



# HISTORICAL BULLETIN

## WORLD METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY



Volume 17

First Quarter 1988

EDITORIAL --Theodore L. Agnew

We take notice in this issue of the Historical Bulletin of several activities connected with the 250th anniversary this May of events we know as John Wesley's Aldersgate experience. We recall that Charles Wesley had had a similar assurance, three days earlier. Thus both brothers can share in our memorialization.

We quote as well from an able exposition of the meaning of Aldersgate by our Executive Secretary, Dr. Charles Yrigoyen, Jr. Writing in the United Methodist Church's program planning magazine The Interpreter (April 1988, pp. 11-13), Dr. Yrigoyen notes:

There are four dimensions of Aldersgate. ... First, Aldersgate is a reminder that God's grace is central in life. At Aldersgate John Wesley rediscovered the biblical truth that God's favor is not merited or earned. It is freely given and is available to everyone. ... Second, Aldersgate suggests that amid the uncertainties of human existence the Holy Spirit gives us signs that God cares deeply about each of us. Wesley wrote that on May 24th this "assurance" was given to him. ... Third, even after Aldersgate, Wesley remained persuaded that discipline was indispensable to maturing Christian faith. For Wesley the event at Aldersgate was not an end in itself but the beginning of a revitalized commitment to Christ. ... Fourth, the Aldersgate event convinced Wesley that the holy life is more than personal and private. It is also public and social. There could never be "inner holiness" that was not also "outer holiness." "It is impossible for any that have it, to conceal the religion of Jesus Christ," Wesley wrote. Wesley

blazed a path of social holiness. ... As we observe the 250th anniversary of Aldersgate, it is proper to offer thanks for the many ways God worked through the lives of the Wesleys to change the world and to create the church that nurtures us. In recalling Wesley's Aldersgate and in planning our observance, however, we dare not ignore God's call to us "to serve the present age."

Let us, in this spirit, celebrate both John Wesley and Charles Wesley, celebrate their "Aldersgate experiences," and celebrate the long Wesleyan heritage that points us to the active life in attempting "to reform the nation and to spread scriptural holiness over the land."

### FROM THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

It is with great joy that I have taken up my new service to you as the Executive Secretary of the WMHS. Dr. John Ness, my predecessor, has laid a solid foundation of leadership on which we may continue to build.

We have many dreams to pursue as we seek to make our Methodist bodies more aware of their heritage. We will strengthen our membership and open new opportunities to share our insights in publications, at conferences, and by correspondence.

We are not a large organization, but our work is critical to the churches to which we belong. I invite your suggestions and your support as we share in this important ministry together.

-- Charles Yrigoyen, Jr.

EUROPEAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE July '88

Time still remains to permit registration for the European Historical Conference of the World Methodist Historical Society. The Conference is to convene July 11-15, 1988, in Switzerland, at Hotel Viktoria, CH-6086 Hasliberg-Reutli. The principal topic is "The Methodist Churches in Continental Europe, 1912-1940."

As indicated previously, papers will include: the role of the European Methodist Churches in the ecumenical movement, the relation of the European Methodist Churches to the general agencies of US Methodism, the role of the European branch of the "Evangelisches Gemeinschaft" (Evangelical Association) to the Church in the USA, Bishop John L. Nuelsen as leader, and possible topics related to Scandinavia. It is anticipated that Methodist History (United Methodist Church) will publish principal papers from this Conference.

The discussions, as noted earlier, will be conducted in German, with instantaneous English translation available. For further information, including registration, write:

Prof. Michel Weyer  
Theologisches Seminar der EMK  
Bellinostr.-35  
D-740 Reutlingen  
Federal Republic of Germany DBR

TREASURER'S REPORT

[Editor's Note] We are pleased to present this Report from Dr. Leon O. Hynson, Treasurer of WMHS. As may be seen, Dr. Hynson offers an interim yet cumulative report, not ending at a last-day-of-the-year but bringing the financial story into Calendar 1988. We look forward to further reports and communications from Dr. Hynson. -- tla

WORLD METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
February 29, 1988.

Balance 6/19/86 \$10,495.77  
(Start of Quinquennium)

Receipts

Interest	\$1,016.42	
Membership & Misc.	2,157.56	
Ruck Founda- tion	2,000.00	
Return	<u>126.79</u>	
		<u>5,300.77</u>
Grand Total Receipts		\$15,796.54

Expenditures

British Regional (1988)	500.00	
Printing	1,853.33	
Safe Deposit Box	30.00	
Speakers (Africa Conf. 1986)	<u>1,335.34</u>	
Total Expenditures		<u>4,118.67</u>
Balance 2/29/88		\$11,677.87

Leon O. Hynson, Treasurer

ALDERSGATE -- USES OF A NAME

In May 1988, as we have noted, we shall be observing John Wesley's Aldersgate experience in several ways, notably in the World Methodist Council's Aldersgate Celebration in the United Kingdom. High point of this observance will be the divine worship service in St. Paul's Cathedral, May 24, with persons from all the world participating. It has been announced that Her Majesty the Queen, with the Duke of Edinburgh, will attend -- a notable recognition, since the sovereign is supreme governor of the Church of England, and her title includes the

ALDRSGATE-USES OF A NAME -Continued

phrase "Defender of the Faith."

John Wesley felt his heart strangely warmed that evening in 1738, as he met with a society in Aldersgate Street. From this reference to a personal experience the name "Aldersgate" has passed into more general usage in the member churches of the World Methodist Historical Society.

Casual inspection of the journal of the Oklahoma Annual Conference (United Methodist, USA) reveals "Aldersgate" as the name of three local churches--in Lawton, Oklahoma City and Tulsa. We are aware as well of Aldersgate College, a four year undergraduate liberal arts institution in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, supported by the Free Methodist Church of Canada.

A recent mailing from the United Methodist Board of Global Ministries includes two children's puzzles (names of Old Testament and New Testament books, hidden in a pair of matrices, respectively 27 by 15 and 20 by 20 letters). These puzzles come from Rainbow Connection, a newsletter from Aldersgate United Methodist Church in the Alaska Missionary Conference, P.O. Box 33491, Juneau, AK 99803, USA.

What other usages of "Aldersgate" can be discovered? -- tla

WESLEY CELEBRATIONS IN CORNWALL,  
MAY 1988

--Courtesy of World Methodist Council's World Parish, 27:6 (Nov.-Dec. 1987)

CORNWALL -- GWENNAP PIT

As part of the 1988 Wesley 250th Conversion Anniversary Celebrations, the Honorary President of the World Methodist Council, Bishop William R.

Cannon, has been invited to preach at John Wesley's favorite open-air preaching site, Gwennap Pit, near Redruth, Cornwall. This will be on Monday afternoon, May 30, at the traditional annual rally. On the previous Tuesday, Wesley Day, May 24, the preacher at Wesley Cottage, in the afternoon, at Trewint, near Launceston, will be Dr. Pauline Webb, who preached at the opening of the last World Council of Churches Assembly. She will preach that evening at an ecumenical service in Truro Cathedral, which has a unique "Wesley Window."

Also in connection with the celebrations, the Cornwall Tourist Board has produced "The Wesley Trail," an exciting 16-page brochure and map with illustrations and commentary featuring 28 of the 96 places visited by Wesley on his 32 journeys into this scenic county. A video of the Trail is also available, while portrait busts of Wesley and commemorative plaques have been commissioned. No one enthusiastic about the Methodist heritage should miss seeing one of the main centres of Methodist movement. Details are available from the District Chairman, Rev. Ian Haile, 4, Upland Crescent, Truro, Cornwall, England, TR1, 1LU.

NEWS FROM OUR MEMBER COMMUNIONS:  
UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA

Ere this we should have officially noticed the appointment of Jean E. Dryden to the post of Chief Archivist of the United Church of Canada. Archivist Dryden, who began her duties in October 1986, had previously served with the provincial archives of Alberta and in the Manuscript Division of the Public Archives of Canada. Her degrees are from Carleton University and the University of Western Ontario. She was president of the Association of Canadian Archivists in 1987.

NEWS--UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA--Continued

The United Church Archives also serves Victoria University, which is related to the University of Toronto. The Archives maintains service from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday throughout the year. The Archivist may be addressed:

Chief Archivist Jean E. Dryden  
 United Church Archives  
 Victoria University  
 73 Queen's Park Crescent  
 Toronto, Ontario M5S 1K7  
 CANADA

TELEPHONE: 416/585-4563

The Canadian Methodist Historical Society will hold its 1988 meeting June 12-15 at Bishop's University, Lennoxville, Quebec. Registration fee is \$15 Canadian; the total fee package, including registration, room, meals, and bus tour, will cost \$138 Canadian. Participation for one or two days is also possible, at reduced fees. Register with:

Canadian Methodist Historical Society  
 c/o the United Church Archives  
 The Library, Bishop's University  
 Lennoxville, Quebec J1M 1Z7 CANADA

We are pleased to congratulate Archivist Dryden on her posting, and we hope to be able to note further activities of the Canadian Methodist Historical Society. -- tla

THOUGHTS ON BRANCH PUBLICATIONS

(Bristol Branch,

Wesley Historical Society--UK)

Occasionally we receive Newsletters and other publications produced by component branches of certain member (national) societies of the the WMHS. We welcome all such productions, and we offer "exchange" privileges to every regional editor.

