WESLEYAN AND METHODIST HISTORICAL STUDIES, 1960-70

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ARTICLE
by Frederick A. Norwood

This article, which continues the survey, "Methodist Historical Studies 1930-1959," 1 covers both British and American fields, includes the most significant literature, and emphasizes strong developments, but does not attempt exhaustive listing of all items, and does not deal with missionary and global aspects. Moreover, it does little more than recognize the addition of "United" to the title of the major denomination involved as a result of merger in 1968 with the former Evangelical United Brethren. This article deals with a historical movement, not a denominational category.

A. Bibliography and Periodicals

The decade is outstanding in the appearance of several projects for bibliographical control of the huge area of Wesleyana and Methodistica. For the first time since Richard Green's study of the writings of John Wesley we now have a systematic Union Catalogue of the Publications of John and Charles Wesley,2 edited by Frank Baker, general editor of the projected Works of John Wesley. Described as a "preliminary survey" for us in preparation of the Works, it constitutes a detailed guide far more complete than any previous listing. It is a locating bibliography which includes all of the major and many minor collections of Wesleyana on both sides of the Atlantic. Only the major collections are listed completely; minor collections are presented by specific reference to unique or rare items only. It is more complete for the eighteenth century editions than for later editions, especially for translations. The arrangement is keyed to Green's chronological numbering system. The extent of this "preliminary survey" is indicated by identification of 16,000 copies of 4,000 editions of 400 works located in over 300 libraries! Presumably the definitive survey will appear only with publication of the new edition of Wesley's Works.

Another major enterprise has been undertaken by Brooks B. Little in an obviously preliminary edition, a Methodist Union Catalogue of History, Biography, Disciplines, and Hymnals.3 It is

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1 Church History, 28 (1959), 391-417; 29 (1960), 74-88.
both more extensive and more restricted than Baker's bibliography, including American Methodism as held in the libraries of twelve United Methodist seminaries, the Methodist Publishing House and the Upper Room in Nashville, and the Commission on Archives and History in Lake Junaluska, N.C., but excluding Wesley, serials, and most homiletical and doctrinal works. It consists of photographic reproduction of catalog cards arranged in alphabetical order without elimination of duplicate listings. The holdings of Annual Conference archives, private libraries, and the Library of Congress are not included. Although this publication is a great help in identifying and locating most items connected with Methodist history, another more complete and more systematically prepared edition, which is promised, is much needed. For the first time it is possible to locate published materials as held by the major libraries. Although two or three of those libraries possess a high percentage of the whole corpus of Wesleyana and Methodistica, no one of them is complete, and the prevailing condition has been a most frustrating regional dispersion of resources for studying the history of a denominational family which does not yet have a central archives or library. A more complete union catalog being assembled at Drew Theological Seminary may be published by 1973-74. On the other hand location and listing of manuscript resources is far away.

A third major publication is the Union List of Methodist Serials, edited by John Batsel, another "Second Checking List" indicating work in progress. The first list appeared in 1963; a further refined edition is promised. Denominations included are Methodist Episcopal Church, Methodist Protestant Church, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and The Methodist Church. Only those periodicals published in the United States are included. The future edition will include periodicals of the Evangelical United Brethren and the United Methodist Church. The impressive list, jammed with detailed information, is dominated by careful delineation of Annual Conference journals and the jungle of Christian Advocates, with all their regional complexities. Whatever else this guide accomplishes, it should help to open up the vast primary resources of the Advocates, which can now be identified and distinguished, and, especially, located in one or more of the libraries involved, which are more extensive than those included in Brooks' Union Catalog. A helpful index of the contents of Methodist periodicals beginning in 1961 is available. It is a well done, author and subject catalog arranged in one alphabetical listing, covering the years 1960-1965.

A beginning is being made in bibliographical study of Negro

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Methodism as part of the widespread revival of interest in black studies in many fields. J. Gordon Melton has published a preliminary *Bibliography of Black Methodism* which seeks to provide guidance in a very difficult and obscure area. It is concerned mainly with the history of black denominations and with Negroes within the Methodist Episcopal Church. It does not include books on white-black relations, nor does it list denominational publications such as hymnals and church school curricula. An attempt has been made to provide partial location of items in nine Methodist-related libraries including the Interdenominational Theological Seminary in Atlanta. A further more complete edition is planned.

Finally, for those interested in a European Continental approach, reference should be made to the *Bibliotheca Methodistica*, a catalog of the library of the Christliche Vereinsbuchhandlung in Zürich.

In the field of periodical publications the scene is one of a major new birth, a few senile deaths, and a possible still birth. Since 1962 a historical journal, the first in American Methodism, has made quarterly appearance. *Methodist History*, published by the United Methodist Commission on Archives and History, currently located in Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, began with the October number in 1962 and has improved steadily over the years. Although its earlier issues reflected something of a "family organ," it has partially outgrown that image to become a respectable historical journal devoted to subjects largely American but not excluding Wesley. Book reviews are scarce but improving. Some published source material is printed from time to time (newly discovered letters by Wesley, Asbury, and others, Robert Bull's "George Robert's Reminiscences of Francis Asbury" [1967]), but much more could be done in this direction. Special services to historians and students of Methodism are provided, in articles such as Albea Godbold's "Table of Methodist Annual Conferences (U.S.A.)" (1969), Keith Hardman's "A Checklist of Doctorial Dissertations on Methodist, Evangelical United Brethren, and Related Subjects, 1912-1968" (1970), and in a new department on sources prepared by Frederick Maser, "Discovery." Articles vary from popular eulogies to original research of high order (for example of the latter, Donald Baker, "Charles Wesley and the American War of Independence" (1966), Joseph Mitchell, "Traveling Preacher and Settled Farmer" (1967), Edward Jervey, "Laroy Sunderland: Zion's Watchman" (1968), J. Wesley Corbin, "Christian Perfection and the Evangelical Association through 1875" (1969). The renewed interest in Negro Methodism is reflected in two articles in 1970, William Gravely, "Hiram Revels Protests Racial Separation in the Methodist Episco-

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pal Church,” and Roy Trueblood, “Union Negotiations Between Black Methodists in America.”

