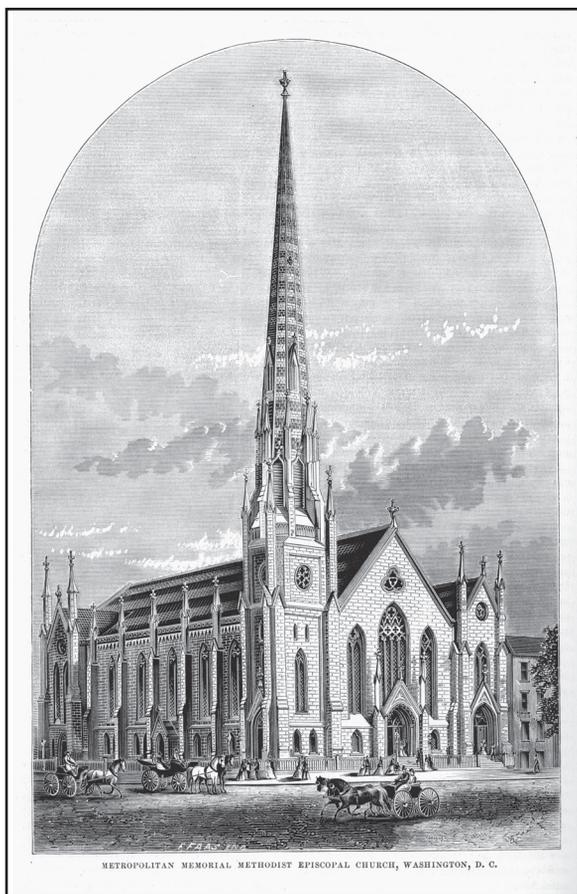


METHODIST HISTORY

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METHODIST HISTORY

Robert J. Williams, Editor

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The General Conference of The United Methodist Church will meet April 24 to May 4 of this year. This gathering will mark the 200th Anniversary of the convening of the first quadrennial, delegated General Conference. For 200 years Methodism has determined that its governing conference will meet only once every four years and will include a proportional number from each annual conference. By 1789, the church was governed by a sequence of up to 11 annual conferences with any connectional-wide issue needing approval in all. Then the church decided that all the preachers would gather every four years, beginning in 1792. But a disproportionate number of preachers came from the Baltimore and Philadelphia Conferences. The proposal that would correct the imbalance of representation, which was adopted in 1808, was that the General Conference would be a quadrennial and delegated gathering. Thus, on May 1, 1812, ninety members along with Bishops Asbury and M'Kendree, gathered in New York City. With many changes over the years in the makeup of those delegations, the fundamental pattern has persisted. This pattern has since been embraced by the United Brethren in Christ; the Evangelical Association; the Evangelical United Brethren Church; the Methodist Protestant Church in 1830; the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, beginning in 1846; and by the historic African American churches that separated from the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

The Church has built into its governing system a fundamental pattern of ongoing reform and change to the form of obedience in church government and polity. In 1864, the Delaware and Washington Conferences were formed thus enabling African Americans to be seated in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church beginning in 1868, laity were later seated, and finally women were seated in the General Conferences.

This General Conference will consider a proposal to drastically alter the governing structures of the general agencies including the General Commission on Archives and History. I support the continuation of the governing structure for our commission. At this Conference a recommendation will be received to recognize the first Heritage Landmarks outside the United States: the College of West Africa in Liberia; the Old Mutare Site in Zimbabwe; Mary Johnston Hospital in Manila—along with the Native American congregation in Newtown, Oklahoma, and Simpson House in Philadelphia.

Robert J. Williams

**“BLEST BE THE DEAR UNITING LOVE”:
GEORGE JACKSON (1864-1945)
AND THE TRANSATLANTIC CONNECTIONS OF METHODISM
IN CANADA, THE USA AND GREAT BRITAIN¹**

MARTIN WELLINGS

Historians of the early years of the Evangelical Revival, like George Rawlyk, Reg Ward and Mark Noll, have taught us to recognise the web of contacts and correspondence linking Europe, Great Britain and North America in the mid-eighteenth century, contacts which helped to disseminate the stories and methodology of the Revival.² Scholars and students have not paid as much attention to the later history of those connections, and this paper suggests that this is a topic whose significance we might profitably consider.

The paper offers a case study of a man, a book and a reaction. The man is George Jackson (1864-1945), a minister of the British Wesleyan Methodist Connexion. The book is *The Preacher and the Modern Mind*, the published version of a lecture Jackson gave to the Wesleyan Conference in Liverpool, England, in July, 1912. The reaction has been described as a rare example of organised Fundamentalism among British Methodists, spawning one of the very few groups in Great Britain which fits George Marsden’s definition of a Fundamentalist: “an Evangelical who is angry about something.”³ And Jackson’s opponents in the Wesley Bible Union were certainly very angry indeed.⁴ At first sight this controversy within British Methodism looks very insular, but further investigation reveals that George Jackson’s formation as a preacher and theologian, his reputation as an advocate of “modern thought” and the reactions to *The Preacher and the Modern Mind* all owed a good deal

¹ A version of this paper was presented to the Wesleyan Studies Group at the American Academy of Religion in Montreal in 2009, and I am grateful to members of the Group for their insightful comments.

² See, for example, Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism* (Leicester: IVP, 2004); Keith Robbins (ed.), *Protestant Evangelicalism: Britain, Ireland, Germany and America, c. 1750 – c. 1950* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington and George A. Rawlyk (eds.), *Evangelicalism* (New York: OUP, 1994).

³ D. W. Bebbington, “The Persecution of George Jackson: A British Fundamentalist Controversy,” in W. J. Sheils (ed.), *Persecution and Toleration: Studies in Church History*, vol. 21 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), 421-433; George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 1; Martin Wellings, “Methodist Fundamentalism Before and After the First World War,” in David Bebbington and David Ceri Jones (eds.), *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism: The Experience of the United Kingdom during the Twentieth Century* (forthcoming).

⁴ See Martin Wellings, “The Wesley Bible Union,” *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* [hereafter *PWHS*] 53.5 (May, 2002).

to the interplay between British, American and Canadian Methodism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century.

The Making of the Preacher

George Jackson was born in Grimsby, Lincolnshire, a fishing port on the east coast of England, in 1864.⁵ His parents kept a bookseller and stationer’s shop, so Jackson grew up surrounded by the paraphernalia of scholarship and authorship. When he was twelve years old his father died, but despite the challenge of looking after eight children under fifteen, Eliza Jackson was able to keep her second son in school, where George made the most of his educational opportunities.⁶ He was an omnivorous reader, passed his examinations with flying colours, and at seventeen and a half took a job as a teacher in a boys’ boarding school at Redruth, in Cornwall.

The Jacksons were committed Methodists, sending their children to the local Wesleyan Day-school, and attending Grimsby’s Victoria Street Chapel. In Redruth George soon became a Local Preacher: later legend claimed that the Superintendent Minister asked him to take two services because the established Local Preachers had gone on strike. Setting aside this unconventional beginning, Jackson went through the regular process of accreditation and was then offered as a candidate for the Wesleyan Methodist ministry. He was accepted by the Conference, and was sent in 1885 to train at Richmond College, London, where he remained for two years.⁷

Four observations may be made about the Wesleyan Methodism of George Jackson’s youth, and about the Church which received him as a candidate for its ministry. First, the Connexion was numerically strong, but prone to bouts of insecurity. The Wesleyans were the largest of the English Free Churches, with 413,163 members in 1885, an increase of 2,797 on the previous year. With well over 1,000 ministers, 14,700 Local Preachers and 24,300 Society classes, the Connexion was a real power in the land.⁸ However, the quarterly monitoring of membership figures could provoke anxiety; the Wesleyans remained conscious of their lowly status *vis-à-vis* the Established Church of England; and there was nervousness about the spread of Romanism, ritualism and rationalism among the population. Moreover, the Connexion was still living with the aftermath of the so-called Reform agitation of 1849-1857. This bitter struggle tore the Connexion apart, cost the Wesleyans an estimated 100,000 members and blighted the movement’s energies for a quarter

⁵ This section draws on Annie Jackson, *George Jackson: A Commemorative Volume* (London: Epworth, 1949), 1-4.

⁶ At the time of the 1881 census, the family had a governess and a servant, so their financial circumstances, if straitened, were not desperate.

⁷ Jackson, *George Jackson*, 5-7; Frank H. Cumbers (ed.), *Richmond College 1843-1943* (London: Epworth, 1944), 174.

⁸ *Minutes of Conference 1885* (London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1885), 151-153.

of a century.⁹ The Church therefore faced the challenges and opportunities of mission both to the expanding British Empire overseas and to an increasingly urbanized population at home with diminished resources and a senior leadership traumatised by the battles over Reform.

Second, the Connexion was instinctively conservative, but straws in the wind indicated that change was on its way. John Wesley's 1784 Deed of Declaration vested absolute authority in his Connexion in the one hundred named preachers of the Legal Conference, the so-called "Legal Hundred," and by the mid-nineteenth century this self-perpetuating group had resolved to replenish its numbers when necessary by alternating between election and seniority. The Legal Conference, therefore, had an inbuilt bias towards the most long-serving of the preachers. Many of the respected voices in the Conference which accepted George Jackson as a candidate in 1885 were young men of the 1830s and 1840s: William Arthur, Ebenezer Jenkins, James Harrison Rigg, Benjamin Gregory, Benjamin Hellier, and Charles Garrett. The most senior member of all, George Osborn, entered the ministry in 1828 and had been a member of the Hundred since 1849, when he had been the most hard-line opponent of the Reformers.¹⁰ However, in the 1870s, the Conference had overruled Osborn and agreed to admit lay representatives for the first time.¹¹ In January, 1885, Hugh Price Hughes, the rising star of a more progressive Methodism, launched *The Methodist Times*, a weekly newspaper subtitled "a journal of religious and social movement." The Conference of that year saw the establishment of the London Mission, an expression of what Hughes called the "Forward Movement" in Methodism.¹² The same Conference marked Osborn's retirement as Theological Tutor at Richmond.¹³ New approaches to urban mission were being attempted. New voices and new leaders were emerging.

Third, the Connexion was traditionally evangelical in its theology, but a conversation was beginning between Wesleyan Arminianism and modern thought. In the mid-nineteenth century the Wesleyans stood four-square with the Evangelical Alliance, lamented Darwin's *Origin of Species*, denounced radical biblical criticism as rationalist in ideology and destructive in its consequences, and defended traditional beliefs about eternal punishment against

⁹ Provoked by personal rivalries within the Wesleyan elite, the Reform movement gathered up a variety of national and local disputes about the shape and direction of the Connexion. For a contemporary account, see Benjamin Gregory, *Side Lights on the Conflicts of Methodism 1827-1852* (London: Cassell, 1898); more recent studies include Robert Currie, *Methodism Divided* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968) and sections of the second and third volumes of Rupert Davies, A. Raymond George and Gordon Rupp, eds., *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain* (London: Epworth, 1978, 1983).

¹⁰ *Minutes of Conference 1885*, 2-4, lists the Legal Conference.

¹¹ Martin Wellings, "Making Haste Slowly: The Campaign for Lay Representation in the Wesleyan Conference 1871-1878," *PWHS* 53.2 (May, 2001).

¹² Christopher Oldstone-Moore, *Hugh Price Hughes: Founder of a New Methodism, Conscience of a New Nonconformity* (Cardiff: U Wales P, 1999), 122-126, 135-143.

¹³ *Minutes 1885*, 185-186. Cumbers, *Richmond College*, 70, includes Jackson's tribute to Beet as a tutor and his relief at avoiding Dr Osborn.

the alternative theology of the “larger hope.” This outlook was sustained in Wesleyan periodicals, publications and colleges to the end of the century and beyond, but other voices also began to gain a hearing. During the 1880s the science of W. H. Dallinger and the biblical scholarship of J. A. Beet, W. F. Moulton and W. T. Davison softened the tone of Wesleyan evangelicalism; Beet and Davison were Jackson’s tutors at Richmond.¹⁴

Fourth, the Connexion was intellectually and ecclesiastically self-sufficient, but also aware of belonging to a worldwide Methodist family. John Scott Lidgett, ten years older than Jackson and born into the Wesleyan elite, held that Wesleyan theology was inward-looking and out of touch with developments elsewhere.¹⁵ This may be unfair, but, as evangelical Arminians, Wesleyans stood slightly apart from fellow-evangelicals in the Reformed tradition, treating Calvinists with a mixture of bewilderment, suspicion and sympathetic condescension.¹⁶ British Methodists, however, were certainly conscious of the worldwide Methodist community. Leading British ministers visited the United States and Canada, and received degrees from North American universities. Delegates and fraternal addresses were exchanged between the Wesleyan Conference and the Methodist Episcopal Church. North American publications were readily available in Britain and the periodical press regularly featured articles on American and Canadian topics. And in 1881, London played host to the first Methodist Ecumenical Conference, responding to an initiative of the 1876 General Conference of the MEC.¹⁷

The British perception of American Methodism in the early 1880s was wholly positive, if slightly patronizing. Methodists in Britain and North America were seen as believers united in their fidelity to the orthodoxy of the “old paths.” As a candidate for the Wesleyan ministry, however, George Jackson praised a book by an American Congregationalist divine which questioned those “old paths.” This was Theodore Munger’s volume of sermons *The Freedom of Faith*, published in 1883.¹⁸

The Freedom of Faith was an instant best-seller, going through eight editions in a year. British enthusiasts for Munger’s apologia for “New Theology” included Queen Victoria, as well as George Jackson. As Jackson ruefully recalled, the Connexional candidates’ committee did not share this opinion. The book presented a theology in tune with modern thought: experiential, non-dogmatic, open to science and critical scholarship, reinterpreting traditional doctrines and presenting them suggestively and allusively

¹⁴ Martin Wellings, *Evangelicals in Methodism: Mainstream, Marginalised or Misunderstood?* (Ilkerton: Moorley’s, 2005), 18-27; Jackson, *George Jackson*, 8.

¹⁵ J. Scott Lidgett, *My Guided Life* (London: Methuen, 1936), 144.

¹⁶ See, for example, W. O. Simpson, “Chatauqua Lectures and Lecturers: vii,” *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (London), (July, 1880): 543-549, on lectures by Dr. Curry and Dr. Hodge. (The speakers may be identified as Dr. Daniel Curry, of the MEC, and Dr. A. A. Hodge).

¹⁷ *Report of the Proceedings of the First Oecumenical Methodist Conference* (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1881), v-xvi.

¹⁸ George Jackson, “The Freedom of Faith,” *A Parson’s Log* (London: Epworth, 1927), 130.

rather than in the propositional language of the older orthodoxy.¹⁹

Jackson, it should be noted, was never a theological radical. It may be suggested that Munger's sermons spoke to him because of their openness to new ideas, their commitment to follow truth, and their emphasis on faith as a living experience of Christ, rather than fidelity to a received body of doctrine. Reflecting on his experience as a candidate some forty years later, Jackson quoted approvingly the classic text of liberal evangelicalism: "ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."²⁰

During his Richmond years Jackson came to know Hugh Price Hughes, supplying Hughes' pulpit at Brixton Hill and making some influential contacts. A year in Lancashire (1887-1888) strengthened his reputation as a preacher. The great opportunity came, however, when Jackson was chosen to plant a new Methodist church in Edinburgh. Operating first from rented rooms close to Princes Street, Jackson spent eighteen years building the Edinburgh Methodist Mission from nothing to a membership of more than 650, based from 1901 in its own extensive premises at Tollcross.²¹ In addition to diligence and personal charisma, Jackson excelled as a preacher. Eschewing flamboyant rhetoric, he brought breadth of reading, clarity of expression and a willingness to tackle vexed questions of faith and doubt to his preaching. These gifts drew appreciative congregations, and also made Jackson a popular lecturer and eventually a successful columnist and author. His Edinburgh reputation brought invitations to visit the USA and Canada in 1902, when he spoke at Chatauqua and toured Canada.²² He returned to North America in 1903, giving a lecture on the bicentenary of the birth of John Wesley at the Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut. Pressing invitations from Canada in 1905 eventually led Jackson to accept the pastorate of Sherbourne Street Church, Toronto, from September, 1906.²³ He served there for three years, moving in 1909 to a chair at Victoria University. And it was from Toronto that Jackson returned to Britain in 1912 to give his lecture on "The Preacher and the Modern Mind" and to accept designation from the following summer as professor of homiletics and pastoral theology at Didsbury College, Manchester.²⁴ And there he stayed until his retirement in 1928, training students for the Wesleyan ministry and contributing regular columns to the *Methodist Recorder* and to the *Manchester Guardian*.

Expressing the Modern Mind: The Theology of George Jackson

A brief survey of some of Jackson's publications illustrates his consistency in expressing the modern mind. His first book, *First Things First*, subtitled "addresses to young men," was commissioned by Hodder and

¹⁹ Gary Dorrien, *The Making of American Liberal Theology I: 1805-1900* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 293-300.

²⁰ Jackson, *Parson's Log*, 130.

²¹ Jackson, *George Jackson*, 10-25.

²² Jackson, 26-27.

²³ Jackson, 30.

²⁴ Jackson, 35-36.

Stoughton on the strength of Jackson’s Edinburgh preaching, and published in 1894, attaining a fifth edition by 1898.²⁵ The sermons are characteristically Jacksonian in style and content: lucidly expressed, closely argued, aptly illustrated, drawing on contemporary events and everyday circumstances, and addressing the questions and issues likely to interest or trouble an audience gathered from the shop and office workers of a late-Victorian city. Indeed, the address on “Bible Difficulties” picks up questions sent in by members of the congregation, and calls on modern scholarship to remove any conflict between Genesis and evolution.²⁶ Jackson defines the core of Christianity as “living by faith in personal union with Jesus Christ.” Christ is presented as the great example and enabler of goodness, as the pattern of “the ideal manly life.”²⁷ Jackson’s readers, like his hearers, are urged to seek the best, to resist the modern idolatry of gluttony, drunkenness, lust and greed, and to be wise in facing or fleeing temptation.²⁸ There is much common sense, practical wisdom and pastoral advice in these sermons, much to encourage Christian commitment and ethical behaviour, but very little explicit doctrine: the volume contains nothing on the atonement, judgement or eschatology, and the Christology is implicit rather than overt. In the sermon entitled “What is it to be a Christian?” Jackson allows even the divinity of Christ to be optional; in “Modern Idolatry” he names sacraments, worship services and scripture itself as possible obstacles between the believer and God.²⁹

First Things First was a volume of British sermons; almost a decade later, a Wesley bicentennial address given at an American university appeared in print as *The Old Methodism and the New* (1903). This work, dedicated “to the memory of Hugh Price Hughes,”³⁰ considers “the ecclesiastical position,” “the doctrines” and “the characteristic spirit” of Methodism, comparing the eighteenth century and the twentieth. Jackson places Methodism firmly with the English Free Churches—“we are Methodists and we are Dissenters”—blaming the intolerance of the Church of England for driving Methodism away from Wesley’s Mother Church.³¹ He deplores the divisions which have produced six competing Connexions in British Methodism, and argues for reunion, praising Canada as an example to follow.³² He claims that “the pith and substance of the Methodist gospel remains unchanged,”³³ but acknowledges that emphases have shifted. According to Jackson, Methodists can

²⁵ Jackson, 129-130.

