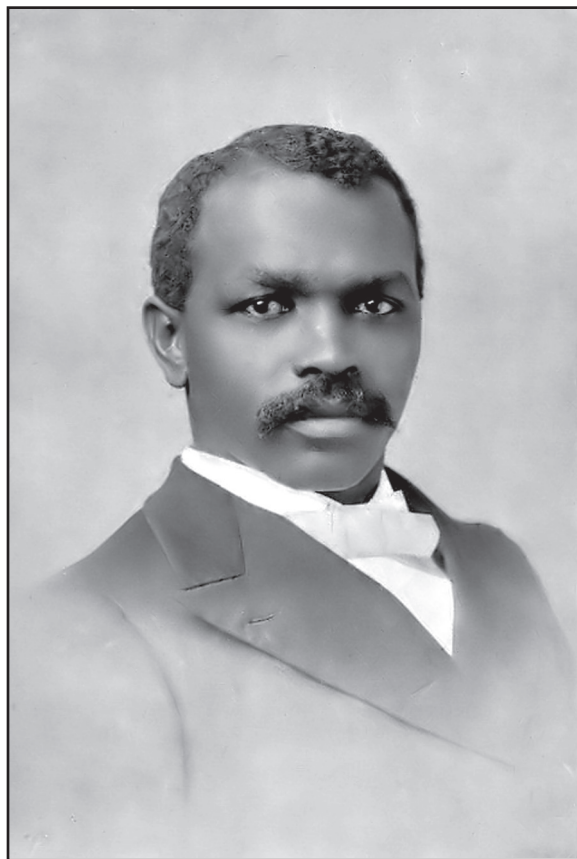


METHODIST HISTORY

October 2017

Volume LVI
Number 1



THE REV. DR. JOHN W. E. BOWEN, SR. (1855-1933)



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Cover: John W. E. Bowen, Sr., college and university educator, and one of the first African Americans to earn a Ph.D. degree in the United States. He, among others, provided crucial Black leadership in the MEC. See Harris article (pages 14-26). Photo is circa 1880s.

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METHODIST HISTORY

Alfred T. Day III, Editor

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Methodist History readers are due to receive this issue on or about October 31, Reformation Day. This year, 2017, marks the 500th year since Martin Luther nailed his 95 arguments for ecclesial reform to the castle church door in Wittenberg, Germany.

Methodists' relationship to Reformation Day is not the direct line which Lutherans, Presbyterians and Baptists can claim. The Reformation in England, coming by way of Henry the VIII and his rows with Rome, set the stage for the Wesley's "reformation" of the Reformation a few generations later.

At its heart, reformation, whether in with capital or lower case "r" is the process of renewing an institution and its practices, reasserting and clarifying its core beliefs and actions. In the case of the Wesleys' and Methodism, the Protestant Reformation's key credo of justification by faith alone becomes more than a mere pardon for sin. Receiving such amazing grace ignites holiness of heart and behavior.

This idea of sanctification was always a doctrine in Christian theology. Across the centuries, institutions and their dogma become official systems more concerned with preservation than transformation. The sparks that once fired reformation and renewal become regulation.

At a Reformation 500 event held in Wittenberg, Germany, sponsored by The Community of Protestant Churches in Europe, Germany Central Conference Bishop Rosemarie Wenner said, "If we make the renewal-power of the gospel work, reformation will happen any time."

We who are concerned with the work of history are always looking for realigning, renewing, reorganizing, reconstructing, renovating, rearranging, and reforming moments. They are critical markers on the timelines we construct. This and every issue of *Methodist History* is full of such markers illuminating the shifts from past, to present, to future.

Randy Maddox's essay draws together five manuscript letters of Sarah Wesley, Jr., wherein she describes to a friend the death accounts of her father, Charles Wesley; her uncle, John Wesley; and her beloved aunt, Martha (Wesley) Hall—the last three siblings of their generation, who died within about three years of each other. Several of these letters have not been published previously. Together they shed light on both the dynamics of the Wesley family and the eighteenth-century ideal of the "good death."

Paul Harris' essay addresses the post-Civil War Methodist Episcopal Church reentering the South with considerable evangelistic and educational success among freed slaves through their Freedmen's Aid Society. Simultaneously, Methodists in the North attracted numerous white

Southerners, giving the Church a large biracial membership. Mission was thus torn between a promise to include blacks in denominational life and policy that separated “colored work” under the guise of developing black leaders for their own churches. These leaders lived in tension between a desire to cultivate friendly relations with whites and a determination to assert their rights to equality and recognition.

Joe Super’s essay examines the role of the annual conference in the expansion of in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Methodism in industrializing West Virginia. Annual conferences were the vital cultivators of the denomination, intermediaries between local congregations and the General Conference, annual hubs around which valuable resources reached unchurched areas. Super shows how annual conferences are overlooked when examining the connection between religion and industrialization. The essay also reveals great diversity in Appalachian Protestantism at the turn of the century cautioning against generalizations about the region and sub-regions within Appalachia.

David Bundy’s essay examines the crisis provoked in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, by a group of young “Methodist” theological students, namely Jean-Henri Granpierre and Samuel-Auguste de Petitpierre, exploring the nature of their “Methodism.” Unsatisfied with the reformed faith of their rearing, these students adopted and adapted the spirituality of Pietists and Moravians they encountered at Tübingen. Were they not sons of the bourgeoisie, they might have been denied education or ordination. The theology demonstrated in the students’ writings reveal parallels with English Methodists without use of English Methodist resources. The essay builds on Bundy’s previous essay about Methodist’s problematic relations with the local religious establishment in Neuchâtel.

Alex Parrish’s essay explores the educational efforts of The Woman’s Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church (WMHS) for indigenous Alaskans during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The WMHS prioritized an educational initiative that attempted to absorb Alaska Native culture into American culture and attempted to “civilize” Alaska Natives. The education included formal classroom instruction as well as industrial school training, and attracted attention and support from both individuals and businesses. The essay was first presented at a meeting of The Historical Society of The United Methodist Church in Anchorage, Alaska.

Good reading to all.

Alfred T. Day III

**“THIS DISTINGUISHED BLESSING”
SARAH WESLEY, JR.’S WITNESS TO
A TRIO OF FAITHFUL DEATHS**

RANDY L. MADDOX

Among the archival holdings of the Bodleian Library of Oxford University are the papers of Colonel Martin and Judith (née Cowper) Madan, and two of their daughters: Maria Frances Cecilia Cowper (1726-1797) and Penelope Maitland (1730-1805). About 1750 this family formed connections with both Wesleyan and Calvinist Methodism. Penelope (née Madan) Maitland, in particular, became a friend of the family of Charles Wesley. Thus among this archival collection are thirty-two manuscript letters written by Sarah Wesley, Jr. (1759-1828), the daughter of Charles Wesley, to Penelope Maitland.

Since Penelope Maitland (like her mother) was a poet, many of the letters reflect Sarah, Jr.’s interest in literary culture. But five of the letters have particular interest to Wesley Studies. They convey Sarah’s firsthand accounts of the deaths of Rev. Charles Wesley (March 29, 1788), Rev. John Wesley (March 2, 1791), and Martha (Wesley) Hall (July 12, 1791). Sarah, Jr., was likely the only person present at all three deaths and comments in one of the letters on “this distinguished blessing—to see a whole family ‘die in the faith.’” To be sure, what Sarah witnessed was the passing of only the *last three* children of Samuel and Susanna (Annesley) Wesley, but the lives of these three were closely intertwined with one another, with Methodism, and with Sarah, Jr.

Her letter to Penelope Maitland was not Sarah Wesley Jr.’s only epistolary account of her father’s death. Her earliest account (dated April 4, 1788) was sent to her uncle John, who quickly published it in the *Arminian Magazine*.¹ By comparison to this well-known letter, Sarah’s (previously unpublished) account to Penelope is brief, but perhaps more revealing of her sense of loss and pain.

The best known firsthand account of John Wesley’s death is by Elizabeth Ritchie, who helped care for him at the time.² Sarah, Jr.’s account to Penelope Maitland is found in two letters—one sent the day before his death, describing how he was facing his illness; and a long letter almost two weeks after his death. Together these two letters confirm and add scattered details to the account of Ritchie (such as the last words that Sarah’s mother spoke to her

¹*Arminian Magazine* 11 (1788): 407–409.

² Elizabeth Ritchie, *An Authentic Narrative of the Circumstances Relative to the Departure of the late Rev. John Wesley* (London: New Chapel, March 8, 1791).

brother-in-law).³

Turning to Sarah, Jr.'s beloved aunt, Martha (Wesley) Hall (1706–91), there are again two letters to Maitland describing Martha's last illness and death. In this instance, Sarah's letters provide the only known firsthand account of Martha's passing (and have not been published previously).

Together, these five letters bear eloquent testimony both to the close ties in the Wesley family and to the ideal of the "faithful death" in early Methodism.⁴

Sarah Wesley, Jr., to Penelope (Madan) Maitland⁵

[London]
April 16, 1788

We all thank you, dear madam, for your sympathy.

I purposed writing to acknowledge your kind attentions during our distressing anxiety,⁶ but the heartlessness with which I have set about everything since prevented me from addressing *you*, to whom I owe a warmth of gratitude my present state of mind cannot well enable me to express. My dear mother⁷ is supported wonderfully. My brothers⁸ are well, and I *doubt not* will show their respect for the best of fathers by new attentions to her.

For myself I can say little, though I think my spirits are better than my health. My affliction was aggravated by being *till the last hour* unexpected, and it is likely to be lasting, as it is less a passionate grief than a settled sorrow. To the last hour I attended, saw the change of death in his dear countenance, felt the cold sweats come on, and heard the only words he was able to utter.⁹ They were prayer, they were peace!

The happy spirit fled so easily we knew not the exact moment it departed. His hand was in mine sometime after. I gazed upon him, pallid, serene, as he lay. Waited to catch another breath, in vain! And neither wept or fainted!

The house unite in cordial best acknowledgments with, dear madam,

Your afflicted and affectionate,

S. Wesley

³ Sarah Wesley, Jr.'s letters to Penelope Maitland were first discovered by John Walsh, who published transcriptions of these two on John Wesley's death in *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* 56 (2007): 1-9.

⁴ The following letters are transcribed imposing modern standards of capitalization and punctuation, but retaining typical British spellings.

⁵ Sarah Wesley, Jr., to Penelope (Madan) Maitland letter, Oxford University, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Misc. c. 502, ff. 47.

⁶ Her father, Charles Wesley, had died on March 29, 1788.

⁷ Sarah (Gwynne) Wesley (1726–1822).

⁸ Charles Wesley, Jr. (1757–1834), and Samuel Wesley (1766–1837).

⁹ In her letter to John Wesley, Sarah records these words as "Lord—my heart—my God!"

Sarah Wesley, Jr., to Penelope (Madan) Maitland¹⁰

[London]

[Tuesday, March 1, 1791¹¹]

Dear Madam,

By the time this letter reaches you it is probable my beloved uncle will have joined the society of blessed spirits.¹² He was seized with fever and general debility some time ago, but exerted himself as usual, and so much so last Friday that a fatal relapse took place. There is no human hope of recovery, but great cause of spiritual rejoicing. His soul is already in heaven and his conversation (whether in delirium or perfect intellectual power) evinces it. His speech frequently fails, but we can distinguish the frame of his spirit.

Sunday he articulated

And oh this life of mercies crown
With a triumphant end.¹³

At another time he said, "there is no entering heaven but through the blood of the covenant, through Jesus!"

A little after:

I the chief of sinners am
But Jesus died for me.¹⁴

He suffers no pain, receives all in a sweet and thankful manner, and on finding great difficulty in speaking began a prayer, "Lord thou dost all things well. Thou givest strength to those who can speak and to those who cannot." Then feebly he attempted to sing, but could only repeat audibly that favorite hymn of his:

I'll praise my Maker whilst I've breath
And when my voice is lost in death
Praise shall employ my nobler powers;
My days of praise shall ne'er be past
Whilst life, or thought, or being last
Or immortality endures!¹⁵

I have not time to add many other striking and consoling particulars,

¹⁰ Sarah Wesley, Jr., to Penelope (Madan) Maitland letter, Oxford University, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Misc. c. 502, ff. 62–63.

¹¹ While the letter is not dated, Sarah mentions the date in the opening of her next letter.

¹² Indeed, John Wesley died the next morning, March 2, 1791.

¹³ Charles Wesley, Hymn on Psalm 71:8, *Scripture Hymns* (1762), 1:266.

¹⁴ Charles Wesley, Hymn on 1 Cor. 2:2, st. 1, *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (1742), 259.

¹⁵ This hymn by Isaac Watts was indeed a favorite of John Wesley. He included it in his very first 1737 *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, (9-10), and it appeared in several of his other published collections including the 1780 *Collection of Hymns for the People Called Methodists*.

having the delightful privilege of attending his last hours, and indeed am now writing in his chamber.

Knowing your esteem for this excellent and extraordinary man induces me, my dear madam, to send this incoherent account, besides the respect I feel for the many kind, condescending marks of your attentions toward

Your truly indebted and affectionate servant,

S. Wesley

I have borne a sympathizing part in several events of your amiable family, and should have written, but frequent indispositions and many anxieties have kept me silent.

Sarah Wesley, Jr., to Penelope (Madan) Maitland¹⁶

[London]

Monday, March 14, 1791

I did design to have addressed my dear, honoured friend before—to have thanked her for her sympathy, her letters, and her kind consolements. But such has been the distracted state of my mind, of my situation, and of everything around me, that even at this moment I am ill qualified to give the account which particularly induces me to write.

The Tuesday before my beloved uncle died was, I believe, the day I sent my letter to Totteridge.¹⁷ In the afternoon he gave orders for his burial: that it might be in woolen, his body laid in the Chapel, and all the money which he had about him given to the stewards for the poor, which was done in his presence.

He then called up the family to prayers. One of the preachers prayed earnestly and he pronounced the “Amen” with great energy after every interesting petition. When it was ended he took each person in the room by the hand and affectionately bid them “Farewell!” My mother came to visit him in the evening, and cried “You will soon be with your dear brother, at rest.” He answered, “He giveth his servants rest.”

His faithful attendant, Miss Ritchie,¹⁸ (an excellent woman from the north of England) had, at his desire, spent the winter in London for this purpose. She was with us by his bedside, and brought him a spoonful of orange juice (the only thing he seemed to sip with pleasure), upon which he solemnly gave out his usual grace: “We thank thee Lord for these and all thy mercies. Bless the Church and king, and grant us truth and peace, for Christ’s sake!”

Soon after he said, “The heavens drop fatness!”¹⁹ He causeth his servants

¹⁶ Sarah Wesley, Jr., to Penelope (Madan) Maitland letter, Oxford University, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Misc. c. 502, ff. 64–68.

¹⁷ Penelope Maitland lived in Totteridge Green, near Barnet, Hertfordshire.

¹⁸ Sarah spells “Richie” throughout. Elizabeth Ritchie (1754–1835) was the daughter of a surgeon in Otley, Yorkshire. Her parents were Methodists and John Wesley often stayed at their home. In 1801, she married Harvey Walklate Mortimer.

¹⁹ See Ps. 65:11.

to lie down in safety.²⁰ The God of Jacob is our refuge!"²¹ At another time, "God is with us!" He repeated it again, and the third [time] lifted up his feeble hand and shouted "God is with us!"

He dozed the greater part of the night, but interruptedly; spoke often, and once clasped his hands as in fervent prayer, but we could not distinguish the words. Indeed the fear of putting him to the least pain prevented dear Miss Ritchie and myself from asking him much that we longed to hear; for he would kindly attempt to answer, disregarding his own ease in death as he did in life.

Wednesday morning, about eight o'clock, he drew his breath shorter, but without struggle. A little noise in his throat, but not loud enough to be called the rattles, intermixed with all he now spoke, for he continued in striving to utter something for his divine Master. We could just distinguish "Lord." At another time "I'll praise." His restlessness abated towards nine, his speech nearly failing. Once I thought he thanked me, feebly endeavoured to press my hand, and said to a favourite preacher, "Farewell."

After this we could no longer distinguish any words, though his lips continued to move, and we all imagined he began his usual hymn: "I'll praise my Maker whilst I've breath . . ." His hands and feet continued warm, but the paleness of death overspread his dear countenance. Without one convulsion, struggle, or groan he gently sighed out his devoted soul into his Redeemer's bosom!

This was about twenty minutes before ten, Wednesday morning. Many of his pious children surrounded his bed at this moment, and one of the preachers gave out:

Happy soul, my days are ended
All thy toilsome days below!
Go, by angel guards attended
To the sight of Jesus go!
Waiting to receive thy spirit
Lo the Saviour stands above . . .²²

Here his voice faltered, and fortitude gave way to grief.

But I believe every person in the chamber felt the divine influence. It was a great consolation to me to be "in the assembly of the saints on earth" at such a time, and to receive sweet testimonies of their sympathizing love!

Our family were to have attend the funeral, and I look forward with mournful pleasure to the discharge of this last duty. But by the injudiciousness of some well-meaning people, who gave public notice that the body might be viewed, the crowds were so large, mixed, and tumultuous that they feared disturbance in the last solemn rite, and interred him by five o'clock in the morning.

²⁰ Cf. Hosea 2:18.

²¹ Ps. 46:7.

²² Charles Wesley, "For One Departing," st. 1, *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (1749), 2:75.

Forty thousand people were computed to have surrounded the chapel Monday and Tuesday. Nothing was ever like it excepting Wilkes's mob.²³ And if the happy spirit could have been grieved by anything on earth, I am sure this public exhibition, and indecent rabble, would have grieved it. To add to the impropriety of the whole, they dressed up the poor body in the gown and band.

In respect of temporal matters, my dear uncle had died as he lived. His plan, his profession, and his conduct prove he did not make a gain of the gospel of Christ, nor enrich his family with *any part* of the immense sums which passed through his hands. None of his chapels would he so accept that they could ever be called *private* property. They are all fixed in the hand of trustees for the continuance of the work of God. He never did receive the least emolument from them himself, and immediately put them out of his own power.

The interest of a small debt arising from my father's books is (and I speak it to his honour) all that he has left to us, and 40 pounds to my aunt Hall.²⁴ She bears the loss like one about to join him soon—without lamentations, tears, or regret. She views him (as she told me just after he expired) not as a departed friend but a blessed saint, and gently chides every appearance of grief in those who profess the same supporting faith. But her fortitude is constitutionally great. She desires me to join with my mother's her respectful love and Christian salutations, mentions with great pleasure former conversations with dear Mrs. Maitland, and doubts not of renewing the intercourse in a better world.

To me the loss is most heavy. I had the honour of being distinguished by him in the kindest manner, oftenest enjoyed his society, chiefly indebted to his tenderness! When we lose a dear friend it is no small aggravation of grief to recollect every act towards ourselves was love! But my soul acquiesces! And when I consider the everlasting Friend—the support of the desolate—is the *God of my* fathers, it seems a consolation beyond any words to express!