Although the venerable British Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society is still in publication, two significant changes have taken place in British Methodist periodicals. In July 1968 the London Quarterly and Holborn Review, itself a product of an earlier merger, merged with the Church Quarterly Review to form The Church Quarterly. The net result is a further diminution of the formerly strong Methodist flavor of the old publication. A more complete and apparently permanent demise is that of The Arminian Magazine (later The Methodist Magazine) founded by John Wesley in 1778 and published continuously until it ceased in August 1969. This run would make it, according to the claims made, “the oldest continuously published magazine in the world.” Can anyone beat that record?

Apparently dying in infancy is The Wesleyan Quarterly Review, which began in 1964 at Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia, and continued with issues through Volume 4 in 1967. It specialized in topics related to Southern Methodism, but was not restricted to that region.

Continuing as the successor to the long-lived Methodist Quarterly Review is Religion in Life, which began in 1932 as an ecumenical quarterly with Methodist leanings and was sponsored by the United Methodist Church. From time to time articles on Methodist history are included. Occasional research of high quality appears in seminar journals such as the Drew Gateway and the Perkins School of Theology Journal.

B. Wesley and British Methodism

1. John and Charles Wesley. Recently in Methodist History Frank Baker made a full report of the present state and prospects for a new edition of the complete works of John Wesley, of which he is editor-in-chief. The first of over thirty volumes ought to be published about 1972 or 1973, and thereafter at the rate of two or three a year. The need for such effort is clear when one recalls that the last full edition was that of Thomas Jackson in 1829-31, rearranged from fourteen to seven volumes by John Emory for an American edition. The same Jackson edition has recently been lithographically reproduced by Zondervan. Beyond that, of course, one has scholarly recourse to the relatively well done Journal, Letters, and Standard Sermons printed in the 1930s. Since, however, the reprint of the Works and the standard Journal and Letters are at this time all out of print, it may be accurately stated that, at the historical moment that Wesley is outgrowing his cozy Methodist nest to join the

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rest of the major "voices of the Reformation," his works are unavailable. Recent research has revealed the need for considerable textual refinement, as well as addition of unpublished materials. Scholarship in the later twentieth century has gone far beyond the capabilities of Jackson and Emory. The project is sponsored by an original group of university-related Methodist seminaries, the United Methodist Department of the Ministry, and the Commission on Archives and History. Oxford University Press has undertaken responsibility for publication—hence the proposed title, "Oxford Edition of the Works of John Wesley." The Union Catalogue noted above is the first provisional fruit. The plan calls for twelve divisions: Bibliography, Sermons, Notes on the New Testament, Hymnbook, Prayers, Methodist Societies, Doctrinal Writings, Pastor and Teacher, Editor, Journal and Diaries, Letters, Miscellaneous.

If one is not looking for a multi-volume definitive edition of opera omnia, but rather a convenient sampling for theological inspiration, an admirable volume of selections has been edited by Albert Outler for "A Library of Protestant Thought." He has adroitly chosen writings which illustrate the significance of Wesley not only for the theological trends of his own day but also for present-day thought in and out of Methodist circles. Interpretive introductions contain many insights into frequently little known corners—as for example Wesley’s admiration for Macarius the Egyptian. Although one would be hard pressed to present Wesley as an original systematic theologian after the grand manner of Luther or Calvin, one will find in this volume ample justification for affirming his theological competence and contribution. Anyone who struggled as manfully as Wesley with the problem of God’s sovereignty in relation to man’s response in faith deserves an acknowledged place among major modern theologians. The volume is unsatisfactory for other than theological topics. Another less pretentious book, designed for devotional reading as well as serious study, has been prepared in paperback form by Philip S. Watson under the title, The Message of the Wesleys, a Reader of Instruction and Devotion. It has the double virtues of simple convenience and highly competent editorship. A 67 page introduction provides an excellent entrance to the selections, some of which have been abridged "with almost as much freedom as John Wesley used when he published other people’s work." The major significance of these researches by Outler and Watson, as well as the impressive projected Oxford edition of Works and monographs and biographies such as those of Schmidt and others (see below), is the presentation of Wesley on

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a broader than Methodist stage on which he enters rightfully as
an interpreter of the Reformation for a modern ecumenical age.

