

BISHOP WILLIAM TAYLOR AND METHODIST MISSION: A STUDY IN NINETEENTH CENTURY SOCIAL HISTORY

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Part I: From Campmeeting Convert to International Evangelist

The figure of William Taylor (1821-1902) is a recurring feature of the historiography of mission activity under the aegis of the Methodist Episcopal Church during the last half of the nineteenth century. Taylor was involved in missionary endeavors from 1849 when he was sent to California by Bishop Beverly Waugh until his retirement in 1896. He worked on six continents and was instrumental in the establishment of Methodist churches in Panama, Belize, Peru, Chile, Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Zaire, and South India. He assisted the Wesleyan Methodists in Australia, South Africa and the Caribbean. During his missionary episcopacy, the struggling Methodist mission in Liberia was strengthened and expanded.

Despite his frenetic and often quite successful efforts, relations with the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church were anything but cordial. Methodist periodicals and Taylor's own publications record the continuous struggles to define and control the methods and results of missionary endeavor. Taylor and the Missionary Society viewed the conflict as related to missiology. It will be argued here that the conflict between Bishop William Taylor and the Methodist Missionary Society was not only a function of mission method and ecclesiological control; it was also related to the socio-religious structures of Taylor's life and to the socio-religious transitions within Methodism during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Sources and Method

The diaries, notebooks and collected correspondence of Bishop Taylor have not, in so far as I have been able to ascertain, survived.¹ Such correspondence as has been preserved is scattered throughout the United States. The largest body of letters is that in the archives of the Board of Global Ministries at the Commission on Archives and History of The United Methodist Church, Madison, NJ. Other materials appear to be lost. Although judgment must be withheld, it would appear that the lack of manuscript sources is not a serious drawback. Taylor published, usually in awesome detail, the record of his ministry, travels, joys, sorrows and

¹Because of the excessive length of many of the footnotes they will be found at the end of the article rather than in the normal location.

conflicts. As was the custom of period publications, these often included the complete text of important legal and ecclesiastical documents as well as of the correspondence he viewed as crucial to understanding the situation. Naturally, one would expect that in this selection process, data not helpful to explicating his position was not incorporated into the various books and periodical articles.

Taylor published, often with the aid of an editor, seventeen books most of which appeared in more than one edition,² and was involved in the edition of two periodicals and other serial reports and newsletters.³ These provided a living for Taylor and his family as well as the financial base for the "Self-Supporting Missions." The style and contents of the first volume, *Seven Years Street Preaching in San Francisco* (1856) are unpolished and disjointed.⁴ His writing style (and his choice of editors) improved significantly through four decades of publishing. However, even in *The Story of My Life* (1895) edited by historian John Clark Ridpath, it is difficult to follow the often disjointed narrative in the early sections which depend on Taylor's memory 75 years removed from the events. When he had sources upon which to draw, the volume is clear and fluent. His last book, *Flaming Torch in Darkest Africa* (1898), is a remarkable document of American perceptions of African society, traditions, economics and mission history.

Four unpublished, and as yet unused, sources provide insight into aspects of Taylor's life. The first is a journal kept by a certain Ann Booth of their voyage from Baltimore to San Francisco in 1849. It provides an important independent witness to Taylor's early style of ministry, character and family relationships.⁵ The second is the record book of the Methodist Episcopal Church Mission in Angola or, as it is often designated in the minutes, the "Taylor Self-Supporting Mission." It covers the period from 1885 to 1895, providing an inside account of the establishment and early development of a "Self-Supporting Mission."⁶ Finally, there is Bishop Matthew Simpson's diary of his visit to California (1853-1854),⁷ as well as the diary of James Thoburn with observations on Taylor's years in India.⁸

The goal of this essay is to examine the social and religious structures of William Taylor's experiences in ministry within the context of the Methodist Episcopal Church and Wesleyan Methodism focusing on their disjunction with those of the Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Because the mission activity and conflicts over that activity received their form in the course of Taylor's work, we will begin by reviewing Taylor's life and ministry with attention to the points of conflict, as they developed, with the Methodist Episcopal Church and with the Missionary Society of that church. On the basis of this analysis, the issues in contention, as Taylor and the Mission Society understood them, will delineated. These will then be examined in light of the larger social and

religious structures impinging on Taylor, the Mission Society, and their relationship.

