensed to preach in 1819, and, in 1829, withdrew and united with the Associated Methodist Churches. His name was enrolled at the organization of the Ohio Conference, October 15, 1829. He was twice President of that body.

¹ Frequent mention has been made of this honored minister in the course of this History, but no obituary details are at the command of the writer. He occupied a commanding position in the Church of the West, and with his brother, Sandford H., who still survives, venerable in years, did much to mould the Church.

In his eighty-sixth year he peacefully departed, Rev. Dr. Brown preaching the funeral sermon. Rev. J. S. Mitchell of Georgia Conference was born May 28, 1810, and deceased October 16, 1881. He was an original Reformer and father of Dr. W. D. Mitchell, also deceased, but long a pillar of the Church in Georgia.

The *Methodist Recorder* and the Sunday-school papers appeared in January, 1882, in new type dress and much improved. Shortly thereafter the editor, Dr. Scott, was prostrated with typhoid fever, and for a number of weeks hung between life and death, but finally recovered, to spend many years in efficient service to the Church. The Board of Publication held its annual meeting in Baltimore, May, 1882, and the exhibits then made are as follows, by totals: Pittsburgh Directory, assets \$14,153.55; circulation of Sunday-school papers, 13,790, a net loss since a year previous of 5969; Baltimore Directory, assets \$6597.78; circulation of Sunday-school papers, 36,000, a net gain of 9000 over a year previous. John Munden and J. G. Clarke, committee. (See synopsis for Annual Council.) The circulation of the official papers not given for business reasons. Following this glint of statistics, it will be interesting to note that in April, 1882, those of the Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church showed a net loss in members for the year of 923. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, of the Baltimore Conference, covering a large section in northern Virginia, the loss for the same period is reported at 198. In the Maryland Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church for the same period, and covering nearly the same territory, the net gain is reported at 404. These facts excited at the time unusual interest, and the *New York Independent*, on investigation, found that in the 110 Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1881-82, the net aggregate loss of members was 2647. There was spiritual dearth in the land, but the significance of these figures, as in contrast with those at the last General Conference of 1880, cannot be ignored. A School of Theology was organized at Westminster, Md., with Rev. T. H. Lewis, A.M., as Principal, and its first session was held in the autumn of this year, a seminary building having been subsequently erected for the purpose. The eighth Annual Council met at New Brighton, Pa., and was fully attended, all the reports from the colleges, the publishing houses, and the general agents showing progress and better work. Rev. James Robison resigned as Agent of the Pittsburgh Book Con-



WESTMINSTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.
Location, Westminster, Md.

cern, deafness and advancing years unfitting him for farther service in that connection. He was succeeded by W. J. McCrackin, Jr., the head bookkeeper of the house. The Conference visitations, as arranged at the Annual Council, were made by the editor of the Baltimore paper and the general agents, and the good results of these interchanges were apparent in reviving a connectional spirit and in improving the collections for these interests. The Annual Conferences under the impulse indicated more uniform work, accurate statistics, and published minutes. Theological education was growing under the importunate labors of J. B. Walker, the foreign missionary outlook improved in Japan, and the denomination felicitated itself at now possessing all the agencies and instruments of a fully equipped Church. More general effort was made to establish the cause in the towns and cities heretofore given up to other denominations, at great numerical loss by reason of the trend of removals in that direction from the country. The new hymn book also came into large and rapid circulation for all the sections, creating another bond of connectionalism. A larger number of educated and consecrated young men were coming into the ministry, and this accretion strengthened the pulse of the whole organization.

The General Conference of the Methodist Church, South, met at Nashville, Tenn., in May, 1882, and the salient event germane to this history was the introduction by half a dozen prominent members of a paper reciting the two-order theory, and the validity of Presbyterial ordination, thus designating the bishopric as an office and not an order, with instruction to the Committee on Revisals to so word the Discipline that in the absence of a bishop at an Annual Conference elders could ordain. Without debate the reference to the committee was defeated, and then a motion to lay it on the table was also defeated, so that the paper to this day hangs suspended, like Mahomet's coffin in the fable, between heaven and earth. It put the brethren in a quandary, as it was the view now obtaining in the Methodist Church, North; but the South, at the General Conference of 1844, having practically put themselves on record, to make the case of Bishop Andrew stronger, that the bishopric was an order and not an office only, and therefore not liable to suspension, held to this high church view and it has largely obtained ever since. They will yet purge themselves of it. Another notable event was the declination of the bishopric, to which he had been elected, by Dr. Haygood. It was the second instance of the kind in the history of American Methodism, Dr.

Fisk declining, and for the same reason,—a preference for educational work.

In May, 1883, by an arrangement with the Baltimore Directory, Wm. J. C. Dulany, the Book Agent, was induced to accept the whole charge of the business department of the official papers as well. It greatly relieved the overworked editor, and threw larger efficiency into the business methods. The necessity for such relief may be inferred from the fact that, at this time, the Baltimore Sunday-school series had risen to an aggregate circulation of about fifty-five thousand. The venerable Miss Rachel Wilson, of Harford County, Md., deceased, leaving bequests of \$1000 each to the Superannuated and the Home Missionary societies of the Maryland Conference. She had been identified with the Church from the earliest period. The *Methodist Recorder* of London, Eng., about this time, reviewing the call for an American Ecumenical Conference to commemorate the Methodist Episcopal Church history as an Episcopacy, dating from 1784 centennially, and as of Wesleyan origin, scouted his authorization of its system, and poked fun at the brethren. It had not forgotten that it celebrated its true centennial in 1866, but did not divine that this for 1884 had for its ulterior purpose to unify the branches of Methodism in America into an Episcopal Church, and thus, as the editorial in the *Daily Advocate* at their last General Conference, already cited, intimated, "end the destructive theories" tending to make it Presbyterian in form. The Annual Council assembled this year, July, at Wellsville, O., and made recommendations to the ensuing General Conference for certain enlargements of its powers in directions which its experience showed would be useful, and yet harmless as centralizing authority. But it was the occasion of an alarm among the brethren sensitive to the growth of a bishop-gander in the Church out of the gosling, that swept the whole plan out of the Discipline in 1888, the brethren who believed in it despairing of additions to its features, and those opposed eager to find this occasion against it. "Recollections of Rev. Samuel Clawson," a twelvemo volume, was issued by James Robison, thus perpetuating the memory of one of the most remarkable men, next to Lorenzo Dow, ever produced by Methodism. More brilliant than Dow, he was his equal in piety and eccentricity, but limited in his range to West Virginia and the adjacent States. The Baltimore official paper grew this year in circulation as the South-land recovered from the ravages of the Civil War, as did the *Methodist Recorder* and its two Sunday-

school papers under Dr. Scott. Rev. G. P. Miller issued a *Methodist Protestant*, at Corsicana, Tex., in December, 1883, a monthly at \$1 a year. It goes for the writing that its brief existence entailed loss, as in so many cases. Its editor, through more than a score of years, has been a conspicuous example of adherence to principle in Church loyalty. With abilities to command high position elsewhere or in secular life, he has kept his colors flying for the cause to this day.

William A. Harris of Henderson, N. C., son of Rev. Ivy Harris, born October 23, 1813, deceased December 24, 1882, an original Reformer and an honor to his family name. A. Wesley Melvin of Maryland, born June 19, 1810, deceased September 24, 1882, an original Reformer. Rev. Thomas McCormick, born January 5, 1792, deceased February 20, 1883, in his ninety-second year. These pages are accented with his name and deeds. He united with the Methodist Episcopal Church when fifteen years of age, rapidly rose to all its official positions, was licensed to preach, embraced the principles of Reform, suffered Expulsion for his devotion, lived a spotless life, honored even by his ecclesiastical enemies. His obsequies were at St. John's church, Liberty Street, of which he was an original member, with addresses by Dr. A. Webster and the pastor, Dr. J. J. Murray. His remains were deposited in Mount Olivet cemetery, where repose scores of the early Methodist preachers, and his memory is blessed. Rev. I. H. Hogan, born September 22, 1808, deceased December 9, 1880, an original Reformer of New York, and for many years an honored member of the Onondaga Conference. Rev. Nathan Ellis of the Alabama Conference, deceased May 15, 1883, aged ninety-one years, an original Reformer. Joseph Wells of Wellsville, O., born in Pennsylvania, March 21, 1798, and was removed by his parents in infancy to where the town of Wellsville now stands. Converted in West Liberty, Va., 1820, he in 1824 returned to Wellsville, where he spent the last fifty-six years of his useful life. He opened his house for "Radical" preaching in 1829, under George Brown, and a church was organized. For seven years before this time he had regular religious services at his house, refusing to unite with the Methodist Episcopal Church on account of its government, one of many such instances in its early and later history. He was a representative to four General Conferences, two Conventions, and fourteen Annual Conferences. Steadfast, liberal, devoted, he died peacefully December 1, 1882. Rev. L. F. Cosby, D.D., of the Virginia Conference, born January

14, 1807, deceased July 6, 1883, in his seventy-sixth year. He espoused the cause of Reform in 1827, was licensed to preach in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1828, and on the expulsions in Baltimore and Lynchburg he united his fortunes with those ostracized brethren; entered the Virginia Conference in 1829, and served for a number of years; faithful in all relations until 1844, when he located, but preserved an active connection with the work until age and infirmity compelled retirement. As a preacher he was of the old-time school. Thomas Growden, April 14, 1883, aged eighty-three, was born in England, but spent his life in the Cumberland valley of Pennsylvania, as did his brother, Rev. John Growden, deceased August 16, 1883, aged eighty-four. They were original Reformers in their section and worthy men.

Rev. John Burns, D.D., born April 10, 1808, deceased September 12, 1883. He was converted in his eighteenth year, and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church at Wheeling, Va. In December, 1832, he united with the Methodist Protestant Church, having from the first been a Reformer in principle. He united with the Ohio Conference in 1833, and served a mission near Wheeling for a salary of fifty cents for the year. He was afterward identified with the cause in the West, in the Pittsburgh, Ohio, and Muskingum Conferences. He was a member of nearly all the General Conferences from 1842, and was a pacificator during the separation of 1858-77. Of commanding presence, clear intellect, large executive ability, he easily held leadership wherever he was recognized. He was prominent in the Union Convention of 1877, and in 1878 was appointed chaplain to the penitentiary at Columbus, O., and served for a number of years. He was honored by his brethren, and was faithful to his convictions in all circumstances. His end was peace. Rev. John Paris, D.D., was born in North Carolina, September 1, 1809, and in 1832 was converted, in his twenty-third year, and united with the Methodist Protestant Church, his preferences being with the early Reformers. He was of clear intellect, self-cultured, devoted, and spiritual, and in his Conference relations was a strict expounder of the Church law. In 1849 he issued a "History" of the Church, and later a "Manual" and other booklets, while for the official papers he was a voluminous contributor as controvertist and expositor. He passed away, from congestion of the brain, October 27, 1883. Rev. J. W. Rutledge deceased December 14, 1883, well known in the early history of the Mary-

land, Pennsylvania, and afterward of the Pittsburgh, Conferences; merits this mention for fidelity to every trust committed to him.

From the Year Book for 1883-84, the fact is furnished by careful investigation that the Church was building nearly two houses a week, as well as twenty-two parsonages for the year. The exact percentage was 1.85. The aggregate membership was now about 125,000. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, with a reputed membership of rising two millions, the number of churches built a week for 1882-83 was five. Dr. Scott, editor of the Pittsburgh official paper, made a tour of Annual Conference visitations in the autumn of 1883. The fiftieth session of the Pittsburgh Conference met at Eighteenth Street church, south side, as a semi-centennial Conference, for which a programme commemorative had been arranged. It was participated in by Rev. T. H. Colhouer in an historical address on the Church; Rev. James Robison, who read a paper on the history of the Pittsburgh Conference; and Rev. John Gregory presented three papers, covering the statistics of the Conference for the period and facts germane to the celebration. Rev. David Jones delivered a sermon on the doctrinal position of the Church. A number of fraternal messengers delivered greetings. In the midst of these exercises Rev. Dr. William Collier, who had been partially paralyzed some time before, was carried up the aisle in a chair and seated beside the President, Rev. G. G. Westfall. The venerable Collier answered to the roll-call, and received the hearty congratulations of the entire body. At the close of the day he was returned to his home at Sharpsburg, Pa. He lingered nearly a year in cheerful, hopeful mood, speaking encouraging words to his numerous visitors, until, July 12, 1884, he passed peacefully away. William Collier was born May 11, 1803, in Washington County, Md.; united with the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1817 at Hagerstown; licensed to exhort in 1822, and to preach in 1824. He applied himself closely to study, engaged in school-teaching, and soon became a good English scholar. He was converted to the principle of Reform by reading a tract written by Rev. Ezekiel Cooper of the Methodist Episcopal Church, on lay-representation. Being a true American, as well as a true Christian, and an equally true Methodist in doctrine and practice, he sympathized with the Expelled brethren of Baltimore in 1827, and a righteous indignation led to his withdrawal from the Methodist Episcopal Church. Fraternizing with the Reformers, he was by them licensed to preach; travelled under President Henkle of the Maryland Con-

ference in 1830, and in 1831 was formally received. Ordained deacon and elder, he rapidly rose as an efficient and zealous worker, pursuing his studies meantime, until he could read and translate Hebrew, Greek, and German, with a wide acquaintance with theology. He was made a doctor of divinity in 1861 by Waynesburg College, Pa. Remaining in the Maryland Conference until 1851, then its President, he removed to the Pittsburgh Conference, and took a commanding position in it for the remainder of his active and useful life. He was for four years President of that body, often a representative to the General Conferences and Conventions of the Church. He was an active participant in the Western movement of 1858-74, and an equally active participant in the union movement of 1874-77, and a member of the historic Convention of the latter year. His social qualities were of a high order, and no one doubted his ingenuous character, as he steadfastly adhered to his convictions in all circumstances. His obsequies were held in the Sharpsburg, Pa., church, where he long resided, and his remains interred in Allegheny cemetery, Pittsburgh. Memorial services were also held in the Allegheny church by Dr. John Scott, August 31. (For a full sketch see Colhouer's "Founders," pp. 275-280.)

The call to invest the ensuing General Conference with Conventional powers for certain specific objects was acted upon by the Annual Conferences, and, as will be seen, approved by a large majority. It had been fixed for Fairmont, W. Va., but the brethren of that vicinage, as the time arrived, found it impracticable to carry the hospitality it demanded, and there being no provision of the Discipline for such an emergency, by the suggestion of the editors and publishers of the official papers and the Secretary of the last General Conference, and an invitation from Baltimore, the place was changed accordingly. Two questions engaged both the official papers through the months preceding the assembly. Denominational creed and doctrinal liberty in the Church was discussed by Rev. D. S. Stephens, President of Adrian College, as suggested by the note appended to the Articles of Religion by the last Conference, the authority for which he questioned; and the non-participation in the Ecumenical Conference of the Episcopal Methodisms now matured for 1884 in Baltimore city. Strong men wielded their pens on both sides of these questions; the outcome will be seen later in this History.

At no period, perhaps, since 1830-35, was there livelier agitation and more healthful ferment throughout the Church. All

the departments of Church work were being vigorously pushed, and an auspicious augur was the activity and intelligent progress made by the women of it in missionary enterprise, with centres in Baltimore and Pittsburgh. Revival news in both the official papers was abundant; the rank and file of the ministry, now so largely reënfined by educated young men, were faithful in labors, with an aggressive participation in Church legislation, it being the genius of Methodist Protestantism to magnify personal sovereignty both in clerics and laics. The peerage of democracy is that every man is a sovereign; every head wears a crown. It may be true that nine of the ten shall be clowns instead of kings; but this is better than that nine should be slaves and one a kingly clown. And this is the answer to all allegations of the mental unfitness by natural constitution and defects of education for government of the average member of the Church, or a member of the State. The trend of the one system is an education upward, while that of the other is an education downward; the one makes men, the other makes machines. It may also be true that more can be urged against the former than against the latter as a working hypothesis. As such, there is nothing in the State like the autocratic rule of a Cæsar or a Czar, as there is nothing in the Church like a Pope or a Prelate. But it must be the excuse in a preference for personal sovereignty that it was what the Master taught, what the Apostles taught, what the primitive Church taught, and what the struggling peoples are teaching their rulers the world over; a struggle, it may be repeated, that will not end until this pyramid stands upon its base, and authority shall work from the many to the few, and not from the few to the many.

It must be conceded that this genius carries with it a grave responsibility, resting with greatest weight upon the teaching class, and this may be the opportune time for its larger development, recognizing its philosophy as history teaching by example. And nearly fifty years of close observation by the writer of the ministry and laity of the Methodist Protestant Church, two-thirds of it being in the active pastorate, satisfies him that in no Protestant denomination of the country is the proverbial saying, like people like priest, more true than in it. Let us examine it in the light of that experience as a working hypothesis, and see if the secrets of its alleged defects can be discovered on this theory. The members of this Church, with a nearer approach to the New Testament priesthood of the people than any other Methodism at least, as set forth in its elementary principles, and as exemplified

in the practical workings of the organization, the laity, for the most part intelligently appreciative of the polity it has championed, are as open to reasonable persuasion, and are as readily swayed by the opinions and wishes of the ministry, as any other. It is true that this Church is at the opposite pole of all hierarchies in the ecclesiastical world, and it is freely admitted that these forms have all the advantages that go with absolutism under all its types and modifications. Among them, like people like priest, is true, because they are made so by authority. To be invested with it is one of the fallen ambitions lurking in every human breast; and the temptation is open to those who, espousing a system like its own, in which the equality of manhood is asserted, whenever their convictions as to methods, either for the reform of manifest evils, or the adoption of higher aims and practices, are crossed, to look with admiration, if not with desire, upon the hierarchical methods, which, like the Alexandrian sword, spurns the slow processes of untying, and cuts with one sharp swish these Gordian knots. Hence the fact—does it disclose a secret?—it is sometimes said by brethren when in one of these moods: “Methodist Protestantism is not adapted to the masses.” It demands careful analysis. Is it true? Only as it is true that popular suffrage is not adapted to the masses, and a kindred temptation comes, when the abuse of suffrage is observed to un-Americanize citizenship; or as it is true that Christianity is not adapted to the masses because its essential air is freedom in the whole circle of its applications, and its adaptation is only seen when it seizes one of these “masses” and educationally lifts him up to the plane of its own movement and to the rhythm of its own music. The Roman Catholic Church—and no excuse need be made for the frequent use of this analogue—as a hierarchy is the perfect ideal of effectiveness in its methods. From the Pope downward there is absolutely no individual freedom; the Pope himself is but a part of the machine. All the actors, of whatever dignity in the government, are but puppets in the show—cogs in the wheels within wheels, in which the adaptation is complete as it moves with noiseless momentum; and anything that falls between these cogs is simply crunched and powdered and cast out, and the silent majesty of authority reigns. It cannot be otherwise than that everything takes its complexion from the primary color. A brother, therefore, who suffers such an admission as just cited to fall from his lips cannot speak advisedly; for ask him if he is in fellowship with such an arrangement, and the very

love of the individual freedom he knows he enjoys as a registered advocate of the antipodal system draws from him an almost indignant repudiation. Ask him further, if any system whose inevitable tendencies are in the same direction is best, and again he hesitates, and, closely pushed for answer, the sense of the equality of manhood, which he claims for himself, prevails. His mood for the hour is simply the outcome of his experience with some of the "masses" in the Methodist Protestant Church; he has been under trial, and has seen the free will of the brethren in some special case degenerate into wilfulness, and for the nonce he is discouraged. The struggle simply means that this, as in everything touching the elevation of a fallen race, involves a lifting process, a Sisyphus stone that must be rolled up the hill every time it falls back. Those who engage for the right, like those who engage for the gospel, must take this into the account when they enter upon the contest.

The contention then is that, in great measure, the failures noted as to an intelligent appreciation of the system, and the consequent discordances observed occasionally in the practical working of its methods, are due to the fact that the educational side of this superior system has been neglected by the teaching class. The ministers of the Methodist Protestant Church have had to deplore the numerous instances in which the sons and daughters of the "fathers" and founders of this Church have sought Church homes, not in other denominations only, but in the very ecclesiasticism from which those fathers suffered expulsion for opinions' sake. Not so only, but there are not lacking instances of the children of its ministers forsaking the Church home in which they were reared. Wherefore? The answer comes from one of the worthy elders of the Church: "I have known more than one minister who has this trouble upon his hands, whose children have told me that their father was such a chronic grumbler that they never heard him commend the Church to their consideration, but they had learned almost to hate it; for, said they, we hear nothing but father's growlings about the membership, and if they are half as bad as he makes them out to be, we do not care to know anything more of them; and this by men living at her altars, and who are reaping more than they ever sowed." Every Conference has examples of this kind, and it points one of the remedies clearly. Teach them your own professed convictions, and they will not lightly esteem them when you are gone. If you have no convictions, which is tantamount to admitting that

you have never cared, and never examined whether you are right or wrong, then it may be that you have gotten into the wrong pew, or are making a mere convenience of a serious Church organization having for its two pillars — its Jachin and Boaz — the salvations of souls under a priesthood of “all ye are brethren.”

Great sacrifices are required of such a ministry and such a people, it is true; all things of value based upon principles are costly, and it is also true that in the largest proportion the ministry and the laity of the Methodist Protestant Church are rendering them. But the insistence is that where inequality of burden-bearing exists, as between the ministers and the churches they serve, the explanation is found in the very maxim, like people like priest, more fully than there is a willingness to admit. Are they deficient in the support of the ministry? It is not believed that they are more so, where other things are equal, than is the common and crying fault with all the denominations; and if so, what is the ministry doing, not of pulpit scolding and browbeating, but of kindly, earnest presentation of the gospel of Christian beneficence, line upon line and precept upon precept? Are the general interests languishing — those things without which denominational existence is a parody, and which denominationalism means in turn: organized work for Christ, whether it is Ministerial Education, or Colleges for children and students of theology, or Publishing Interests, the synonym of a denominational literature for the people and their children, or the Foreign Missionary work, or Church Extension? Like people like priest, is replied; or else why is it that a class of these pastors, labor where they may, bring the assessments for these purposes, while another class, labor where they may, are always deficient? These things are facts notorious in all the Conferences. Is it your habit to respect conference resolves as to these interests, or do you slur them over, or, worse, denounce them at the firesides of the people as excessive? There is abundant evidence that whenever the pastors in a business-like and rational manner set before the people a cause worthy of their liberality, they respond in the measure of their ability, if not upon the first trial, then upon the second, or the final appeal. How greatly the people need elevating, instructing, and liberalizing requires no homily, and it is also known how greatly the pastors need the same, or otherwise it would not be so true as it is, that this Church, like all others, is what its pastors make it!

Worthington G. Snethen, son of Rev. Nicholas Snethen, de-

parted this life March 16, 1884, at Elizabeth, N. J., in his eightieth year. Removing to that town in 1867, he found himself without his father's Church, as no organization then existed, happily since supplied, but up to this period he was identified with it, and while residing in Washington, D. C., threw himself with all the influence he could command into the recuperation of the cause at the Ninth Street church, which under reverses had languished. The voluminous literary remains of his father, which he edited and largely rewrote for the press, have been before referred to as in the possession of the Pittsburgh Book Concern. Hon. Beniah S. Bibb deceased February 10, 1884, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. He was born in Georgia, September 30, 1796, and received a liberal education and entered upon the practice of the law. Converted in 1822, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, but embraced the principles of Reform, and in 1830 united with the new Church. He removed to Montgomery, Ala., and in 1825 was elected Judge of the Probate Court, a position he filled until 1844, when he was elected Judge of the Criminal Court of Montgomery, and served until the close of the Civil War. He was often elected to the legislature and to the State senate. If thus prominent as a civilian, he was none the less so as a churchman. His convictions were deep-seated, and he remained firm to the Church of his choice to the end, with his faithful wife, who was a daughter of Governor Gilmer, and known through life by her friends, in the Church and out of it, as "Miss Sophy." A delegate to almost every session of the Alabama Conference from 1830, as also of the General Conferences of 1842, 1856, 1874, and of the Union Convention of 1877, he died universally respected, and his end was peace. Tall, erect, his splendid character grew with his widening reputation, and his name in the Church is as ointment poured forth.

CHAPTER XXXVI

The Fourteenth General Conference, Baltimore, May, 1884; roster of members; Rev. W. S. Hammond, President; styled "a General Convention" in the title-page of Minutes, but it was such only as to certain specific changes, otherwise it was a General Conference only in legislative powers—Union with Cumberland Presbyterians; a default through the common cause; opposition of its officialism; also with the Congregational Methodists—The W. F. M. S. at the Conference—Book Concerns; reports; restrictive rule compromise; ordination of Anna M. Shaw by the New York Conference; consequences; Mrs. Eugenia F. St. John; was the action legal? a moot; Commissioners sent to the Centennial Conference of American Methodisms; what they did; Union predictions unverified; organic Union a dream; statistics—Curious things anent Episcopacy—Publication of Sunday-school supplies given to Pittsburgh; the terms and obligations involved—Centenary of Episcopal Methodism in Baltimore; Methodist Protestant Commissioners; queries; results of the Centenary in the Church, North and South; laymen—Obituaries of Reformers; Lashley and others; noble exceptions made in necrology; still others; Thomson and Bassett.

THE Fourteenth General Conference convened at St. John's church, Liberty Street, Baltimore, Md., at 10 o'clock A.M., May 16, 1884. It was called to order by the President of the Conference of 1880, with religious services, W. S. Hammond, Secretary. The Committee on Credentials reported the following as entitled to seats as representatives:—

<i>Ministers</i>	ALABAMA	<i>Laymen</i>
E. R. Moore W. J. Nolen		C. E. Crenshaw L. W. Jenkins ¹
M. C. Jackson	ARKANSAS	Jeff. Wallace ¹
	CENTRAL TEXAS	
G. P. Miller ¹		P. D. Henkle ¹
R. R. Brookshier	DEEP RIVER	E. L. McHargue
F. H. M. Henderson	GEORGIA	W. M. Bray

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	GENESEE	<i>Laymen</i>
S. A. Baker		G. W. Doty
	INDIANA	
H. Stackhouse		N. H. Jones
J. M. Langley		S. L. Marrow
F. M. Hussey		P. W. Patterson
I. H. C. McKinney		J. D. Stopher
S. J. Jones		W. A. Quick ¹
	IOWA	
Wm. Rensburg		Virgil Roberts ¹
J. Selby		S. G. Russell
	KENTUCKY	
H. S. Swetnam		D. M. Dilleon ¹
	McCAINE (Texas)	
W. F. Bonham ¹		J. J. Heffin ¹
	MARYLAND	
L. W. Bates		J. W. Hering
J. T. Murray		C. W. Button
W. S. Hammond		W. J. C. Dulany
S. B. Southerland		J. D. Baker
F. T. Tagg		W. B. Usilton
J. J. Murray		Horace Burroughs
J. D. Kinzer		S. S. Ewell
T. H. Lewis		John Mason
T. D. Valiant		J. W. Thompson
E. J. Drinkhouse		H. F. Zollickoffer
	NORTH CAROLINA	
T. T. Ferree		S. V. Pickens ¹
R. H. Wills		J. M. Hadley
T. J. Ogburn		W. C. Whitaker
W. W. Amick		J. C. Roberts
J. L. Michaux		J. L. Ogburn ¹
A. W. Lineberry		J. A. Holt
A. C. Harris		S. R. Harris ¹
J. R. Ball ¹		J. F. Harris ¹
	MICHIGAN	
G. B. McElroy		A. A. Rust
A. C. Fuller		J. S. Duffie ¹
	MISSISSIPPI	
J. S. Scarborough ¹		M. D. Etheridge ¹

¹ Absent.

	MINNESOTA	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
W. R. Sweet ¹		W. Stauffer ¹
	MISSOURI	
A. A. Keran ¹		D. B. Biddle ¹
	MUSKINGUM	
S. A. Fisher		M. Yingling
J. S. Thrap		W. E. Case
G. W. Hissey		Thos. Chambers
O. V. W. Chandler		Vincent Ferguson ¹
F. A. Brown		Thos. Smith
W. L. Wells		W. L. Trennor ¹
J. H. Hamilton		W. E. H. Hartsock
	NEW YORK	
J. J. Smith		Benj. Harding ¹
Mark Staple		Arnet Seaman
	NEW JERSEY	
T. B. Appleget		John Z. Stanger
	PITTSBURGH	
John Scott		J. S. Barnes
G. G. Westfall		H. C. Swart
W. H. Phipps		J. P. Sayer
John Cowl ¹		G. W. Pogue
	PENNSYLVANIA	
A. G. Bloomfield		Joseph Anderson
	NEBRASKA	
E. T. Hudson		S. W. McGrew
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
W. W. Williams		A. R. Borton
V. H. Brown		C. P. Crum
	NORTH MISSISSIPPI	
B. T. Weeks ¹		W. C. Carter ¹
	NORTH ARKANSAS	
G. O. Hickey ¹		J. McLemore ¹
	OHIO	
J. B. Walker		Wm. W. White ¹
T. B. Graham		Jordan Downs
D. S. Stephens		G. W. Kent ¹
S. K. Spahr		Thompson Douglass

¹ Absent.