Recently, for example, we received Bulletin No. 50 of the Bristol Branch of the Wesley Historical Society, courtesy of the Rev. A. Raymond George, Warden of John Wesley's Chapel ("The New Room in the Horsefair"), Broadmead, Bristol; Brother George is also Branch chairman. This bulletin contains an able summary of a lecture, "A Thousand Tongues, the Wesley Hymns as a Guide to Scriptural Teaching", by the Rev. Prof. John Lawson, delivered at Brentry Methodist Church, November 7, 1987. The lecture in turn is based on a book of the same title by Mr. Lawson, which is published by Paternoster Press, 3 Mount Radford Crescent, Exeter, EX2 4JW. Publication cost is L5.95.

Mr. Lawson's lecture, highly appropriate as we observe Aldersgate, reminds us that John and Charles Wesley in their hymns affirmed Scriptural doctrines. We later Methodists are wise to see in the hymns a standard for our teaching in faith and practice.

We thank Professor George for this Bulletin and promise indeed to "exchange" with him. -- tla

MORE ON THE 1990 WMHS JOINT CONFERENCE WITH THE BENEDICTINES

As noted earlier (HB 4th Qr 1987), Dr. James Udy, president of WMHS, has opened negotiations with the head of the Benedictine Order of Roman Catholics regarding plans for a joint WMHS-Benedictine conference in 1990 in Rome.

The theme of the Conference will be "Roots of Christian Perfection--1600th Anniversary of Desert Spirituality." This recurring theme and area of interest in Christian history would call forth papers on several related subjects from scholars and others.

1990 CONFERENCE--Continued

A recent letter from Dr. Udy notes that "arrangements for the Conference in Rome are proceeding." The Abbot General of the Benedictines suggests that most members of the order customarily leave Rome for the summer. Therefore our conference might have to be planned for late September of 1990. How do you think this proposed date might work out?

And a related question: "Is 'Christian Perfection' as vital for modern Methodists as it was for John Wesley?" We invite conversation in writing on these subjects. -- tla

MORE THOUGHTS ON BRANCH PUBLICATIONS

(Northeastern Jurisdiction,  
United Methodist Church, USA)

Historical Bulletin is a title so apt that we note its use in another periodical, The Northeastern United Methodist Historical Bulletin. This handsomely printed quarterly is produced by the Northeastern Jurisdiction Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church. Publication officer is: Mr. E. Farley Sharp, Barratt's Chapel, R.D. 2 Box 25, Frederica, DE 19946, USA. Editor is: the Rev. C. Wesley Christman, Jr., Star Route 34, Claverack, NY 12513, USA. This Commission on Archives and History is noteworthy in United Methodism in being the only organization of the Northeastern Jurisdiction that has continuous existence. The Northeastern Jurisdiction, it should be added for persons less familiar with UMC usages, is one of five regional geographical organizations in this denomination, including twelve states and the District of Columbia. Within the boundaries of this jurisdiction are located several denominational offices, particularly that of the United Methodist Archives.

The NEJCAH, if we may so abbreviate it (they do it themselves!) holds an annual meeting, this year's being scheduled for Methuen, Massachusetts, May 10-12. The NEUMHB, again abbreviating, is the source of much useful information. We are glad to acknowledge "exchange" with it. -- tla

PUBLICATION OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
PACIFIC CONFERENCE OF 1987

Elsewhere in this issue of HB we present an illuminating report on the South Pacific Regional Conference, held at Auckland, New Zealand, in May 1987. Recently we have received the Proceedings of this Conference, a handsome 103-page printed volume entitled Wesley's South Seas Heritage.

For \$10 US one can order a copy, postpaid, from:

Hon. Secretary D. G. Roberts  
Wesley Historical Society (N.Z.)  
2/10 Birdwood Av.  
Papatoetoe, NEW ZEALAND

Secretary Roberts notes the omission in printing of the chapter on Samoa; they hope to have this paper printed shortly and will then send it to purchasers of the volume.

Wesley's South Seas Heritage thus joins in print the earlier Dig or Die (Sydney, 1981), which was based on papers presented at the Wesley Heritage Conference at the University of Sydney, Australia, in August of 1980. Thus our sisters and brothers in the Australasian and Pacific portion of Planet Earth continue to enrich our historical understanding.

Thank you, Antipodean colleagues!

SOUTH PACIFIC REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF  
THE WORLD METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

WHERE? Paerata College, Auckland, NZ

WHEN? 18-24 May, 1987.

GUEST SPEAKERS:

Dr. Frank Baker, Duke University, North Carolina, USA

Rev. George Carter, Methodist Archives, Auckland, NZ

Rev. Esau Tuza, History Department, University, Papua-New Guinea

Rev. Sevati Tuwere, Principal, Pacific Theological College, Suva, Fiji

Rev. Siatua Leuluai, General Secretary, Samoan Methodist Church

Rev. Dr. Sione Havea, President of the Methodist Church of Tonga

Forty-eight people took up residence at Paerata College, Auckland, NZ, for the second South Pacific Regional Conference of the World Methodist Historical Society. Of these six came from Australia, one from the United States of America, two from Fiji, one from Tonga, two from Papua-New Guinea, one from Samoa, and the rest from New Zealand. It was with regret that we received word that the Rev. Djiniyini Gondarra of the Uniting Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress, was unable to attend. Among the Australians present was the Rev. Dr. James Udy, President of the World Methodist Historical Society, who with Anne, his wife, presented the Aboriginal response on behalf of the Rev. Gondarra.

Image of the South Seas.

The popular image of the South Seas is of Australia and New Zealand as outposts of English civilization, and big brother to the Pacific Island communities; of sun-soaked beaches where semi-naked people strum ukeleles or guitars, and billed for tourism as a place to 'Gitaway' from it all. To get beyond this image to the reality of the peoples of the area, the South Pacific Regional Conference assembled

to consider:

Ministry, Mission and Culture in the South Pacific--a Methodist Perspective.

Today many of the former Methodist mission areas are parts of regional uniting churches. Nevertheless, consideration of the theme revealed the fact that the history of missions has almost always been written from the point of view of the achievements of the missionaries, and little has been done to understand either the personalities of the missionaries or the response of the indigenous people to the Gospel proclaimed. The format of the conference was structured to enable Dr. Frank Baker and the Rev. George Carter to outline the history of missions in the area, and for the guest speakers from the various Island countries to respond in terms of the issues that were raised for their people and their culture by missionary impact.

Evangelical Inheritance.

The whole region has been deeply influenced by the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century. Dr. Baker showed how William Wilberforce, John Wesley's friend and admirer, worked to secure the appointment of evangelical clergymen to Sydney, then penal settlement and infant colony. The best known of these men is the Rev. Samuel Marsden who profoundly influenced both New Zealand and Australia. When Wesleyan Methodism struck an independent course and spread out into the Pacific, the same evangelical inheritance motivated both the missionaries and the mission. By and large these missionaries had been converted in their teens and were on the mission field in their twenties.

Debt to Missionaries.

The debt to missionaries in producing written languages for the island communities, and translating the scriptures and hymns of the church into the indigenous languages, is generally acknowledged. But missionaries are

also people and need to be seen in terms of their person as well. In some there was a paternalism that offended; in many there was a quality of life and a spirituality which made them agents of spiritual and social change.

#### Indigenous People Spread the Gospel.

After the initial testing and trials of the missionaries, the Gospel was received by the Island communities. In turn many of the converts became missionaries to other island communities. Notable among these have been the Tongan missionaries in Samoa, and Tongan and Fijian missionaries in Papua-New Guinea, though many more could be cited.

#### Gospel and Culture.

But the western missionaries brought the gift of the Gospel in the wrappings of western culture. Evangelization became a process of alienating people from their culture, and the process of Christian perfection became for the island people a modelling of themselves upon the representatives of western Christianity. Anthropology had not yet developed as a science. Hence there was little appreciation of indigenous spirituality, and little endeavor to find the seeds of the Gospel in indigenous cultures. They were heathen to be saved. Missionary methodology lacked understanding of the prevenient grace of God in cultures other than their own. For the faith of island communities to be contextualized, the 'seeds of the Gospel' planted within the indigenous cultures must be related to the fuller revelation of Christ.

#### Colonization.

The effects of colonization have been numerous. From a Maori perspective colonization has meant a loss of land and language, a different sense of justice, and for many Maori people, poverty, poor health and imprisonment. Similar effects have been experienced by the Australian Aborigines. During

the Fiji crisis, which occurred at the same time as the conference, Colonel Rambuka quoted the Maori and Aboriginal experience as something to be avoided by the indigenous Fijians. The spiritual significance of land is something which most Western people do not understand. Today a new 'colonialism' is occurring in the South Pacific. Multi-national companies and tourism (often accompanied by prostitution) are bringing about numerous changes in island communities. In some areas, e.g. Solomon Islands, a new caste system is emerging -- the strata being White, Brown and Melanesian.

#### Re-emerging Peoples.

Throughout the period of missions and colonialism indigenous spirituality has not died. Where divisions have occurred in the church - as in Tonga - strenuous efforts are being made to bring the Wesleyan family together. On a broader front, the earlier missions have moved from dependency on the sending churches, to fully autonomous churches as in Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, Papua-New Guinea and Solomon Islands.

In this process patterns of leadership have been crucial. In Samoa the model of ministry has been based on the matai system which emphasizes status rather than function of ministry. There is a felt need to contemporize this concept in the light of the Gospel concept of servanthood. In the Solomon Islands two models of ministry are said to exist--one based on Choiseul and the other on Roviana. For the Maori people ministry is caring for people physically, in family, and spiritually. It is based on the Maori concept of 'aroha', and the aim is to train every member to be a minister where they are, and so to be agents of change. The establishment of the Maori Division within the Methodist Church of New Zealand in 1973 is a watershed in Maori-Methodist relationships.