²⁶ George Jackson, *First Things First* [hereafter *FTF*] (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1894, citing 1898 edition), 213-216.

²⁷ *FTF*, 35-6; 56, 84.

²⁸ *FTF*, 225; 196-197; 106-108.

²⁹ *FTF*, 40-42; 198-199.

³⁰ George Jackson, *The Old Methodism and the New* [hereafter *OMN*] (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1903), 4.

³¹ *OMN*, 17, 20.

³² *OMN*, 21-24. The six competing Methodisms were the Wesleyan Methodists, Methodist New Connexion, Primitive Methodists, Bible Christians, United Methodist Free Church, and Wesleyan Reform Union.

³³ *OMN*, 31.

approach the results of modern biblical criticism with “cautious liberalism” because they hold no rigid theory of inspiration. They believe instead, with Robertson Smith, that inspiration expresses the experience of finding that in the Bible God in Christ draws near to us. The historicity of Genesis and Jonah, and the Davidic authorship of the Psalms, can be left to the judgment of the critics and “the assured results of Biblical scholarship.”³⁴ Modern Methodism recognises greater variety in the experience of conversion,³⁵ expresses a “reverent agnosticism” about eternal punishment,³⁶ but still emphasises the witness of the Spirit.³⁷ For Jackson, the first Methodists neglected theology, politics and social reform for the sake of evangelism.³⁸ He argues that modern Methodism, while still committed to aggressive evangelism, now has “a civic conscience” and concerns itself with ethical and political issues.³⁹ Its theology, however, has remained undeveloped, relying on teachers from other traditions like the Congregationalist R. W. Dale.⁴⁰ Jackson expresses an anxiety that this theological weakness leaves Methodism ill-prepared to deal with a crisis of belief, and prone to panic and eject the questioner in order to solve the controversy. The furore generated by his former tutor J. A. Beet’s very cautious challenge to traditional eschatology may have been in Jackson’s mind;⁴¹ as will be seen later, Jackson’s own career witnessed Methodism struggling to come to terms with “modern thought.”

In *The Old Methodism and the New* Jackson paid tribute to Hugh Price Hughes for stimulating “the revival in our midst of the only kind of evangelism by which England can be won and held for Christ—the evangelism in which zeal and culture, religion and theology, the heart and the intellect, are yoked in one common service, the evangelism of John Wesley and the Apostle Paul.”⁴² Jackson developed this theme in his Fernley Lecture of 1912, *The Preacher and the Modern Mind*.

The Fernley Lecture was established by a Wesleyan benefactor in 1869. The trust deed specified a lecture expounding the doctrines or polity of Wesleyan Methodism, adapted to “the necessities of the times,” to be given at the Conference for the benefit of the representatives and of those about to be ordained to the ministry, and to be developed into a book.⁴³ Jackson took the opportunity to set out his convictions about effective and authentic preaching for the twentieth century, rehearsing arguments made in previous publications and drawing on his own practice and experience.

³⁴ *OMN*, 33-36.

³⁵ *OMN*, 37-39.

³⁶ *OMN*, 47-48.

³⁷ *OMN*, 42-43.

³⁸ *OMN*, 51-54.

³⁹ *OMN*, 55-56.

⁴⁰ *OMN*, 56-57.

⁴¹ David Carter, “Joseph Agar Beet and the Eschatological Crisis,” *PWHS* 51.6 (October, 1998).

⁴² *OMN*, 60.

⁴³ GSW/WL, “Fernley-Hartley Lecture,” in John A. Vickers (ed.), *A Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland* (Peterborough: Epworth, 2000), 119.

The starting point for Jackson is the recognition that “our whole mental background is rapidly changing,” as a result of modern biblical and theological scholarship. The changes summed up in the popular phrase “the modern mind” must be addressed by the Church, not ignored or dismissed.⁴⁴ Jackson argues for preaching which tackles ethical issues and does not take refuge in dogma or sentiment.⁴⁵ He balances this by calling for a proper attention to doctrine: mere morality will not do, nor will sermons that offer no more than a running commentary on the newspapers.⁴⁶ Jackson reviews the progress of biblical criticism and its consequences for preaching, finding the authority of the Bible not in old theories of inspiration or infallibility, but in a message of truth which evokes a response.⁴⁷ The person of Christ remains central, with the humanity of Jesus enhanced by the kenosis, and with the virgin birth left an open question.⁴⁸ The book concludes with a call for clarity and passion in preaching.

The Preacher and the Modern Mind eloquently expressed George Jackson’s ideal for his own practice as a preacher, blending personal spiritual experience, careful preparation, wide reading, fidelity to the great truths of the Gospel and an honest engagement with the best of contemporary scholarship, offered in the service of evangelism and edification. The broad thrust of the book could be characterized as liberal evangelicalism, and in its positive teaching it represented an outlook which was growing in influence in British Methodism in the early twentieth century.⁴⁹ The other side of *The Preacher and the Modern Mind*, however, was a relentless demonstration of the inadequacies, as Jackson perceived them, of various traditional beliefs and an impatience with the intellectual timidity or dishonesty which failed to admit the consequences of modern scholarship. Jackson dismissed old theories of the atonement “with their crude analogies drawn from the police-court and even from the pawn-shop.”⁵⁰ He acknowledged the presence of editing and error in the texts of the gospels, plenty of “poetic accessories” in the narratives of the Old Testament and “symbolical history” embellished by invented or misunderstood miracle stories.⁵¹ Jackson was comfortable and confident in commending to Methodist preachers the historical scholarship represented by Hastings’ *Dictionary of the Bible* and the work of Driver, Sanday, Skinner and Peake.⁵²

⁴⁴ George Jackson, *The Preacher and the Modern Mind* [hereafter *PMM*] (London: CH Kelly, 1912, citing third edition, 1913), 4, 9.

⁴⁵ *PMM*, 37-39.

⁴⁶ *PMM*, 66-72, 79.

⁴⁷ *PMM*, 97.

⁴⁸ *PMM*, 165-169.

⁴⁹ Martin Wellings, “British Methodism and Evangelicalism,” in William J. Abraham and James E. Kirby (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Methodist Studies* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), 161-163.

⁵⁰ *PMM*, 44.

⁵¹ *PMM*, 104-109, 115, 144-149.

⁵² *PMM*, 13, 91, 110, 150. S. R. Driver (1846-1914), William Sanday (1843-1920), John Skinner (1851-1925) and A. S. Peake (1865-1929) were leading biblical scholars; Peake was also a Primitive Methodist.

In the first chapter of *The Preacher and the Modern Mind* Jackson recognized that there was “a wide and perhaps widening gulf” between the Church’s scholarship and its piety, between “the practically unanimous findings of modern biblical scholarship” and “the beliefs . . . which still prevail in our Sunday schools and among the general body of our church members.”⁵³ The reaction to Jackson’s Fernley Lecture confirmed that observation. It provoked pamphlets, a spate of letters in the Methodist press, and debates in the Plymouth Conference of 1913, which was invited to revoke Jackson’s designation to the Didsbury chair and to condemn his teaching on the authority of Scripture and the Person of Christ.⁵⁴

The Canadian Connection

Before considering the controversy of 1913 and its aftermath, we need to explore the depiction of George Jackson as a Methodist modernist, and for this we return to his ministry in North America in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Close ties existed between British and Canadian Methodism, and between Canada and Scotland, in this period. Jackson, as a well-known British preacher and author occupying an influential pulpit in Edinburgh, was invited on several occasions in 1905-1906 to move to Toronto, first to a chair at Victoria University and then to the pastorate at Sherbourne Street Church. He accepted the latter invitation, although only after submitting to the church leadership a copy of *The Old Methodism and the New*, in order to confirm that his theological position would be acceptable to the congregation. The committee agreed; the Jackson family moved to Canada in September, 1906; and George Jackson began a popular and effective ministry at Sherbourne Street. Two years later he was interviewed for appointment as Professor of English Bible at Victoria University, and he assumed this responsibility in 1909.⁵⁵

The Canadian churches, however, were undergoing similar debates about biblical criticism and the reshaping of traditional theology to those taking place in Great Britain and the United States.⁵⁶ After a period of reluctant silence, Jackson entered the fray in defence of George Adam Smith, who was labelled an atheist by a speaker at the Toronto Bible School.⁵⁷ Having declared his hand in a letter to the *Toronto Globe*, Jackson took up the apolo-

⁵³ *PMM*, 13.

⁵⁴ Bebbington, “George Jackson”; Wellings, “Wesley Bible Union,” 160-162.

⁵⁵ Jackson, *George Jackson*, 25-37. There are some slight differences in dates and details between Annie Jackson’s account and those given by Neil Semple, *The Lord’s Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 1996), 270-272, and Gary Redcliffe, “A Pastoral Perspective on the Jackson-Carman Controversy, 1908-1910,” *Toronto Journal of Theology* 8.1 (1992).

⁵⁶ David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith. Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief 1850-1940* (Toronto: U Toronto P, 1992). There is a glancing reference to the Jackson controversy on 154, with more detail in the endnotes on 289.

⁵⁷ Jackson, *George Jackson*, 31.

getic issues raised by higher criticism in his sermons, and particularly in the Sherbourne Street men’s meeting. He reached a wider local audience by addressing the Toronto YMCA and cast his net further afield in lectures in the United States.⁵⁸

The YMCA meeting, discussing “The First Five Chapters of Genesis,” attracted the attention of Albert Carman, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church of Canada. Carman (1833-1917) was an architect of the 1884 union of Canadian Methodism, an experienced educator and a powerful ecclesiastical statesman.⁵⁹ Raised in a strongly evangelical Wesleyan tradition, Carman sought to navigate the changes in Canadian Church and society while maintaining a commitment to a traditional understanding of biblical inspiration. In 1890, Carman had helped to secure the removal of George Coulson Workman from the theology faculty at Victoria for questioning the place of messianic prediction in the Hebrew prophets.⁶⁰ Nineteen years later Carman took up the cudgels against George Jackson for his views on Genesis. Controversy began in the correspondence columns of the *Globe* in February, 1909, continued in meetings of the Victoria Board of Regents in March, and reached the General Conference in August, 1910.⁶¹ The result seems to have been a compromise, fully satisfactory to neither side. Jackson retained his chair, without censure by the Conference. The Victoria board passed a resolution affirming that “so long as our theological professors maintain their personal vital relation to Christ and Holy Scripture, and adhere to the doctrinal standards of our own church . . . they must be left free to do their own work.”⁶² Jackson still felt inhibited by this decision, and was unsure how far he could count on the support of Chancellor Nathanael Burwash and the Victoria Regents. By the spring of 1912, Jackson was considering resignation, and it is not entirely clear whether the designation to the Didsbury chair by the British Conference was a timely coincidence or a manoeuvre to extricate him from an increasingly uncongenial position.⁶³ It was, in any event, a welcome escape.

The Canadian controversy, however, followed Jackson across the Atlantic. *The Preacher and the Modern Mind* went through two editions in the second half of 1912, and Jackson looked set fair to return to Britain in triumph in the summer of 1913. The first public attack on his book, a pamphlet by William Shepherd Allen, appeared in March, 1913, but was speedily withdrawn, because Allen made the mistake of blaming Jackson for “a most offensive passage” in *The Preacher and the Modern Mind* which was in fact a direct and

⁵⁸ Jackson, 31, 34; Redcliffe, “Jackson-Carman Controversy,” 163.

⁵⁹ “Carman, Albert,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, accessed September 14, 2009.

⁶⁰ Semple, *Lord’s Dominion*, 269-270.

⁶¹ Redcliffe, “Jackson-Carman Controversy,” 163-164. Compare Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind. Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Kingston, Montreal, London: McGill-Queen’s UP, 1989), 91-92, 104, 111-112.

⁶² Cited in *Dict. Canadian Biography Online*.

⁶³ Redcliffe, “Jackson-Carman Controversy,” 164, noting that Annie Jackson gives different reasons for the departure from Canada.

acknowledged quotation from John Wesley himself.⁶⁴ Concerns were raised in at least one of the May Synods, and the religious press took up the issue at the end of May, with the *British Weekly*, the best-selling Free Church newspaper, reprinting reports from the *Toronto Globe* about Jackson's teaching on Genesis. Unfortunately for Jackson, the *British Weekly* faithfully repeated the *Globe's* mistaken attribution to Jackson of comments he placed in the mouth of an imaginary opponent, describing the first chapters of Genesis as "antiquarian lumber" and asking "Why not throw them out?" It took some time for this error to be identified and corrected.⁶⁵

After all the sound and fury in the press, the 1913 Conference overwhelmingly supported Jackson's appointment and declined to censure *The Preacher and the Modern Mind*.⁶⁶ This was not the end of the controversy, however. Disgruntled conservatives formed the Wesley Bible Union, with the declared aims of defending the doctrinal standards of Methodism and opposing modernism. In print and in the Conference the WBU fought a long and bitter campaign against "modern thought," which although spectacularly unsuccessful, took its toll on the peace of the Connexion and on those figures who became symbolic targets of conservative wrath. George Jackson, inevitably, featured prominently on the WBU's list of modernists. The Union was aware of battles elsewhere, praising ultra-conservative Australasian and American publications and renaming its journal *The Fundamentalist* in 1927.⁶⁷

George Jackson made no claim to original scholarship in biblical or theological studies. He was a pastor, preacher and teacher, with a love of literature, a gift for communication in speaking and writing, and a burning conviction that sound learning could and should be the ally of Christian evangelism. His career and controversies illustrated the shift towards liberal evangelicalism in British and Canadian Methodism, and to that extent his opponents were right to see him as a symbolic figure.

Although Jackson admired the honesty of Theodore Munger's "New Theology," as he admired the equally controversial R. J. Campbell in Great Britain twenty years later,⁶⁸ he remained orthodox on the fundamental doctrines of the creeds. Munger reinforced his commitment to experience and integrity over assent to dogma. In Scotland and in Canada, and to a lesser extent in the USA, Jackson honed his message and found it to be effective.

⁶⁴ "Mr. Shepherd Allen's Pamphlet," *Methodist Recorder* (London), (March 13, 1913), 3.

⁶⁵ "Professor Jackson and the Higher Criticism," *British Weekly* (London), (May 29, 1913), 226.

⁶⁶ Wellings, "Wesley Bible Union," 162.

⁶⁷ See, for example, *Journal of the Wesley Bible Union* (Gloucester) [hereafter *JWBU*], June, 1917, 132, commending *The Biblical Recorder*, an Australian monthly. The American periodical *The Bible Champion*, published by the Bible League of North America, was another favourite: *JWBU* (April, 1914), 38; (July, 1914), 107; (July, 1915), 156-157; (October, 1915), 229; (April, 1916), 81-82. The WBU took great encouragement from the work of Billy Sunday: *JWBU* (April, 1915), 81 and welcomed the publication of *The Fundamentals* (October, 1914), 121.

⁶⁸ *PMM*, 183, 183n.

He also found that his reputation in one country shaped his reception in another. This came to a climax in 1912-1913, when Canadian controversies helped to provoke a Fundamentalist debate in British Methodism.⁶⁹

Scholars have learned to appreciate the transatlantic connections of the age of Jonathan Edwards, the Wesleys and George Whitefield, and they have also explored the mid-twentieth century networks associated with Billy Graham and the post-war renaissance of conservative evangelicalism. The underlying argument of this paper is that the late nineteenth century, an era of greater transatlantic travel and migration, better communications, and the increasing exchange of printed material merits further investigation, particularly among the people called Methodists, conscious and proud of their shared Wesleyan heritage. Charles Wesley may have the last word:

“Blest be the dear, uniting love,
That will not let us part;
Our bodies may far off remove -
We still are one in heart.”⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Canadian evidence continued to be cited against Jackson: see “The Vital Question,” *JWBU* (May, 1917), 110, an article by the conservative Anglican scholar W. H. Griffith Thomas, teaching in Toronto, where “the effect of Mr. Jackson’s teaching is only too evident.”

⁷⁰ Franz Hildebrandt and Oliver A. Beckerlegge (eds.), *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists*; volume 7 in *The Works of John Wesley* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1983), 712 (Hymn 520).

**THE METHODIST EDWARDS:
JOHN WESLEY'S ABRIDGEMENT
OF THE SELECTED WORKS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS¹**

CHRISTOPHER M. B. ALLISON

Among eighteenth-century evangelical figures, Jonathan Edwards and John Wesley usually rank as some of the most notable. The two men presided over tremendous religious change in their respective countries while having no personal relationship. In fact, their chief tangible connection was through the mutual relationship with George Whitefield. It is not an exaggeration to state that their ideas about the character of religious reform and revival were notably different. Edwards was the dogged defender of inherited Puritan Calvinism in the face of the challenges of the enlightenment. Wesley, on the other hand, was the most notable representative of evangelical Arminian Anglicanism, who worked out the intricacies of free will and the heritage of the Protestant Reformation. When it came to the nuts and bolts of revivalism, they shared a concern for the spread of the Gospel and the reformation of the English world. This paper will look at Wesley's abridgement of selected works by Edwards that were influenced by the underlying Calvinist-Arminian debate in England, but were ultimately adapted by Wesley to serve the end of promoting revivalism. I will first look at Wesley as a religious publisher, then move on to delineating the connections between the two men, and in the final section I will analyze the method of abridgement that Wesley adopted by looking at his editorial choices of Edwards' works. In the comments on abridgement, I will not fixate on small errata. Instead, I will make assessments of trends in Wesley's editorial work of a given piece, and bring out noteworthy examples that demonstrate his method.

Wesley the Publisher

Eighteenth-century England possessed a vibrant literary culture, but it was a house divided. There were three main issues that drove this division: illiteracy, elite culture, and price. It has been perennially difficult to gauge the literacy of the population of England at given times in the eighteenth century, usually characterized by analyzing church records (which is an arduous

¹ The author acknowledges with gratitude the assistance and encouragement of the following: Sandra Allison, Kevin Lowery, Kenneth Minkema, Kenneth Rowe, Harry Stout, and Robert Williams. Thanks are due also to the librarians and staff of Sterling Manuscripts and Archives, the Beinecke Library, and the Jonathan Edwards Center of Yale University; and the Houghton Library of Harvard University.

and uneven task at best).² Nonetheless, Kenneth Lockridge estimates that English literacy was around 65% in 1729.³ Patrick Collinson has further demonstrated how England became a society; after 1580 religion was increasingly experienced in print, due, primarily, to Puritan influence and the setting-in of Protestant identity.⁴ The greatest indicator of literate ability was occupation, and skilled professions were likely to entail corresponding reading ability.⁵ Literary culture was, not surprisingly, centered on elite concerns and topics. The writings of Alexander Pope, for example, were not geared to a mass audience. Literary material was, by and large, very expensive. This is not to say that families (even poor families) didn't have printed material, but books, indeed libraries, were simply out of reach for the general population.