Beyond that, one might mention the facsimile edition of the rare
1737 Charles-Town hymnal brought out by the Wesley Historical
Society in 1964.11

Biography has fared better than sources. Martin Schmidt, whose
first volume on John Wesley appeared in German in 1953, has
now, after thirteen unhurried years, let the other shoe drop with
his second volume.12 If the interval between German publication
and English translation rivals that for the first volume (nine years
after 1953)13 it will be simpler for the researcher to learn German
than to wait for the English second volume. Latest word from Ep­
worth Press regarding an English edition is not encouraging. Vol­
ume 2 is not only much longer but covers a much longer period
of adult life, from 1738 to the end in 1791. Moreover, the arrange­
ment is different. Whereas the first part of Wesley's life falls into
natural chronological sequence—childhood, school, university,
Georgia, Aldersgate—the rest of his career is indeed, as Schmidt
avers, much more of an indivisible unit, composed of unremitting
toil in the raising and nurturing of the United Societies of the Peo­
ple called Methodists. Of course one can discern landmarks and
monadnocks along the way—intense conflict and activity until 1744
going the movement under way, crises over Moravian quietism
and Calvinist predestination, violence of opposition culminating
in riots, ordinations for America. But all of those episodes fit into
the general pattern of development of the Methodist connection.
Recognizing this relative chronological uniformity, Schmidt has
organized his material into topical chapters dealing with Moravian
relations, forces of opposition, preaching, writing, pastoring, educ­
ing. The first two above are especially extensive and emphasized. In
discussing Wesley's relations with the Moravians he relies on his
strong background in and predilection for Pietism in measuring its
influence through the Moravians. While underlining the main in­
fluence, he distinguishes carefully the more negative influence of
Molther in London, which Wesley at last rejected. In rejecting Mol­
ther's particular brand of Pietism, Wesley was not rejecting Pietism.
To what degree Wesley can properly be described as a Pietiest will
probably remain a matter of debate, no matter what Schmidt may
say. That there was direct and effective influence is now, after
Schmidt, no longer debatable. But one learns to discriminate more
carefully. At the end the author stalwartly maintains that Wesley

11 A Collection of Psalms and Hymns, ed. Frank Baker and George W. Williams
12 John Wesley (Zurich-Frankfurt am Main: Gotthelf-Verlag, 1966), 576 pp.
13 John Wesley, A Theological Biography (London: Epworth Press; New York:
was the outstanding figure among his contemporaries in the Evangelical Revival, influenced not so much by them as by his lifelong unremitting commitment to the Bible as his source of understanding and inspiration. Scholars who enjoy dropping foreign logoi may search out and use Schmidt’s application to his hero of Geschlossenheit and Gesamterscheinung.

Several other biographical portraits have been drawn within the decade. One of them serves well as an introductory life for beginning students: V. H. H. Green’s John Wesley. Although they should not be formalized into theses, two lines of interpretation appear: (1) the “intellectual crisis” of eighteenth century deism and unbelief which drove Wesley to the fountains of the primitive church, and (2) “the quiet worldliness of the established Church.” Few would quarrel with those points. The same author earlier wrote a study of Wesley at Oxford, based largely on the appearance of new unpublished material, especially the diaries for 1725-1735. This exhaustive monograph is well documented, and represents an original contribution to Wesley studies.

The pen of old reliable Frederick Gill has not been idle. He has written two quite different works, one which may be described as a sort of geographical biography, and the other a biography of Charles Wesley, The First Methodist. The first is a useful guide to relating the indefatigable traveler to his scene. The second, described by the publishers as “definitive,” must constitute about the only undocumented definitive work on record. Nevertheless, it still is the best study available on Charles.

A broader dramatis personae as well as a narrower topic is taken by Eric Routley for his The Musical Wesleys, one of a series identified as “Studies in Church Music.” Not only John and Charles, but also Charles’ two sons, and especially Samuel Sebastian, are brought together in a remarkable music family.

Susanna, the mother who encouraged her many children so devotedly along the road of life, has not been neglected. No less than three biographies have come out in the last five years. Thankfully, they are quite different one from the others. The title of Wilder’s book should provide sufficient warning to non-sentimen-

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18 (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1963), 272 pp. See also A. J. Hiebert, “The Anthems and Services of Samuel Sebastian Wesley (1810-1876),” a thesis presented to George Peabody College in Nashville, available on University Microfilm.
talists who do not relish imaginary conversations introduced without documentation into serious historical study. Harmon's book is appreciative without being adulatory. A comparison of its bibliography with that of Newton, however, reveals the difference in approach and theme. The former tells a general life story, and most of her resources are secondary. Newton, as his title indicates, has chosen to interpret the remarkable woman in terms of her Puritan background and influences. Using many primary sources, in a biographical frame he has built a Puritan thesis, reminiscent of the efforts of Robert Monk to do the same for John Wesley (see below).

2. *Wesley Theology.* The Wesley revival which began in the 1930s with several theological reinterpretations (Cell, Lee, Hildebrandt, etc.) has continued through the decade under consideration. Ten years ago Colin Williams brought out his provocative *John Wesley's Theology Today,* a carefully annotated yet strongly opinionated view with special reference to Wesley's significance for ecumenical discussions. His relation to Reformation theology and Roman Catholic theology is discussed, and his position within the Church of England as a force of loyal opposition is analyzed in both text and extended appendix. The same year (1960) another major contribution appeared which has proved of enduring value, John Deschner's *Wesley's Christology, An Interpretation.* This work, which, like so many books on Wesley, began as a dissertation (University of Basel), and provides yet another central foundation for understanding the founder's thought.