For many Maoris church has become 'family' and the implementation of a policy of bi-culturalism is seen as the way ahead for both races in New Zealand...and perhaps for other areas of the Pacific.

#### A Pacific Theology.

Acting within a theological framework is traditional in the Pacific: having images of the Gospel relevant to Pacific people is a necessary and urgent quest. What bread and wine are to the west the coconut is to the Pacific. Hence the need to develop a 'coconut theology'. Further the dumping of nuclear waste in the Pacific Ocean, and nuclear testing at Mururoa Atoll demands a theology of the sea. However, biblical and cultural images may clash, e.g. feet-washing in the ordinal for deacons is a powerful biblical image: for Maori women feet-washing was part of their function in preparing a person for death. The need for basic theological work is apparent and urgent.

#### A Powerful Leaven.

In the South Pacific region something like 10% of the people are Methodist in origin or commitment. The percentage varies from country to country, but as Dr. Baker pointed out, together it is a powerful leaven. As one guest speaker

put it: 'Christ is not a stranger, but one of us, above us, beyond us. There is both joy and challenge in knowing Christ among us in justice, peace and unity.'

#### Visit to Turangawaewae.

On the Saturday morning the conference was welcomed onto the marae at Turangawaewae to attend the 20th anniversary celebrations of the Maori Queen, Dame Te Atairangikaahu. After speeches of welcome replies were made by the President of the Tongan Methodist Church, the Rev. Dr. Sione Havea and the President of the New Zealand Methodist Church, the Rev. Donald J. Phillips. When worship finished and the Queen's speech given, invited guests sat down to a midday meal in the giant dining hall on the marae.

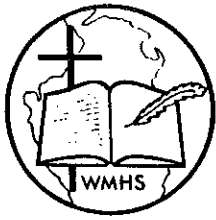
#### Resource Available.

Above it has been possible only to outline some of the themes of the conference. The text of the major addresses by the guest speakers has been prepared for publication. [The address for orders is given elsewhere in this HB.]

W.A. Chambers,  
Vice-President for Oceania,  
WMHS

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# HISTORICAL BULLETIN

## WORLD METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY



Volume 17

Second Quarter 1988

### EDITORIAL:

THE DEACONESS MOVEMENT NOTED — USA AND NEW ZEALAND  
by Theodore L. Agnew

Persons who attended the 1988 General Conference of the United Methodist Church helped celebrate the centenary of the deaconess movement in American Methodism, climaxing when the deaconesses present were asked to stand. Delegates responded with a hearty ovation, including in their sweep those deaconesses seated in the observers' section as well as those in the body of the conference.

Thus United Methodists took appropriate, if modest, notice of the many services, especially in cities, mountain areas, and other home missionary sites, that these dedicated women had performed over the years. At the same time deaconesses remained in the thoughts of United Methodists as the church considered once again the status of diaconal ministers (a recently named category that includes deaconesses). Ordained or consecrated? Clergy or laity — or a new third category? These and other questions will be studied, 1988-1992, by the United Methodist Church's Commission to Study the Ministry.

Meanwhile HB is pleased to notice the recent publication of a History of the Methodist Deaconess Order in New Zealand. Written by Wesley A. Chambers, WMHS Vice-President for Oceania, the book is Number 48 of the Proceedings of the New Zealand Wesley Historical Society. Copies maybe obtained for \$12 US (which includes US postage) from the Secretary of the Conference, Mr. D. G. Roberts, B.A., 2/10 Birdwood Avenue, Papatoetoe, Auckland, NEW ZEALAND. The volume gives attention to the rise of women's awareness in the church, work of the Sisters of the Poor in central city churches, and the ensuing Deaconess Order, together with a list of all women who served in either of these two organizations, with biographical sketches of thirteen most eminent among the members.

We welcome news of this and of other similar publications by our member societies. And we hail the hundred years of the deaconesses, wishing them the continued effective work that has so far characterized their existence.

### EUROPEAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE—JULY '88

The European Regional Conference was recently held July 11-15 at the Hotel Viktoria, CH-6086 Hasliberg-Reuti, Switzerland. The topic for the Conference was "The Methodist Churches in Continental Europe, 1912-1940." Papers and discussions were basically conducted in German, with simultaneous translation into English. Publication of the papers is expected in future issues of Methodist History (UMC). We look forward to receiving an eye-witness report on the Conference from President James Udy, who was scheduled to attend. Dr. Udy has commenced a prolonged travel and study program for the summer.

### CORRESPONDENCE—GLENN LUCAS & JOHN NESS

Letters received in recent months affirm that a pair of erstwhile WMHS leaders continue active.

Glenn Lucas, former president, wrote in late February, 1988, of his continued interest in historical research despite certain physical difficulties. Glenn notes that Markdale, Ontario, his present location, was settled between 1848 and 1860 by Protestant Irish, "about evenly divided into Methodist, Church of Ireland, and Presbyterian camps. ... The Methodists became the dominant church and produced five outstanding church leaders/missionaries." We look forward to further word of Dr. Lucas's move "from the general to the particular since coming here." Glenn's address: 29 Toronto St. S., Markdale, Ontario N0C 1H8, CANADA.

John H. Ness, Jr., former executive secretary, wrote in late March of recent travel and family matters, including the death of Naomi's sister-in-law, for which we offer condolences. John thanked HB for recent references to him, reflecting on his work with WMHS and the United Methodist General Commission on Archives and History, rejoicing at the "solid support ... the excellent support and counsel of those who worked with me — trustees, staff, etc." While wishing the WMHS had a larger budget (hear, hear!), he rejoices that Chuck

Yrigoyen is now executive secretary. John mentions varied volunteer duties, especially with Contact Teleministries, begun by Dr. Alan Walker in Australia. John's address: Box 460, Mount Alto, PA 17237 USA.

STILL MORE ON THE 1990 WMHS JOINT CONFERENCE WITH THE BENEDICTINES — A LETTER FROM CHARLES BROCKWELL

Department of History  
University of Louisville  
Louisville, KY 40292  
14 June 1988

To the Editor:

I am interested in the planned 1990 joint conference between WMHS and the Benedictines. I have a sabbatical coming up in spring, '90 and would like to round off those research months by attending such a conference. Also, it would no doubt be helpful to me in my work with NCC Commission on Faith & Order; I am on the group working on an ecumenical writing of church history.

I do not see how I could be in Rome in late September. Our fall term now begins with the last full week of August. I think the September date would be difficult for most Americans who have an interest in this topic.

I look forward to learning what the planners decide. Best wishes.

Sincerely yours, Charles Brockwell

AN ANNOUNCEMENT

Richard L. Fortin of Madison, New Hampshire, USA is seeking to accumulate for research purposes any and all pertinent information about the efforts of the United Methodist Church and its predecessors at evangelizing the French-speaking Canadians and those immigrants who came to the U. S. from both France and Canada at the turn of the century. It is his intention to write a book on this period of Methodist history.

The Methodist churches both in the U.S. and Canada launched a major effort in French evangelization work around 1881 with the emphasis in the U.S. on New Hampshire, Massachusetts, upstate New York,

Central Illinois and Louisiana.

Anyone having information that could be useful to Mr. Fortin are asked to contact him directly at P.O. Box 332, Madison, NH, 03849 or by calling him at 1-603-367-8282.

In return it is his intention to keep all the appropriate agencies and organizations informed of the status of his research and supply anyone interested in his work any information that he has already accumulated.

NOTE TO INTRODUCE JAMES UDY'S SERMON, "MORNING CLOUD OR SPRING RAINS"

Recently (January 1988) Australians celebrated the bicentennial of the arrival in New South Wales of the first English-speaking settlers, being transported convicts from the United Kingdom.

A year ago, a slightly different celebration occurred at Glenelg, South Australia, marking the 150th anniversary of the first Methodist service in that state, whose European settlers were free persons. That first sermon was delivered on January 25, 1837, by John Charles White, British local preacher, who with his family had just arrived in the southern continent.

At the sesquicentennial celebration, January 25, 1987, John White's great-grandson delivered the sermon. It was the Rev. James Udy, minister of the New South Wales Synod, Uniting Church of Australia, and president of the World Methodist Historical Society. We offer this sermon as a way, if a bit oblique, to notice the Australian remembrance of 1988.

MORNING CLOUD OR SPRING RAINS

—James Udy

Your love is like a morning cloud,  
Like the dew that goes early away.

These words from Hosea 6:4 formed the sermon text used when John Charles White conducted the first Methodist service on the mainland of South Australia near this Old Gum Tree 150 years ago.

We have gathered here today, many of White's

direct descendants, together with civic and religious leaders, to celebrate this historic occasion. Some may wonder why we celebrate this Methodist event when the Methodist Church, to which John Charles White faithfully gave his allegiance over a lifetime, has now joined with the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in Australia to form the Uniting Church in Australia. Let me attempt an answer.

It is a fact of life that we must be aware of our roots in the past if we are to face the future with confidence. Otherwise, like orphaned children, we search restlessly for our parentage.

Historical awareness helps to enrich a church's corporate life and community mission. It strengthens the feelings of identity by making more real the continuity of the church's life and the sense of belonging within its membership. Edmund Burke, prominent British statesman in the 18th century, once wisely commented: 'People will not look forward to posterity who never look backwards to their ancestry.'

Membership in the Uniting Church can be enriched for each of us if we claim the heritage of the past that flows to us through the previous Presbyterian, Congregational and Methodist Churches. It is particularly important that we celebrate this Methodist event in this state because of the rich contribution of Methodism to its life.