To you, my dear madam, I will not apologize for the length of this. I thought you would wish the particulars I endeavored to collect, and shall send as soon as I can obtain another, a *printed* account.²⁵ It is not written as perspicuously as I could have desired, but the state of mind which Miss Ritchie was in when she sent it to the press is excuse sufficient.

It gave me concern to hear so poor an account of Miss Maitland's²⁶ health. Moderate exercise, frequent change of air, and attention to diet, without *medicine*, I believe the best prescriptions in all cases.

²³ John Wilkes (1725–97), a radical English politician, published a strident criticism of King George III in 1768, and was imprisoned as a result. A large gathering of his supporters gathered in St. George's Field in south London in protest, and several were killed when government forces tried to disperse the mob.

²⁴ Martha (Wesley) Hall.

²⁵ Ritchie, *Authentic Narrative*.

²⁶ This is likely Penelope Judith Maitland (1760–1846), who did not marry until 1802.

I began this long scrawl Friday. Saturday Mrs. Cowper²⁷ favored us with a call. I should have enjoyed her society much more if some people had not happened just before to come in, but I could plainly perceive her sympathy and kindness. She looked like your *own* sister, dear madam, and obliged I always shall feel myself to your excellent family—but in a particular manner to your dear self. With much affectionate gratitude and distinctive respect I must ever subscribe

Your indebted friend,

S. Wesley

The hair I could not obtain.²⁸

Sarah Wesley, Jr., to Penelope (Madan) Maitland²⁹

City Road [London], next door the Chapel house

Tuesday, July 12, 1791

My dear Madam,

Having been at Margate³⁰ for my health these two months, and not being willing to write without a frank, I delayed acknowledging the kindest, most comforting letter I ever was honoured with, even by you.

I came suddenly to London to attend my good Aunt Hall, who is very near eternity. Some sweet testimonies of her happy state I will send to you, as soon as my dejected spirits will permit me to copy them over. She sends her dying love and, notwithstanding little contrarities of sentiment, trusts you will both meet around the throne to celebrate the love of our Lord through eternity! These are nearly her words—but I should not wonder if the perturbation of my mind retained more of the sense than the expression.

Oh what a privilege to minister to the future heirs of glory!

It appears she cannot survive many days, perhaps hours.

Dear madam! I always think of you in my afflictions. If your sympathy was not more than common, I should not have addressed you on these sad occasions. But I need the prayers of the pious and the kind.

Your indebted friend,

S. Wesley

My mother is not with me. I would save her all the pain that is unnecessary on these trying scenes, and my dear aunt only wished for me. I shall remain with her till the change takes place.

Address: "To / The Honourable Mrs. Maitland / Totteridge Green near / Whetstone Turnpike."

²⁷ Possibly Maria Frances Cecilia (Madan) Cowper (1726–97), who *was* Penelope's sister, or possibly the daughter-in-law of Maria, married to her son William Cowper (1750–98).

²⁸ Maitland had apparently requested a strand of John Wesley's hair.

²⁹ Sarah Wesley, Jr., to Penelope (Madan) Maitland letter, Oxford University, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Misc. c. 502, ff. 71–72.

³⁰ Margate, Kent, a seaside town.

Annotation: by Maitland: “N.B. The difference of my sentiments with this excellent saint was my being a Calvinist.”

Sarah Wesley, Jr., to Penelope (Madan) Maitland³¹

Chesterfield Street [London]

Thursday morning, July 21, 1791

Dearest Madam,

The papers have probably informed you of my loss.³² Your kind letter came three days after it, and your sympathy comforted me.

My beloved aunt departed this life on Tuesday evening, the 12th. Her end was not (to appearance) so near. She had none of the pains, none of the convulsions of death. Her senses, her faculties, and her affections, even to the last, were alive and vigorous as ever. The same tender concern for others, and interest in their welfare and comfort, distinguished her throughout the whole illness—or rather confinement, for “illness” it could not properly be called. As she approached her end her spirit seemed to partake that heaven to which she was hastening in a particular manner. A little before her death she called to me, expressed a joy she could not describe, and bid me witness a glorious scene which only *she* was permitted to see. Then, pressing my hand, and leaving me that *seal* of testimony which some Christians denominate “assurance” and others “pardon,” she raised herself in the bed and her last word was “shout.” We could not ascertain the moment of her departure, as she had no struggle—not even a sigh.

Fuller particulars of the blessed state her mind was in I have lent to the minister who is to preach her funeral sermon Sunday (Dr. Whitehead).³³ When he returns it, I will enclose it to you.

My excellent aunt had been always a calm, conscientious Christian; never talked of those triumphs and visions which warmer imaginations often mention (not that I mean to undervalue or deny the existence of these in some excepted cases). But “to fear God and keep his commandments,”³⁴ which she had done in an exemplary manner from her very infancy, appeared to her the *test of faith*, disclaiming at the same time all merit, all glory, but to him who works in us both to will and to do what is acceptable in his sight.³⁵ At the last, however, her evidences amounted to joy and triumph, and *I* was favored to be the witness of this.

Ah my dear Mrs. Maitland, notwithstanding the thankfulness I ought to

³¹ Sarah Wesley, Jr., to Penelope (Madan) Maitland letter, Oxford University, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Misc. c. 502, ff. 73-74.

³² Martha (Wesley) Hall’s death was reported in the *Whitehall Evening Post* (July 12–14, 1791), p. 3; *Morning Herald* (July 14, 1791), p. 3; and *The Public Advertiser* (July 15, 1791), p. 4.

³³ John Whitehead (1740–1804) was a physician who provided medical advice to both Charles and John Wesley, and their sister Martha. He was also a Methodist lay preacher and had preached John Wesley’s funeral earlier.

³⁴ Eccles. 12:13.

³⁵ Cf. Phil. 2:13.

feel at this distinguished blessing—to see a whole family “die in the faith”—my dejected heart thinks of its own loss more than their happiness. My filial affections have been extremely (I fear, idolatrously) strong, and they have been tried to the uttermost. I was going to say “But I have yet a mother, brothers, friends.” In *all*, and each, I feel I *can again die*!

Religion, to those possessed of *many* things, is the *best*; but to the *afflicted*, it is the *only* consolation. When the soul is bowed down with sorrow, how sweet it is to pour it out—oppressed and desolate—into the bosom of our heavenly Father! To believe he appoints all dispensations, and know that he loves his feeble creatures, far banished from him in a vale of tears!

We attended the funeral Tuesday, and as I am left the executrix, it was by my order plain, and a walking burial. Her dear remains were placed by my uncle's³⁶ and this hymn was sung over her:

Away with our sorrow and fear
 We soon shall recover our home!
 The city of saints shall appear
 The day of eternity come!
 From earth we shall quickly remove
 And mount to our native abode
 The house of our Father above
 The palace of angels and God!³⁷

I delayed writing till I could feel myself calm enough to be thus minute. My aunt much loved and respected you, dear madam. You will rejoin her in a happier world, and a better society, whither she is gone before!

My mother and brother³⁸ (Samuel is out of town) unite in most respectful dues with

Your afflicted, affectionate, and ever obliged friend,

S. Wesley

³⁶ Rev. John Wesley, in the City Road Chapel yard.

³⁷ Charles Wesley, Hymn VIII, st. 1, *Funeral Hymns* (1746), 11.

³⁸ Sarah (Gwynne) Wesley and Charles Wesley, Jr.

SEPARATION, INCLUSION, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK LEADERSHIP IN THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

PAUL W. HARRIS

In its last issue of the nineteenth century, the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*, the paper that served the African American membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church, put out a special edition taking stock of the race's situation. A piece on "The Negro Educator" was contributed by William H. Crogman, professor of classical languages at Clark University in Atlanta. As one of the first African Americans to join the professoriate, Crogman was a fitting choice. The West Indies native came south in 1870 as part of the operations of the Northern Methodists' Freedmen's Aid Society. After teaching at Claflin University in Orangeburg, South Carolina, for three years, he returned to school to complete his education at Atlanta University. In 1900, he was squarely in the middle of a distinguished, forty-year career teaching at Clark.¹

Crogman was a justifiably proud man who had recently taken to walking the two and a half miles each way from the Clark campus into town rather than ride the Jim Crow street car. His article for the *Southwestern* took particular pride in the observation that "we are largely our own instructors, to-day, throughout the South." He considered it "a fact of great significance, as every race must develop [sic] its own leadership, if it is to respect itself or command the respect of others." He recalled, "For the first ten years after emancipation [the black teacher] had to confront the aversion of his own people . . . All their ideas of excellence and nobility were white." The sentiment was understandable in a people just emerging from slavery, and the rise of African-American teachers signaled to Crogman that "much of the servile spirit" had passed away.² The Freedmen's Aid Society could claim to have educated more than 15,000 of those teachers.³³

The development of black leaders for black people fulfilled a major goal of the Northern Methodists, but it told only part of the story. The last year of the century had also witnessed a test of the Methodist Episcopal Church's commitment to developing black leadership that did not end so well. A long

¹ George A. Towns, "William Henry Crogman," *Journal of Negro History* 19 (April, 1934): 213-217.

² William H. Crogman, "The Negro Educator," *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Dec. 27, 1900).

³ J. W. Hamilton and M. C. B. Mason, Corresponding Secretaries of the FAS, "Lincoln's Birthday," *Christian Advocate* (Feb. 9, 1899).

and concerted campaign to elect a bishop of African descent had reached a culmination at the General Conference of 1900, and it had fallen short. The key difference between the two forms of leadership was that African-American teachers were leaders within their own communities, whereas bishops exercised general superintendency throughout the denomination. In other words, an African-American bishop would be in a position to wield authority over white people as well as black. African Americans had been welcomed into the M. E. Church with a promise of full equality, but they had come up against a glass ceiling that raised serious questions about the Church's commitment to that principle.

The freed slaves who joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, rather than the African Methodist Episcopal or African Methodist Episcopal Zion denominations, were attracted in part by its uniquely biracial membership. The Civil War had given the Northern Methodists an opportunity to reenter the South, where they sought to regain white members who had never been truly loyal to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as well as undertaking missions to the freed slaves. Over the next three decades, the outreach efforts of the Northern Methodists drew an African American membership of over 250,000 into the denomination. At the same time their appeals to white Unionists attracted an even greater number of Southern whites to join.⁴ No other Protestant denomination could claim that kind of success in building a biracial membership, but hopes that bringing the races together in fellowship would gradually overcome racial prejudice proved illusory. The "white work" of the M. E. Church developed along separate lines from their work with the freed slaves and remained that way.

However, African Americans who joined the M. E. Church were admitted as full and equal members of the denomination with the right to participate in all the Church's doings. The African Americans who joined the M. E. Church saw in this inclusiveness a repudiation of racial caste, and they looked forward to building a new society in the South where the races could work together in harmony. That ideal served as their defense against rival appeals from the African Methodist churches, who argued, "In the white churches the Negroes occupied only subordinate positions. *They are dictated to as your masters dictated to us in slavery times.*"⁵ The view of those blacks who joined the M. E. Church was expressed by Rev. Emperor Williams, an early leader in the important center of New Orleans: "In battling with the great sin of caste prejudice, we think it better to have all our people . . . in the same church organization."⁶ Committed to breaking down caste barriers within the denomination as a whole, African Americans sought leadership

⁴ "Quadrennial Report of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society, *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Held in Cleveland, Ohio, May 1-28, 1896*, ed. by David S. Monroe (NY: Eaton & Mains, 1896), 717. The report listed their colored membership as 252,676, and the Southern white membership as 301,234.

⁵ From *Southern Christian Recorder*, quoted in "Our White Masters," *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Apr. 17, 1890). Italics from original article.

⁶ "Fraternal Speeches," *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Jan. 16, 1879).

roles not only within their communities but also within the M. E. Church. The resulting tension between separation and inclusion defined the politics of race relations in the denomination for at least a century.⁷

The Freedmen's Aid Society

The promise of inclusion, many black Methodists believed, would be fulfilled by embracing the promise of education offered through the schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society (FAS). The Society was established in Cincinnati in 1866 by a group of anti-slavery Methodists and was later adopted as an official agency of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By the end of Reconstruction, the FAS shifted its focus toward institutions of higher education, leaving the bulk of primary education to common schools. Unlike similar organizations, notably the Congregationalist American Missionary Association, the FAS successfully combined evangelization with education. Indeed, to understand the role of the Freedmen's Aid Society in developing black leadership, it is essential to recognize that the FAS was a missionary enterprise. Typical of the historiography of missions, the literature on the freedmen's education movement tends to alternate between celebrations of their heroic devotion and critiques of their cultural insensitivity.⁸

That is a fair assessment in many ways. Yankee teachers in the South endured social ostracism at best and often very real threats of violence. In 1880, Erasmus Q. Fuller, a Methodist editor, compiled a report that counted seven ministers and one black female teacher who had been murdered "because they were Laborers in the Methodist [Episcopal] Church." Many more were assaulted. The victims were as likely to be white as black. At the same time, there was also a strong streak of paternalism in the uplift efforts of Methodist missionaries. They operated from the perception that under slavery African Americans had developed a corrupt and degraded form of Christianity that placed too much emphasis on emotionalism and too little on instilling the standards of "civilized" morality—that is, "industry, economy, frugality, patience, intelligence, virtue and piety" was one version of

⁷ For the later history, see Morris L. Davis, *The Methodist Unification: Christianity and the Politics of Race in the Jim Crow Era* (New York UP, 2008); and Peter C. Murray, *Methodists and the Crucible of Race, 1930-1975* (Columbia: U Missouri P, 2004).

⁸ Ronald E. Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom* (Chapel Hill: U North Carolina P, 2010); Ann Short Chirhart, *Torches of Light: Georgia Teachers and the Coming of the Modern South* (Athens: U Georgia P, 2005); Carol Faulkner, *Women's Radical Reconstruction: The Freedmen's Aid Movement* (Philadelphia: U Pennsylvania P, 2006); Elizabeth Jacoway, *Yankee Missionaries in the South: The Penn School Experiment* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana UP, 1980); Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873* (Chapel Hill: U North Carolina P, 1980); Richard C. Morris, *Reading, 'Riting, and Reconstruction: The Education of Freedmen in the South, 1861-1870* (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1976); Joe M. Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction: The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890* (Athens: U Georgia P, 1986); and Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964).

the litany.⁹

Yet the ultimate goal of missions was not to impose a paternalistic regime over people they believed their inferiors. The development of black leadership loomed large in the way missionaries understood their long-term goals and the means to reach them. In that respect, the FAS mission to the post-emancipation South was in line with other missionary policies at home and abroad. Briefly put, the goal of Protestant missions generally during this period was to raise up self-sustaining Christian communities, spiritually and educationally empowered for social betterment. Central to that project was the task of educating indigenous leaders.¹⁰ The Freedmen's Aid Society came south with precisely that goal in mind. On one level, the missionary operations of the Methodist Episcopal Church were thus separatist by design, encouraging the development of a black leadership focused inward on uplifting their own people.

Among the founders of the Freedmen's Aid Society one of the most important was John M. Walden, a minister who had been involved in the Bleeding Kansas struggles before the Civil War and would later become a bishop in the Church. At the 1875 anniversary of the Society, Walden explained the thinking behind it. "The basic idea of this Society," he said in his address, "was, that missions among the freedmen could not be successful . . . without employing the school as one of the means." Northern teachers were important at the outset, but from the beginning they were seen as a passing phase. In Walden's words:

The people are to be evangelized and elevated, and it must be chiefly by their own efforts, directed and encouraged, in the beginning, by those upon whose heart the duty is laid. Their teachers and preachers must come up among themselves. . . . Again, every one who rises into an intelligent leader among them, either as preacher or teacher, illustrates what others may do, and thereby becomes an inspiration to noble purposes and manly endeavor.¹¹

The chief purpose of the Freedmen's Aid Society schools, then, was to educate preachers and teachers who would serve as leaders in lifting up their own communities of color and strengthening them spiritually, morally, politically, and economically. It was a laudable effort that did indeed strengthen black communities, but in a segregated context, it proved to have little impact on the deep-seated racial prejudice faced by African Americans.

Separate Annual Conferences

With their focus on developing black leaders for black people, integration was not a priority for the national leadership of the Methodist Episcopal

⁹ Bishop Willard F. Mallalieu, "Twenty-Third Anniversary of Emancipation Day in the Crescent City," *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Jan. 7, 1886).

¹⁰ Paul W. Harris, *Nothing but Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions* (Oxford UP, 1999).

¹¹ "Dr. Walden's Address on the Freedmen's Aid Society," *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Feb. 24, 1876).

Church. White missionaries on the ground, along with emerging black leaders, often questioned whether the denomination was thereby surrendering to racial caste. One clear manifestation of that tension arose in a long-standing controversy over the organization of annual conferences. Annual conferences are generally organized by region, but the M. E. Church began to establish separate conferences for blacks and whites at the very outset of their Southern missions. The first colored conferences—the Washington and Delaware Conferences—were organized in the states that straddled the Mason-Dixon Line, where African-American members were a distinct minority lacking the educational advantages of the whites. When the General Conference of 1864 set them apart, it seemed like a sensible way to allow them to develop their own leaders.¹²

At first, these separations seemed to be generally accepted. In 1872, the Washington Conference argued against reintegration with white conferences, explaining that they did not wish “to be broken into fragments We can effect more good, and bring out more talent from our people, by being separate.”¹³ Looking back years later, one black Methodist opined “that our colored fathers just from under the clouds of slavery being ignorant, felt embarrassed in meeting with their white brethren who were intelligent, and many of the whites did not desire to meet with them.” Because the initial separations met little organized opposition, the impression grew that the African-American members preferred that approach. Further south, however, it was quite a different matter.¹⁴ In the heart of the Black Belt, the African Americans in the M. E. Church were not the scattered minority they were further north, and much of the white leadership was made up of the missionaries who had come to help them. Hiram Revels—who had briefly served during Reconstruction in the U.S. Senate in the seat formerly occupied by Jefferson Davis and afterward took a leading role in the Church’s Mississippi Conference—argued against separate conferences on the grounds that fellowship with whites modeled intelligent ways of conducting worship and business and also helped his people believe in the possibility of equality.¹⁵

Revels’s editorial appeared just as the General Conference of 1876 was getting underway and was clearly intended to bolster opposition to further separations. The Georgia and Alabama Conferences had petitioned for separation, and that had sparked intense discussion. Revels’s own conference presented a resolution describing separate conferences as “based on the detested principle of caste” and contrary to everything Methodism stood for; they concluded, “We protest against the formation of Conferences on any line that implies the inferiority of one race to another.” The issue was referred to

¹² L. M. Hagood, *The Colored Man in the Methodist Episcopal Church* (1890; rpt. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 130-141, 167-169.

¹³ “Washington Conference,” *Christian Advocate* (Mar. 14, 1872).