Wesley addressed all three of these phenomena with his work as a publisher. He held sole decision-making ability over Methodist book publishing, stating that he had to make sure a given author's work was "corrected" before it went to press.⁶ He was quick, however, to remind the reader that he took blame for his errors. He was by all means a popular publisher who hated the price thresholds of books, and more so the tolerance of dull pieces for high prices.⁷ This had the unfortunate side effect on the (cheap) quality of the publishing houses he utilized, which were notorious for making errors. The pressure on the price of his *Christian Library* never won out on the side of quality or profit, and became a target for ridicule.⁸

Wesley was a "cultural middleman," who, especially through his *Arminian Journal*, provided a tangible bridge between the intellectual world of elites and the growing desire for print among an increasing literate lower class public (among which Methodists were exploding).⁹ In the face of the drawing room banter that characterized much of eighteenth-century elite literature, Wesley wrote and selected pieces about poverty, disease, drunkenness,

² David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750-1914*, Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), 3-4. Church records did not require signatures or marks (that give insight into writing ability) until 1754 with Hadwick's Marriage Act. The only two regions in the world where such records were available, previous to the 1750s, were Sweden and New England.

³ Kenneth A. Lockridge, *Literacy in Colonial New England; an Enquiry into the Social Context of Literacy in the Early Modern West*, 1st ed. (New York: Norton, 1974), 82.

⁴ Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: The Third Anstey Memorial Lectures in the University of Kent at Canterbury, 12-15 May 1986* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988). For Collinson, Puritans replaced a visual and sensual expression of religion for a culture of literacy wherein their religious sentiment was expressed. This, as in Scotland, led to staggering levels of literacy among Puritans. Wesley confronted, nonetheless, a large underclass that had no access to such a world primarily due to illiteracy, or a social status that typically entailed illiteracy.

⁵ Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture*, 4.

⁶ Thomas Walter Herbert, *John Wesley as Editor and Author* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1940), 1.

⁷ Henry D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism*, 3rd ed. (London: Epworth Press, 2002), 348-349.

⁸ Herbert, *John Wesley as Editor and Author*, 2.

⁹ Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 352.

domestic abuse, slavery, the ill-treatment of animals, and most of all religion. Furthermore, Wesley established his own Sunday schools as a part of the broader Sunday school movement, in order to teach reading and writing for working-class people and their children. Taught by unpaid Methodist, Nonconformist, and Anglican teachers, Sunday schools expanded literacy to levels as high as 75% for working class children by 1851. A bookseller commented in 1804 in regards to Methodist literacy, “As the Methodists do not waste their time in idleness and diversions, they have more time to read than others So that the difference in degree of knowledge between the poor Methodists and the poor in general is very remarkable.”¹⁰

Wesley was a voracious reader, much like Edwards. By his death in 1791, Wesley owned 351 titles and the press had an inventory of 254,512 volumes.¹¹ The scope of Wesley’s reading included such disparate themes such as the Church Fathers, medicine, science, poetry, plays, music, philosophy (with a particular love for John Locke), and, of course, religious writing. He would set up libraries for his Methodist societies, and would encourage the groups to purchase “good books.” This was one of the chief ends of his *Christian Library* project—regulating a collection of books for the consumption of Methodist bands. For Wesley, it was an unalienable truth that his followers should be “reading Christians” so that they could be “knowing Christians.”¹² A key aspect of getting early Methodists to read was to present good works in an accessible format. This meant that academic terminology, obscure references, and perceived redundancies were to be taken out. Otherwise, the under-educated reader would give up on reading.

Wesley was, like Edwards, a prolific writer; once he arrived at his destination for the day and had completed his responsibilities, he would retire to write. Editing, on the other hand, was the work of the road. Wesley would perch himself on top of his horse, and take a pen to the work he was editing, crossing out what he thought was objectionable, discursive, or redundant.¹³ There is danger in trying to project a kind of scientific method to Wesley’s editorial work; any analysis of his editing process must keep in mind that much of it was subjective. The best we can do is to identify themes that are woven into all of his editorial work. This is especially the case since there are only two comments by Wesley on his method, one of which is found in the preface to his abridgment of *Religious Affections*. The other is a comment on what Wesley thought of his own editing and the publishing business in general. He writes (somewhat ironically):

The Christian Library is not Mr. Wesley’s writing: it is “Extracts and Abridgements of” other writers; the subjects of which I highly approve, but I will not be account-

¹⁰ Quoted in Vicki Tolar-Burton, *Spiritual Literacy in John Wesley’s Methodism: Reading, Writing, and Speaking to Believe* (Waco: Baylor UP, 2008), 22-23.

¹¹ Tolar-Burton, *Spiritual Literacy in John Wesley’s Methodism*, 235. His collection was large mostly due to his work as a publisher (thus he had multiple copies of his published works). His inventory, compiled for the sale at his death, had an estimated worth of £4,000.

¹² Herbert, *John Wesley as Editor and Author*, 27.

¹³ Tollar-Burton, *Spiritual Literacy in John Wesley’s Methodism*, 26.

able for every expression. Much less will I *father* eight pages of I know not what which a shameless man has picked out of that work, tacked together in the manner he thought good, and then published in my name. He puts me in mind of what occurred some years since. A man was stretching his throat near Moorfields and screaming out, "A full and true account of the death of the Rev. George Whitefield!" One took hold of him and said, "Sirrah! What do you mean? Mr. Whitefield is yonder before you." He shrugged up his shoulders, and said, "Why, sir, an honest man must do something to turn an honest penny."¹⁴

Jonathan Edwards' and John Wesley's Relationship

We know several things about the relationship between Wesley and Edwards. The first is that they had no personal relationship. They did not correspond, in letters, in direct disputation, or through surrogates. On the other hand, Edwards and Wesley were similar in many ways: both intensely disciplined, highly educated, and self-consciously aspired to greatness. The two men were exact contemporaries, as they were born in the same year, 1703. Wesley was first exposed to the work of Edwards in October of 1738, when he read an edition of *A Faithful Narrative* in lieu of revival experiences in and around Oxford.¹⁵ We know from Edwards' "Catalogue" of books that Edwards owned works by the Wesleys, among other notable English Evangelicals such as Issac Watts.¹⁶ There are only two other mentions of the Wesleys in the giant corpus of Edwards' writing. Edwards first mentions the Wesleys, along with Moravians, as being responsible for encouraging secession from established churches and being involved in stirring up false conversions in a letter to John Erskine on July 5th, 1750, in the aftermath of his dismissal at Northampton.¹⁷ The second mention of the Wesleys by Edwards is in the context of making sure his readers, in times of religious awakening, were not deluded into believing they are "perfectly free from sin (agreeable to the notion of the Wesleys and their followers, and some other high pretenders to spirituality in these days)." Edwards further writes that, instead, they should be more convicted of "how loathsome and polluted the soul is."¹⁸

What is curious is that Edwards did not mention Wesley in regards to the Arminian-Calvinist debate, which would figure very prominently in some of Wesley's appropriations of Edwards' works. It is unlikely, due to the mutual acquaintance of Whitefield, that Edwards was ignorant of Wesley's

¹⁴ Quoted in Herbert, *John Wesley as Editor and Author*, 26-27.

¹⁵ Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 187.

¹⁶ Sermons and Discourses, in *Works of Jonathan Edwards* (New Haven: Yale UP), 22: 26. Hereafter *WJE*.

¹⁷ *Letters and Personal Writings*, *WJE*, 16:349: "I suspect the follies of some of the Seceders, which you mention in both your letters of September 20 and December 22, arise in considerable measure from the same cause with the follies of the Moravians, and the followers of the Wesleys, and many extravagant people in America viz. false religion, counterfeit conversions, and the want of a genuine renovation of the spirit of their minds. I say as to many of them, not to condemn all in the gross. The spirit seems to be exactly the same with what appears in many, who apparently, by their own account, have had a false conversion."

¹⁸ *The Great Awakening*, *WJE*, 4:341.

Arminianism as it was one of Edwards' central polemical tasks and vice versa. In fact, Wesley got to the point in 1778 that he enthusiastically accepted the once opprobrious moniker "Arminian" in the title of his magazine, the *Arminian Magazine*.¹⁹ Edwards' conduit for news about English Evangelicalism was typically filtered through Scotland; this may have had something to do with the lack of increased engagement with Wesley himself.

The two men shared a dominant commitment towards religious revival. Yet, their opinions on how someone came to "true religion" were, at times, diametrically opposed. We can only imagine that Edwards would have had no issue firmly setting Mr. Wesley straight if they had ever met, and Wesley, with his famous Oxford debate style, would have been happy to engage him. If Edwards' unwelcomed advice to Whitefield concerning his populism is any glimpse into Edwards' temperament, it likely would have been a bit more strident towards Wesley.²⁰ The fact remains that both men were the promoters of revivals throughout their lives, and were constantly on the defensive over the legitimacy of those revivals. Albert Outler has argued that Edwards' writing was a major source of Wesley's theology, and formed one of the four major sources of Wesley's thought.²¹ Revivalism is ultimately the great attraction that Edwards presented to Wesley, and is the reason why Wesley would exert so much effort to republish some of Edwards' works.

A notable difference between the two men is that Wesley was committed to being accessible to the point that he was often criticized for pandering for the attention of the masses. Sir Walter Scott heard Wesley preach as a twelve-year-old boy, and commented that he was surely a person worth respect but too colloquial (though his stories were excellent).²² Wesley took the plain style farther than what many persons were comfortable with, especially among his more educated followers who yearned for respectability. Wesley, nonetheless, was committed to making religious writing accessible for the common reader; for example, he was rather explicit on what he thought of Edwards' more philosophical musings: "he heaps together so many curious, subtle, metaphysical distinctions, as are sufficient to puzzle the brain, and confound the intellects, of all the plain men and women in the universe; and to make them doubt of, if not wholly deny, all the work which God had wrought in their souls."²³

Abridging Jonathan Edwards

Wesley had no qualms about taking extensive liberties in publishing

¹⁹ Herbert, *John Wesley as Editor and Author*, 33-34. Wesley's *Arminian Magazine: Consisting of Extracts and Original Treatises on Universal Redemption* evolved into the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, which has the distinction of the longest continuously published religious periodical in the world.

²⁰ George M Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2003), 211-212.

²¹ Albert C. Outler, *John Wesley* (New York: Oxford UP, 1964), 16.

²² Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 344.

²³ See note 55.

other's works. This was not an uncommon attitude during the period, and editing was not an occupation foreign to Edwards either. Edwards was the editor of David Brainerd's journals, which grew to be one of his Edwards' most smashing successes. Edwards was attuned to the issues and advantages of editing the works of others; he, of course, presented David Brainerd's Yale debacle in a positive light. That notwithstanding, Edwards was primarily an author, not a disseminator of the works of others. Wesley, on the other hand, was very much a publisher. Wesley saw five works by Edwards through to publication: *Faithful Narrative* (1744), *Distinguishing Marks* (1744), *Some Thoughts* (1745), *Life of David Brainerd* (1768), and *Religious Affections* (1773).²⁴ In fact, Wesley and his followers would oversee the greatest reproduction of some of these works in the decades following their initial publication. It is, furthermore, important to note that all five of these works involve topics concerning revivalism and evangelism.

A Narrative of the Late Work of God, at and near, Northampton in New-England (1744)

The *Faithful Narrative* offers a clear example of Edwards' opinion about the editing process. After reading over a copy of the London 1737 edition of the *Faithful Narrative* on a visit to Yale, Edwards made immediate marginal annotations, not being entirely pleased with either Benjamin Coleman's initial abridgement or Isaac Watts' subsequent compilation, as both "published some things diverse from fact." Edwards' reticence over the abridgement might also reflect his growing uneasiness with his initial assessments of conversions.²⁵ It is probable that Wesley used the 1737 Watts edition with the problems that Edwards objected to, since the next edition printed in London would not be until 1791.²⁶

The *Faithful Narrative* is the only instance where we have a record as to Wesley's reaction to reading an Edwards work for the first time. Wesley first encountered the book while traveling from London to Oxford on October 9, 1738. He wrote enthusiastically in his journal: "Surely, 'this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes'!"²⁷ This excitement evidently led to pursuing the publication of the work. Wesley's edition whittled down the London edition from 127 pages to 44.

²⁴ Dates refer to the John Wesley (JW) publication dates. Also, JW's abridgements of *Religious Affections* and *Distinguishing Marks* were reissued together as *The Work of the Holy Spirit in the Human Heart* (1841). Thomas Herbert Johnson, *The Printed Writings of Jonathan Edwards, 1703-1758; a Bibliography* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1940), 9n. Commonly used abbreviated titles of JE works are used, though the titles differ in JW editions (i.e., *Religious Affections* over *Treatise on the Religious Affections* . . . , etc.).

²⁵ C. C. Goen, Introduction, *Faithful Narrative*, *WJE* 4: 39-41. Some of the errors may have been more to do with simple factual errors, such as their mistake of placing Northampton in New Hampshire, rather than Hampshire county—an evidently annoying thing for New Englanders.

²⁶ Goen, Introduction, *Faithful Narrative*, 41.

²⁷ W. Reginald Ward and Richard P. Heitzenrater, eds., *The Works of John Wesley*, Bicentennial edition, Volume 19: *Journal and Diaries II (1738-1743)*, (Nashville: Abingdon, 1990), 16.

Wesley's abridgment changed the *Faithful Narrative* from the form of a letter to a numbered account of the content of the letter. Wesley summarized succinctly the first three pages of the narrative: "The town of *Northampton* in *New-England* contains about 200 Families. After a more than ordinary Licentiousness in the People here, a Concern for Religion began to revive, in the Year 1729."²⁸ Apparently Wesley was not interested in either Edwards' account of how Northampton's inland location had partially shielded it from seaport-associated vices, or the "harvest" legacy of Solomon Stoddard. Similarly, the long paragraph concerning the young people's receptiveness to end their Sunday evening "mirth," is summarized from the longer description ending with ". . . there was a thorough reformation of these disorders thenceforward, which has continued ever since" to simply "Where there was a General Reformation of Outward Disorders, which has continued ever since."²⁹ Wesley, despite summarizing large sections of the beginning of the *Faithful Narrative*, still used parts of Edwards' original words to do it.

Although it would have been interesting to know how Wesley might have felt about Edwards' discussion of the encroaching threat of Arminianism (i.e. Edwards writes that "the friends of piety trembled for fear of the issue."), it is not surprising that this portion, and all Arminian references, were eliminated by Wesley.³⁰ The *Faithful Narrative* remained a very personal work for Wesley's own spiritual understanding. Richard Steele comments that reading the *Faithful Narrative* provided Wesley with the tools to process his Aldersgate experience, and as such remained important in his appropriation of the famous "strangely warmed" incident.³¹

The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God (1744)

The *Distinguishing Marks* would prove to be as important a piece for Wesley in defending the Methodist revivals as it was for its original author. Although Methodist revival would be a bit less bipolar in its English context, Wesley found himself, like Edwards, on the defensive over the validity of the religious movement against, what C. C. Goen calls, "rationalists and eccle-

²⁸ Jonathan Edwards, *A Narrative of the Late Work of God, at and near Northampton, in New-England: Extracted from Mr. Edwards's letter to Dr. Coleman, by John Wesley* (Bristol: Felix Farley, 1744), 2. Hereafter in this section as [Bristol Edition].

²⁹ Jonathan Edwards, *A Faithful Narrative of the Suprizing Work of God . . .* (London: John Oswald, 1737) in *Text of the Faithful Narrative, Great Awakening, WJE*, 4: 147. Hereafter in this section as [London edition].

³⁰ [London edition] in *WJE*, 4:148. We do have a reference to Wesley's latter opinion (1755) of this kind of treatment, ". . . [in reference to Scottish divines] Many of them became 'wise in their own eyes'; they seemed to think they were the men, and there were none like them . . . Many of them were bigots, immoderately attached either to their own opinions or mode of worship. Mr. Edwards himself was not clear of this. But Scotch bigots were beyond all others; placing Arminianism (so called) on a level with Deism, and the Church of England with that of Rome . . . No marvel then that the Spirit of God was grieved. Let us profit by their example." In John Wesley, *The Journal of John Wesley: A Selection* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1987), 130.

³¹ Richard B. Steele, "Gracious Affection" and "True Virtue" According to Jonathan Edwards and John Wesley (Meutchen: Scarecrow, 1994), 188.

siocrats of the establishment.”³² Evidently this was the Edwards work that was the most important to Methodists. Not only were four editions printed during Wesley’s lifetime (the most of any other), but the work went through forty-six reprints, most through the auspices of Methodist publishers (in the form of the Wesley edition, of course). Out of the twenty separate editions of the work, twelve were Wesley editions.³³

Wesley’s abridgement was probably based on the 1742 London (Watts and Guyse) edition, but this determination is made due to geographical proximity. A positive determination is complicated since an original manuscript has not survived, and the text of the 1741 Boston edition is almost identical to the London edition apart from the typical spelling difference here and there. The London edition is different in the setting of the text, a different order of contents, and in that it includes letters from Benjamin Colman, similar to the *Faithful Narrative*’s London edition. Wesley trimmed the work from 78 pages in the London edition to 47 pages in his own edition.

Wesley takes out the preface by William Cooper, which shortens the length considerably. He also removes some of the supposed redundancies in the text, which is typical of his editing of other works. For example, Edwards writes, “The extraordinary and unusual Degree of Influence, and Power of Operation, is in its Nature” Wesley trims it down to “The extraordinary Degree of Influence is in its Nature”³⁴ The first paragraph deletion by Wesley is not until twenty pages into the work, and it is in the context of Edwards offering a second example of the validity of “calling out” in religious gatherings.³⁵ The first seemingly theological edit is on page 28 of the 1744 Watts edition, where Wesley removes two paragraphs on the persistence of “Blindness and Corruption” among the devout. Wesley, especially at this time in his career, would have been more confident about the possibility of moral perfection (albeit still limited), and may have thought an *excursus* on the persistence of sin among the devout was out of place for a work trying to affirm conversions. There are, interestingly, seemingly political and typological edits as well:

[London 1744 Watts edition]³⁶

[London 1746 Wesley edition]³⁷

<p>So in <i>England</i>, at the Time when vital Religion did much prevail in the Days of King <i>Charles I.</i> the <i>Interregnum</i>, and <i>Oliver Cromwell</i>, such Things as these abounded. And so in the Beginning of <i>New-England</i>, in her purest Days, when vital Piety flourished,</p>	<p>And so in the Beginning of <i>New England</i>, when vital Piety flourished,</p>
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³² C. C. Goen, Introduction to *Great Awakening*, *WJE*, 4:91.

³³ Johnson, *The Printed Writings of Jonathan Edwards*, 22-30.

³⁴ Jonathan Edwards, *The distinguishing marks of a work . . .* (London: S. Mason, 1742), 16., Jonathan Edwards, *The distinguishing marks of a work . . . extracted from Mr. Edwards . . . by John Wesley* (London: W. Strahan, 1744), 7.

³⁵ [1742 Watts edition] 20, [1744 Wesley edition] 11.

³⁶ [1742 Watts edition] 31.

³⁷ [1744 Wesley edition], 19.

-Continued-

[London 1744 Watts edition]	[London 1746 Wesley edition]
such kind of Things as these broke out. Therefore the Devil's sowing such Tares is no Proof that a true Work of the Spirit of God is not gloriously carried on.	such Things as these broke out. Therefore the Devil's sowing such Tares is no Proof that a true Work of the Spirit of God is not carried on.