Taylor as Missionary: Phase I, 1821-1870

The Forming of a Missionary. Taylor's father, Stuart, was converted at the Methodist's Cold Sulphur Springs Camp Meeting in the hills of Virginia during 1832 and became an evangelist. William Taylor became a regular participant in campmeetings and revival meetings.⁹ In 1841 he had a religious experience at Panther Gap Camp Meeting (Virginia).¹⁰ The next year was spent studying and the summer of 1842 teaching school "at Rapp's schoolhouse, on the south branch of Buffalo Creek, near where I had lived with my grandmother when I was five years of age."¹¹ At the end of the three month teaching appointment, N. J. B. Morgan, Presiding Elder of the Rockingham District appointed him "junior preacher" on the Franklin Circuit exhorting him to take his "Bible and Methodist Hymn Book" and preach.¹² His father supplied ". . . horse, saddle, bridle, and the indispensable saddlebags of the itinerents of those days, well filled with clothing and books."¹³

The next seven years were spent adjusting to his profession. More than half a century later he would recall disastrous situations, "the nightmare of embarrassment that choked me almost to strangulation."¹⁴ However, in 1845 he was admitted into full membership in the Baltimore Conference and that same year, under the influence of *The Guide to Holiness* and a reading of Wesley's *Plain Account* conditioned by that periodical, Taylor had another religious experience.¹⁵ He met Phoebe and Walter Palmer at Shrewsbury Camp Meeting near Baltimore in 1848 and remained in contact with them for many years.¹⁶

After the 1845 Conference, Taylor was assigned first to Sweet Springs Circuit and then to Georgetown (1846). To this point, no record has been found as to how this preacher from the mountains appeared to his parishioners, although John Paul reports a story (otherwise undocumented) that one parishioner urged Taylor to buy a suit fitted by a tailor. Taylor rejected the advice "not wishing to predicate his standing in his new station on his outward adornment."¹⁷ Taylor however eventually adapted to his context, was appointed to a more prestigious church in North Baltimore (1848) and attracted the attention of Bishop Beverly Waugh.¹⁸

Missionary to California. Taylor recalled that Bishop Waugh interviewed him as a candidate for California in September 1848. He records a conversation about the appointment of Isaac Owen and the decision not to appoint Henry Benson, Professor of Greek at Indiana Asbury University.¹⁹ More likely it was late in November or December. Isaac Owen was appointed to the California mission, responsible to William Roberts of the Oregon Conference on October 16, 1848.²⁰ On November 7, 1848 Owen recommended Benson for appointment²¹ and Waugh explored the

possibility despite concerns “. . . in regard to the feebleness of his constitution and that of his wife.”²² On January 1, 1849, Waugh wrote Owen reporting that Benson had decided not to go to California and that:

After due deliberation, and much prayer for direction, I this day appointed Rev. William Taylor, of the Baltimore Annual Conference, the second Missionary to California, to act in concert with you, and under your direction. Brother Taylor is a most reliable man. About 28 years old - has a wife and one child, and his wife's sister, who being a member of his family, will accompany him. He has been 7 or 8 years an Itinerant Preacher. He has a robust constitution - is pious, zealous - steady and uniform. He is a tried man, and you will find him all that you could reasonably expect in a colleague. He will write you in a day or two, at my suggestion. There are strong objections to his removal from North Baltimore, where he is now stationed. We shall have, therefore, to allow him to remain there as long as is practicable. Of course, nothing is settled about the precise time of his starting - nor of the route he will take.²³

Arrangements were quickly made. These included a pre-fabricated chapel intended for San Francisco which accompanied Taylor to California as well as roofing lessons for Taylor.²⁴ Taylor and his family sailed from Baltimore on April 19, 1849.²⁵ His account of the voyage is very brief and with few details but the narrative provided by Ann Booth is illuminating.²⁶ Taylor was apparently ship's chaplain.²⁷ Each Sunday he preached. On weekdays, he conducted “. . . singing and prayer every evening and morning.”²⁸ However, within a month, Taylor had alienated a number of the passengers, who came to hold an opinion of Taylor quite different from that of Bishop Waugh:

. . . in the time of preaching at 10 o'clock—a small portion of the passengers attend—owing I believe to a slight prejudice against Mr. Taylor—they think he keeps at too great a distance from them—every evening they spend an hour or two dancing, as there is plenty of music on board—a few evenings ago as they were in the act of dancing a cotillion, Mr. and Mrs. Taylor walked through the midst of them, at first they were not disposed to notice the intrusion, but when it was repeated over and over again, they stopped highly incensed. I suppose Mr. Taylor acted from conscientious motives but I cannot help thinking it was an unfortunate step, as he thereby incurred the dislike of many and disapprobation of very nearly all on board—some few were at first disposed to be very violent in their opposition, but after reasoned with soon cooled off—before preaching on Sunday morning, one of the gentlemen in the cabin spoke to Taylor about the affair . . . Mr. Taylor took the hint. . . .²⁹

Taylor expressed his regrets that there had been conflict. He then preached on Luke 13:24, “Strive to enter into the straight gate,” explained his need to act on the dictates of his conscience, and discussed the necessity of solitude for study as befitted his calling.³⁰

Despite the numerous reflective religious essays scattered throughout the journal, Taylor and the worship services are rarely mentioned until the next altercation with his fellow travelers. A few days out of Valparaiso, the first landfall, a severe storm demasted the vessel and caused other structural damage. The crew and male passengers began early on Sunday,

August 5, to repair the ship using materials scavanged from a coastal forest the day before.