¹⁴ N. H. Speight, “Separate Conferences in the M. E. Church,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Aug. 2, 1894); Rev. Christopher Hunt, “Dr. Dashiell’s Mistake,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Mar. 9, 1876).

¹⁵ H. R. Revels, “We Ought Not to Separate,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (May 4, 1876).

the Committee on the State of the Church, which presented a lengthy report essentially favoring separation. Points in its favor included the fact that at the more local level of congregations and districts, separation already prevailed, so separate conferences were a “natural development,” and that “the recognition of caste, in any offensive sense, was not implied.” Above all, the argument for separation rested on “expediency,” and the report presented an extensive analysis purporting to show that separate conferences were more “prosperous” than mixed. After a lengthy debate, the Georgia and Alabama Conferences were granted their wish, and a rule was established to authorize further divisions if a majority of each race desired it.¹⁶

The report from the Committee on the State of the Church had been presented by Erastus O. Haven, who was already on record opposing separate conferences. In 1873, he had written, “If ministers begin to stoop in order to conciliate prejudice they must bend lower than their competitors, and finally crawl out of the country defeated.” He contended that separations might occur spontaneously because people had no desire to force themselves into social relations where they were not wanted, but that was fundamentally different from imposing it as a matter of policy.¹⁷ Presumably he felt that the new policy requiring the support of both races meant that separation would not be imposed.

At first that seemed to satisfy Joseph C. Hartzell, the founder and editor of the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*.¹⁸ Hartzell had come south from his native Illinois to lead the missionary efforts of the M. E. Church in Louisiana. Like the Mississippi Conference, the Louisiana Conference was staunchly opposed to separation, and there was no prospect of a majority’s voting for it.¹⁹ However, satisfaction with the policy proved short-lived. The preachers’ meeting in Charleston, South Carolina, registered “a strong protest” against it as “a compromise with caste prejudice.”²⁰

The problem with the policy soon became evident in the Tennessee Conference, which included sizable contingents of both black and white members. Although the African-American ministers were united against division and were able to block it initially, they came under strong pressure. The whites argued from expediency, claiming that “meeting in an annual conference with the colored brethren hedges up their access to a class of people they might otherwise reach, and bring into the church.” With the support of Bishop Randolph Foster, the white ministers persuaded the African Americans to accept a separation if the white members still wanted it at the

¹⁶ *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Held in Baltimore, Maryland, May 1-31, 1876*, ed. by George W. Woodruff (NY: Nelson & Phillips, 1876), 130, 145, 152, 164, 170, 177-178, 188, 195, 206, 235, 245, 280, 287-288, 325-331.

¹⁷ E. O. Haven, “No Separate Conferences for Whites,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (July 3, 1873), rpt. from the *Christian Advocate*.

¹⁸ “The Spirit of the General Conference,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (June 1, 1876).

¹⁹ James B. Bennett, *Religion and the Rise of Jim Crow in New Orleans* (Princeton UP, 2005), 21-26, 44-48.

²⁰ “Editorial Notes,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Aug. 3, 1876).

next session. That made it a foregone conclusion. One white minister who stood by the African Americans was John Braden, a missionary who had come down from New York to assume the presidency of Central Tennessee College and who for years endured the taunts of whites who referred to the school as "John Braden's Nigger College." Braden lamented, "The divisionists have the popular feeling of the whole South against the colored man in their favor, they have the great majority of the last general conference in sympathy with the divisionist movement, and the Bishops presiding at the conferences are not careful to conceal their views of the matter, and generally they favor the separation."²¹ With all that stacked against them, one by one the conferences would yield to division.

Aristede E. P. Albert

African-American leaders in the M. E. Church were caught between a commitment to defending what they called their "manhood rights" and a desire to cultivate friendly relations with whites. Criticism of the Church itself also tended to be muted by their deep loyalty and gratitude for the help they had received.²² A case in point is A. E. P. Albert, who became a major voice of black Methodists through his role in editing the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*. Although his father was a white Frenchman, Albert was born into slavery on a sugar plantation in 1853 and knew the horrors of that system. He and his mother were able to escape to Union lines when New Orleans fell in 1862, and he began a long struggle to educate himself that took him to Atlanta for four years of study at Atlanta University and Clark University and culminated in a theological degree from Straight University. He taught school in both Georgia and Louisiana, and in both places experienced the reign of terror that Southern whites inflicted on aspiring African Americans during Reconstruction. He entered the ministry in 1880, and the following year he was appointed the associate editor of the *Southwestern* by Joseph C. Hartzell, who had launched the paper as part of his mission in New Orleans.²³

Working with Hartzell and his successor, L. P. Cushman, Albert joined the fight against the growing color line in the Methodist Episcopal Church. After the controversy in Tennessee, the paper stepped up its attacks, alleging that the push for division sprang from "prejudice the offspring of American slavery" and that in capitulating to it, the General Conference "lost by a single act the fruits of twenty-five years of victories."²⁴ Albert had reason to fear

²¹ Rev. J. Braden, "By Lamplight," *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Nov. 23, 1876); Annual Conference Minutes for 1876, GCAH; William Osburn, "Biographical Sketch of Rev. John Braden, D.D., and a Brief Tribute to His Memory," and "A Hero Surrenders to Death," *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (June 21, 1900). [Language original to the quotation.—Ed.]

²² An excellent example of that balancing act is D. W. Hays, "Let Us Show More Manliness," *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (May 1, 1890).

²³ Emerson Bentley, "The Associate Editor of the 'South-Western,'" *Christian Advocate* (Mar. 16, 1882); Bennett, 71-72.

²⁴ "The Question of Division in Tennessee," *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Aug. 30, 1877); see "The Colorline Legislation of 1876" and "As We See It," *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Jan. 3, 1884).

that separate conferences would become “the entering wedge to a final separation in the general conference,” and he urged readers of the *Southwestern* to “do and say everything against the unreasonable prejudice that seeks to alienate us from our best friends Contend for equality; show backbone, grit and grace, but let us stay together and fight it out.”²⁵

When the Freedmen’s Aid Society established a university for whites in Chattanooga that refused to consider the applications of African Americans, Albert played a pivotal role at the General Conference of 1884 in crafting a policy to forbid exclusion. It was probably no coincidence, however, that the same General Conference defeated Albert’s initial bid to become editor of the *Southwestern* in favor of Marshall W. Taylor, a fellow African American who had claimed on the basis of his own experiences in Ohio that “it is not a ‘color’ but a character line which exists in the M. E. Church.” In contrast to Albert, Taylor counseled that African Americans in the Church “will have ‘to labor and to wait.’” He preferred during his brief tenure to aim his barbs at the African Methodist denominations rather than the whites in the M. E. Church.²⁶ After that rebuff, Albert sought to demonstrate his loyalty to the Church by changing his position on separate conferences. In an article billed as “A New Departure,” he acknowledged that separate conferences were a means of developing leadership and self-government and only asked that their conferences be treated as separate but equal. His change of heart brought a quick and stinging rebuttal from his former ally L. P. Cushman, alleging that Albert’s New Departure was part of a cynical ploy to advance himself in the Church.²⁷ Albert’s reversal proved temporary, and ten years later he was again condemning division on the color line as “a great blunder and an unpardonable sin.”²⁸

The Activist

Albert got his chance to edit the *Southwestern Christian Advocate* when he stepped in following Taylor’s unexpected death in 1887, and the General Conference subsequently elected him to the position in 1888. He proved to be a fearless advocate for his people when the opportunity arose to take up an issue that had long rankled him: the rise of Jim Crow segregation on Southern rail lines. Frequent articles and editorials in the *Southwestern* complained about the treatment of respectable African Americans forced to

²⁵ A. E. P. Albert, “The Color Line,” *What They Say; Or, Echoes from Birmingham* (New Orleans: Southwestern Office, 1883), 5-6.

²⁶ Gilbert E. Govan and James W. Lovingood, *The University of Chattanooga: Sixty Years* (University of Chattanooga, 1947), 33-44; *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Held at Philadelphia, May 1-28, 1884* ed. David S. Monroe (N.Y.: Phillips & Hunt, 1884), 82-83, 234-235, 248, 254, 246-248, 280, 299-300, 305, 334; Marshall W. Taylor, “What I Know About a Color Line in the M. E. Church,” *What They Say*, 10-20; “Two Northern and Three Methodist Episcopal Churches ‘South,’” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Aug. 5, 1886).

²⁷ A. E. P. Albert, “A New Departure,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Apr. 22, 1886); L. P. Cushman, “Kicking Guns,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Apr. 29, 1886).

²⁸ “‘Shall We Perpetuate the Color Line?’” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (May 26, 1896).

share cars with vile, sometimes vicious whites.²⁹ What was different about Albert was his determination to do something about it. In an 1889 editorial decrying such segregation as a “stamp of degradation [*sic*] and inferiority,” Albert called for a boycott and legal challenges.³⁰

Albert’s activism propelled him to the chairmanship of the local chapter of the American Citizens’ Equal Rights Association of Louisiana, a key organization in the run-up to the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case that famously challenged the Separate Car Law. In his role as chairman, Albert helped to build an alliance between the blacks of New Orleans and the Creoles of color who were in the forefront of opposition but who often looked down on the former slaves.³¹ In testimony before the state legislature, Albert assured the legislators that the Association was committed to “the most friendly and fraternal relations between all classes” and “the promotion of peace and prosperity,” and that they had no interest in “social equality and Negro supremacy.” He protested, however, that the Separate Car Law then under consideration, while it ostensibly “provides for equal accommodation . . . is based upon caste. It assumes certain reasons why the one race is unfit to sit in the same railway coach with the other, to their great mortification.” He concluded, “Pass no law to oppress nor to humiliate them and they will ever prove as faithful to you as the needle to the pole.”³²

Albert’s tone of moderation, even when most forcefully advocating for equal rights, was entirely characteristic of the African Americans who rose to leadership in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Albert not only spoke against segregation; he put his own body on the line. In December of 1891, he purchased a first-class ticket for a train from Houston to New Orleans and gained admission to the Pullman car by impressing the sleeping car conductor, “a Northern man,” as being “a dignified and cultured Christian gentleman.” A mob of white passengers, led by “a beer-bloated 250-pounder,” threatened to turn him over to the sheriff when the train stopped in Beaumont, but was dissuaded by the conductor. The narrow escape drew numerous expressions of sympathy and proved helpful in the campaign to raise funds for the legal fight to test the constitutionality of the law.³³ Although a number of prominent white leaders in the M. E. Church contributed, Albert’s notoriety may have been a factor in his again losing an election for the editor of the

²⁹ Cf. A. J. Howard, “Race Discrimination on Railroads,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Nov. 14, 1889); “A ‘Jim Crow’ Car,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Apr. 20, 1893); “That Odious Jim Crow Law Again,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (May 4, 1893); “You Can, and You Can’t,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Nov. 9, 1893).

³⁰ “A Coach for Negroes,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (July 11, 1889).

³¹ Bennett, *Religion and the Rise of Jim Crow*, 85-88; Blair L. M. Kelley, *Right to Ride: Streetcar Boycotts and African American Citizenship in the Era of Plessy v. Ferguson* (Chapel Hill: U North Carolina P, 2010), ch. 3.

³² “Pleas Against Class Legislation, by Rev. A. E. P. Albert, D. D.,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (June 19, 1890).

³³ “Dr. Albert Narrowly Escapes a Texas Jail,” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Dec. 17, 1891). Letters of support appeared in the issues of Dec. 24, 1891, and Dec. 31, 1891, followed by frequent notices about fund-raising.

Southwestern Christian Advocate at the General Conference of 1892.³⁴

The New Negro

Albert's successors at the *Southwestern* continued to speak out on public issues such as lynching, and the internal politics of the denomination also remained contentious. By the 1890s, the main issue had become the election of an African-American bishop. It was not a new concern and tended to resurface every four years as the next General Conference approached. At first the argument for a bishop of African descent was largely defensive, presented as an answer to the African Methodist critics who charged that in the M. E. Church African Americans "are regarded and treated as inferiors."³⁵ However, many white Methodists dismissed that argument on the grounds that bishops should not be elected simply on the basis of color. They counseled African-American members to be patient and assured them that a colored bishop would be elected as soon as a qualified candidate appeared. For a time, the relative inexperience of blacks in the Church hierarchy made this argument difficult to answer. As one admitted, "it is infinitely humiliating for us to ask the General Conference to elect a Negro to the office of a Bishop, simply because he is a Negro."³⁶ E. W. S. Hammond, Albert's successor as the *Southwestern's* editor, would call this their "Scylla and Charybdis," that whenever the issue came up, "he is reminded by one class of friends that he must not draw the color line, and by the other class that the question is premature."³⁷

By the 1890s, however, their patience was fraying, and letters to the *Southwestern* began to take a more forceful tone. One writer asserted "that the time has come for the election of a colored bishop, and we strongly favor agitating the issue."³⁸ Another argued that a double standard was being applied and asked, "What evidence has any man ever given, before his election, of his fitness for this holy office?"³⁹ More importantly, the maturing leadership of men who had come up through the Freedmen's Aid Society schools put the lie to the claim that there were no qualified candidates. Most prominent among the group was J. W. E. Bowen. Born in New Orleans in 1855, Bowen had risen from poverty to become one of the most highly educated African Americans in the country, earning a bachelor's degree from New Orleans University; a master's at Central Tennessee College (while teaching ancient languages there); and both the Bachelor of Sacred Theology and Ph.D. degrees from Boston University—where for a time he lived on lem-

³⁴ Albert was narrowly defeated by E. W. S. Hammond, an African American originally from Baltimore. *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Held at Philadelphia, May 1-28, 1884* ed. by David S. Monroe (N.Y.: Hunt & Eaton, 1892), 294-295. See also Bennett, *Religion and the Rise of Jim Crow*, 91-93.

³⁵ M. Dale, "The Colored Bishop Question," *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Sept. 4, 1879).

³⁶ R. T. Adams, "Versus Negro Bishop," *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Apr. 12, 1888).

³⁷ "Race Distinction and Caste," *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Mar. 12, 1896).

³⁸ D. W. Hays, "Suggestions on Timely Topics," *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Dec. 31, 1891).

³⁹ T. C. Clendinning, "Colored Bishops," *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (May 5, 1892).

onade and doughnuts. After a series of successful pastorates Bowen was appointed in 1893 to the chair of historical theology in Gammon Theological Seminary.⁴⁰

From his new base in Atlanta, Bowen became involved in ambitious projects in partnership with I. Garland Penn, another talented young black Methodist. Most notable was their role in the Cotton States and International Exposition of 1895, where Penn directed the creation of the Negro Building as a showcase for African American achievement. Bowen delivered the keynote address at the opening of the building, and it makes for an interesting comparison to the more famous Atlanta Compromise speech given by Booker T. Washington at the Exposition a month earlier. While Bowen paid tribute to Washington and echoed his emphasis on gradualism and racial self-help, he also went further than Washington in his call for "equality of opportunity." Bowen insisted that the African American must be a worker not just with his hands, but "a worker in the realm of the mind, contributing to the thought products of mankind." To that end, "the education of the Negro must be on a par with the education of the white man." With the development of his capacity for thought, Bowen concluded: "a new Negro has come upon the stage of action With this new birth of the soul, he longs for an opportunity to grow into the proportions of a new and diviner manhood that shall take its place in the ranks of one common humanity."⁴¹ Like a number of people who were connected to the Freedmen's Aid Society, Bowen respected Washington but did not want to limit African Americans to the industrial education Washington promoted. He was essentially a moderate and refused to join W. E. B. DuBois in publicly opposing Washington.⁴²

Bowen's other contribution to the Exposition was the key role he played in organizing the Congress on Africa, dedicated to promoting the cause of missions there. Gammon Seminary was also home to the Stewart Missionary Foundation, a major initiative of the M. E. Church that sought to involve African Americans more fully in missions to Africa.⁴³ In a real sense, the missionary field became a place where African Americans could take on leadership roles that were denied them at home. When Joseph Hartzell was elected Missionary Bishop for Africa at the General Conference of 1896, one of his first projects was to recruit aspiring African Americans to take over the Methodist mission in Liberia.

⁴⁰ James M. Washington, "John Wesley Edward Bowen, Sr.: The Public Theology of an African American Theological Educator, 1887-1915," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 47 (1993): 103-105; J. R. Van Pelt, "John Wesley Edward Bowen," *Journal of Negro History* 19 (April, 1934): 217-219.

⁴¹ J. W. E. Bowen, "An Appeal to the King," *Christian Advocate* (Nov. 14, 1895). Orig. published in *Atlanta Constitution* (Oct. 22, 1895).

⁴² Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *The American Negro Academy: Voice of the Talented Tenth* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1981), 18-21, 30-33, 37, 71-72.

⁴³ Paul Harris, "Racial Identity and the Civilizing Mission: Double-Consciousness at the 1895 Congress on Africa," *Religion and American Culture* (Summer, 2008): 145-176.

The “Colored Bishop” Campaign

Strong efforts were made to elect Bowen in 1896, 1900, and 1904, but each fell short. In 1896, he actually had the highest vote total of any candidate on the first ballot, though still far short of the number needed to elect. After the second ballot, however, his count fell off rapidly, and there was some suggestion afterward that the vote in his favor was intended “merely as a hollow compliment to the colored brother.”⁴⁴ Dismissing those allegations, the African-American leadership set its sights on 1900.

Spearheading the campaign was Isaiah B. Scott, the latest black editor of the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*. In a series of editorials, Scott built a more elaborate and practical argument for electing a colored bishop, essentially grounded in an acceptance of their separate but equal status. He began by observing that, setting aside all the good reasons for opposing separate conferences, they had “given us a degree of self respect, self reliance and a leadership that is as creditable to the race as it is gratifying to the church.” Promising that they would propose nothing radical and had no intent to quit the M. E. Church, Scott asserted that “we are intensely convinced that the church cannot do the work of the Master among our people as it should be done without a colored bishop.” He explained in the second installment, “The social and economic conditions of the Negro race in the South make a problem for the religious leaders of the race that can best be solved by those most fully conversant with those conditions.” Scott recognized that segregation was perpetuating the social relations of slavery, creating both practical and affective walls between black Methodists and even the most well intentioned white bishops. Hemmed in as they were by racial oppression, the black church had come to play a special role in their communities, and Scott understood that a black bishop could function more effectively than a white as a guide and inspiration for racial uplift.⁴⁵

Scott’s editorials elicited an impressive outpouring of letters to the *Southwestern* building on his points. Again, it was not enough. This time, Bowen received 211 votes on the first ballot, sixty-four more than in 1896 and the second highest total of any candidate, but still less than the number needed to elect. As before, however, he was unable to pick up additional support as the field narrowed.⁴⁶ One essential difference between white and black candidates was that few delegates were open to switching their votes to an African American. As it turned out, the first black bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church to emerge out of the Freedmen’s Aid Society schools was

⁴⁴ *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Held in Cleveland, Ohio, May 1-28, 1896*, ed. David S. Monroe (NY: Eaton & Mains, 1896), 439-440; “Was the Vote Merely Complimentary?” *Zion’s Herald* (July 1, 1896).