Unfortunately such edits did not come with critical commentary. Wesley's edit was too short to address a possible space issue, nor does it seem to be a reading fluency edit either. Wesley seems to have purposely excised any English reference from the comment. It would have been intriguing to hear Wesley, famous for his affection for the monarchy, explain why the time of Oliver Cromwell was not worth mentioning as a time of increased piety. It is typical, however, for Wesley to excise much of Edwards' millennial and dispensational commentary. He did not seem to share Edwards' fascination with typological history.

Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New-England (1745)

Wesley's adaptation of Edwards' *Some Thoughts* likely used the Edinburgh 1743 edition, as this was probably the most readily available at the time³⁸ Especially in relation to Scottish excitement over the work, Wesley probably had learned of it through his Scottish connections, which during the 1740s were fairly genial.³⁹ *Some Thoughts*, along with the *Faithful Narrative* and *Distinguishing Marks*, were Great Awakening texts, which were formative for Wesley's own view of the revival model. Initially reticent about the "signs" exhibited by persons in religious gatherings, he was calmed and confirmed by Edwards' accounts.⁴⁰ Wesley's decision to publish these revival texts was primarily aimed at clarifying the bounds of legitimate religious experience, which is similar to Edwards' intent. Experience would become a constant issue during Wesley's life, as he tried to affirm a more Aristotelian model of sanctifying morphology against the emphasis on singular conversion events by other Methodist revivalists.⁴¹

Wesley's abridgement of *Some Thoughts* was rather drastic. Edwards' 1742 Boston edition weighed in at 378 pages, whereas Wesley's 1745 London edition was a mere 124 pages. This work, unlike *Distinguishing Marks*, did enjoy at least one reprint as the Edwards edition in Edinburgh in 1743; Wesley and his successors reprinted the book frequently—1745, 1795,

³⁸ See note 42.

³⁹ Crawford, *Seasons of Grace*, 223

⁴⁰ Crawford, 149-150.

⁴¹ JW's understanding of sanctifying morphology was informed by his understanding of moral psychology, of which Edwards was influential. See Kevin Lowery, *Salvaging Wesley's Agenda: A New Paradigm for Wesleyan Virtue Ethics* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2008), 159.

and as a part of the *Christian Library* in 1827.⁴² Some of Wesley’s edits were rather small, seemingly for fluency reasons:

[Edinburgh edition] ⁴³	[London edition] ⁴⁴
<p>. . . why he hath made it thus, or why it has pleased him to take such a Course, and to use such and such Means, before we will acknowledge his Work, and give him the Glory of it. This is too much for the Clay to take upon it with respect to the <i>Potter</i>.</p>	<p>. . . why he made it thus, or why it has pleased him to use such and such Means, before we will acknowledge his work. This is too much for the <i>Clay</i> to take upon it with Respect to the <i>Potter</i>.</p>

Other redactions are larger. For example, on page 107-109 of the Edinburgh edition Wesley takes out an entire page and subsequent whole paragraphs of Edwards chastising those who oppose the awakenings, while keeping the discussion of how the Devil resists the good work of God. The following example is furthermore illustrative of Wesley’s method.

[Edinburgh edition, p. 52]	[London edition, p. 37]
<p>When God manifests himself with such glorious Power in a Work of this Nature, he appears especially determined to put Honour upon his Son, and to fulfill his Oath that he has sworn to him, that he would make every Knee to bow, and every Tongue to confess to him. God hath had it much on his Heart, from all Eternity to glorify his dear and only begotten Son; and there are some special Seasons that he appoints to that End, wherein he comes forth with omnipotent Power to fulfill his Promise and Oath to him. And these Times are Times of remarkable pouring out of his Spirit, to advance his kingdom; such a Day is a Day of his Power, wherein his People shall be made willing, and he shall rule in the midst of his Enemies; these especially are the Times wherein God declares his firm Decree that his Son shall reign on his holy hill of <i>Zion</i>: and therefore those that at such a Time don’t kiss the Son, as he then manifests himself, and appears in the Glory of his Majesty and Grace, expose themselves to <i>perish from the way</i>, and to be <i>dashed in pieces with a rod of iron</i>.</p>	<p>When GOD manifests himself with such glorious Power, he appears especially determined to put Honour upon his Son, and to fulfill his Oath, that he would <i>make every Knee to bow, and every Tongue to confess him</i>.</p> <p>Such a Day is a Day of his Power, wherein he shall rule in the midst of his Enemies; these especially are the Times wherein GOD declares his firm Decree, that his Son shall <i>reign on his holy Hill of Zion</i>: And therefore those that at such a Time do not <i>kiss the Son</i>, as he then appears in the Glory of Majesty, expose themselves to <i>perish from the Way</i>, and to be <i>dash’d in Pieces with a Rod of Iron</i>.</p>

⁴² C. C. Goen, Introduction to *Great Awakening*, *WJE*, 4:90-91.

⁴³ Jonathan Edwards, *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New-England* . . . (Edinburgh: T. Lumisden and J. Robertson, 1743), 2. [Edinburgh edition]. The 1742 Boston edition and the 1743 Edinburgh edition are identical except for spelling differences (i.e., “honour” vs. “honor”), and increased capitalization (for emphasis?) in the Scottish edition. My assessment that Wesley used the Edinburgh edition is based on identical capitalization, spelling, and probable access to that edition.

⁴⁴ Jonathan Edwards, *Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New-England, Abrig’d by John Wesley* (London: W. Strahan, 1745), 4. Cited in this section as [London edition]

We can surmise several things from these selections. First, Wesley was more diligent than either Edwards or his printers were about using italics for quotes, usually from Scripture. Second, Wesley took out sections that he felt were either rambling or too intellectual for the lay Methodist reader. Third, he made changes to improve the fluency of the text. And fourth, he made theological edits of Edwards' blatant Calvinism and typological interest. In the above quoted example from page 52 of the Edinburgh edition, Wesley excises the Supralapsarian tinged "God hath had it much on his Heart, from all Eternity to glorify his dear and only begotten Son." Wesley had a profound distaste for anything that smacked of divine decree. All of these edits had a clear aim of aiding the lay Methodist reader, and in Wesley's eyes, not confusing them.

An Extract of the Life of the Late Rev. Mr. David Brainerd (1768)

Quantifying the impact of Edwards' preeminent editing project had on the evangelical missionary movement is difficult. For Methodists, it was vast. Wesley's edition of the work went into seven editions from the initial publication of his version in 1768 until 1800.⁴⁵ Brainerd was an immediate example of the quintessential Methodist symbol—the horse riding itinerant preacher.⁴⁶ That early Methodists in England, America, and beyond identified with Brainerd was no accident. Francis Asbury lamented in 1798 that he had failed to publish the work in America, "I reflected with pain, that we had never reprinted, in America, the life, labours, travels, and sufferings of that great man of God, David Brainerd, of gracious memory; it would be a book well fitted for our poor, painful, and faithful missionaries."⁴⁷ Asbury's lament was rectified with *Brainerd* in 1815, but what was the appeal of such a work?

Despite being a scrubbed edition, the work gave insight into the inherent struggles of missionary work. Brainerd's success was little, his hardship great, his desire for God constant, and the obstacles profuse. He exhibited a cultural superiority towards his Indian congregates, but also displayed the frustration of cross-cultural communication which would have been well known to his missionary readers. In the end, it was disease that killed him, but not before rewarding his effort with some results among the Indian populace. Fortuitously for Brainerd's legacy, he died in the household of Jonathan Edwards, where the pastor was able to capably record the good death that rewarded such agonizing missionary effort. Brainerd was surely hagiographic at times in Edwards' *Life*, but he was also intensely real.

Perry Miller stated that *Life of David Brainerd* was Edwards' attempt

⁴⁵ Johnson, *The Printed Writings of Jonathan Edwards*, 73. Seven out of nine editions during the period 1768-1800 were published as Wesley editions.

⁴⁶ Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1990), 236-241.

⁴⁷ Francis Asbury, *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury: In Three Volumes* (London: Epworth Press, 1958), 2:154.

to “rebuke to both enthusiasts and Arminians.”⁴⁸ What did that mean to Wesley, England’s preeminent evangelical Arminian? The answer was that Wesley was enthralled. His abridgement of Brainerd, unlike other works by Edwards, was more for ease of reading than theological dispute. It is likely that since Edwards was merely the editor, Wesley was less suspicious of Brainerd’s theological orientation. Nonetheless, Wesley tells his ministers, “Let every preacher read carefully over the ‘Life of David Brainerd’. . . Find preachers of David Brainerd’s spirit, and nothing can stand before them.”⁴⁹ Wesley had absorbed the Brainerd text so much that he often used Brainerd for interpretive references in his journals and diaries.⁵⁰ Although Wesley faulted Brainerd for “applauding himself and magnifying his own work,” he still pushed the book among Methodist leaders.⁵¹ Francis Asbury rhapsodized over Brainerd as “that model of meekness, moderation, temptation and labor, and self-denial,” and saw in his writings something “so Methodistical.”⁵² Thomas Coke felt the same, “His humility, his self-denial, his perseverance and his flaming zeal for God, are exemplary indeed.”⁵³

Wesley, once again, seems to have edited primarily for brevity. There are a few omissions, however, that could be seen as theological. For example, Wesley excises a section in Part I of the Boston edition where Brainerd suffers very Edwardsian *angst* over the state of his soul:

⁴⁸ Perry Miller, *Jonathan Edwards* (New York: W. Sloane Associates, 1949), 246.

⁴⁹ W. Reginald Ward and Richard P. Heitzenrater, eds., *The Works of John Wesley*, Bicentennial edition, Volume 22: Journal and Diaries (1738-43), (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990), 98.

⁵⁰ For example, on a trip to Utrecht, Wesley had to use an interpreter when preaching to a group of “respectable ladies,” and hoped “God might bless this poor way of preaching to the Dutch, as he did that to the Indians by David Brainerd” (Ward and Heitzenrater, eds. *Works of John Wesley*, Bicentennial edition, Vol. 20, 415). Wesley uses Brainerd to assess the impact of the work he was doing. From Darlington in 1777, Wesley writes: “I have not lately found so lively a work in any part of England as here. The society is constantly increasing and seems to be all on fire for God. There is nothing among them but humble, simple love—no dispute, no jar of any kind. They exactly answer the description that David Brainerd gives of his Indian congregation” (Ward and Heitzenrater, eds. *Works*, Vol. 23, 48). Brainerd also comes up in the odd encounter Wesley has with Margaret Barlow, a woman who saw visions of a female angel who would predict the future, and specifically predicted an apocalyptic end. (After the predicted end failed to materialize, most of her followers, disgraced, went to America and joined the Shakers). Wesley writes: “But what she had most earnestly and frequently told me is that God will in short time be avenged of obstinate sinners and will destroy them with fire from heaven. Whether this will be so or no, I cannot tell. But when we were alone, there was a wonderful power in her words, and, as the Indian said to David Brainerd, ‘They did good to my heart’” (Ward and Heitzenrater. *Works*, Vol. 24, 91-92).

⁵¹ Ward and Heitzenrater, eds. *Works of John Wesley*, Bicentennial ed., Vol. 20, 315. (Monday, 4th of December). Wesley’s particular problem with Brainerd was that he perceived his own missionary work above “that which God had wrought in Scotland or among the English in New England; whereas in truth the work among the Indians, great as it was, was not to be compared to that at Cambuslang, Kilsyth, or Northampton.” Here Wesley places the revival that Edwards oversaw as one of the most notable revivals of the time.

⁵² Francis Asbury, *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury*, 3:218, 1:427. Asbury had a deep regard for Brainerd, arguably more so than Wesley. Brainerd comes up in Asbury’s journal when things are going badly; Asbury turned to Brainerd for comfort from the persistent “anguish” of the itinerancy.

⁵³ John A. Vickers, ed., *The Journals of Dr. Thomas Coke* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2005), 27.

Once, I remember, a terrible pang of distress seized me, and the thoughts of renouncing myself, and standing naked before God, stripped of all goodness, were so dreadful to me . . . I daily longed for greater conviction of sin, supposing that I must see more of my dreadful state in order to a remedy, yet when the discoveries of my vile hellish heart were made to me, the sight was so dreadful, and showed me so plainly my exposedness to damnation, that I could not endure it.⁵⁴

Wesley, of course, would have chosen to emphasize the potential for holiness over Puritan wallowing. Yet, Wesley allows similar sections later, so it may be an exaggeration to make too much of this edit in this instance.⁵⁵

In other places, Wesley edits to speed up reading, to remove uninteresting sections, and to excise references unfamiliar to his Methodist readers. For example, Wesley excises Brainerd's second letter to a special friend, and the second letter to his brother for November 24, 1746; he also removes Edwards' institutional references in the preface to Part III.⁵⁶ Wesley provides what appears to be his own summary—which does not appear in either the Edinburgh or the Boston editions—of a longer section in *David Brainerd* just after Part V, describing in detail Brainerd's geographical situation.⁵⁷ Wesley was wont to summarize sections, typically employing many of the author's own words, rather than completely rewriting them.

There is evidence that Wesley had access to some fragments of the work that had been published separately. For example, there are sections included in *David Brainerd* that were in the original manuscript, but which didn't appear in the 1749 Boston edition. Wesley clearly used an Edwards edition as the backbone of his edit, however, keeping Edwards' preface, marking editorial comments in brackets, and retaining basic structure. The sections not found in the Boston edition were probably pasted from a 1748 Edinburgh Doddridge abridgement of Brainerd's journal. It is interesting that Wesley would have taken the time to add from the Edinburgh edition to the Edwards edition. Edwards omitted the parts of the text that had been previously published, so this difference makes sense.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ *Life of David Brainerd* WJE 7: 109-110; in reference to John Wesley, *An Extract of the Life of the Late Rev. Mr. David Brainerd, Missionary to the Indians* (Bristol: William Pine, 1768). Since Wesley does not mention where he bought the book or from whom it was obtained in his inventory, my best guess is that he either used the 1749 Boston edition or the 1754 Glasgow edition (which is identical). For a copy of Wesley's inventory, referenced occasionally in this paper, see Appendix B in Vicki Tolar Burton, *Spiritual Literacy in John Wesley's Methodism: Reading, Writing, and Speaking to Believe* (Waco: Baylor UP, 2008).

⁵⁵ Edwards edition, 111, Wesley edition, 9.

⁵⁶ Edwards edition, 490-491, 492-493, 175.

⁵⁷ Wesley edition, 44. Wesley's summary reads, "The place, as to its situation, was sufficiently lonesome, and unpleasant, being encompassed with mountains and woods; twenty miles distant from any English inhabitants; six or seven miles from any Dutch; and more than two from a family that came, some time since from the Highlands of Scotland, and had lived there about two years in this wilderness. In this family I lodged about the space of three months, the matter of it being the only person with whom I could readily converse in these parts, except my interpreter; others understanding very little English."

⁵⁸ Norman Pettit, Introduction, *Life of David Brainerd*, WJE 7: 74.

An Extract from a Treatise Concerning Religious Affections: In Three Parts (1773)

According to Kevin Lowery, *Religious Affections* was key to the development of Wesley's mature thought.⁵⁹ This is the last abridgement of Wesley's to come into print, but a self-standing edition would only appear ten years after his death; it had appeared during his lifetime in volume 23 of Wesley's *Works* (1773).⁶⁰ This work is also the only one of Wesley's abridgements to be analyzed by scholars: John E. Smith in the introduction to the *Religious Affections* volume of the *Works of Jonathan Edwards*; Gregory Clapper in an article in *Wesleyan Theology Today* (which later appeared as a chapter in a separate monograph entitled *John Wesley on Religious Affections*); and Kevin Lowery in *Salvaging Wesley's Agenda*. Smith, Clapper, and Lowery agree that Wesley had used the William Gordon edition of 1762, the first edition of the treatise published abroad and a significant abridgement in and of itself.⁶¹ Yet, the Gordon edition appears to have been abridged, not for theological reasons, but rather for length. Wesley's treatment of *Religious Affections* is the most radical of all his abridgements, inasmuch as he takes the most liberties with this text; it is the only one in which he comments directly on Edwards' content. His comments in the section "To the Reader" is worth quoting in its entirety:

1. *The design of Mr. Edwards in the treatise, from which the following extract is made, seems to have been (chiefly, if not altogether) to serve his hypothesis. In three preceding tracts, he had given an account of a glorious work in New England; of abundance of sinners of every sort and degree, who were in a short time converted to God. But in a few years, a considerable part of these turned back as a dog to vomit. What was the plain inference to be drawn from this? Why, that a true believer may make shipwreck of the Faith. How then could he evade the force of this? Truly by eating his own words, and proving, (as well as the nature of the thing would bear) that they were no believers at all!*

2. *In order to this, he heaps together so many curious, subtle, metaphysical distinctions, as are sufficient to puzzle the brain, and confound the intellects, of all the plain men and women in the universe; and to make them doubt of, if not wholly deny, all the work which God had wrought in their souls.*

3. *Out of this dangerous heap, wherein much wholesome food is mixt with much deadly poison, I have selected many remarks and admonitions, which may be of great use to the children of God. May God write them in the hearts of all that desire to walk as Christ also walked!*

BRISTOL, Sept. 1, 1773.⁶²

⁵⁹ Lowery, *Salvaging Wesley's Agenda*, 163.

⁶⁰ The stand-alone version of RA was published in 1801, but the work appeared as early as 1773 in the 23rd volume of the initial collection of the *Works* of JW. The earlier abridgement was, according to Frank Baker, a hasty edit, which was later corrected by JW resulting in the 1801 edition. Frank Baker, *A Union Catalog of the Publications of John and Charles Wesley* (Durham: Duke UP, 1966) entry 294. Yet, it should be noted that although Wesley cleaned up the edition that would subsequently appear self-standing in 1801, he had no direct editorial control over the 1801 edition, published after his death. This earlier edition has not been acknowledged by other scholars. Smith states that "there is evidence that the edition did not appear in his own lifetime," John E. Smith, Introduction, *Religious Affections*, WJE 2: 80. Johnson in *The Printed Writings of Jonathan Edwards*, also omits mention of the work appearing in print before 1801, 47-52.

⁶¹ John E. Smith, Introduction, *Religious Affections*, WJE 2: 79.

⁶² Jonathan Edwards, *An Extract from a Treatise Concerning Religious Affections: In Three Parts in The Works of the Rev. John Wesley, M. Volume XXIII* (Bristol: William Pine, 1773), 178-179.

Wesley, here, does much of our work for us. He tips his hand towards his method of abridgement, along with providing reasons for doing so. As Smith comments, Wesley's intent was to "enable the simple to be wise," by taking out the dangerous and the bewildering for the common reader.⁶³ This reaffirms our findings in Wesley's other abridgements.