	ONONDAGA	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
G. D. Ellis		N. J. Fields
	SOUTH CAROLINA	
J. Q. Stockman ¹		J. W. Pevy ¹
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
D. B. Turney		Jas. A. Link ¹
G. C. Smith ¹		David A. Reed
	TENNESSEE	
Joseph Camper		Wm. E. Thompson
	TEXAS	
M. F. Rosser		J. J. Morris ¹
	VIRGINIA	
G. R. Barr		J. A. McQuown ¹
John G. Johnson		Ira P. Robinett ¹
	WEST MICHIGAN	
L. D. Abbott		Wm. Woodward
	WEST VIRGINIA	
George Nestor		J. W. Williams
H. P. F. King		W. F. Post
E. F. Westfall		G. W. Reay ¹
M. S. Barnett		J. B. Watson ¹
J. J. Poynter ¹		Reason Cain ¹
D. H. Davis		F. M. Durbin ¹
D. G. Helmick		Wm. Mearns
A. L. McKeever		J. W. Hull
Benj. Stout		J. N. Pierpont
	WEST TENNESSEE	
J. A. Fowler		J. Thomas ¹
	WESTERN ARKANSAS	
J. E. Loudermilk ¹		S. A. Reppy ¹
	BALTIMORE (Col.)	
Thos. Wells		Perry Gray
	RED RIVER	
Wm. Trogden		W. R. Hefflin ¹
	GEORGIA (Col.)	
G. N. Barge ¹		J. M. Smith ¹

¹ Absent.

FORT SMITH

Ministers

W. S. Bartholomew

*Laymen*H. N. Sanders¹

KANSAS

Daniel Young

Out of one hundred and sixty-one, fifty were not present. It will be observed that these were mostly from extreme distances. As it was the original purpose of the framers of the Constitution to keep this legislative assembly of the Church within one hundred, it was considerably overreached. It was an imposing representation of the general Church in all its sections, this and the color line having been both wiped out.

Dr. J. J. Murray, pastor of St. John's, made an address of welcome in behalf of the congregation, the citizens of Baltimore, and the Maryland Conference, to which the acting President responded. The election for permanent officers occurred at the afternoon session, after some fruitless balloting, at the open suggestion of a Western minister, naming the acting Secretary for the position, against the precedents of the body. William S. Hammond was chosen President against his personal protest; and S. K. Spahr, Secretary.

The printed Minutes of this Conference make a pamphlet of ninety-six octavo pages; but its salient business may be compressed into much briefer space, as much of its time was occupied with the presentation of papers on revision, and various matters of reference to committees with negative action, the Standing Committees, as appointed by the President, doing their work with thoroughness and despatch. Note will be made of the essential matters of report and legislation; disciplinary changes, etc., may be found in the revised Discipline of even date.

Rev. Dr. Augustus Webster and A. H. Bassett, by invitation, addressed the Conference on historical lines with much favor. A final report from the Committee on Conventional Powers, after various references and votes by the body, rehearsed that the action of the Annual Conferences was not uniform; but they found that "for powers according to the General Conference resolutions of 1880"² twenty-five Conferences, or a majority of two-

¹ Absent.

² A critical examination of these resolutions, as well as an analysis of the votes of the Conferences subsequently on them, as found in the Minutes of 1884, make

thirds, were in favor. The report was adopted. The Hymn Book Committee of fifteen, appointed by the last General Conference, reported their action, which was approved. A correspondence between the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, growing out of the presence at the Conference of 1880 of Rev. Dr. Black, was submitted, suggesting organic Union of the two Churches. It was reciprocated, and commissioners were appointed by this body to consider its advisability. Their General Assembly was now in session at McKeesport, Pa., and telegraphic messages were sent and received. There was quite a popular feeling in both Churches in favor of this movement, the doctrinal differences being unimportant and the governmental structure practically the same; hope was entertained that for once something tangible would come of the proposition. The two Churches were numerically nearly the same, and other interests quadrated. But after the respective assemblies had adjourned, the official organ of the Cumberlands, at Nashville, Tenn., made open and strong objection to the proposal, with the result that once more officialism killed what might have been the will of the membership, if the work of the commission had been encouraged to go on for its ascertainment. As it was, in Texas and some other places, local churches did unite. It may surprise some other later advocates of Union among Methodists that the name was one of the principal difficulties of adjustment, as tentatively mooted. It was natural, as no denomination that has struggled to recognition among the Churches is willing to be extinguished under a name that does not continue to recognize it. A similar movement was inaugurated by this General Conference appointing a Commission of five to enter into correspondence with the Congregational Methodists with "a proposition of Union of that Church with our own," etc.¹

it plain and indisputable that "conventional powers" would have been defeated by a strong majority, except those favoring it under the strict limitations imposed; namely, a new method of constitutional changes in the future, a change of the restrictive rule, and the harmonizing of any sections of the extant Discipline not in accord with each other. So that anything else this body of 1884 did, it did as a General Conference, and not as a General Convention. The point is of vital importance, as will be seen from the moot raised on a later action of this body. It is, however, always styled a "General Convention" in the technical references of the Minutes and on the title-page, — the moot is, by what authority?

¹ "Constitution and Government of the Congregational Methodist Churches." 3d edition. Opelika, Ala. 1873. 32mo. 64 pp. Cloth. An examination shows that it was organized in 1852, by certain brethren who withdrew from the M. E. Church, South, and a few from the Methodist Protestant Church, one of its leaders, Eppes Tucker, having been an original minister in the organization and a

It is now believed feasible because of the change made by the Conference, giving Annual Conferences control of the time limit, — the only remaining difference between the general church law and the Congregational theory. But it came to naught — a few fraternal interchanges and individual transfers of membership, with the ministers, was all that could be secured. Again officialism killed it, as their paper at Cave Spring, Ga., did not favor it, and their leading brethren looked askance.

Mrs. F. A. Brown, Mrs. A. R. O'Brien, and Mrs. M. A. Miller were introduced as representatives of the executive board of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Church.¹ They were invited to seats within the bar, and received other formal recognition. Adrian, Mich., was selected as the place for the next General Conference. The report of the Committee on Publishing Houses submitted the reports of the two Directories, from which the following items are culled. Circulation of the *Methodist Protestant*, February 29, 1884, 3424; circulation, February 28, 1883, 3122; net gain, 302; new names, 772; discontinued, 470. Sabbath-school papers, May 1, 1884, 58,984; May 1, 1883, 39,240; net gain, 19,744. *Methodist Recorder*, circulation, March 1, 1884, 4820; March 1, 1883, 4954; loss, 1243; new subscribers 1109; net loss, 134. Circulation of *Our Morning Guide*, 9000; *Child's Recorder*, 4600. Baltimore Directory, net assets, March 1, 1884, \$9401.98; Pittsburgh Directory, March 1, 1884, net capital, \$20,865.87, of which the Book Room realty is appraised at \$19,071.64. The Conference elected for Directory at Baltimore: H. F. Zollickoffer, J. T. Murray, Horace Burrough, J. D. Kinzer, and J. G. Clarke. At Pittsburgh: John Gregory, J. S. Thrap, John Munden, W. K. Gillespie, and F. M. Durbin. H. F. Zol-

member of the Convention of 1830. They withdrew from the Church, South for three principal reasons, — the restrictive rule over pastors, its unrepublican government, and taxation without representation. They organized sporadically in various sections of the South, principally in Georgia and Alabama, until within thirty years they claimed to number some ten thousand members. They maintained an official organ. The Civil War greatly disintegrated them, but they bravely rallied their scattered forces. The lack of connectional bonds, of preachers and means, retarded their growth, so that in the past ten years they have gradually declined. The elementary principles of the M. P. Church were embodied by them almost without change. A number of their societies have coalesced, and ministers individually; and the process of disintegration is going on to their probable ultimate extinction.

¹ "History of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Protestant Church," by Mrs. M. A. Miller. 1896. W. F. M. S., Pittsburgh, Pa. 12mo. 140 pp. Cloth. A digest of this work is found as an Appendix to the first volume of this History from the pen of Mrs. Miller.



SCHOOL AT YOKOHAMA.

This picture was taken four years ago—Miss Annette Lawrence at the left of the doorway, and Miss Amelia Rowe at the right. Miss Rowe returned to the United States later, and Miss Lawrence was sent to Nagoya. This school is now in charge of Miss Kuhn and Miss Williams.

lickoffer elected President and W. K. Gillespie, Secretary. Among the orders given by the Conference was the consolidation of the Sunday-school papers under a separate editor. E. J. Drinkhouse was elected Editor of the Baltimore papers, and Wm. J. C. Dulany, Publisher and Book Agent; and of the Pittsburgh papers, John Scott, Editor, and W. McCracken, Jr., Publisher and Book Agent. The Restrictive Rule was changed so as to read, "No rule shall be passed to abolish an efficient itinerant ministry; each Annual Conference shall have authority to determine for itself whether any limit, or, if any, what limit, shall be to the annual appointments." It was in the nature of a compromise between the adherents and opponents of such a rule. The liberty it gave to the Annual Conferences has worked well. For the most part they have passed a limitation of from three to five years, except in Maryland and a few other Conferences. The practical result has been that the average changes have been nearly as frequent as under the old regulation. It made provision for exceptional cases, and in a few of the cities the extended time has worked to the advantage of the Church.

The Committee on Journals reported that "at the fifty-first session of the New York Conference, Miss Anna M. Shaw was elected to Elder's orders, and received ordination." It was referred to the Committee on Judiciary, who subsequently reported as follows: "We report the act unauthorized by the law of the Church, and that she is not entitled to recognition as an Elder in the Methodist Protestant Church." A long debate occurred upon it, and it was finally adopted. She continued to exercise as an Elder, the New York Conference sustaining their act as such. It will be seen that the question recurred in the General Conference of 1892, by its recognizing Mrs. Eugenia F. St. John as an Elder, and representative in the body from the Kansas Conference. The contention was made that this act was void, inasmuch as the legislative assembly of 1884 had pronounced Miss Shaw's ordination as an Elder unconstitutional—that it was a "General Convention" act, and, as such, no subsequent "General Conference" could nullify that deliverance. See the moot raised in a recent footnote, and the query stands to this day: Were all the enactments of the body of 1884 "General Convention" actions, or only the three to which that "General Conference" was limited, as being invested with "Conventional powers"? If the latter, then the deliverance it made as to Miss Shaw could be nullified by the later deliverance of 1892 as to

Mrs. St. John. The writer affirms only that, as a moot, it cannot be settled by asseveration simply on either side.¹

The Reformed Episcopal Church of the United States of America was formally recognized, and fraternal messengers appointed to its next General Council. The Committee on Fraternal Relations reported that the brethren appointed to correspond with the Wesleyan, the New Connexion, and the Primitive Methodists of England had done so, and replies received from each; that of the New Connexion being beautifully engrossed, and is appended to the minutes of this Conference. The Committee on Missions reported that for the quadrennium \$17,395.28 had been collected, and nearly \$5000 for the Japan Home. The aggregate expenses for this period, except for missionaries, was \$4839.26. Paid to missions in this country, \$4787.25; for foreign work, \$6703.72. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society reported that it had raised, for the five years of its existence, about \$11,000; \$2400 of this is a building fund, and the remainder in the treasury, in addition to this fund, is \$2083.31. A constitution for the Board of Missions and one for the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society were adopted. The relations of the two were defined. The Board of Ministerial Education reported net assets, \$5021.76. Westminster Theological Seminary building, \$4000; indebtedness, \$1200. The Theological School at Adrian was advised, as soon as possible, to secure the undivided services of the Dean, Rev. Dr. G. B. McElroy. A new constitution for the Board of Education was adopted. Rev. F. T. Tagg

¹ In reply to an article by Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray, acting as editor *pro tem.* of the Baltimore paper, October 25, 1884, in which he cites Church law as against the contention that anything but the expunging of the word "white" was in the mind of the brethren in the radical change made in the Twelfth Article of the Constitution in 1877, Rev. T. B. Applegate of the New Jersey Conference, November 1, 1884, affirms that the expunging of the word "male," in the section elided, "Every white, male member," was considered by the "Methodist" Convention as well. On this the whole controversy hinges. It was the only place in the Constitution or Discipline in which the word "male" occurred; and it is true that when it, as well as the word "white," was expunged by the abolition of the entire Article XII, both words went out together. But it is also true that the word "laymen" remains in the definition of eligible members to the General Conference and "the husband of one wife" in the ordination service, indicating that the excision of the word "male" with the word "white" was a mere accident of the situation, and not the intent of the "General Convention." It was certainly not in the mind of the Methodist Protestant Convention at the time, so that whatever advantage may be taken of the absence of the word "male" is technical, and not conventional. Some things, however, are settled by manifest destiny, and the ordination and delegated elective character of women in the Methodisms of the world come under the category.

was elected Corresponding Secretary to the Board of Home and Foreign Missions, and J. B. Walker to the Board of Ministerial Education. The special committee on the Methodist Episcopal Centennial reported, acknowledging the invitation from Bishop Simpson and H. K. Carroll to participate, reciprocating the "courtesy and good-will," "we beg leave respectfully to state, that whilst as a denomination we could not feel free to appear as participants in the celebration," etc., in furtherance, "we recommend that a commission, consisting of two ministers and two laymen, be appointed, "who shall bear to the Centenary Conference of 1884 the fraternal greetings of this body, and our grateful recognition of what God has wrought in this land through organized Methodism, both Episcopal and Non-Episcopal": L. W. Bates, John Scott, J. W. Hering. Subsequently, the President announced as the Commission, Dr. L. W. Bates, Dr. John Scott, Hon. F. H. Pierpont, and Dr. J. W. Hering.

On the twelfth day, May 29, three sessions were held to expedite the closing business, the most important being the report of the laborious Committee on Statistics, which is herewith appended; that on Sabbath-schools being so imperfect as to furnish no truthful idea of what the Church was doing as an organization committed specially to childhood church membership and Sabbath-school instruction, it is omitted. The statistics, it will be seen, show an aggregate net increase of the membership of about eight thousand for the quadrennium, or about $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ per cent. That of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the same period is $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ per cent (see "Centenary Year Book" of that Church). "What are you doing as a Church?" *Answer.* "As much as our powerful sister Methodism, with all its incidental advantages and protection against loss by removals, heretofore considered." The aggregate net increase in the value of church property was nearly half a million, one of the surest evidences of the growth, and most reliable signs of the permanence, of a denomination. At the close of the night session the General Conference adjourned.

STATISTICS OF THE METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH

ANNUAL CONFERENCE	Itinerant Ministers and Preachers	Unstationed Ministers and Preachers	Members	Probationers	Churches	Parsonages	Valuation of Church Property	Percentage of Increase in Church Membership	Percentage of Decrease in Church Membership	Remarks
Alabama	31	3	3,139	66	65	2	\$57,205	..	..	..
Arkansas	10	7	1,275	1	29	..	5,256	..	..	..
Colorado, Texas	19	8	510	9	11	..	1,500	..	..	..
Central Texas	31	24	1,560	200	15	..	4,000	..	..	..
Deep River	112	8	663	15	9	..	2,000	..	..	Year book
Fort Smith	31	11	1,400	2	13	1	2,500	..	..	..
Georgia	29	5	2,104	56	47	..	65,100	..	..	..
Georgia (Colored)	13	18	1,000	17	18	..	2,500	..	..	Year book
Geneseo	19	21	713	13	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	31,750	..	..	Year book
Indiana	56	62	6,891	259	90	13	105,110	..	..	..
Iowa	46	15	2,847	73	44	14	53,100	..	..	..
Kansas	20	16	926	10	5	7	9,250	..	..	Year book
Kentucky	26	..	1,291	..	8	..	2,400	..	..	..
Louisiana	9	5	1,129	4	22	..	7,220	..	..	Year book
McCaule	12	12	587	7	4	..	1,975	..	..	..
Maryland	109	33	14,548	822	229 $\frac{1}{2}$	56	753,035	..	..	Year book
Michigan	41	29	2,198	25	104	26	87,350	..	..	Year book
Mississippi	19	..	968	..	29	..	2,105	..	..	Year book
Minnesota	20	3	804	18	4	2	4,030	..	..	Year book
Misouri	43	21	1,905	8	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	10,100	..	..	..
Muskingum	55	63	10,131	696	148	15	232,820	..	..	..
New York	34	15	2,500	119	25	11	148,050	..	..	..
New Jersey	21	14	2,169	214	28	9	90,750	..	..	..
North Carolina	58	59	12,276	103	166 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	30,125	..	..	..
North Missouri	24	10	1,280	21	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	23,700	..	..	..
Nebraska	10	10	602	40	12	5	2,600	..	..	..
North Illinois	49	37	2,300	..	54	20	95,000	..	..	..
North Arkansas	23	6	800	10	8	1	1,000	..	..	..
North Mississippi	16	13	944	8	30	..	4,950	..	..	..
Ohio	45	43	6,065	174	104	26	242,100	..	..	..
Onondaga	66	30	2,153	141	85 $\frac{1}{2}$	24	90,400	..	..	..
Oregon	6	4	200	..	5	2	17,000	..	..	..
Pittsburgh	49	54	8,115	134	70 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	507,021	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	12	11	570	144	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	20,000	..	..	..
South Illinois	27	42	2,675	2	35	3	30,000	..	..	..
South Carolina	16	11	1,209	14	29	2	6,000	..	..	..
Tennessee	13	4	1,277	4	24	..	10,550	..	..	..
Texas	23	4	1,779	6	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	5,450	..	..	..
Virginia	38	19	3,267	142	32 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	15,650	..	..	..
West Michigan	26	33	1,412	80	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	15	40,300	..	..	..
West Virginia	64	105	13,070	47	125 $\frac{1}{2}$	19	116,150	..	..	..
West Tennessee	20	..	784	..	23	..	4,500	..	..	..
Western Arkansas	23	17	1,159	16	33	..	3,900	..	..	..
Total	1,821	905	124,695	3,572	1,824	311	\$3,010,502	..	..	..

MISSIONARY DISTRICTS

Boston . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baltimore (Colored)	9	4	293	21	7	..	\$13,900	..	..	..
California . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Colorado, Tex. (Col'd) . . . . .	..	8	430	4	11	..	2,423	..	..	..
Red River	10	2	198	..	8	..	600	..	..	..
Total	19	14	971	25	21	..	16,923	..	..	..
Grand total	1,840	919	125,666	3,597	1,845	311	\$3,027,430	..	..	..

G. G. WESTFALL, *Chairman.*

In the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, May, 1884, on motion of Dr. Neely, — opposed by Dr. Whedon, but seconded by Dr. Curry, — it was resolved that the bishopric is an office, and not an order, etc. Immediately after its adjournment this action set the family of *Advocates* by the ears, — the usual official harmony was disturbed, — the prelatical element of the ministry vehemently denounced it, while the presbyterial brethren as vehemently upheld it as the view of the "fathers." Perhaps it was aggravated by the fact that the Protestant Episcopal Church had announced a Centenary celebration, dating from October 7, 1884, quadrating with the ordination of Bishop Seabury of Connecticut by the Aberdeen, Scotland, bishops, October 7, 1784, or nearly three months before Asbury was "set apart" as a Bishop(?) in the Methodist Episcopal Church. True, their formal Convention was not held until after Asbury's Christmas Conference, but these sticklers for priority held that constructively, at least, they were an Episcopal Church from the date of Seabury's ordination; and this cannot be disputed. Why all this ado? Nothing, gentle reader, but the disputable claim of the Methodist Episcopal Church, often and pridefully repeated, that Coke and Asbury were "the first bishops in America." And now for the General Conference of 1884 — the rash work of the young bloods — to declare that their bishopric was a mere office and not an order, with a rubric appended to the so-called "ordination service" to this effect, it was too bad. And then, in November 27, 1884, Dr. Abel Stevens, now in a kind of voluntary banishment in Switzerland, after his cavalier treatment and dismissal from the editorship of the *New York Advocate*, published an article in that paper, under the date given, in which he affirms of lay-representation, "On the ground on which the 'Reformers' [1827-30] were arrested, all great reformatory movements could be impeached, and all progress arrested." In the same article, speaking of Emory's "Defence of our Fathers," he says, "It was actually from the pen of Dr. Thomas E. Bond, a layman." (See the Baltimore official paper, December 6, 1884.) The writer had intimated this latter fact earlier in this volume, but until now he lacked evidence.

September 20, 1884, the writer, as editor of the official paper, began the publication, in short chapters, of O'Kelly's "Apology," for its more general circulation and preservation, as it had become very rare. In obedience to the order of the late General Conference to consolidate the Sunday-school issues under an editor, the

Board of Publication, as such, met at Pittsburgh, and took the question into consideration. As already noted, the Sunday-school papers of Pittsburgh claimed a circulation of 9500; those of Baltimore, covering the international lesson series, nearly 59,000. A whole day was spent in a fruitless negotiation, neither Directory being willing to surrender to the other its publications. No further mention need be made, but the fact that, as a last resort, the brethren of Pittsburgh presented the commercial proposition of give or take, offering the Baltimore Directory, for the privilege of concentrating the publishing at their end, 33½ per cent discount on them delivered in bulk as compensation for the surrender, and distribution in Baltimore, as an agency, on an equal footing with their own. It was not believed by the Baltimore brethren that the margin of profit would justify them in such tender of discount, therefore they accepted the offer. It was another of those business compacts not to be disturbed in its essential features except by common consent. It has worked well to both publishing houses, and the faith has been kept. The election of an Editor and General Manager resulted in the choice of Rev. J. F. Cowan, who had been assisting on the Baltimore lesson series for a length of time, he receiving the entire vote of Baltimore and one from Pittsburgh. It was agreed that the new arrangement should not take effect until January, 1885, to give time for the readjustment.

The Centenary of the Episcopal Methodists, pursuant to notice, took place in Mt. Vernon church, Baltimore, December 7. It is a splendid structure, and has a capacity of fifteen hundred or more. The delegates to the Centenary elected were six hundred, of whom about four hundred and fifty attended. Expectation as to its size was not realized, but it made an august assembly, the picked men of the Episcopal Methodisms gracing it with their presence, piety, and eloquence. No Non-Episcopal Methodism was present, except the Canada Methodists, always heretofore rated as Episcopal, a few from the Primitives, and the Baltimore Independents. The programme did not include Organic Union or Union of any kind; but there were frequent incidental references, always received with applause. Bishop Foster's sermon, introductory, was a grand effort, bating some queer allusions, historical, such as the averment that the Christmas Conference of 1784 contained no laymen, — a reference made necessary from the fact that the present assembly was nearly equally divided between ministers and laymen, — because it was "with their own

consent." It was not the place or time to dispute it, but everybody knew better, except Bishop Foster, who ought at least to have known it was not true, either in whole or in part. The Methodist Protestant Commissioners were most courteously received, and the night of December 11 set apart to hear them. Hon. F. H. Pierpont gave notice that he could not attend, and Dr. H. F. Zollickoffer was named as a substitute; but he did not participate. Drs. Bates, Scott, and Hering were present, and the church was full of the Conference and spectators, of whom the writer was one. Their addresses may be found in the *Methodist Protestant* of December 20, 1884. No more loyal men to the Church ever appeared before an Episcopal Methodist body. The addresses of Drs. Bates and Scott were largely historical, and did credit to their heads and hearts as representatives of the Church. The first, however, took occasion toward the close, as he said, properly, "on his own responsibility," to advert to the question of Organic Union, and made a prediction in these words, "I venture to predict that a Union of American Methodists is a foregone conclusion." (Applause.) He further said, "We claim the credit of your lay-delegation, and when the Union comes to pass, and, lo, it will come, we shall claim the credit of that also." The second made the longest address of the three, and it abounded in excellent things, and allusions to his own personal association with the brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church; argued the question of church government irenically, and expressed his desire for Union in the words, "I would be willing, Mr. President, to live to a great age, if I could only see all the Methodist Churches in this country sink out of sight the minor differences which separate them, and, as my brother from Canada suggested this afternoon, unite in one great Methodist Church." A decade of years after this deliverance he wrote in review, "From present indications, I am inclined to think that I would have to live to a very great age indeed, to be permitted to see a Union of all the Methodist Churches in this country."¹ In the knowledge of the writer, Dr. Bates has not since been heard from on this subject;²

¹ "Fifty Years' Recollections in the Ministry."

² The writer has since ascertained that Dr. Bates has made several deliverances, indicating that he has abandoned the view expressed at the Centennial Conference, the latest being, in substance, that any denomination of Methodists so thoroughly partisan as the M. E. Church proved itself to be in officially withdrawing all countenance to the Christian Endeavor Societies, and the counter organization of the Epworth League, makes the Union of any other Methodism with it impracticable and undesirable.

and he ventures to predict, also at the risk of a like false prophecy, that Organic Union of the American Methodists will never be realized. If it be among possibilities, it is so remote that the present generation has no interest in it. What the Methodists of the world need is federation, and what the Protestantism of the world needs is federation. More than this is impracticable, undesirable, and a Utopian dream. Even this cannot be attained until there is the growth of a Christ-love greater than the Church-love; and federation is the first step in the direction, and must be taken before Organic Union is even in sight. Dr. Hering delivered a chaste, pertinent, and admirable address, confining himself to the fraternal mission on which the brethren were sent.

The British Conference having pronounced against the second Pan-Methodist Conference for 1887, this Episcopal Conference did the same, and the whole matter seemed a default; but, as will be seen, it was afterward revived and such a Conference appointed for 1891, the centenary of Wesley's death; and was successfully held in Washington, D. C., the Methodist Protestant Church fully participating in it. The Episcopal Conference was a great success in prompting the laity to another display of abundant liberality, as in 1839 and 1866—a round million was contributed by the brethren, and the material status of the Church lifted to a higher plane than ever. It was so, also, largely in the Church South, their poverty considered. It gave a wonderful stimulus to all the general interests of the Methodist Episcopal Church: colleges, education of the ministry, church extension, foreign missions; and the tide of enterprise rose at home to the cheerful announcement that they were building a church every day.

These gifts came from a loyal laity, most of them from the common walks of life; but, made spiritually alive by the free-grace gospel preached and the helpful means of the Church, they prospered in business, and a deep Christ-love impelled these offerings to a system which had ever ignored them as competent to participate in government or have any part in the distribution of what they so liberally gave. It has been seen how their deep unrest under this disability had found expression on the eve of General Conferences, petitioning meekly for the privilege; and, since this period, rising to the dignity of remonstrance, with gradual and grudging concessions, as the volume of demand increased, with a future hopeful for this long-submerged estate of a Church which is rapidly girdling the world. "Ah! it is our

system, our system!" Yes, the system has much to do with it as a coercive and cohesive force; so it has to do with the same features in the Roman hierarchy. And the writer is not so ill-informed as not to know that not a few of their most intelligent laity are in full accord with the ministry that it is the system, and patiently rest under it, yea, defend it. A typical personality of this class was the late Theodore Runyon, United States Ambassador to the court of Germany, deceased January, 1896. An ardent Methodist from his youth, cultured in legal and classical lore; in politics, a democrat of democrats, believing in universal suffrage and equal rights for every citizen; yet so enamoured of an ecclesiastical system violating every political sentiment he held, that on one occasion, in a public debate at Newark, N. J., he defended the system against a brother layman, Charles C. North. These are anomalies, and few as the "scattered berries on the uppermost branch." As offsetting him, instance the Hon. Will Cumback of Indiana, his equal in all the features named, whose indignant remonstrance within a year was expressed through one of the *Western Advocates* against the dallying, and, what seemed to him, the evasive, policy of the governing class in granting the lay-rights he holds so sacred and indefeasible. Interrogate this laic, and he will be found to represent four out of every five of them.

Our notations of the year 1884 will close with necrological observations upon Rev. P. L. Laishley, M.D., born in England, January 1, 1798. His forbears were early Methodists, and he one of five sons, all of whom became ministers. He came to America in 1818, and in 1819 was converted at a camp-meeting in Loudoun County, Va. He soon became acquainted with O'Kelly's "Christian Church," united with it, was licensed and ordained in 1820; so that he was a pronounced Reformer before the cause was born. He was graduated in medicine in 1832, and practised for several years; but the love of preaching overcame the secular employ, and, removing to the West, he united with the Pittsburgh Conference in 1833, the year it was organized. He labored in the West Virginia Conference until 1868, when he again united with the Pittsburgh Conference. He was elected President of his Annual Conference thirteen times, and four times a representative in the General Conferences, as well as of the General Convention of 1877. As a preacher he was clear, forcible, and pathetic, and well furnished as a debater. He was a close observer, with a great fund of general information, interlarded

with anecdotal illustrations. In all the relations of life he was respected and loved by a large circle of intimate friends. He spent his closing days in cheerful retirement, and met his end peacefully, May 31, 1884, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. Rev. William Collins, of the Tennessee Conference, deceased July 12, 1884, in his eighty-second year. He was licensed to preach in 1829, and had a life-long connection with the Church. Such is a brief record of a worthy man. Rev. Edward Dromgoole, Jr., of the Virginia Conference, deceased, in 1840, in his fifty-second year. His obituary did not appear in the official paper until October 25, 1884. He was a son of the Rev. Edward Dromgoole, one of the early Methodist preachers, and from whom he imbibed his Reform principles, though the father in his old age made no change in his church relations. But little is now known of the son, except that he was true to his convictions and died in peace.