⁴⁵ “Shall We Elect a Colored Bishop?” *Southwestern Christian Advocate* (Feb. 22, Mar. 1, and Mar. 8, 1900).

⁴⁶ Van Pelt, “John Wesley Edward Bowen,” 220; J. W. E. Bowen, *An Appeal for Negro Bishops, But No Separation* (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1912), 55-56; *Christian Advocate* (May 24, 1900).

not Bowen but Isaiah Scott, who was elected missionary bishop resident in Liberia in 1904.⁴⁷ The difference between missionary bishops and other bishops was that missionary bishops were not given the general superintendency that bestowed authority throughout the Church. The difficulty in electing an African American bishop with that degree of power clearly reflected a reluctance to put such a man in authority over white Church members. Scott was charged with overseeing the work of his fellow black missionaries in the task of bringing racial uplift to Liberia.

The fact that African Americans, who remained the object of Methodist missions, were also being recruited as missionaries is not surprising, but it is indicative of their liminal status. As they rose through the leadership ranks, they found that the creation of a uniquely biracial denomination did not purge the spirit of racial caste. On the contrary, it was becoming clear that northern Methodists felt a greater kinship with other white Methodists than with their black co-religionists, and a movement was underway toward reuniting with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. A condition of that unification, which finally occurred in 1939, was that black Methodists would be more separated than ever within the denomination.⁴⁸ The election in 1920 of Robert E. Jones and Matthew Clair as the first full-fledged bishops of African descent in the Methodist Episcopal Church did nothing to change that. In the face of growing segregation in the post-Reconstruction South, what had begun as a mission to help African Americans develop their own leaders for uplifting their communities had developed by the end of the century into a stubborn resistance to their full inclusion in the workings of the denomination.

⁴⁷ Liberian Methodists had resident bishops between 1858 and 1875, but they were a special case. Francis Burns and his successor, John Wright Roberts, were elected by the Liberia Annual Conference under authorization from the General Conference. Scott was thus the first colored bishop elected by the General Conference (Theodore L. Flood and John W. Hamilton, eds., *Lives of Methodist Bishops* [NY: Phillips & Hunt, 1882], 376-480).

⁴⁸ Morris L. Davis, *The Methodist Unification: Christianity and the Politics of Race in the Jim Crow Era* (NY: NYU Press, 2008); Peter C. Murray, *Methodists and the Crucible of Race, 1930-1975* (Columbus: U Missouri P, 2004).

**THE “METHODIST” STUDENT CRISIS IN NEUCHÂTEL, 1820-1826:
JEAN-HENRI GRANDPIERRE AND
SAMUEL-AUGUSTE DE PETITPIERRE**

DAVID BUNDY

It has been argued that the established clergy in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, were particularly threatened by a group of young clergy identified as “Methodists” during the 1820s. The first group of “Methodists” in Neuchâtel presented difficulties for the Class.¹ The situation became more complicated as the next cohort of theological students progressed toward preparation for ordination. In 1818, Jean-Henri Grandpierre and Samuel-Auguste de Petitpierre were admitted by the Class as theological students.² There they joined Alphonse Frédéric Diacon, Edouard-Henri Petitpierre, and Gustave Petitpierre, whom all had been accepted slightly earlier. All of these students became problems for the Class. All of them became known as “Methodists” during their period of theological formation. They were students during a time of “Methodist” crisis in Neuchâtel as the Class struggled with a particular group of young clergy: Frédéric-Guillaume Clottu, James (Jacques Auguste) du Pasquier, and Abraham-François Pétavel.³ They would have understood the negative consequences of being identified as “Methodists” for their careers.

This essay focuses, albeit not exclusively, on two of this second cohort: Jean-Henri Grandpierre (1799-1874) and Samuel Auguste de Petitpierre (1800-1831). It describes the process of their theological formation and transition from conforming Reformed theological students to adherents of a theology and spirituality described by their contemporaries as “Methodist.” In a city where there were no Methodist missionaries or congregations, what did it mean to be described as a Methodist? What was their theology? It is argued that although their theology was congruent with Wesleyan

¹ The “Class” or “Venerable Class” or “Company of Pastors” were self-designations of the guild of Reformed clergy of the city of Neuchâtel, who maintained theocratic control over much of the life of the city from the Reformation to the early nineteenth century. The fear of losing that control was the reason for attacking the “Methodist” young clergy and theological students.

² *Actes de la Classe* 15, 496 (490): “Jean Henri, né le 19 Février 1799, fils de Mr. Jean Ulrich Grandpierre, Bourgeois de Neuchâtel, & Samuel Auguste, né le 17 Juillet 1800, fils de feu Mr. Samuel de de Petitpierre, ancien, Maître bourgeois de Neuchâtel, ayant été examinés sur les langues latine & grecque, sur les principes de l’hébreu, & sur la Philosophie rationnelle & trouvés suffisamment instruits ont été admis à l’unanimité au nombre des Étudiants en Théologie. Les règlements ont été lus & Mr. Le Doyen les a exhorté à s’y conformer.” Note that the social status of each was noted in the *Actes*.

³ See David Bundy, “Should the Methodists Get All the Credit? The Methodist Crisis in Neuchâtel, 1820-1830,” *Methodist History* 54.3 (April, 2016): 180-191.

Methodist theology, they are more accurately to be described as part of the evolving “Réveil” in Francophone Europe, with significant connections to the Moravian and Pietist traditions rather than directly to the Wesleyan Methodists.

Theological Study: Neuchâtel, Zürich and Tübingen

The struggling College of Neuchâtel received new life in 1813 with the appointment of Abraham François Pétavel (1791-1870), the first doctoral graduate of the new University of Berlin, as professor of Greek and Latin.⁴ At this time each student was expected to spend 30-35 hours per week in class with a professor who was their teacher for the year. Jean-Henri Grandpierre, a student from about 1814 to 1817 reported his experience. His professors: the first year Professor Frédéric Louis Convert, from France, harsh and exacting, taught French and Latin; the second year teacher, Bersot, was remembered as more humane; the third year was taught by Würflin, a learned and able teacher of Greek. Finally in the fourth year, there was Pétavel, whom he had first met as a seven year old tambourine player in a military youth band with Pétavel as his captain.⁵ Pétavel, later “my Christian and honorable friend,” became a role model for generations of students.⁶ Pétavel later became, in 1820, one of the persons referred to by contemporaries as Methodists.

Until the 1830s, Neuchâtel theological education was based primarily upon the work of J. F. Osterwald (1663-1747) published by his students⁷ and J. A. Turretini (1671-1737).⁸ For example, in 1818, ministerial student Jean-Henri Grandpierre was obliged to interact with, and agree with Osterwald’s treatise for his study on the ministry.⁹ The lack of study of more recent scholarly issues in theology left the students ill-prepared for university level work, a level of certification increasingly demanded by the bourgeoisie.¹⁰ This lack of formation was clear when students began to study abroad. On December 1, 1819, Grandpierre was belatedly approved to study theology in Zürich (he

⁴ On Pétavel, see Gottfried Hamann, “Abraham François Pétavel (1791-1870),” in *Histoire del’Université de Neuchâtel* (Neuchâtel: Gilles Attinger à Hautrive, 1988), 1:360-381; and “Abraham-François Pétavel” *Véritable Messager Boiteux* (1872), 41-44 (obituary).

⁵ Grandpierre, *Les Souvenirs de quelques années de ma vie*, Encrevé, 258-260. On the marching band experience, see Grandpierre, *Les Souvenirs de quelques années de ma vie*, Encrevé, 256-257.

⁶ Grandpierre, *Les Souvenirs de quelques années de ma vie*, Encrevé, 260.

⁷ Jean-Frédéric Osterwald, *La liturgie, ou La manière de célébrer le service divin, qui est établie dans les Églises de la Principauté de Neufchatel et Vallangin* (Basle: chez Jean Pistorius, 1713); *idem*, *Morale chrétienne* (La Neuveville: chés Jean-Jacques Marolf & fils, 1740), *idem*, *Catéchisme ou Instruction dans la religion chrétienne* (Neuchâtel: Chez Abraham Boyve & Comp., 1747).

⁸ Jean-Alphonse Turretini, *Oratio de componendis Protestantium dissidiis* (Regensburg: Krüttinger 1707); and, *idem*, *Disputatio Theologica* (Genève, Jean de Tournes, 1661).

⁹ Jean-Henri Grandpierre, *Exercice du [Sain]t Ministère à Henri Grandpierre. Étudiant en Théologie*. Ms. Défap, 9581. He was required to interact with Jean-Frédéric Osterwald, *De l’exercice du ministère sacré* (Basle: J. Brandmuller, 1739).

¹⁰ See the comments of Henri DuBois, *et alia*, *L’Enseignement de la théologie à Neuchâtel*, 6.

and Samuel-Auguste de Petitpierre were apparently already there), which was less infected by the Réveil than Geneva, Bern, or Lausanne. The study in Zürich was considered a failure by both. They found themselves well trained in Greek and Hebrew but unprepared for the scholarly study of theology though they did improve their knowledge of German.¹¹ It is important to note that during the first years of study under the supervision of the Class, there was no indication of "Methodist" tendencies among these students. Certainly they would have known of the controversy swirling around Clottu, Pétavel, and du Pasquier.¹²

The young men walked from Zürich to Tübingen to continue their studies. There they found the professors interesting and personable. Grandpierre remembered fondly, among other things, the lectures on the Pauline *Epistle to the Ephesians* by Johann Friedrich Flatt (1759-1821),¹³ as well as the relationship he established with Professor Johann Christian Friedrich Steudel (1779-1837).¹⁴ The Neuchâtel students attended worship at nearby churches, and were befriended by student led Pietist conventicles (like the earlier Pietists, also like the Methodist class meeting); Grandpierre was intimidated by their ability to pray aloud spontaneously.¹⁵ It was Steudel who suggested they visit, on their return to Neuchâtel, the Moravian community at Königsfeld, who provided letters of introduction. The experience at Königsfeld was transformative. They were warmly and graciously received, participated in worship, observed the lives of the community members, and found their spiritual home: "... we said to one another: we have found here a Church of true Christians; ... this is how they should be and live. Let's finish our ordination examinations at Neuchâtel, then, we will return here to settle in this refuge of peace and spend here the rest of our days."¹⁶

Grandpierre and colleagues returned to Neuchâtel with certificates of study from Zürich and Tübingen which they presented to the Class on October 3, 1821, and with a commitment to the religious experiences and practices of the Pietists/Moravians. At Neuchâtel they found that in June, 1820, the process of theological education had been tightened by the Class. It was not to raise standards, but to require more public presentations before the Class. Because of the "Methodist" crisis provoked by Clottu and du Pasquier, who had studied at Geneva, the Class wanted additional exposure to the thinking and behavior of each student. The students agreed to postpone their ordinations and to study a year in Neuchâtel but with a reduced

¹¹ Jean-Henri Grandpierre, *Les Souvenirs de quelques années de ma vie*, Encrevé, 261.

¹² See David Bundy, "Should the Methodists Get All the Credit?" 187-189 *et passim*.

¹³ Jean-Henri Grandpierre, *Les Souvenirs de quelques années de ma vie*, Encrevé, 265-266. For J. F. von Flatt's perspective and approach, see his posthumously published *Vorlesungen über die Briefe Pauli an den Timotheus und Titus, nebst einer allgemeinen Einleitung über die Briefe Pauli* (Tübingen: L. F. Fues, 1831).

¹⁴ Jean-Henri Grandpierre, *Les Souvenirs de quelques années de ma vie*, Encrevé, 266. On Steudel, see Isaak August Dorner, "Zum Andenken an Dr. J. Ch. F. Steudel," *Tübingen Zeitschrift für Theologie* 9.1 (1838): 1-42.

¹⁵ Jean-Henri Grandpierre, *Les Souvenirs de quelques années de ma vie*, Encrevé, 269.

¹⁶ Jean-Henri Grandpierre, *Les Souvenirs de quelques années de ma vie*, Encrevé, 271.

number of presentations.

As soon as the Grandpierre, Samuel Auguste de Petitpierre, and Alphonse Diacon returned to Neuchâtel with Edouard-Henri Petitpierre and Gustave Petitpierre, they began to meet in conventicle and to organize other conventicles. Grandpierre went door to door evangelizing. They were encouraged by Pétavel (especially) but also Clottu, du Pasquier and Henri Fleury, as well as Pastors Alexandre Chavannes of Lausanne and Antoine Galland of Bern. They were aware of the ministries and writings of the Genevans Malan, Bost, and Gaussen.¹⁷ This was, of course, reported to the Class.

The examinations for the year of study were taken in April, 1822. That of Grandpierre was reported as "Sufficient" ("but one would have wished that that which he had learned had been better assimilated, and that he would have reflected more, which he appears not to have done on the things which he studied").¹⁸ Samuel Auguste de Petitpierre received a "Very Good" and Diacon a "Sufficient" ("one would have wished that he had demonstrated more clarity and precision in his ideas").¹⁹ Immediately after the report of the examination results, the Class instructed them: (1) avoid all relationships with "Continental Missionaries" or with separatist ministers, especially César Malan, Félix Neff and Ami Bost;²⁰ (2) conduct no para-church meetings for worship at which laypersons are present; (3) and because it would be irritating to some and raise fears that they intended to separate from the national church, the students were strongly advised to avoid praying or worshipping privately together, even though it was admitted that this did no one harm.

No initiative was taken to ordain the students. In November, 1822, the Class delayed (again) discussion of their ordination until April.²¹ Then in February, 1823, a new program of study, including readings, examinations and assigned lectures before the Class, was instituted specifically for Grandpierre, Diacon, Samuel Auguste de Petitpierre, and Edouard-Henri Petitpierre. The added set of examinations were to cover:

April 2 – Languages, Church History;

April 17 – Criticism, Practice of Ministry;

May 1 – Theology, Public defense of theses and a public lecture;

July 1 – The "Grande" (Great) examination.²²

This appears to have been entirely unprecedented. No record has been found

¹⁷ Jean-Henri Grandpierre, *Les Souvenirs de quelques années de ma vie*, Encrevé, 272-274.

¹⁸ *Actes de la Classe* 16, 29, 1 mai, 1822: "... mais on auroit désiré que ce qu'il a appris fût mieux digéré, & qu'il eût réfléchi d'avantage qu'il ne parait l'avoir fait sur les choses qu'il a étudiées."

¹⁹ *Actes de la Classe* 16, 29, 1 mai, 1822: "... on auroit désiré cependant que ce qu'il eût montré plus de netteté & de précision dans ses idées."

²⁰ This regulation indicates the fear of the church in Neuchâtel being torn apart like that of Geneva. On Geneva, see the useful essay of Timothy C. F. Stunt, "Diversity and Strivings for Unity in the Early Swiss Réveil," in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, 351-362.

²¹ *Actes de la Classe* 16, 56, 5-6 nov. 1822.

²² *Actes de la Classe* 16, 71, 5 fév. 1823.

in the *Actes de la Classe*, before or after this time, of such requirements being made of other theological students. Grandpierre understood these as efforts to delay their ordination.²³ On June 3, 1823, Grandpierre and Samuel Auguste de Petitpierre presented lectures on the differences between Christian and pagan morality, while Diacon and Edouard-Henri Petitpierre spoke on the Holy Spirit.²⁴ On July 1, 1823, the Class unanimously received the report that the examinations were successful. The motion to ordain passed by majority vote and the ordinations were scheduled for August.²⁵ This decision indicates that there was significant sympathy for the young "Methodists" among the Neuchâtel clergy.

Grandpierre was ordained on August 6, 1823, and the same day accepted an invitation to Basel via Henry Fleury (a Réveil leader in Neuchâtel) to be the assistant of Jean Henri Ebray (1769-1840),²⁶ pastor (1808-1838) of the Église Française de Bâle (French Church of Basel).²⁷ There he lived for a time with Alexander Vinet with whom he established a life-long, albeit sometimes strained, friendship.²⁸ In December, 1826, he was named director of the Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris, successor to Antoine Galland, mentioned above.²⁹ Samuel Auguste de Petitpierre (1800-1831) was permitted to go to Nîmes as Assistant Pastor.³⁰ He was recalled (1827) and assigned to a position in Neuchâtel.³¹ He was a key organizer (with Pétavel and du Pasquier) of the Neuchâtel Mission Society.³² In January, 1824, Edouard-Henri Petitpierre was approved to go to the French church in Leipzig as an assistant, but instead went as Assistant Pastor at the Wallon

²³ Jean-Henri Grandpierre, *Les Souvenirs de quelques années de ma vie*, Encrevé, 276-277.

²⁴ *Actes de la Classe* 16, 92, 3 juin 1823. See similar examination structures, but with theological questions focused on Réveil issues in the exams given missionary candidates for ordination in Paris, with Grandpierre asking the questions in Jean-Henri Grandpierre, "Examen des trois élèves destinés pour le Sud de l'Afrique," *Journal des missions évangéliques* 3 (1828): 350-353.

²⁵ *Actes de la Classe* 16, 97, 1 juil. 1823. Another business item was the ongoing struggle with Clottu.

²⁶ On Ebray, see L. Junod, *Histoire de l'Église Française de Bâle* (Lausanne: Impr. Georges Bridel, 1868), 42 (Grandpierre was mentioned as one of Ebray's assistants); and especially Émile Villars, *Service funèbre célébré dans l'Église Française de Bâle pour la sépulture de Mr. H. Henri Ebray, Réverend Pasteur de la dite Église* (Bâle: Impr. J. C. Neukirch, 1840).

²⁷ Jean-Henri Grandpierre, *Les Souvenirs de quelques années de ma vie*, Encrevé, 279-280; *Actes de la Classe* 16, 99, 101, 6 août 1823.

²⁸ Eugène Rambert, *Alexandre Vinet* (1912), 87, 101, 123-4, 126, 192; Jean-Henri Grandpierre, *Les Souvenirs de quelques années de ma vie*, Encrevé, 395-396, 398-399.

²⁹ "Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris," *Journal des missions évangéliques* 1 (1826), 288 [departure of Galland; naming of Grandpierre]; "Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris," *Journal des missions évangéliques* 2 (1827), 336-350 [report on Grandpierre's installation]. On the theological paradigms sustaining the Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris, see David Bundy, "Pietist and Methodist Roots of the Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris," *The Asbury Journal* 70 (2015): 28-54.

³⁰ *Actes de la Classe* 16, 208, 21 juil. 1824. From there he corresponded with Alexandre Vinet. See Eugène Rambert, *Alexandre Vinet* (1912), 105.

³¹ *Actes de la Classe* 16, 241-242, 5 jan. 1825; *Actes de la Classe* 16, 381, 11 juil. 1826.