Wesley's end product was a mere sixth of the original size of *Religious Affections* (Gordon's edition was two thirds of the original). He takes out the preface completely, and removes the second, third, and fourth of the twelve positive signs. The second ("first objective ground of gracious affections is the transcendently excellent and amiable nature of things") and third ("loveliness of the moral excellency of divine things") signs seem to be taken out primarily because Wesley deemed them to be redundancies of the idea that divine perfection, beauty, and excellency should be the object of religious affections. The deletion of the fourth sign ("Gracious affections do arise from the mind's being enlightened rightly and spiritually to understand or apprehend divine things") is more curious. As Clapper comments, the deletion "asserts something which Wesley would not want to deny—the intellectual component in the affections."⁶⁴ It is indeed odd that Wesley deleted the fourth sign, but he did so probably because he felt that the section on the fourth sign was potentially too "subtle" for his lay readers. Just because Wesley would have found resonance with Edwards' point of the intellectual appropriation of religious experience, does not mean that he felt his intended audience would have found it equally engaging. It is important to mention that Wesley kept all of Edwards' criteria for false affections, which seems to be an indication of Wesley's use of the work to qualify religious experience among his followers.⁶⁵

Did Wesley miss the true *raison d'être* of *Religious Affections*? He evidently viewed *Religious Affections* as a way for Edwards to explain away the backsliding that he had observed. According to John E. Smith, Edwards did not intend an *apologia* for embarrassing decline in Northampton, but rather as a constructive framework for determining false and true piety.⁶⁶ It seems that Wesley was right nonetheless that the composition of *Religious Affections* was affected by the false piety that so consternated Edwards. But, Edwards was surely not trying to back away from the general validity of conversions during the awakening.

Edwards was certain that the awakenings were legitimate, even though his initial hopes had been tried by the vagaries of human nature. Wesley in 1773 was hypersensitive as the Calvinist and Arminian debate had reached a fever pitch, and he had felt burned by the dogmatism of Scottish evangelicals.⁶⁷

⁶³ Smith, Introduction to *Religious Affections*, *WJE* 2:80.

⁶⁴ Gregory S. Clapper, "'True Religion' and the Affections: A Study of John Wesley's Abridgement of Jonathan Edwards's Treatise on Religious Affections," *Wesleyan Theology Today* (1985): 418.

⁶⁵ Lowery, *Salvaging Wesley's Agenda*, 163.

⁶⁶ Smith, Introduction to *Religious Affections*, *WJE* 2:79-80, 80f.

⁶⁷ Clapper, "True Religion," 418.

This is evidenced by the fact that *Religious Affections* is the abridgement that most consistently excises Edwards' Calvinism. All mentions of the "elect" are removed, as well as other specifically Calvinist sections, evidently being the "poison" that Wesley alludes to in his "To the Reader." Wesley did not merely oppose Edwards' Calvinism simply out of an emotional response; he thought that Edwards was genuinely theologically wrong, and as such he would not have been inclined to pass on Edwards' perceived error.

In the end, however, Wesley had much appreciation for Edwards' project in *Religious Affections*. It is the work for which Wesley seems to have taken the most time making editorial choices; he recognized that his first attempt at editing the work had been hasty, and so he returned to his project to fix it for a proper self-standing publication that only appeared after his death. Wesley and Edwards both came to the position where they saw, as Clapper says, "the rough contours of felt experience are where the gospel either grows or dies."⁶⁸ The affections were necessary to proper fulfillment of the love commandments, and Edwards' use of empirical categories as a guide resonated with Wesley's own affection for Lockean empiricism. Furthermore, Wesley would have seen Edwards' work as expressing a constant theme in his own work: the befuddling interaction of the affections and the intellect.⁶⁹

Conclusion

John Wesley found an ally for revivalism in the writings of Jonathan Edwards, but he was not willing to let Edwards stand on his own feet. Edwards' writing style, theological presuppositions, and theoretical exactitude were all things Wesley saw as extraneous to the true value of the given work. Wesley had problems with several theological concepts that confronted him in his reading of Edwards. First, Wesley had no taste for predestination, and as such he cut portions that are seemingly supralapsarian. Wesley wanted to uphold, above all else, that salvation was available to all who would have it, and that faith could be had legitimately and later lost. Secondly, Wesley did not seem to share the same enthusiasm over Edwards' excursions on typological history. He edited more often than not Edwards' comments that drew out a broader dispensational picture. Finally, a theological point that was often excised is Edwards' reminders of humanity's perpetual moral degeneracy. Wesley's belief in prevenient grace and the perfecting power of the Spirit seems to have made him uncomfortable with Edwards' constant reminders of moral decrepitude.

As for editing beyond theology, Wesley tightened up Edwards' language, deleted seeming tautologies, and trimmed down Edwards' demonstrative examples (usually down to one example as opposed to the multiple ones Edwards often employed). Wesley would occasionally take the time to summarize a section, but he usually would trim down a given section to retain the original wording (probably since this could be done with a stroke of the pen).

⁶⁸ Clapper, "True Religion," 422.

⁶⁹ Lowery, *Salvaging Wesley's Agenda*, 177.

Wesley had no real interest in Edwards' desire to make his mark philosophically. If Wesley felt a particular section was too cerebral, it would be cut. This meant that he would take out the overly "subtle," in order to keep the attention of his popular reader. It is important to stress that his editorial work was done primarily towards one specific audience—Methodists. Methodists were a group that spanned all classes, but found the most support among the working class. In order that Methodist Christians would be "knowing Christians" by being "reading Christians," Wesley wanted to make sure access to good religious books was possible. This meant tailoring his abridgements so as not to lose the attention of the reader, many of which had no formal education and had only recently acquired literacy.⁷⁰

Wesley's abridgement of Edwards was, despite all of the liberties taken, an exercise of admiration. Wesley seems to have developed a bond with Edwards through his writing despite having no personal relationship with the man. Furthermore, as Lowery and Outler have pointed out, Edwards' work was formative in Wesley's own intellectual development. Edwards was explicit that religious revival was both necessary and valid, which resonated with Wesley's own view. Beyond revivalism alone, Wesley found in Edwards an attempt to approach "true religion" empirically, while not discounting the importance of the affections along the way. Like Edwards, Wesley was beset with the challenges of the old guard to the dynamism of evangelical revival. And, both men were concerned about what signs constituted a real work of God versus mere enthusiasm.

This study raises some interesting questions that are of no small importance in the early nineteenth century, when revivalism was re-ignited by Methodists and by followers of Jonathan Edwards in significantly different ways: (1) To what extent did Wesley's popularization of Edwards' works in England and America affect Edwards' legacy—particularly in light of the fact that, in many cases, Wesley's editions were the most extensive reprints of Edwards' selected works? Asbury's lament over the lack of publishing of *Life of David Brainerd* was, like Wesley's other abridgements, quickly rectified. (2) Did Edwards appear as an Arminian popular revivalist, as a Wesleyan Methodist? Or did he emerge as the Puritan Enlightenment revivalist he truly was. Those interested in the long-term legacy of Jonathan Edwards in American religion will find these questions worth further development.

⁷⁰ Herbert, *John Wesley as Editor and Author*, 27.

COMPOSING A USEFUL LIFE: THE DIARY (1844-1902) OF HARRIETTE SMITH KIDDER (1816-1915)

CYNTHIA ROGERS

“How short is human life? How important that it be well spent, O that the rest of my days be filled up with usefulness.”¹

Harriette S. Kidder on her 29th birthday, June 20, 1845

A personal diary can offer a map to another era and a set of clues to its author’s outward and inward life. The lengthy diary of Harriette Smith Kidder (1816-1915) charts the maturation and nineteenth-century landscape of an earnest and influential, yet now little known, American Methodist woman. Harriette Smith Kidder, the second wife of Daniel Parish Kidder (1815-1891), a major figure in the Methodist Episcopal Church, began her diary in 1844 at age 27. By that time she had declined an early marriage proposal, graduated from Amenia Seminary in New York, taught in three states, and served as principal of the Worthington Seminary in Ohio. When she married in 1842, motherhood came instantly as she assumed primary care for Daniel Kidder’s two young children by his first wife Cynthia Russell, who had died in Brazil during his time as a missionary, 1837-1840. The birth of Harriette and Daniel’s three children soon followed. In the early years of her marriage, she used her diary to describe how her religious conversion, education and vocational choice shaped her prior to her marriage. She also chronicled her daily domestic chores as Mrs. Kidder, managing the complexities of her multi-generational household, as well as providing hospitality to scores of guests including Phoebe Palmer, Bishop Matthew Simpson, and Frances Willard. She expressed her joys and sorrows as a mother and described the various roles she filled as a nineteenth century minister’s wife, which included D. P. Kidder’s long career leading the early Methodist Sunday School Board and Publications and teaching at Garrett Biblical Institute and Drew Seminary.

Harriette Smith Kidder’s diary offers rare primary source material passed down through several generations,² providing glimpses into how she, as the wife of a Methodist leader, understood her many roles and their accompany-

¹ Harriette Smith Kidder, *Diary*, Daniel P. Kidder papers, MC 583, Vol. 5, in the Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University Libraries.

² The Kidder papers and diaries were donated to the Rutgers University Libraries by the Kidder’s great-grandson, Stanley Kidder Wilson.

ing domestic expectations.³ Furthermore, coming from a well-educated and reflective individual, her entries give voice to her persona not only as a married woman, but also as a single woman before marriage and as a widow for 24 years prior to her own death in Ocean Grove, New Jersey. Finally, Harriette Smith Kidder's 500-plus pages shed light on the form and substance of the nineteenth-century religious woman's diary, as well as the range of subjects addressed, subtly implied, or deliberately left out.

The Independent Woman

"I now began to awake to a sense that I was constituted with capabilities equal to others and that by putting forth my energies with the blessing of God might attain to the same degree of literary eminence, I might be fitted for an equally honorable and useful sphere. This was an important era in my life."

January 28, 1844⁴

The anniversary of the death of Harriette's mother (January 28, 1828), when Harriette was eleven, triggered the reflection above. This twenty-four page entry early in the diary is Harriette's deliberate way to describe the formative influences on her life.

At age 15, Harriette began to embark upon a change in lifestyle, declining invitations to balls and card-playing, reading the Bible and praying, and amusing her sisters with her "Methodistical" notions.⁵ June 13, 1831, when she joined the Methodist Episcopal Church in Winsted, Connecticut, marked the date of her conversion.⁶ Upon the sudden death of her father in 1832, and her brother's decision to sell the family home despite the daughters' legal right to live there until marriage,⁷ she and her siblings were scattered among various relatives. She described with pride her decision to turn down a marriage proposal, noting "a home where I was dependent was not home."⁸ In 1835, she decided instead to spend the \$200 legacy from her father on tuition to attend the newly-formed Amenia Seminary in Amenia, New York,⁹ where she was the first woman enrolled.¹⁰ This decision set the course for the rest of her life. It broadened her mind, bolstered her confidence, led to life-long

³ Harriette Smith Kidder, *Diary*, Daniel P. Kidder papers, MC 583, Vol. 5, 18, in the Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University Libraries. Woman's sphere is distinguished from man's sphere, essentially the private from the public, and attended to home, family, religion, and personal morality, as discussed by Nancy Hardesty, *Women called to Witness: Evangelical Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (Knoxville: U Tennessee P, 1999), 23-24. Hardesty refers to the oft-cited work of Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1978), describing how the separate spheres (especially for white, middle-class Protestants) emerged historically.

⁴ The section of the diary is paginated separately as it falls within the January 28, 1844, entry. Many of the pages in the diary are numbered.

⁵ Kidder, *Diary*, 7.

⁶ Kidder, *Diary*, 9.

⁷ Kidder, *Diary*, 12.

⁸ Kidder, *Diary*, 18.

⁹ Kidder, *Diary*, 19.

¹⁰ James D. Bills, "Harriet Smith Kidder," *Minutes of the Eightieth Session of New Jersey Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, (March 15-20, 1916), 179.

friendships and eventual marriage, and trained her to be a highly successful educator.

Twentieth-century feminist historians have struggled in their efforts to interpret the lives of nineteenth-century evangelical women who came of age in the midst of the Second Great Awakening. They write of separate spheres for men and women and note the moral and domestic strictures “true womanhood” demanded.¹¹ Less understood, however, is the sense of empowerment that religious experience provided in the Wesley Arminian tradition, often leading women to avail themselves of the expanding educational opportunities and to seize the reins of many of the major reform movements of the nineteenth century. Harriette Kidder’s diary ably illustrates this “evangelical feminism.”¹²

In an early entry Harriette described her own emboldening experience of “exhorting” at a seminary prayer meeting just weeks into the school year:

During the course of the meeting my mind became impressed that I had a duty to perform on that occasion. I felt that now I was called upon to bear the cross for my Savior. . . . *No female had yet taken any part in the meeting.*

I did not know but it would be considered out of place for one to do so. . . . But to me duty was plain. . . . I was on my feet. The dreaded cross became my support. The fear of man was gone.¹³

While she did leave her career as an educator to marry at age 26, she utilized her role and talents to assume leadership in several reform movements. These reform movements served as training grounds for women, outlets for their concern and outrage at the deep-seated social problems of their century, even offering arenas for confrontation between men and women over the issues of the day.¹⁴ Three organizational efforts stand out.

The first involved the founding of the Orphan’s Asylum in Newark, New Jersey, in 1848. She served as Secretary of the Orphan Asylum Committee and a member of the subcommittee on the constitution. She described making speeches in support of the subcommittee’s report (January 14, 1848), just weeks away from giving birth to Daniel Selvey. She spoke in opposition to several lawyers, including Frederick Frelinghuysen, who later served as Secretary of State under President Chester A. Arthur. Although silent on the specific issues, her position won the day.

A second effort, undertaken while the Kidders lived in Evanston, Illinois,

¹¹ See Cott above. Jean Miller Schmidt’s *Grace Sufficient: A History of Women in American Methodism 1760-1939* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999), 79-80, puts these theories into a Methodist context.

¹² Nancy Hardesty, *Women called to Witness: Evangelical Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (Knoxville: U Tennessee P, 1999), x-xii. See also Joanna Bowen Gillespie, writing about *The Ladies Repository* in Russell E. Richey, Kenneth E. Rowe, and Jean Miller Schmidt, eds., *Perspectives on American Methodism: Interpretive Essays* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1993) who argues that its readers in the 1840s and 1850s “emboldened by a religiously-engendered individualism” were forging an “autonomous self and voice” (255).

¹³ Kidder, *Diary*, 19-20. This paragraph comes from the same reflective piece referred to earlier, written in January, 1844.

¹⁴ Hardesty, 94-95.

involved Harriette's founding of the Mothers' Association. Widespread in the nineteenth century, maternal associations offered women opportunities for mutual aid in the tasks of child-rearing. Her last speech before this group (1871), copied into her diary, elevated the discussion beyond contemporaneous social conventions of women's "proper sphere," to an appeal to the divine mission of motherhood:¹⁵

Whatever theories are agitated at the present day about the *sphere* of women, we as mothers find in our hearts an instinctive response to the claims which our children make upon us, not only when helpless infants, but during the successive years of their physical and mental development. And whatever other duties may devolve upon us *here* is certainly our mission, and a weight of obligation for which we need the greatest wisdom & the constant help of God. How appropriate then, that we seek to aid each other by mutual conference & cooperation and by united prayer.¹⁶

Harriette's third opportunity came by 1885, after D. P. Kidder had left Drew Seminary and become Secretary of the Board of Education for the Methodist Episcopal Church, when she served as president of the New York Indian Association, part of a larger national movement founded by Christian reform-minded women in the late nineteenth century. A newspaper article inserted into the back of her diary (source and date unknown, possibly *Christian Advocate*) states:

The report of the New York Indian Association for 1885 shows an encouraging progress in its specific work. A stronger and more wide spread sentiment and greater enthusiasm . . . for the securing by legislation the rights of the Indians and. . . the increasing demand among the people that the government deal righteously with these wards of the nation evinces a determination to secure for the Indians the justice which has been so long withheld.

This society is now an acknowledged power, a quiet but persistent influence emanates from its deliberations and from the printed leaflets scattered abroad *The choice of Mrs. D. P. Kidder as president of the Association has proven an excellent one. Thoroughly well informed, fertile in plans for effective work, dignified and affable, she commands the respect and confidence of all.*

These organizational efforts, much like the temperance work that both Kidders supported, were within the social and religious priorities of the Methodist Episcopal Church. While these efforts suggest an affinity with evangelical feminism, her diary never expressed her opinion on suffrage. It did, however, closely align her personally with Frances Willard, the head of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and a close friend of the Kidder family, particularly during the Evanston years.

One cause dear to her heart, however, reflected her commitment to female development. During her 1852 trip to England with her husband and daughter Katy, she visited an all-female class meeting led effectively by a woman. Clearly impressed, it prompted a lengthy entry on November 25, 1852,¹⁷

¹⁵ Victoria G. Harrison, "Little Matters and a Great Mission: The Life and Diary of Harriette Smith Kidder," *The Journal of The Rutgers University Libraries* 46 (1984): 63. This is the only scholarly article to date written about Harriette Smith Kidder's diary.

¹⁶ Kidder, Diary, 426-427.

¹⁷ Kidder, Diary, 256-257.

(as well as an article on class meetings in the *Christian Advocate* (date unknown). In the article she bemoaned the then-present system of combining ages and sexes, resulting in “too large classes, a scarcity of competent leaders, too great formality in the exercises, and a lack of personal interest in attendees.” She went on to note, “in our rapidly-increasing Churches, the demand for leaders is such, that men of comparatively little religious experience and little spirituality are appointed to this responsible office.” Describing the reluctance of many women fully to participate in the male-led classes, she suggested another plan, whereby “a capable, pious ‘mother in Israel’ is placed over her sisters in Christ.” She will “better understand . . . the peculiarities of her sex, their trials, temptations, and necessities.”

When Harriette’s plan came to fruition in 1854, and she was appointed a class leader for females, she wrote in her journal (May 3, 1854) of her inner conflict: “On receiving this information my heart sank within me, as if oppressed with a burden too great to be borne.” But then she added, “I dare not refuse the position as I think the good of the church requires females to be employed in this capacity.”¹⁸ Once again, Harriette had garnered the courage to speak out on an issue of great importance to her, and her diary makes clear her struggle to be useful to her sex and her Church.

The Minister’s Wife

“The repairing with our friend to the church Miss Harriette Smith who had just resigned the Principalship of the Seminary; and myself in Holy Matrimony. . . .”

*Daniel Parish Kidder, journal entry, April 6, 1842*¹⁹

The entire courtship and marriage of Harriette Smith and Daniel Parish Kidder occurred over the course of one early April weekend in 1842, in Worthington, Ohio, where she was serving as principal of the Worthington Female Seminary. From their diaries and the sole biography published on the life of Daniel Parish Kidder,²⁰ it is likely they had not seen each other for at least five years prior to that weekend—a brief engagement indeed! Much had happened in those five years. Kidder’s first wife, Cynthia Russell, had died in Brazil in April, 1840, leaving him with Rowena, age two, and an infant, Henry Martyn, who were subsequently cared for by Cynthia’s parents in Salisbury, Connecticut, for the two years prior to Daniel’s marriage to Harriette. Meanwhile as of June, 1841, Daniel Kidder had been appointed pastor of the Methodist church in Paterson, New Jersey.²¹

How did Kidder know of Harriette, and why did she consent to such a sudden relationship? The first question is easy. She was the close friend of Marcella Russell McMurdy, Cynthia’s older sister, and all three young women had been classmates at Amenia Seminary in the mid-1830s, where they

¹⁸ Harrison, 65, also describes these entries on the leadership of class meetings.