The Sunday-school literature, in its new form and with its new editor, appeared punctually with the first week of the year 1885. The *Baltimore Bible-School* was discontinued, as well as the *Child's Recorder*, at Pittsburgh, making the new issues stand, the *Bible-School Quarterly*, the *Monthly and Weekly Lessons*, the *Morning Guide*, and *Our Children*. As announced at the time, they were "as good as the best, and as cheap as the cheapest"; and the editor soon gave evidence that he commanded the situation; and has ever since kept them abreast with the needs, while many improvements have marked their career through these eleven years. The official papers were kept first-class in character, and gradually won their way more fully among the people, despite the fact that competing literature, both secular and religious, was never so abundant. The *West Virginia Methodist Protestant* was issued at St. Mary's, W. Va., by Rev. J. J. Poynter about this time. It was about half the size of the official papers, and made a very creditable appearance. It soon went the way of all such ventures. The editors and general agents, under the Annual Council, kept up their Conference visitations. The mission work in Japan, under Rev. F. C. Klein and Miss Brittain, took shape and was gaining ground. The Annual Conferences exhibited, as they met, improved statistics and church building; and the denomination was settling upon its foundations and rising in superstructure, challenging the notice and winning the respect of its compeers. It had demonstrated its right to live in an enlarging sphere. It has been well observed that "the real

force of any movement or institution is to be measured by its permeating power." Judged by this criterion, the Methodist Protestant Church was a great success. The principles and methods for which its originators were expelled from the mother Church, and which were now before the Christian world a working hypothesis, permeated the ministry and membership of the parent body; and the "innovations" of 1827-30 were wrought into the polity of the Episcopal Methodist churches. Reformers might be counted by hundreds of thousands who remained under tolerant treatment in their old Church home, and so did not add to the statistics of Reform Methodists, a test unhappily quite misleading as to the prevalence of kindred ideas in other communities.

Rev. Allen Y. Davis deceased April 14, 1885. He was a pioneer in the Church work in the Southwest, and an original member of the Mississippi Conference. His name must not perish from the records of devoted adherents of the cause. William S. Greenwood deceased May 12, 1885, aged seventy-seven years. He was an original Reformer and a charter member of the church in Chestertown, Md., and abounded in liberality and fidelity. It is not the plan of this work to perpetuate the memory in this form of other than those who were active participants in the movement of 1827-30; but a few exceptions the writer deems proper. Dr. Henry Fletcher Zollickoffer was born in Maryland, June 16, 1824, and was a son of Rev. Daniel Zollickoffer, an ardent Reformer of the early days. The son was, for a few years, an itinerant in Maryland, but retired and studied medicine, and, after some years' practice, again retired from the exposures of these employments and settled in commercial life in Baltimore city; accumulated a competence; gave it to the Church in liberal sums of \$1000 at a time, while smaller gifts were of frequent occurrence; he saw this competence, by the failure of business partners, vanish away; renewed the struggle, partly recovered, and returned to his liberal methods with the Church, and was cut off by typhoid fever, September 30, 1885. He held all the positions of trust the Church could bestow upon him; several times representative in the General Conferences, and a member of the General Union Convention, and did much, in the "Committee of Conference," to adjust differences of opinion. He was from the first President of the Board of Publication. Cultured, spiritual, devoted in his friendships, his closing days were a triumph of grace over disease and the fear of death. The official papers of the period are filled

with tributes. Rev. John H. Honour of South Carolina, and joint author with Rev. W. B. Evans of the "Questions and Answers," heretofore noticed, an early Reformer, and true to his convictions, died November, 1885. Daniel Stone of North Carolina deceased December 5, 1885, aged ninety years. He was identified with Reform from 1828; was steadfast and true.

The new volume of the *Methodist Protestant* introduced as a motto: "Childhood for the Church and the World for Christ." It seems to have struck a key-note, for at once, and for months after, the writers for the papers enlarged upon it, and needed attention was called to this feature of the church work, somewhat fallen into neglect as the "fathers" formulated the principle. The *Methodist Recorder* appeared in a dress of new type, and under Dr. Scott's unremitting labors held its own and better. The "Year Book" of the Church, now continued by Rev. J. F. Cowan, was filled with useful information, and added a feature of likenesses of prominent brethren. The *Western Recorder* changed its title to the *Evangelist*, as edited and published by Rev. I. H. C. McKinney, at Indianapolis, Ind., in the interest of that Conference. Rev. F. T. Tagg, Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, injected into it new plans, extensive travel among the Conferences, and brought up the receipts to a most encouraging figure during this quadrennium. Rev. J. B. Walker, of the Ministerial Board, was no less diligent, so that the general enterprises were more hopeful than ever. For several years the polished and prolific pen of Rev. A. H. Widney of Illinois graced the columns of the official papers, whose editors, now free from the double burden of the Sunday-school literature, gave undivided labor to the weekly papers. A series of letters appeared in the Baltimore official, November and December, 1886 from Asbury and Coke to Alexander McCaine, as furnished by his daughter, Mrs. S. A. Britt. They bore date 1799, 1802, 1806, and one, from Coke, 1807, all of them breathing the love and confidence that existed during life between these men of renown.

The necrology was much enlarged this year. Rev. R. B. Thomson, D.D., was born at Norfolk, Va., November 15, 1808. He received the benefit of the best education, was converted, and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church in Richmond, Va. In 1827 he removed to Princess Anne County, where he became acquainted with the Reform literature of the day, and, on the 30th of November, 1828, he united with the first Associated Methodist Church, formed under this title at Princess Anne Court

House. On the 2d of December he was elected class-leader. Licensed to preach, in 1829, he was a delegate to the first Virginia Conference, and, in 1830, was received as a member. From this onward he received every honor his brethren could bestow upon him; President of the Annual Conference a number of times, and also a member of the General Conference, in which his pronounced abilities always commanded respect. He was eminent as a preacher and a Conference debater, a man of mark in all relations. His closing days were spent in the quiet of his country home, and he departed this life in peace, January 18, 1886, in his seventy-eighth year. His obsequies were held in the Lynchburg, Va., church, and drew tributes of admiration from ministers of the various denominations.

Rev. John Herbert, an original member of the Ohio Conference, was born in 1800, and departed December 25, 1885. Rev. Thomas Shipp, pioneer in the Indiana Conference, deceased January 8, 1886, aged eighty years. Rev. W. H. Marshall was born in England, August 18, 1806, came to this country in 1818, was converted in 1822, and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1829 he cast his lot with the Reformers in the West. He afterward labored successfully in the Ohio, the Pittsburgh, and the Muskingum Conferences, and of the latter was once elected President. His useful life ended February 8, 1886. Joseph Graham deceased March 28, 1886. He was an original member of the church at Easton, Md., and for fifty-eight years was honored for all manly and Christian virtues. Linked with this name is that of Jacob Boston of Baltimore, an original Reformer, and steadfast friend of the Church and of every good work, who departed this life, loved and honored, in his eighty-fifth year. Rev. B. J. Thackera, born in New Jersey, June 3, 1790; united with the Reformers of his day; endured persecution for his convictions; and departed this life February 26, 1864, his son, Rev. Daniel Thackera of the New Jersey Conference, furnishing a sketch for the official papers, May 1, 1886. J. J. Gillespie of Pittsburgh, Pa., deceased July 17, 1886, in his seventy-third year. He became identified with the Church in 1835, and held prominent positions, in Annual and General Conferences, and its institutions, the Book Concern and Adrian College; liberal, devoted, successful in business, of unflinching convictions, of marked personality and commanding physique, for more than fifty years he was a leader in Church work. Rev. T. K. Witsel, of the New York and the New Jersey Conferences, and often President, a member of

the General Conferences, a Reformer from 1829, departed this life July 8, 1886, in his ninetieth year.

Rev. A. H. Bassett was born in Massachusetts, July 1, 1809; in 1810 his parents removed to Cincinnati, where, at twelve years of age, he was converted and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. By close application he made up for the lack of educational advantages, and when the Reform movement took shape in that city, though but nineteen years of age, he faced the responsibility, great in that day, and joined his fortunes with the Expelled Reformers. In 1830 he united with the Ohio Conference, and served it as Secretary and President. In 1845 he retired, and took charge of the *Western Recorder*, and conducted it for ten years, having become a painstaking and able writer. When the paper became the official organ of the West he again took charge, and remained connected with it, as Agent or Editor, or both, with a few intervals, until 1872, when he retired. He was punctilious, accurate, and circumstantial in all his work, and has done much to preserve to the Church the olden records. In 1877 he issued a "Concise History" of the Church. He was one of the founders of the Western Book Concern, and was elected to every General Conference, save one, for forty years; also of the Conventions of the "Methodist" Church, and the Union Convention of 1877. As a preacher he was chaste and instructive; but his fame stands associated with the press of the West, as father and patron, with Cornelius Springer. He had a lingering illness from heart affection, and departed peacefully at Springfield, August 30, 1886, aged seventy-eight. Rev. Mather Hoover, local minister of Tennessee, original Reformer, deceased March 9, 1886, aged seventy-three. James West Thompson of Centreville, Md., deceased August 25, 1886, for half a century identified with the Church, a noble man, an educator, and true Christian. Rev. A. G. Grove, M.D., born in Maryland, March 31, 1814, was identified with Reform from 1827, the year of his spiritual birth. A member of the Maryland Conference, in 1857 he removed to Alabama and there took up the distracted cause and bore the brunt of its recuperation for a series of years. He departed suddenly October 31, 1886.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Statistics for the first fifty years of the M. E. and the M. P. Churches show that the "system" of the former cannot be claimed as advantageous—Improvement in the official papers, etc.—General Conference of the M. E. Church; lay-delegation and women delegates before them; the latter referred for decision to the Methodist "people"; shades of the Reform fathers!—Fifteenth General Conference at Adrian, Mich., May, 1888; roster of members; reports of Book Concerns and general Agents; committee of nine to revise the Articles of Religion; colleges; statistics; a gain of twelve per cent in the quadrennium in members—Comparison of statistics of the M. E. and M. P. Churches; queries—Obituaries: W. H. Wills and others; Calvin Tompkins and J. J. Amos of the laity, and Robison, Webster, and Lipscomb of the clergy—British delegates at the General Conference of the M. E. Church, South; reflections thereon; manifest destiny of the Reformed Church—The Heathsville, Va., church case—The Christian Endeavor movement—Obituary: Rev. J. B. Walker and others.

THE *Western Methodist Protestant*, Rev. J. H. Albritton, editor and publisher, Cameron, Tex., a quarto four-page paper, was issued in 1883, with the brief life of such ill-considered local enterprises. The *Indiana Evangelist* again changed name to the *National Methodist*, No. 1 of Vol. 8, by I. H. C. McKinney. Intelligence, enterprise, and pluck marked his conduct of it through these years, with or without the support of the local Conference. September 17, 1887, a carefully prepared statement was published in the Baltimore paper, giving the relative increase in members of the Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Protestant Churches for the first fifty years of the existence of each. The result is, for the former 2049 per cent, and for the latter 2220 per cent. There are some elements of uncertainty in the calculation, but approximately correct enough to prove that the success of Methodism could not be due to the system of Asbury and Coke; other things being equal, the system of Snetten, Shinn, and Jennings succeeded just as well. The *Methodist Recorder* for May, 1887, reported a circulation of sixty-two hundred, an increase of twenty-two per cent for the year past. The preachers and people took hold of it under the careful editorship of Dr. Scott, with this result; but one thought was allowed to dominate; it was the Church paper of the North and West, and an official organ of the

general Church, and they meant it should be supported. Business had improved, and the country was on a tide of apparent if not real prosperity, and this was helpful. The same zeal would keep all the Church interests to the front at all seasons. The Baltimore Book Concern was invited into new and handsome quarters by the agent and publisher, at No. 8 East Baltimore Street, the present eligible location. With the first number of its next volume, for January, 1888, the form of the official paper was changed to sixteen pages, large quarto, with new headpiece and new type, and a readjusted make-up, at an additional cost of \$1500 a year. It was warmly received by its patrons, and shared in the increased circulation, the edition being fifty-two hundred, a gain of a thousand in the year. The Sabbath-school literature adapted itself to every want, and was soon received into nearly all the schools. It was more evident than ever that the Methodist Protestant Church was to be denominationally perpetuated indefinitely. It was the General Conference year, appointed for the first time at Adrian, Mich., a territorial extreme inciting some discussion and fear of a sparse attendance,—a fear which its assembly effectually dissipated.

James B. Mathews of Maryland, born November 2, 1791, deceased June 26, 1887. He was an original Reformer, and founder of Union chapel, Howard County, whose long life was spent in active business and Church work. He married a sister of Rev. Alfred Griffith of the Baltimore Conference, and from him derived his Reform principles. Rev. J. P. Johnston, M.D., of the North Illinois Conference, local elder and practising physician, deceased October 8, 1887. An original Reformer, a frequent contributor to the official papers, true and steadfast to the end. Rev. Israel Thrapp was born May 15, 1807, in Ohio. He was converted at the first camp-meeting held west of the mountains by the "Reformers," and united with them. In 1829 and 1830 he took active part in revivals, and worked with his own hands in erecting the first Reform church west of the Ohio River. In 1831 he was licensed to preach by Zanesville circuit, and joined the Ohio Conference, September, 1831. In 1833 the Ohio Conference was divided, and he identified himself with the Pittsburgh section, and labored until the fall of 1842, when the Muskingum Conference was set off, and he elected to remain in Muskingum, becoming by this act its first President. He was a member of the General Conference of 1846 at Cincinnati, and also of several Conventions of the Methodist Church. Something of his history

in this connection has already been given in these pages. For a number of years he held a superannuated relation to the Conference, but abated none of his interest and lost none of his influence, though partially disabled from paralysis. He departed this life peacefully at his home, August 30, 1887.

Mrs. A. C. Baker of Buckeystown, Md., deceased, made three bequests: one of \$1000 to Nagoya mission, Japan; one of \$500 to the superannuated fund of the Maryland Conference; and one of \$300 to the Bible Society. A godly woman's remembrance. It was officially announced that arrangements for a second Ecumenical Conference of Methodists had been made for 1891, at Washington, D. C., U. S. A., on the same basis of attendance as at London in 1881: four hundred delegates, to be divided between the English and the American bodies. Again the good nature of the Americans prevailed over the jealous fears of their trans-Atlantic brethren that they would be outnumbered, though on a ratio of membership this was only fair. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, there being no church edifice large enough for the purpose, May 1, 1888. The inevitable and irrepressible lay-delegation question was before them in various forms, the people entreating and the brethren professing willingness, but somehow always leaving it a question for farther delays. Six women delegates appeared with their credentials from Annual Conferences, and the issue had to be met. After debates and manœuvring, it was settled for the time by referring it to the people of both sexes on popular vote for decision, report to be made to the next General Conference. Shades of the Fathers! A reference to the Methodist "people" in their primary assemblies! It was the first adoption of a genuine Methodist Protestant idea ever known in that Church. It shall be seen what became of it.

The Fifteenth General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church convened in Plymouth church, Adrian, Mich., May 18, 1888, at 10 A.M. Called to order by the President, W. S. Hammond; Secretary, S. K. Spahr. The following list contains the names of those elected to this General Conference:—

ALABAMA

Ministers

H. H. McNeill¹
J. T. Howell¹

Laymen

D. O. Stanfill
C. E. Crenshaw

¹ Absent.

	ARKANSAS	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
M. C. Jackson		J. F. Jordan
	BALTIMORE (Colored)	
	Rev. W. H. Lee, Messenger ¹	
	CENTRAL TEXAS	
J. E. Bounds		L. Hinds ¹
		N. G. Ferguson ²
	COLORADO (Texas)	
Thomas Aaron ¹		Judge Morris ¹
	DEEP RIVER	
Solomon Long ¹		E. L. McHargue ¹
	FORT SMITH	
James Whitaker		W. C. H. Walker ¹
	GEORGIA	
J. G. Coldwell		J. M. Adamson
	GENESEE	
F. N. Foster		Geo. W. Doty
	INDIANA	
H. Stackhouse		W. W. McCaslin
I. H. C. McKinney		J. M. Eades
G. W. Boxell ¹		W. A. Quick ¹
F. M. Hussey		N. Hill
	IOWA	
S. J. Geddes		J. F. Burdine
W. M. Van Vleet		J. W. Murphy ¹
	KANSAS	
J. H. Luse		D. Vangundy ¹
	KENTUCKY	
H. S. Swetnam		Dawson Dillon ¹
	LOUISIANA	
J. M. P. Hickerson		J. W. Calcote ¹
	MARYLAND	
L. W. Bates		W. J. C. Dulany
F. T. Tagg		C. W. Button
W. S. Hammond		J. R. Caton
W. M. Strayer		J. W. Hering

¹ Absent.² Alternate.

MARYLAND (continued)

<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
J. D. Kinzer	J. D. Baker
E. J. Drinkhouse	Samuel Vannort
T. H. Lewis	W. J. Aydelotte
J. T. Murray	J. B. Thomas
D. L. Greenfield	Horace Burrough

G. B. McElroy	MICHIGAN	W. J. Spear ¹
W. H. McChesney	MINNESOTA	Wm. Stauffer ¹
W. A. Fogle	MISSOURI	J. W. Miller ¹
J. L. Scarborough	MISSISSIPPI	J. W. McInnis ¹
J. R. Hatch	ONONDAGA	F. C. Griffin
	OREGON	
	(No report)	
J. R. Botts	PENNSYLVANIA	G. P. Miller
D. Jones	PITTSBURGH	W. K. Gillespie
A. W. Robertson		Jos. Bently
Mark B. Taylor		James P. Sayre
J. C. Berrien		Henry J. Heinz
	RED RIVER	
	(No report)	
C. McSmith	SOUTH CAROLINA	Daniel Yarborough ¹
B. F. Duggan	TENNESSEE	G. B. Moon
G. C. Smith	SOUTH ILLINOIS	F. M. Link
G. W. Johnson ¹	TEXAS	Joseph Morris ¹

¹ Absent.

<i>Ministers</i>	VIRGINIA	<i>Laymen</i>
Geo. R. Barr ¹		H. F. Woodhouse ¹
F. T. Matthews ¹		J. F. Richmond ¹
	WEST ARKANSAS	
Thos. J. Loudermilk		Dr. C. M. Norwood ¹
	WEST TENNESSEE	
A. W. Floyd ²		R. W. Talley ¹
S. O. Hooper ¹		
	WEST MICHIGAN	
Wm. D. Tompkinson		S. J. Badcock ²
		J. W. Burlington ¹
	MUSKINGUM	
M. L. Jennings		Warner Mills
S. A. Fisher		C. J. Yingling
Wm. Hastings		J. M. McHenry
G. W. Hissey		Boyd McCormick
J. S. Thrap		H. H. Woodard
W. L. Wells		L. Hawk
	NEBRASKA	
C. S. Bradley		J. W. Strickler ¹
	NEW JERSEY	
L. D. Stultz		Z. Patterson
	NEW YORK	
L. E. Davis		Arther D. Matthews
	NORTH ARKANSAS	
H. B. Cox		G. B. Holifield ¹
	NORTH CAROLINA	
T. J. Ogburn		J. F. Harris
J. R. Ball		W. C. Whitaker
J. L. Michaux ¹		W. J. Ellis ¹
R. H. Wills		J. C. Roberts
D. A. Highfill ¹		M. H. Holt
S. W. Coe		J. M. Hadley
F. M. Totten		O. R. Cox ¹
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
Thomas Kelley		W. S. Wilson
	NORTH MISSOURI	
G. Williams		N. Davis

¹ Absent.² Alternates.

NORTH MISSISSIPPI

<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
Wm. Shepherd ¹	A. T. Harris ¹

OHIO

T. B. Graham ²	A. Alexander
C. S. Evans ¹	W. L. Bailey
D. S. Stephens	A. T. Corbit
S. K. Spahr	

WEST VIRGINIA

B. Stout	J. W. Hull
A. L. McKeever	R. H. Freer ¹
M. L. Barnett	John Linn
J. F. Cowan	J. N. Pierpont
J. J. Mason	I. C. Post
D. G. Helmick	J. H. Henry ¹
D. H. Davis ¹	U. S. Fleming
O. Lowther ²	Wm. Mearns ²
E. J. Wilson ²	L. D. Swisher ²

Alabama, Colorado, Georgia, Spring River (colored), no report.

One hundred and sixty-one were elected, and of these forty-four were absent, mostly from the South and Southwest. It was not so large as was feared, from the pecuniary inability of brethren to be present, there being no Book Concern fund out of which to pay expenses, as in the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was largely a picked body of men, and made a good impression as a deliberative assembly. At the afternoon session David Jones was elected President, and U. S. Fleming, Secretary; L. D. Stultz, Assistant. The whole of the second day was occupied in the presentation of papers and incidental business. On the third day a large list of Standing Committees was announced by the President, and the time occupied with reports from the Colleges and Book Concerns and General Agents. The same order for the fourth and fifth days. On the afternoon of the sixth day the election of editors and officers took place: Editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, D. S. Stephens; Publisher and Book Agent at Pittsburgh, W. McCrackin, Jr.; Directory, W. P. Herbert, W. K. Gillespie, Nathan Jones, S. A. Fisher, and John Gregory; Editor of the *Methodist Protestant*, E. J. Drinkhouse; Publisher and Book Agent at Baltimore, W. J. C. Dulany; Directory, Horace Burrough, J. G. Clarke, J. T. Murray, J. W. Hering, and J. D.

¹ Absent.

² Alternates.

Kinzer. John Clarke was elected President of the Board of Publication, and Nathan Jones, Secretary. Editor of the Sunday-school literature, J. F. Cowan. Secretary of the Board of Home and Foreign Missions, F. T. Tagg. Westminster, Md., was selected as the place for the next General Conference. A separate Board of Home Missions was set off, and the new Board elected as follows: S. A. Fisher, M. L. Barnett, S. K. Spahr, J. W. Hawkins, F. M. Durbin, and F. H. Pierpont. It was located at Grafton, W. Va. Board of Ministerial Education: G. G. Westfall, W. P. Herbert, William Hastings, and J. H. Claney. J. B. Walker was elected Corresponding Secretary. Board of Governors for Westminster Theological Seminary: L. D. Stultz, C. E. Crenshaw, J. C. Roberts, Benjamin Stout, and J. W. Hull. The Committee on Revisals made a number of reports emending the Discipline, for which see the revised edition. Board of Foreign Missions: T. B. Graham, C. S. Evans, G. B. McElroy, T. J. Ogburn, O. V. W. Chandler, William White, W. W. McCaslin, C. J. Yingling, and L. W. Bates. Executive Committee of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society: Mrs. W. K. Gillespie, Mrs. M. A. Miller, Mrs. J. D. Anderson, Mrs. J. E. Palmer, Mrs. F. A. Brown, Mrs. A. R. O'Brien, Mrs. I. D. Coxen, Mrs. S. K. Spahr, and Mrs. M. J. Morgan. Benjamin Stout was elected Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Home Missions. W. S. Hammond was elected Fraternal Messenger to the Reformed Episcopal Church.

The report of the Committee on Articles of Faith submitted a paper offered by E. J. Drinkhouse, and naming the following committee of nine to formulate, in the interval of the General Conference, Articles of Faith. Committee: L. W. Bates, G. B. McElroy, B. F. Duggan, A. W. Robertson, T. H. Lewis, J. J. Smith, J. S. Thrap, John Scott, and T. J. Ogburn. (See supplement to printed Minutes for the full text of report.) This action was instigated by alleged latitude of doctrinal teaching claimed in the Northwest, on the ground that Snethen and Shinn, in the original Convention of the Church, did not favor a Creed for it, and that the Articles of Religion extant were not adopted by said Convention. The facts as to the latter allegation are set forth in this History in the connections named. The committee, after sundry efforts by voluminous correspondence and a few meetings, found itself divided, and their report to the ensuing General Conference was incomplete, and the committee was continued, to report again to the General Conference of 1892. Nothing was done by it, and the question of revision will probably be finally

dropped. It leaves the Church as to Doctrinal Creed in the same category with the Methodisms generally, that is, with Wesley's abridgment of the Articles of Religion of the Established Church of England, which do not embody a single distinctive doctrine of Wesley and Methodism. Happily, Methodist teaching for one hundred and fifty years has been so uniform that scarcely a shade of difference has appeared, what are called Methodist Standards being accepted as the criterion, as set forth in Wesley's "Sermons and Notes" and Watson's "Institutes," etc. It was found that creed-mending is much more difficult than creed-making.

The licensure of women to preach came before the Conference on report that certain Annual Conferences had so done, and led to the adoption of this resolution, to wit: "That the following overture be made to the Annual Conferences; viz., that the Constitution be so changed as to grant the power to Annual Conferences to license women to preach the gospel." The reports of the committees are found in full as an appendix to the printed Minutes, and are synoptically as follows. Ecumenical Conference, committee to select from nominations by the Annual Conferences for representatives to that body in 1891. On Journals, report that they had before them those of thirty out of forty-five Conferences, and found them in good order. They also find seven mission Conferences. On Missions, total receipts for the quadrennium, \$34,130.55; expenditures, \$33,130. It was in evidence of the activity, invention, and ceaseless travel of the Corresponding Secretary, as well as the enlarging interest excited in the people for foreign missions. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society made its quadrennial report, with the showing that by the uncompensated labors of volunteer workers organizations were effected in seventeen Conferences, with three hundred auxiliary societies, forty mission bands, and a membership of three thousand. The receipts for the period from all sources were \$15,222.65. The *Woman's Missionary Record* had a circulation of seventeen hundred, and was self-sustaining. Colleges, report Adrian and Western Maryland as in flourishing condition, with mention of Yadkin in North Carolina and Gittings at La Harpe, Ill., Conference institutions. Hopeful indications of establishing an institution of learning of a high grade having developed in the West, the Conference appointed a committee of twenty to have discretionary charge of the interest. Westminster Theological Seminary reported during the quadrennium thirty-seven students, and from its organization sixty-four, and

of these sixteen were full graduates. Ministerial Education, report showed amount disbursed for the quadrennium for all purposes, \$10,906; on hand, \$453; permanent fund, \$4800.

Communications Committee report as to the moot of union with the Methodist Episcopal Church, "Your committee are of opinion that so long as the question of organic union is under the consideration of our General Conference, our Church will be in a continual confusion and a state of unrest, and there will be a hinderance of our work in every department of the Church, which may impede and seriously impair our general work. Evidence is not wanting that such influences have been already exerted." They also call attention to the fact that, even if such a scheme were practicable, litigation over Church property and trust funds would inevitably occur; and they are of "unanimous opinion that further overtures in this direction should now cease," etc. The Commissioners to the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and the Congregational Methodist Church made report of the futility of their efforts for union with these closely kindred denominations; and the General Conference thus reached the conclusion of this writer, that the only wise and safe ground for the Methodist Protestant Church is to pursue the even tenor of its way in soul-saving and rendering more efficient its high ideal of government polity, keeping, like sister denominations, an open door for any who may wish to share in its distinctive features as one of the flocks of the Great Shepherd's fold. The Board of Publication made a full report. That of the Baltimore Directory showed net assets, after adding \$4500 for "good will," \$8869.38, there being no real estate. Circulation of the *Methodist Protestant*, 3535, February 29, 1888. Sabbath-school periodicals, 25,105. The Pittsburgh Directory showed for March 1, 1888, net assets, \$31,492.38, the realty, or Book Concern house, included, at an appraisement of \$19,071.64, as also of "good will" for \$4500. Circulation of the *Methodist Recorder*, paid up, was 5829. The Sabbath-school literature is given in round numbers for each form, and is inclusive of all printed for both publishing houses; to wit: *Scholars' Quarterly*, 60,000; *Teachers' Journal*, 7000; *Our Morning Guide*, 20,000; *Our Children*, 35,000; *Lesson Leaf*, 20,000. Other reports, on Temperance, etc., need no special mention. That on Statistics is by far the most complete ever submitted to a General Conference. It shows a most gratifying growth, and will bear close examination. It is appended in full.