As the decade progressed other books, each dealing with a special aspect, were published. The Holy Spirit was the focus of the study by Lycurgus M. Starkey. An Australian Methodist, John R. Parris, wrote a book on the Wesleyan view of the sacraments, a subject much discussed among those who would like to associate the English leader with one or another Reformation, Anglican, or Catholic tradition. Parris' book is competent, but adds little to the known factors as represented in the still useful study by Bowmer. It is brief and clear and therefore not exhaustive. The author maintains that Wesley had a Protestant orientation on baptism, Catholic on the Lord's Supper. In general he stands as a mediator between Catholic and Protestant emphases. Another leg of the Wesleyan doctrinal elephant is developed by Robert C. Monk in

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John Wesley: His Puritan Heritage. He employs the obvious approaches of family influence and the Christian Library (Wesley’s own five-foot shelf of books), and ransacks the literature for Puritan references and more subtle influences. Monk is not the only author who has allowed his thematic enthusiasm to run away with his subject. “Puritan” is too broad and diverse to treat as a homogenous unit, and easily swallows up quite separate factors such as English and Continental Reformation. Monk does recognize that Wesley’s use of Puritan literature was one thing, its formative influence quite another. He makes a clear case in such specifics as the place of Baxter’s Aphorisms. John Wesley and the Christian Ministry is the subject of an excellent monograph by A. B. Lawson. Although many aspects have already been investigated, Lawson brings them together systematically, especially in chapters on Peter King and Bishop Stillingfleet, experience in lay ministry, and the ordinations—all directed to understanding Wesley’s concept of the ministry. Not all scholars will agree with Lawson’s attempt to show that Wesley never intended to confer any sort of episcopal authority on Dr. Coke, but rather only to delegate authority for the work in America. Lawson would have us understand superintendent as equivalent to presiding elder and the ceremony of “laying on of hands” on Coke as mere “blessing.” The chief difficulty with Lawson’s interpretation is that his description of Coke’s status conforms precisely to Wesley’s view of a true “scriptural episcopos.” Writers on this stubborn issue would clarify matters if they would define what they mean by “bishop.”

A more general collection of essays comprise The Doctrine of the Church, edited by Dow Kirkpatrick for the Oxford Institute on Methodist Theological Studies in 1962. Here are discussed many of the matters in Lawson’s and Parris’ books, such as sacraments and ordination, as well as special studies of confirmation, discipline, and unity. Some of the essays are more historically oriented than others.

A smaller study by John C. English brings us to an impressive body of doctoral dissertations which converge on much-researched Wesley. His little work is a published form of a Vanderbilt University dissertation of 1965. No less than fifteen dissertations, not counting others which found their way into published form, deal with Wesley’s theology, and that list is certainly not complete for

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the decade under consideration. A very useful "Checklist of Doctoral Dissertations on Methodist, Evangelical United Brethren, and Related Subjects, 1912-1968," prepared by Keith Hardman for *Methodist History*, contains 109 theses, 43 of them submitted between 1960 and 1968. The moral is, before engaging in doctoral research on Wesley, especially Wesley's theology, look first for whatever someone may have done before you. Many of these dissertations are excellent studies, but few of them have been published in book form. Many, however, are available in microfilm (or more expensive xerox) from University Microfilms. Equally important for the researcher is awareness of parallel but not always mutually acknowledged research on opposite sides of the Atlantic Ocean. One may safely guess, however, that investigation into the life and thought of this energetic English Tory agitator is not finished. And there is always Charles.

A major book, not directed specifically to theology but bearing powerful implications, is *John Wesley and the Church of England*, by Frank Baker. It is the product of ripe scholarship and bears the marks of lifetime study. John Wesley's relation to the church which in every respect was his spiritual mother is, apart from his unremitting commitment to biblical study, the single most important factor in the direction of his religious life. It was a classic lover's quarrel. Baker, in his impressively annotated work which includes collation of printed sources with parent manuscripts, has done a biography, a theology, an ecclesiology, and a church history of the highest order. Wesley comes forward as staunch adherent to the Anglican Church under primary allegiance to God's Word in Holy Concept of Grace in the Theology of John Wesley" (University of Iowa, 1963); Frank J. McNulty, "The Moral Teachings of John Wesley" (Catholic University of America, 1963); E. Fay Bennett, "The Call to God in the Ministry of John Wesley" (Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1963); John N. R. Score, II, "A Study in the Concept of the Ministry in the Thought of John Wesley (Duke University, 1963); Ronald G. Williams, "John Wesley's Doctrine of the Church" (Boston University, 1964); David L. Cubie, "John Wesley's Concept of Perfect Love: A Motif Analysis" (Boston University, 1965); John Rutherford Renshaw, "The Atonement in the Theology of John and Charles Wesley" (Boston University, 1965); John A. Knight, "John William Fletcher and the Early Methodist Tradition" (Vanderbilt University, 1966); Lawrence D. McIntosh, "The Nature and Design of Christianity in John Wesley's Early Theology: A Study in the Relation of Love and Faith" (Drew University, 1966); Forest T. Benner, "The Immediate Antecedents of the Wesleyan Doctrine of the Witness of the Spirit" (Temple University, 1966); Chong-Nam Cho, "A Study of John Wesley's Doctrine of Baptism in the Light of Current Interpretations" (Emory University, 1966); David I. Naglee, "The Significance of the Relationship of Infant Baptism and Christian Nurture in the Thought of John Wesley" (Temple University, 1966).

29 8 (1970), 38-42. A supplement is planned for April, 1971. Addendum: This has now appeared under the title "Supplementary Checklist of Doctoral Dissertations on Methodist and Related Subjects," pp. 53-61. Of 223 additional listings approximately 50 fall within the historical frame of Methodism and were completed between 1960 and 1970.