¹⁹ Daniel P. Kidder, *Diary*, Daniel P. Kidder papers, MC 583, Vol. 3, in the Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University Libraries.

²⁰ G. E. Strobbridge, *Biography of the Rev. Daniel Parish Kidder* (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1894).

²¹ Strobbridge, 135.

got to know Kidder as a teacher and minister. In an early entry she described meeting Marcella at Amenia, a lady of “independent womanly bearing and free conversational ability in such a contrast with my timid, shrinking nature.”²² Marcella had accompanied the Kidders to Brazil, subsequently marrying another missionary and returning home (May, 1839) prior to Cynthia’s death. She appears to have been the connecting force.

Nevertheless, why would a highly accomplished teacher and principal marry so abruptly? Her motivations for marriage, notwithstanding her own personal affections (and her diary contains no reference to that early April, 1842 weekend) were likely traditional. She wrote light-heartedly on April 6, 1840, to her sister Elizabeth while she was teaching in Maryland, “I am blessed with good health constantly and am as free and healthy as a lark . . . I shall, however, be an old maid pretty soon.”²³ As Leonard Sweet has written, the primary vocational fantasies for Evangelical women of the nineteenth century were being the wife of a minister or missionary, for both allowed them a keen sense of usefulness, both in winning souls and being publicly assertive.²⁴ Perhaps that was reason enough, despite the challenges she would face.

Leonard Sweet has offered four models for roles of Methodist ministers’ wives in the nineteenth century: the Companion, the Sacrificer, the Assistant, and the Partner.²⁵ Of these, the Companion seems to describe Harriette best: D. P. Kidder was never a traditional itinerant preacher; as his wife, Harriette never had to make the great personal sacrifices historically associated with that role; and Harriette had five children to raise. Harriette was comfortable with and articulate about the scope of her duties. Her diary began in January, 1844, during the time her husband was appointed to serve in Trenton, New Jersey. She reports on January 19, 1844, “there have been 10 or 12 funerals a week, (cholera epidemic?) A number have been persons who professed no interest in the Savior and left no evidence that they died otherwise than they lived in rebellion against their Maker.” Her reading included Phoebe Palmer’s *Guide to Christ Perfection*, finding it a “work of inestimable value,” and *The Way of Holiness*, which she had received as a gift from Palmer (February 5, 1844). She entertained many visitors but delighted in a visit from “dear old father Hibbard, one of the oldest Methodist preachers in New England . . . I enjoy seeing him again exceedingly” (February 5, 1844). Sometimes so much company was onerous. “We have had company every day and at almost every meal . . . We have had at least 25 meals eaten in our house this week by strangers” (October 18, 1845). But they were honored with distinguished guests, e.g., a visit on January 31, 1846, from “Mr. Aguiar, the Brazilian con-

²² Harriette Smith Kidder, *Diary*, 416.

²³ Harriette Smith Kidder, *Diary*, 406-407.

²⁴ Leonard Sweet, *The Minister’s Wife: Her Role in Nineteenth-Century American Evangelicalism* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1983), 91.

²⁵ Sweet argues through the examples of famous clergy/wives four dominant patterns: the Companion, exemplified by Sarah Edwards (20); the Sacrificer, by Peggy Dow (44); the Assistant, by Lydia Finney (76); and the Partner, Elizabeth Finney, (184).

sul and his lady,” and frequently hosted numerous church leaders, including bishops, ministers, missionaries, and temperance leaders.

Her diary reflected her fascination with the moral issues of the day. On March 20, 1846, she wrote, “the capture of the Slave Ship ‘Pons’ and . . . the condition of the miserable creatures who were the victims of that foul traffic, is exciting a very general interest in the community at the present time.” And on December 15, 1846, “I went to N. York to attend the first public Meeting of the (international) Evangelical Alliance held in this country. The Greene Street Methodist church was filled to overflowing with an intelligent audience . . .” These events clearly energized her mind and spirit.

On June 4, 1844, she wrote in great detail of her travels to New York to be present at General Conference where her husband was nominated and “elected by a very large vote to fill the office of Editor of the Sunday School Publications and Tracts,” a new office created for the development and improvement of Sunday School literature.²⁶ While this new assignment tapped his strong educational background, it seems likely Harriette was a useful sounding board and advisor. Indeed during one of his many trips out west visiting Sunday Schools, Harriette reported, “In consequence of his absence, my cares and duties are greatly increased. I find it necessary to spend two days a week in N.Y attending to his office matters, besides considerable time that I devote to them at home” (August 11, 1846). Unfortunately, she failed to provide details about which aspects of his job she performed.

On the Kidders’ fifth wedding anniversary (April 6, 1847) she was pleased by reports on how “we are peculiarly fitted for each other that our tastes, views, feelings and aims remarkably coincide.” And upon their leaving the Trenton pastorate (actually their last) she writes on July 4, 1844,

I have learned many very important lessons—such as I hope will prove a lasting benefit to me as a pastor’s wife. And I love more and more the duties of my station Indeed I doubt whether there is any situation in life, more conducive to happiness than that which we as a Methodist preacher’s family are permitted to enjoy.

Mother and Stepmother

“I fear I have made but little advancement this week in the way of holiness Have had my failings pointed out to me this week—felt deeply humbled on account of them and am striving with all diligence with watchfulness & prayer to correct every thing in me that may offend.”

October 12, 1844

Historian Barbara Welter, writing on the cult of true womanhood (1820-1860), argued that the cardinal virtues by which nineteenth-century women judged themselves and were judged by their husbands and society were piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity.²⁷ If Harriette felt threatened by

²⁶ Strobidge, 159. Daniel Kidder served in this position from 1844-1856. It was a high profile position requiring a great deal of travel.

²⁷ Barbara Welter, *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens, OH: Ohio UP, 1976), 21. Welter examined a wide range of period women’s magazines and religious literature for women.

any of these standards, it was most likely in her role as mother/stepmother. From all evidence, Daniel Kidder delegated both the physical and moral upbringing of the children to his second wife.²⁸ The early years were especially difficult. Because expectations were high, criticism stung all the harder, fueling insecurity, yet also her resolve to be better. She wrote on February 3, 1844, when her first child Katy was just a toddler, “I have been exceedingly tried by the little inconveniences and vexations which are frequently occurring in a family . . . I have realized the importance of obedience to the command—watch and pray lest you enter into temptation.” And on April 1, 1849, she wrote “my mind is much disturbed by family cares . . . I think I have never been so much tempted to impatience and complaining in my whole life as I have during the past six months.” She rarely stated the exact nature of her cares, but attempts to bring them under control with her faith and piety,²⁹ and more than once she noted being “enlightened” (by her husband, her in laws, her own conscience?) about how she “may endeavour to render (her)self useful” (January 28, 1845).

We also learn about the domestic realities of the relatively affluent Kidder household. “The morning I parted with the servant girl who has lived with us for the last four months without knowing who to get to supply her place” (March 18, 1844), and “I have had a seamstress for the last 2 weeks, who had succeeded in getting made all the articles of clothing most needed . . . for winter” (December 12, 1846). On March 5, 1848, she announced the birth of Daniel Selvey, (“a strong healthy boy weighing 8 3/4 lbs”). Harriette’s own children, especially Katy, are mentioned far more often than her stepchildren, yet the Russells visited with some frequency, evidently to help with their grandchildren. Disease was common. Katy had a bout with whooping cough in 1844, and Harriette wrote in an anxious voice on July 31, 1849, “I kept about and was the main dependence all the week, though I suffered much & am still suffering such excessive exertions,” when all her family, servant and house guests suffered from cholera.³⁰ In taking stock of herself on January 1, 1847, she wrote, “I fear I am too much like (biblical) Martha, careful & troubled about little things. I am not sufficiently self-denying. I need a deeper work of grace in my heart.”

Yet motherhood provided moments of parental pride. “Today Katy hemmed 2 sides of a pocket handkerchief.” (November 2, 1846—Katy was 3!) And she was most gratified when the children “gave their hearts to the Lord.” “I think I feel more deeply than heretofore, my responsibility as a parent—the importance of training up my children for the Lord,” she wrote on March 5, 1848. Hence there was great rejoicing when Katy and Rowena joined the church on probation (February 4, 1855) and upon learning of Henry’s “having given his heart to God”. . . . while a student in an Illinois

²⁸ Harrison, “Little Matters and a Great Mission: The Life and Diary of Harriette Smith Kidder,” *The Journal of The Rutgers University Libraries* 46 (December, 1984): 62.

²⁹ Harrison, 61.

³⁰ Harrison, 60.

Seminary, despite his “natural wayward tendencies.” Daniel and Harriette’s third child, Eva, was born on October 13, 1855, and later baptized by their friend Bishop Simpson on the Sunday evening of the New Jersey Conference (the Kidders having entertained Bishop Simpson, the wife of Bishop Janes, and many other delegates, as reported June 30, 1856).³¹

There is evidence she felt constrained by motherhood, especially in the early years. She adored travel and had the means to travel often, noting on June 4, 1846, a trip to Vermont with only Katy. Katy was “like a little bird let loose from a cage. She sings & talks & plays all day long.” And in 1852-1853 she and Katy travelled with Daniel to Europe in search of authors and books for the growing Sunday School publications. Her diary contains long descriptive letters she wrote to her mother-in-law about London and Paris, including her reactions to British Wesleyan preaching, the overt militarism, and her emotional preference for American republican democracy after witnessing the House of Lords.

The Kidders lived in Evanston, Illinois, from 1856 until 1871. Although it was a quieter life with fewer visits from extended family and Methodist dignitaries, she devoted far less time to her diary. Yet an entry on New Year’s Eve, 1857, may encapsulate the philosophical way she had come to see motherhood over the course of fifteen years of marriage.

This last evening finds me where I usually am found in the evening since I came to this place, in my chamber, with Dannie sitting by my side at the table and little Eva sleeping on the bed. How many years I have had such a pressure of cares & duties demanding my attention that I have been able to give much too little time to my children. I value greatly, therefore, the opportunity I now have for instructing and training them.

One Nineteenth-Century Woman’s Diary

Harriette Kidder’s diary charts her personal journey. From the timid teenager exhorting at the seminary prayer meeting to the mature woman advocating successfully for female class leaders, and from the insecure and overwhelmed young mother to the founder and president of the Evanston Mother’s Association, Harriette grew through her struggles. To peruse this very-worn single yet eclectic volume of Harriette’s writing is to sense how she might have assembled the chapters of her autobiography. She wrote earnestly to explain who she was and how she was meeting the challenges she faced. There are lengthy gaps between entries, particularly after 1861, and the later pages consist mainly of recopied letters, speeches, letters to the editor, articles about her husband’s and her own accomplishments, obituaries, a ribboned ringlet of hair, and even a photograph of her senior self by her mother’s grave. It became a scrapbook toward the end, a personal file of what mattered most. Yet her consistently legible penmanship, complete sen-

³¹ Bishop Simpson was a good friend of the Kidders. Daniel Kidder’s diary mentions being on the podium in Springfield, Ill, at the cemetery when Bishop Simpson preached Abraham Lincoln’s funeral address (May 2, 1865 entry).

tences, and coherent paragraphs suggest that she expected others, especially her children, to read her thoughts and understand who she was.

Much goes unsaid. She rarely if ever named those that hurt or anger her. She expresses appreciation for her husband on their anniversaries, but offers few details about their relationship, or even their conversations about their work or children. She is generally circumspect about the children's problems, particularly as they grew older, and she never states that she's pregnant, but refers instead to her "peculiar circumstances" (December, 1847).³² Largely silent on the world and national events of the day, she grieved the losses suffered by her Illinois friends in the Great Chicago Fire. In contrast to this reticence, however, is the multi-page entry was devoted to Harriette's discomfort and treatment from gall stones! Possibly it was included to alert her children to family medical history.

Harriette mentioned many notable figures, not surprisingly, given the Kidders' social prominence in nineteenth-century Methodist history. She includes letters to and from Frances Willard. Of particular note is a drafted response to Willard's request for help in approaching Bishop Foster and Mr. Drew for donations for a new dormitory for the Evanston College for Ladies, of which Willard was president.³³ In fact, a brief news article about the Kidders by Willard pasted in the diary credits Mrs. Kidder as the first to propose Willard as president of the Woman's College. She describes an 1849 visit to the White House for tea, wryly comparing the feathers in Mrs. Polk's attire to the dress of the Native Americans also present, her subtle commentary on two cultures.³⁴

In her later years, Harriette Smith Kidder was sought out as a family and community historian, and at least two published articles featured her memories of country life in the northwest corner of Connecticut.³⁵ A late testament to her energy for writing was her composition of a 130-stanza poem for her 95th birthday celebration in Ocean Grove, New Jersey, described in the *New York Times* on June 21, 1911. The onset of blindness had motivated her to learn to type at age 90, and the poem (lost to history) described the many world events and terms of Presidents of the United States she had lived through. One can only hope this lengthy poem, as well as the many friends and family members present, paid tribute to her not only long, but exceptionally useful life.

³² Harriette Smith Kidder, *Diary*, 133.

³³ See Lacey C. Warner, *Saving Women: Retrieving Evangelistic Theology and Practice* (Waco, TX: Baylor UP, 2007), 159-160 for a discussion of Willard's experience with the Evanston College for Women.

³⁴ Harriette Smith Kidder, *Diary*, 163.

³⁵ "Sketches written from memory in 1892," in "Reminiscences of Winchester," edited by William J. Chute, *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 29 (January, 1964) 1:9-16, and "Christmas and Country Life a Hundred Years Ago," *Country Life in America* 27: 66-68.

BUILDING MONUMENTAL METHODIST CATHEDRALS IN AMERICA'S CAPITAL CITY, 1850-1950

KENNETH E. ROWE

Methodism's centennial era in America (1866-1884) coincided with its transformation into a solidly middle-class church. Nothing symbolizes Methodism's new status and social location better than the network of impressive, even monumental, regional Methodist churches that came to dominate the urban landscape during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. An earlier generation of Methodists considered elegant churches to be detrimental to spiritual worship. With the rise of middle-class respectability, however, fine church buildings were seen to demonstrate the authority and influence of the Methodists, as well as the wealth and status of its membership. Mid-century church leaders like Abel Stevens assumed that Methodism's "permanent hold upon its congregations, especially in the larger communities, will depend much upon the convenience and even the elegance of its churches."¹ Within this context, prospective members were seen as audiences to be wooed, rather than souls to be saved.

The new churches also reflected the hierarchy developing in connectional Methodism, with its accompanying centralization of power. A new generation of upscale churches was important regional centers of Methodist strength and missionary outreach. In every major city and town Methodists built large and refined architectural monuments to their spirituality. In smaller cities and prosperous rural districts Methodists built more limited versions of the same churches.

Not surprisingly, extraordinary efforts were made by Methodists to build monumental churches in Washington, DC, the nation's capital city, as a sign of their social prominence. Decades before the Episcopal Church began to build what has become the National Cathedral on Mount St. Albans in Washington, DC (construction began 1907, first services were conducted in 1912, building completed 1990), the socially-rising Methodist Episcopal Church undertook to build a national church of their own for official Washington. At the 1852 General Conference in Boston, a group of Washington Methodists presented a memorial asking the denomination as a whole to build a major Methodist church in the nation's capital city "of convenient and prominent location, combining commodiousness in its size and attractiveness in its interior and exterior style of architecture." Regarding the success of the plan of such "high importance to the interest of the Methodism throughout the country,"

¹ Abel Stevens, *The Centenary of American Methodism* (New York: Carlton & Porter, 1865), 233-234.

bishops and conference delegates pledged to promote the project in all the conferences. In March of 1853, the church's seven bishops issued a pastoral letter supporting the project.

Following two years of fund raising, a lot near the capitol building was purchased and a prominent architect was engaged to plan a large church in Gothic style. The foundation stone was laid with great fanfare in October, 1854, by Bishop Matthew Simpson, who energetically supported the project. Fund-raising continued with a lead gift of \$100 from President Franklin Pierce. By 1860, the foundation for a large church had been completed, but the outbreak of the Civil War brought fund-raising and construction to a halt. Only the foundation walls had been completed. At war's end in 1866, the bishops appointed prominent New York clergyman, John P. Newman, to act full-time as fund-raiser for the project. Construction resumed and three years later (1869) the Metropolitan Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church was completed at a cost of \$225,000.²

The dedication on February 28, 1869, of what the press called "the Westminster Abbey of American Methodism" was timed to coincide with the inauguration of Methodist President Ulysses S. Grant when Washington was filled with dignitaries from across the land. Four days before the inauguration, 2,000 people crowded into the sanctuary with a seating capacity of 1,200. A third of the pews were reserved for dignitaries, including President-elect and Mrs. Grant, the Vice President-elect and Mrs. Colfax, Chief Justice Chase, and a large number of senators, representatives, and other leaders in state and church. Bishop Simpson read the opening prayers from the denomination's new (1864) liturgy for dedication of churches and preached the sermon. Descriptions of the event hit the headlines in newspapers across the country, including the *New York Times*. A lead story in *Harper's Weekly* called the new church "by far the handsomest and the most elaborate of the many fine churches in Washington" and included an engraving for the whole country to see.

Its design is pure Gothic. It is built of brown stone, rough hewed. The building fronts 75 feet on C. Street and 115 feet on [John Marshall Place]. It is about fifty feet in height. At the northeast corner of the structure is to be constructed a tower and a spire, the utmost point of which will be 240 feet from the pavement.³

To lend legitimacy the keystone in the arch above the pulpit was carved out of debris from Solomon's Temple, the olive wood of the pulpit and altar rail was from the Garden of Gethsemane, and ivy from the grave of John Wesley was planted to cover its walls.

Sixteen large stained glass windows commemorated founding fathers and mothers of the denomination. As it was meant to be the national church, one pew was set aside for each state and territory in the union and one for the

² Fund raising dragged on until 1884 ("Episcopal Address," *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1884, 39). In 2010 dollars, this would equal \$3,665,250.

³ "The Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington," *Harper's Weekly* (March 13, 1869): 173.

President, Vice President, Chief Justice, and Cabinet. When the church was dedicated it was still incomplete, for it was without the spire. Two years later, on Thanksgiving Day, 1871, the 240 foot spire, one of the tallest in the city, and its many ton chime of eleven bells were dedicated.