³² Alphonse Diacon et Samuel Auguste de Petitpierre, *Discours prononcés à Neuchâtel aux Assemblées générales de la Société des missions en 1827, 1828 et 1829* (Neuchâtel: C. Gerster, 1832). See *Archives du christianisme* (1831), 567.

Church in Amsterdam.³³ He died in Dortrecht in February, 1827.³⁴ Gustave Petitpierre was accused of involvement in “conventicles”; his bourgeois status caused great concern to the Class and the matter appears to have been dropped.³⁵ He became a publisher of religious literature and Sunday school advocate in Neuchâtel.³⁶ Alphonse Diacon went on to study in Berlin, eventually becoming a professor at the College de Neuchâtel where he translated August Neander into French and established a reputation as a preacher.³⁷ He was a supporter of Réveil organizations, especially the Neuchâtel Mission Society.³⁸ None of this group initially received a pastoral appointment in the Canton of Neuchâtel. The dispersal enhanced their access to the developing of the international Réveil network of the 1820s.

The Theology of the Neuchâtel Réveil “Methodists: Grandpierre and de Petitpierre

The demand of the Class for additional theological education, lectures and examinations indicates their concern about the theological thinking and practices of spirituality of the young “Methodist” Neuchâtel theologians. Publications by Jean-Henri Grandpierre and Samuel Auguste de Petitpierre from the period provide evidence of the theological perspectives of the young “Methodists.”

Grandpierre preached a farewell sermon at Basel on December 24, 1826, some three years after his ordination.³⁹ The sermon, based on Acts 20:25-27, was an intensely personal, somewhat self-righteous statement of his mission “to announce the counsel of God” and his theological commitments. It focused on the goal of his preaching (“we have preached to you the truth which alone may save your souls”).⁴⁰ He insisted on four points as follows. First, there is a separation between people and God that must be breached. Second, salvation is available to all through faith in Christ, and through the

³³ *Actes de la Classe* 16, 126, 8 jan. 1823. See *Bulletin de la commission pour l'histoire des églises wallones* 3 (1888), 45.

³⁴ *Actes de la Classe* 16, 417, 20 fév. 1827.

³⁵ *Actes de la Classe* 16, 244-245, 5 jan. 1825.

³⁶ He translated (at least) one item from English: *Du Repentir Envers Dieu*, trad. de l'anglais par Gustave Petitpierre; ouvrage dont les notes et la préface ont été dictées par le Sauveur (Lausanne: Imprimerie Pache, 1854).

³⁷ August Neander, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du christianisme et de la vie chrétienne, ou, Recueil de traits et de documents remarquables, tirés des annales de l'Eglise*; trad. de l'allemand par Alphonse Diacon (Neuchâtel: C. Gerster 1829 [Vol. 1] and Neuchâtel: J.-P. Michaud, 1842 [Vol. 2]). Alphonse Diacon, *Sermon prêché à Neuchâtel le 15 octobre 1847, jour de la fête du Roi* (Neuchâtel: H. Wolfrath, 1847).

³⁸ Alphonse Diacon et Samuel Auguste de Petitpierre, *Discours prononcés à Neuchâtel aux Assemblées générales de la Société des missions en 1827, 1828 et 1829* (Neuchâtel: C. Gerster, 1830).

³⁹ J. H. Grandpierre, *Sermon d'adieu, prononcé dans l'Eglise française de Basle le 24 décembre 1826* (Basle: Librairie Schweighauser, 1827). Later Grandpierre regreted the tone, if not the content of the sermon. See Jean-Henri Grandpierre, *Les Souvenirs de quelques années de ma vie*, = Encrevé, 403-404.

⁴⁰ J. H. Grandpierre, *Sermon d'adieu* (1827), 7: “Nous avons prêché la vérité qui seule pouvoit sauver vos âmes.”

Holy Spirit assurance of salvation is available and the same Holy Spirit witnesses to one's adoption into the family of the children of God.⁴¹ Third, this must be followed by a "new life" of love of God, service to God and others (good works). Fourth, sanctification is the interior transformation that results in a style of life consistent with one's faith commitments: "[God] makes a great change, a complete change in the inclinations, the will and the habits of the converted soul, which is daily by the grace of the Holy Spirit rehabilitated into that state of justice and innocence in which it was first created."⁴² These he considered the "fundamental basics of the Gospel."⁴³ Good works ("*bonnes oeuvres*") were insisted upon. Christianity was not conceived as a nominal commitment but a life-changing, total commitment to the divine program for the regenerated human being. This was the goal of Christian faith wherever found; evangelism and mission were not to be limited to conversion but should lead the believer into sanctification which included service to others.

Twelve sermons of Samuel-Auguste de Petitpierre were posthumously published.⁴⁴ These dealt with theological themes considered primary among Pietists, Methodists, and the Réveil, and are as follows. First, he preached the centrality of the Bible. The Bible is a word from God as one can attempt to prove through miracles, the ongoing fulfillment of prophecy or through natural revelation evidenced by parallels between Christianity and other religious traditions. However, the best witness to the speaking of God is one's sanctification, one's submission to God.⁴⁵ Second, the Christian is individually responsible to thoughtfully read and meaningfully live the Word of God. Third, salvation is only through Christ,⁴⁶ but is available to all who believe; assurance of salvation comes through the work of the Holy Spirit.⁴⁷ Fourth, on sanctification: the Christian is hungry for "happiness and perfection."⁴⁸ Fifth, Christ through the Holy Spirit provides assurance, personal transfor-

⁴¹ Grandpierre, *Sermon d'adieu* (1827), 12-14: "... et avoir reçu de lui par le St. Esprit l'assurance de son salut et le témoignage de son adoption dans la famille des enfans de Dieu."

⁴² J. H. Grandpierre, *Sermon d'adieu* (1827), 12-17. "C'est pourquoi nous vous avons enseigné en quatrième lieu, qu'il se fait un très grand changement, un changement complet dans les inclinations, dans les volontés et dans toutes les habitudes de l'âme convertie, qui est journellement par la grâce de l'Esprit saint réhabilitée dans cet état de justice et d'innocence, dans lequel elle avoit été primitivement créée" (16).

⁴³ Grandpierre, *Sermon d'adieu*, 17: "... les bases fondamentales de l'Évangile"

⁴⁴ Samuel Auguste de Petitpierre, *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Écriture Sainte* (Neuchâtel: Petitpierre et Prince, 1832). The preface (pages v-xvi), unsigned, provides biographical data. It is probably by Gustave or Eugène Petitpierre. There is also a volume of manuscript sermons on *Ephesians*, not included in the published volume, preserved at Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque des Pasteurs, entitled in the catalogue as *Homélie sur la lettre aux Ephésiens, prêchée à Nismes au Petit Temple ... et à Neuchâtel au Temple du Bas*. These are congruent with those of the published sermons, and will be discussed in a later publication.

⁴⁵ Petitpierre, *Sermons*, 1, Heb. 1:2.

⁴⁶ Petitpierre, *Sermons*, 3; Jn 3:5; Sermon 4; Acts 4:12.

⁴⁷ Petitpierre, *Sermons*, 5, Rom. 1:16; Sermon 7, Jn 3:16; Sermon 12, I Jn 4:8.

⁴⁸ Petitpierre, *Sermons*, 1, Heb. 1:2. Quote page 23: "je remarque dans mon âme une soif immense de bonheur et de perfection."

mation, and power for living the sanctified Christian life. Sanctification is synergistic, “I participate in my own perfection,”⁴⁹ which requires responsible disciplined living according to the biblical paradigms, and which proves the efficacy of God’s speaking. One is not to be a nominal Christian, but to love God and ones fellow humans completely and to show that love through good works.⁵⁰ Sixth, one is to hold any earthly riches loosely, recognizing that one is a steward for God and has responsibility to use resources unselfishly as directed by God for the Kingdom of God, taking care of the interests of others as if they were one’s own.⁵¹ Thus one can announce “the kingdom of God is near; the Kingdom of God has arrived.”⁵² Seventh, God is to be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth by individuals in the community of the church⁵³ “[God] is owed love without limits, complete submission, entire confidence.”⁵⁴

The theological foci of the “Methodist” Réveil, as reflected in these two young theologian pastors from Neuchâtel, would have found agreement with Zinzendorf and are among the items of Réveil theology as summarized by Daniel Robert and André Encrevé.⁵⁵ There is no language in the text that betrays necessary connections to Wesley, John Fletcher, or the Wesleyan Methodists. The commonalities shared with Wesley and the British Methodists are also found in the Moravians and other Pietists. It is important, and worthy of additional study, to analyze differences and similarities between the Réveil in Neuchâtel and the more shrill, sectarian Réveil of Geneva. The two are certainly related. The differences—which have implications for French and Swiss Protestant history, including mission history—may reflect the eventual attitude of the Class in Neuchâtel.

The Class decided not to fight the Réveil, but to incorporate the younger persons (and their theology) into itself, as can be seen by the careers of James du Pasquier and Samuel Auguste de Petitpierre. This inclusion was not easy,

⁴⁹ Petitpierre, *Sermons*, 1, Heb. 1:2. Pages 24-25: “Lui seul me fournit les moyens d’y parvenir, lui seule m’en donne véritablement l’assurance . . . Il purifie ma conscience par une rédemption miséricordieuse et complète, il fortifie tout mon être, et crée en moi de nouvelles dispositions par le don d’un secours spécial; de sorte que toutes mes facultés sont sanctifiées . . . j’assiste à mon propre perfectionnement, je me sens poussé vers le grand but de mon existence . . . Me voilà donc devenu moi-même la preuve évidente que l’Éternel a parlé avec efficace . . .”

⁵⁰ Petitpierre, *Sermons*, 8, Acts 19:1-2; Sermon 10, Mt. 5:47.

⁵¹ Petitpierre, *Sermons*, 9, Mt. 16:24.

⁵² Petitpierre, *Sermons*, 2, Mt 10:7. Quote p. 36 “le royaume de Dieu est proche; le royaume de Dieu est arrivé.”

⁵³ Petitpierre, *Sermons*, 6, Mt 2:1-12; Lk 2:8-16; Sermon 11, Jn 4:24.

⁵⁴ Petitpierre, *Sermons*, 2, Mt 10:7. Quote p. 42 “Nous lui devons amour sans bornes, soumission complète, confiance entière . . .”

⁵⁵ Daniel Robert, *Les Églises Réformées en France 1800-1830* (1861), 374: (1) The sinfulness and corruption of humans, who are unable to save themselves; (2) Redemption made available through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ; (3) Sanctification of the convert made possible through the work of the Holy Spirit; (4) The Scriptures are the inspired word of God; (5) Churches are assemblies of the faithful practicing believers. See also André Encrevé, “Le Réveil en France (1815-1850),” *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire du Protestantisme Français* 155 (2009), 529-540.

but was possible because, as in the Canton of Vaud, there were sympathizers of the Réveil theology and praxis among the clergy and the bourgeoisie. The overtly negative tone of the Class changed following July, 1824, study days for the Class devoted to understanding "Methodism." What happened during those days was not recorded, only that they happened and that they marked the beginning of the end of the harassment of the young adherents of the Réveil in Neuchâtel.⁵⁶ The "Methodist" theological students were remarkably patient with the establishment through their entire ordeal. As a result, unity in diversity of clergy and the city appears, for a time, to have won.

How Methodist were the Neuchâtel "Methodist" Theological Students?

The Neuchâtel "Methodists" began to develop conventicles to renew the church. These were initiated without the permission or the knowledge of the local clergy. The new Swiss "Methodism" was not based on Farel, Osterwald, or Turretin; it was the theology and spiritual practices of the Pietists and Moravians with parallels to the Methodists John Wesley and John Fletcher—but with no discernible direct influences from them. This study draws into question the received scholarly wisdom that the Réveil is a synthesis of Pietist and Wesleyan theology. This is a matter that needs further investigation on the basis of a wider sample.

The dearth of direct English Methodist influences belies the fact that other similarities were seen not only by the Class but by others, including scholars such as Alexandre Vinet. It was well-known that the Methodist Church began as a renewal movement (*ecclesiola in ecclesia*) and then separated from the Church of England. The Methodist preoccupations of evangelism, mission, and the doctrine of sanctification or "Christian Perfection" were controversial parts of Methodist identity as was their appropriation of Pietist tools of spiritual formation. Methodist arguments and actions were seen to have fostered disturbing ecclesiastical and social shifts.

The Moravians and other Pietists, who heavily influenced the Methodists, made the same arguments. There were, however, important differences in audience, method, and style. The peripatetic Moravians focused on developing communities of worship, theological reflection, and ministry on the margins of the church; the early Methodists took their arguments to the nominal Christians, with special attention to the poor. Wesley's critiques of ineffective clergy and churches were also well known in Europe. The Class in Neuchâtel was content in its moderate theocracy and feared that the "Methodists" might change the power situation. They therefore attacked the "Methodist" students as influenced by foreign deviant theological perspectives, in an effort to blunt their critiques of the church and to intimidate them. Repression of the Réveil and exile of clergy participants in the renewal activities from Neuchâtel were weapons used to attempt to rein-

⁵⁶ *Actes de la Classe* 16, 211, 4 août 1824. In July, probably at that meeting, Pétavel once again went on record saying that he shared completely the opinions of the "Methodists." See *Actes de la Classe* 16, 200, 21 juil. 1824. Unfortunately, the conflict with Clottu continued unabated.

force established clerical power. That stern stance proved untenable even in Reformed Neuchâtel. So the Wesleyan Methodists were antecedents, but not instigators, of the Neuchâtel Réveil, providing a model by which it might be interpreted, and perhaps presenting a paradigm for taking the Church to the people.

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE IN WEST VIRGINIA: A CASE STUDY IN CONNECTIONALISM

JOE SUPER

In “The Large Minutes,” John Wesley identified “Christian conference” as one of five instituted means of grace. He was not referring to the ecclesiastical organization, but rather to the relationships between believers, to the conversations they have with each other. Towards the end of his life, as he reflected on the formative years of Methodism, he wrote “. . . all that time the term *Conference* meant not so much the conversation we had together, as the persons that conferred”¹ The development of Methodism in the Allegheny Highlands of West Virginia during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era demonstrates this connectional understanding of conference. Missionary activity and denominational expansion during the period highlight the importance of annual conference and the connectional principles it embodied. An examination of the Methodist Episcopal Church in West Virginia demonstrates the effectiveness of the connectional system and reveals how Methodism was well-suited to handle the tumult of industrialization.

Wesley’s descriptions help conceptualize conference as both the structure built by connectionalism and the spirit produced by connectionalism. Elaborating primarily on the structural relationship between conference and connectionalism, Russell Richey states that the term *connectionalism*

designates Methodism’s origins; relationships that existed among preachers and peoples and between them and Mr. Wesley; ordained ministerial status and conference membership; conference structures that governed; whatever the actions or measures or processes that held the movement together, i.e. that connected; the evolving movement as institution or polity; a theology or specifically an ecclesiology, often more implicit than explicit; an organizational classification the consequent presumption that Methodism and Methodists would adhere or connect; and therefore a denominational self-understanding.²

Concerning the spiritual relationship between these two terms, Richey asserts that “Methodism might be seen as a sequence of such Christian conversations—in class, society, quarterly conference, annual conference, and general conference.”³

¹ John Wesley, “Minutes of Several Conversations Between the Rev. Mr. Wesley and Others,” in *The Works of John Wesley*, vol. 8 (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2007), 322, 333; “Thoughts Upon Some Late Occurrences,” in *The Works of John Wesley*, vol. 13, 248.

² Russell E. Richey, “Connection and Connectionalism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies*, eds. William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby (New York: Oxford UP, 2009), 211, 212.

³ “Connection and Connectionalism,” 226.

This framework of conference and connection in American Methodism is essential when exploring the links between Methodism and the larger American culture. Recognizing the centrality of conference and connection to Methodism is required, in order to comprehend how that denomination viewed and responded to crucial periods of change in the United States. The most obvious example of this is the division of the Methodist Episcopal Church prior to the Civil War in 1844. As C. C. Goen observed when discussing that schism, “The close connectionalism of the Methodist Episcopal Church meant that matters affecting polity and procedure received intense scrutiny, and any significant dispute had to be dealt with—usually in some annual conference, and if not settled satisfactorily there, in General Conference.”⁴

Methodists continued to see conference as the vehicle through which to apply a set of religious principles, to preserve and propagate Methodism. Thus, when confronted with the extreme changes brought about by industrialization and modernization, Methodists in West Virginia continued to rely on the annual conference as a mediator between local congregations/quarterly conferences and general conference and as a mode of ministry to the people in and around the conference boundaries.

This essential feature of Methodist polity is often overlooked by scholars examining the relationship between religion and the social and economic turmoil of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. In her treatment of Methodism in Appalachia, Deborah Vansau McCauley argues that congregations in the mountains leaned toward holiness theology or became independent holiness churches, while churches in valley towns and larger cities maintained stronger links to mainstream Methodism. In his work on Christianity in the eastern Kentucky coalfields, Richard Callahan follows this line of thought, echoing the claim that Methodism was not “indigenous” to the region at all by the time of industrialization. Going further than McCauley, he argues that Methodist churches across eastern Kentucky represented modern religion and society to such an extent that they could not contribute to the emergence of an independent holiness movement.⁵

⁴ C. C. Goen, *Broken Churches, Broken Nation: Denominational Schism and the Coming of the American Civil War* (Macon, GA: Mercer UP, 1985), 78.

⁵ Deborah V. McCauley, *Appalachian Mountain Religion: A History* (Chicago: U Illinois P, 1995), 241-243; Melvin E. Dieter, “Wesleyan/Holiness Churches,” in *Christianity in Appalachia: Profiles in Regional Pluralism*, ed. Bill Leonard (Knoxville: U Tennessee P, 1999), 228-237; Richard J. Callahan, Jr., *Work and Faith in the Kentucky Coal Fields: Subject to Dust* (Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 2009), 60, 61, 134-141. The literature on industrialization in Appalachia is extensive, and much of it deals with religion in some way. Some of the most recent works that focus on this particular mountain region include Don Teter, *Goin’ Up Gandy: A History of the Dry Fork Region of Randolph and Tucker Counties West Virginia* (Parsons, WV: McClain Printing, 2011); Steve Bodkins, *Bemis and Gladys West Virginia: A History of Two Mountain Towns* (Parson, WV: McClain Printing, 2006); Alan R. Clarke, *The West Virginia Central and Pittsburgh Railway: A Western Maryland Predecessor* (Lynchburg, VA: TLC Publishing, 2003); and *West Virginia’s Coal and Coke Railway: A B&O Predecessor* (Lynchburg, VA: TLC Publishing, 2002).

Callahan's findings and conclusions fit well in McCauley's larger argument about modernization and religious purity and primitivist movements. More importantly, underlying these conclusions is an assertion that the Methodist ecclesiastical structure somehow broke down, that the annual conference ceased to serve as an effective ecclesiastical and missional agency, thus allowing other factors and actors to influence theology and polity.