Scripture. Baker admits he came uncomfortably close to Bunyan's Mr. Facing-Both-Ways. That he won through during a very long lifetime without either outward schism or inward schizophrenia is a tribute to the integrity of a great soul.

3. British Methodism. The movement in which the Wesleys played a major role had many ramifications. Among the chief co-workers was George Whitefield, whose Journals have been published twice in this decade. The Banner of Truth edition is preferable for those who need a carefully edited modern form of this very important document, since it uses William Wale's edition of 1905 corrected and compared with the 1756 edition. The volume includes the additional Short and Further Accounts, as well as fifty pages of an "unpublished" journal for the years 1744-45, which had been "lost" in the library of Princeton Theological Seminary since 1816. The other work is a facsimile reprint of the Wale edition with an introduction by William V. Davis.

One of the chief landmarks of the decade is the appearance of Volume I of A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain, edited by Rupert Davies and Gordon Rupp. It introduces a projected four volume set intended to present British Methodism to the later twentieth century. Rupp is clearly aware, as his introduction indicates, that denominational history in this day and age must take a quite different stance and bear responsibility for justifying itself. Not all of the chapters, each by a different author, fully express this new stance. In general, however, the contributors are all first rate scholars and writers—besides Rupp and Davies, Herbert Butterfield, Maldwyn Edwards, Jean Orcibal, W. F. Loffhouse, John Lawson, Frank Baker, Raymond George, John Walsh. This work, which is much needed in view of possible merger with the Church of England, is very welcome. Because the first volume was so slow in appearing, however, one probably will need patience in awaiting the second volume (to 1848), the third (to the present), and the fourth (documents). Mention might be made of a stimulating general overview of the period of Evangelical Revival from an evangelical point of view by a scholarly Methodist minister, A. Skevington Wood, The Inextinguishable Blaze, one of a series entitled "The Advance of Christianity Through the Centuries."

For Ireland the best modern survey is Richard Lee Cole, History

52 Edited and published by E.E. Eells in Church History, 7 (1938), 297-345.
of Methodism in Ireland.\textsuperscript{35} It covers the period 1860-1960, and is described as a “fourth volume” intended to update the set by C. H. Crookshank, which came down to 1859.

A monograph on The Renewal of the Covenant in the Methodist Tradition,\textsuperscript{36} originally an M.A. thesis at Leeds, devotes most of its space to historical analysis, then proceeds to a critical and constructive part intended to provide a basis for revival of the service in modern times. “The Covenant Service is the most typical expression of Methodist devotion.” The author hopes it may become a contribution to ecumenical Christianity.

Not as ecumenical in spirit is Methodism Mocked, the Satiric Reaction to Methodism in the Eighteenth Century, by Albert M. Lyles.\textsuperscript{37} Not that the author takes pleasure in mocking Methodism, but he indubitably enjoys writing about those who did. Assisted by suitable engravings and cartoons, he presents a lively controversy not devoid of humor.

Several biographies, two of them important contributions, have appeared along with the several Wesley studies. John Vickers’ Thomas Coke\textsuperscript{38} provides the peripatetic little doctor with a definitive biography which is lacking for either of the Wesley brothers. It clearly supersedes Candler’s life of 1923, and is the first done in England for a hundred years. Why should the most imperialistic of Methodists wait till long after the demise of the Empire for suitable recognition? Much unpublished material, including several hundred of Coke’s letters, has gone into this formidable—yet quite readable—work. “The view set out in this book is that, for all his faults, Coke has generally been misrepresented, and even maligned, on certain important counts.” Hence Vickers’ stance is that of a rescuer determined to deal fairly, but honestly, with a human being unusually complex and occasionally quite unpredictable. What of the strange approach to Bishop White broaching the possibility of Episcopal reordination? This is one question neither Vickers nor anyone else has completely answered. His heart was certainly not in the Highlands; but was it in England, or America—or Ireland? Probably in the end it was where he laid it, on the high seas headed for the world parish he sought.

The other significant biographical study is of one less known, if only because he is so difficult to identify with any one ecclesiastical tradition: William Grimshaw.\textsuperscript{39} Here is another piece of original

\textsuperscript{35} (Belfast: Epworth House, 1960), 203 pp.
research, the first documented study of the man who was both Anglican priest and Methodist preacher, along with several other ingredients.

Two treatises, both brief, deal with John Fletcher, vicar and close friend of Wesley.40 Neither achieves the level of theological understanding reached by David Shipley's still unpublished Yale dissertation. Lawton goes to the sources in presenting a many-sided Fletcher as minister, author, theologian, and "director of souls."

A special genus of literature is growing up around the proposed merger of English Methodists and the Church of England.41 It is too early to discern which will prove of enduring value. As of now the publications serve as prime source material for a historical episode not yet ended. The two-volume Commission report stands out as the only really important contribution so far.

Finally, mention should be made of a small volume edited by Paul M. Minus, Jr., *Methodism's Destiny in an Ecumenical Age.*42 The spectrum of the essays ranges from sober historical studies to prognostications on the future health of world Methodism, some modestly optimistic, some more dubious of prospects for traditional denominational forms. Historically Albert Outler digs new ground in his efforts to interpret the Wesleyan problem of God's sover-


eighty versus man’s response in terms of medieval roots of Wesley’s ideas. Again the broader ecumenical significance of Methodism as a historical movement is emphasized.