For at least seventy-five years since the beginning of white settlement in South Australia the people called Methodists — whether Wesleyan Methodist, Primitive Methodist or Bible Christian — comprised about 25% of the population of this state. It is natural therefore that today we thank God for the gifts and graces of those pioneer Methodists. They laboured and we have entered into their labours.

#### Who was John Charles White?

John Charles White was born in Thorpe near Colchester of Welsh parents in 1813. Both his parents died of tuberculosis when he was quite young. He was brought up by his grandparents. The discipline they administered was strict. One of his children, whom we knew as Aunty Till, used to tell the story of the grandmother tying him to a chair with a piece of cotton. If he was

sufficiently restless to break the cotton he was in trouble. At an early age he was apprenticed to a baker.

Although formal education was rudimentary, White developed a strong urge for learning. There is a family tradition, for which I can find no documentary evidence, that by 19 John had a smattering of seven languages, including Greek and Hebrew. We know that he studied for the Methodist local preacher's exam at Wesley's Chapel, City Road, London. He secured his local preacher's certificate when he was 21.

Quickly John developed a reputation as an eloquent and powerful preacher. He was invited to preach in some of the leading Methodist churches in London including Hoxton where he assisted the ex-President of the Methodist Conference, the Rev. Joseph Taylor.

White offered as a candidate for the Wesleyan Methodist Ministry in 1834 while he was still 21. He wanted to go to South Africa as a missionary. However, he was rejected on medical grounds. As he was suffering from a lung complaint, he was advised to go to Australia to improve his health. This proved to be wise advice as he lived a full life until 91, raising 12 children, including the first twins born to migrants in South Australia.

Just at the time when White's hopes to become a Methodist Minister were dashed there was growing public interest in London concerning the new colony of South Australia. A large public meeting of approximately 2500 people had been held in Exeter Hall during January 1834.

White applied to go to South Australia as an assistant in the bank. While he was waiting for a passage he would naturally have read letters from Methodist ministers who were working in New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land. He would have had access to the famous letter written by Wesleyan school teachers, Bowden and Hosking, who were in charge of the Sydney charity schools. Here he would have read of the sordid conditions in the two prison colonies described in the following graphic words:

from the description of the people sent hither much good cannot be expected. The higher ranks of those who were formerly convicts are, in general, either entirely occupied in amassing wealth, or rioting in sensuality. The lower orders are, indeed, the filth and off-scouring of the earth, in point of wickedness, long accustomed to idleness and iniquity of every kind, here they indulged their vicious inclinations without a blush...all those ties of moral order which bind society together, are not only relaxed, but almost extinct.

John White knew that South Australia would be different from New South Wales, because all people going there would be free settlers. But he also knew that human nature was much the same everywhere. Therefore, these letters from early Australian Methodist **Ministers** would certainly have coloured his preaching when he arrived in Australia.

#### Journey to South Australia

John White left England with his wife and two children during September 1836. (The most exciting event of the trip for the Whites was the discovery at Capetown that the Governor was Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who had been the friend and chief of Mrs. White's father when he had been crown solicitor in the West Indies. Sir Benjamin invited all 156 passengers on the 662 ton vessel Coromandel to visit Government House. When no one was allowed to leave the ship he sent baskets of fruit). The travellers finally arrived in Holdfast Bay (Glenelg) four months after leaving England.

Eight days after the Coromandel arrived, John White arranged for the first Methodist service on the South Australian mainland in a tent, used as the first South Australia bank. The manager of the South Australia Company Bank, Edward Stephens, had also travelled from England in the Coromandel.

The scene of that first Methodist service on the mainland is hard for us to imagine today. There was a line of tents above the high water line. The furniture for the church service consisted of barrels from the ship and pieces of driftwood. At the back of the tent were the portable banking house and iron chests Stephens had brought from

England in order to establish the bank in the new colony.

#### White's first sermon

White remembered 50 years after the event that his first sermon in Australia was on the text of Hosea 6:4 "Your love is like a morning cloud, like the dew that goes early away."

We don't know exactly what White said, but the passage he chose reflected clearly the line of his thinking as he spoke to those early settlers. It was most appropriate that John White should sound a warning lest the faithlessness of so many migrants in other Australian colonies should be repeated in the new colony. So he focussed the attention of his hearers on the words of Hosea a couple of verses earlier in these touching words:

Come, let us return to the Lord. For he has torn and he will heal us.

In his careful preparation for the local preacher's exams John would have learned that the grace of God 'like spring rains' falls on the good and the bad, on the just and the unjust. He would have been taught by his Methodist mentors at City Road that the grace of God does not depend on God choosing some and rejecting others, but was available to all. Can you imagine the 24 year old John White recounting the deeply moving story of Hosea to the migrants who had just spent four months cooped up in a small ship and who were looking forward to a new life in the colony of South Australia. John had two small children and his wife was pregnant with the third.. He could, therefore, identify with Hosea long ago.

Listen to John's voice as he preached to those early settlers on this spot 150 years ago:

Hosea dearly loved Gomer. To them 3 children were born, two sons and a daughter. But Gomer rejected Hosea's love and became a prostitute, selling her body for financial gain.

What was Hosea to do? Reject her and leave her to be scorned by the community. No. His love remains strong, although she continued to reject it.

Through this deep personal tragedy of rejected love Hosea came to understand more clearly the love of God for his people. This love was given freely to all, not because they deserved it, for they did not, but because it was the nature of the divine to love those whom he created.

I imagine the concluding words of John White were something like these:

We settlers in this new land will be inclined to play the harlot and be faithless like Comer. We will be inclined to reject God's grace as we struggle to make money in this new land and as we set up idols to worship. Our love for God will be 'like a morning cloud, like the dew that goes early away.'

As we play the harlot we will experience God's judgement in our lives. But the good news of the Gospel is that God will still love us. Yes, in the words of Hosea 'He will come to us as the showers, as the spring rains that water the earth.'

#### Early days

Those who took regular services included John White, Jacob Abbott and William Pearce. Four months after the commencement of these services the Wesleyan Methodist Society was formed. Here John White and Jacob Abbott were asked to be class leaders and John White was appointed superintendent with responsibility for preaching and general oversight of the young Methodist community.

At the first Quarterly Meeting on 24 June it was decided to erect a chapel on land in Hindley Street. Opened on 18 March 1838, this was the first church in the city of Adelaide. White helped to cut the limestone and, when the work was all finally completed, he preached at the first service.

Three months later in May 1838 John White prepared the plan of services for the Adelaide circuit of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. This listed 5 local preachers and 3 'on trial'. White preached himself at least twice a month.

I have in my possession an interesting letter

written in 1915 by John Ottaway. Let me read from this faded but very well written letter.

I, when a boy, was a scholar in the first Sunday School which Mr. White formed in Hindley Street. There was no minister then in the colony. My memory goes back to over 77 years in South Australia. I am now nearly 86 years of age.

It is clear from this letter that John White had made a deep impression on the life of this young boy 77 years earlier.

#### Lessons for today

Reflecting on the early beginnings of Methodism in South Australia there are two important lessons for us as we plan for the future. Within the Uniting Church in Australia the Methodist emphasis has pointed us to the universal grace of God offered to all, the need to grow in holiness and the possibility of loving God with our whole being or Christian perfection as Wesley termed it. Many early Methodists had little formal education; but they knew in their lives the power of God to forgive, to renew and to make them whole. This assurance of God's love working in our lives is the experience that so many people crave today.

Second, Methodists knew that, in order to grow in faith, small groups were needed. Therefore, each early Methodist was placed in a class meeting that met each week. These were led by lay leaders who were trained. It was in these small groups that our early Methodist forebears grew constantly in faith.

Today our problems may seem very different from the early pioneers who met here 150 years ago. We are concerned about the pollution of the environment, the decrease in the non-renewable resources and the fear of nuclear holocaust. But our needs are much the same. We need to be wanted, we need support from one another. We need to find meaning in our lives, we need a vital relationship with God. Life today is as uncertain as it was in the early settlement of South Australia. We, too, must walk into the unknown. And, in this walk into the unknown, the faith, expressed in such

moving terms by Hosea, is essential.

Looking out on all the forms of idolatry in modern Australian society — the deification of money, sport or sensuality — our love for God, as expressed in the text chosen by my great grandfather, is sometimes 'like the morning cloud, like the dew that goes early away.'

But the affirmation made by Hosea several chapters later must also be our affirmation of faith for God still leads 'with chords of compassion and with bands of love.' (Hosea 11:4)

The deep experience of God's grace and love that our pioneer forebears knew may be our experience today and tomorrow because God 'will come to us as the showers, as the spring rains that water the earth.' (Hosea 6:1,3) This is the covenant with us. This reflects his nature. This is the promise I suggest John White left with the immigrants who gathered here 150 years ago.

FOR THE RECORD — WORLD METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Resolutions presented to the World Methodist Council, Executive Committee, Jamaica, September 1987, with action by WMC indicated.

1. The World Methodist Historical Society recommends that the Executive Committee of the World Methodist Council be encouraged to include in its meetings a brief presentation on the Methodist heritage and history of the place where each of its meetings is held. (ADOPTED by WMC the Executive Committee.)
2. In an effort to implement the action taken in Nairobi to strengthen the ties between the World Methodist Historical Society and the World Methodist Council, the WMHS recommends:
  - (a) that the WMC and the WMHS grant each other space in their respective news bulletins on a regular basis. (ADOPTED by WMC Executive Committee.)
  - (b) that the WMC and the WMHS form a committee of ten persons, five from each body, to decide on the most important historical sites and shrines throughout the world of the Methodist bodies comprising the WMC and that they explore the publication of

a booklet to be available to persons seeking information about visiting Methodist historical locations. (ADOPTED by WMC Executive Committee.)