Booth reported the events:

. . . they did not wait for Mr. Taylor's ceremony, very much to the horror of that gentleman—I understand he undertook to remonstrate the Captain upon the exceeding impropriety of thus desecrating the Lord's day, as he terms it—but I think he will scarcely have the temerity to expose himself to the withering rebuke he then received. Poor man, his simplicity amuses while it sometimes it is annoying—no doubt he is perfectly sincere, and would himself practice what he preaches to others but his fastidiousness never was more out of place than on the present occasion—when common sense suggests the necessity of yielding to the emergency of the case.³¹

At Valparaiso, another clergyman, Robert Kellan, joined ship. Apparently religious life on board improved. For the first time in months, Booth mentions the worship service expressing appreciation for the preaching and singing of Kellan.³² Kellan apparently soon became the preacher at the morning services and attendance increased.³³ Taylor preached a "death bed scene" sermon too lurid for Booth's tastes and she later lamented Taylor's inability to establish relationships with the passengers and his lack of tact in delivering his sermonic rebukes.³⁴

However difficult the interpersonal relationships, the confines of ship-board life required contact. Taylor, as in Georgetown, exhibited, with certain limitations, a remarkable ability to adapt to his surroundings so as to make possible the accomplishment of what he perceived to be his priorities. This characteristic would often serve him well in his mission endeavors. He joined a Spanish class in which Ann Booth and Kellan also took part, appears to have been gracious to Kellan, and participated in the Oration program designed to help ease the tedium of the voyage.³⁵ On September 16, Booth offered a revised appraisal of Taylor's preaching:

Mr. Taylor preached this morning from 7th Chap. of Romans using the whole chap. as a foundation for his remarks. I think he adapts his style of preaching to the tastes and feelings of his audience (more) than he did at first—and his sermons are consequently more tolerated—he refrains from using that denouncing style that used to characterize his sermons, and instead thereof, he employs persuasive arguments, which are much more effectual. The passengers appear to appreciate the motive which has induced this change, and testify their approbation by giving their general attendance.³⁶

Except for the kinds of data provided by church statistics, we are largely dependent on Taylor's own narratives for information about his activities in California.³⁷ Appointed to San Francisco, he adapted to the conditions of the city, built a home for his family with wood prepared by his own hands, chose a strategic spot in the central "Plaza," and began preaching. He nursed the sick, aided the impoverished, attempted to defend American Indians being exploited by ". . . mean white men, who had been a curse to all Indian tribes of the East,"³⁸ attempted to minister to the Chinese labor camps, adjudicated disputes and built a book room next to the church. He established a ministry to seamen, Bethel.

Bishop Matthew Simpson visited California and Oregon from December 17, 1853 to March 6, 1854. In his diary, on about January 29, 1854, Simpson recorded observations of Taylor's efforts:

Sunday morning I visited the Wharf on my way . . . Bro. Taylor was preaching to one or two hundred men who were gathering around him. . . . After dinner . . . (I) walked to (the) Plaza where Bro. Taylor preached to some one or two hundred people a plain, pointed sermon. Very good order was observed — one lady besides Sister Taylor present. These services were attended with much good. . . . Besides preaching at the Wharf, Bro. Taylor preached in hospital — his app(ointmen)ts are hospital 9, Wharf 10, Ch(urch) 11, Plaza 2, Ch(urch) night. He is a remarkably deligent man.³⁹

The congregation grew. With no salary from the church in the east, he managed to provide for his family and others through a variety of projects. His stories, even allowing for some sensationalizing, reveal the brutality and destructiveness of life on that American frontier during the Gold Rush era, as well as the courage of Taylor and his wife.

One of their ministry projects was a combination boarding house and hotel. This was built at the Bethel site as a temperance hotel using borrowed funds. The financial panic of 1855-1856 radically decreased property values, and when the facility burned in 1856, "rents stopped; interest on money went on."⁴⁰

It was this disaster which caused Taylor to return to the east where he hoped to raise funds to pay the debt. His first book, *Seven Years Street Preaching in San Francisco*, was written during the period of decision.⁴¹ He requested and received a leave of absense from Bishop Scott and in October 1856 sailed for New York via Panama with three children (Stuart, Charles, Osman; Oceana and William died in California). The itinerant preaching was successful as far as ministry was concerned, but funds were slow to come. Letters to Isaac Owen in 1858 and 1859 indicate the difficulties encountered.⁴² Threats of Civil War, currency fluctuations and market crashes were daily concerns. He went to Canada in the spring of 1861 hoping to raise more stable money.⁴³

Throughout this ordeal, he lost a son to smallpox, fathered Ross, wrote several volumes, traveled throughout the entire northern half of the U.S. east and midwest speaking in churches, campmeetings, schools and universities. Everywhere he peddled his books and these provided a steady source of income.