The first chairman of the board of trustees was not unfamiliar with administrative duties. He was President Grant. Other trustees of the first board carved their place in the nation's history: Salmon P. Chase, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and Matthew G. Emery, mayor of the city of Washington. President Grant and Mrs. Grant occupied the President's Pew for eight years 1869-1877. At the turn of the century, President and Mrs. William McKinley sat in the same pew regularly during his term of office, 1897-1901. Methodist President Hayes (1877-1880) and his wife Lucy chose to attend Washington's oldest Methodist Episcopal Church, Foundry Church, as did President and Mrs. Clinton (1992-2000). Foundry Church had built a large new church in Romanesque style at 14th and G streets in 1866.⁴

At its inception, Metropolitan Memorial Church boasted only one hundred members, but by 1894, when the church celebrated 25 years in ministry, Metropolitan had 550 members and average attendance in Sunday school of 280 and approximately one quarter of its \$9,600⁵ budget going to missions, charities and other ministries of the church. The congregation continued to flourish at its downtown location until the 1920s when its traditional core membership of middle and upper-middle class moved further into the northwest section of the city and the expansion of government buildings necessitated the 1930 acquisition of the property by the District government for the completion of Judiciary Square. This special place of worship was described by Richard Goode, in his 1979 book *Capital Losses: A Cultural History of Washington's Destroyed Buildings* as "probably the most important of over seventy-five Gothic Revival churches that have been built in the Washington area during the last 175 years."⁶ If my reckoning is correct, its site today is occupied partly by the Canadian Embassy and partly by Marshall Park. The congregation relocated and built an even grander Gothic revival church on a new site on Nebraska Avenue near American University which was dedicated in 1932.⁷ In the post-World War II period, Metropolitan's growing congregation crowded its building. A new education building was ready by 1951. But all too soon the sanctuary was too small to accommodate the congregation, so in 1957 work began on expanding the worship space of the church. In 1959, the congregation joined in worship in the enlarged sanctuary for the first time. During these years President Nixon attended the new Metropolitan Church when he was senator and vice president (1950-1961).

⁴ Homer L. Calkin, *Castings From the Foundry Mold: A History of Foundry Church, Washington, DC, 1814-1964* (Nashville: Parthenon Press, 1968), 91-98.

⁵ In 2010 dollars this would equal \$240,672.

⁶ James M. Goode, *Capital Losses: A Cultural History of Washington's Destroyed Buildings* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 204.

⁷ Lillian Brooks Brown, *A Living Centennial: Commemorating the 100th anniversary of Metropolitan Memorial United Methodist Church* (Washington, DC: The Church, 1969).

Six years after their northern kin, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, also planned a notable presence in the nation's capital. The Washington congregation of the Virginia Conference petitioned the 1858 General Conference for assistance in building a church that would worthily represent the denomination in the nation's capital. Southern Methodism's first congregation in Washington had been organized and its first modest building was erected in 1850 and rebuilt in 1869. The General Conference agreed that "Southerners who annually congregate in the metropolis of the Union" should be represented there by "a Church worthy of the noble body of Christians whose great purpose it is to spread Scriptural holiness over these lands without turning aside to make war upon the rights which we enjoy under the Constitution of a great and free people." The lengthy resolution, dripping with venom aimed at northern Methodists, concluded: "Every member of this body must feel that so great and influential a denomination as the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, should be represented by a large and flourishing society at the seat of the Central Government."⁸

The impending Civil War brought the plan to naught. Not until 1906, did a campaign get underway for a major Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Washington. The Board of Church Extension was given the responsibility for planning a "representative" church building to cost not less than \$275,000⁹. The next year a choice lot was purchased at the junction of K Street, Massachusetts Avenue, and Ninth Street and a large building was planned. In the Jim Crow Era (1890s-1930s), Methodists in the South shunned Gothic and Romanesque revival styles favored by northern Methodists and chose instead Greek revival (plantation-style) churches with flat tops fronted with tall pillared porches. But another war (World War I) interfered with the speedy completion of fund-raising and construction. Mount Vernon Place Methodist Episcopal Church, South, a monumental, white-marbled, Greek Revival (Parthenon-style) church which cost more than \$500,000¹⁰ was not completed until 1917 and came to full power under the pastorate of Clovis G. Chappell, pastor from 1918-1924. During the 1940s and 1950s, after Methodism's north-south reunion, the church became a center of spiritual growth and social service in the center of Washington. The church's membership continued to grow rapidly, making the congregation one of the largest Protestant congregations in the city. At its height, the congregation numbered more than 4,500.¹¹

Rivalry between divided Methodisms in the nation's capitol extended to the Methodist Protestant Church. Not to be outdone, denominational leaders

⁸ Methodist Episcopal Church, South. *Journal of the General Conference, 1858*, 385, 416-418.

⁹ In 2010 dollars this would equal \$6,638,500.

¹⁰ In 2010 dollars this would equal \$8,485,000.

¹¹ Royce L. Thompson, ed. *History, Mount Vernon Place United Methodist Church, 1850-1976* (Washington: The Church, 1977); Methodist Episcopal Church, South, *Journal of the General Conference, 1906*, 194-195; see also Harvey Marinus King, *The Board of Church Extension, A History: Semi-Centennial 1882-1932* (Louisville, KY: Board of Church Extension of the ME Church, South, [1932]), 106-108. Fund raising dragged on until 1932.

laid plans for a landmark church in the early 1870s. A corner lot was purchased on North Carolina Avenue at Eighth Street in the Capitol Hill section of the city upon which a modest brick church opened in 1872. By the turn of the century (1900), the congregation outgrew its facilities and set in motion plans to replace the old church with a much larger one. The elegant new church featured both a new exterior style (Romanesque) and a new interior plan (theater-style sanctuary and Akron-plan Sunday-school). The massive church was built around a large corner tower surrounded by broad transepts with curving, arcaded porticos. The rough stone-faced exterior with deep-set, intricately carved openings made a powerful statement. Inside a broad worship space inspired by the arrangement of the secular theater replaced the congregation's old narrow sanctuary. Galleries surrounded the central pulpit platform on three sides so that every hearer was as close as possible to the preacher. On the fourth side and behind the pulpit area the space was filled with the ranks of the choir that reinforced the appeal of the preacher with its devotional singing, and behind the choir rose the gilded pipes of the organ.¹² Curved pews circled the dominating pulpit, lush carpet covered the sloping floors and radiating aisles, plaster moldings circling walls and ceiling echoed exterior Romanesque carvings, large Tiffany stained-glass windows flooded the interior with delicate hues. The architect brought the Sunday school out of the basement where it had been crammed in the old church and gave it as much attention and space as the new sanctuary. Patterned after what came to be known as the Akron-plan, the Sunday school featured two curving tiers of classrooms facing a large central auditorium. The plan efficiently gathered a large number of classes close to and in full view of the superintendent who led the school in opening and closing worship from a platform at its center after which doors slid closed to allow individual class sessions.¹³

The movement to establish a United Brethren presence in Washington began in 1891 when the denomination's Church Erection Society began a church-wide campaign to raise funds for a national United Brethren Church. Two years later Memorial United Brethren Church was completed on a "high and commanding" lot one mile north of the capitol building. Modest by Methodist standards, the small brick church of Romanesque design costing

¹² Thomas H. Colhouer, *Sketches of the Founders of the Methodist Protestant Church* (Pittsburgh: Methodist Protestant Book Concern, 1880), 272f. *North Carolina Avenue Methodist Protestant Church Yearbook and Directory, 1907* (Washington, DC: The Church, 1907).

¹³ For fuller discussions see Kenneth E. Rowe, "Redesigning Methodist Churches: Auditorium-Style Sanctuaries and Akron-Plan Sunday Schools in Romanesque Costume, 1875-1925," *Connectionalism: Ecclesiology, Mission and Identity*, edited by Russell E. Richey (Nashville: Abingdon, 1997), 117-134; and Jeanne H. Kilde, *When the Church Became Theatre: The Transformation of Evangelical Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford UP, 2002).

\$17,000¹⁴ was dedicated by Bishop Jonathan Weaver in January, 1893.¹⁵ A second, much larger stone church also of Romanesque design, First Memorial United Brethren Church, was dedicated debt-free to the worship of Almighty God in May, 1905, at a cost to the denomination of \$32,000.¹⁶ “The Church is one of the finest in our denomination. Our people may well rejoice in having had a part in the building of this metropolitan church in the great city of Washington.”¹⁷ The building of a substantial United Brethren church at the nation’s capital was achieved through many obstacles and at great expense, but “the end justified the means” wrote the editor of *The Religious Telescope*, “All United Brethren take an honorable pride in having so fine and prosperous a church at the Nation’s capital.”¹⁸

As early as 1864, the Evangelical Association established a mission in the nation’s capital city. Two years later a lot had been purchased on Sixth Street and a modest chapel was dedicated. However, the mission venture failed and the 1877 General Conference reported the project closed and the property sold. Although the matter of a landmark church in Washington was considered again in 1891, it was not until 1923 that any impetus was given to establishing a landmark church in the city honoring the denomination’s founder. Albright Memorial Evangelical Church in Washington was first proposed that year at a general missionary convention in Baltimore. Two years later the project got under way when the church’s Board of Missions approved the plan. A pastor was appointed “missionary to Washington” and began a church-wide drive to raise funds. By the summer of 1926, the pastor had purchased a lot on the fashionable Rittenhouse Street, NW, pitched a tent for services and recruited twenty-six charter members. That fall, the General Conference of the church added its approval. The Woman’s Missionary Society devoted its 1927 Day of Prayer offering for this project. With gifts totaling almost \$100,000,¹⁹ the first unit of a substantial church complex in Gothic style, the Sunday-school, was completed in November, 1927. The large sanctuary was not completed until 1954.²⁰

¹⁴ In 2010 dollars this would equal \$410,380.

¹⁵ *25th Session of the Church Erection Society of the United Brethren in Christ held in Dayton, Ohio, May 10, 1893* (Dayton, OH: United Brethren Publishing House, 1893),4-5; “Our Work in Washington City,” *Religious Telescope* (February 1, 1893): 7; (February 8, 1893): 83. A much larger stone church in the required Gothic style was completed and dedicated debt-free in 1905.

¹⁶ In 2010 dollars this would equal \$772,480.

¹⁷ *Annual Report of the Pennsylvania Conference: Minutes of the 116th Annual Session of the Pennsylvania Conference of the United Brethren in Christ held in the First Memorial U.B. Church, Washington, D.C., Oct. 17-23, 1905* (Dayton, OH: United Brethren Publishing House, 1905),18-19.

¹⁸ “[Our] Church at Washington, D.C.,” *Religious Telescope* (January 16, 1907): 21. The 1893 building was refitted for Sunday-school and social meetings.

¹⁹ In 2010 dollars this would equal \$1,253,000.

²⁰ “Proposed Albright Memorial Evangelical Church,” *Evangelical Messenger* 81.3 (January 15, 1927): 6-9; *Proceedings of the General Conference of the Evangelical Church, 1926*, 113-114; Wilbert F. Snyder, *Albright Church: Twenty-Five Years* (Washington, DC: The Church, 1951).

In the post-Civil War period the three African-American Methodist denominations also made extraordinary efforts to establish a permanent presence just a short distance from the White House and the U.S. Capitol in order to pressure the federal government for equal treatment of African American people. The African Methodist Episcopal Church's city congregation, formed in 1821, was designated the denomination's "Metropolitan" or national church in 1884, while its new building was still under construction. A.M.E. Church members throughout the United States contributed funding to build a large red-brick Victorian Gothic "cathedral" for their denomination. Metropolitan A.M.E. Church, which seated 2,000, opened in 1886 at a cost of \$70,000.²¹ The denomination's presiding bishop announced: "The building is a monument to the love of the race, for the church of God, and for the good of man." Some years later the sacrificial gifts were memorialized in a group of 29 which chronicle the AME church's phenomenal growth during a period of racial oppression. In segregated Washington, Metropolitan AME's stained-glass lined sanctuary was one of the largest meeting places available to an integrated audience, and therefore attracted prominent speakers, including President Taft and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt and later, Dorothy Height and Bishop Desmond Tutu. It was here that the funeral of congregant Frederick Douglass was held in 1895 and where mourners said goodbye to Rosa Parks a century later. In the 1990s, the building was added to the National Register of Historic Places. In the new century, structurally compromised, the building urgently requires a multi-million-dollar effort, a capital investment that Metropolitan AME Church's community of dedicated supporters cannot afford. In 2010, the National Trust for Historic Preservation added this historic church to its list of "Most Endangered Historic Places" in the nation.

William H. Miles, one of the founding bishops of the Colored (after 1954 Christian) Methodist Episcopal Church, was determined to establish a prominent CME church in the nation's capitol. By 1876, just seven years after the denomination's founding, Bishop Miles succeeded in persuading an A.M.E. congregation to join his church, giving the CME church an instant presence in the city. The 1878 General Conference expressed the gratitude CME's felt by adopting a resolution which called for the denomination to assume responsibility for the mortgage, renamed the church Israel Metropolitan C.M.E. Church, and authorized special collections throughout the denomination to support the congregation.²²

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church followed suit by rebuilding Wesley A.M.E. Zion Church in 1888. Founded in 1832, the church served as a station on the famed "Underground Railroad," was the birthplace of the first public school for Washington's African-American children, and as Metropolitan Wesley A.M.E. Zion Church became the principal public

²¹ In 2010 dollars this would equal \$1,689,800.

²² C. H. Phillips, *History of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America*. (Jackson, TN: Publishing House, CME Church, 1925), 102.

witness of the denomination in the nation's capital. The church relocated to its current site in northwest Washington in 1956.

From anti-slavery leadership in the mid-nineteenth century to AIDS education and voter registration projects, today these three "national cathedrals" of African American Methodism continue to be at the forefront of the religious, civic and cultural life of African Americans.

**“GOD BLESS THE METHODIST CHURCH”—A. LINCOLN:
FINDING THE LOST SPEECH**

DANIEL W. STOWELL

It is perhaps the most famous document related to Methodism from the American Civil War. Widely published at the time and since, Abraham Lincoln's speech to a delegation of Methodist leaders from the General Conference in May, 1864, is an elegant example of Lincoln's powerful prose and a testament to the importance of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Union war effort. While the text of the document is well-known, the location of the original document written in Lincoln's own hand has remained a mystery for nearly a century. Further complicating the question was the creation of lithographic facsimiles of the document more than a century ago. Dispersed among Methodist ministers and laity, these facsimiles are now embedded in collections of original letters and sermons at churches, educational institutions, and private collections around the country. Over a century old themselves and bearing Lincoln's distinctive handwriting, the facsimiles mislead many into believing that they are the original document written by Abraham Lincoln.

The Papers of Abraham Lincoln is a long-term documentary editing project committed to locating, imaging, transcribing, annotating, and publishing all documents written by or to Abraham Lincoln, including his famous response to the Methodist delegation of May, 1864. In cases where the project cannot locate the original document, it uses an image of a facsimile, a photocopy, or even a typed or printed transcription. However, it is always best to have an image of the original document that Lincoln wrote or that was sent to him by a correspondent. Part of the project's mandate is to distinguish between original documents, mechanical facsimiles, contemporary handwritten copies, and forgeries. In August, 2011, a private owner from Michigan visited the project's offices in the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library in Springfield with what she believed was an original response to the delegation of Methodists who visited Abraham Lincoln in May, 1864. Further research about this document led to an unexpected discovery and an introduction to new techniques of distinguishing between original documents and lithographic facsimiles.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the largest Protestant denomination in the United States, met in Philadelphia,

Pennsylvania, in 1864. Held every four years, the General Conference was the preeminent gathering of the bishops and ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. On May 14, the delegates elected a committee consisting of Bishop Edward R. Ames and four ministers to travel to Washington to present an address to President Lincoln supporting the administration and the war effort.¹ The committee met with President Lincoln at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, May 18. Lincoln had obtained the text of the address that they would be presenting and penned a reply in preparation for their visit. After they presented their resolutions, the President replied:

Gentlemen:

In response to your address, allow me to attest to the accuracy of its historical statements; indorse the sentiments it expresses; and thank you, in the nations name for the sure promise it gives.

Nobly sustained as the government has been by all the churches, I would utter nothing which might, in the least, appear invidious against any. Yet, without this, it may fairly be said that the Methodist Episcopal Church, not less devoted than the best, is, by its greater numbers, the most important of all. It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospital, and more prayers to Heaven than any. God bless the Methodist Church, bless all the churches, and blessed be God, Who, in this our great trial, giveth us the churches.

A. Lincoln

May 18, 1864

This response was immediately and understandably popular with Methodists and was printed in the proceedings of the General Conference and reprinted in Methodist newspapers throughout the North. Lincoln's brief response was also converted into a facsimile version using the lithographic printing process.

These lithographic facsimiles of the document, made in the nineteenth century, have complicated the identification of the original document. They consist of authentic Lincoln handwriting on paper that is more than a century old. Distinguishing between the original and many nearly contemporaneous facsimiles proved quite difficult, and facsimiles have often been treated as the original document.

When the private owner arrived, it was clear that what she owned was a facsimile. Dr. James Cornelius, the curator of the Lincoln collection at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, agreed. Although she also had original letters from an ancestor who was a Methodist chaplain, close inspection of the Lincoln letter revealed the even lines of a lithographic copy rather than the uneven tones of iron-gall ink.

This visitor from Michigan owned a lithographic facsimile, but the question remained of the location of the original. A quick review of project files revealed that in 2005, John L. Topolewski, the Associate Pastor of Owego United Methodist Church in Owego, New York, had contacted the project about the copy that the church owns. He ultimately published his findings in

¹ *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Held in Philadelphia, Pa., 1864* (New York: Carlton & Porter, 1864), 155-156, 373-375.

an article for *Methodist History*. He acknowledged that the church owned a facsimile, but concluded, “where is the original now?”²

The answer is, and has been since 1924, the Library of Congress. The Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress consists of four series. Series 1, by far the largest, contains those papers in Abraham Lincoln’s possession at his death, which passed to his son Robert Todd Lincoln. The younger Lincoln transferred the collection to the Library of Congress in 1919 and formally donated it to the Library in 1923, with the stipulation that they not be opened for twenty-one years after his death. He died in 1926, and the series was opened to researchers in 1947. Series 2 consists of documents retained by John G. Nicolay, one of Lincoln’s private secretaries. Nicolay’s daughter donated these documents to the Library of Congress in 1959. Series 3 contains items acquired by the Library later and added to the original collection.³ Each of these three series has been microfilmed and digitized to make them available to a broad audience.⁴

Within Series 1 are two copies of the Address of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church to Lincoln and a copy of Lincoln’s response, though not in his hand. According to the note on the reverse, it was “Returned to the President with the thanks of Mr. Hanscom.” Hanscom was the editor of the *National Republican* and likely borrowed the copy to publish it in his newspaper.⁵

Series 4 of the Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress consists mostly of copies of documents held in other repositories, though the series does contain some original documents. Among the original documents in Series 4 is Lincoln’s speech to the Methodist delegation. It has been there since 1924 but apparently was not incorporated into Series 4 until the 1960s or later.

Roy P. Basler and his associates, when they published *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* in 1953, cited the original document to Mrs. Arthur Wendell of Rahway, New Jersey. Mrs. Wendell was the granddaughter of Joseph A. Wright (1810-1867), a prominent Methodist who was Governor of Indiana, a United States Senator, and Minister to Prussia.⁶ It appears now that Wendell’s copy was a facsimile.