- (c) that the WMC and the WMHS explore the possibility of publishing a booklet which includes new brief histories of those bodies which are closely associated with the WMC. (REFERRED to the Officers of the World Methodist Council.)
- (d) that the officers of the WMC examine the suggestion of the WMHS that the Constitution of the WMC be amended in order to make the President of the WMHS a member of the panel of officers of the WMC, as is the case with the President of the World Federation of Methodist Women, another affiliate organisation of the WMC. (ADOPTED IN THIS FORM by WMC Executive Committee.)

MAX WEBER'S THEORY OF THE PROTESTANT ETHIC AND THE SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM AS APPLIED TO THE HISTORY OF JAPAN THROUGH A CASE STUDY OF A LOCAL METHODIST CHURCH OF SHINAMURA — by Kega Takeo

1. Max Weber's theory of Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. Weber says that the ascetic puritan ethic of Protestantism played an important role in the process of pushing modern capitalism forward.
2. Protestantism was accepted by the farmers of upper middle class. The upper middle class farmers were the only group of people who could stand against social pressure of the traditional order with their own independent economic power to become Christians. They were rising social strata in the early days of capitalism in Japan.
3. History of Shinamura Methodist Church. Its beginning, development, and character. The members of the church observed strictly puritan ethic.
4. Silkworm eggs production and Christian farmers. (Pt. 1) Christian farmers contributed to the modernization of their local communities as the bearers of economic and technical innovations in village life.

5. Silkworm eggs production and Christian farmers. (Pt. 2) The farmer-entrepreneurs of Shimamura emancipated themselves from economic traditionalism, and from all traditional authorities to accept Christianity.
6. Conclusion. The supposed conflict between asceticism and ecclesiastical piety on the one side, and participation in capitalistic acquisition on the other, might actually turn out to be an intimate relationship. (M. Weber).

(I) In 1904, Max Weber wrote The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. He wrote in his book that the Protestant ethic, especially the ascetic puritan ethic as a product of the Reformation, played an important and decisive role in the process of pushing modern capitalism forward. What was created by puritan ethic was the development of a new understanding of calling, which was to be fulfilled through the attitude of rationalism against traditionalism. He extracted this theory out of the Western history of Protestantism.

Is this theory of Weber's applicable to the development of Christianity and capitalism in Japan? This is the question I would like to propose here through the history of a local Methodist church in the early days of modern capitalism in Japan.

The question which Weber proposed was the question of the change or reform of the mind of economic man as an important historical factor for the development of modern capitalism. There had to be, of course, many conditions like accumulation of capital, a monetary system, and commodity production for the development of modern capitalism. But above all these, a decidedly important condition should be pointed out in the course of establishing modern capitalism. That was the change or reform of mentality of economic man as the bearer of economic activities: the change from an old one to a new one. Modern capitalism as a new economic system could only be promoted by a new type of mentality, that is, a new type of man for the new economic system. In other words, in Biblical words, it was the question of "fresh wineskins for the new wine."

What, then, was the reformed, new economic mind?

It was the one that could take up and could manage economic activities like production of goods of a new kind or new quality; introduction of a new method of production or of trade business; opening up of new markets; gaining of new resources and materials; and building of new organization of enterprise.<sup>1</sup>

But, such new economic behavior and activity would necessarily face severe resistance from the traditional authority of the old type community based on the traditional method of production.

The dawn of modern capitalism was marked by the fight against the control of traditional community. The most important factor that made this fight possible was the appearance of a new type of men who could stand against the authority of the traditional community, and could willingly endeavor to reform it, apart from the material and economic conditions to loosen the community control.

Here we see the break from the traditional man, and the rebirth of the rational man. All this was the question of the reform of mentality, the question of the conversion of the view of value, and, therefore, the question of religion.

That a change like this developed and spread out as a protest against the established religious authority, and that the growth of a new economic mind was accelerated by the reformed spirit of Protestantism, was what Weber pointed out. As he writes, "The emancipation from economic traditionalism appears... to be a factor which would greatly strengthen the tendency to doubt the sanctity of the religious tradition, as of all traditional authorities."<sup>2</sup>

This is Weber's theory of the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism in the history of Western societies.

Now, what should we point out in Japanese History, when we try to apply this theory of Weber's to Japanese Protestantism and capitalism?

(II) PROTESTANTISM WAS ACCEPTED BY THE FARMERS OF UPPER MIDDLE CLASS

To be continued in the next issue.

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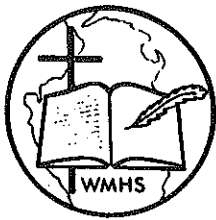
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# HISTORICAL BULLETIN

## WORLD METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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### EDITORIAL: On Being Itinerant

The summer of 1988 reminds us once again that we are truly itinerants -- travelers on a pilgrimage through this life, with fellow human beings, aboard Planet Earth.

Late in May some of us traveled to the Aldersgate Celebrations in the United Kingdom. There we were reminded that not only did John and Charles Wesley receive heart-warming experiences in London 250 years ago. We also realized again how thoroughly they traveled -- especially John, who has been credited with logging a quarter of a million miles in ministering to his flock in the Methodist societies.

Others of us have traveled to general and jurisdictional conferences in the USA, where African Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal Zion, Christian Methodist Episcopal, and United Methodist sisters and brothers conducted their respective church business. Newly elected bishops emerged from some of these meetings, set to follow the itinerant path of Francis Asbury, who imitated Wesley by traveling throughout the American states for hundreds of thousands of miles. One of the new United Methodist bishops, Sharon Brown Christopher, bears Christ with her very name as she prepares to itinerate in the Minnesota area.

1988 has also seen two valuable regional conferences sponsored in part by the WMHS. The earlier of these, held at York in April, brought 45 scholars principally from the United Kingdom. An excellent report by Timothy Macquiban is included in this issue of HB.

Just concluded in July was the European Section Conference, which found 70 from a dozen countries coming to Hasliberg-Reuti, Switzerland. WMHS President James Udy reports the joining of our ranks by seventeen new members of WMHS. We are delighted to welcome them to the Society's ranks. We plan to publish Dr. Udy's summary report in the next issue.

Hail, fellow itinerants!

-- THEODORE L. AGNEW, Editor

### WHS/WMHS Conference : Residential Conference at York 1988

by Tim Macquiban (Somewhat condensed by Editor)

Forty-five participants engaged in the theme "Methodists and Society" over three days, during which time we enjoyed the food and facilities of the Heworth Croft site of the College of Ripon and York St. John, in the capable hands of its Bursar, Ralph Wilkinson.

Edward Royle set the scene for our conference with his illustrated lecture on "Religion in York," starting with the Minster and Abbeys and the host of medieval churches and tracing the development of the Church of England and its slow response to changing demographic conditions. York was a major nonconformist city with Quakers and Presbyterians present. In one hundred years, from Methodism's arrival in the city in 1747, the cause flourished with the building of substantial chapels like Centenary. The 1850s was a decade of division and a proliferation of buildings of other strands of Methodism so that the wealthier and more affluent parts of the city became saturated with chapels. The working class areas struggled to support chapels. These developments were ably illustrated by slides of the various buildings which members went to see for themselves on a walkabout led by Dr. Royle, discovering bits of religious history in the alleys of the city and exploring their hidden delights.

### GEOFFREY MILBURN : JOHN WESLEY'S EVANGELICAL STRATEGY - A NORTHEAST CASE STUDY

Geoffrey Milburn in this exploratory talk wanted to investigate how the environment moulded the work of John Wesley in the 18th century. He drew a picture of the North East at that time, an area of contrast of lowland and highland with pockets of industrial activity, especially coal and lead mining. John Wesley visited this area 48 times in as many years, first to Newcastle in 1742 which he made his base and strategic center, like Bristol and London in the South. Early efforts in evangelism were concentrated in the Tyne, Wear and Derwent valleys, then along the coast to Berwick and into Scotland; only later did work in the southern dales commence.

York Conference--Continued.

Wesley visited only 37 of the estimated 400 settlements in County Durham. His selection was based on perceived need and ease of transport, and penetration where the Church of England was weakest. Methodism flourished best in the upland areas of large parishes and the built-up river valley/coastal areas where there was less religious provision. Most of Wesley's missionary efforts of the 1740s were concentrated in the North East centered on his stays at the Orphan House, Newcastle. After the system was set up he withdrew, making only occasional visits to check on membership and discipline. The societies which were strongest were in the seaports, market towns and larger coal-mining villages, especially near the Great North road. Vast areas of the two counties were never visited by Wesley at all, especially the mainly agrarian Dales area which formed a Circuit from the 1750's; he handed over responsibility for this to others, keeping close control at a distance. The legacy of this was to see Methodism strong in areas like the Tyne valley and some of the dales.

JOHN HARGREAVES : THE CROSS AND THE CROPPERS' SHEARS --  
METHODISM AND LUDDISM IN YORKSHIRE 1812-13

This talk highlighted the dilemmas faced by evangelical Anglican clergymen and Wesleyan Methodist ministers as they sought to reconcile the conflicting claims of pastoral responsibility and public duty in the midst of the Luddite riots and disturbances in West Riding towns in which many church attenders and sympathizers were involved.