These studies explore just one sub-region of Appalachia, the Cumberlands. This present investigation focuses exclusively on the Alleghenies, and it presents a markedly different picture. During this period, Methodists in these remote highlands, whether in mountain communities, mill towns, or county seats, exhibited little substantial displeasure with mainstream Methodism in general or the episcopacy/connectional system in particular. Reactionary shifting into the independent holiness or Pentecostal camps was by no means a given in industrializing Appalachia. Methodism in four West Virginia mountain counties shows how the connectional system embodied in the annual conference responded to the changes produced by the advent of the railroad between 1880 and 1900.

Studying the Allegheny region of West Virginia is particularly helpful, because the churches in these counties fell under the jurisdiction of different annual conferences during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Methodist Episcopal churches were split between two conferences. The Baltimore Conference encompassed Mineral and Grant Counties. Churches in Tucker and Randolph counties were members of the West Virginia Conference. This division provides a window into the importance of that ecclesiastical unit and the role it played during the period. The episcopal system of the MEC actually enabled the church to weather the storms of industrialization, rather than to be swept away by them.

In 1865, in response to a group of Methodists in Tennessee who desired to unite with that denomination, the MEC formed the Holston Conference. This was just one example of a missionary conference in traditional MECS territory that would serve both whites and blacks.⁶ Because this new conference was located in the Blue Ridge Mountains, it also constituted the beginning of MEC mountain work. However, once the Holston Conference was organized, General Conference left it to function as any other annual conference. Through Reconstruction, the MEC work in the South focused primarily on race relations in the various missionary conferences. With African Americans being comparatively scarce in the up country, these regions remained neglected. That changed in the 1880s, as Northern Protestants in general began to see the need for specific work among mountain whites.

In the case of the MEC, this would in some way replicate the work al-

⁶ William Crawford Barclay, *The Methodist Episcopal Church, 1845-1939, Vol. 3: Widening Horizons, 1845-1895* (New York: The Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, 1957), 303-305. This new Holston Conference mirrored an existing Southern Methodist conference occupying the same territory in eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina, and southwestern Virginia.

ready being done among former slaves. The church hierarchy came to see Appalachians as a distinct people in need of spiritual and social uplift. Thus, in addition to sending missionaries, the denomination also built schools throughout the mountains. Much of the work was done in coordination with annual conferences and local church and non-sectarian voluntary societies. Women played an important role, especially in the settlement house movement, which began to spread to rural Appalachia in the late nineteenth century.⁷

This early attention on the southern mountains did not include West Virginia, despite the fact that industrialization meant rapid population growth. Annual conferences stepped in to fill the gap, following the General Conference lead in centralizing mission work.⁸ State and local mission movements thrived, often with at best indirect support from the General Conference. Local congregations were expected to contribute to and support missions in their parts of the state, but state bodies ensured that the various districts had ample financial resources.⁹

The Missionary Society of the West Virginia Conference was independent, cooperating with that annual conference but not subject to its authority. Not until later did the annual conference, through the General Mission Committee, take control of the society by appointing its Board of Managers. Missionary gatherings convened in each district beginning in the 1896.¹⁰

Annual conference went a step further, taking its responsibilities seriously and seeing great potential in the rapidly growing mountain counties. The eastern panhandle fell under the jurisdiction of the Baltimore Conference. A proposed rail line connecting some of those counties with the interior counties promised to make communication and fellowship easier, creating a vital link between districts, circuits, and congregations. The mountains would no longer pose the same geographical challenge to connection.

In 1878, anticipating these changes, the West Virginia Conference petitioned the General Conference to re-configure the boundaries of the annual conference to include the entire state of West Virginia, as well as the eastern part of Garrett County, Maryland. In 1880, the Keyser church, located in Mineral County, notified the General Conference of its desire to remain in the Baltimore Conference and requested that national body not to alter the

⁷ "Bishop's Address," *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1884, 7. See also David E. Whisnant, *All That Is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region* (Chapel Hill: U North Carolina P, 1983), 19-34. One of the most well-known examples of a rural settlement house in West Virginia was the Scott's Run Settlement House, established in 1922 by women from Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church in Morgantown, West Virginia.

⁸ Russell E. Richey, *The Methodist Conference in America: A History* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1996), 145, 146.

⁹ "Committee on Missions," *Official Journal of the West Virginia Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1884, 17.

¹⁰ Carl E. Burrows, Robert B. Florian, and David F. Mahoney, *Melting Times: A History of West Virginia United Methodism* (Charleston, WV: Commission on Archives and History, West Virginia Conference, The United Methodist Church, 1984), 135, 136.

boundaries. That annual conference in turn instructed its delegates to the General Conference to oppose any and all efforts at changing boundaries. They asserted “that the interests of the Church in those charges are better secured in connection with the Baltimore Conference, and that removal to the West Virginia Conference would be injurious to the charges and the conference.”¹¹

Baltimore’s response reflects the same commitment to connectionalism, in and through the annual conference, that West Virginia demonstrated in pursuing those particular churches in the first place. Not only did the two annual conferences themselves assert their own importance and power; districts and circuits also understood the crucial role played by intermediary groups. Regardless of the outcome, both annual conferences responded to the changing situation in those specific parts of Maryland and West Virginia, seeing it as their responsibility to act for the improvement of the denomination. This incident reflected a trend of boundary adjustment that had been sweeping the MEC since the end of Civil War. At issue was the effort to balance existing conference boundaries, which had helped to create community and fellowship, with the need to continue the very mission that conference was designed to fulfill. Annual conferences, Russell Richey asserts, “knew themselves as bounded entities, as a brotherhood.” They achieved the kind of relationship Wesley had with his lieutenants, and in so doing spread Methodism throughout their territories.¹² In times of flux, the understanding of “conference” might need to be flexible, in order to ensure the continuation of Methodism and its connectional faith.

The actions of the West Virginia Conference proved prescient. The railroad, named the West Virginia Central and Pittsburg [*sic*] Railway (WVC&P), did exactly what it was expected to do. The resultant growth further aggravated the situation between the two annual conferences. The new tracks began in Mineral County and proceeded southwest through Grant County, both of which fell under the jurisdiction of the Baltimore Conference. The WVC&P then entered the West Virginia Conference, running through Tucker and Randolph counties. Mission work in Tucker County led naturally to efforts in Grant and Mineral counties to the North. The western, mountainous portion Grant County had no real Methodist presence. Methodism had some hold in western Mineral County along the railroad, but most of its strength was in the northern and central parts of the county.¹³

¹¹ “Home Mission Report,” *Official Journal of the West Virginia Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1878, 58; “History of First Methodist Church” (Keyser, WV: s.n., n. date), 2. “Protest Against Removal of any Portion of Baltimore Conference Territory,” *Minutes of the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Baltimore: Methodist Episcopal Book Rooms, 1880), 22.

¹² *The Methodist Conference in America*, 138.

¹³ Ronald L. Lewis, *Transforming the Appalachian Countryside: Railroads, Deforestation, and Social Change in West Virginia, 1880-1920* (Chapel Hill, NC: U North Carolina P), 67. See also Alan R. Clarke, *The West Virginia Central and Pittsburgh Railway: A Western Maryland Predecessor* (Lynchburg, VA: TLC Publishing, 2003).

In fact, actions had already been taken to evangelize these counties. In 1882, the Randolph Mission was established to serve parts Randolph and Tucker counties, where railroad construction was headed. A few years later, the Hambleton Mission was created, which consisted of parts of northern Tucker County, southwestern Grant County, and southeastern Garrett County, Maryland—all territory along the WVC&P.¹⁴ Grant County and that portion of Garrett County still lay within the Baltimore Conference bounds. But, as important as conference integrity was, the structure existed as a means to an end, not as an end in itself. The true end was evangelization, to expand the work of the existing circuits in both counties, taking advantage of the increases in population that were certain to occur with the coming of the railroad. As Richey recognizes, “Fraternity could and must be sacrificed for Methodism’s mission and advancement.”¹⁵ There was no national body involved in this endeavor. The state organization saw a need created by a changing situation and responded accordingly.

These actions reaped great rewards. By the 1890s, two churches—Bayard and Gormanian—had been established directly along the mainline in Grant County, with a third founded about ten miles east in Mt. Storm. A fourth congregation had been formed in Blaine, just over the Mineral County line.¹⁶ Throughout the second half of the decade, the Bayard congregation held a revival every year. Each lasted at least a month, and included two services every day. The protracted meeting in 1896 yielded ninety-six converts. Two years later, in an event the *Grant County Press* described as “the greatest revival ever held in Bayard, and doubtless in in this county,” 116 people converted, eighty-five of whom joined the church. These meetings appeared to continue well into the twentieth century.¹⁷

The West Virginia Conference included all of those congregations in the Blaine Charge, which also included churches in western Garrett County, Maryland rightfully under its authority. In 1903, the annual conference, again technically acting outside its jurisdiction, put the three Grant County churches on a charge of their own; it also requested that General Conference transfer Mineral and Grant counties into West Virginia Conference jurisdiction. The Baltimore Conference, which counted the churches on its own records, objected, and no further action was taken.¹⁸

But this matter certainly was not dead. Two years later, the West Virginia Conference took up the issue again. It appointed a committee to meet with

¹⁴ “Home Mission Report,” *Official Journal of the West Virginia Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1882, 29; Mott, 13-15. The town referred to in the name of the circuit was actually Henry, WV, in Grant County. The current town of Hambleton, in Tucker County, was at the time called Hulings.

¹⁵ *The Methodist Conference in America*, 138.

¹⁶ “Historical Record: Mt. Storm United Methodist Church,” Mt. Storm United Methodist Church, n.d., n.p.; “Gormanian Charge,” Mt. Storm United Methodist Church, n.d., n.p.

¹⁷ “Bayard Letter,” *Grant County Press* (Petersburg, WV), Dec. 4, 1896; “Bayard Letter,” Dec. 17, 1897; “Big Revival,” Dec. 11, 1898; “Bayard,” March 2, 1917.

¹⁸ “Report of Committee on West Virginia Conference,” *Minutes of the Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1905, 39.

representatives from the Baltimore Conference. The latter refused a meeting, instructed the Presiding Elder of the Frederick District to take steps to care for the churches under his supervision, and requested that the West Virginia Conference stop appointing pastors to the charges under dispute, something that body had been doing for a decade.¹⁹

A meeting between the two conferences finally occurred in 1906. The West Virginia Conference conceded that it had no ecclesiastical authority over Grant County. However, the Baltimore Conference admitted it had neglected the area. Had it not been for the work of Methodists in West Virginia, there would be no churches over which to quarrel. These congregations preferred to be in connection with the West Virginia Conference. Forcing those churches to remain under the control of the Baltimore Conference would not help ministry work in that area. Thus, the Baltimore Conference agreed formally to transfer three churches in Grant County and two churches in eastern Garrett County to the West Virginia Conference. However, the rest of the eastern panhandle, including the churches in Mineral County that occasioned the original dispute, remained in the Baltimore Conference.²⁰

The West Virginia Conference kept the newly acquired Grant County churches on the Bayard charge by themselves, while the Garrett County congregations remained on the Blaine charge. Additional expansion prompted further division. The annual conference soon formed the Gorman charge, consisting of five Grant County congregations averaging approximately sixty members each during the period.²¹

The West Virginia Annual Conference certainly attended to the areas traditionally within its jurisdiction. The same mission project which evangelized the frontiers of the Baltimore Conference also served the southern sections of the WVC&P. In November, 1886, shortly after the creation of the Hambleton Mission, Rev. S. P. Archer held a revival in that town in Tucker County at which thirty people converted and joined the Methodist church. In January, 1887, he held a revival in nearby Davis which yielded fourteen conversions, with many more joining the church, swelling its ranks to fifty members. Because the town of Davis was at time the southern terminus of the WVC&P, its population grew rapidly, and the church became a station that same year.²² In 1890, the Randolph Mission finally established a viable station church in the new town of Elkins in Randolph County, reflecting its growing importance to the region and the success of the railroad. Between

¹⁹ "Report of Committee on West Virginia Conference," 39; "Concerning Boundary Dispute," *Official Journal of the West Virginia Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1905, 72, 73.

²⁰ "Joint Commission on Boundary of Baltimore and West Virginia Conferences," *Official Journal of the West Virginia Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1906, 103, 104.

²¹ "Statistical Report," *Official Journal of the West Virginia Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1906, n.p.; 1910, 114; 1920, n.p.

²² Pearle G. Mott, *History of Methodism in Davis, West Virginia: 1884-1965* (S.L.: s.n., 1965), 16. By 1895, the church already had 150 members. Membership hovered between 140 and 150 through the Progressive Era ("Oakland District Report," *Official Journal of the West Virginia Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1895, n.p.; 1900, 66, 67; 1910, 114; "Elkins District Report," 1920, n.p.).

1895 and 1905, the congregation increased from ninety to 320 members. By 1920, it boasted nearly 1,100 members, making it the largest church in the county and the largest along the West Virginia Central and Pittsburgh mainline.²³

This is just a snap-shot of Methodist growth in the region. By 1920, the MEC had a total of fifteen circuits and thirty-three individual congregations along the railroad in the mountain counties of the Allegheny highlands. That was an increase of thirteen circuits and eighteen individual congregations over the span of about forty-five years.²⁴ This regional success should really come as no surprise. The Methodist Episcopal Church was the largest denomination in the entire state of West Virginia at the time, with the annual conference playing a crucial role in its growth by fulfilling a covenant of missional commitment.²⁵

The work of the West Virginia Conference during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era demonstrates the two-sided understanding of “conference” in the history of American Methodism and the effectiveness of that system. The outworking of and interplay between the structure and spirit of connectionalism through conference is evident in the Mountain State. As the railroad pushed into the mountains, the annual conference responded by establishing missionary organizations to meet the needs of the people in those regions. In turn, those missionary organizations, once established, ensured that the people were engaged in Christian conversation by founding new local churches and strengthening existing ones. Finally, Christian conversation extended back up the denominational hierarchy when these new congregations desired to unite with the West Virginia Conference and solidify the bonds initially forged in conference.

In short, Methodist connectionalism was at once institutional and relational, tangible and conceptual, rational and emotional. The actions and attitudes of the annual conference reveal this type of understanding. The system, if working properly, would form a conduit connecting people with

²³ Hallie Kyle, ed., “Methodist Episcopal Church, 1890-1904,” *Our Church History: Woodford United Methodist Church* (Elkins, WV: Self Published, 1987), n.p.; “Buckhannon District Report,” *Official Journal of the West Virginia Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1870, n.p.; 1888, n.p.; 1895, n.p.; 1905, 74; “Elkins District Report,” 1920, 78.

²⁴ “Statistical Report,” *Official Journal of the West Virginia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1875, n.p.; “Statistical Report,” *Minutes of the Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Baltimore: William K. Boyle and Son, 1875), 86, 87; “General Statistics,” *Minutes of the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Baltimore: William K. Boyle & Son, 1920), 122; “Elkins District Report,” *Official Journal of the West Virginia Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1920, 78.

²⁵ “Statistical Report,” *Official Journal of the Western Virginia Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1920, n.p.; “Table,” *Minutes of the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1920, n.p.; For comparison with other denominational statistics, see *Religious Bodies, 1926, Volume 2, Separate Denominations. Statistics, history, doctrine, organization, and work* (Washington: United States Government Printing Press, 1929); Russell E. Richey, “Introduction,” in *Connectionalism: Ecclesiology, Mission, and Identity*, ed. Russell E. Richey, Dennis M. Campbell, and William B. Lawrence (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1997), 5.

the message of the gospel and the Methodist identity. During the Gilded Age and Progressive Era in West Virginia, the West Virginia Conference embodied these principles, and so produced these results.

Penny Edgell Becker argues that while the connectional system fosters intensely strong bonds within and between local congregations, it also fuels an outward focus on mission work and activism. "Connectionalism implies a strong preference for public over private religion," she concludes.²⁶ At various levels in the mountains of West Virginia, Methodists exhibited this concern for those inside and outside their own communion. The annual conference, the institutional manifestation of connectionalism, displayed an outward focus by re-enforcing that emphasis in constituent districts and by expanding out into unreached territory, thereby practicing and working out connection. They sought to include those at the margins of their ecclesial boundaries and even those without those boundaries—physically and spiritually. By expanding the physical bounds of conference, Methodists in the mountains of West Virginia expanded the spiritual bounds of conference by including more people in Christian conversation, by encouraging more people to talk about what it meant to a Methodist. This was precisely the purpose Francis Asbury himself had intended for the episcopal system in America.²⁷

This process and the relationships it created, which brought the West Virginia Conference into conflict with the Baltimore Conference, exemplify the ambivalence over denominational machinery that Richey points out is a hallmark of American Methodism.²⁸ The task of the annual conference—that is, overseeing *spiritual development* within its bounds—came into conflict with the authority of the annual conference—of *overseeing* spiritual development within its bounds. The connectional system of the episcopacy produced positive and negative results, and since the machinery itself is missional, it should come as no surprise that such a conflict should result from missionary activity. In fact, the boundary dispute between the West Virginia and Baltimore Conferences was just one in series of similar annual conference disagreements dating to the Reconstruction Era.²⁹

This tension between purpose and process is particularly ironic. At first glance, it would appear that in this situation, in order for conference—both physical and spiritual—to be realized for one group of Methodists, conference for another group of Methodists had to be broken. However, the true dual meaning of conference was never realized between the Baltimore Conference and the counties at the western edge of its jurisdiction. While

²⁶ Penny Edgell Becker, "Understanding Local Mission: Congregational Models and Public Religion in United Methodist Churches," in *Connectionalism: Ecclesiology, Mission, and Identity*, ed. Russell E. Richey, Dennis M. Campbell, and William B. Lawrence (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1997), 268.

²⁷ David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2005), 101.

²⁸ Russell E. Richey, *Methodist Connectionalism: Historical Perspectives* (Nashville, TN: General Board of Higher Education and Ministry, 2009), 172-174.

²⁹ *The Methodist Conference in America*, 135-137.

that annual conference had been given authority over that territory, it never really exercised it. That authority could only be rightfully demonstrated through the practice of Christian conversation, through the extension of Methodist principles and identity. The failure of the Baltimore Conference in general and the Frederick District in particular to care for the people under its charge and to advance the cause of Methodism meant that there was no true connection, no true conference in the ultimate sense. The West Virginia Conference, in taking on this responsibility when the territory was not officially under its jurisdiction, epitomized the Methodist conception of connectionalism—that is, the form and essence of conference in harmony. Truly, form followed function. True conference could not exist without both institutional and spiritual connection.