C. American Methodism

1. General and Sources. The event of the decade in the historiography of American Methodism was the well received publication of *The History of American Methodism* in 1964. In three volumes of chronological and topical chapters by different authors the whole story has been brought down to the present, cast in the situation of later twentieth century, and rescued from the older denominational historians from Stevens through Sweet. William Warren Sweet’s one volume survey, published in the 1930s, to say nothing of Lucock’s 1928 *Story of Methodism*, is itself in need of complete replacement, a project being undertaken by myself for completion in 1974. The three volumes are remarkably coherent for a multiple-author work, although at a few points interpretations do not jibe. The material is generally well documented, and the extensive bibliography will be useful for many years to come. A certain pride, even ebullience, is evident here and there; but for Methodists the level of modesty is surprisingly good. Something of the later twentieth century decline of ecclesiastical imperialism was already apparent in the 1960s. This standard reference work is indispensable for any sort of research in the field.

Unhappily one must report that the ambitious project for a *History of Methodist Missions* sponsored by the Board of Missions is still stalled halfway through, with Volume III (1957) being the latest. Vague reports indicate some hope for the future. A more recent major work is Volume I of a projected two, *The Methodist Publishing House, A History*, by James P. Pilkington. This impressive first volume, ably researched, documented, and written, carries the history to 1870. It is valuable as a general reference work, and also as evidence of the degree to which Methodism was early committed to literary evangelism. Another general work is *Forever Beginning, 1766-1966*, being “Historical Papers presented at American Methodism’s Bicentennial Celebration, Baltimore, Maryland, April 21-24, 1966.” Most of those essays were carefully prepared and documented investigations and interpretations.

The decade, unlike the preceding period, produced much less in printing of original sources, a fact which probably says something important for Methodist historical studies. A bright exception is publication of *The Journal of Joseph Pilmore, 1769-1774*, ably
edited by Frederick Maser and Howard Maag. The valuable manuscript of this record by one of the first two missionaries sent to America by John Wesley in 1769 has rested in the library of the Historical Society of the Philadelphia Annual Conference for many years, waiting the necessary combination of funds, scholarship, and energy. The result is a welcome contribution to the body of original source material now available in reliable printed form, because it helps fill in a very thin body of evidence for the crucial early beginnings. There is an index, largely of persons and places. A smaller Journal is that of John Smith, early circuit rider in the Greenbriar region and Pennsylvania. This brief but lively record is printed from a manuscript in the library of Garrett Theological Seminary in Evanston, Illinois, and covers the years 1787 to 1788.

2. Biographies. Of the several biographies the most important for general interest—though not necessarily for historical scholarship—is the life of Francis Asbury by L. C. Rudolph. The author, who is Presbyterian, has ably retold the story and caught the spirit of the man chiefly responsible for the direction of American Methodism in its early years. He is a little uncomfortable in reporting the bloody (figurative sense) conflicts with Presbyterian rivals, and the whole thing is too brief to be definitive. Life-and-times environment is either omitted or passed over too lightly. But it is still the best biography of Asbury around. That, unfortunately, is faint praise. Why, O why, must both Wesley and Asbury wait so long for their match; who in scholarly biography can do them up proper as they should be done? That day is not yet.

A Northwestern University dissertation published in limited xerox form and available in microfilm, covers the career of Ezekiel Cooper, 1763-1847, An Early American Methodist Leader, by Lester B. Scherer. The Second Book Agent and leader of liberal reformers in early nineteenth century left most of his writings and records in manuscript (preserved in Garrett Theological Seminary), so busy was he in publishing the writings of other men. Carl Wittke, general American historian, took time out from other projects to write the life story of William Nast, Patriarch of German Methodism. This is not only a biography but also an account of an important chapter in the history of immigration. Another good biography is Harold W. Mann, Atticus Green Haygood, Methodist

49 (Northwestern University, 1965). Copies are available at Lake Junaluska and the United Methodist seminaries as a result of award of the Jesse Lee Prize.
Bishop, Editor, and Educator. Based on much unpublished material, this interpretation of the progressive Southern Methodist leader of the later nineteenth century sets the principal thesis that Haygood broke from Southern conservatism in 1880 and thereafter spoke for the Negro and liberal views.

Other biographical studies may have more limited or more specialized appeal.

3. Polity and Denominations. One of the unremitting controverted issues in American Methodism has been the office of bishop. In 1960 Jesse Hamby Barton completed his dissertation on “The Definition of the Episcopal Office in American Methodism,” in which he attempted a broad historical survey together with some “Doctrinal Conclusions” on all levels of Methodist ministry. The division of 1844 is seen in terms of slavery rather than the constitutional issues. The General Conference of that year, however, was caught at the point of authority over the episcopacy. As a result of the schism, Hamby says, both sides were driven to extremes of emphasizing either authority of General Conference or authority of bishops. This trend may be seen in the later history of the two branches.

Two years later Norman Spellman submitted a dissertation to Yale University on “The General Superintendency in American Methodism, 1784-1870.” He chose his cutoff date to coincide with the constitutional act of 1870 in the M. E. Church, South, by which the bishops were established as the supreme judicial power. “The latter event marks a significant climax in the development of the concept of the episcopal office in American Methodism.” He emphasizes the constitutional issue as the determining factor in the schism of 1844. He rejects arguments which would relate to sectional views on episcopacy, and points out that sectional differences on polity began fifteen years before the slavery controversy broke into the open. He makes no reference to Barton.