The original document in Abraham Lincoln’s hand was apparently retained by William L. Harris (1817-1887), the Secretary of the 1864 General Conference and later a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. His son, William H. Harris, died in November, 1919, and his widow donated the

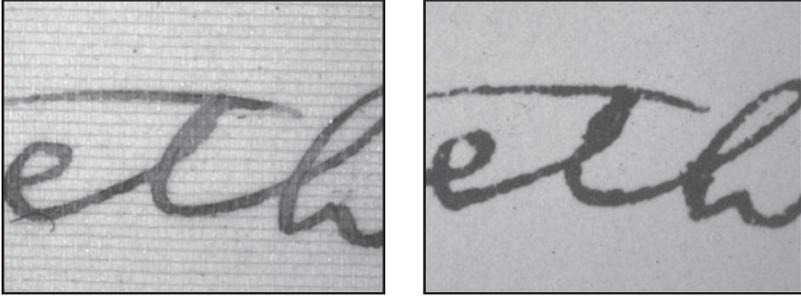
² John Leo Topolewski, “Lincoln’s Response to the Methodists,” *Methodist History* 44 (April, 2006): 133-139.

³ David C. Mearns, *The Lincoln Papers*, 2 vols. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1948), 1:3-136.

⁴ Available at the Library of Congress’s American Memory website: <http://memory.loc.gov/amem/allhtml/malhome.html>

⁵ *Daily National Republican* (Washington, DC), 18 May 1864, Second Edition, 2:1.

⁶ Roy P. Basler, et al., eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 8 vols. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1953), 7:350-51.



Above is the comparison of the last three letters of "giveth" in the last line of the document. On the left is the handwritten document, and on the right is the lithographic copy. Note the texture of the silking reinforcement on the handwritten document.

document to the Library of Congress on March 17, 1924.⁷

How do the Papers of Abraham Lincoln know the document at the Library of Congress is the original document and not just another facsimile? With the expert assistance of Jeffrey M. Flannery, Head of Reference and Reader Services in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress; Yasmeen Khan, a Senior Rare Book Conservator at the Library of Congress; and some technical wizardry, the answer became clear.

During the course of a nationwide search for Lincoln documents, the Papers of Abraham Lincoln had discovered other facsimile copies of Lincoln's short speech to the Methodist delegation. In addition to the facsimile at the Owego United Methodist Church, there are facsimile copies at Wellesley College in Wellesley, Massachusetts, and at Drew University in Madison, New Jersey. A typed transcription even surfaced at the Polk County Historical Association in Tryon, North Carolina. However, because project staff had not yet conducted a search of Series 4 of the Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress, the existence of the original document in Series 4 remained undetected. A 1994 letter from John R. Sellers at the Library of Congress to former Illinois State Historian Thomas F. Schwartz suggested that there was another copy at the Library of Congress, but it remained unclear whether it was the original or simply another facsimile.

Assistant Editor Ed Bradley of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln contacted Jeffrey Flannery to inquire about viewing the document. Bradley examined the document in person and believed that it was the original. The short reply had been "silked," or coated with silk and a mixture of starch and protein adhesive, to strengthen it. Common from 1900 to the 1940s, "silking" is considered too invasive as a conservation treatment and is no longer used today. Flannery offered to have the Conservation Department look at the document more closely, and the project gratefully accepted the offer.

Most of the documents Abraham Lincoln wrote and signed were created

⁷ Accession 2921 (March 1924), Accession Card File, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

using iron-gall ink. Manufacturers of iron-gall ink crushed galls from oak trees and mixed the result with water, iron sulfate, and gum arabic as a suspension agent. Unlike carbon-based inks, iron-gall ink reacted with both parchment and the cellulose in paper and could not be rubbed away easily. The ink used in lithography was carbon-based and has different characteristics from the iron-gall ink commonly used in preparing hand-written documents.

Senior Conservator Yasmeen Khan examined the document under high magnification and was certain that the ink was applied by a pen. Using the ARTIST multispectral camera in the Conservation Division, Khan created a false-color infrared 2 image that displays iron gall ink as red, while carbon-based inks appear gray and lithographic ink appears black. The results were dramatic and conclusive. Although she was not an expert on Lincoln’s handwriting, Khan concluded that the document at the Library of Congress was “written by hand in iron-gall ink or writing paper and not a lithograph printed under the extreme pressure of a lithographic press.”⁸

To perform effective comparison tests, Khan needed a lithographic facsimile of the speech; however, the Library of Congress did not have such a copy. I contacted Dr. Robert J. Williams, the General Secretary of the General Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church to discuss what we were learning. Dr. Williams is also the editor of *Methodist History*, and I thought he might be interested in what the project had learned at the Library of Congress that answered the question posed by Rev. Topolewski’s 2005 article, “Where is the original now?” Dr. Williams was enthusiastic about the findings and explained that Drew University, the home of the General Commission, had a lithographic copy of the speech.⁹ He also explained that he would be traveling to Washington soon and might be able to take the lithograph with him. He consulted with Dr. Christopher Anderson, the Methodist Librarian and Coordinator of Special Collections at Drew University, who graciously allowed Dr. Williams to take the lithographic print with him on his visit to Washington, DC.

In December, 2011, Dr. Williams delivered the lithograph from Drew University to Yasmeen Khan at the Library of Congress. Ms. Khan examined the lithograph under high magnification and also made a parallel false-color infrared 2 image of it using the ARTIST multispectral camera. Those tests confirmed that the document from Drew University was a lithographic print and that it was distinctly different from the original document at the Library of Congress.

The Papers of Abraham Lincoln’s staff expertise regarding Lincoln’s handwriting, the tests made at the Library of Congress, the assistance of Dr. Williams, and the cooperation of Dr. Anderson together combine

⁸ Yasmeen Khan, “Report on the Multispectral Imaging on the May 18th, 1864 letter from Lincoln to Methodist Episcopal Church Conference,” August 31, 2011, unpublished, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

⁹ Abraham Lincoln, Response to Methodist Delegation, May 18, 1864, Simpson Collection, General Commission on Archives and History, Drew University, Madison, NJ.

to demonstrate conclusively that the copy of Lincoln's response to the Methodist delegation that resides in the Abraham Lincoln Papers, Series 4, at the Library of Congress, is the original document written by Abraham Lincoln in May, 1864.

**DOCTORAL THESES
IN WESLEYAN AND METHODIST STUDIES, 2011**

COMPILED BY CHRISTOPHER J. ANDERSON

Avery-Quinn, Samuel John. "From Parlor to Forest Temple: An Historical Anthropology of the Early Landscapes of the National Camp-Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness, 1867-1871." Ph.D. thesis, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 2011.

Bailey, George. "Growing into God: A Consideration of the Relation between the Experience and Theology of Sanctification, in dialogue with John Wesley's Theology of Perfection and Gregory Palamas' Theology of Deification." Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 2011.

Barber, Stephen Presley. "The Gospel Horse in the Valley: Evangelical Slavery and Freedom in the Chattahoochee Valley, 1821-1877." Ph.D. thesis, Auburn University, 2011.

Chapell, Colin Brett. "Recasting the Image of God: Faith and Identity in the Deep South." Ph.D. thesis, University of Alabama, 2011.

Evans, David F. "The Methodist Melting Pot: Italian Immigrants in the White Protestant Imagination, 1909-1916." Ph.D. thesis, Drew University, 2011.

Frazier, J. Russell. "The Doctrine of Dispensations in the Thought of John William Fletcher (1729-85)." Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester (Nazarene Theological College), 2011.

Georgian, Elizabeth A. "A Church in Crisis? Paradoxes in the Rise of American Methodism, 1777-1835." Ph.D. thesis, University of Delaware, 2010.

Hoover, Shayda Melia. "'Not within the Compass of Reason': The Character of 'the Enthusiast' in Eighteenth-Century British Literature." Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Irvine, 2011.

Huson, Marcella Marie. "A Critical Comparison of Theological Method in John Wesley with that of Vladimir Lossky." Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester (Nazarene Theological College), 2011.

Lacher, Lawrence A. "John Wesley's Liturgical Revision: A Pattern for Reshaping Worship for Post-Christian America." Ph.D. thesis, Concordia Seminary (St. Louis), 2011.

Lee-Koo, SunAe. "Humility as a Key Component of John Wesley's Understanding of a Christian's Spiritual Development." Ph.D. thesis, The Catholic University of America, 2011.

Lyons, Andrew Hamilton. "The Changing Practice of Methodist Worship, 1958-2010." Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 2011.

McLaren, Scott Kenneth. "Books for the Instruction of the Nations" Shared Methodist Print Culture in Upper Canada and the Mid-Atlantic States, 1789-1851." Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 2011.

Park, HiRho Yoon. "Practices of Ministerial Leadership of Korean-American United Methodist Clergywomen: Toward a Wesleyan Ecclesiology in a Global Context." Ph.D. thesis, Boston University, 2011.

Price, Barton. "Evangelical Periodicals and the Making of America's Heartland, 1789-1900." Ph.D. thesis, The Florida State University, 2011.

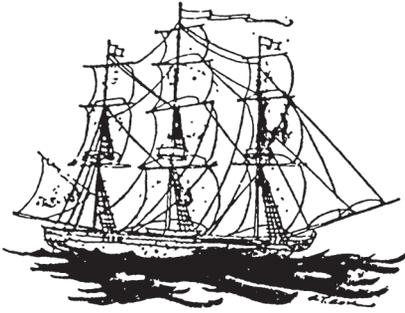
Ramstad, Dawn. "'A New Departure': Frances E. Willard's Moral Horticulture." Ph.D. thesis, Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary, 2011.

Rodes, Stanley J. "From Faith to Faith: An Examination of the Servant-Son Metaphor in John Wesley's Theological Thought." Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester (Nazarene Theological College), 2011.

Stark, David Thomas. "'The Peculiar Doctrine Committed to our Trust': Ideal and Identity in the First Wesleyan Holiness Revival (1758-1763)." Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester (Nazarene Theological College), 2011.

Vermilya, James. "Lutheran Literary Influences on John Wesley's Theology of Mission." Ph.D. thesis, Concordia Theological Seminary, 2011.

Walters, Wayne Berk. "From Nominal to Radical Discipleship: One Church's Approach to Disciple Making." Ph.D. thesis, Antioch University, 2011.



DISCOVERY

Edited by
RANDY L. MADDOX &
RICHARD P. HEITZENRATER

NEW JOHN WESLEY LETTER TO CHARLES WESLEY

A previously unpublished portion of a letter that John Wesley drafted to his brother Charles has been located. It appears on a single page in a set of loose letters and journal entries among John Wesley's papers in the Methodist Archives and Research Centre at The John Rylands University Library, Manchester.¹ The opening and closing sections of the letter are missing, with the surviving portion appearing on a page numbered "3."

This portion is an initial draft, as evidenced by the numerous strike-outs and changes (which are reproduced as they appear in the text). Like most of John Wesley's drafts, it uses a number of abbreviations. Richard Heitzenrater's expertise in Wesley's abbreviations enabled preparation of the transcription below, which expands these abbreviations.

Internal evidence makes it clear that this draft letter was intended for Charles Wesley, and that it should be dated around January, 1750. Consider the first line, particularly the word "April" that has been struck out. Charles Wesley married Sarah Gwynne April 9, 1749, and brought his wife to Bristol later that month. But he spent the first half of May, 1749 in London preaching, and was there again for much of July, 1749. From that point he stayed in Bristol (or visiting Sarah's family in Ludlow, Shropshire) through February, 1750. John apparently remembered these two interludes in London while drafting the letter, leading him to strike out "April," replacing it with "mid-summer." Likely prodded by this letter, Charles was back in London in early March, 1750. Similarly, Walter Sellon was moved from his position at

¹ Accession number MA 1977/157; the set of letters is labeled "JW III.7."

Kingswood by mid-1750.

Technically, we cannot be sure that John Wesley actually sent this letter to Charles, since the full final version is not extant and there is no reference to it in any other work. Even so, this portion can serve to illustrate the tensions between the brothers in the months after Charles's marriage.

Transcription of letter fragment:

[opening section missing]

One glaring instance of this is your staying spending so long much time at Bristol, since April last midsummer. I see no sense or reason in your staying being there more than four months in a year. That you have married a wife is not a sufficient cause, unless we refer the matter to flesh and blood.

Nay, sometimes you are so far from furthering, that you greatly hinder me in my work. I see such or such a thing to be for the general good of the Societies. You not only do not second me therein, but purposely weaken my hands. Take the instance of tea, which I had weighed some years before I determined anything. You can be was no judge of the merits <of the> cause, for you had not so much as read my reasons. Not to read them was an amazing instance proof both of unkindness and of unwillingness to be convinced. Your behaviour in this has made such a breach upon in my authority as you will scarce ever be able to repair. Your plea, "that you conformed, till I made it a matter of conscience," is not true. It did not stick [i.e., stop] you. Although 'tis true, I do make conscience of setting the people an example in all frugality and self-denial.

You have likewise often hindered me by breaking in upon my plan, and countermanding my orders. I send the preacher ~~you recall him. I recall, you send him~~ one way, and you another. In the same like manner you have hindered me at Kingswood. (1) I had have charged brother [Walter] Sellon not to stir out of the house. You have come and sent him to [remainder missing]

BOOK REVIEWS

Charity R. Carney, *Ministers and Masters: Methodism, Manhood and Honor in the Old South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011. 188 pp. \$35.00.

Historians such as Christine Leigh Heyrman have described how evangelicals brought their faith to the early national and antebellum South. Cynthia Lynn Lyerly and John H. Wigger have shown how Methodism expanded its influence and membership in the early Republic. With *Ministers and Masters*, Charity R. Carney has made an important contribution to this body of work and to Methodist studies by demonstrating how southern Methodist ministers reconciled their equalitarian religious beliefs with the concept of manhood within the honor culture of the Old South. Similarly to previous historians, Carney concludes that Methodist ministers faced a number of problems proselytizing the section as many of the tenets of Methodism contradicted southern culture. These issues forced them to adapt to their new situation. New to antebellum Methodist history, however, is Carney's compelling argument that, by the 1840s, these men overcame these difficulties by claiming a dual heritage that made them both Methodist ministers and bona fide southern men. Carney masterfully shows how Methodist clerics in the South gradually grew apart from their northern brethren, cumulating in the 1844 denominational schism and the establishment of a separate southern Methodist church. One of the more innovative aspects of this work is the argument that Methodist ministers, seemingly at odds with southern patriarchy, enlisted those on the bottom of the social hierarchy, such as white children and slaves, to save the souls of those to whom they were normally subordinated. But Carney demonstrates that the ministry was also able to construct an ecclesiastical hierarchy to maintain control of the church and fit it into southern society.

For sources, Carney relies on a number of published memoirs, biographies and histories. These are supplemented with manuscripts left by ministers and Methodist periodicals. While the writings of ministers are used from throughout the South, much of *Ministers and Masters* focuses on the leading clerics, oftentimes the bishops. Certainly these white men left the largest amount of resources, and there are limited materials written by ordinary ministers. But a greater effort to incorporate a few more of these voices likely would enhance the argument. Besides an error on page ninety-six mistakenly mentioning Bishop James O. Andrew, a prominent figure in the book, as a minister living in Virginia, Carney's prose is excellent as she is able to bring to life many of the minister's stories. *Ministers and Masters* is

well worth reading for anyone interested in Methodism, society, slavery, and gender relations in the antebellum South.

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Geordan Hammond and Peter S. Forsaith, eds., *Religion, Gender, and Industry: Exploring Church and Methodism in a Local Setting*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011. 238 pp. \$28.00.

Though the value of “conference volumes” can be enhanced or limited by the ability of their editors, they rise or fall on whether the original conference was genuinely worthy of note. By that standard, this collection does very well. It presents papers from a 2009 conference in England that focused on the ministry of John and Mary Fletcher of Madeley, Shropshire, as well as that of her protege, Mary Tooth, and the circle of women preachers and leaders that centered on them for decades. The conference was unusual in bringing together such a widely variegated body of scholars—from theologians to gender studies specialists, from historians of industry and work to historians of Methodism and the Church of England. These papers interweave to create a rich and surprisingly varied local history of a very special place at a very important time.

This volume is of significance to students of Methodism because it brings us closer to understanding the special, perhaps unique way that Methodism functioned in Madeley as an integral component of Anglican parish ministry. Not only that, because of the particular roles and abilities of John and Mary Fletcher, their parish served as a support center for women in ministry and a center for theological development—all in the economic and social context provided by a center of industrial innovation that includes Coalbrookdale, often called the “birthplace of the industrial revolution.” This volume shines by bringing together strong work by historians in all of these areas, creating an unusually fruitful set of perspectives and juxtapositions.

Religion, Gender, and Industry is potentially helpful to Wesleyan and Methodist scholars in the US because it provides us with a “thick description” of how Methodism looked in one part of its native land and refreshes our understanding of developments in fields we could easily overlook. As a kind of bonus for those primarily interested in the American impact of events in Shropshire, the volume includes essays by Laurence Wood and Harold E. Raser on how the theology of John Fletcher influenced American Methodism and the Holiness Movement.

It is very hard to find such a wealth of recent scholarship in such an accessible and affordable form. This slim, well-edited volume is certainly

of interest to scholars interested in English Methodism; it might also be of use in courses that examine the history and development of Methodism, the theological development of Methodism, or the ministry of women.

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Jill K. Gill, *Embattled Ecumenism: The National Council of Churches, the Vietnam War, and the Trials of the Protestant Left*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011. 563 pp. \$40.00.

Embattled Ecumenism: The National Council of Churches, the Vietnam War, and the Trials of the Protestant Left is a scholarly, well-documented history written by Jill Kill, Professor of History at Boise State University. Gill is very conversant with ecumenism, the history and structure of the National Council of Churches (NCC), and its major denominations. She has done postdoctoral study at Hartford Seminary and her interdisciplinary training is evident throughout her study.

As a successor to one of the actors in the book, Dudley Ward, former general secretary of the United Methodist General Board of Church & Society, and as one who spoke out against a war with Iraq in August, 2002, I was fascinated to learn how early, strong, and clear was the United Methodist leadership voice against the Vietnam War. I am also grateful that Dr. Gill chose to include a significant epilogue entitled, "Forty Years in the Wilderness," in which she describes the vigorous opposition to war with Iraq under the leadership of the NCC's then general secretary, Bob Edgar, a United Methodist minister.

Because a history of the role of the NCC in the period of the Vietnam War necessarily involves accounts of meetings, minutes, and documents, Gill helps to add humanity to the story by focusing on two people who served on the NCC's staff, Robert Bilheimer and Gerhard Elston. Bilheimer attended Yale University and its Divinity School in the mid-1930s and became committed to the ecumenical movement through the campus Student Christian Movement chapter which he led. He served on the staff of the World Council of Churches, became acquainted with all of the major ecumenical leaders of the era, and developed a passion for social justice through support of causes such as the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa before heading up the International Affairs Commission of the NCC. Bilheimer hired Gerhard Elston, a Lutheran whose family was identified as Jewish by Hitler and then had to leave Nazi Germany, to lead the NCC's Vietnam Affairs program. Through these two individuals, we follow the growth of the NCC's opposition to the Vietnam War and its subsequent challenges and difficulties.

Dr. Gill pays significant attention to the gap between local church mem-

bers and clergy on the one hand and NCC and denominational leadership on the other, a source of frustration and concern to all involved. There are many reasons for the gap between laity and church leadership, but the NCC's refusal to knuckle under to McCarthyism and its steadfast support for the civil rights movement led it to question the prevailing American culture. This, in turn, led it into conflict with the largely white, middle-class, conservative local church membership of its member communions.

To this day, the clash between prophetic witness and affirmation of the prevailing culture continues.

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