David Hempton has concluded that Methodism prospers the most in times of change, that it needs energy and mobility, and that it is “not a religious movement that can survive for very long on institutional consolidation alone.”³⁰ This case study shows that assertion to be true. The Gilded Age and Progressive Era witnessed national ecclesiastical organizations, such as the General Conference, take on increasing importance and exert significant effort and money reaching previously ignored or underappreciated groups. The period also saw greater activity at the local level, as people utilized the resources made available by the hierarchy to meet pressing material and spiritual needs. However, the role of the annual conference should not be overlooked. Far from breaking down or retreating, the West Virginia Conference, acting apart from national programs, assumed a leadership role for missions and evangelism in its territory and beyond. It filled voids at the local and national levels, showing that all levels of the Methodist hierarchy had vital functions to perform to ensure that the connectional system worked properly. In a time and place of increasing change, energy, and mobility, the annual conference harnessed those same forces to create a spirit of Christian conference, conversation, and communion in the Allegheny highlands.

³⁰ Hempton, 200.

**“EDUCATOR AND CIVILIZER”:
THE WOMAN’S HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE
METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND THE
EDUCATION OF INDIGENOUS ALASKANS¹**

ALEX GUNTER PARRISH

In 1890, members of the Woman’s Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church celebrated the influx of interest and tangible support for a new industrial home in Unalaska, Alaska. Sheldon Jackson, the general agent for education of Alaska, had published a widely-read book on the territory, and the plight of the Native peoples of Alaska narrated in its pages aroused the hearts and wallets of concerned Christians across the United States. Society secretary for the Bureau for Alaska, Lydia Daggett, commented in that year’s *Annual Report* that “Items and articles in the public print have been more numerous than at any previous time, and have attracted attention to this vast Territory of ours.” The new home, the Jesse Lee Home, received funds and goods from supporters of different ages and means—such as two little girls who “sold their pet lamb for missions” or a woman who donated money for one desk, hoping “the little arms that rest upon this desk while being educated will live to bear aloft the banner which is inscribed ‘Holiness to the Lord.’” But celebrated most of all were the gifts “[f]rom sources hardly expected.”² Daggett had written to an unnamed sewing machine company of the Jesse Lee Home’s need of a sewing machine, and was delighted to receive both a machine and a letter containing the following note of support: “We are pleased to comply with your request. We ship a sewing machine properly packed to the address you gave, and hope it will prove as great an *educator* and *civilizer* as your other efforts for the benefit of the Alaskans.”³

It is this “educating and civilizing” of the Alaska Native peoples by the Woman’s Home Missionary Society (WHMS) that is the focus of this article. The presence of Methodism in Alaska is due in large part to the work and persistence of women. Where others were unwilling or unable, Methodist women took the reins and resolved to continue the mission. In the face of

¹ This article is a revised version of a lecture given at the Western Jurisdiction Commission on Archives and History Bi-Annual Meeting and the Historical Society of The United Methodist Church at Alaska Pacific University on June 27, 2017. Special thanks to Dr. Priscilla Pope-Levison for her invaluable critiques and suggestions.

² *Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Woman’s Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the year 1889-90* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1890), 80.

³ *Ninth Annual Report*, 80. Emphasis mine.

danger, opposition, and even death, it was the women of the WHMS who advanced the cause of Methodism in Alaska. During its existence from 1880 to 1940, the Society aimed to missionize Alaska through educational initiatives that joined American Protestant values with ideals of citizenship, designed to integrate Alaska Native peoples into American society. These initiatives included industrial schools that taught American Protestant domesticity to indigenous women and children, as well as formal classroom education that attempted to replace indigenous cultures with an idealized American culture.

Society historian Ruth Esther Meeker described the Woman's Home Missionary Society as "rooted in the past and linked to what the brethren frequently mentioned as the 'peculiar gifts and capabilities of women.'"⁴ The Society was recognized by the General Conference in 1880,⁵ and was officially recognized in the *Discipline* in 1884.⁶ The first president of the Society was then-First Lady of the United States, Lucy Webb Hayes. The Society was focused on missionary efforts in the United States and its territories to which women were specially equipped. While foreign missions were important, the United States and its territories were vital mission fields, for "[in] the homes of a people are the hidden springs of national character, and a stream cannot rise higher than its fountain-head."⁷ The home became the locus and microcosm for Christian civilization. Thus, training schools, publications, evangelistic efforts, activity among poor blacks and whites, and social activism were a few of the many ministries enacted by the Society, intended to redeem the home life of the United States. Most of what the Society did was in service to Christian education, which was "the watchword" of the Society.⁸ When the doors to Alaska were opened, the Society promoted education as the key to winning the territory for Christ.

This education was informed by a set of values, which were shaped through the ideological force of maternalism. Priscilla Pope-Levison, in a recent article, described maternalism as it was applied by nineteenth-century Methodist women. By examining the deaconess movement and the Woman's Home Missionary Society, and especially the popular literature and novels written by and for Methodist women, Pope-Levison argued that

maternalism was not simply a compromise to mollify a male church hierarchy but an ideology that these women embraced and perpetuated among a wide swath of the

⁴ Ruth Esther Meeker, *Six Decades of Service 1880-1940: A History of The Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Cincinnati: Steinhauser, 1969), 1. She later described the "peculiar gifts and capabilities" as the "feminine mystique."

⁵ R. E. Smith, *The Woman's Foreign and Home Missionary Manual* (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1912), 17, digitized by the Internet Archive in 2011 with funding from Drew University and a grant from the American Theological Library Association. Accessed at www.archive.org on 7 Nov 2015.

⁶ Russell Richey, Kenneth E. Rowe, and Jean Miller Schmidt, *American Methodism: A Compact History* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2012), 128-129.

⁷ T. L. Tomkinson, *Twenty Years' History of The Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church 1880-1900* (Cincinnati: The Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1903), 1.

⁸ Tomkinson, *Twenty Years' History*, 4.

faithful. In other words, the maternalistic ideology disseminated by women in the [WHMS] and the deaconess movement . . . restricted women by their own rhetoric and strategy to "mothering not governing."⁹

In other words, maternalist ideology cast the women of nineteenth-century Methodism as mothers in and to the church and the nation. Pope-Levison's analysis ends in the nineteenth century, but the ideology and rhetoric continued well into the twentieth century, and, in many ways, remained the ideological core of the Home Mission movement. As will be shown in this lecture, mothering was central to the Society's efforts to educate and Americanize Alaska Native children.

While maternalism kept women in subordination to men, the Alaska mission was a unique laboratory for the subordinationism to be tested and stretched. Between 1881 and 1891 the Society allocated nearly \$50,000 dollars to the Alaska mission.¹⁰ According to the *Annual Reports*, this money was donated by the women of the Society and collegial parties, but not from the Methodist Episcopal Church's missionary committees. The Alaska Bureau Secretary for the Society, Lydia Daggett, connected the Society's mission efforts with Sheldon Jackson, the general agent of education for Alaska for the United States government. Jackson commissioned and supported official male teachers and paid them through government funds. The Society commissioned female helpers, sometimes the spouse of the teacher, and supported her in the mission.¹¹ What had the Methodist Episcopal Church given? According to Lydia Daggett, "The great Methodist church has expended the magnificent sum of *thirty dollars*, for mission work done by the wife of a Government teacher, who gave her services to our Society and her life—a martyr to discomfort and lack of medical attendance," referring to the death of Society missionary Ethelda Carr in the mid-1880s. Daggett excoriated the church for ignoring the peoples of Alaska for two decades. Her conclusion, however, was not for more involvement from the Methodist church. Rather, she argued, "*Humanity and Christianity call aloud for [consecrated] women*" to go to Alaska and to give more money.¹² Daggett had no hope that the Methodist church would expend such money or efforts, and she heartily critiqued the brethren for their disinterest. Further, her rhetoric cordoned Alaska as a mission specifically for Methodist women,

⁹ Priscilla Pope-Levison, "'Mothering Not Governing': Maternalism in Late Nineteenth-Century Methodist Women's Organizations," *Methodist History* 55.1&2 (October, 2016 & January, 2017): 32. "Mothering not governing" is a phrase taken by Pope-Levison from Carolyn DeSwarte Gifford, "Introduction," in *The American Deaconess Movement in the Early Twentieth Century*, ed. by Carolyn DeSwarte Gifford (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987).

¹⁰ Funding is listed in each of the *Annual Reports*, though the exact amount given between 1882-1885 is unclear.

¹¹ *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1885-86* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1886), 93.

¹² *Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1886-87* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1887), 56. Emphasis original.

and not for the larger Methodist Church.

Such ideas were furthered when the leadership of the church supported a proposed but ultimately defeated constitutional amendment that would have made government support for religious education unlawful. The intent of this failed piece of legislation was to block Roman Catholics from receiving government aid for education.¹³ Though the legislation was not passed, the church, in supporting the effort, ruled that its missionary societies and auxiliaries would no longer accept government financial assistance.¹⁴ This nearly struck a death-blow to the Society's Alaska mission. However, the Society sustained the work through reclassifying the Alaska mission and through internal fundraising. Of note is the fact that support for the male missionaries, previously covered by the United States government, passed to the women of the Woman's Home Missionary Society.¹⁵ In other words, the breadwinning that had been provided by the government and might have been provided by the leadership of the Methodist Episcopal Church was provided by the women of the Woman's Home Missionary Society.

As mentioned previously, the Society partnered with Sheldon Jackson, an ordained Presbyterian who was the general agent of education for Alaska. This partnership informed and shaped the strategies and values of the educational initiatives. Before becoming fascinated with Alaska, Jackson had worked as an educator to the Choctaw Nation as early as 1858.¹⁶ This experience among the indigenous Choctaws formed his ideology concerning indigenous peoples and the methods of Americanizing indigenous youth. Such efforts included a strong disciplinary element designed to drive out Native culture and replace it the values of Protestant American civilization.¹⁷

The first place Jackson visited and worked in Alaska was Wrangell in

¹³ "Home Rule or Rome Rule," September 15, 1889, and "Against Sectarianism," December 26, 1889, *New York Times*. Accessed at <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archivefree/pdf?res=9800EEDF1130E633A25756C1A96F9C94689FD7CF> and <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archivefree/pdf?res=9802EFDD1E30E633A25755C2A9649D94689FD7CF>.

¹⁴ *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church Held in Omaha Nebraska May 2- 26, 1892*, ed. by David S. Monroe (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1892), 167.

¹⁵ *Twelfth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1892-93* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1893), 43-44; *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1893-94* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1894), 87. The government support lasted for approximately six years (between 1886 and 1892). While short, this period was where the Alaska mission saw four husband and wife teams and two unmarried female missionaries in two different regions (see *Fifth Annual Report*, 93; *Sixth Annual Report*, 55; *Ninth Annual Report*, 10, 81; *Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1890-1891* [Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1891], 74, 75).

¹⁶ Robert Laird Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson: Pathfinder and Prospector of the Missionary Vanguard in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), 38.

¹⁷ Norman J. Bender, *Winning the West for Christ: Sheldon Jackson and Presbyterianism on the Rocky Mountain Frontier, 1869-1880* (Albuquerque: U New Mexico P, 1996), 7. Bender cites a letter from Jackson to his parents which explains that he did not like the punishment, but was encouraged by the other teachers to administer the whippings.

1877.¹⁸ Jackson's primary aim was to have a system of government established in Alaska instead of military regulation. After much effort and failure, a bill passed in Congress in 1884 that established a local government for Alaska. The bill was an important step for work in Alaska, as it gave authority to the president to appoint leadership within the territory. With its passing, \$25,000 was given for Alaskan education, and soon thereafter Jackson was appointed general agent for education in Alaska.¹⁹ As general agent for education Jackson appointed teachers for the children, and he set his sights on Protestant men who would bring civilizing religion with them.

Of special importance for connecting Jackson with the Protestantization of Alaska is the Comity Agreement Jackson struck with several Protestant denominations, which divided Alaska into jurisdictions for each denomination to missionize without encroaching upon other Protestant denominations. Comity agreements were common in the nineteenth century, as they "[prevented] disagreements among the mission personnel and [reduced] confusion among converts and potential converts by a duplication of effort in the mission field."²⁰ The Comity Agreement was developed during the mid-1880s, and was supported by the denominations and the government.²¹ This established the regions the Methodists were originally supported to missionize, which was primarily the southwestern region.

In summary, the Society practiced maternalism in its mission, which led them to exert feminine, motherly influence upon the nation and church. Although the women of the Society were subordinate to the male leadership of the denomination, the lack of support from the leadership of the Church in the first few decades of the mission provided the women of the Society an avenue to challenge the men and even call their leadership into question. Additionally, Sheldon Jackson's influence on the Society's and wider Methodist education philosophies cannot be overstated. Like many in the era, Jackson promoted a form of Protestantism that conflated white American values with purported Christian morals. Jackson provided the framework by which the Society educated Native peoples. Society education promoted industry, resourcefulness, and the Protestant Christian religion—all while attempting to remove indigenous culture. This framework is the focus of the following analysis.

The education strategy of the Society problematized Native culture and elevated the culture of white American Protestants as the primary force for the redemption of the world. This redemption was accomplished through a maternalistic lens, whereby the women of the Society mothered Native peo-

¹⁸ Claus-M. Naske and Herman E. Slotnick, *Alaska: A History of the 49th State* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1994), 64.

¹⁹ Naske and Slotnick, *Alaska*, 65.

²⁰ Julie Manville and Ross Maller, "The Influence of Christian Missionaries on Alaskan Indigenous Peoples," pp. 3-26, in *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion*, vol. 5, article 8 (2009), 5, accessed via ATLA database, 16 April 2016.

²¹ Maria Shaa Tláa Williams, "The Comity Agreement: Missionization of Alaska Native People," *The Alaska Native Reader*, 153.

ples, who, in the view of the Society, desperately needed Christian domesticity. Consider, for example, this excerpt from the Annual Address given by Mrs. E. L. Albright to the Society on November 1, 1903:

For many centuries the progress of humanity seems to have depended on the progress of one great branch of the human family—the Aryan branch. From time to time its advancing civilization has come face to face with the most primitive races; and in such cases the Aryan civilization must do one of two things: it must exterminate or civilize. With the American Indian for many years the process of extermination by force of arms prevailed; but an aroused Christian sentiment protesting against this abuse and wrong has for some years been insisting upon an extermination of savagery through Christian education. We believe that “as savage tribes they must die, but that as individuals they may be saved by a new birth into a better and nobler life.” In the mission schools sustained by our Society we are teaching Indian children and their parents to speak English, to become self-supporting, to establish Christian homes,—teaching that will enable them to take their place side by side with white men as American citizens. These schools also make it possible for a better class of white citizens to live among them without damage. An educated Indian is a civilized man, and as capable of caring for himself as the majority of the world; but he needs to be taught many things that his civilized white neighbor learns either by inheritance or association A problem similar to our Indian problem presents itself in Alaska, with the opening of the new era in that country following the development of the industries of fisheries, canneries, lumber-camps, and gold and quartz mining. The question is before us as to whether the native population, some of whom are savage tribes, shall be left to produce under the encroachments of the incoming whites a new crop of costly cruel Indian wars, or whether Christian education shall make of them useful factors in the new civilization²²

Note the language used in the Address: Nativeness was a pestilence that needed to be exterminated. The burden was to save the people from themselves. A primary way the Society intended to save Native peoples was through training in domesticity.

The domestic training of the Society was predicated on the notion that Native culture was by definition heathenish and literally unclean. Society missionary Ethelda Carr, memorialized in a previously quoted message by Lydia Daggett, died from the harsh conditions and disease. Such a death was viewed as evidence of the inherent uncleanness of Native culture. Missionaries, business people, and prospectors brought numerous diseases previously unknown in Alaska. One health professional at work in the early to mid-twentieth century explained the cause and effect of these epidemics:

For more than a century, Native Alaskans had been victims of smallpox, influenza, typhoid fever, respiratory diseases, and the rampant tuberculosis and measles Traditionally, people who lived from the bounty of the land cared for their orphan children, but these diseases had devastated whole villages, including otherwise healthy adults who would have taken care of the children. Many white people came to Alaska to treat victims of the diseases that other white people had brought.²³

²² *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1902-03* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1903), 83-84.

²³ Penelope S. Easton, *Learning to Like Muktuk: An Unlikely Explorer in Territorial Alaska* (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State UP, 2014), 25.

Outside the scope of this lecture is the healthcare initiatives the Society implemented during their time in Alaska, influenced by similar ideological foundations as the educational endeavors.

Though the Society held Native cultures in low esteem, they frequently defended Native cultures when government activity threatened their survival. The reindeer plan at Sinuk, which introduced reindeer from Siberia for training in farming and herding,²⁴ truly epitomized the tensions and contradictions the Society expressed concerning the Natives during this era. The conversations and statements about the Alaska work in the *Annual Reports* are, however, ambivalent. The advocacy against government destruction of Native land, foodways, and culture was strong within the Society literature. Some reports would laude Natives for their unique and impressive history of survival,²⁵ or cite a government official who praised the superior intelligence of the Natives in Alaska.²⁶ They offered scathing indictments of government activity in Alaska, which stole from the Natives' "rightful heritage"²⁷ and made them "paupers . . . fed and clothed by the government," and subjected these "brothers and sisters" to the scourge of drunkenness and disease directly caused by government presence in the territory.²⁸ Yet, these indictments and advocacies were influenced by the underlying presuppositions concerning the limits of Native intelligence and agency and the need for a civilizing, Americanizing gospel.²⁹ The tuberculosis that ravaged Native communities was concluded to be their own fault, a theory supported by the fact that no white people "so far as we know [were] ever touched by the *great white plague* . . ." The subsistence lifestyle destroyed by government activity had left the Natives at an industrial crossroads, for they had "neither the skills nor the tools . . ." to survive in the growing industries of the territory.³⁰ There was no acknowledgment of Native agency in their own survival or Native consultation for planning. The "brotherhood" rhetoric and its egalitarianism were specious.³¹ In reality, the "poor Natives" were viewed as perpetual children in need of constant care and maternal supervision lest they destroy themselves.³² Thus, in order to confront the problem of Native-ness as early

²⁴ *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1907-1908* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1908), 132; and Hanson, *Alaska Native Translations*, 22.

²⁵ *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1910-11* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1911), 143, 181.

²⁶ *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1908-09* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1909), 53.

²⁷ *Thirtieth Annual Report*, 182.

²⁸ *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report*, 129-130; *Thirtieth Annual Report*, 181.

²⁹ *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1907-1908* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1908), 139.

³⁰ *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report*, 139, 140. Emphasis mine.

³¹ *Thirtieth Annual Report*, 182.