Australia, May 1863-March 1866. While in Canada, Taylor heard stories of Australia and felt called to mission work there. The trip to Australia took about a year. He went via England where he wrote his treatise on the Civil War in the U.S.A. and where he made the acquaintance of the Wesleyan Methodists under whose aegis he worked in Australia. After seven months in England, he traveled to Paris, Palestine (he toured the area for a month), and over Suez to Ceylon and Melbourne.⁴⁴ The time in Australia is the only period of his post-1849

life which is not treated in a separate volume. The only published source is his autobiography.⁴⁵ Arriving with funds of only \$2.50 U.S. he immediately found preaching assignments. The California debt was still unpaid, and while he did not accept funds for his personal use, he did present the debt in California and collected money to help repay the loans. Support for himself and his family came from the sale of books through a network of agents "so that I had no trouble in personally handling the books at all."⁴⁶ He was apparently quite successful in raising funds for Wesleyan Methodist churches and colleges: "Next to my ambassadorship in saving souls in Australia the raising of money to pay for their newly built churches was a specialty in which the Lord gave great success."⁴⁷ He preached throughout Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand. A letter to Walter and Phoebe Palmer reported that, "God gave us about 6000 souls in Australia in 2½ years."⁴⁸ He adapted Australian ways but was troubled by the high consumption of alcohol, the abuse of the native population, the waste of resources in the massive slaughters of kangaroos and openly happy that the British Army was unable to dominate the Maoris in New Zealand despite their decimation from European social and physical diseases.

As the preaching tour approached an end, a Baptist missionary to India discussed with him the possibility of ministry in India among the Eurasian population and he decided to return to California via India after his family joined him at Sydney.⁴⁹ The family arrived but Stuart was ill with fever and doctors told Taylor that, if his son was to live, a more temperate climate must be found. India was considered too tropical but South Africa was recommended.

*South Africa, March-October 1866.*⁵⁰ Taylor's seven months in South Africa were successful by most measures. He began preaching in Cape Town the day following his arrival in South Africa. The response of the white populations to his frontier North American revivalist techniques was at first hesitant and the numbers converted or "renewed" were few. Taylor, however, became interested in the black tribes, endeavored to become informed of their history, language and indigenous liturgies and had the good fortune of choosing an ideal translator, Charles Pamla, himself already a ministerial candidate. His interest in the black tribes was reciprocated. He was renamed *Iskunisivutayo* (Burning Fire Stick or Torch) and many were converted.⁵¹ John Paul described this trip to South Africa as one of "magic results."⁵² The unprecedented response of the indigenous population catapulted Taylor into international prominence as revivalist. It was the success which would result in invitations to go to the Caribbean and India.

*England, West Indies, British Guiana, Australia and Ceylon, December 1866-October 1870.*⁵³ The news of his successes in preaching to non-European peoples and the contacts made in the British Empire eased

the transition to London. Pulpits were opened to him. He also had a meeting with William and Catherine Booth, and acquired a devoted wealthy supporter, Henry Reed. Despite the fact that Taylor was still attempting to pay off the California debt, he refused Reed's offer of a gift and would accept only monies ostensibly earned through Reed's sales of Taylor's books.⁵⁴

Taylor traveled for about a year in England and when his family, weary of the itinerant lifestyle, desired to return to California, he went to the West Indies planning from there to return to Australia. He preached in Barbados and British Guiana. Findlay and Holdsworth note that Taylor's "brief visit . . . to Barbados in 1868 was attended with 'a blessed influence and glorious results' in the way of conversations, raising hopes."⁵⁵ There was a brief interlude when he returned to Lausanne where son Stuart had again fallen ill. He nursed his son to health and, to ascertain the completeness of the cure, took him on a whirlwind touristic and preaching excursion through the British Isles. From England, Taylor returned to the West Indies. He preached throughout the islands working with a number of different denominational groups. Taylor cites a letter from William Boyce, Wesleyan Missionary Secretary, stating that "the net increase of membership in the West Indies during the year of my labor among them aggregated more than five thousand new members."⁵⁶

Taylor made it to Australia in about October 1869 and remained there for fourteen months. He was satisfied with the "blessed tour" but notes only that he met sixteen ministers who were converted on his previous visit. On the way to India, he stopped in Ceylon and reported about a thousand converts.⁵⁷

(To be continued)

NOTES

¹According to the article on Winfield Scott Matthew in *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, 24, 1935, 240, Matthew, formerly Dean and Acting-President of the University of Southern California, was writing a "Life of Bishop William Taylor" which remained unfinished at the time of his death in Berkeley, CA on June 29, 1932. I have been unable to locate Matthew's papers which may well include sources made available to him by the Taylor family, several members of which were then living in the Bay area. John Paul thanks Matthew for his assistance in his research for Paul's *The Soul Digger, or, Life and Times of William Taylor* (Upland: Taylor University Press, 1928), 10. Paul's correspondence about Taylor and his legacy are not included in his papers (John Paul Collection) preserved at the B. L. Fisher Library, Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, KY and are apparently lost. I have also been unable to trace the disposition of the contents of the "Taylor Memorial Library" at the Book Concern Building in San Francisco. The only item found is the "Record Book" discussed below, note 6.