While the political implications of the disturbances are well-covered by historians, the religious dimension has not always received the same treatment, being neglected or misrepresented, focussing mainly on Bunting's role in combatting Luddism in Halifax. Contemporaries made a stronger link between Luddism and popular religion than later interpreters, pointing to men like the Rev. George Beaumont, a Methodist New Connexion minister who reflected on the Huddersfield Luddite disturbances in 1813 and justified their outbreak. For this he was expelled. The MNC and Wesleyan Conferences increasingly disowned their more radical ministers and lay people and extolled the virtues of those who resisted the Luddite movement.

Oral tradition handed on stories about the Luddites which became embedded in fiction (e.g. Shirley by Charlotte Bronte), which was local and popular. Some sources closely linked some Luddite sympathizers with chapel life. Aspects of Luddism, its oaths and appeal to scripture, especially Old Testament sources speaking of justice, seem to underline these links. In the accounts of the executions of Luddites is more firm evidence of their religious backgrounds, their testimonies, prayers and singing of the passion hymn "Behold the Saviour of Mankind." Certainly the claim of Col. Norton that "they are all Methodists," was strenuously denied by

Bunting, who nevertheless had to acknowledge that "six out of the seventeen hanged were sons of Methodists," including a respected local preacher in the Halifax Circuit, Joseph Hey.

The most celebrated incident of the disturbances was the death of two Luddites and the refusal of Jabez Bunting to conduct the funeral or memorial service at the South Parade chapel in Halifax where the father of one, Samuel Hartley, was a member, much to the disgust of the crowds who gathered seeking to make a political demonstration out of the occasion. The Rev. Patrick Bronte turned a blind eye to the burial of Luddite victims at Hartshead where he was curate, but elsewhere clerical opposition was more common. Bunting's colleague, the Rev. Thomas Jackson, at Sowerby Bridge barr the chapel graveyard to the Luddites. For these actions, the Wesleyan Methodist ministers earned the opprobrium of the people and the thanks of the magistracy and Government for their loyalty to the Crown in such a time of stress. Many were lost to the Methodists but many gained also.

ARCHIVES SEMINAR

A panel comprising Miss Alison Peacock (Methodist Church Archivist), the Rev. William Leary (Connexional Archives Liaison Officer), Colin Dews (Leeds District Archivist) and Edward Royle (York Circuit Archivist) answered a variety of topical questions relating to the use and exploitation of Methodist archives at Manchester and elsewhere. Concern was raised about the facilities at the John Rylands, access, the speed of production of documents and the coverage of catalogues. Given the resources allocated, it is remarkable what has been achieved so far.

CLYDE BINFIELD : IN CONNEXION - A PRIDE OF POCOCKS

Dr. Binfield traced the story of this typical upper middle class Victorian family of professional/business people with their links in London, Leeds and Lincolnshire. The religious spirit was a precondition and spark of family unity and the great bond of English society. The Pococks, professionally evangelical and denominationally Wesleyan, expressed this recognized spirituality. They illustrated the strengths of the Connexion in the 19th century. Their sons went to public schools and university, became architects and businessmen, made money, buying wisely and selling well, and took a full part in the life of the church, building chapels, taking part in liberal politics (unsuccessfully), representing the Church at Conference, acting as trustee of the Central Hall Westminster and serving on connexional committees. William Willmer Pocock was the archetype of the prominent local preacher and stalwart of the Wesleyan Methodists of the late 19th century. Of particular interest is the Pocock connection with the City Road chapel in London; three members of the family were involved in its building and alteration. One of the windows, given in memory of William

--Continued on Page 3--

Pride of Pcocks--Continued from page 2.

Willmer Pcock, shows his grandfather, a master carpenter turned builder, present at the Stonelaying of the chapel, when Welsey took a text for his sermon based on the building of Solomon's Temple. Pcock is shown as the King in the window.

OLIVER BECKERLEGGÉ : THE SOCIAL WITNESS OF UNITED METHODISTS

Dr. Beckerlegge drew on the resolutions to the conferences of the MNC, Bible Christians, United Methodist Free Churches and the United Methodist Church and the writings of prominent ministers to highlight the contribution of United Methodists to the social witness of the Church to contemporary issues. He concentrated on four areas of concern:

1. The Christian opposition to War. There was a strong tradition of opposition to war and support given to the Peace Society established in 1816. Questions were asked in the MNC conference of 1813 about the wisdom of the Napoleonic War. In the Wesleyan Association assembly of 1840 it was resolved that war was contrary to the spirit of the gospel. Concern about the American Civil War and the distress caused to the cotton towns of Lancashire was a real concern in the 1860s. Against the jingoistic background of the late 19th century, Free Methodists urged a restraint in armaments, spoke out against the "Mafeking orgies" of the Boer War and urged better international relations founded on peace. When the European War broke out in 1914, opposition to war was more muted; though the Baillie Street Circuit in Rochdale upheld the right of conscientious objectors not to fight, they also praised those who chose to serve their country in the armed forces.
2. Temperance. Most of the Conferences of the 1830's spoke out against drunkenness and urged temperance, unlike the Wesleyan suspicion of the movement. As the century progressed, there was a stronger feeling in favour of total abstinence and growing sabbatarianism. The Free Methodist Temperance League established in the 1870s spearheaded the assault on drink, smoking and opium which were regarded as "detrimental to physical, mental and moral character," and encouraging thriftlessness and idleness, unmethodist vices. Parliamentary pressure brought the prohibition of under-16 smoking in 1904 and the banning of the opium trade in 1913.
3. Gambling/Betting. UMs were at the forefront of opposition to the growth of the demoralizing and corrupting influence of gambling, singling out the Prince of Wales for his bad example, criticizing the 'unhealthy excitement' generated by lotteries and raffles which were banned from church premises. The Young People and Temperance Department of the UMC was very vigorous in its work in this field, urging the Liberal Government after 1906 to pass antigambling legislation.

4. Education. This was a source of religious controversy between the Free Churches and others about public money spent on schools. After the success of the 1870 Education Act in establishing local boards on which Free Methodist were urged to sit if elected, the 1902 Act was regarded as offensive, with rate support for church schools the focus for opposition.

The social work of many UM churches was widespread, especially in housing and unemployment, sick and burial societies, temperance societies, and other extra church activities, not least in the involvement of members in local (usually liberal) politics and newspaper publishing. The UM Union of Social Service remains to be investigated more fully.

PAUL GLASS : HUGH PRICE HUGHES AND THE WEST LONDON MISSION

The 1883 pamphlet "Bitter Cry of Outcast London" with its call to evangelize London quickened the conscience of Christians and pricked that of Wesleyans as the city was badly provided for by chapels. 1/4 million people were served by one chapel. There was little work in the East End at all. West London was an area of vast contrast, of wealth and poverty. It was this situation which roused Hugh Price Hughes, a Jewish/Welsh Wesleyan, who had come under the influence of the social reformer, Josephine Butler, to propose a forward Movement of Wesleyan Methodism into the deprived areas of cities with more vigorous social moral and political involvement. He used his Methodist Times newspaper as a powerful platform for his radical ideas, publishing articles like "Methodists Wake Up!", recalling Wesleyans to the early passions and enthusiasm of their founding father. The London Wesleyan Mission was set up and HPH invited with Mark Guy Pearse to start its work in West London "to edify the saints and pursue the sinners." This meant for HPH social work on a large scale involving voluntary and unpaid work by others in the service of the poor, no meer evangelism but providing for the whole body. A main centre for mission was set up at St. James' Hall Piccadilly, with social work centred on Wardour Hall and Cleveland Hall nearby, offering alternatives to the entertainments of betting and drinking. Temperance work was at their heart, with thrift encouraged through Penny Banks, emergency First Aid in the medical departments, help in the used clothing and food departments, a servants' registry to find employment for young people, a refuge for those without accommodation, and a legal aid service. The Sisterhood, based at Catherine House, provided a caucus of female voluntary help for these social welfare agencies with regular systematic pastoral visitation to back up the work.

Meanwhile PHP and others tried to influence government policies and remedy the causes of misery at source. HPH was the figurehead of the work, mainly involved in preaching and

--Continued on Page 4--

West London Mission--Continued.

administration, fighting for social justice and raising awareness of the issues, through his newspaper and lobbying expending himself in the work until his early and untimely death in 1902. He was an inspiration to others in the development of ethical Christianity and the furtherance of the Central Hall concept throughout urban areas of the country. We should not however ignore the contribution of William Booth and the Salvation Army in this field at the same time. Did this example shame Wesleyan Methodists into action?

BOOKSHELF

A lively session was enjoyed with a number of contributions highlighting important additions to Methodist bibliography including:

Volume Four of the History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain. A collection of original and unpublished sources collated by John Vickers and a comprehensive bibliography up to 1932 by Clive Field.

A School Apart: A History of Shebbear College. Tracing the development of an independent denominational school and its peculiar ethos (Alan Cass).

The Wesleys and West Yorkshire. A booklet to accompany a Wesley safari around historic sites of the area (John Hargreaves).

The History of Lincolnshire Methodism by William Leary. Delightfully illustrated with much archive material.

The Comparadex of Hymns and Psalms by Edward Jones. A useful aid in musicology.

The Poetical Works of Charles Wesley including some not previously published (Oliver Beckerlegge).

JOHN LENTON : ASPECTS OF THE LIFE OF DR. HAROLD ROBERTS

HR was one of the leading Methodists of the 20th century, serving as President of Conference in 1957 and President of the World Methodist Council from 1956-61, as well as playing a prominent role in education and ecumenical affairs.