³² *Thirtieth Annual Report*, 181; *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report*, 130.

as possible, the Society focused heavily on the education of Native children

Perhaps one of the most recognizable and important projects in the history of Protestant missions in Alaska was the result of this educational scheme. The Jesse Lee Memorial Home and Industrial School was imagined, funded, supervised, and supported by the Society. In explanation of why Jesse Lee was the chosen namesake of the home, Daggett reasoned, "Because the indomitable courage and perseverance of Jesse Lee, 'The pioneer of Methodism to new England,' planted Methodism in the extreme East of our land, it was thought eminently proper that his name should be placed on the first piece of Methodist property in the extreme West."³³ The prospect of the Jesse Lee Home excited not only the Society but also the peoples in Alaska. Before the original building was even erected in 1889, students had been sent to Unalaska from as far as 600 miles away.³⁴ So large was the demand that the number of students exceeded the number of desks.³⁵ The building of the Home was constantly delayed. Shipping had to be done by companies outside of Society reach, and these companies prioritized other materials over missionary lumber.³⁶ Despite the delays, money continued to be given for the Home and other work.

The account listed in the introduction concerning the sewing machine highlighted the type of education the Native children were receiving—the education of civilization. In order to be useful, these children needed to become civilized and taught skills beneficial to American society. Abandoned were traditional skills and resources. The Gospel of the civilized had rendered these childish things put away. Even for work among the gold miners and other workers in Unga, non-Christian books and materials were requested for evening schools in order to "aid our missionaries in leading these people to a better life."³⁷

Civilizing work occupied most of the attention of the Society. The primary proof of the successful Christianizing and educating of the students was their civilized disposition and usefulness. Consider the report from the Unalaska mission (during the delayed construction of the Jesse Lee Home) in 1891:

One of the most satisfactory things is the gratitude [Native students] manifest for any kindness shown them. Almost without exception they are willing and glad to aid in doing the work of the house. They are remarkably quick to learn what they are best adapted to, and what they greatly prefer to do, and yet are not unwilling to do anything required of them . . . Miss Richardson says of one who came to the Home: "She had been living out of doors; would stay out for days and nights, sleeping in out-houses or wherever she could find a place. She had a strange looking face, with small, black eyes, and one of the most wicked expression I ever saw . . . Mr. Tuck found her in a hole in the ground. She refused to come out. When he attempted

³³ *Sixth Annual Report*, 56.

³⁴ *Eighth Annual Report*, 76-77.

³⁵ Meeker, *Six Decades of Service*, 294.

³⁶ *Tenth Annual Report*, 74.

³⁷ *Tenth Annual Report*, 74. In fact, Daggett asked that the materials sent "not be strictly religious, or they will not be used."

to take her out she used her [sic] finger-nails and teeth upon his hands vigorously. He succeeded in getting her out and home, and from that time to the present her improvement has been marked. Even the expression of her face is changing. The old wicked, fiendish look is fast disappearing. She goes about her work singing and seemingly happy."³⁸

This work was supported by the United States government, through Sheldon Jackson, until 1892, when the General Conference supported the proposed constitutional amendment that removed government support for religious education.³⁹ While the action nearly crippled the mission to Alaska, a combination of skilled leadership and slow mail service to Alaska meant those serving in the territory were unaware that their funding had been cut off.⁴⁰ When the missionaries finally received word, they were able to petition personal friends to help continue the work, as they "could not turn [the students] out for the vultures in human shape to destroy."⁴¹ The Jesse Lee Home received much long awaited and much needed improvements, supplies were sent for continued work and sustenance, and the last government appropriation was received. In addition to added safety and comfort, the Society was surprised by the financial support it received from the Alaskans in the schools. The funding from within and turning the operation into a "largely self-supporting" endeavor greatly excited the Society. The good news prompted a bit of boldness, as the Society responded to the previous year's statement from the Missionary Society by saying, ". . . even though the field be small, there are souls there to be saved . . . it is impossible for our Society to do any work there without the presence and moral support of the Missionary Society . . ." and recommended that the missions in Alaska be joined to the Pacific Coast Conferences so that funding, ministers, and teaching could expand.⁴² The General Missionary Committee unanimously agreed to all of the recommendations of the Society, adding a note of "sympathy and moral support."⁴³ Near the turn of the century, the Methodist Church began its support of the Alaska mission in earnest.

By 1894, the Bureau for Alaska was back to work, finally supported by the brethren and the WHMS. Lydia Daggett had moved on, succeeded for one year by Mrs. H.M. Teller, who was subsequently succeeded by Anna Beiler.⁴⁴ The sigh of relief at the continuation of the mission was short. A new enterprise was necessary—a home for boys. In its earliest days, the Jesse Lee Home was focused on girls. With the presence of government schools, the Home provided industrial and domestic training. It was "established among 'the brightest and best class of natives' in the Territory. It provided a

³⁸ *Tenth Annual Report*, 75.

³⁹ *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church Held in Omaha Nebraska May 2-26, 1892*, ed. David S. Monroe (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1892), 167.

⁴⁰ Meeker, *Six Decades of Service*, 291.

⁴¹ *Thirteenth Annual Report*, 87.

⁴² *Twelfth Annual Report*, 43-44.

⁴³ *Twelfth Annual Report*, 117.

⁴⁴ *Thirteenth Annual Report*, 20; and Meeker, *Six Decades of Service*, 292.

safe place for ‘friendless girls’ who within a few years could be trained ‘for missionary work among the heathen tribes.’” The Russian Orthodox maintained a boarding school for Native boys, and the idea of women training and missionizing girls and boys was promising for the Society.⁴⁵ The home for boys also functioned as an industrial school, where boys were taught how to garden and raise chickens.⁴⁶ The acclamation of Alaska Native communities into the newly established American society through conversion and industrialization were keys to Native survival in this educational philosophy.⁴⁷ The skills and practices that had sustained Native communities for centuries were again replaced by American commercial enterprises and ideals. One *Annual Report*, concerning the new home, argued, “[In] the past [the indigenous population] subsisted by hunting and fishing; but now they [need] education to enable them to labor for the Americans, who have established commercial stations upon the islands, and employ the natives in lading and unloading.”⁴⁸

Some children were orphaned and abandoned as a consequence of the introduction of liquor into the territory by American tradesmen.⁴⁹ The raising up of able, Christian Native young men was envisioned as a cure for the lowly state of the peoples. The training of girls was necessary, but if no boys were saved and trained, how could Christian families be wrought? Thus it was “very desirable that we should do something for the boys to bring them under Christian influence and training, so that by and by *Christian* homes will be dotted all over that great land.”⁵⁰ The WHMS believed that raising Native boys in an environment of idealized Protestant masculinity would ensure the survival of the Native Christian family.⁵¹

The United States elevated the very status of the Native population, or so surmised Mrs. Beiler: “were they not under the Stars and Stripes, would be classed among the most benighted of heathen people.”⁵² By 1896, the effects

⁴⁵ Raymond L. Hudson, *Family After All: Alaska's Jesse Lee Home, Volume I, Unalaska, 1889-1925* (Walnut Creek, CA: Hardscratch Press, 2007), 21, with uncited quotations of Lydia Daggett from 1888.

⁴⁶ *Thirteenth Annual Report*, 88.

⁴⁷ Hudson, *Family After All*, 14.

⁴⁸ *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1897-98* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1898), 25.

⁴⁹ This was a national issue, and not just among indigenous peoples. The fight for temperance and dry communities was in full swing. However, relief supplies for those homes crippled by alcoholism were difficult to come by, particularly by already marginalized communities. See especially *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1896-97* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1897), 105-106.

⁵⁰ *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1894-1895* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1895), 109. Emphasis original.

⁵¹ It should not be ignored that it was women who focused on raising the Native boys to model an idealized Protestant masculinity.

⁵² *Fourteenth Annual Report*, 29.

of the civilizing Gospel were purportedly evident in the lives and homes of the converts:

The joyous news of seven conversions has been reported to us. The difference with these Aleuts is just as it is with us. When Christ comes into a human soul, and the "Spirit bears witness" that they are his children, a radical change takes place, and is manifested in the spirit of the home. They "go and tell the story" as soon as saved, until the whole household is permeated with peace and joy.⁵³

These radical conversions were only possible through the work of Homes like Jesse Lee and the home for boys, for they taught the children how to be good Christians and good Americans, as Mrs. Beiler relayed from a letter from an unnamed commissioner of education in 1896:

The school at Unalaska is made up mainly of girls that are in the Jesse Lee Memorial Home. Being regular in attendance, they have made very rapid progress during the year. Indeed, this is one of the model schools of Western Alaska . . . Especial attention is invited to the schools on the seal islands. They have been in operation over twenty years, and yet they have not succeeded in teaching a pupil to read or write a word in the English language. Radical changes are absolutely necessary in these respects, if it is the desire of our Government to civilize, educate, and improve this people. They should not only be taught the rudiments of the English language, but also habits of industry, economy, cleanliness, and morality. That these people are quick to learn and susceptible to rapid improvement is demonstrated by the charity school at Unalaska.⁵⁴

Another government official wrote to Beiler:

An illustration of what can be done: [*sic*] That it is not impossible to establish schools that will be entirely successful in teaching these people to speak, read, and to write the English language, but to train them in more upright and useful methods of domestic life, is shown by the history of the Lee School at Unalaska. At this school have been gathered children from all parts of the Aleutian Chain, and some from the islands of St. Paul and St. George, whose intellectual advancement seemed hopeless. Before two years had passed, these children were able to make themselves well understood in English, while their improvement in manner and character was simply astonishing. This I know from personal observation. The success of the Lee School is due to the personal equation of the individuals presiding over it, and to the fact that the children are removed from their native home influences.⁵⁵

The alleged "unbiased standpoint" from which these observations were made were indicative of the educational philosophy concerning the civilizing education Native children ought to receive.

In 1887 Sheldon Jackson had prepared and implemented his "Rules and Regulations for the Conduct of Public Schools and Education in the Territory of Alaska." In this, he directed that "The children shall be taught in the English language, and the use of school books printed in any foreign languages will not be allowed. The purpose of the Government is to make citizens of these people by educating them in our customs, methods and

⁵³ *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1895-96* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1896), 106.

⁵⁴ *Fifteenth Annual Report*, 106-107.

⁵⁵ *Fifteenth Annual Report*, 107.

language. The children are primarily to speak, read and write the English language”⁵⁶ American teachers influenced by Jackson demanded the Natives be absorbed into white American society. The Stars and Stripes flew above every Home the Society operated as a visual reminder that its residents were trained for God and country.⁵⁷ Such education exterminated certain languages completely.⁵⁸

Native agency in survival and acclamation was largely non-existent in Society educational initiatives. Rather, the maternal ideology envisioned a respectable type of Native person and community, with the indigenous peoples essentially mothered into American society. Consider this statement concerning the Jesse Lee Home in the Annual Address of the WHMS by Martha van Marter in the late 1890s:

A single gleaming lighthouse has been set on Alaska’s shores by our Society, and as is their way, the women have begun the work at the fountain-head of the home. Boys and girls, saved out of the most dreadful heathen conditions and superstitions, are being civilized and trained into young soldiers of the Cross [We] have good hope and promise that at least *some* of these young Alaskans will one day be missionary teachers and preachers among their own people.⁵⁹

The vision was expanded a few paragraphs later:

To faith’s prophetic eye, vast changes may be wrought in twenty years of the twentieth century. These desert islands have begun to blossom as the rose. Native teachers trained in the Industrial Homes of the Society, native nurses trained in the hospital, which is soon to be a realized hope, go in and out among the people, while little chapels of worship rising here and there, tidy and comfortable Christian homes from which the voice of praise and prayer daily ascend, all reveal the blessed fact that our labor has not been in vain “in the Lord.” The faithful workers in the Home now planted on Alaskan soil, under the care of this Society, have been making ready for just such a harvest as this during toilsome years, and with the cumulative power of good behind, and labors shared and supplemented in the native homes by native teachers, what have we not the right to expect for these, our very own home heathen?⁶⁰

While the vision considered for the good of Native people, it was not necessarily a good the indigenous Alaskans envisioned for themselves. Instead, the agency of Natives was removed in favor of civilizing them out of their “heathen” ways and integrating them into the very society that was attempt-

⁵⁶ Sheldon Jackson, “Rules and Regulations for the Conduct of Public Schools and Education in the Territory of Alaska,” June 14, 1887, National Archives and Record Administration, Washington DC, RG 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Alaska Division, quoted in Hudson, *Family After All*, 17-18.

⁵⁷ *Sixteenth Annual Report*, 22. Much pride was placed in the flag that flew over the Jesse Lee Home, which was 12’ by 20’, raised atop an 80’ pole. See *Sixteenth Annual Report*, 108.

⁵⁸ Michael E. Krauss, “Native Languages of Alaska,” in *The Vanishing Languages of the Pacific Rim*, ed. Osahito Miyaoka, Osamu Sakiyama, and Michael E. Krauss (New York and Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 408.

⁵⁹ *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Woman’s Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1898-99* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1899), 80. Emphasis Original.

⁶⁰ *Eighteenth Annual Report*, 83.

ing to strip away their agency. The ideology of early Protestant missions in Alaska, especially with the Society, fetishized and problematized traditional Native cultures, and sought to eradicate those cultures. This ideology was present well into the twentieth century. Writing in 1929, a retiring superintendent of the Unalaska mission wrote:

The native Aleut is timid. Like his Oriental ancestor, he shuts himself up within a wall of reserve and mistrust. He seems to doubt the motives of a man of Caucasian blood. Naturally misunderstanding and mistrusting the white man, the Greek Catholic Church, to which he belongs soul and body, continues to grind into him other superstitions and beliefs that put him on a level with the heathen of India or of Indo-China. The credence he gives to evil spirits, signs, and omens is pathetic. To break through these superstitions and beliefs is no easy task, but the missionary must do it if he would bring the light of salvation and the uplift of civilization to the benighted lives of these our Aleut Americans Has the Mission at Unalaska a task? Yes, make the village a fit place in which to live Win the children and youth from a religion that destroys rather than builds; make Christians and American citizens instead of adherents to a foreign religion and country. Through preaching and teaching, through music and play, through industrial work with the children and mothers, through the medium of good will and helpfulness, the Aleut can finally be won for Christ and loyal citizenship to the United States, of which he is now just a nominal part.⁶¹

To the Society and its associated ministers, it was the Natives who misunderstood and mistrusted whites, not the other way around. Native-ness was problematized and white-ness was idealized. These ideas dominated the educational ideologies and practices of the Society during its nearly six-decade mission to Alaska.

This article has examined the Woman's Home Missionary Society's education mission to Alaska, arguing that the Society aimed to reach the peoples of Alaska through educational initiatives that joined American Protestant values with ideals of citizenship. Through teaching industry, non-contextual agriculture, and formal classroom learning, the Society attempted to replace indigenous cultures and values with a white, Protestant, American culture. These policies, influenced by Sheldon Jackson, formed the pedagogical ideology for the Society's education initiatives throughout their nearly sixty years in the territory.

This analysis is not an *ex post facto* critique of the Society. Instead, this has been an account of the Society's educational activities as they perceived them. The importance of such analysis extends beyond mere historiography, however. In 1999, the *Anchorage Daily News* reported on an ecumenical meeting sponsored by the Alaska United Methodist Conference that explored what it means to be Native and Christian.⁶² In June of 2010, the conference adopted a vision that included priorities concerning Native Outreach and a

⁶¹ *Forty-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1928-29* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1929), 178-179.

⁶² See the archives of the *Anchorage Daily News*, Mike Dunham, "Ecumenical Meeting Explores Native Christianity," *Anchorage Daily News* (November 6, 1999), E-6.

focus on young people.⁶³ Such priorities reflect focus points that have been objects of concern for Methodists in Alaska for over a century. On June 26, 2017, Dr. Bob Onders, president of Alaska Pacific University, relayed to the Methodist Historical Society his commitment to the education, well-being, and health of Alaskans through the university, historically tied to Methodists. The Woman's Home Missionary Society's ideology and procedures in education demonstrate that words like "education," "well-being," and even "health" are not monolithic words without value. They are given value and meaning through underlying assumptions and philosophies. Recognition of the ideologies, assumptions, and philosophies of the past are paramount for Methodists in Alaska strategizing for the future. Or, to use a slogan of the Woman's Home Missionary Society, it is "Looking Backward, Thinking Forward."⁶⁴

⁶³ "The Vision and Mission of the Alaska Conference," June 5, 2010. Accessed at <https://alaskaumc.org/the-vision-and-mission-of-the-alaska-conference/>.

⁶⁴ *Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1925-1926* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1926), 84.

BOOK REVIEW

Marilyn Southard Warshawsky, *John Franklin Goucher: Citizen of the World*. Baltimore: self-published, 2016. 527pp. \$16.99.

Marilyn Southard Warshawsky begins the biography with a story of heroism and travel, setting the tone for the book. Despite his age, his fragile health, and a recent surgery, Goucher put others before himself and rowed a boat back and forth from a sinking ship to the rescue boat. This selflessness and fearlessness is woven throughout Goucher's life, as he traveled through remote foreign countries and gave seemingly limitless funds to support charities, educational institutes, and missionary efforts.

The story of Goucher is also the story of Methodism. After attending a Methodist revival at the age of fourteen, he converted to Methodism and spent the rest of his life serving the church. He received his first ministerial assignment from the Baltimore Conference where he served eight churches in the Baltimore circuit. Even as a young minister, Goucher was involved in many organizations, including the Sunday School Union, the Freedman's Aid Society, and the Women's Foreign Missionary Society. He became more involved in the education and missionary efforts of the Methodist church throughout his life.

Goucher was deeply committed to education and felt that "Always and everywhere Christian education is the fundamental condition for world evangelism" (86). He supported educational institutions both at home and abroad. In Baltimore, he served as the second president of The Woman's College of Baltimore (which was later renamed Goucher College in his honor, but against his wishes) and served on the Board of Trustees of the Centenary Biblical Institute (which later became Morgan State University). Abroad, he funded educational institutes in Japan and Korea, for both men and women. In India, Goucher wanted to provide education to the lowest caste, and when a village resisted a girls' school, Goucher insisted that if they wanted a school for boys, they would have to have one for girls as well. Goucher believed that women had multiple roles in society and must be educated to prepare for those roles.

Traveling became a great love of Goucher's and the *Baltimore Sun* proclaimed that Goucher "packs a gripsack and steps aboard a steamer with no more ado than an ordinary man would make in going from Baltimore to New York" (350). His extensive travels allowed Goucher to see the world, but also to visit missionary sites and report back to the church. During his travels, Goucher donated funds to various missionary efforts and educational institutions, but always with care. Goucher would often ask for a financial

plan before agreeing to a donation, to ensure that the money would be well managed and put toward attainable goals.

As a trustee of Goucher College, one might expect Warshawsky to write in praise of Goucher and his life, yet Warshawsky presents a balanced view of the man, even when his views would not be favorable today. Warshawsky's extensive use of archival materials allows for Goucher to speak in his own words, quoting from his diary, sermons, and letters. These quotes, peppered through the text, give life to the biography and insight into Goucher's personality. It seems there is no detail left out of the biography, making portions seem a little long, but I cannot easily recommend any cuts to the text. Warshawsky adds context to help situate Goucher's life in world history and the history of the Methodist church. This makes the biography an excellent primer for those new to Methodism or readers who wish to learn more about the man who supported so many missions and schools.

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