²Books written by William Taylor include:

Address to Young America, and a Word to the Old Folks (Philadelphia: Higgins and Perkinpine, 1857; repr. 1858, 1860, 1861, 1862);

Africa Illustrated: Scenes From Daily Life on the Dark Continent with Photographs Secured in Africa by Bishop William Taylor, Dr. Emil Holub and the Missionary Superintendents (New York: Illustrated Africa, 1895; repr. 1896);

California Life Illustrated (New York: Published for the author by Carlton and Porter, 1858; repr. 1859, 1860, 1861, 1867; New Edition, revised and corrected, New York: Phillips and Hunt, 1882);

Cause and Probable Results of the Civil War in America. Facts for the People of Great Britain (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1862, repr. 1892);

Christian Adventures in South Africa (London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder; New York: Carlton and Porter, 1867/preface/; repr. 1868; New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1875; repr. New York: Phillips and Hunt, 1876, 1880, 1881, 1882);

The Election of Grace (London: Hodder and Stoughton; New York: Carlton and Lanahan, 1868; repr. London: Hodder and Stoughton; New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1875; repr. New York: Phillips and Hunt, 1880);

The Flaming Torch in Darkest Africa, with an introduction by Henry M. Stanley (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1898);

Four Years Campaign in India (London: Hodder and Stoughton; New York: Nelson and Phillips; New York: Eaton and Mains, 1875; repr. 1876; 1880 /Phillips and Hunt/);

Infancy and Manhood of Christian Life (London: S. W. Partridge; New York: Carlton and Porter, 1867; repr. London: S. W. Partridge; New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1875; repr. New York: Phillips and Hunt, 1880, 1884);

Letters to a Quaker Friend on Baptism (New York: Phillips and Hunt, 1880 repr. Cincinnati: Walden and Stowe, 1880);

The Model Preacher: Comprised in a Series of Letters Illustrating the Best Mode of Preaching the Gospel (Cincinnati: Swormstedt and Poe; New York: Phillips and Hunt, 1859; repr. 1859; repr. Cincinnati: Poe and Hitchcock, 1860, 1861). Note: There were eight printings by 1861);

My Kaffir Sermon, or, The Gospel Savingly Preached to the Heathen in a Single Sermon (n.p.: n.p., n.d.) (note: This appears to have been reprinted by the Pentecostal Publishing Company for distribution to Asbury College and Seminary students);

Our South American Cousins (New York: Nelson and Phillips; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1878, repr. 1879; repr. New York: Phillips and Hunt; Cincinnati: Walden and Stowe, 1881, 1882);

Pauline Methods of Missionary Work (Philadelphia: National Association for the Promotion of Holiness, 1879);

Reconciliation, or, How to be Saved (New York: Hunt and Eaton, n.d./1867-preface/); repr. New York: Phillips and Hunt, 1867; repr. New York: Phillips and Hunt; London: S. W. Partridge, 1874; repr. London: S. W. Partridge, 1875);

Seven Years Street Preaching in San Francisco, California; Embracing Incidents, Triumphant Death Scenes, etc. ed. W. P. Strickland (New York: Published for the author by Carlton and Porter, 1856; repr. 1856 /22,000 copies/, 1857, 1858, 1859; repr. London: Hazel, Watson, and Viney, Printers; New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1875);

Story of My Life; An account of what I have thought and said and done in my ministry of more than fifty-three years in Christian lands and among the heathen, written by myself ed. John Clark Ridpath, engravings by Frank Beard (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1895; repr. 1896; reissued in a British edition, *William Taylor of California, Bishop of Africa an Autobiography* revised with a preface by C. G. Moore (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897);

Ten Years of Self-Supporting Missions in India (New York: Phillips and Hunt, 1882).

³Taylor made several efforts to publish periodicals:

1. *The African News* 1, 1 (January, 1889) - 6,3 (March, 1894). The first three fascicles were published in Philadelphia and thereafter in Vineland, N.J. by T. B. Welch and son. In April, 1891, Ross Taylor, son of William Taylor, exercising his power of attorney for his father, discharged Welches from the publication and moved *The African News* to Chicago where he published it from 3,5 (May, 1891) - 6,3 (March 1894). The Welches continued to publish a periodical, *The African*, New Series No. 1 (June, 1891) to No. 4 (Sept. 1891). In examining the publication as published by the Welches and Ross Taylor respectively, significant differences become apparent. The Welches included news and letters from a wide variety of missions and missionaries in Africa, especially those related to the various "daughter" churches of the the Methodist Episcopal Church, such as Free Methodist Vivian Dake and others sponsored by various expressions of the Holiness Movement. Ross Taylor limited coverage to his father's enterprises: ". . . this unique monthly publication represents the Self-Supporting Missions of the Methodist-Episcopal Church in Africa /*The African News* 3,5 (May, 1891), 6/." One may surmise that Ross (and perhaps his father) felt that (1) the other missions were draining funds from the "Self-Supporting Missions," or, (2) pressure may have been exerted by executives of the Methodist Episcopal Church and/or Mission Society who found such advertisement of the exploits of schismatics inappropriate. However, the primary motive for Ross' action appears to have been his belief that *The African News* could produce a substantial profit. Ross summarized his stand against Welch in a 4 page handwritten statement, "*The Africa News*, Evidence We Can Produce," Board of Global Ministries Collection, Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church, Drew University, (74-11: 1259-4-3-14). The Welches published a response, "Editorial: Should We - Shall We - Withdraw?," *The African N.S.* 1 (June 1891), 1-3. Taylor acceded to his son's demand in a letter to T. B. Welch, May 18, 1891, Nhangue a Pepo, Angola, Board of Global Ministries Collection, Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church, Madison, NJ, (74-11: 1259-4-3-12). Welch's position is analysed by W. Chazanof, *Welch's Grape Juice, From Corporation to Co-operative* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1977), 24-31, 350, 373-374.
2. *Illustrated Christian World* (June 1894-May 1898). This was published by the Welch's in Vineland, NJ. It merged into *The Christian Herald*.
3. *Illustrated Africa*, 1 (1891)-6 (1896). This was published in New York by the "Building and Transit Society" which became the fund raising and administrative wing of "Self-Supporting Missions" to maintain Taylor's projects still independent of Mission Society or other ecclesiastical control after Taylor's election as Missionary Bishop of Africa. Ross Taylor, the Bishop's son was the editor.
4. *Report of Bishop Taylor's Self-Supporting Missions*, 1 July 1884-24 March 1888 (New York: Building and Transit Society, 1888); *Report of Transit and Building Fund Society of Bishop William Taylor's Self-Supporting Missions from November 1, 1889-December 31, 1890* (New York: Palmer and Hughes, 1891); *Report of Transit and Building Fund Society of Bishop William Taylor's Self-Supporting Missions from January 1, 1891-January 1, 1892* (New York: Palmer and Hughes, 1892). Presumably other reports were issued, but I have been unable to verify.
5. *Letters to Friends of William Taylor*. These were apparently published occasionally in New York with no chronological data.

⁴This book and/or the sequel, *California Life Illustrated* (1858), caused Taylor some problems since they do not discuss other Methodist ministers in California. In a letter to Isaac Owen, written from Cincinnati, 13 August 1858, Taylor apologizes in a back-handed way: "I received your little letter containing a few facts concerning your arrival in Sac(ramento) City, but it was after my book was published. I rec(eived) nothing from Bro. Malloy or any one concerning the University etc. I wrote to several brethern for some facts for my book but got none. Bro. Brier (?) says he wrote me 36 pages but they never came to hand, so I had to do the best I could from my own resources. . . ." (Isaac Owen Collection, Ar-

chives, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, CA). Taylor tells an illuminating story about the publication of *Seven Years Street Preaching in Story of My Life*, 217. When he submitted the volume for publication Dr. Abel Stevens was paid to edit the volume and endeavored to improve the style. Taylor “. . . replied that I always appeared in public with my own clothes on, and that it was my style, and not his, which I wished my book to represent; so I corrected the doctor's corrections, and clothed all my facts in my own homespun attire.”

⁵Ann W. Booth, Journal of a Voyage from Baltimore to San Francisco on Ship Andalusia, F. W. Willison, Master. Preserved in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA, 250 pps. 26 cm. This unpublished manuscript comprises the record of the voyage from 19 April 1849 from Baltimore around Cape Horn, with a stop in Valparaiso, arriving at San Francisco 21 September 1849. The narrative continues through the authors sojourn of seven weeks on board while at anchor in San Francisco Bay. Taylor served as ship's chaplain for the trip. Booth was an articulate writer and keen observer of shipboard life. She was religiously sensitive but in ways quite different from Taylor's spirituality. She attended Taylor's services, studied Spanish with him, had long talks with Anne Taylor and provides perceptive, frank observations about Taylor, his family and his spirituality.

⁶Record Book, Methodist Episcopal Church and Mission Conference, South Central Africa, Angola. Archives, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, CA. 19.5 × 24.5 cm. Circa 200 pps., many of which are blank, all pages are unnumbered. This item is listed in *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States, Compiled for the National Historical Publications Commission* ed. Philip M. Hammer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 12: “. . . minutes of church meetings; and diaries of missionaries, including that of William Taylor. . . .” The parameters given for the collection (1845-1875) lead one to suspect an early diary. However, the item mentioned is actually the record book for the first twelve years of Taylor's Mission in Angola. A list of the contents is provided here in an effort to set the record straight as to the nature of this source:

(1) List of seventeen children baptized by W. Taylor, William P. Dodson, Amos E. Withey, and Charles W. Gordon. Taylor baptized his grandchildren (children of Ross and Ada Ellen Taylor) Arthur (age 2) and Hattie Annie (age 3½ months) on April 26, 1885.

(2) Organization of the church at St. Paul de Loanda, Angola, March 22, 1885: “On this day, our first sabbath in Angola, I organized formally a Methodist Episcopal Church composed of our missionary band of workers.” These included 24 adults and 16 in the “juvenile wing” ages 3½ mos.-16 years. It is noted that Ross and Ada Taylor and their four children sailed for home on April 30, 1885.