Born in 1896 of Welsh-speaking parents in Manchester, he went to University College North Wales at Bangor where he gained first class honours in philosophy and caught the eye of staff as a high flyer. He entered the Methodist ministry, being trained at Wesley House Cambridge where he added a Ph.D. and became Assistant Tutor under Maldwyn Hughes. After a spell as junior minister in Liverpool, his shyness and reserve failed to cloud his qualities of leader-

ship and scholarship which ensured his selection as minister at the Wesley Memorial Church, Oxford with responsibility for developing work amongst the growing number of Methodists at the University. There he made a tremendous impact through his preaching and pastoral links in the years 1929-34, making the faith intelligible and intellectually respectable. His sadness at being plucked out of circuit to go to Headingley College, Leeds as Tutor meant that the years 1934-40 were not his happiest. But they prepared him for an extended period in theological college training as he transferred to Richmond College in 1940 and remained there until its closure in 1968, latterly as its Principal.

He became increasingly involved in outside affairs, of the Faith and Order Committee and in particular its ecumenical aspect, in the Anglican-Methodist Conversations of 1955-67 as Chairman, and as British Methodism's representative and ecclesiastical statesman in World Methodism. He was a central figure, very typical of the middle part of the century, pointing the way to developments in education, encouraging lay participation in the affairs of the church and women in the ministry. His legacy is not in his writings which were scarce but in the impact of his lecturing and preaching on generations of students and his wise counsel in the corridors of ecclesiastical power.

PLENARY SESSION

The conference ended with contributions from the floor. Edward Jones spoke on the value and importance of oral history and highlighted the work of the British Video History Trust. William Thom, a descendent of the MNC President of the same name in the 1790s, talked of the links between Quakers and Methodists in York religious history. Christopher Stell spoke to Volume 2 of the National Inventory of Nonconformist Churches covering Southern England. Peter Catterall gave a short paper arising from his research into the Free churches and the Labour party in England and Wales 1918-1939, having examined the religious affiliations of members of the PLP in this period, the response of chapels to the birth of the Labour Party and the contribution of nonconformists to its development. Nearly half the Labour MPs had links with the Free churches which affected the political language and sentiments they adopted on a whole range of issues. Were they the continuing parliamentary bearers of the Nonconformist Conscience between the Wars?

CONCLUSION

This conference gratefully acknowledges the contribution of all the lecturers and participants who made it a worthwhile gathering and sharing of ideas. In particular, we are indebted to the World Methodist Historical Society whose financial assistance helped set up the wide-ranging programme and all the attendant publicity. We look forward to staging another such residential conference in 1991 and hope that you will give it your support.

Herewith continues from last issue Takeo Kega's paper: MAX WEBER'S THEORY OF THE PROTESTANT ETHIC AND THE SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM AS APPLIED TO THE HISTORY OF JAPAN THROUGH A CASE STUDY OF A LOCAL METHODIST CHURCH OF SHINAMURA

(II) PROTESTANTISM WAS ACCEPTED BY THE FARMERS OF UPPER MIDDLE CLASS

There is no question that modern capitalism starts in Japan in the early Meiji Era (the late 19th century), when Evangelical Protestantism first came to Japan. At that time, there was no sect of religion, Buddhism, Shintoism, or what else, which dared to confront the established authority of the community, which had long controlled the spiritual life of the people.

Historically it was true that most of the religions of Japan at that time were tied to the established authority of the traditional community, and functioned to help maintain social order and to support the traditional structure of the community. It was Christianity, specially Protestantism, that first stood against the traditional community which had controlled the spiritual life of the people.

We can observe some distinct features in the process of acceptance of Christianity by Japanese people and by Japanese society in the late nineteenth century.

First: the main social strata that accepted Christianity was the farmers in the wider sense. It has been often emphasized that Christianity, especially Protestantism, was accepted mainly by the former Samurai (the warrior) class.<sup>3</sup> But recent studies have made it clear that it was relatively rich farmers in the villages who were the main social strata which supported early Protestantism in Japan.<sup>4</sup> (Of course this does not mean to deny the leading role of former Samurai Christians.)

Secondly: these Christian farmers were not generally speaking the richest farmers. They were concentrated in the upper-middle class of the village community. They were neither the richest class nor the lower class. The richest farmers were the leaders of the village community, and the guardians and supporters of the traditional order. They were often the lay-representatives of the

village Buddhist temples, or the lay-leaders of the community Shinto shrines. It meant, in a sense, they were the religious leaders in the village community. Therefore they were usually hostile to Christianity as a new comer. On the other hand, the lowest class of farmers were often exclusively placed under the benefit and protection, and even compulsion, of the village community, in their productive activities and also in their daily consuming lives. Therefore, they could not accept Christianity which stood against the village authority, because for these lower class farmers the resulting social ostracism would result in the total loss of their means of livelihood.

For these reasons and others, the social stratum of the Christian farmers was limited to the upper-middle class in the village community. They were practically the only group of people who could resist the traditional order and who could stand against social pressure with their own independent economic power, to become and to be Christians.

In addition to these phases, it should be noted that the Protestant evangelism in Japan developed on the level of individual acceptance of the Christian faith. In contrast to other Eastern areas, the individual's decision for the Christian faith was considered primarily important in the historical course of Protestant evangelism in Japan. This fact gave a marked character, a character of religious individualism, to Christianity in comparison with the other Japanese traditional religions which were more like family religions or community religions.

With all this, early Protestantism in Japan played an important role in creating a new type of person who could dare to criticize and resist the authority of the traditional order. A rational attitude against traditionalism in economic life as the basis of modern capitalism derived from the facts mentioned above. Early Protestantism in Japan emphasized, through the process of pushing evangelism forward, a new type of personality free from traditionalism, and thus, Protestantism created a new type of person socially and economically.

With all this, it seems that we may conclude for the present, to the extent I have suggested, that

May Weber's theory of Protestantism and Capitalism could be applied to the situation of late 19th century Japan. But, let us proceed to a case study to examine the actual state of things. For this purpose, I am going to take up the case of Shimamura Methodist Church of Gunma Prefecture, 50 miles north of Tokyo.

### (III) HISTORY OF SHIMAMURA METHODIST CHURCH

Shimamura is located in the south of Gunma Prefecture, 50 miles north of Tokyo. It is a small, purely agricultural village. In 1946, 328 families out of the whole village of 410 were farmers; 5 most of them engaged in the silkworm raising industry, and particularly silkworm egg-cards production.

Gunma Prefecture was, and still is, one of the big silk and silk-related industry areas in Japan. And, so far as our study is concerned, this is one of the areas where Christianity got a foothold in the early days of its history as a result of activities of American missionaries and Japan evangelists.<sup>6</sup>

In 1859, the first American missionaries of various denominations came to Japan;<sup>7</sup> followed by the Methodist missionaries who all landed at Yokohama in 1873, and worked in Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagasaki, Shizuoka, Kobe and elsewhere.<sup>8</sup>

It was in 1886 when the Gospel was preached in Shimamura for the first time. Prior to this, however, some of the villagers had experienced Christianity. Around the year 1877, three villagers, Kuribara Mohei, Tajima Gishichi, and Kanai Tamotsu stayed in Yokohama, an open port, for the sale of silkworm egg-cards to the agents who dealt with the export business of goods to Italy and to France. While they stayed in Yokohama, they listened once in a while to the preaching of an American missionary, James H. Ballagh, of the Dutch Reformed Church. Among them, Kuribara Mohei bought a Japanese edition of the Book of Matthew and a small Hymnbook, and was taught by Ballagh very kindly about Christianity.

He was impressed by the power of Western civilization when Ballagh gave him a tour through the big steamship in Yokohama port.

When he came back home, he talked to the fellow villagers about the high virtue of Ballagh's personality by whom he had been deeply impressed. Consequently, he was said to have become a "YASO,"<sup>9</sup> that is, a "Christian."

A couple of years later, it is said that a young man came to Shimamura village, and taught Bible at Kuribara Mohei's home. This event, however, is not fully supported by records or sources of evidence.

After 1879, some of the villagers went to Europe for the direct sale of silkworm egg-cards and for the study of a new method of silkworm raising. They brought some information about Christianity back to Shimamura.

On April 12, 1886, the Gospel was preached in Shimamura for the first time. This was carried out by the effort of an evangelical worker, Komoriya Tsunekichi, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with the cooperation of a villager, Tajima Zempo, at whose home this first Gospel meeting was held. The speaker of the day was Robert Samuel Maclay, a missionary of (the) Methodist Episcopal Church, who was the founder of Aoyama Gakuin. His sermon gave a great impression to the audience of 200 villagers; and Tajima Zempo, the host, asked Dr. Maclay to visit his village thereafter weekly for the evangelical preaching. Tajima Zempo was from one of the leading upper middle families of the village, and he was among the pioneers who had been to Europe in 1879 for the sale of silkworm egg-cards.

The second Gospel meeting was held in Shimamura on July 9 and 10 in the same year, 1886. The speakers were D. S. Spencer, Ishizaka Masanobu, Masaki Kameji, Komoriya Tsunekichi, and Kanai Noboru; and the Baptism Ceremony was conducted by Rev. Spencer. Those who were baptized were: Tajima Zempo (43 years old), his son Tajima Hiroshi (10), Kuribara Buhei (23), and Amamori Ujumasa, who later became the founder of the Methodist Church in Honjo, the nearest city to Shimamura.