The General Conference adjourned on the ninth day, May 28, 1888, with the benediction.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATISTICS

ANNUAL CONFERENCES	Itinerant Ministers	Unstated Ministers and Preachers	Members	Probationers	Churches	Parsonages	Valuation of Church Property	Percentage of Increase	Percentage of Decrease
Alabama	38	29	3,746	169	64	3	\$68,000	19	..
Arkansas	21	12	2,041	..	43	1	7,275	16	..
Alabama, Colored	16	1	900	..	..	..	..	..	..
Baltimore, Colored	16	5	400	100	9	..	4,500	..	..
Central Texas	17	19	1,955	7	7	2	..	25	..
Colorado, Texas	27	16	1,205	67	11	2	2,825	136	..
Colorado, Colored	9	..	484	11	..	..	2,458	..	..
Deep River	9	2	500	..	12	..	500	..	..
Fort Smith	47	22	1,700	43	12	1	8,000	28	..
Georgia	29	13	2,864	94	43	..	15,700	30	..
Georgia, Colored	41	28	1,125	57	33	..	7,560	..	..
Genesee	21	3	844	46	12½	8	38,400	18	..
Indiana	40	65	7,014	144	106½	15	116,625	2	..
Iowa	54	17	3,196	19	45	18	75,000	8	..
Kansas	52	38	1,603	33	16	11	24,340	72	..
Kentucky	30	7	1,300	..	21	..	1,650	8	..
Louisiana	5	4	1,900	..	31	..	7,340	68	..
McCaine	12	12	587	7	4	..	1,957	..	..
Maryland	110	62	15,332	1,727	234	62	863,045	5	..
Michigan	61	32	2,676	73	42	24	73,650	22	..
Mississippi	14	8	1,175	14	34	..	3,300	10	..
Minnesota	18	..	280	20	4	2	3,125	..	7
Missouri	30	55	3,257	85	26	4	17,500	11	..
Muskingum	51	55	11,777	83	138	14	257,750	16	..
New York	27	2	2,207	39	25	11	164,500	..	9
New Jersey	25	22	2,868	191	31	12	123,900	40	..
North Carolina	90	54	13,311	158	181½	5	76,380	8	..
North Missouri	30	55	3,250	33	26	4	22,000	154	..
Nebraska	20	12	449	7	6	3	5,700	..	15
North Illinois	34	24	2,421	20	46½	16	86,450	5	..
North Arkansas	20	12	1,000	15	13½	1	6,900	..	..
North Mississippi	14	14	708	15	16	..	3,600	5	..
Ohio	52	48	6,759	225	102	26	282,800	11	..
Onondaga	10	46	1,965	103	34	25	92,700	..	9
Oregon	6	4	200	..	2	1	15,000	..	..
Pittsburgh	46	46	7,409	117	74	23	555,075	..	8
Pennsylvania	17	13	1,166	17	18½	5	26,775	105	..
South Illinois	42	27	2,519	136	41	16	25,160	..	6
South Carolina	22	10	2,000	..	37	3	14,350	80	..
Spring River, Colored . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	19	4	930	..	17	..	10,000	..	10
Texas	35	17	1,595	10	18½	5	8,925	..	12
Virginia	50	35	5,509	153	72½	..	31,300	69	..
West Michigan	25	43	1,296	16	26½	12	38,500	..	9
West Virginia	71	119	13,783	192	144	21	134,825	5	..
West Tennessee	16	2	951	..	17	..	5,000	17	..
West Arkansas	15	4	1,300	..	31	1	10,000	10	..
Red River	9	2	..	25	10	..	1,000	..	..
Total, 1888	1,463	1,125	141,557	4,271	2,039	357	\$3,342,050	..	..
Net gain, 1888	123	206	13,891	674	184	46	314,620	..	..
A gain of . . . . .	..	..	12 per ct.	..	..	..	13 per ct.	..	..

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS KELLEY, *Chairman*, WM. J. SPEAR,
 J. L. SCARBOROUGH, J. T. HARRIS, *Sec'y.*
 J. H. LUSE,

Among the doings of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was the authorization of an order of deaconesses, since carried into effect on a limited scale. It also proposed that their missionary work in foreign lands should be known as that of the "Methodist" Church, and they invited coöperation from other Methodisms in it, as suggested by Missionary Bishop Thoburn. It was much criticised in the official papers at the time, but nothing came of it, inasmuch as in its finality it became evident that they would hold the control of the arrangements.¹ Dr. John Scott, retiring from the editorship of the *Methodist Recorder*, after fifteen years of service in several periods, left him free to reënter the pastorate, which he did, and continued for seven years, finally retiring from active relations in 1895, in his seventy-fifth year. Dr. Stephens, his successor, brought to the position much native ability and an extensive culture, and the official paper maintained its high rank under his guidance. The Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Missions, Rev. F. T. Tagg, was authorized to visit London as a delegate to the World's Conference on Missions, to represent the Church, which he did during the summer of 1888. The official paper of Baltimore published, in June, 1888, a list of 1465 new subscriptions received during the past fourteen months, as offsetting a net circulation reported to the General Conference of 3535, the difference being in default of renewals and discontinuances for non-payment. It exposed a radical defect, the responsibility of which it is not hard to place. The "Year Book" for January, 1889, made a carefully tabulated statement of the relative increase of the Methodist Episcopal and Methodist Protestant Churches for six decades as 2860 per cent for the latter, and 2048.66 for the former. There was also published about this time a comparison of the net growth in membership of the Baltimore and the Maryland Conferences, showing 5½ per cent increase for the former during 1888, and 12 per cent for the latter. They occupy rela-

¹ Missionary Bishop Thoburn's plan was a fair one; but after the General Conference adjourned, it so happened that Bishop Fowler of the M. E. Church and Bishop Wilson of the M. E. Church, South, met in Japan during a missionary tour of each around the world, and putting their heads together,—another case of officialism killing a liberal purpose,—they discovered that the federative features of the plan were not to their Episcopal liking, so they interjected certain modifications to give the new "Methodist" missionary work a "strong government"; that is, Episcopal control, so that the brethren could not enter the plan. Talk of organic union! when even the federation Bishop Thoburn proposal is thus eschewed by "authority" in the interval of the General Conference.

tively the same territory, and operate under the same conditions, and yet a membership of fifty thousand and a ministry of nearly two hundred in the Baltimore Conference secure a net gain of $5\frac{1}{2}$ for the year, while the Maryland Conference, with a membership of less than eighteen thousand, and a ministry under one hundred, secures a net gain for the year of 12 per cent. Efforts have been made to show that this is due, even on a larger scale, taking the whole Church as the factor in either case, to what is called the law of diminishing returns. It is plain enough where material resources alone enter into the calculation, as in agriculture and other departments. A virgin soil declines in fertility under constant cultivation, and the returns respond to this law of diminishing crops, etc. But the writer is unable to concede that where the supernatural is the main factor, and all other conditions are equal, how it can be made to apply as to spiritual results; neither is he able to explain such facts as are here given. It is clear, however, that the ecclesiastical system under which the one operates cannot demonstrate its superiority as against the other on the line of numerical increase respectively.

In the month of August, 1888, the Baker family, of Buckeystown, Md., contributed \$4000 for a President's house at Western Maryland College. From May to January the official papers contained no obituaries of early Reformers. But few of them remained. January, 1889, the *Methodist Recorder* celebrated its semi-centennial with new type and an excellent make-up, under the new editor, Dr. Stephens. In April, 1889, the editor of the *Methodist Protestant* was suddenly prostrated with bronchial hemorrhage, though after some months of surcease of labor he partially resumed the pen and the management of the official paper. Later he was found daily at his post, with the assistance of Rev. Dr. Southerland until the spring of 1890, and of Rev. Dr. McGregor for the ensuing two years to the General Conference of 1892. With these editorial associates he divided his salary, and their bright and piquant pens did much to demonstrate the inadequacy of any one man for all the labor of a sixteen-page weekly religious paper. The general agents of the Church were, if anything, more diligent than ever in Annual Conference visitations, with an improving outlook in all sections of the work and in all departments.

Necrology. Rev. Henry Palmer was born in Ireland, May 12, 1812; came to America a Methodist in 1828, united with the Church in Pittsburgh under Dr. Brown in 1829, was licensed to

preach; joined the Pittsburgh Conference in 1842, was several times President, and a member of the Union Convention of 1877. In 1879 he was superannuated, and departed this life peacefully December 23, 1888. Nathan Smith of Burrsville, Md., a Reformer of 1828, deceased March 16, 1889, aged eighty-seven years. Rev. Redmond Boyd of Arkansas, and later of Texas, was born January 4, 1823; united with the Reformers in 1844; was a pioneer of the cause southwest of the Mississippi, an organizer and never-ceasing itinerant in Texas until within a few years of his peaceful departure at Cooper, Texas, May 6, 1889. Rev. William H. Wills, D.D., of North Carolina Conference, born August, 1809; united with the new Church in 1830; licensed to preach, April 18, 1831; often President of the Annual Conference; a member of the General Conference of 1846, and of those of 1850, 1853, 1866, 1870, and the General Convention of 1877. He was President of that of 1866, and with the Conference visited the President of the United States, and made the address. His active relation to the Annual Conference was often interrupted by ill health, but he never lost a commanding influence. Loyal to the Church and loyal to his Conference, he was always found in the front. An acceptable preacher and a ready debater, holding the pen of a legible writer, he engrossed the minutes of the early Conventions and General Conferences by order heretofore noticed; a frequent contributor to the official paper, with clear convictions and moral courage, he became well known throughout the general Church. He yielded to paralysis after a long disability, and his characteristic firmness was exhibited in his dying word. Being asked if he would have some brandy, he promptly answered, "No," and sank into the embrace of death, June 22, 1889, in the eightieth year of his age. His obituary covers six columns of the official paper, a merited tribute to his unusual worth. Rev. N. G. Andrews of the Georgia Conference, born November 30, 1816; united with the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1834; became acquainted with Reform literature, and in 1836 was licensed to preach, and for a series of years afterward did much missionary work for the cause in his native state; deceased August, 1889. Rev. John Sexsmith, born in Virginia, 1815, was resident in Alexandria and Washington during the Reform controversy, and became deeply interested after his conversion through the early new Church preachers; was licensed to preach, removed to West Virginia, and united with the Conference in 1847; thence to the Pittsburgh Conference, thence

to Missouri, where he took charge of the Des Moines mission in 1851, and spent most of the remainder of his useful life in its development, adhering to the Methodist Protestant Church during the separation of 1858-77. He was partially paralyzed a few years prior to his decease, which occurred February 17, 1890. Joseph Radcliffe, born March 6, 1804, united with the Reformers of the District of Columbia in 1828, and remained steadfast until his departure March 27, 1890, at Trappe, Md.

Calvin Tompkins, born in New Jersey, January 31, 1793; served in the War of 1812, converted at a camp-meeting near Haverstraw, N. Y., united with the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1820, at Newark, N. J., and in 1830 embraced the principles of Reform. He introduced the cause in New York City, and afterward at Tomkins' Cove, where he prospered in business and spent the remainder of his exemplary life. His liberality was proverbial, erecting a Methodist Protestant Church in the Cove and another near by at his own charges. Also a public school building, at a cost of \$22,000, as well as a bequest of \$10,000 to the endowment fund of Adrian College. He disbursed his Master's money freely through his long life, holding all the official positions of the Church, and in his old age continued to teach in the Sabbath-school. He departed this life peacefully June, 1890, in his ninety-seventh year. His memory is blessed. J. J. Amos, born in Kentucky, September 30, 1803; converted in 1826, and being of an inquiring mind, identified himself with the first Reformers of his neighborhood, and maintained through life his ecclesiastical convictions in a plain, positive, and radical manner. Being at first a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he was arraigned for trial for "inveighing against the discipline," but he defended his course so intelligently that the church before which he demanded to be tried failed to convict. As a result he and fifty-five others withdrew, and adopted the articles of association of the new Church in 1830. In 1839 he removed to Rush County, Ind., and was licensed to preach, and was for a short time a member of the Ohio Conference. He was elected to twenty-three Annual Conferences, three General, and to the Union Convention of 1877. He greatly prospered in business, and dispensed his accumulations liberally. He gave \$21,000 toward the endowment of Adrian College, and \$6000 to other Church interests, and had an open hand for any good work. He departed this life in 1890.

Rev. James Robison was born in Pennsylvania, June 27, 1812.

Converted in 1832, he united with the Reform church at Fairmont, W. Va. Feeling a call to preach, he entered Allegheny College in 1834, and in 1837 united with the Pittsburgh Conference, and at once proved himself one of the most active, successful ministers, both as a revivalist and church builder. He was a member of most of the General Conferences and Conventions since 1850, and in 1872 was elected Book Agent at Pittsburgh, and twice thereafter. Reëntering the ministry, after deafness disqualified him for the position last named, he was active as ever in church building, until his strong constitution gave way, he lapsed into senility, and finally passed away, August, 1890. Rev. Augustus Webster, D.D., born December 8, 1808; educated at the University of Maryland, he followed the counsel of Methodist parents, was converted under Rev. William Kesley of the new Church about 1830; he felt his call to preach, and in 1832 was admitted to the Maryland Conference. His after career has been largely anticipated in these pages. For learning, piety, and successful ministrations he filled the place vacated by the great leaders of Reform in his native State. He was indeed a "burning and a shining light" in all relations. His obsequies took place October 29, 1890 (deceased October 26), from St. John's church, Baltimore, with which he was connected as pastor or pastor emeritus for forty-seven years. Addresses were made by Rev. Dr. J. J. Murray, Rev. Dr. W. S. Edwards of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Rev. Dr. A. W. Green of St. John's, Madison Avenue, officially kin to the Liberty Street church. His end was not only peaceful, but triumphant, and his remains repose in Greenmount cemetery. Within a month, or in November, 1890, Rev. A. A. Lipscomb, D.D., LL.D., departed this life. He was born September 16, 1816, in Georgetown, D. C., and was the eldest of three sons of the Rev. W. C. Lipscomb. A student from his youth, furnished with the best educational facilities, he grew in intellectual stature, until few names were more honored in the South-land for all that is reputable in learning, piety, and integrity, both in the Methodist Protestant and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Resident in Maryland, Alabama, and Georgia, his life divided between the itinerancy of his father's Church and educational work, he spent his days in honorable employ and struggle with a feeble constitution. He remained true to the convictions of his youth as a Reform Methodist, and departed with his name enrolled as an unstationed minister of the Montgomery, Ala., church. His remains repose on the banks

of the beautiful Oconee River. Samuel S. Barton, born September 11, 1798, deceased October 27, 1890 — an original Reformer of Baltimore city.

The *National Methodist* of Indiana was changed to the *Methodist*, and Rev. H. Stackhouse took charge, and pushed it with energy for a few years. The *Southern Christian Advance* was issued from Corsicana, Tex., a bi-monthly at \$1.50 a year; Rev. Edward L. Wood, editor. It survived a few years. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, met in May, 1890, and was favored with a fraternal delegation from the British Conference for the first time in its history. True, they numbered 1,200,000, and there were 150,000 Methodist Protestants in the land; but the prejudices of the past, slavery in the former and "radicalism" in the latter, with misinformation hard to overcome, led our British cousins to overlook them. It was reported in earlier days that English Methodist preachers and members emigrating to this country were advised to "inquire for Bishop Simpson's Church," and there deposit their certificates. It was a stroke of policy in both the parent bodies. The time was when no Episcopal Methodist would think of uniting with the Methodist Protestant Church, however convenient it might be, or demanded by circumstances; but this has largely passed away, and now it is no unfrequent thing, thereby compensating the Church in some measure for the great depletion from change of residence and the necessity of refuge by its members on account of the existence almost everywhere of Methodist Episcopal churches, and the absence of others. The Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions had issued, first as a quarterly and then as a monthly, the *Missionary Bulletin*, for larger and more frequent distribution of such intelligence among the people. The new Board of Home Missions, under Secretary Stout, pressed its claims, and it has grown into a most helpful branch of the general work. (See Appendix to first volume.)

With the surcease of "Union" agitations the Church set itself to denominational evangelization, and there was a marked growth everywhere, clearly indicating that it has a providential mission which is not to end simply when its permeating force wins for acceptance its principles in kindred organizations. There is one sign, and one only, that should receive the prayerful notice of the Church, to wit: should the time ever come when numerical decay through a quadrennium presages loss of autonomous power in soul-saving, then may the question of its accomplished purpose

be considered, but that time never has been, and probably never will be. The Head of the Church does not forget history, if some of his members do, and the watchful care of the Master will continue to accentuate the deeds and memory of the Fathers as fully worthy of it, and in many points parallel with the "Deed of Demission," and the act of the Scottish clergy under the lead of Chalmers, leaving the Established Church of Scotland, and with it not their living only, but entailing a heritage of defamation and persecution. If the scale was larger, it was no grander, and Presbyterianism has not suffered it to die. It abates not one jot of its force to declare tritely that a Church cannot live on the memory of its past; it is sufficient answer to say that, with such a past in either case, the Church does not deserve to live that forgets or ignores it.

As one result of the Union agitation with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the Virginia Conference, certain members, under the advice of an ex-Methodist Protestant minister and lawyer, seized the church in Heathville, Va., and held possession for a series of years. A suit for recovery in a lower court was decided by the local judge, under the specious pleading of the minister-lawyer, against the people; but, satisfied of the justice of their cause, at great expense they carried it to the Court of Appeals, and after tedious delays, in the winter of 1891, Judge Lacy, in Richmond, Va., reversed the decision of the lower court, and remanded the property to the people as the legal holders, and since that period they have been in undisturbed possession. (See Baltimore paper, January 28, 1891, for full text of this decision.) The right of women to be delegates to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was this year submitted, as heretofore stated, to a popular vote of the Church, but as it became known that it would have no legislative effect, out of 1,200,000 voters, male and female, not one-fourth of them took part in the sham proceeding; but of these a decisive majority was in the affirmative. Carried to the ensuing General Conference, it was defeated, as it required a three-fourths majority to approve. It was, however, again referred to the Annual Conferences, and these have by an enormous majority voted affirmatively. It remains to be seen what the Conference of 1896 will do with this action. It is profoundly important, as the General Conference, meeting simultaneously, will be called for a final decision also on the same question. The Christian Endeavor movement, on an interdenominational basis, was zealously es-

poused by the young people of the Church, and has grown to nearly one thousand societies, represented in literature by *Our Young People*, a weekly issue. Rev. Dr. Thomas H. Lewis, President of Western Maryland College, was deputized to visit the missionary work in Japan and report. He fulfilled the mission, and with it made a tour of the world, returning in September, 1891. Rev. J. C. Berrien was elected to fill the place of J. B. Walker, deceased, as Corresponding Secretary of the Ministerial Board. He at once entered upon his duties.

Rev. J. B. Walker departed this life, of pneumonia, January 14, 1891, at Adrian, Mich. He was born October 26, 1828, in Tennessee, removed to Ohio, and was converted in his youth in the Church. After a struggle for an education, he was licensed to preach, and united with the Ohio Conference in 1849. A burning zeal characterized his work from the beginning, and he soon became deeply interested in ministerial education, and may be regarded as the father of this work. To establish the society he travelled unremittingly, covering the entire territory with his earnest pleading, joining with it at several periods the agency of Western Maryland, and also of Adrian, College. He literally spent himself in the service of the Church, contracting his death illness from exposure in labor lying so near his heart, so that even in the delirium of fever he was pleading for the "boys." Richard Vanzant deceased August 23, 1890, aged eighty years, near Mount Airey, Md., an original Reformer and devoted Christian. Rev. J. R. Turner, born in North Carolina in 1801, removed to Georgia in 1828, an original Reformer, and a member of that Conference, deceased June, 1890. A group of loyal laymen will fittingly close this obituary paragraph: Robert H. Marshall of Pittsburgh, Pa.; Woolman J. Gibson of Centreville, Md.; J. H. Harper and Archible Perritt of Tennessee, all of them original Reformers, centres of influence, devoted, faithful, and true.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Recognition and participation of representatives in the Second Ecumenical Conference at Washington, D. C., 1891; Union, and what came of it; New Connexion Methodist courtesies—Obituaries of Reformers—Sixteenth General Conference at Westminster, Md., May, 1892; roster of members; Dr. J. W. Hering, President; presence of women delegates and the action thereon; overtures to the Annual Conferences on the subject; election of General Conference officers: reports from the Book Concerns and general Agents; fraternal delegates—The Young People's Societies of Christian Endeavor; Foreign Mission work; statistics; twelve per cent increase numerically for the quadrennium—The search for a "Constitution" in the M. E. Church, but unavailing; blunders of 1784 and 1808; efforts to correct historical errors in that Church—Obituaries: Rev. D. W. Bates, Francis Brown, George Nestor, and others—Growth of the Church; C. E. Societies of the denomination; rapid increase—*Our Church Record* established in North Carolina by Rev. J. F. M'Culloch—Obit. Hon. C. W. Button; financial depression as affecting the Church—Dr. Mather's bequest to the Kansas University—Texas Westminster College set on foot—Aged People's Home in Maryland—Great meetings of laymen in the M. E. Church demanding lay-representation; practical difficulties entailed by the system in the way of such Reform; who is responsible?—Obituaries: Rev. J. K. Nichols and others—The German work under Rev. S. Heininger.

THE second Ecumenical Methodist Conference assembled at Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal church, Washington, D. C., October 7, 1891, and continued in session until the 20th. Two hundred delegates from the European section and three hundred from the American were present, occupying the ground floor of the church, which has a seating capacity of about two thousand. It was always well filled, though the admission was by tickets, at every session. The proceedings were published in a five-hundred-page octavo volume, so that references must be under severe limitation of space. It was in every sense a representative body of world Methodists from every clime. The programme was well arranged and smoothly carried out, and much impartiality observed by those who framed it. Several incidents have been recorded earlier in this History, and our notations must be confined to participation in it as a Church. Nine delegates were allowed the Methodist Protestant Church, and, after several substitutions, the following seven stood to represent it: Rev. J. J. Smith, D.D.,

of New York, Rev. T. B. Appeget of New Jersey, Rev. J. T. Murray, D.D., of Maryland, and Rev. T. J. Ogburn of North Carolina; with Hon. Charles W. Button of Maryland, W. C. Whitaker of North Carolina, and James S. Topham of Maryland. T. J. Ogburn read an able paper, which was well received, as also T. B. Appeget, both from the regular programme. J. T. Murray presided over the Conference on the seventh day most acceptably. There was much discussion of Organic Union between certain groups of kindred Methodists, that of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, and the American Zion Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church being most prominent, and, after a caucus, formally announced as inchoately accomplished; but after various tentations subsequently, it came to nothing; thus for almost a decad of times demonstrating that such things are the vapor of good-will, but held in check by the jealousies of officialism. So there was talk of union among the British brethren, but the one essential to it, as brusquely put by a delegate from the Bible Christians, "Let the stronger begin with concessions," met with no response; and it died. The Americans were more chary of it, though, as already recited, Bishop Foster, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, made an impassioned appeal to the delegates of the Church, South, which Dr. Hoss stampeded by demand for honest non-interference with their Southern work as a condition precedent. A hymn book for universal Methodism was talked of, but interjected difficulties loomed up, and this most sensible and really practicable suggestion, as a bond of union, came to nothing. It was a grand opportunity for federating the Methodists in foreign missionary work; but federation was not mooted. In the matter of fraternity, however, the assembly was a spectacle of Christian brotherhood, and, bating a few partisan incidents among the British, was an honor to these sons of Wesley. Rev. J. C. Watts, D.D., of the New Connexion Methodists, early Reform congeners in England, preached for Methodist Protestants in Baltimore, and was hospitably entertained by Dr. Ward, President of Westminster Theological Seminary, Maryland, the college having conferred upon brother Watts his doctorate, the first ever received by a minister of his Church; inasmuch as their own college had not felt free to dispense such honors at home, and the colleges of the parent Methodism had never found it expedient to recognize their naughty church cousins in this way. Several other of their leading men have since been honored by Western Maryland College. A commission of eighty was ap-

pointed to call another Ecumenical Conference for 1901. It may be, by that time, federation may be reached, for which every Methodist should devoutly pray who has Christ-love enough to elevate the Cross above his denominational symbol.

H. J. Heinz and W. K. Gillespie of Pittsburgh initiated a laymen's work, which has since developed into a Laymen's Bureau for church extension, and has done good work. A similar organization had been made in Baltimore for local church extension, and should be initiated in all the larger Conferences. By the will of Mrs. Mary A. Dodge of Baltimore, though not a member of this Church, but intimately associated, \$2000 was bequeathed to the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, in June, 1892. The Methodist Episcopal Laymen's Association of Baltimore petitioned for equal representation to the ensuing General Conference at Omaha, Neb. It was but one of numerous petitions of the same kind quadrennially going to that body. Thirteen young itinerants were received by the Maryland Annual Conference at its April session, 1892. Every one of them could have gone to the strong, influential Methodist Episcopal Church, but they followed their convictions into a Church respecting their Christian manhood and personal liberty.

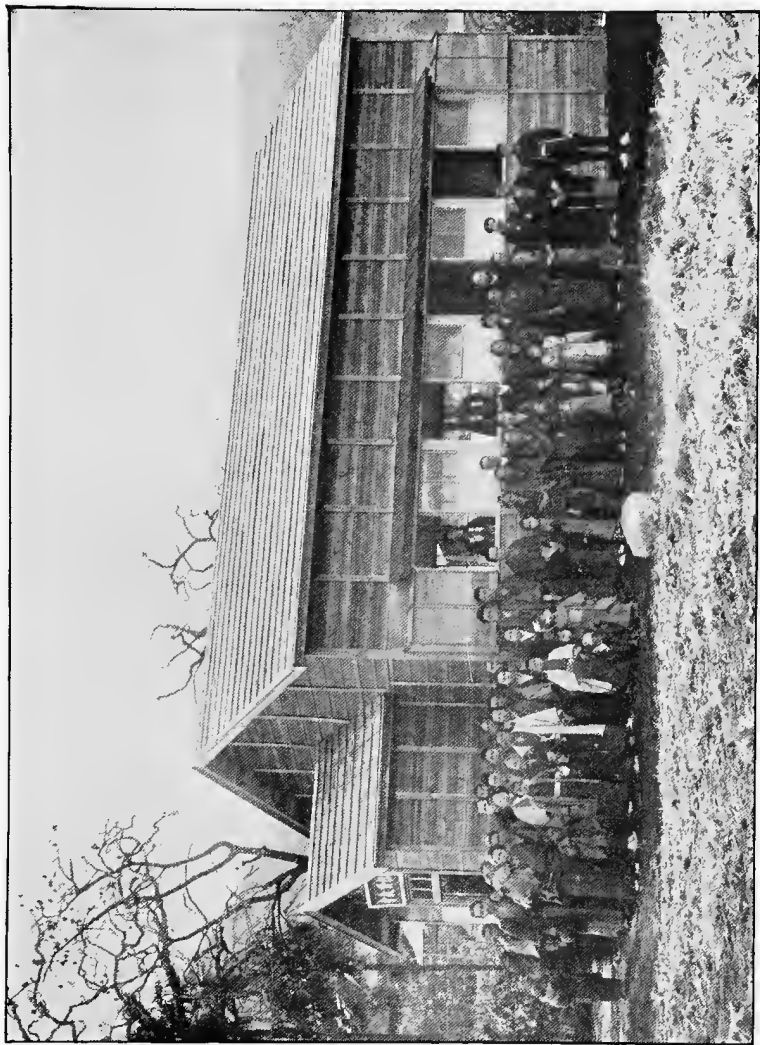
William Kirkwood of Charleston, S. C., departed this life January 2, 1892, in the ninety-third year of his age. He was one of the charter members of the church in that city, and merits this mention. Thomas W. Ewing deceased January 5, 1892, aged seventy years. He had been associated with the Church from early boyhood at St. John's and, later, with the East Baltimore station, also as clerk to the Baltimore Book Concern, and Agent until 1874. John Smith of Westminster, Md., deceased March 14, 1892, in his eighty-fifth year. He was a son of Joshua Smith, and from his boyhood absorbed Reform principles from such leaders as Snethen, Shinn, Jennings, Dorsey, and others, who were frequent visitors at his father's house. In 1859 he became a member of the Church, and, by his devotion to the founding of Western Maryland College and the local interests of the Westminster church, left a noble record. As citizen and churchman he was equally respected. Richard Chilcote of Maryland deceased March, 1892, in his eighty-eighth year, an original Reformer and devoted Christian. Rev. J. P. Ellis of North Carolina deceased March 6, 1892, in his seventy-second year. He was one of the pioneers of the cause west of the Blue Ridge and in Tennessee, as well as his native State, and, whether as

itinerant or local minister, left his mark. Joseph Armfield, Kernersville, N. C., deceased May 4, 1892, in his ninety-second year. Converted in 1828, he united with the first Reform movement, and continued faithful until death.