The only dissertation on the subject to see publication is that by Gerald F. Moede, The Office of Bishop in Methodism, which came from, of all places, the University of Basel, and refers to neither Barton nor Spellman. He emphasizes that Wesley never stated or even suggested that the action of the Christmas Conference departed in any way from his intentions, and therefore that the

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53 (Drew University, 1960), 231 pp.
54 (Yale University, 1962), 371 pp.
55 (Zürich, Frankfurt am Main: Gotthelf-Verlag, 1964), 276 pp.
episcopal form—though not of course the term “bishop”—accorded with his views. Moreover, he accepted the election of the superintendents by the Conference. Of course it is also true that Wesley never explicitly approved of what the Americans had done with his delegated authority. This attitude of Wesley is interpreted as an illustration of Wesley’s adaptability and pragmatism. Moede relates the struggle over slavery to the episcopal issue by suggesting that the South was inclined to strengthen episcopacy as a protest against an unfriendly northern majority in General Conference. Moving toward reunification, the episcopacy came to be defined as “fully responsive to the checks and balances of democratic government (to satisfy those of the Northern viewpoint), but also localized, that is, sensitive and sympathetic with the local needs of particular areas (to satisfy the Southern viewpoint) . . . .” Beyond that the author strives to describe the international character of the office since reunification and to measure some potentials for the future. Chief among these he points out the ecumenical importance of adjustment of Methodist views to Anglican understanding of the historic episcopate, in some such manner as the Church of South India has achieved.

Discussion of episcopacy inevitably calls to mind the figure of James O’Kelly, one of Asbury’s principal thorns. A dissertation on his schism, published in English in Mexico, has been done by Charles F. Kilgore. Although the work suffers from limitations in identification and use of sources, it provides a first modern study of the energetic and opinionated man who defied Asbury to his face and sought to cut down his episcopal power in 1792. Both of the main antagonists are dealt with fairly.

Four other dissertations cover various topics of polity and ecumenics. So far as I know none of these has been published. The first attempts an interpretation of the important theme of church as mission. The other three all deal with merger movements among components of the present United Methodist Church. Blankenship includes Episcopalians and Presbyterians as well as United Brethren.

One of the most neglected areas of Methodist historical research is one which will undoubtedly enter an active phase in the 1970s,
ethnic and racial history. Whether study of the ethnic groups—mainly German and Scandinavian—will share this surge remains to be seen. Certainly the Negro denominations are deeply involved in the issues of race to which much energy is already being devoted. The harvest is not yet in, however. A few primary sources are being reprinted, along with a few standard histories. Original research based on sources has just gotten under way. Two important sources for the African Methodist Episcopal Church are now newly available, *The Life Experience and Gospel Labors of the Rt. Rev. Richard Allen*, and *Recollections of Seventy Years*, by Daniel A. Payne. Allen’s autobiographical sketch was written sometime between 1816 and 1831, and gives information on the separation from St. George’s church in Philadelphia, which led eventually to formation of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The thin book is beefed up with scattered papers of Allen dealing with various subjects, one of the most valuable being the contribution of black people to public service during the great plague in Philadelphia. For all its brevity it must be cherished as a prime source because it comes from one of the chief actors and because sources of any kind for Negro church history are appallingly scarce. Bishop Payne’s autobiography, now reprinted, offers another document for interpretation of a later period of A.M.E. history. More recently we have the autobiographies of George Singleton and Richard R. Wright. Then there is a biography of Richard Allen, and a biographical dictionary of A.M.E. bishops.


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60 The Autobiography of George Arnett Singleton (Boston: Forum Publishing Co., 1964); Eighty-Seven Years Behind the Black Curtain (n. pl.: Rare Book Co., 1965), 351 pp.  
Craig has been revised and reprinted. Separate chapters cover bishops, officers, departments, schools, churches, ministers, laymen and women. A serious study based on available primary sources is Horace C. Savage, Life and Times of Bishop Isaac Lane. The author used Lane’s autobiography, papers of J. Arthur Hamlett, and the C.M.E. Publishing House archives.

An unpublished dissertation deals with “Some Effects of the Central Jurisdiction upon the Movement to Make the Methodist Church an Inclusive Church.” An excellent study in local history is Warren M. Jenkins, Steps Along the Way, the Origin and Development of the South Carolina Conference of the Central Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church. This is one of the very few studies of specific experience of black people in the jurisdictional structure which distinguished the former Methodist Church between 1939 and 1968. Negroes under this plan were included in The Methodist Church, product of merger of M. E., M. E., South, and Methodist Protestant Churches, but they were separated into an extra, non-geographical jurisdiction which overlapped the other regional jurisdictions. This was a famous—or infamous—compromise which accurately defines the racial state of mind of Methodism—and therefore America—in the 1930s.

The only major history of a Methodist ethnic group of the decade is Arlow W. Andersen, Salt of the Earth, A History of Norwegian-Danish Methodism in America. It includes a very useful “Commentary on Sources” as a guide to records in Norwegian and Danish languages.