(3) Minutes of the District Conferences. The first was at St. Paul de Loanda, 30 April 1885 to 3 May 1885 with W. Taylor presiding. The last conference recorded is that held at the Benjamin Barrett Mission in Quiongua, 5 May 1896-8 June 1896 presided over by A. E. Withey. Interspersed in the record of the 11th Conference are minutes of the “First Leader's Meeting, St. Paul de Loanda, April 26, 1885, Wm. Taylor Presiding Bishop” and “In Memorium Sister Lavina Ratcliff, Quihongua (sic), 31 Aug. 1894.”

(4) “Ordinations in Angola by Bishop Wm. Taylor.” At St. Paul de Loanda, May 3, 1885, Taylor ordained A. E. Withey deacon at 11:00 a.m. and elder at 4:00 p.m.

(5) Roll-call for Daily Prayers. Taylor presided over a prayer meeting which began every morning at 5:30 a.m. Attendance was taken each day Taylor was in residence at the Missionary Home in St. Paul de Loanda.

(6) Marriages.

(7) Attachments (loose at back of volume):

(a) List of 6 children baptised at Mutemua by Bp. Taylor, Sunday, Sept. 8, 1894.;

(b) Two “resolutions,” in Taylor's handwriting, dealing with the roles of women in ministry. There is no indication as to when or if these (both undated) were presented for consideration. On the verso is a schedule of speaking engagements in the U.S.A. midwest which indicates it was prepared in the States.

⁷Bishop Matthew Simpson, Journal of Visit to California, Dec. 17 1853-March 6, 1854. Un-

publ. Ms. University Library, Drew University, 146 pps. 19 cm × 24 cm. An edition has been prepared by James Kirby, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, who called this ms. to my attention.

⁸James Mills Thoburn, *Diaries*, Unpubl. Mss. Pelletier Library, Allegheny College, Meadville, PA, 35 vols., size varies.

⁹Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 27-28. The reminiscences of the retired bishop about his childhood and youth are disjointed and rambling. It would appear that some of the dates relating to the earlier period lack precision. For later material, Taylor made reference to his published materials, and perhaps, to notes.

¹⁰Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 39-40.

¹¹Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 42.

¹²Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 43.

¹³Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 46.

¹⁴Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 46.

¹⁵Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 73. It is noteworthy that while Taylor associated with the Holiness Movement within the Methodist Episcopal Church, and drew significant support from that constituency, he did not describe his second religious experience in "sanctification" or related language but in terms of its role in improving the effectiveness of his ministry.

¹⁶Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 100.

¹⁷Paul, *The Soul Digger*, 31.

¹⁸Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 97; E. Davies, *The Bishop of Africa; or the Life of William Taylor, D. D. With an Account of the Congo Country, and Mission* (Reading, MA: Holiness Book Concern, 1885), 22, suggests October as the date of the appointment. Davies wrote the first chapter of the "Life" using an autobiographical text by Taylor. I have not yet found it in print.

¹⁹Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 101-103.

²⁰Bishop Waugh to Isaac Owen, October 16, 1848, Isaac Owen Collection, Archives, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, CA.

²¹Isaac Owen to Bishop Waugh, November 7, 1848, Isaac Owen Collection, Archives, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, CA.

²²Bishop Waugh to Isaac Owen, November 22, 1848, Isaac Owen Collection, Archives, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, CA.

²³Bishop Waugh to Isaac Owen, January 1, 1849, Isaac Owen Collection, Archives, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, CA.

²⁴Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 103-104. It was less expensive to ship the building than to pay for one in San Francisco. Superintendent William Roberts in a letter to Isaac Owen, July 27, 1987 (Isaac Owen Collection, Archives, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, CA.), complained that he had not received "one particle of information concerning any building coming from the States," noted that a church had already been brought from Oregon to San Francisco but that a vacant lot in Sacramento City was available for a church and suggested "if Bro. Taylor brings out a church that he should not be separated from it for obvious reasons." Booth, *Journal of a Voyage*, 206 (see note 6), reports that Taylor had, within 36 hours of arriving in San Francisco, unloaded the chapel and ". . . concluded to send it to Sacramento City." When Taylor arrived, he was given a letter from Roberts appointing him to San Francisco (Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 109).

²⁵Booth, *Journal of a Voyage*, 1-4.

²⁶Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 105-106; Booth, *Journal of a Voyage*.

²⁷Booth, *Journal of a Voyage*, *passim*. It is uncertain whether or not the position was official (perhaps as part of his fare?) or assumed by him in absence of any other clergy aboard.

²⁸Booth, *Journal of Voyage*, 7.

²⁹Booth, *Journal of Voyage*, 16-17.

³⁰Booth, *Journal of Voyage*, 17.

³¹Booth, *Journal of Voyage*, 99-100. Anne Taylor gave birth to a daughter off Cape Horn.

different names. Anne wanted to name the child after the ship, *Andalusia*. However Taylor recalling her birth tells us she was eventually named Oceana (Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 105). Booth, *Journal of a Voyage*, 151, was critical of Anne's feeding of the infant using sugar and dissolved biscuits to supplement the breast milk. She also reported (p. 151): "Mrs. Taylor's children are very troublesome, however, and are a constant source of trouble to her—one or the other is continually crying—of course an annoyance to all within their reach." Probably not the voice of personal experience from caring for children in restricted quarters! Oceana died in California age 14 months.