The Sixteenth General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church convened at Westminster, Md., May 20, 1892, at 9 A. M. In the absence of the President of the last Conference this body was called to order by the Secretary of 1888, and, after preliminary services, he read the following certified list of representatives:—

	ALABAMA	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
G. R. Brown		C. E. Crenshaw
J. T. Howell		
	ALABAMA (Colored)	
John Merriman		
	ARKANSAS	
H. B. Cox		
J. J. Bond		
	COLORADO (Texas)	
Thomas Aaron		
	CENTRAL TEXAS	
W. G. Veal		
	GEORGIA	
J. Q. A. Radford		G. B. Branan
F. H. M. Henderson		W. G. McDaniel
	GENESEE	
A. L. Stinard		Henry H. Vick
	INDIANA	
H. Stackhouse		O. C. Clark
S. H. Flood		W. W. McCaslin
F. M. Hussey		Mrs. M. J. Morgan
W. H. Fisher		W. R. Beard
	IOWA	
W. Huddleston		Mrs. E. A. Murphy
		J. W. Murphy
	KANSAS	
Mrs. E. F. St. John		W. S. Hendricks
	LOUISIANA	
James P. Patton		

	MARYLAND	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
L. W. Bates		J. W. Hering
J. D. Kinzer		W. J. C. Dulany
T. H. Lewis		Daniel Baker
F. T. Tagg		J. D. Grant
W. M. Strayer		W. C. Coulbourn
W. S. Hammond		Joshua Miles
F. T. Little		Samuel Vannort
J. T. Murray		S. S. Ewell
E. J. Drinkhouse		
	MICHIGAN	
G. B. McElroy		A. A. Rust
C. W. Stevenson		Roscoe Swift
	MISSOURI	
J. A. Sartin		J. F. Howe
	MISSISSIPPI	
J. L. Scarborough		N. W. Davis
	MUSKINGUM	
D. C. Coburn		Vincent Ferguson
M. L. Jennings		J. B. McLucas
J. A. Thrapp		T. J. Barnes
J. W. Thompson		C. J. Yingling
W. L. Wells		M. Yingling
F. A. Brown		
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
A. H. Widney		W. S. Wilson
	NORTH MISSOURI	
W. S. Miller		
	NEBRASKA	
W. C. Miller		
	NEW JERSEY	
T. B. Applegat		J. F. Fulton
L. D. Stultz		
	NEW YORK	
Ruel Hanks		Theo. Cocheu
J. J. Smith		
	NORTH CAROLINA	
W. A. Bunch		W. C. Whitaker
W. F. Bennett		R. T. Pickens
D. A. Highfill		J. M. Hadley



SHIDZUOKA, JAPAN; MISSION CHAPEL AND SCHOOL.
REV. E. H. VAN DYKE, Pastor.

NORTH CAROLINA (continued)

Ministers

C. L. Whitaker
J. R. Ball
C. A. Cecil

Laymen

W. C. Hammer
G. S. Wills
G. B. Harris
J. L. Ogburn

OHIO

T. B. Graham
D. S. Stephens
A. M. Ravenscroft
J. F. Henkle

S. P. Weaver
Henry Buagh
S. C. Gressley
C. W. Henkle

ONONDAGA

W. H. Bentley

G. W. Crandell

OREGON

O. V. W. Chandler

PENNSYLVANIA

Samuel McClain

E. T. Molyneaux

PITTSBURGH

John Scott
G. G. Westfall
A. W. Robertson
J. F. Dyer

W. K. Gillespie
W. H. Myers
G. W. Pogue
Dennis Smith

SOUTH ILLINOIS

J. G. Reed

TENNESSEE

B. F. Duggan

TEXAS

J. L. Garrison

D. P. Hollon

VIRGINIA

E. M. Lockwood

WEST MICHIGAN

L. Dodds

Thomas McKee

WEST VIRGINIA

Oliver Lowther
Benj. Stout
D. G. Helmick
A. L. McKeever
J. M. Conaway
D. C. Wees
R. C. Dean
J. F. Cowan

C. H. Smoot
W. A. Stricker
U. S. Fleming
Porter Maxwell
Miss M. M. Bonnett
J. W. Hull

The following were elected, but not certified or present with certificates:—

BALTIMORE (Colored)	
<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
W. H. Holland	Perry Gray
CHARLESTON, S. C. (Colored)	
E. R. Washington	
FLORIDA	
T. J. Lyle	J. J. Fielding
FORT SMITH	
W. S. Bartholomew	Wm. Irvin
GEORGIA (Colored)	
J. T. Robinson	Jas. S. Smith
INDIAN MISSION	
W. V. Tunstall	J. C. Hart
KENTUCKY	
P. G. Pyree	D. M. Dillon
MINNESOTA	
Austin Lent	T. N. Miller
NORTH MISSISSIPPI	
John Stone	H. R. Green
SOUTH CAROLINA	
C. McSmith	Daniel Yarborough

The attendance was large and the personnel one of the most creditable that had ever represented the Church. On motion of W. J. C. Dulany, E. J. Drinkhouse was elected President *pro tem.* by unanimity. The special Committee on Credentials reported, making a few changes of substitutes in the list as prepared by the Secretary. All these were present except in the cases noted as not heard from either in person or by certification of election. At the afternoon session nominations were made for the permanent Presidency, a departure from the precedents of the body. J. W. Hering was named by W. J. C. Dulany of Maryland, L. W. Bates by W. M. Strayer of Maryland; T. B. Appleget by L. D. Stultz of New Jersey. The result of the ballot was for J. W. Hering, fifty; for L. W. Bates, twenty-nine; for T. B. Appleget, seven;

scattering, five; so the chair pronounced J. W. Hering, M.D., elected, having received a majority of all the votes cast. It was thought by some that it was the first instance of a layman occupying the position; but, as this History has shown, Hon. W. R. Stewart of Maryland was elected and presided over the called Convention of December, 1827; Hon. P. B. Hopper was elected, but declined to serve in the Convention of 1828; and Hon. F. H. Pierpont was elected and served in the "Methodist" Convention of 1871. Nominations were also made for Secretary, with the result that on ballot J. F. Cowan was elected. He named U. S. Fleming and L. D. Stultz, Assistants. On the second day twenty Standing Committees were appointed by the chair, thus distributing the business of the Conference systematically. A telegram of fraternal greeting, on motion of W. M. Strayer, was sent to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, then in session at Omaha, Neb. No response was ever received to it, the "sifting" committee, perhaps, to which much of its incidental business was referred, not regarding it perhaps of any moment. As has been observed, four women were enrolled as members of the Conference by the Secretary, following the Annual Conference certificates sent him according to the law in the case. Numerous papers and reports were referred to the committees.

The Committee on Certificates, J. T. Murray, Chairman, considered the election of Rev. Mrs. E. F. St. John and Mrs. E. A. Murphy and Mrs. M. J. Morgan, and Miss M. M. Bonnett as representatives; and majority and minority reports were submitted, pending which E. J. Drinkhouse offered a paper as a substitute for both. After much discussion and parliamentary manœuvring by the friends of the several measures, the final result was summed up by the adoption of the minority report, by T. B. Appleget (see printed Minutes, p. 113), by an aye and nay vote, and by "orders," which is also given in full in the Conference Minutes. It stood as follows: ministers, aye forty-two; laymen, aye thirty-three; ministers, nay twenty-eight; laymen, nay twenty. It admitted the women to their seats, and proposed to amend the Constitution by overture to the Annual Conferences as follows: Amend Article XII. by adding, "and provided that no Annual Conference shall elect a woman to the office of elder"; and amend Article XII. by adding, "and provided that no Annual Conference shall elect a woman as representative to the General Conference." The substitute as offered

for both the reports provided for the recognition of the women as representatives, inasmuch as they were already seated, and of overture to the Annual Conferences to construe Articles X. and XII. as to the eligibility of women as representatives, and if a constitutional number of Conferences shall vote that they are eligible, then to amend Article XII. accordingly. The method was direct and affirmative, and left the ordination of women still an open question. A call for the previous question had barred out its reintroduction. The majority report declared that both the questions had already been decided by the General Conferences of 1884 and 1888, and pronounced against the legality of ordination by Annual Conferences of women, and their eligibility to seats in either General or Annual Conferences; and unseated those in attendance.

On the seventh day a telegram of greeting was sent to the Cumberland Presbyterian Assembly, then in session at Nashville, Tenn. It came too late, but was officially acknowledged by the Secretary. The mass of business submitted will be covered in its salient features under a review of reports. The election of Editors, Publishers, and General Agents was had, with the following result: Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, T. E. Coulbourn of Maryland; Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Home Missions, Benjamin Stout of West Virginia. W. K. Gillespie was elected President of the Board of Publication, and Horace Burrough, Secretary. E. J. Drinkhouse announced that he was not a candidate for the editorship of the *Methodist Protestant*, having served for eighteen consecutive years, and his purpose to devote his time to preparation of a history of the Church. Nominations were made, and on counting the ballots, F. T. Tagg was elected by a vote of ninety-six to twenty scattering. The Secretary, by order, cast the ballot for D. S. Stephens as Editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, and for J. F. Cowan as Editor of the Sunday-school periodicals, and for W. J. C. Dulany as Publishing Agent at Baltimore. William McCrackin, Jr., having declined nomination for the Publishing Agency at Pittsburgh, nominations were made, and the ballot elected U. S. Fleming. The Secretary, by order, cast the ballot for J. C. Berrien as Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Ministerial Education. Kansas City, Kan., was selected as the place for the next General Conference. The report of the Committee on Articles of Faith was recommitted, with instructions to report to the next General Conference. Fraternal dele-



THE 1897 METHODIST PROTESTANT CONFERENCE IN JAPAN.

Mr. VanDyke, President of the Conference, sits in the centre, with Mr. Murphy at the right and Mr. Maruyama at the left; Mrs. Vankyke stands behind her husband, with Miss Coates at the left; next her stands Mrs. Cairnes, Mrs. Richardson, Mrs. Murphy, and Mrs. Layman; Mrs. Smith and the baby stand behind Mr. Murphy, with Miss Kate Kuhus and Miss Lawrence beside her, holding Howard and Floyd Smith in their arms; in the first row in front of Miss Lawrence sits Mr. Cairns; Mr. Layman and Mr. Smith stand in the third row, and Mr. Richardson and Mr. Roberts in last row.

gates were elected to the United Brethren Church, the Cumberland Presbyterian, and the Primitive Methodists of America. After a pertinent address from the President, the Conference adjourned on the tenth day.

The reports show that the "Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of the Methodist Protestant Church" was recognized, and *Our Young People* made its official organ. The total of societies organized was 419, with a membership of 10,956. J. F. Cowan was authorized to give as much attention to these societies as his other duties warranted. The Committee on Foreign Missions report that \$52,028.94 had been collected from all sources during the quadrennium, and disbursed for that work, except \$2257.90, balance on hand. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society report 19 branches, 200 auxiliaries, 45 mission bands, and 2800 members. The *Missionary Record* has a circulation of 1400, and no indebtedness. They have two schools, one at Yokohama and one at Nagoya, Japan. The receipts for the quadrennium amount to something over \$20,000. A plan for the organization of an Annual Conference in Japan was submitted, approved, and afterward carried into effect. The Board of Ministerial Education report \$10,300.21, total receipts for the quadrennium, and disbursed, except \$253.81, balance on hand. The permanent fund amounted to \$5479.15 and \$1500 of mortuary notes. The reports of the publishing houses are in detail. At Pittsburgh, increased net assets over the last quadrennium, \$21,790.45, of which \$20,928.36 is increased estimated value of the realty in publishing house. Circulation of the *Methodist Recorder*, March, 1888, 5829; present circulation, 5390. The six forms of the Sunday-school literature show an average yearly number printed of 129,300. Paid subscribers not given. At Baltimore the net assets are \$7674.31, an increase of \$3304.93 over the last quadrennium. Circulation of the *Methodist Protestant*, 4013 for the past year, an increase of 478 over the last quadrennium. Paid subscribers to the Sunday-school literature for the year, 28,360. The Committee on Education submitted reports from Adrian and Western Maryland colleges, Westminster Theological Seminary, Yadkin College, Gittings Seminary, and a prospectus for Kansas City University. The Committee on Home Missions report the whole amount raised by the Board for the quadrennium, \$19,697.48, of which \$1148.72 is a permanent fund. Fifteen members were named to be Incorporators of the General Conference of the Church. The statistical tables are

unusually full, and cover in separate tables not numbers only but Finances, Sunday schools and Young People's Societies, and may be found in the printed minutes. As heretofore, the numerical table is given (on opposite page) as corrected from other tabulations believed to be more accurate. These show a net gain for the quadrennium of about 21,281, members and ministers, or about twelve per cent for the period, being the same for that of 1888.

In 1888, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in their address, asked the question: "Have we a Constitution? And if so, where and what is it?" It was more than a hundred years after the organization in 1784, and raised what was always a moot; but now that the heads of authority seem uncertain about the foundations of the great ecclesiasticism, the brethren took the cue and appointed a most competent committee in the interval of the General Conference to decide the question. They reported at this General Conference of May, 1892, but it settled nothing and was most unsatisfactory to the body. How could it be otherwise? Finally a motion prevailed that left the matter substantially where it was, so that the query abides with them: Have we a Constitution? The bishops, in their address in 1892, stirred the whole Church by the announcement that the statistics would probably show a gain of twenty-five per cent in membership, or from 2,000,000 to 2,500,000 for the quadrennium. They were indeed to be congratulated, and if the actual enumeration did not fully sustain it, the growth was phenomenal, and the Christian world could unite in gratulations. A similar increase had been reported relatively in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at their 1890 meeting.

Dr. L. W. Bates, shortly after the rise of the General Conference, uniting in the official papers' discussion of a Union with the Primitive Methodists of America, made the insistence that they should inaugurate it, if they desired it; that self-respect required that in any movement of the kind the initiation should not come from the Methodist Protestant Church,—a sensible view of the situation. (See Baltimore paper for June 8, 1892.) About this time Dr. Townsend of Boston University, Methodist Episcopal Church, issued a work, "Clerical Politics in the Methodist Episcopal Church," which made a great sensation, and with it he proposed, in order to correct the abuses pointed out, to organize within every Conference "The Reform League of the Methodist Episcopal Church." It was akin to the "Union

STATISTICAL TABLE — NUMERICAL

ANNUAL CONFERENCES	Itinerant Ministers	Unstationed Ministers and Preachers	Members	Probationers	Churches	Parsonages	Valuation of Church Property
Alabama	25	41	4,272	139	86	4	\$68,355.00
Alabama, Colored	8	....	480	4	6	..	830.00
Arkansas	34	57	5,310	....	82½	4	23,000.00
Arkansas, Colored	....	....	....	....	....	..	....
Baltimore, Colored	16	10	238	....	....	7	....
Central Texas	55	51	2,632	....	13	1	14,920.00
Colorado, Texas	44	....	1,255	144	4	6	3,508.20
Colorado, Texas, Colored	21	11	567	17	10	2	1,980.00
Charleston, Colored	12	16	1,250	140	17	..	....
Florida	10	....	265	84	11	..	2,500.00
Fort Smith	34	14	1,245	10	9	..	2,470.00
Genesee	15	6	718	15	13½	9	40,700.00
Georgia	30	13	2,705	60	48	..	23,400.00
Georgia, Colored	28	35	1,078	42	27	..	11,990.00
Indiana	60	70	7,934	144	114½	19	1,462.80
Iowa	48	22	3,950	....	64	22	80,900.00
Indian Mission	40	5	700	....	....	..	....
Kansas	46	34	2,458	15	23	8	35,250.00
Kentucky	15	15	1,968	71	8	..	....
Louisiana	10	6	1,800	....	30	..	5,000.00
Maryland	130	68	18,861	1,434	256½	76	1,055,330.00
Michigan	44	69	2,919	79	65	27	117,517.35
Minnesota	10	....	137	....	5	1	....
Missouri	32	52	2,740	42	40	9	29,550.00
Mississippi	45	24	2,151	54	61	2	11,000.00
Muskingum	63	55	12,274	170	142¾	17	276,225.00
Nebraska	3	10	487	21	7	3	7,900.00
New Jersey	44	....	3,107	148	37	13	149,750.00
New York	29	20	2,090	40	26	11	150,520.00
North Carolina	42	71	15,002	171	187	9	132,666.00
North Illinois	59	....	2,219	23	49¾	19	82,200.00
North Missouri	21	29	2,073	2	17½	3	13,650.00
North Mississippi	25	....	1,059	8	19	..	3,800.00
Ohio	53	48	6,184	319	93	24	218,842.74
Onondaga	48	7	2,116	89	35½	25	51,645.00
Washington and Oregon	5	4	191	20	3	1	66,900.00
Pennsylvania	17	11	1,268	8	19½	5	39,600.00
Pittsburgh	63	54	7,257	178	85	24	504,289.50
South Carolina	15	11	2,000	....	30	2	17,590.00
South Illinois	14	30	2,881	100	42½	9	40,900.00
Tennessee	17	....	1,743	....	34½	..	15,500.00
Texas	31	....	2,244	22	21½	6	13,360.00
Virginia	18	25	2,943	41	24	..	15,860.00
West Michigan	35	20	1,144	66	24½	14	38,175.00
West Virginia	71	103	15,306	....	186	30	157,825.00
West Arkansas	....	....	....	....	....	..	....
Totals	1,485	1,125	141,271	4,120	2,181½	405	\$3,551,359.29
Totals of <i>Methodist Recorder</i> table, Dec. 26, 1891, which are much more satisfactory and reliable than the above	1,511	1,073	156,473	4,035	2,070	401	\$3,742,398.00
Total lay and ministerial membership	....	....	165,162	....	....	..	....

Societies" of 1824-28, but no one ventured to assert that it was illegal or seditious now as then. Seventy years had made right what was then wrong. The change in the editorship of the *Methodist Protestant* took place with the issue of June 22, 1892.

Rev. George R. Barr, D.D., was born in North Carolina, July 25, 1810. Converted in 1823, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, but soon thereafter becoming acquainted with Reform literature, heartily entered into the movement, and was received into the Virginia Conference in 1842. In the following three years he organized churches in four counties of the State, being indefatigable in his zeal for Christ and the new Church, and with occasional retirements to the local ranks remained connected with it to his death. Cultivated in intellect, devoted and steadfast, he shared largely the confidence of the Church, and was elected a representative to the General Conferences of 1858, 1870, 1874, and the Conventions of 1867 and 1877. He was also President of the Holston Conference for three years, and of the Virginia Conference two years. He departed this life peacefully at Abingdon, Va., August 27, 1892. Rev. Zadoc M. Waters, of Howard County, Md., local minister, deceased July 19, 1892, in his ninetieth year. He united with the Church from the Methodist Episcopal Church about 1830, and remained constant to Christ and the Church until the end. John McPherson of North Carolina, born March 25, 1810, deceased October 14, 1892, an original Reformer from 1830. Joshua Murray of Maryland deceased February 6, 1892, aged eighty-eight years, an original Reformer. Rev. Francis Brown, pastor of the Laurel Street (colored) Methodist Protestant Church, deceased February 12, 1893, in Charleston, S. C., aged seventy-two years. From his early manhood he was religious, and connected with the Charleston church from its organization in 1835, honored and respected by the white and colored membership alike. Class leader and preacher, he was faithful until the destruction of the edifice by the bombardment of the city in 1861. After the Civil War and the disintegration of the white congregation, he did not forsake his Reform principles, but organized the colored brethren into a church, and as its messenger he made frequent visits to the Maryland Conference, by which he was ordained. He departed peacefully and merits this mention. Rev. George Harlen, M.D., a local minister of the Church in Georgia, converted in his eighteenth year, and soon thereafter united with the first Reformers of that State, and departed this life May 21, 1893, in his seventy-

ninth year. Rev. George Nestor, D.D., was born March 19, 1818, in Virginia, now West Virginia, was converted in 1837, and in 1840, with his parents and others, withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church and formed a Reform Methodist society. He was licensed to preach in 1843, and in 1844 united with the Pittsburgh Conference and rendered efficient service until its division in 1854, when he cast his lot with the newly organized West Virginia Conference. He was closely identified with its history, and no name is more honored among them. As President of the Annual Conference and representative to General Conferences and Conventions, he was well known by the general Church. A self-made man, his literary efforts, both in prose and poetry, commanded the attention of his friends. He departed this life July 25, 1893.

The year 1893 was characterized by the itinerant ministry in faithful labor, and the Annual Conferences as they assembled made reports of increased membership, church building, and a steady purpose to achieve denominational success in the Master's name. Maryland, always a leading Conference, reported twenty-five hundred conversions and over \$50,000 accretion of church property value. Other Conferences vied with it in good work. The theological schools at Westminster, Md., and at Adrian, Mich., were sending out educated young men to recruit the ranks. The Church papers and the Sunday-school literature preserved a high standard, and the General Agents were in the field pushing with energy their respective departments. The Christian Endeavor movement carried into it the young people, and a denominational Convention was held at Tiffin, O., June 23, 1893, with representatives from all sections as delegated by over five hundred societies. Rev. Dr. F. T. Tagg presided, in the absence of Rev. Dr. L. W. Bates, the first President, and the programme of addresses and meetings was successfully carried out. Rev. H. L. Elderdice was elected President for the ensuing year, and the work received a strong impetus. These societies were creditably represented in the General Convention of the Christian Endeavor Society, at Montreal, Can., in July, 1893, and the showing was impressive, while individual members on the programme made themselves felt in the grand demonstration, notably Rev. Dr. T. H. Lewis, President of Western Maryland College, Rev. A. H. Reynolds of Ohio, Revs. F. T. Little, H. L. Elderdice, W. C. Perkins, and Paul M. Strayer of Maryland, and Editor J. F. Cowan of *Our Young People*, their organ. The denomina-

tion reported 765 societies, and it was rapidly taking rank as a leading church in the general organization.

The year 1894 had no specially eventful occurrences. The outline of church work was carried on by the quiet itinerant toilers, tilling the fields and content with a record at Conference. The *Missionary Bulletin* was discontinued by the Secretary, as involving too much extra labor in its monthly issue, and in the belief that the official papers could be made the vehicle of such intelligence on a wider scale. The Cleveland, O., General Convention of the Christian Endeavor Society, in July, 1894, reported the denominational societies as reaching the phenomenal number of 963, soon to cover the round one thousand. Paul M. Strayer was elected President of the denominational Union. *Our Church Record*, an eight-page small quarto was issued from Greensboro', N. C., as the local paper of that Conference, by Rev. J. F. McCulloch. It has been well maintained and a successful effort made to build a publishing house in that place for its accommodation, at a cost of \$5000. E. J. Hill, of the church in Washington, D. C., deceased, bequeathed to the Westminster Seminary, Md., \$2500, and to the Maryland Superannuated Fund Society, \$1000, November, 1894. Rev. John Thurman, a venerable member of the Georgia Conference, and associated with it from a very early period, deceased December, 1894. He was born November 10, 1810, in South Carolina, removed with his parents to Georgia, early connected himself with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was licensed to preach in 1835. In 1841 he united with the Methodist Protestant Church, and had the honor of preaching the first sermon ever delivered in the city of Atlanta, when just laid out, and for fifty-three years continued in active or local relations to serve the Conference to the close of a useful life. Hon. Charles W. Button, born at Harper's Ferry, Va., July 17, 1822, deceased near Lynchburg, Va., December 29, 1894, of pneumonia. His parents were members of the church at its organization at Harper's Ferry, and the son imbibed Reform principles from them and the early preachers who were visitors at his father's house. When quite a youth, by the death of his father the widowed mother and a number of children fell to his care. Manfully realizing the situation, he raised them all, took honorable positions in the community, and married Mary, the eldest daughter of the Rev. Daniel Zollickoffer. A loyal churchman and political leader, writer for the press, he removed to Lynchburg, Va., in 1859, and became editor and pro-

prietor of the *Lynchburg Virginian*; ably and successfully conducted it for more than thirty years, during which period he was a foremost supporter of the local church, often a delegate to the Virginia and the Maryland Annual Conferences, frequently a member of the General Conferences and Conventions of the Church, in all which he was a commanding figure and able debater. No layman was better known throughout the entire connection.

The year 1895 was notable in the commercial world for financial depression and general unrest among working people, a condition of things which, while not always inimical to the Christian Church spiritually, seriously affects its general enterprises, especially among the weaker denominations. As the year closed, it was found that the Church had materially suffered from this cause in most of the Conferences. Numerically the reports indicated a considerable increment for the quadrennium, swelling the membership to probably 180,000 as against 165,000 in 1892. The ministry was well reënforced, but most of the general collections showed a decline. Samuel F. Mather, M.D., a venerable Congregational Christian of Kansas City, Kan., deceased early this year, and bequeathed to the Methodist Protestant Church through a board of incorporated trustees realty in that city and its vicinage, with all his personalty, minus \$8250 in legacies, the whole being appraised in round numbers at about \$150,000, on condition that the Church erect a building, to cost not less than \$25,000, and open a college by October, 1896. The project had been anticipated, and about \$35,000 subscribed for this purpose. The foundations have been laid, and hope entertained that the enterprise will receive such an impetus by the assembling of the General Conference in that city as to insure its success. Also early in the year the Texas College at Westminster, Collins County, Tex., was inaugurated by the purchase from the Missionary Baptists of a building and grounds at an aggregate cost of \$3500. It will be under the Presidency of Rev. J. L. Lawlis, A.M., an alumnus of Westminster Theological Seminary, and the auspices of the five Texas Conferences. An Old People's Home had been projected at the suggestion of J. D. Cathell of Georgetown, D. C., for Maryland, and the project ripened into the purchase of a suitable house and grounds at Westminster, Md., and funds subscribed for payment and the opening of the Home at an early date. It will be under the patronage and control of the Maryland Conference. The denominational Young People's

Society of Christian Endeavor held its annual meeting at Pittsburgh, Va., June 28, 1895, Paul M. Strayer, President, and had an excellent programme, which was successfully carried out. It was a stimulating meeting to all who attended it, and they brought home with them a diffusive zeal in the cause of the Master. Paul M. Strayer was reelected President.

The Wesleyan Methodists of England were confronted at their last Annual Conference with a woman delegate from one of the circuits, bearing credentials for the position. She was allowed to retain her seat, but the Conference found themselves in a quandary, so that final action is yet to be taken on a question which is challenging consideration, not among Methodists only, but the Christian world. In the Methodist Episcopal Church the usual quadrennial agitation among the laity for recognition took place. In Philadelphia a vast meeting was held in the Broad and Arch Street church, presided over by Ex-Governor Pattison, and attended by all the leading laymen of their many churches, and a series of resolutions passed which had a ring of solid and solemn purpose in them, not to be misunderstood, for full representation in the General and Annual Conferences. A like meeting was held in Cincinnati, while in Baltimore, the cradle of the "Radical" controversy of 1827-30, a meeting was held in the old Eutaw Street church, June, 1895, at which over three hundred delegates assembled, from sixty-one of their city stations, almost the entire number. Their deliberations were characterized with careful consideration of the resolutions, passed by a unanimous vote, demanding representation in the Annual Conferences, etc. Simultaneously in the Baltimore Conference a paper was introduced and referred to a committee to report in 1896, calling for lay-delegation in the Annual Conferences, the election of Presiding Elders by the Conference, and the limitation of the Episcopal prerogative of appointments by the cabinet of elders. After a hundred years of consolidation on an erroneous foundation of ministerial exclusive rule, this vast organization now finds itself confronted on every side with a growing and irresistible protest against that original error made in 1784, and confirmed in 1808, when the delegated General Conference was instituted without the slightest recognition of the membership as competent to participate in the law-making department or the administration of the Church. Practical difficulties of the most stupendous nature have grown with this system, so that it is a herculean task to meet and properly settle these demands.

The fundamental contention of this "History of Methodist Reform" is, that grave errors were committed by Wesley and Coke in the Poll-Deed of the British Conference, by which exclusive power was entailed forever in one hundred designated ministers as a close and self-perpetuating corporation, whatever may be thought of the wisdom of Wesley's personal government prior to that time as best in the circumstances; and also by Asbury and Coke when the same entailment of power occurred at the organization of the Christmas Conference of 1784, and reaffirmed at the creation of the delegated General Conference in 1808,—a lost opportunity for correction,—whatever may be thought of the wisdom of Asbury's personal government prior to 1784, as best for the American societies in the circumstances. Now an equal representation in either the General or the Annual Conferences doubles the personnel of bodies already overgrown and unwieldy in most cases, and is a most serious problem for solution, as well as a deterrent to conservative men who otherwise need no argument as to the equity of such a proceeding. It must, however, be met, while the responsibility of friction and redivision rests with the "fathers," who were obstinately blind to the warnings given them in 1824–30. So grave, indeed, are the difficulties, and so utterly antipodal the systems in their very genius, that even these concessions made and the readjustments effected would not be satisfactory to the Methodist Protestant Church after nearly seventy years of Presbyterianial method and a demonstration of its ecclesiastical right to a separate continued existence, wishing nothing but federation with its sister Methodisms and dismissing as a finality organic union. In England the difficulties were not so grave. After a hundred years of protest by an enthralled laity, and numerous excisions and secessions and multiplied branches in consequence, the parent body developed wisdom enough less than a score of years ago to admit the laity to an equality as to numbers, and are seeking by parliamentary amendment to the Poll-Deed to correct its original defects.