4. Theology and Society. In American Methodism, unlike Wesley studies, the decade was, with one notable exception, not very fruitful in theological interpretation. Robert E. Chiles succeeded in publishing his excellent 1964 Columbia dissertation as Theological Transition in American Methodism, 1790-1935. Taking the long view in a series of three case studies chosen from three widely separated periods of “transition,” Chiles has been able to tell the large story without becoming bogged in detail, has had opportunity to define fully the place held by his three principals. His main theme is the metamorphosis of Wesleyan theology from his influential English interpreter, Richard Watson, through the Americanizing revisions which found expression in John Miley to the modern liberalism of Albert Knudsen and the Boston School of the twentieth century. Equally important, but unfortunately not published except in por-
tions, is the 1960 Yale dissertation by William J. McCutcheon, "The Theology of the Methodist Episcopal Church During the Interwar Period (1919-1939)." It takes up about where Chiles leaves off, and concentrates on the liberal-fundamentalist controversies of the time, which introduce such disparate figures as Brightman, Rall, Sloan, and Lewis. Three other useful theses are John A. Eversole, "Ordination in American Methodism" (Iliff, 1963), Roger D. Woods, "The World of Thought of John R. Mott" (Iowa, 1965), and William H. Naumann, "Theology in the Evangelical United Brethren Church" (Yale, 1966).

Much more active has been the area of social history, marked by the appearance of the "Methodism and Society" series sponsored by the (then) Board of Social and Economic Relations. The first two volumes are historical in approach. Cameron goes to the end of the nineteenth century, and in an excellent chapter, delineates the great debate on slavery which led to schism in 1844. The issues are so complex and the duration so long and the material so vast that, although much has already been written, much is yet to be done in understanding this powerful social force which affected to the point of disruption not only Methodism but many other major denominations. The resurgence of racial issues in recent years gives clear indication that the last word has not yet been said. Cameron's book, and Muelder's, which focuses on the Social Creed and the times of the Social Gospel, will provide a reliable starting point for much research of the 1970s. The third volume is also worth mentioning in the context, Methodism and Society in Theological Perspective, by S. Paul Schilling.

No less than four dissertations, one of them published, deal with the controversy over slavery. Donald G. Mathews' book, Slavery and Methodism, A Chapter in American Morality, 1780-1845, goes over once again and quite thoroughly the sequence of events and debates which brought the Methodist Episcopal Church to schism in 1844. Although the author does not go into the constitutional aspects of the debate as such, he is drawn inevitably to pass judgment on the part played by slavery in bringing the separation. He expresses with sympathy the poignancy of the moral struggles in which men, most of them of good will, were caught as cotton bound white and black alike in inextricable chains. The unpublished works also make modern contributions to an ancient

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73 (1960), 318 pp.
issue. Milton B. Powell, "The Abolitionist Controversy in the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1840-1864" (Iowa, 1964), has more to do with the after effects of schism in the continuing struggle, and takes into account the role of Gilbert Haven as a "theocratic" New England abolitionist interested not only in cleaning the church of an evil but also in reforming American society. Lewis McC. Purifoy, Jr., in his "The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and Slavery, 1844-1865" (University of North Carolina, 1966), undertook to interpret the soul searching of leaders in Southern Methodism between schism and Civil War. It was (as he entitled his study for the Jesse Lee Prize of the Association of Methodist Historical Societies) an "ordeal" in which complex moral and theological considerations were all mixed up with political and economic ones. Finally, mention should be made here of the recent dissertation by William B. Gravely, "Gilbert Haven, Racial Equalitarian" (Duke, 1970), which won the 1970 Jesse Lee Award and will be published by the United Methodist Commission on Archives and History. This exhaustive biographical interpretation of the most radical Methodist bishop opens up social issues related not only to slavery as such but also to the entire arena of racial attitudes including miscegenation.

In other areas of social history Methodism has been investigated by Kenneth M. MacKenzie in The Robe and the Sword, the Methodist Church and the Rise of American Imperialism. The latter half of the nineteenth century is the time, and the Methodist Church is the particular case study of ecclesiastical dimensions of manifest destiny. "While the Methodist Church did not in itself instigate American imperialism, . . . it did help to develop a rationale." The northern branch is the church meant. The author does not wish to discredit the church for its political involvement, and he recognizes valid incentives of missionary motives. He identifies conflicting pressures such as sympathy with Cuba under Spanish rule in conflict with opposition to war in international relations. He rejects charges of excessive flag waving and accepts sincere concern for the heathen. The story he has to tell, nevertheless, is appalling in the clarity of hindsight. So easily does the church in the world become of the world.

5. Regional History. A large number of annual conference histories have appeared in the decade, with extremely diverse effects on the status of regional history. Of twenty-three such efforts known to me, only eight deserve consideration by serious historians

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56 Two other theses, which I have not seen, are Marvin E. Harvey, "The Wesleyan Movement and the American Revolution" (Washington, 1963); and Robert P. Lisensky, "Methodism as an Imitator of Social Thought and Action in the Area of World Peace (1900-1956)" (Boston, 1960).
as authentic local history. One of these is indeed a collection of valuable source material,77 designed to supplement an earlier conference history of commendable quality. Another is an excellent example of true local history set in proper historical context, C. Franklin Grill's *Methodism in the Upper Cape Fear Valley*,78 which is a region of North Carolina. The other six covering Michigan, southern Illinois, northern Mississippi, Kansas, northern Texas, and southern California and Arizona, are fairly well organized, clearly written, and documented.79 The remaining conference histories, which range from satisfactory to utterly incompetent, need not be listed in a bibliographic article devoted to authentic historical investigation. Many of them contain valuable source material, and some of them will serve as primary sources for the history of their own times, not least providing evidence on the current status of local history.

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