³²Booth, *Journal of a Voyage*, 114 (the *Journal* spells his name Kellon). Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 105, only mentions that Kellan joined ship at Valparaiso.

³³Booth, *Journal of a Voyage*, 181-182. She reported (p. 182), "... our congregations have increased very much since Mr. Kellon came on board, owing to his very great popularity among the passengers—he certainly is a gentleman of diversified talents."

³⁴Booth, *Journal of a Voyage*, 168.

³⁵Booth, *Journal of a Voyage*, 175: "Mr. Taylor delivered his lecture this afternoon, the subject of which was 'the moral depravity of man.' Instead of being read off, as lectures generally are, it was an extemporary discourse, accompanied by so many gestures, and such a thorough religious strain, as to make it appear much more like a sermon than a lecture. It was however a well conceived and well expressed discourse although better adapted to the Pulpit than Orator's stand."

³⁶Booth, *Journal of a Voyage*, 195.

³⁷Taylor, *Story of My Life*, *passim* cites a journal the location of which, if it exists, is unknown.

³⁸Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 143.

³⁹Simpson, *Journal of Visit to California*, 93-94. See also references to Taylor, pps. 97, 99-100, 136, 139, 146.

⁴⁰Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 213: "At the session of the conference, at San Jose, in 1856, my accounts were carefully investigated by my Conference, and I was acquitted of all blame, and resolutions of confidence and sympathy on my behalf were unanimously passed. That was well enough in its way, but would not pay my bills in the bank."

⁴¹Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 213. The introduction to *Seven Years Street Preaching in San Francisco* (1856) included a letter of endorsement from Wilson Flint, Senator in the California Legislature. He recalls the sight of Taylor preaching in the "Plaza" in 1849 and notes the transformation: "Six years have sped on, and what a wondrous change! Portsmouth Square now, of a Sabbath morn, is thronged with women and children wending their way to the numerous churches in the surrounding localities. A great metropolis spreads out on every side, and civilization and Christianity go hand in hand to humanize the race of man." The linkage of "civilization" and Christianity, as partners but not necessarily intersecting sets in the improvement of the human condition, was made in Taylor's mind as well. It was, for Taylor, an aspect of the California experience, reinforced by Australia, which became central to his mission practices.

⁴²William Taylor to Isaac Owen, August 13, 1858 (Isaac Owen Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA.) recounting sickness and financial problems, continues: "... I have had heavy head winds and tides ever since I commenced, but I commenced in the name of the Lord to settle for my California dead horse, and could not in conscience give up. . . . considering the times too I have done pretty well in the book line. I did hope that I would be able to pay 100 cents on the dollar. I know despair of that. I am now settling by paying 40 percent in banks at wholesale cash notes. Have made a number of settlements, and making others as fast as I can. My brethren will have to bear with me, and give me time for the honor of our common cause to settle that old thing up. It may take two or three years yet, but I am a young man and will be much more of a man by standing right up to my convictions of duty in that matter, than by yielding to my own inclinations and the desire of many of my brethren that I would give it up and return at once

Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, CA) notes: "I commenced on this side under the financial storm which that swept the Continent, and have had to beat against wind and tide ever since and hence I will be able only to make a final settlement by commutation. I expect certainly to be in Cal. by the Conference of 1861. . . ."

⁴³Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 217-254, describes the period from 1856-1862. Ridpath inserted into the text a number of letters, including one of his own, describing Taylor during this period.

⁴⁴Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 255-267.

⁴⁵Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 267-326.

⁴⁶Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 277.

⁴⁷Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 276.

⁴⁸William Taylor letter to Dr. and Mrs. Palmer, January 25, 1867 (United Methodist Archives and Historical Center, Madison, NJ).

⁴⁹Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 322, 325.

⁵⁰Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 327-500; *idem*, *Christian Adventures in South Africa* (1867).

⁵¹In a letter written to the for publication in *The Grahams Town Journal* (October 1866) and reprinted in *The Watchman* and *The Methodist Recorder* (I have been unable to locate the relevant months of these periodicals) and reprinted in Taylor, *The Story of My Life*, 489-495, Taylor states that a total of 6,849 (about 1000 whites) "converted to God." The letter to Dr. and Mrs. Walter Palmer, January 25, 1867 (United Methodist Commission on Archives and History, Madison, NJ) was more restrained: "God gave us . . . over 5500 in Africa in seven months." J. Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1911), 298-299, notes the effect on black tribes and suggests more than 6000 were converted. G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society* (London: Epworth, 1922), IV, 289-291, argues that the revival which began with the arrival of Taylor "marks the beginning of a distinct era in the history of the Methodist Church in South Africa (p. 289)."

⁵²Paul, *Soul Digger*, 115.

⁵³Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 503-515.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 504-505.

⁵⁵Findlay and Holdsworth, *History*, II, 406 n. 5; IV, 289 n. 1.

⁵⁶Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 515

⁵⁷*Ibid.* See also Taylor, *Four Years Campaign in India*, 5-6.