Rev. N. Urquhart of the Alabama Conference deceased February 12, 1895, at Ramer, Ala. He came from Georgia in 1828, entered the ministry in 1833, and was a devoted itinerant for forty-eight years. Martin Post of West Virginia deceased August 20, 1895, in his eighty-fifth year, after a connection with the Church of over sixty years, an original Reformer of that section. Rev. E. A. Wheat, D.D., born October 20, 1818, in New York, entered the ministry of the Church in his teens, elected to

General Conferences and often to the Presidency of the Genesee Annual Conference, in which he was a father for half a century; a frequent contributor to the official papers; a man of sound judgment, thrifty, prudent, and generous for his day; a loyal churchman and devoted Christian minister—he passed to the better life April 14, 1895. Rev. James G. Seaman born July 29, 1802, and departed this life June 11, 1895. Converted at fifteen years of age, he united with a class of the “Reformed Methodists” in Jersey City in 1824. He was a delegate elect to the Baltimore Convention of 1828. On the union of the Reformed Methodists with the Methodist Protestant Church in 1832, he was relicensed to preach, afterward ordained, and for thirty-two years was an itinerant within the bounds of the Onondaga Conference. Removing to Michigan in 1867, he united with the Conference and was in the active ministry until his superannuation about 1883. He survived to his ninety-third year, when he passed away in peace, and merits this record as a consistent Christian and intrepid Reformer. Rev. James K. Nichols, D.D., born July 18, 1817, was converted and united with the Church at sixteen years of age, was received into the Maryland Annual Conference in 1836, and faithfully itinerated for twenty-seven years, when he was elected its President in 1863. In 1871 he was called to the Vice-Presidency of Western Maryland College, and was often elected to the General Conference. A self-made man of fine literary taste, and a fluent writer of both prose and verse, a true friend and wise counsellor, he commanded the love and admiration of all who knew him, and after some years of superannuation departed this life, May 5, 1895. Rev. Daniel W. Bates, D.D., was born in New Jersey, June 10, 1815. His parents were original Reformers; and his grand-uncle was Daniel Bates often mentioned by Asbury in his Journal as furnishing hospitality to him. After a local relation of some time he united with the Maryland Conference in 1843, and continued to itinerate and render active and fruitful service until late in life. He was elected President of the Maryland Conference, and also to the General Conference. A practical preacher and a fertile writer, he became well known throughout the Church. He closed his earthly career of usefulness, continuing to preach occasionally until near his eighty-first year, November 9, 1895. His last illness found him prepared in the testimony: “I am simply waiting the Lord’s call, and it makes but little difference to me how soon it comes. I am ready.” After suitable obsequies his

remains were deposited in Wesley chapel cemetery, near his late home. Rev. A. H. Trumbo, D.D., departed this life at Springfield, O., February 21, 1896. He was born January 2, 1814, and, though not an original Reformer, he was early identified with the Ohio Conference, and soon gave evidence of his superior mental gifts and consecration to Reform principles and the cause of Christ. He was a frequent contributor to the periodical press of the Church, logical force and perspicuity of statement characterizing his productions. For a number of years he was out of the active itinerancy, but always alive to every interest of the Church. His end was peace, and he left out of a limited property bequests to the colleges and other institutions. Rev. Thomas E. Coulbourn departed this life March 11, 1896, at Pittston, Pa., in the forty-third year of his age. The announcement was a great shock to the general Church. At the General Conference of 1892, he was elected Corresponding Secretary to the Board of Foreign Missions. After prayerful consideration he entered upon its duties, and for nearly the quadrennial term exhibited a mastery of the situation which gave universal satisfaction. An intelligent consecration marked every step of his labors. He was suddenly stricken down in pursuit of his mission, at the home of Rev. R. S. Hulshart, with acute peritonitis, and in less than four days he expired. Informed of his perilous condition, he met the last enemy with calmness and resignation — a legacy of triumph to his family and friends. His remains were removed to Lynchburg, Va., near which place he resided, and after impressive services were laid to rest in the family lot of his father-in-law, the late Hon. C. W. Button. In due season the Board of Missions elected Rev. A. D. Melvin of the Maryland Conference to fill out his unexpired term, and he at once entered upon his duties.

A fitting close to this chapter calls for the mention of the work of Rev. S. Heininger of Elkhart, Ind. Dissatisfied with the polity of the Evangelical Association, which had just divided through causes excited by the power of their bishopric, he came to the Methodist Protestant Church, bringing with him the German congregation he had been serving. He was soon made superintendent of the German work by the Board of Home Extension, and he continues to fill the position with zeal and satisfaction.

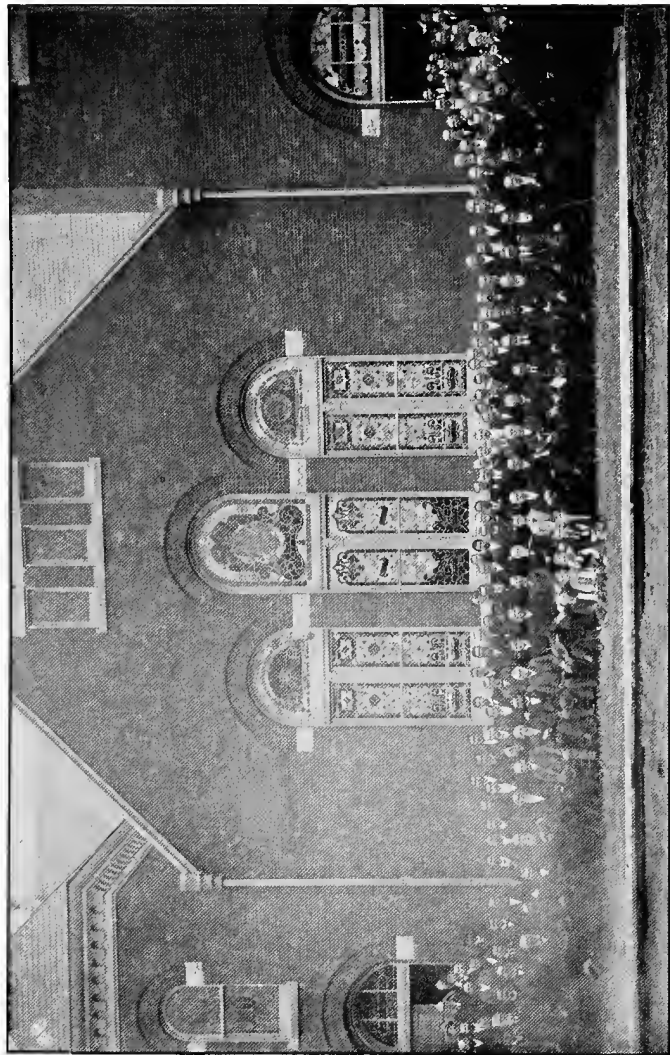
CHAPTER XXXIX

Seventeenth General Conference at Kansas City, Kan., May 15, 1896—Roster of members; reelection of Dr. Hering as President without precedent; personal indorsement—Banquet to the Conference by H. J. Heinz, Esq.—Corner-stone laying of Kansas City University—Large percentage of absentees from the Conference owing to extreme Western location—Election of General Conference officers of Church papers and official boards—Fraternal messengers and letters—Articles of Religion left unchanged, and committee discharged—Great increase in Y. P. C. E. Societies—Incorporation of the General Conference—Financial exhibit of the several boards and publishing houses—Overtures to the Annual Conferences—Statistics of the Church show a gain of nearly twenty-seven per cent for members and nearly twenty-five for Church property; a remarkable showing—Opening of Kansas University under Chancellor Stephens; a ten-thousand dollar donation to it by H. J. Heinz—Dr. Mather's bequest to the University; present valuation \$150,000; prospective not less than \$500,000—Obituaries for 1896—Result of overtures to the Conferences.

THE seventeenth General Conference assembled at Kansas City, Kan., May 15, 1896, in the People's Methodist Protestant church. The President, Dr. J. W. Hering, after preliminary religious services, read a report and made sundry recommendations. It was a departure from the methods of the Conference, and universally approved as dignifying the office and imparting important information to the body at the outset. The roll of certificates of election was read by the Secretary, and the following, subsequently amended, made up the roster:—

<i>Ministers</i>	ALABAMA	<i>Laymen</i>
J. T. Howell		Ira Champion ¹
C. B. McDaniel		O. F. Warner
J. P. Morgan ¹		Joseph Bell
	ARKANSAS	
J. E. Loudermilk		A. G. Gray
J. F. Nisbit		J. C. Milner
M. C. Jackson		E. M. Allen
	CENTRAL TEXAS	
A. S. Biddison		C. Byrd

¹ Alternates.



The Seventeenth Quadrennial General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church, assembled in front of the People's Church, Kansas City, Kansas, in 1896.

	COLORADO (Texas)	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
J. S. Perry		T. J. Hammack
	COLORADO (Texas Colored)	
J. L. Jackson		J. W. Larrimore
	FORT SMITH MISSION	
W. S. Bartholomew		W. C. Philips
	GENESEE	
O. P. Wildey		Ira McMichael
	GEORGIA	
F. H. M. Henderson		J. J. Barge
R. S. McGarity		C. O. Stubbs
	IOWA	
James Kirkwood		John F. Burdine
W. A. McCorkle		Miles Pearson
	INDIAN MISSION	
W. V. Tunstall		King Cacey
	INDIANA	
H. Stackhouse		L. Boring
S. Heininger		John Lowden
J. P. Ledbetter		Mrs. M. A. Omo ¹
S. S. Stanton		W. W. Lineberry
	KANSAS	
Eugenia F. St. John		J. E. Devilbiss
T. J. Sheppard		Mrs. J. E. Rouse
	MARYLAND	
J. D. Kinzer		J. W. Hering
F. T. Tagg		Daniel Baker
T. H. Lewis		J. R. Caton
J. T. Murray ¹		T. H. Bartlett
F. T. Little		S. Vannort
W. M. Strayer		J. A. Smith
A. D. Melvin		J. G. Coleman
S. B. Tredway		T. A. Murray
L. W. Bates		W. J. C. Dulany
J. L. Mills		C. W. Hobbs
W. M. Poisal ¹		C. A. Benjamin
	MICHIGAN	
A. C. Fuller		A. A. Rust
R. Rutledge ¹		O. L. Palmer

¹ Alternates

	MISSOURI	
<i>Ministers</i>		<i>Laymen</i>
J. A. Sartin		J. F. Howe
C. F. Barnes		F. A. Jones
	MISSISSIPPI	
J. L. Scarborough		J. B. Allen
	MUSKINGUM	
J. A. Thrapp		Boyd McCormick ¹
S. A. Fisher		M. Yingling
W. L. Wells		Theo. Purvis ¹
M. L. Jennings		W. L. Trenner
G. E. McManiman		V. Ferguson
D. C. Coburn		A. M. Lyons
W. S. Cairns		C. Y. Yingling
	NORTH ILLINOIS	
R. E. Fox		W. S. Wilson
J. A. Reichard		R. M. Pollock ¹
	NORTH MISSOURI	
W. S. Miller		J. W. Root
	NORTH MISSISSIPPI	
A. J. Richardson		W. C. Carter
R. C. Jeter		
	NEBRASKA	
T. J. Strickler		J. S. Francis
	NEW JERSEY	
W. D. Stultz		E. S. Vanleer
John H. Algor ¹		Z. Patterson
	NEW YORK	
J. H. Robinson		Fred H. Varney
	NORTH CAROLINA	
W. A. Bunch		O. R. Cox
T. J. Ogburn		R. T. Pickens
J. F. McCulloch		F. R. Harris
C. A. Cecil		A. M. Rankin
L. L. Albright		J. M. Hadley
W. E. Swain		W. P. Pickett
T. M. Johnson		J. C. Roberts
A. W. Lineberry		J. N. Wills
J. F. Dozier ¹		J. L. Ogburn

¹ Alternates.

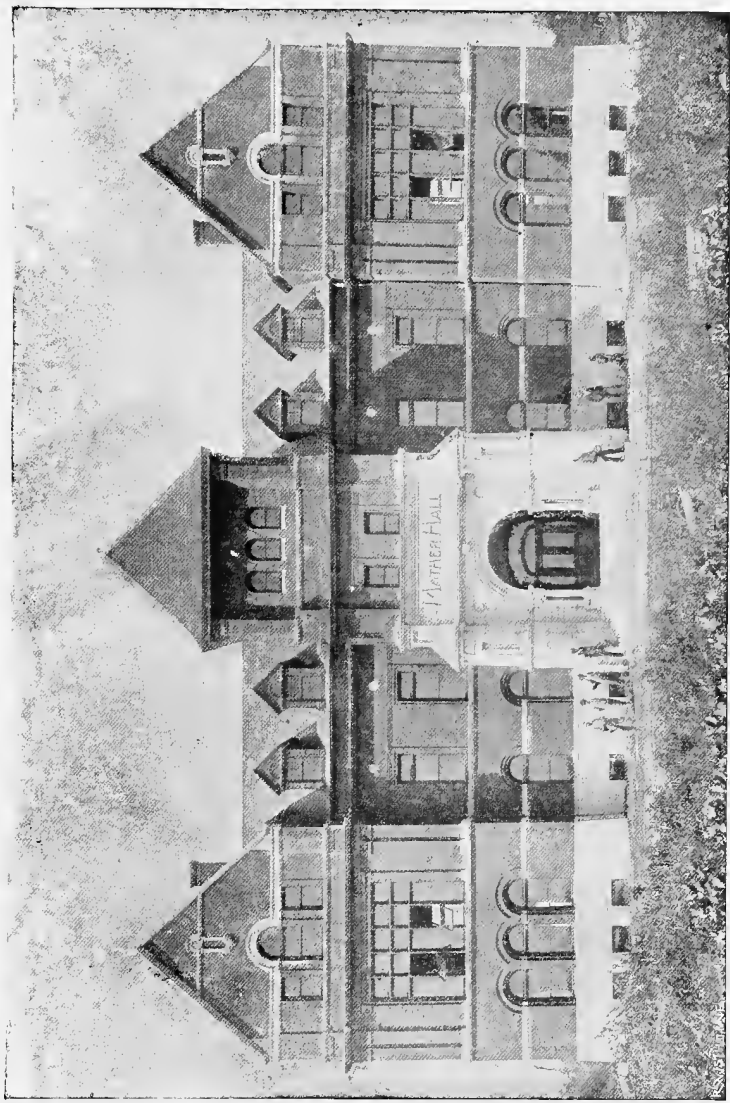
<i>Ministers</i>	OREGON MISSION	<i>Laymen</i>
B. B. Paul		
	OHIO	
D. S. Stephens		C. E. Custis
T. B. Graham		W. L. Bailey
W. J. Elliot		J. R. Vannorsdall
J. F. Henkle		A. J. Vanpelt
	ONONDAGA	
M. L. Baker		C. W. Waterman
	PITTSBURGH	
G. C. Sheppard		J. F. Cooper
A. W. Robertson		H. M. Myers
Geo. Shaffer		G. B. Brown
T. H. Colhouer		T. B. Evans
W. H. Gladden		J. W. Morris
	PENNSYLVANIA	
J. R. Botts		J. R. Hay
	SOUTH CAROLINA	
C. McSmith		D. Yarborough
	SOUTH ILLINOIS	
J. G. Reed ¹		M. S. Strike
	SOUTH GEORGIA (Colored)	
J. S. Tisdale		
	ST. LOUIS MISSION	
A. J. Steward		H. S. Morris
	SOUTHWEST TEXAS MISSION	
M. C. Wilson		J. M. Low
	TENNESSEE	
S. O. Hooper		W. R. Sims
	TEXAS	
J. D. Christian		J. K. Pierce
T. L. Garrison ¹		T. P. Stillwell
	VIRGINIA	
H. M. Peebles		I. P. Robinet
	WEST MICHIGAN	
W. D. Tompkinson		J. W. Burlington
		¹ Alternates.

WEST VIRGINIA

<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Laymen</i>
M. D. Helmick	Porter Maxwell
E. J. Wilson	A. G. Hall
J. A. Selby	U. S. Fleming
B. Stout	John Lynn
M. L. Smith	C. H. Smoot
M. M. Everly	G. W. Holswade
J. J. Mason	J. W. Hull
J. F. Cowan	

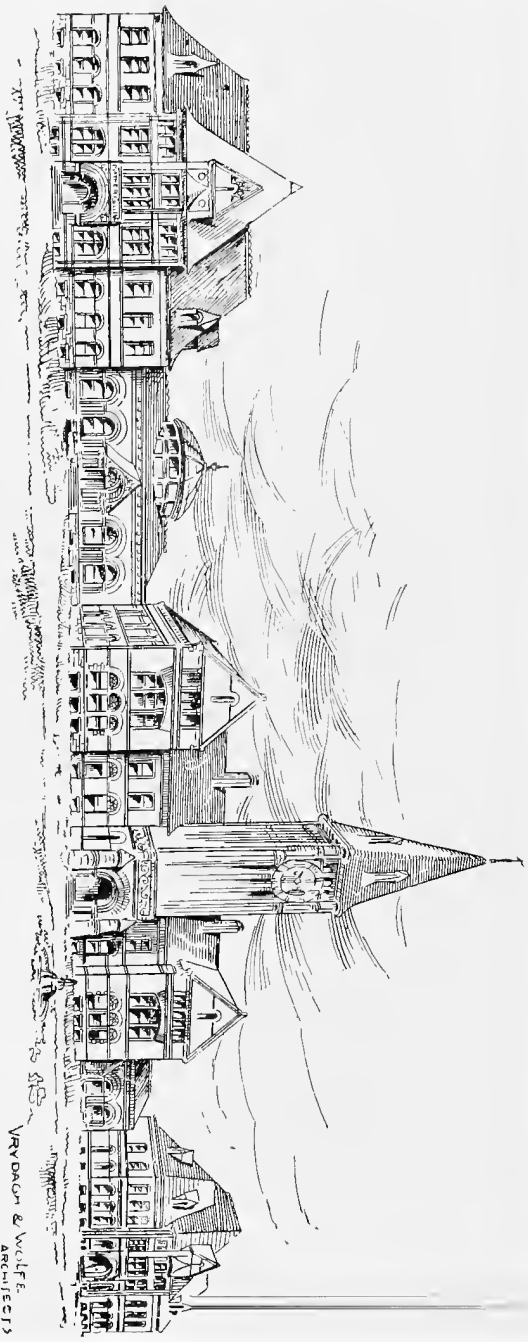
The Secretary notes in the printed Minutes that those designated were alternates, but gives no indication of the absentees; but, as the roster of those elected shows 188, and on the ballot for permanent officers, on the second day, Dr. J. W. Hering was reelected by a vote of 75 out of 112 cast, the highest ballot at any time being 132, the presumption is that those absent made a heavy percentage, accounted for by the fact of the extreme Western location of the Conference. The personnel of the body, however, was impressive. The reelection of Dr. Hering was the first in the history of the Church, and a high compliment to his administration. Rev. T. M. Johnson of North Carolina was elected Secretary. Twenty Standing Committees were appointed by the chair, thoroughly distributing the Conference work.

Early in the session a banquet was tendered the Conference by H. J. Heinz, Esq., of Pittsburgh, which was accepted for the following Monday evening at the principal hotel of Kansas City, Mo., and proved a most enjoyable entertainment. The Conference also accepted an invitation to the corner-stone laying of Kansas City University, under the auspices of the Church and the generous bequest of Dr. Mather of Kansas City, Kan.; also an invitation from the rapid-transit street car company to the public park of Kansas City, Mo. On the election of General Conference officers, Dr. Stephens announced that he had accepted the Chancellorship of Kansas City University, and was not a candidate for reelection to the editorship of the *Methodist Recorder*; Dr. M. L. Jennings received on the third ballot 73 out of 129 votes. For editor of the *Methodist Protestant* Dr. F. T. Tagg received on the first ballot 109 out of 124 votes. The Secretary was ordered to cast the ballot of the Conference for J. F. Cowan as editor of the Sunday-school literature. For Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions Rev. T. J. Ogburn of North Carolina received 93 out of 130 votes. The



METHODIST PROTESTANT UNIVERSITY, KANSAS CITY, KANSAS.

Completed Building, cost \$30,000.



Scheme of completed pile of buildings for Methodist Protestant University, Kansas City, Kansas. Estimated present value of Dr. Mather's bequest in reality and personalty to the University, \$150,000,00.

Secretary of the Conference was ordered to cast the ballot for J. C. Berrien as Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Ministerial Education. Benjamin Stout for Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Home Missions received 72 out of 123 votes. For Publishing Agent at Baltimore W. J. C. Dulany received 81 out of 98 votes. For Publishing Agent at Pittsburgh, U. S. Fleming received 97 out of 114 votes. Fraternal interchanges took place between the Conference and the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Church, then holding its annual session in the city. The office of Treasurer of the several General Boards was merged into that of the Corresponding Secretary, and each to be bonded in the sum of \$5000. The place for the ensuing General Conference was referred as by Discipline to the President and the Board of Publication. Greetings were ordered to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, then in session at Cleveland, O.; their return response to those of 1892 it having been discovered had failed of transmission. The Hymn Book question was disposed of by ordering certain improvements in the present book. The *Woman's Foreign Missionary Record* was recognized as the official paper of that society. Fraternal greetings from the Reformed Episcopal Church were reciprocated. A paper against the use of tobacco, with certain recommendations as to the youth of the Church, was passed. Greetings from the National Council of the Congregational churches were reciprocated. After remarks by the President, the Conference adjourned, May 23, to meet on the third Friday in May, at 10 A. M., 1900.

The proceedings of this Conference make a pamphlet of 131 octavo pages, and a summation in addition to the foregoing, made from the reports, is as follows. The subject of changes in the Articles of Religion was indefinitely postponed. The Shorter Catechism of the Church was ordered revised and published with the issues of the Sunday-school literature, as also the revised text of the Scriptures in parallel. A committee of seven was appointed to act on Revision of the Discipline in the interval of the quadrennial session, to whom a large number of amendments were referred, all of which as adopted must be approved by the ensuing General Conference. The report of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor showed an increase from 10,965 members in 1892 to about 35,000 in 1896, or over three hundred per cent. An Act of Incorporation of the General Conference was secured from the Maryland legislature, conferring certain

rights and privileges, with the following as the trustees: J. W. Hering, J. D. Kinzer, F. T. Little, W. M. Strayer, J. T. Lassell, J. W. Miles, T. A. Murray, and J. G. Clarke of Maryland, D. S. Stephens of Ohio, H. W. Reeves of Pennsylvania, W. L. Wilson of Illinois, S. S. Stanton of Indiana, T. H. Cocheu of New York, and W. A. Bunch of North Carolina. This important action gives a legal status to the General Conference. The reports on publishing houses showed for the Sunday-school literature a circulation of 139,840, a gain of over 11,000 for the quadrennium. The Pittsburgh Directory shows present assets over liabilities to be \$53,437.08, a net gain of \$154.25, and at Baltimore of \$8271.18, a net gain of \$596.87 for the quadrennium. *Our Young People*, organ of the Christian Endeavor Society, was discontinued, the support being inadequate. The circulation of the official papers showed no material gain or loss for the quadrennium. The Woman's Home Mission Board was recognized, a constitution adopted, and officers elected. The report on Foreign Missions showed total receipts for the quadrennium \$52,260.79. The Home Mission Board, total receipts for the quadrennium, \$26,242.25. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society reported total receipts for the quadrennium, \$17,822.34. The report of the Board of Ministerial Education showed total receipts for the quadrennium, \$19,135.72. Western Maryland and Adrian colleges made favorable reports, and Kansas City University was recognized among the official institutions of the Church. Overtures were submitted to the Annual Conferences to seat women representatives in the General Conference and their eligibility to the order of elder; to seat Presidents of Christian Endeavor Societies in the Quarterly Conferences; to elect stewards by given methods; to change the General Conference from every four to every six years. The Committee on Statistics, report for Sunday-schools and Christian Endeavor Societies; that for membership and church property, etc., is shown on opposite page.

SUMMARY OF COMPARISON WITH JOURNAL OF LAST CONFERENCE

	1896	1892	INCREASE
Ministers and Preachers	1,550	1,485	65
Unstationed Ministers and Preachers	1,116	1,125	Dec. 9
Members	179,092	141,272	37,821
Probationers	4,624	4,120	504
Churches	2,267	2,181	86
Parsonages	484	405	79
Value of Church Property	\$4,519,357	\$3,551,359	\$967,998

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATISTICS

ANNUAL CONFERENCES	Ministers and Preachers	Unstationed Ministers and Preachers	Members	Probationers	Churches	Parsonages	Value of Church Property
Alabama	31	11	5,079	190	86	6	\$65,893
Alabama, Colored	7	4	500	7	7	..	1,000
Arkansas	32	35	5,733	..	71½	16	26,431
Arkansas, Colored	17	..	488	11	9	..	500
Baltimore, Colored	16	..	238	..	10	7	....
Central Texas	39	32	2,181	13	38	4	14,938
Colorado, Texas	30	30	1,744	96	5	4	4,475
Colorado, Texas, Col.	20	11	700	10	11	2	4,324
Charleston Mission, Col.	17	19	996	..	15	2	11,450
Florida	7	3	350	64	11	..	2,500
Fort Smith	30	6	1,514	75	8	..	4,500
Genesee	18	6	785	64	16½	8	42,500
Georgia	24	6	3,012	50	48	..	23,500
Georgia, Colored ¹	28	35	1,078	42	27	..	11,990
Indiana	48	64	8,419	170	120½	24	182,150
Iowa	47	32	3,989	..	67½	22	100,100
Indian Mission	20	3	710	..	5	..	1,200
Kansas	47	37	3,121	..	31	10	58,300
Kentucky	36	39	1,917	226	..	..	8,500
Louisiana ¹	10	6	1,800	..	30	..	5,000
Maryland	146	84	21,612	1,935	276½	84	1,194,400
Michigan	70	33	3,651	73	73	33	139,775
Missouri	49	46	3,031	..	37½	10	34,325
Mississippi	22	21	2,225	53	53	1	11,550
Muskingum	73	43	14,586	98	153	18	288,150
Nebraska	17	7	750	..	8	4	7,300
New Jersey	35	28	3,625	130	44	15	197,625
New York	27	19	2,209	116	26	12	198,900
North Carolina	54	39	16,416	174	208	12	145,487
North Illinois	36	17	3,218	11	49	21	123,400
North Mississippi	17	5	1,239	..	29	..	3,875
North Missouri	21	21	2,191	9	29	6	24,075
Ohio	52	39	6,099	199	99	29	309,550
Onondaga	54	27	2,167	231	39	27	92,500
Washington and Oregon . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	....
Pennsylvania	16	10	1,146	3	20½	6	32,070
Pittsburgh	67	46	8,981	95	80½	23	551,510
South Carolina	9	11	1,865	26	30	2	17,300
South Illinois	34	10	2,449	149	50	8	43,328
Tennessee	11	13	1,929	..	26	2	17,000
Texas	20	22	3,443	24	26½	7	13,795
Virginia	17	6	2,623	38	28	..	17,500
West Michigan	45	26	1,718	..	31	17	48,000
West Virginia	76	121	16,076	218	319½	38	323,190
Northwest Texas	35	30	2,424	..	6½	3	5,500
Japan Mission	12	3	254	44	3	1	5,500
St. Louis Mission	10	10	620	..	6	1	....
Chickasaw Mission ¹	11	..	300	..	..	..	....
	1,550	1,116	179,092	4,624	2,267½	484	\$4,524,857

Ministers and Preachers	1,550
Unstationed Ministers and Preachers	1,116
Total Full Members	181,758

¹ Last quadrennium, 1892.

These figures show for membership a net increase of a fraction under twenty-seven per cent, and for church property valuation a fraction under twenty-five per cent in the quadrennium. It is a remarkable exhibit, and compares favorably, not only with the other Methodisms of America, but with any of the evangelical Christian bodies without exception. The question may be recurred to and more fully elaborated in the recapitulation of this entire work in the concluding chapter. It is about double the net material and numerical increase of the Church over any quadrennium in its history except those of 1834-38. It points hopefully to a membership of 200,000 and a church property valuation of \$5,000,000 in 1900.

The Conference, as a special mark of respect to the late Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, Rev. T. E. Coulbourn, ordered his missionary sermon, delivered by proxy before the Maryland Conference, to be published in full in its minutes.

The financial depression throughout the business world continued, seriously affecting the receipts for Church purposes. The ministry and membership of the Church returned to labor under the encouraging exhibit of prosperity indicated by the statistics of the last General Conference. The Kansas University project was pushed to a successful issue by President Heinz of the Board of Trustees by a contribution of \$10,000, and by the unflagging efforts of Chancellor Stephens. Mather Hall of the main building was completed and opened in October under promising auspices, thus securing the extensive landed property bequeathed by Dr. Mather. The various officials of the Church entered vigorously upon their duties, and the returns made to the autumn Conferences indicated growth and extension. The *Texas Methodist Protestant*, under the care of Rev. Thomas Aaron, entered upon its second year as the local paper of the Texas Conferences. The *Methodist Protestant Telephone* was issued in November, 1896, in Alabama, by Rev. J. T. Howell, as the organ of that Conference. It makes a neat appearance. Among those of the veterans who departed this life during the current year it seems fitting to name Rev. C. H. Harris, D.D., of North Carolina, who deceased January 6, 1896, over eighty years of age. He was the last of the Harris brothers who were so conspicuous in the Reform movement in that Conference. His labors richly merit this historic embalmment. Lewis D. Swisher of West Virginia, born May 12, 1819, deceased April 29, 1896. He had a continuous



J. T. WARD.

connection with the Church from 1833 and was one of its noblest laity. Charles W. Ridgely, Esq., born June 2, 1815, departed this life May 31, 1896. He was connected with the Church from 1837, in Baltimore, and was noted for every good word and work. Rev. John R. Nichols of the Maryland Conference, born June 4, 1815, deceased July 22, 1896. He united with the Church October, 1832, and with the Conference in 1838, and for nearly sixty years as a church builder and revivalist had few equals. It seems fitting to couple the names of two worthy women of Maryland: Mrs. Annie Cronice, deceased July 27, 1896, aged ninety-seven years six months and four days, and Mrs. Caroline A. Watkins, who departed this life in the winter of 1896, over ninety years of age, and whose connection with the Church dated from its origin. Rev. J. T. Ward, D.D., born August 21, 1820, deceased March 11, 1897. He was the son of Rev. Ulysses Ward, an old Reformer; early converted in the Church of his father, and well educated, he entered the ministry of the Maryland Conference, and after some years of faithful service located at Westminster in 1866, and associated himself with an educational project, which in 1866-67 came under the patronage of the Maryland Annual Conference, and of which he was elected President in 1870, as a general Church institution, known as Western Maryland College. He held this presidency ably and with personal liberality until 1886, when he became President of Westminster Theological Seminary, which he held until his decease in his seventy-seventh year. His end was peace and his memory blessed.

The writer specially deploras the fact that, despite persistent efforts, no data could be obtained of the labors of Rev. William Remsburg, who was for many years prominent in the West and deceased a member of the Iowa Conference. There must also be added to the death-roll for this year the name of Rev. P. J. Strong of the North Illinois Conference, associated with the Church for sixty years, and filling a large place in its activities. Rev. Joel S. Thrap of the Muskingum Conference, often named in the previous chapters as an active member of General Conferences and Conventions, and whose record is unsurpassed for churchly devotion, specially in connection with Adrian College. Henry Swope of Maryland, a pious and liberal layman, was loved and honored by all. Rev. Rhesa S. Norris of the Maryland Conference deceased December 7, 1897, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He united with the Conference in 1843, and was honored by his brethren. Rev. Thomas Aaron of Texas, a consecrated man and

was an active itinerant for nearly half a century. A life-long invalid, he was nevertheless in abundant labors to the end. Rev. B. F. Duggan, M.D., D.D., born in North Carolina January 22, 1821, departed this life March 1, 1898. He removed to Tennessee in 1838, embraced religion, and united with the Methodist Protestant Church September, 1838. Licensed to exhort in November, 1842, he began his life-long ministerial work August 27, 1843; preached his first sermon at a camp-meeting in Unionville, Tenn., and delivered it again at the same place fifty years from that date. He was graduated in medicine and pursued the double calling through life with great acceptance and success. He was many times elected President of the Conference, as well as to General Conferences and Conventions. His devotion to the cause of Reform knew no bounds, and for it he made many sacrifices, while his personal character was above reproach. His death-illness found him fully prepared; it was a conspicuous triumph over the fear of the last enemy. Rev. John Cowl, D.D., was born in Cornwall, Eng., May 26, 1816, and came to this country with his parents while an infant. Converted in 1833, he at once became active in Church work. In 1837 he united with the Pittsburgh Conference, steadily grew as a preacher, and maintained through life a high position in the ministry and in the councils of the Church. He never swerved from his allegiance to the cause of Reform and the Master he served. He was justly considered a great preacher, while his modesty equalled his abilities. After forty years' service he was compelled by failing health to retire, surviving for twenty years to adorn his home near Moscow, W. Va., on the beautiful Ohio. After a lingering illness he peacefully departed, March 16, 1898.

The *Southern Methodist Protestant*, a small four-page paper, was issued in Arkansas, March 1, 1898, Rev. W. C. Jackson, editor, and Rev. William Cox, manager. Wesley's house in City Road was dedicated as a Methodist museum, 1898, and in recognition of its objects the following cablegram was sent to the managers, and duly acknowledged.

BALTIMORE, MD., March 1, 1898.

REV. T. E. WESTERDALE, 49 City Road, London, E. C.

The Methodist Protestant Church of America sends greetings. (Phil. iv. 20, 21.) "Now unto God and our Father be glory forever and ever. Amen. Salute every saint in Christ Jesus. The brethren which are with me greet you."

J. W. HERING,

President of the General Conference.

At a meeting of the Board of Ministerial Education, March 29, 1898, it was announced that a bequest of \$8000 had been paid to Adrian College under the will of Mrs. Kezerta, widow of Rev. Mr. Kezerta, and with his approval, as an *ante-mortem* intention, to be known as the "S. P. Kezerta Fund," the interest to be used for ministerial education. They had given liberally to this work for many years.

The Maryland Conference of April, 1898, appointed a committee to prepare a suitable programme for the commemoration of the seventieth anniversary of the organization of the Methodist Protestant Church — 1828-98. It was carried out on November 13. A thirty-two page pamphlet was issued, written by Rev. Dr. T. H. Lewis, and ten thousand copies distributed, giving valuable historical matter defensive of the Church. (See extract, Appendix J, in first volume.) The *Methodist Protestant* also issued a special double number, profusely illustrated and furnishing a compendium of general and local Church history, which was largely circulated. The anniversary was fully noticed by the secular press, and the Church greatly benefited denominationally by this revived attention to its character and claims. The preliminary committees of each Methodism to arrange for the third Ecumenical Conference convened, and the President of the General Conference named a committee for this Church. The third Pan-Conference of Methodism will be held in London in 1901, and it is hoped that some of the suggestions for federation will be considered and made operative for all the Methodisms of the world, while still preserving their autonomy as denominations; more than this will only end, as heretofore, in distraction and default.

Rev. J. L. Michaux, D.D., of North Carolina, deceased July 6, 1898, aged seventy-one years. He was one of the oldest members of the Annual Conference and was honored by his brethren. Mention is elsewhere made of his many years' association with the *Central Protestant* as editor and proprietor. Rev. W. D. Tompkinson of the Michigan Conference was born in England in 1816, and deceased July, 1898. He united with the Conference in 1853, and was honored through a long life for zeal and devotion. Rev. J. M. Mason, whose name stood third on the Pittsburgh Conference roll, attended the session of September, 1898, but fractured his thigh-bone on his return home and did not long survive. He was over eighty years of age and served the Church for half a century, receiving honor from his brethren. Rev.

John W. Everest of the Maryland Conference was born October 22, 1810, united with the Conference in 1832, served actively for thirty-five years, and passed to his heavenly reward, August 2, 1898, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. True and tried, his end was peace. J. G. Johnson, M.D., D.D., was born January 22, 1834, and deceased August 12, 1898, at Abingdon, Va. He held a conspicuous place in the ministry from 1868, principally in the Virginia Conference, zealous and self-sacrificing, often President, and representative to General Conference, he was honored and loved by his brethren. Ralph Collier was born October 7, 1819, at Pittsburgh, Pa., but spent his youth, manhood, and old age on Tanner's Creek in Dearborn County, Ind. The Methodist Episcopal church of the neighborhood seceded in 1828, and Ralph was thus associated with Reform from its initiation, and ever remained true to his convictions. He was a many-sided man, self-cultured, courageous, and God-fearing. Prominent in the Washingtonian movement of more than half a century ago, a Sunday-school worker and leader in society, he was never found lacking in all that makes Christian manhood. He departed peacefully, August 20, 1898. Closing the necrology of this History, November, 1898, with these worthy names, the writer deplors the fact that so large a number of the early Reformers are unmentioned, despite every effort to discover some record of them. That so large a number have been rescued from oblivion is a source of congratulation, for a worthier class of men and women never adorned any Church.

The overtures submitted by the General Conference to the Annual Conferences were disposed of as follows. Up to December, 1898, the President of the General Conference furnishes the information that of the forty-eight Annual Conferences but twenty-four have voted, with a result which can be accepted only at this time as indicating the trend of opinion on the several overtures submitted. The non-acting Conferences may yet change this trend before the ensuing General Conference, but it is not probable. First, overture on the eligibility of women to elder's orders and to seats in the General Conference, nineteen Conferences for and four against. There being two propositions in this overture, the Maryland Conference divided it, and voted negatively on the first and affirmatively on the second. Second, to seat Presidents of Christian Endeavor Societies in the Quarterly Conferences, twenty-four for and none against. Third, to change the mode of electing stewards, twenty-three for and one against.

Fourth, to change the assembling of the General Conference from four to six years, two in favor and twenty-one against. In the Methodist Episcopal Church the result of two overtures was as follows. First, on the admission of women in the General Conference, on the general subject the vote stood 7455 for and 3636 against. On an equal delegation of laymen in the General Conference, the vote stood 4412 for and 10,776 against. As it requires by the Discipline three-fourths of all the ministers in the Annual Conferences to carry a measure, both the overtures are lost, though there is a large majority vote in favor of the first overture and a large majority against the second. It indicates how remote is the prospect of even equal lay-delegation in the General Conference of that Church, while for an equal lay-representation it is not in sight, to say nothing of Annual Conference representation, or even delegation.¹ It accords with the prognostications ventured elsewhere in this chapter, and is in line with all the examples of history. Entailed and entrenched power rarely, if ever, voluntarily surrenders its prerogatives, so that, both in State and Church, it will rather blindly invite Revolution,—it is a fact written on all the pages of the past.

On the announcement of the result as to lay-delegation, the long-suffering and patient laity of the Methodist Episcopal Church were greatly disappointed, and having but slight knowl-

¹ In the *Western Recorder* for March 7, 1850, the venerable W. S. Stockton, in a series of articles verifying the writers for the *Wesleyan Repository* with a sketch of its history, speaking of the so-called "gag-law" of the General Conference of 1796, and which has been perpetuated substantially to this day, and which provided for expulsion from the Church for causes other than immorality, "inveighing against the discipline," etc., ventures this prognostication: "They will certainly hold to their law. The occasion for its use will never cease until they are forced to grant church representation. When will that be? Probably when the Methodist Protestant Church can count numbers with *their* church. When ministers will be as well provided for in the M. P. C. as in the M. E. C. Then theoretical reformers can afford to minister in free churches. Self-preservation appears to be the first law of individuals, as of society, and of nature. This was true thirty years ago." Yes, from 1820. Witness the renegades and apostates and effeminate of the period, — theoretical reformers who lacked the courage of their convictions. Yes, witness that not until 1872, more than twenty years after Stockton wrote these vaticinations, was a fractional lay-delegation admitted to their General Conference. And it is coincident that in the ratio the Methodist Protestant Church has grown in numbers and Church property has the agitation for lay-delegation grown in the Methodist Episcopal Church; and it will probably prove literally true that before it is granted the Reform Church, at least in localities, shall have "counted numbers," and possessed a ministry "as well provided for" as in the mother Church. Yet a lay-delegation worthy of the name seems but little nearer a consummation in the M. E. Church than when Stockton ventured this forecast, now nearly a half century ago.

edge of the struggle which has been waged for a hundred years, the discouragements of such precedents as this History depicts did not come into their hopeful councils. The agitation exhibited itself in calls for lay-conventions to consider the matter, and in Baltimore, Indianapolis, and Chicago large meetings were held, with a proposition from the Indianapolis meeting to invite general coöperation throughout the Church and hold a General Convention in the autumn of 1898, with a more serious purpose than ever of demanding recognition from their ministerial brethren. That the leaven is working there can be no doubt. Several of the bishops have openly pronounced in favor of equal lay-delegation, and some of the *Advocates* are indorsing it. The organization of Laymen's Associations within the Conferences goes on, with objectives precisely identical with those of the Union Societies of 1824-30, but no whisper is now heard of their disloyal character; much less does any one suggest that these overt acts are grounds for expulsion as "inveighing against the discipline" and "speaking evil of ministers." The old prejudices, however, against the "radicals" survive. This, added to policy, accounts for the fact that these conventions and associations rarely, if ever, make mention of the Methodist Protestant Church as a living exemplification of the successful working of the theory they are contending for, while such *Advocates* as favor the movement are zealously careful to disclaim any likeness with the Reform of 1828-30. It does not, however, make it any less the duty of the Methodist Protestant Church through all its agencies to enlighten the Methodist mind upon the subject. It is one of the purposes for which this History was written.¹

¹ Since this paragraph was written, in March, 1898, the question having been resubmitted with the revolutionary result in the ballots of 8787 in favor of equal delegation in the General Conference, and but 1496 against, up to the last report in the *New York Christian Advocate* of November 3, 1898, making it certain that the Conferences yet to hear from cannot change this result. The query will not down: what has wrought this marvellous change in the ministers of that Church within two years? No arguments were presented or facts evolved, thus to change men's minds. What was it? The answer is, that when the result of the first balloting became known to the laity of that Church, denying them this right to equal delegation, the sensation was so profound and the determination so marked in the laity that, if peaceful petition could be thus cavalierly treated, they would organize and demand to the point of revolution. Immense meetings of the laity were held in various places, culminating in an advertised purpose to hold a General Convention of laymen in October, 1898, at Indianapolis, Ind. There could be no mistaking the menace of these long-suffering laymen. Roused at last to the extremity of overt resistance, if need be, officialism, that potent factor in hierarchies, took alarm, and the word was sent along the line of the army of presiding

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, assembled in Baltimore in May, 1898. It was an imposing body of representative men, and, true to its conservative policy, legislated carefully. It indorsed the action of its commissioners inaugurating Federation with the Methodist Episcopal Church. (See a foot-note in the closing chapter of this History.) The Church had been awarded by the Federal government during the session of Congress of 1898 the sum of \$285,000 to reimburse their publishing house at Nashville, Tenn., for damage and occupation to the buildings during the Civil War.¹ Fifty thousand dollars of this sum was appropriated by the General Conference to establish a publishing house at Shanghai, China. It is a forward missionary movement, and one of the objectives of the proposed Methodist Federation as to the foreign work. The numerical growth of the Church during the quadrennium was not satisfactory to the General Conference. An estimate shows it to have been but $8\frac{5}{10}$ per cent, a large decline over past years. But the same decline menaces in the Methodist Episcopal Church, the year 1897-98 showing but a fraction of gain. There are also some indications that the Methodist Protestant Church in 1900 will fall short of the expectation raised by the spurt forward of 1892-96. It is difficult to account for these fluctuations, which occur at intervals in the history of all denominations. The Conference also appointed a commission to find the "Constitution" of the Church, thus following the fruitless quest of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and destined to be as nugatory.

elders: Yield, or worse things may happen to exclusive powers. What a comment it is also upon independent thinking and voting by the ministers of that Church! A three-to-one majority against is changed to a ten-to-one majority in favor within two years, nothing occurring in the meantime but the public menace of these outraged laymen. And he it observed that the laity in this victory have a lay-delegation in equal numbers only. It is in no sense a lay-representation, as is demonstrated in Appendix J to the first volume of this History, to which the intelligent reader is referred.

¹ After this award had been made, it was discovered that about one-third of the whole sum had been pledged to a lobbyist for his active agency in securing it. An investigation seriously involved the publishing agent, Barbee, and led the officials of the Church to repudiate the bargain, and to decline the whole award, if need be, for the vindication of the Church honor. It remains to be seen what action Congress may take, if any, and what the final disposition the Church shall make of the compromising involvement.

CHAPTER XL

Conclusion; argumentative summation — Have the postulates of the introductory chapter been proven? — Ideals in politics; Paternalism *vs.* Individualism — The Methodist Protestant Church as an ideal system demonstrated; defects not yet fully remedied; subjectively, lack of educational method as to its polity; objectively, even more serious; failure to make the Church known through the press and otherwise; reasons for it; the remedy not too late and should be applied — The world's Methodism a unit as to doctrine and means of grace, but the original polities always a source of unrest and dissent — Has the Methodist Protestant Church succeeded as a voting lay-representative Church as well, other things being equal, as a non-voting clerically governed Church? Analysis and proofs of the affirmative — Liberal Methodism in England a success; statistics; likewise in America — Success of Liberal principles not to be gauged by numbers, but their permeating and modifying power over the parent bodies; facts — Lay-delegation conceded grudgingly; if right now, always right — Upshot of the whole matter; prognostications.

IN concluding this "History of Methodist Reform" the writer has imposed upon him the task, as a logical necessity, of answering the question made a challenge in the opening chapter: Have the fundamental postulates been sustained by the facts presented and the arguments adduced? These postulates are principally three in number, and so germane to each other, that the separate classes of facts by which they are demonstrated mass themselves in a logical culmination. Indeed, two of them are very closely allied, namely: Ecclesiastical Paternalism is responsible for all the schism in the Parent body subsequent to the Deed of Declaration as epochal of an organized departure from New Testament precedents, . . . and it was the ill-advised perpetuation of Paternalism in the Deed of Declaration for the former, and the purposeful perpetuation of it in the hasty organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the latter, that made a Church for the Ministry, and not a Ministry for the Church; the scriptural, rational, and natural order, . . . so that the Deed of Declaration was the cardinal error of English Methodism in giving corporate form to an oligarchic entail of governmental power; and the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the hierarchic plan was the cardinal error of American Methodism, with a like result greatly exaggerated.



J. J. SMITH.

No one can be more fully aware than the writer that these contentions will be stoutly, if not scornfully, denied by the advocates of the Paternal system of Church government.¹ In fact, it has been so wrought into the very warp and woof of Methodistic history, both in England and America, that to deny the highest wisdom to these entails corporately secured is simply reckless and presumptuous. This much the writer has heretofore conceded; it is a question of ideals — Paternalism *vs.* Individualism. Both State and Church furnish examples of each, with the advantage to Paternalism, that they are century old and well-organized potentialities. Ranged on the side of Paternalism are the hierarchies of State and Church; ranged on the side of Individualism are the republics of State and Church. It has been affirmed that all ideals are impracticable. There is the substance of truth in the allegation, but with exceptions and qualifications. The hierarchy is an ideal, but surely it will not be claimed that its practical embodiment is not found in the Popedom. This system has crystallized through a millennium, and as an ideal has its imitations in the Episcopal systems of Protestantism. Republicanism is an ideal, but it would be venturesome to declare that an eminently practical form of it is not exhibited in the United States of America. And it is in this sense as an exception that it is claimed for the Methodist Protestant Church that it does make its ideal practical. This does not set it up as perfect or

¹ "History of Methodism in the United States," by James M. Buckley. In two volumes; small quarto; profusely illustrated and embellished. The Christian Literature Company, New York.

Altogether this is the fairest presentation of American Methodism as to the dissenting branches ever issued by an author of the dominant body. It is very succinct and scrappy under limitation of space, but quite an encyclopedia of facts. As a representative of Episcopal Methodism his views on the "Divisions of Methodism" shall be cited as in proof of the declaration to which this note is appended. He says: "The divisions of Methodism arose from causes which in all ages have produced ecclesiastical controversy, and which, with the decline of genuine unity and individual devotion, led to rupture when not suppressed by force, or to external decay unless the church is sustained by the state, and to infidelity and immorality in large degree where the outward forms of religion are maintained by endowment or taxation; namely, differences of judgment concerning discipline, ceremony, and doctrine, and more potent than all, the personal ambitions of men who, when disappointed, become embittered; or when successful, grow insupportable by reason of the spirit of tyranny engendered. All these causes, except radical divergencies of doctrine, can be traced in the development of American Methodism." Vol. II. p. 439. Lacking as it is in perspicuity, this paragraph, every reader will see, evades the true issue made in this "History of Methodist Reform." He could not be expected, as a champion of the Episcopal hierarchy, to see this issue, and the paragraph is cited in full as the best apology a hierarchic mind could frame, but unsatisfactory even as an apology.

its practice as finished. It is admitted that in the light of seventy years' experience as a working hypothesis what it still needs is to bring "the regiment up to the flag." What that flag symbolizes is ideally true and practically possible, but the regiment needs a higher education to the point of full appreciation of loyal service and bountiful support.

The polity of the Methodist Protestant Church as an ideal has been worked out and demonstrated practicable wherever it has had an environment commensurate with its character; for every system is to be judged by its best and not its worst examples. As exhibited in the Maryland Annual Conference, the Muskingum, the Pittsburgh, the Ohio, the North Carolina, the West Virginia, and others that might be named, no spectator or investigator can discover in its working more of friction than is unavoidable through the fallibility of human invention as a system, however closely it may be modelled after the New Testament precedents and the practice of the apostolic Church. If its ideal fails of its fullest expression in any of the Annual Conferences, it is to be attributed to the lack of a persevering and thorough educational method by its official teachers. This defect has operated detrimentally both in the subject and the object. There is a damaging deficiency in the knowledge of its Constitution and Discipline, even among those who are administrators; much more by consequence among its membership. Within a decade the General Conference, alive to this subjective defect, ordered that Quarterly Conferences should furnish the pastors with Disciplines, to be presented to all new members as an educational crusade. How great was the need of such legislation developed in the indifference, if not positive opposition, of not a few of these official bodies and pastors on the sordid ground of expense to the local churches. A farther effort was made to remedy this defect when there was added to the larger catechism of the Church a brief essay on church government, as an education to its youth. It is also discovered in the inadequate support given the official papers, the authorized exponents of its ideal. It will not do to attribute this educational defect to want of greater authority. The *New York Christian Advocate*, representative of the strongest ecclesiastical polity outside of Rome, in its issue of May 17, 1894, estimated the membership of the Church at that time at 2,500,000, and the number of *Advocates*—official papers taken—as less than 150,000, or one in seventeen of the membership, and that not more than one-half of the officiality were subscribers to the

Church papers. Many comparisons are invidious, but it is often the only method for reaching a conclusion. The writer's editorial connection with the *Methodist Protestant* for nearly a score of years qualifies him to estimate for it at the same period a membership of 180,000, and the number of Church papers taken as approximately 10,000, or one in eighteen of the membership, and for the officiality of the Church about one-half. So that under either polity there is a deficiency such as should lead the respective organizations to a concerted movement all along the line, until this per cent is raised from one in seventeen to about one in six,—a standard maintained in several of the smaller denominations,—and until not an official member shall fail to be a subscriber to a Church paper and be the owner of a Discipline.

This defect in the educational method, objectively considered, is even more serious in the Methodist Protestant Church. In its earlier history the press was more fully subsidized for this purpose. The Reformers of former days, imbued with the truth that they had organized a Methodism in doctrine and means of grace which was to stand for and exemplify the grand idea of the personal sovereignty of the Christian believer under the Christocentric truth: "One is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren," were diligent in its promulgation by tongue and pen and press.¹ But the opposition it provoked in those of counter

¹ "A military attaché of the French embassy at Washington said of the American soldier at Santiago: 'Another marked characteristic is the self-reliance of each man, what we call the character of "initiative"—meeting emergencies as they arise, overcoming obstacles by their own initiation.' This criticism may be applied to our denomination as well. The time was when it exactly described the morale of the rank and file of the Church of mutual rights. . . . The very spirit and genius of the Church demanded it and cultivated it. Every man then as now was a sovereign. Its leadership is vested, not in individuals, but in the whole body ecclesiastic. That we have departed from the ancient landmarks, and that we have lost something of our aggressive and eager disposition, is voiced in the complaint that we are without competent leadership. What is the leadership that is wanted? Is it bishops, or general superintendents, or what is it? The days of our greatest glory and the days of our greatest influence and enlargement were the days when the rank and file of our membership fought and contended for every gain of their cherished principles. . . . Whether or not we have lost what we once possessed as a denomination, we will not come into our birthright as a Church until every man in it, in the position to which he is called, and in which he works, feels that in the keeping of himself is the honor and prosperity and the success of the Church, that he is to meet every emergency which will reflect glory upon her and honor the cause of Christ. Whenever the membership of the Church shall turn aggressor, be ready to begin action, and carry it through on the lines of wisdom and independence, within the limits of order and of law, then will our Church have come to her rightful prerogative and place." Dr. Jennings in *Methodist Recorder*, July 23, 1898.

opinions intimidated a peace-loving people, and as the years went by they came to prefer doing their Church work in a corner. During the earlier decades of its history, the prophets of the Episcopal Methodisms having pragmatically announced that the new Church, "the Radicals," was dying or dead, their officialism studiously avoided reference to it as advertising its continued existence. It is only within a comparatively short period that the press of the older Methodism has accorded fraternal and newsy mention. What marvel then that on sundry occasions of inquiry Methodist Protestants are put upon the defensive, and explanations made necessary of its differential features from the other Methodisms, things which ought to be open "before all Israel and the sun." And yet it is undeniable that whenever and wherever these distinguishing features are intelligently expounded to the uninformed, general approbation follows as a verdict in favor of Christian selfhood.

The Methodist Protestant Church has been singularly free from proselytism. And this is not a case of self-praise with recommendation. A fuller propagandism of its principles, such as they merit, would probably have this tendency, but the writer, speaking from a large experience and wide knowledge, does not know pastor or people who by direction or indirection cultivates the proselyte. Nothing is more evident, however, than that pastors and people should feel themselves set for the defence of the fathers and founders of the Methodist Protestant Church; a diligent instillation of its fundamentals in the organization, and an opportune spread of the ideas and principles for which it stands out of it. These principles in their last analysis are essentially those of Protestantism, not so much in that phase of the great Reformation as antagonizes false Romish dogma though inclusive of it, but as Protestantism sets itself against the Popedom, lords over the Christian heritage, big or little.

Has the affirmation been sustained that the cardinal error of organization was in England an entailed oligarchy, and in America an entailed hierarchy, in the parent Methodisms, and that these errors are responsible for the schisms which have occurred on either side of the ocean? The writer for answer can only fall back upon the cumulation of evidence these volumes present. The careful reader can recall the several instances. The history of Methodism as a whole presents the spectacle of numerous branches, seventeen in the United States and Canada alone, but over them all there has reigned from the beginning a calm

acquiescence in Wesley's doctrines and the means of grace he introduced in his societies. Scarcely a zephyr has ruffled that calm.¹ But as to its governmental system, the entail of Wesley for England, and the entail of Asbury for America, there has not ceased to be from the same beginning a deep swell of agitation, which has kept the parent bodies in perpetual unrest. It mocks all logic and defies all knowledge of human nature not to confess that there must have been something radically wrong in those entails. It is the primary object of all these pages to exhibit that radical wrong. The maintenance of it by the entailed ecclesiastical power provoked the conflicts which eventuated in expulsions and secessions. It is the genius of the autocratic *régime* to hold fast tenaciously all authority and to make constant encroachments upon the domain of liberty. If concessions are ever made, they are wrested from it by the aggregation of that individual force which has ever been, as the whole history of the world proves, mining and sapping at autocratic power, howsoever obtained and by whomsoever held. The writer expects that the verdict as to this phase of the postulate, that such paternal power organized into a system has been responsible for the divisions of Methodism on both sides of the ocean, will fail of unanimity. He is not vain enough to suppose that those who have been educated in the old Methodisms, who are enamoured of it, making success in numbers and wealth the criterion of right, will do aught else than lay down these volumes claiming the Scotch verdict, "not proven." He will be content if he shall succeed in illuminating that growing class of young men, both of the ministry and the laity, of the Episcopal Methodisms who are untrammelled by the prejudices and traditions of the past as to governmental reform, and render a like service for the youth of the Methodist Protestant Church, as well as vindicate the truth of history as to the old issues made ever young by the inherent vitality of the principles involved. He again embodies and embalms the conviction based upon this truth of history, that Methodism to-day, the world over, would have been as much of a unit ecclesiastically as it is a unit of doctrine and means of grace but for the oligarchic entail of the Deed of Declaration by Wesley and the hierarchic entail of the exclusively clerical organization

¹ Whitefield's work in England under the auspices of Lady Huntingdon for its organized position and of the Welsh Methodists an offshoot, both of them Calvinistic Methodist, can scarcely be claimed as an exception, inasmuch as Whitefield made no concealment of his doctrinal views from the beginning. It prevented coalition with Wesley, but cannot be called a schism.

of the Methodist Episcopal Church by Asbury, these events synchronizing with 1784.

Another postulate of this History, and the last that need be elaborated in review, is that a voting, lay-representative Methodist Church has succeeded by the criterion of numbers and wealth, other things being equal, fully as well as a non-voting, exclusively clerically governed one. It is a vital issue, and thoughtful advocates of either of the ideal polities considered have been and are awake to its decisive nature. If true, then it cuts away the very foundation of a hierarchic Methodism; if not true, it does much to invalidate the reasons for Methodist Reform, though not conclusive as to the abstract right or wrong of the systems. It is in this aspect, the wish, it is to be feared, being father to the thought, that iteration and reiteration have been constant in the official press and the officialism of the Episcopal Methodisms that the Methodist Protestant Church is a failure. It has not succeeded, say its historians; as a working hypothesis, it lacks momentum; even Christian human nature needs a strong government to control it; and so through the round, always ending with the refrain, it has not succeeded. It is going down, chuckled the doughty Dr. Bond, sixty years ago, and his echoes have given it back, until after more than half a century of lively existence, they still continue in remote corners, though fallen to a whisper, in even the latest of Episcopal chroniclers,—it has not succeeded.

Many come to believe what is so confidently affirmed. No one questions the fact that the hierarchic Methodism has succeeded. What has succeeded? Vociferated on every side is the answer—the system, the system, the system! The sober, wiser brethren of the Episcopal Methodisms enter demurrer—they know better; they know that the grand source of success has been its doctrines and its methods, distinguished from its governmental system. They know that this clamor is little more than: “Great is Diana of the Ephesians!” But it is precisely this; the system as credited with the success of the Episcopal Methodisms, and the want of it in the Reformed Methodisms as credited with its non-success, that issue is joined. Take some facts. There never has been a quadrennium of the Methodist Protestant Church which has not shown a net increase of membership and value of Church property. A comparison of statistical tables for any given period, for a decade, or a score or more of years, for either system, is not in disparagement of the liberal polity of the Methodist Protestant Church. The success of the one has been

commensurate with the success of the other, even without the qualification attached to it for safety of estimate, "other things being equal," though there never has been a period when these other things have been equal: the gravitation that gives attractive power of larger bodies over smaller; the pull of large numbers congregated in all the centres against small numbers segregated and scattered. Who can estimate the Sisyphean toil of a principle against power; of want against plenty; of ostracism against recognition; of the many influences insidiously operating against brethren under ban as "enemies of Methodism." At the present writing the tabulations which figure-prove the equal success of the Reform system with that of the Episcopal are not at command, but shall be supplied in a foot-note for the decades of the past, though it is sufficient if the most recent of these tabulations is found to support the general allegation.¹

The "Year Book" of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1897 furnishes for the Old World Methodisms, p. 129, statistics for the parent or Wesleyan body in the British Islands for 1897 of 494,287 members. For the offshoots, all of them on a Methodist Protestant basis as to polity, the Primitives having two laymen for every minister in their legislative body, and by far the most prosperous of all, the following tables are furnished: Methodist New Connexion, 37,202; Bible Christians, 34,303; Primitive Methodists, 196,628; United Free Methodist Churches, 89,618; United Free Gospel Churches, 8609; and Wesleyan Reform

¹ By the kindness of Rev. J. F. Cowan, D.D., the following Comparative Statement of the Growth of the M. E. and the M. P. Churches by Decades, is presented:

DECADES	MEMBERSHIP	NET GAIN	GAIN PER CENT FOR M. P. CHURCH
1828	5,000		
1838	39,000	34,000	680.00
1848	58,000	19,000	48.73
1858	75,000	17,000	29.31
1868	99,000	24,000	32.00
1878	<u>116,000</u>	<u>17,000</u>	<u>17.17</u>
1888	147,000	31,000	26.72
1896	181,000	34,000	23.12

The membership figure for 1896, and the others likewise, does not include the ministers nor the probationers, but as it stands it shows for the first fifty years a net gain of 111,000, or 2220 per cent.

The showing for the M. E. Church by decades and gain per cent is as follows: The membership and net gain by decades is not given as in the first case for the reason that the per cent is taken from the official Year Book of the M. E. Church for the year 1884, and that table does not give either membership or net gain. The decade for 1850 is omitted, as that was the time of "separation" of the

Union, 7400; or a total of 373,699. Remembering that the parent body had fifty years the start of the first of these offshoots, the New Connexion, and it is demonstrated that the Parental system of Wesley had no advantage on the score of success over the Liberal polities of the other branches. In the Bishops' Address of the Methodist Episcopal Church made to the General Conference of 1896, it is stated that the net gain in membership for the quadrennium, including probationers, a method of recent adoption in the Canada and Methodist Episcopal Church, was 380,000, giving a round total of 2,766,656. This percentage of increase is a fraction less than sixteen. It is a source of congratulation, and the bishops make the most of it. The Methodist Protestant Church for the same quadrennium, 1892-96, shows a net increase of members, including probationers, of 42,445, in a grand total, not including ministers and preachers, on the assumption that the grand total of the Methodist Episcopal Church does not include them, of 183,716. This percentage of increase is twenty-six and a fraction, or about sixty-five per cent of the per cent more than the parent body. But it will be claimed that on the theory of diminishing returns heretofore noticed, and questioned as applicable to Church statistics, how-

Church South with its immense loss, and the gain per cent for the decade of 1890 is estimated.

DECADES	GAIN PER CENT
1790	
1800	12.60
1810	168.96
1820	48.87
1830	83.21
1840	<u>68.38</u>
1850	
1860	44.20
1870	37.44
1880	27.48
1890	34.41

This exhibits for its first fifty years a per cent net gain of 2049. Accuracy is claimed for these figures only so far as they go. The minutes of the General Conferences of 1892 and 1896 of the M. E. Church show an immense gain of membership, while the growth of membership in the M. E. Church, South, since the Civil War is also immense and unprecedented in Methodism. Those who apply the law of diminishing returns to populations and increase will also claim this comparison by per cent alone to be unsatisfactory, and the writer does not demur to any exceptions that can be made to the exhibit. What is simply claimed is that by the only method open to you, that of per cent increase or decrease by decades or quadrenniums, as declared in the running text of this History, no advantage on the score of growth can be proven for the Episcopal system as such over the Liberal system as such.

ever it may be proven to apply to material agencies, it is not to be expected that 2,766,000 as working factors will secure an increment to tally with the increment of 183,716. Admitting it for the sake of the argument, it will be seen that the Methodist Protestant Church can allow a full difference for diminishing returns, and yet show a larger net increase of members than the Methodist Episcopal Church. The same is found true as to valuation of church property. In the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1896, \$109,641,191; for 1895, \$107,960,374, a gain for the year of \$1,680,817. Assuming the same relative increase (the figures not at command) for the previous three years, and a net gain is shown of \$6,720,109, or a fraction over $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, in the quadrennium. In the Methodist Protestant Church in 1892, the value of church property was \$3,551,359, and in 1896, \$4,519,357, or a net gain for the quadrennium of \$967,998, or a fraction less than twenty-five per cent. Thus the disparity is still greater in this feature of net gain as $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent is to twenty-five. Applying the law of diminishing returns, and the Methodist Protestant Church still occupies a conspicuous vantage ground. Now in the light of these cold figures, in what sense is it true that the Methodist Protestant Church has not and is not succeeding? But this exhibit will not stay the repetition of the false allegation with the unfriendly, nor will it disabuse the minds of some within the organization who say: The Church has not done as much as it ought; it is still a minor note in the concert of universal Methodism; they cannot cease to put in apposition 200,000 with 2,500,000, not considering by such a criterion how dismal a failure is Protestantism itself compared with Romanism in numbers and wealth, and not considering, in the face of the figures given, that the Methodist Protestant Church is succeeding as fully as it is possible for it to do in its environment. This must be admitted, however, though the admission stands only in proof that this voting, lay-representative Methodism has an inherent power of growth and self-perpetuation, that the net increase for the quadrennium just closed is much larger than the average of previous ones, these running from fifteen to eighteen per cent,—that of 1892–96 has been a spurt forward, the impetus of which it is hoped will tell upon the future of its history.

But the success of the principles for which the Methodist Protestant Church stands is not to be measured by any such invidious comparison as 200,000 *vs.* 2,500,000, confining the con-

trast to the one dominating American Methodism. Its principal success is found, as heretofore noticed, in the power of its principles to permeate and modify the organization and the system from which it sloughed,—the Episcopal Methodism of the United States,—though the same is true of the permeating and modifying power of the Liberal Methodisms of England over the Wesleyan Conference. It has been found how the pressure of these principles under the demonstrated success of its corporate forms has compelled the Legal Hundred of the Wesleyan Conference to acquiesce in the presence of an equal number of lay-delegates, though not lay-representatives, in its annual assembly. And more, how that Legal Hundred of Wesley's ideal for the transmission of power consents to application to Parliament for modifications of the Deed of Declaration, so that the acts of the Wesleyan Conference shall no longer require the formal indorsement of the Legal Hundred for such authority. It is an easy-going sophism that makes answer that the concessions made to the laity are in the regular course of those providential changes which have always marked the history of Methodism. The New Connexion, the Primitives, and the Free Methodist churches and their congeners were simply premature movements; they could not bide the proper time, and so were excised for impatient provocation of that providence, the signs of which were to be discerned by those only who stood in regular succession to Wesley and his advisers. The answer is always ready: Principles are never expedient; they are intrinsically either right or wrong, so that if lay-participation was wrong in Wesley's day, it continues to be wrong; a mere change of time and circumstances cannot make it right. It is an unpalatable truth to the defenders and representatives of Paternalism and exclusive clerical rule, and it is demonstrable that in England, as in America, those who have held the entail of power are surrendering grudgingly; the crust of that concretion of oligarchic power, liberalism in Methodism has pierced and injected its leaven of better things, and the English laity will not let it rest until the wrongs of the Deed of Declaration are righted by a division of authority such as self-respecting Englishmen can accept as a finality. The animus of the business as it is working among them is exhibited in the following bit of narrative from the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* (America) for November, 1896:—

“Dr. Pope presided at a meeting held at Central Hall, Manchester, to congratulate Dr. Randles, chairman of the district, on his election to the

presidency, as well as to welcome new ministers to the district. In replying the president said that the Methodist Church has the finest laity possessed by any church in this age. After reading a report of the laudatory remarks concerning Wesleyan laymen, Mr. Henry Farr, of Wigan, wrote asking the president how it is that 'the finest laity possessed by any church' is neither permitted to vote by ballot in the quarterly meeting nor to nominate church officers. These rights, Mr. Farr pointed out, were denied by the express vote of last conference, as they had been denied on previous occasions. Dr. Randles sent a courteous reply, in which he supported the course taken by the conference. Commenting on it, Mr. Farr writes: 'So it is evident that although he says we are the finest laity in the world, we are the least to be trusted of any laity in Christendom.' "

How many such laymen Henry Farr represents cannot be accurately ascertained, but they must be a very large proportion of the membership of this class, or no such reforms as have been secured from the clerical side would have been possible. Add these to the 373,699 avowed Methodist reformers, and it is discovered that the liberal element of British Methodism has gained the numerical ascendancy after more than a hundred years of struggle.

This permeating and modifying power of the Methodist Protestant Church over the dominating Episcopal Methodisms of America, if not quite so manifest and susceptible of figure-proof, should be stimulating to the zeal of every liberal Methodist. Putting the Methodist Protestant Church at 200,000, for the sake of round numbers in estimates; and the Canada Methodist Church, with its equal representation in the General Conference and its elective Superintendency quadrennially, and its recent refusal to take a step backward and adopt the term "Bishop" for that officer, as urged by the Bourbon element incorporated at the time of the Union, at 275,000; and the smaller liberal branches of American Methodism at 50,000 more; and a very low estimate of 500,000 reform Methodists within the two Episcopal Methodisms with their 4,000,000 membership, and you have a grand total for America of more than 1,000,000 Methodist Protestants virtually, if not nominally. The writer believes that a million, instead of half a million, would be nearer the truth as to Methodist Protestants in sentiment and principle within the pale of the two Episcopal Methodisms. And his reasons for the belief are in part an experience of conversations with the laity of those Churches extending over twenty years of official relation to his own communion and a travel in that time of 25,000 miles among Conferences, mingling with the people of every Methodist

patronymic from Michigan to Texas; the fact of such representative meetings as that at the Eutaw Street church in the late winter of 1896, in Baltimore, when three hundred delegates, from more than sixty of their city churches, resolved for Methodist Protestant principles; and at the great representative meeting about the same time in the Broad and Arch Street church, Philadelphia, presided over by Ex-Governor Pattison, from the entire lay-membership of that great city; and of like meetings in Boston, Cincinnati, and other centres of population where Methodism is rife; and from the advance already made of modifying changes in the Episcopal polity under this pressure from its leading and intelligent laity. It is by such a criterion, buttressed by the facts, that the success of the Methodist Protestant Church is to be estimated.

But those who accept and further these modifying changes seldom, if ever, accord credit to this permeating influence of an existing and prospering liberal Methodism. The fathers and founders of the Methodist Protestant Church, while acknowledged right in the abstract, are censured as men before their time; as impatient of Providence; as factious and restless and ambitious. The answer has been already made: Principles are never expedient; they are intrinsically right or wrong. The writer confesses to complacency when he can enlist such a representative advocate of the old *régime* as Rev. Dr. Buckley, albeit fair and open to convictions which are working changes in his status on kindred questions. Let his argument on the line of right be heard as made in the *Christian Advocate* editorially of August 27, 1896: "If the seating of women by the highest legislative body of the Christian Church is scriptural and wise, women have been robbed of it through the ages. Methodism has deprived them of it, as it deprived the male membership until 1872, and it has robbed them of it since that time. If it is right, it was always right. If, scripturally considered, it is wrong, it must ever be so." Bravo, Dr. Buckley! expediency does not enter into it, either women delegates or lay-delegates. If either is right now, it was always right; if wrong, then always wrong. The world's Methodism is coming to see and acknowledge that lay-delegation, at least, is right, and if so, then the advocates of it in 1820-30 were right, and those who, mole-like, opposed the advocacy to the extent of excommunication for such opinions' sake, were wrong, and it is time that the confession is ingenuously made by their historians.

But a hundred years of struggle has not brought liberal principles in America even to the vantage ground occupied by them in England. The Bourbon element still protests. In the last General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, when the reference as an overture to the Annual Conferences of an equal delegation of laymen in that body was on its passage, a clerical member of the body hailing from New Jersey said, "We will never surrender our supremacy in the General Conference," and the Associated Press despatches of the day tell that the sentiment was received with "applause." The reference, however, was carried by an overwhelming vote, and it remains to be seen whether three-fourths of the ministers will accord or not.¹ The obstructing Bourbonism is no longer a dominating one, but it dies hard. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which came to an equal delegation of laymen in its General Conference after 1866 by a bound, still has a large element of this kind. Bishop M'Tyeire, in his "History of Methodism," had only words of approval for it, but Rev. Dr. Hoss, thirty years after, 1896, finds it necessary as editor of the *Nashville Christian Advocate*, its official organ, to tussle with these Bourbons, and he does not mince his declarations: "Any possibility of a change to the old system is not even to be dreamed of. The man who could muster up the hardihood to propose it would simply be laughed out of countenance, for the Church has come to see that what was at first looked upon simply as a matter of human expediency is also really a matter of divine authority. The New Testament teaches, as clearly as it teaches anything, to coördinate rights of the laity in the government of the Church. The notion, so zealously maintained by some of our fathers, that this was exclusively a clerical function, is quite without foundation. The New Testament doctrine of the priesthood of the people wipes out a good deal of surviving Romanism from the creeds and politics of our Protestant churches."

What, then, is to be the upshot of the whole matter? The Methodist world is moving — moving in the direction of personal Christian rights as Christ exalted them under his own Headship. The grave error of the Deed of Declaration, and the graver one of the Episcopal organization of American Methodism, with the legislative and judicial and executive authority in the hands of

¹ The negative result of the overtures is furnished in the previous chapter, secured after this reference was written. And later an overwhelming affirmative result under the menace of a lay-revolution.

the ministry, shall eventually be corrected, as it may be condoned. All the currents of history are in proof that there is no arrogance and assumption like that of the priestly, as it flourishes in the ecclesiastical domain and so enlists a misinstructed conscience in extenuation. Wesley and Asbury, types of their class, believed that this authority came to them by a providential assignment — it was a sacred trust. So enamoured of it were they, and so schooled had they become in its efficiency, and so satisfied were they of their own prayerful sincerity, that the study of their lives was to entail it in copper-bottomed and steel-riveted systems. They believed in Victor Hugo's dictum in its first half: "All civilization begins in theocracy" (so the Pope is in God's place, and so hierarchs of every degree arrogate); but they did not believe in the latter half of his dictum, "and ends in democracy." To grind this half into the arrogants has cost the bloody crusades of centuries in the civil domain, and in the ecclesiastical the inquisitions and excommunication, both Romish and Protestant; and in none has the struggle been more heroic than in the Methodisms on either side of the ocean,—a struggle to correct the fundamental error of Wesley and Asbury of 1784, both in England and America.

The upshot of the whole matter in the correction of these fundamental errors calls for prognostications as to the steps and methods of its accomplishment. In the Wesleyan English Conference Reform will go forward until equal lay-participation shall be sanctioned by parliamentary changes in the Deed of Declaration. That it will ever come to lay-representation is doubtful; clerical control in the minor official bodies is the last ditch of the oligarchic polity, and will not be surrendered easily. It may be in a generation more our English cousins of the Methodist laity will so upheave the clericals that the selection of lay-delegates shall be the province of the primary assemblies — the societies or congregations — and not the Quarterly Conferences, which are so largely the appointees of the pastors and so amenable to their wishes and authority. Wesley's dictum, "We are no republicans and never intend to be," shall be finally overthrown, and a New Testament polity of personal sovereignty for every Christian believer be the interpretation of republicanism. Then may come Methodistic organic union in the British Islands, the limited territory and the more limited numbers making it feasible, as was the union of Canada Methodisms for the same reasons. Then will the memory of Dr. Whitehead and all the

leaders of liberal opinions in the several branches be vindicated, and English Methodism as a Christianity in earnest go forward to greater spiritual triumphs, while no less revering the fathers and founders. Methodist womanhood will be recognized as born of Susannah Wesley and the long line of matronly worthies, who shall not preach and pray only, but have seats with the judges and lend their pure presence in its legislative halls. Then will it be no longer a matter of moment whether emigrating English Methodists on arriving in America shall be taught to inquire for "Bishop Simpson's Church," or left free to unite with that form of Methodism they may find most convenient or adapted to their preferences.

As to American Methodisms, these forecasts are ventured. In the Methodist Episcopal Church lay-delegation, even though defeated by the present reference to the voting Annual Conferences of the preachers,—there is voting nowhere else,—it will not die, and an equal delegation of laymen shall take their seats in the General Conference, thus putting it abreast with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, since 1870.¹ In the former Church the "general superintendency" shall be modified. The inevitable world-girdling growth of this wonderful organization shall go on, second only to Rome in its ideal of hierarchy, with its equipment for home and foreign extension, and its responsive laity, who still "pray, pay, and obey," as in Asbury's time and his successors, furnishing the sinews, while they yet wait, hat in hand, at the doors of its legislative assembly for something like respectable recognition, as worthy to share in it and help dispense their own bounty. The bench of bishops now numbers sixteen, who follow each other round the earth that the fiction of a "general superintendency" may be preserved under the iron-clad restriction of the General Conference of 1808. This now superfluous and expensive plan must sooner or later result in the districting of the bishops. Official leaders now demand it. Bishop Tho-

¹ There is now, November, 1898, no doubt that the resubmission of the equal lay-delegation question to the Annual Conferences by the General Conference of 1896, will receive a three-fourths vote of the ministers. This sudden reversal of opinion is due largely without question to the menacing attitude of the laity, in a call for a General Convention of laymen in the autumn of 1898, to demand their proper recognition. Rather than provoke revolution the ministry succumbs, and there is now a moral certainty that the ensuing General Conference of 1900 will recognize equal delegation in that body for 1904. Whether the Reform will stop with this remains to be seen. November 17, 1898, official notice was given by the laymen that their General Convention was recalled, the demand having been yielded.

burn, in the September, 1895, number of the *Methodist Review*, declares that "the attempt to maintain the present systemless and outgrown policy must be abandoned." "It seems ridiculous," he says, "to require sixteen men here in the United States to interchange their fields of labor annually; . . . it is a waste of time, strength, and money, and that if it is unwise for this country, it is much more so applied to mission fields." The *Western Christian Advocate* approves, and declares that it would be easier to employ to great advantage sixty bishops than it is now to provide for sixteen. And this is the inevitable trend. The residential location of the present bench is a step in the same direction. It may take a generation yet to accomplish it, and with it will come a peaceful solution of the presiding eldership; they will be superseded by resident bishops sufficient in number to know the work and the men, and with it will come an immense saving pecuniarily to the churches in the cost of administration. The reform will go onward to face the most difficult feature of change the laity will demand: delegation in the Annual Conferences equal to the ministry. The gigantic obstacle to this change has already been suggested in these pages: the old system has grown vast aggregations of preachers in Annual Conferences. To double the number would make them utterly unwieldy; to divide them, fertile of trouble; so that equal lay-delegation in the Annual Conferences will probably not be within the years of this generation.

These changes, when secured, will not greatly modify the system practically; its essential genius will be differenced widely from that of the Methodist Protestant Church, and however possible it would have been for the Reformers of sixty or seventy years ago to have accepted these changes, recalling the fact that two generations have been born since the initial movement, and the existing membership of the new Church in quite a fair proportion have had not fathers only, but grandfathers and mothers, from whom they have derived their Methodist Reform principles; and just as such an education, by a species of heredity, keeps thousands who are like-minded within the fold of the parent Church, a kindred education makes it impossible for these descendants of worthy sires to surrender the Church of their progenitors. The Church has demonstrated its right to exist; it has, step by step, won for itself all the appointments of a well-organized ecclesiasticism: church property commensurate with its numbers and ability, colleges and seminaries for its young

people and theologues, a well-planted foreign missionary work — one of the essentials of a Church claiming continued existence under the Christly standard; a home missionary and Church Extension work; and, to cap all, a growth in numbers and ability such as would make its absorption into any other Methodism a flat contradiction of a manifest destiny and a providential mission as a Church. It is of age, and long past the tutelage of its parent. It cannot listen longer to proposals of absorption, — and it is confessed that the dominant Methodism cannot well offer anything else, — so that any within its ministry who hanker after such absorption should in loyalty to their changed opinions, and in deference to the great body of the organization, forbear such agitation within its portals. If they have outgrown the limitations of a 200,000 Church (and this conceit is at the bottom of most individual defections from which this Church suffers), let them quietly withdraw and find the boosting of better pay and “a wider field of usefulness” (another of the conceits that lure preachers from its ranks) in a 2,500,000 Church; for to this type of mind there is nothing so attractive as a 2,500,000 Church, except one of 4,000,000 or 5,000,000. Even if such a scheme of so-called union, *i. e.* absorption, should be made so plausible that a General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church should favorably entertain it, the overt attempt would meet the autonomous nature of the churches, and no other result, the writer predicts, would ensue but segregation and disintegration in independencies — the corporate dissolution of the once fair heritage.

But no such untoward combination shall mar the future history of this Church; it is reduced to a moral certainty. There is a stronger probability that, tired out with fruitless appeal, the laity, and, weary of snubbing and rebuke, that growing class of its younger ministry who are fretting under the unamenable authority of the Eldership and Bishopric, will withdraw, some of both classes, and thus accretions occur to the Methodist Protestant Church as it continues to gain a wider and more respecting recognition from the sisterhood of Protestantism. The writer is not praying for such a result, nor are his coadjutors, and he would even apologize for the mention of it, if that mention could have any such trend. Under its present loyal leadership, and a young ministry in large part born within the fold, the Reform Church will go forward and do its appointed work; it will live and prosper; it will take its proper rank. But to this end the educational process within, already intimated, must not be neglected.

Its ministry must study fully its genius, be quite amenable to its elective authority, and develop an individual character which will make every pastor a forceful exponent of a liberal Methodistic Christianity; and its laity must learn that parity of rights does not mean a domineering spirit; the lay bishop can no more be tolerated than the clerical bishop; they, too, must study the genius of its polity, and not forget the self-abnegation of the ministers who bought by their personal suffering these equal rights for them. They must not permit their average liberality to fall below the standard of their brethren in the Episcopal Methodisms; broad sympathy, generous support, and hearty coöperation must characterize their conduct toward a ministry that is still more largely than themselves exhibiting the self-sacrificing spirit. The hope of the future is that into these things they will grow, and thus insure the fulfilment of the favorable prognostications here made for the Methodist Protestant Church.

Is it the purpose, then, of this Church to stand aloof from its sister Methodisms? By no means. No one can be a stronger advocate of coöperation than the writer, but it can be only through the operation of a Federation that shall be mutually respecting and free from denominational arrogance. Said Bishop Galloway in a Boston Methodist preachers' meeting, declarative of the position of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and in line with a recent utterance of his brother Bishop, Fitzgerald's, Federation, Fraternity, and Forgiveness: "One Federation for all the sons of Wesley." It is the only thing possible to the divisions of Methodism, as it is the only thing possible to the divisions of Protestantism. Dr. Buckley indorsed the same proposition in the *New York Christian Advocate* of September 3, 1896, though perhaps unwittingly as to the present application: "The unity of outward ecclesiastical forms has been well described as hollow, unity of inward and spiritual life as real. The only unity attainable in this world is substantial spiritual unity in circumstantial variety of form and letter."

Federation does propose and promise a little more. What the writer means, and he takes it these bishops of a 1,500,000 Church, having an unprecedented growth since the Civil War, also substantially mean, is some such agreement through the respective General Conferences of these two dominating Churches (the Methodist Protestant Church with its 200,000 would ask to be recognized also) as the appointment of Commissioners, an equal

number of clerical and laical members, who shall be invested with power to formulate the terms and conditions of the Federation, which are to be such as these, in part if not in whole. An authoritative proclamation that these Methodisms are no longer in home extension work to build altar against altar, avoiding such conflict in the larger cities by respecting the principle in neighborhoods, and avoiding it in the smaller towns and villages by respecting preëmption and preoccupation, and the superior facilities which the one form of Methodism in this covenant shall possess over the other. What a vast saving there would be in such an arrangement for home extension of the common cause of Wesleyan doctrine and methods. It might even be pressed to the extent of union in not a few places where now two or three Methodist churches are struggling to live and are in each other's way; though this union would have to be brought about by strict local agreement under higher official sanction.

In the foreign field there ought to be even less difficulty in coming to such an agreement. It is the perplexity and distraction of the heathen to-day, specially in Japan and China, where the several Methodisms are operating often side by side, to understand these differences of structural ideal. Where these Methodist missions are established, and in all the unoccupied territory, let Methodism push its evangelization under a common name, either the "Methodist" or the "United Methodist" Church, and let their missionaries, when they touch a foreign shore, drop at once their denominational name and cease to be sectarian. Let the foreign missionary fund be a common one, and each Methodism vie with the other for liberal things under the impulse of this purely Christlike venture for the extension of his kingdom. There need be nothing insuperable in such a method. Let the formulation of a common hymn book be no longer delayed, and let it be titled, "The Methodist Hymn Book," for universal adoption by all its branches and all over the world. It ought to be the easiest of the proposals not later than the ensuing Ecumenical Conference of the world's Methodisms.

This is a scant outline of the salient feature of a Methodist Federation.¹ For this the Methodist Protestant Church is ready

¹ Commissioners on Federation were appointed by the respective General Conferences of the two great Methodisms, North and South, in 1894 and 1896 respectively. These Commissioners met in Washington, D. C., January 7, 8, 1898; and after careful deliberation they reaffirmed the so-called Cape May, N. J., agreement as to the legal status and property rights of the two Churches, and then passed the following resolutions as a basis of Federation between the two. The

to-day, if the brethren of the other communions will condescend to recognize it as a factor in such a compact. The one bar to it, even after revolutionary consent should have been given, is that "ecclesiastical finesse" heretofore traced as the fly in the ointment of every past attempt to bring together brethren of a common faith. That such a movement must be initiated by the dominating Methodism goes for the saying. Will it ever be done by the Methodist Episcopal Church, with the Church South and the Protestant Church thus committed to it? The writer sadly confesses he sees little probability of it, reasonable as it is, and demanded by the highest considerations of Christly love and loyalty. That great and glorious Church has never yet in its history made a single sign of a self-abnegating recognition of its sister Methodisms in the direction named, nor even of cordial approval of

resolutions in the full text may be found in the *New York Christian Advocate* of January 20, 1898, and elsewhere. For the purpose of this foot-note, they are scaled and condensed in verbiage: and it will be discovered by those who take the pains to make careful comparison that all the points for a Federation, as outlined by the writer, are included with others of less vital importance, showing how fully the ingenuous mind of American Methodism is agreed as to what Christian comity demands should be done. The first resolution recommends a common catechism, hymn book, and order of public worship for both Churches. The second, to recognize and regulate by legal provisions the Epworth Leagues of the respective Churches. The third, a joint administration of their publishing interests in China and Japan. The fourth, cöoperative administration in Foreign Missionary work for lessening the expenditure of funds in the prosecution of this work, the plan to be left to the two General Conferences. The fifth, that new church work shall not be established where either Church is organized, without the consent of the bishop having jurisdiction. The sixth, that the American University at Washington, D. C., be mutually recognized and supported, with special contributions, during the closing year of the old century and the first of the new. A final recommendation is, that the General Conferences of the two Churches arrange for the mutual recognition of ministers without loss of orders or standing. This plan of Federation now goes to the ensuing General Conferences of these Churches in 1898 and 1900, to be approved probably as it stands by the Church, South, in 1898, but open to doubt and amendment by the Church, North, in 1900. Its final adoption must thus be delayed long enough for the General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church meeting synchronously with that of the Methodist Episcopal Church in May, 1900, to consider the plan, and if favored, at least in its essential features, to seek recognition under it. There is every fraternal and Christian reason that these features should be submitted to the world's Methodism, at the ensuing third Pan-Methodist Conference in London in 1901, should it be called by the committee authorized to do so. One hymn book and one catechism and one order of service the world over would, indeed, be a bond of union and fraternity.

Later, May, 1898, the General Conference of the M. E. Church, South, in Baltimore, indorsed the action of its Commissioners as to the features of Federation. It now goes to the General Conference of the M. E. Church in 1900, to be amended, accepted, or rejected.

any of the interdenominational and unsectarian movements which have from time to time encouraged the Christian world that there may come in any near future a Federation for Protestantism. Like Romanism, it stands ready to absorb any class of organized Christians coming within the attractive range of its multi-millions and its immense property interests, and this alone. The writer begs pardon of his brethren if this indictment is too strongly worded, and he is open to conviction, if its positions can be successfully controverted. "Let prayer be made continually" that some such Federation as the writer has presumed to outline may yet, in the good providence of God, be consummated, at least for the Methodisms of the world, and then "Ephraim shall not vex Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim."

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