This was the beginning of the Shimamura Methodist Church. On October 17, 1886, a missionary of (the) Methodist Episcopal Church, I. H. Correll, came from Yokohama to Honjo, the nearest city to Shimamura. Tajima Zenpei told him that they wanted to have a resident preacher for their church, which was, as a matter of fact, his house. The arrangement was decided that Komoriya Tsunekichi, an evangelist of the Methodist Church, was to come around to Shimamura on every Friday and to stay through Sunday morning.

Thus started Shimamura Methodist Church. Its early development was remarkable. In 1887, 26 people (21 male, 5 female) were baptized, and the next year, 1888, there were 56 (35 male, 21 female).<sup>10</sup> These Christian farmers in Shimamura held the strict ascetic ethics of puritanism, as was generally the case in early Protestantism in Japan. They strictly kept abstinence from alcohol and smoking. They were very strict in self-conduct, and when somebody's conduct was found inadequate as a Christian, he was dismissed or sometimes expelled from the membership of the church. In the early Church Record, we find a man who was expelled from membership "because he kept a mistress," or, another "because he divorced his wife without a reason." Another record says that the Church trial brings in a verdict to expel so-and-so from the Kingdom of God the Glory," because he did not observe his duty as a member of the Church.<sup>11</sup> Between 1886 and 1912, those dismissed or advised to leave the church were 22 out of 160 members. All this amounts to was that they were very conscious about the behavior of the church members, and observed a very strict ethical standard of life as church members. It is worth noting that many of the Christian entrepreneurs of silk and silkworm raising industries became Members of the Prefectural Legislature; and they endeavored to abolish licensed prostitution, this was one of the earliest such efforts in Japan.<sup>12</sup>

Sunday services and other meetings were held at Tajima Zenpei's home from the first meeting. In the meantime, Tajima Zenpei remodelled a little house on his own property, and built a little church. On April 12, 1887, a dedication service for this little church was held, and it was doorplated as "Kiristokyo Mi-i Kyokai Shimamura Kogisho," that is, "Methodist Episcopal Christian Church Shimamura Chapel." On February 22, 1889, at

a prayer meeting, Tajima Zenpei proposed a plan to build a new church building. In 1892, Kuribara Jintaro donated land from his own property, and in 1896, construction of the church building started. It was completed in March, 1897. Later the church changed its name to "Japan Methodist Shimamura Church" on June 16, 1908.

It has often been said that the history of Protestantism in Japan was the history of village ostracism or social boycotting, and the history of stone-throwings. But this did not occur so severely in Shimamura as it did elsewhere, mainly because those who became Christians were the leaders of the silkworm egg raising industry which was the main enterprise of the village. Of course, this did not mean that things were always happy with Shimamura Methodist Church. They experienced difficult times and unfortunate situations in many respect in the long history of their church, especially during the World War II. Nevertheless, the history of Shimamura Methodist Church has continued into today as a rural church in a purely agricultural area. Today it belongs to "Nippon Kiristo Kyodan," that is, "The United Church of Christ in Japan."<sup>13</sup>

#### (IV) SILKWORM EGGS PRODUCTION AND CHRISTIAN FARMERS (Part 1)

A small village, Shimamura is located along the big River Tone. The River Tone was an untamed river. It overflowed many times, and every time the whole village was flooded. Therefore, the area was not fit for ordinary farming, except mulberry raising. Thus, silkworm culture became practically the only industry of the village.<sup>14</sup>

When in the late 19th century Japan opened her door to the world, silkworm egg-cards, among other goods, started being exported to Italy and to France in big quantities. When in 1865 the export of silkworm egg-cards was officially approved by the government, the amount of exports increased greatly. Accordingly, silkworm egg raising in Shimamura made an extra-ordinary development. Practically "all the villagers became silkworm egg-cards producers and they counted 250 families," stated a village record.<sup>15</sup>

In 1872, a Silkworm Culture Promotion Company was established in Shimamura by the effort of Tajima Buhei and Tajima Yahei to promote and encourage the methods and systems of silkworm raising. This company played a big role in the export business of silkworm egg-cards. The company's output amounted to 30% of the whole production of the prefecture.

After 1877, however, the export of silkworm egg-cards began gradually to decline because of decreasing demand in Europe.

Then, in order of (sic) overcome the crisis, three village entrepreneurs tried to carry out the export business of silkworm egg-cards directly from Shimamura to Europe.<sup>16</sup>

In 1879, three villagers of Shimamura, Tajima Zempei, Tajima Yahei, and Tajima Yasaburo, brought 55,000 silkworm egg-cards with them to Milano, Italy; and sold 30,000 of them. This was the first occasion of direct exportation of silkworm egg-cards by real producers.<sup>17</sup> Next year, in 1880, Tajima Buhei and Tajima Yasaburo visited Italy, and sold 36,000 silk egg-cards. And the next year, 1881, Tajima Keitaro was sent to Italy and to France to study a new technique of silkworm egg production and the handling of microscopes. All these people of the Tajima Family mentioned in this paper were to become the Christian farmers of upper-middle class in the village.

The general tendency was for the export of silkworm egg-cards to decline through 1880s. In Shimamura, nevertheless, Tajima Zempei, Tajima Rikitaro and others established "The Oriental Silkworm Eggs Improvement Company"; and they exported the improved breed of silkworm eggs to Milano, Italy. Started in 1888, the direct export from Shimamura to Europe amounted to 35,000 to 50,000 each year.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, in the early Meiji Era, in the late 19th century we find many Christian farmers contributed to the modernization of their local communities as the bearers of economic and technical innovations in village life. As Weber wrote, an extraordinary capitalistic business sense was combined in the same persons and groups with the most intensive forms of piety which penetrated and dominated their whole life.<sup>19</sup>

## FARMERS (Part 2)

When the first Protestant evangelism took place in Shimamura in 1886, the export of silkworm egg-cards and the silkworm egg raising enterprise had in fact already been rather slackened. Nevertheless, many of the first Christians of Shimamura were silkworm egg-cards producers, and in fact they were the leading people of the church. Among 29 people that were baptized in the first two years, 1886-1887, 14 people were silkworm egg-cards producers and their family members.

The fact that the silkworm egg-cards producers were the main social strata to have accepted Christian faith in Shimamura shows that they must have had some distinctively characteristic socio-economic conditions which enabled them to accept Christianity.

Generally speaking, in the agricultural areas of Japan, what inhibited the acceptance of Christianity was above the social compulsion and restriction of the traditional community. And this community control was traditionally based on the cooperative labor required in paddy rice field cultivation. But this did not work so strongly and effectively in Shimamura. Because Shimamura had few paddy rice fields because of the frequent floods.

In Shimamura, the development of the silkworm egg-cards enterprise as a commodity production made each producer's ground independent as a family enterprise. Commodity production needed and took a different method of production system from that of traditional farming, which had necessarily needed a cooperative type of farm labor in the village community with a strong restraint over the whole lives of people. Commodity production often played a role to loosen this kind of restraint and control.

The labor power necessary for the silkworm egg-cards production was supplied by seasonal temporary labor rather than depending on the cooperative labor of the kinship group or neighboring community relations. For instance, take the case of Tajima Yahei's family enterprise.



Tajima Yahei was one of the entrepreneurs who pioneered in the direct export of silkworm egg-cards to Europe. He was one of the real founders of the Shimamura Church; and his family was to be ranked as typical upper middle class of the village. The whole labor power of his family enterprise consisted of 6 family members (2 male, 4 female), 16 servants (9 male, 7 female), and 56 temporary laborers in busy seasons (38 male, 21 female).<sup>20</sup> The figure shows how it heavily depended on the temporary term labor instead of the cooperative labor of kinship relations or the community neighborhood. Community control based mainly on kinship relations thus had a tendency to be weakened in the silkworm raising enterprise of upper middle class of Shimamura.

And, this suggests the modernization and rationalization of labor relations, which in turn would lead to the modernization and rationalization of the social structure of the traditional community.

Another thing to be noted was that silkworm egg production was a kind of speculative enterprise. Consequently, the entrepreneurs of this business had to have the ability to plan and a progressive mentality. They had to be rational instead of being traditional.

With all this, we might say that these farmer-entrepreneurs of Shimamura were people who emancipated themselves from economic traditionalism, and from all traditional authorities, to meet and accept Christianity.

#### (VI) CONCLUSION

Now we may come to the conclusion. There were two characteristic features which suggest an intimate relationship between Christianity and the silkworm raising enterprise in Shimamura.

One: Christian farmers of the silkworm raising industry were mostly upper middle class in the village community. They were generally small or medium producers of several acres land-owning and by no means socio-economically big landowners of a parasitic character. They were the rising social strata based on the small or medium commodity production which was closely connected with, and followed after, the development of rising Japanese

capitalism of the day.

Moreover, in the silkworm raising industry, the administration of the agricultural enterprise in each family was to a considerable degree independent economically and socially. Thus they were less subject to community control. So they were the possible bearers of new social values and new social systems. Whereas, in traditional rice farming, each farmer was dependent on, and was related to, every other in the community. Each family was very susceptible to community control.

Secondly: these Christian entrepreneurs of the silkworm industry were people who played a leading part in establishing new methods in technology and in administration. Therefore, they were among the main bearers of the modern value of productivity, and of the new economic rationalism in the rising capitalism of the day.

For all this, one might conclude that the Weber's theory may not be applied precisely to the case of Shimamura Christian farmers, because Weber said that a new spirit which was strengthened by the puritan ethos could take and promote a new capitalistic enterprise, whereas in Shimamura, an economically and socially liberated mind could take Christianity. But, taking a wider look at the whole situation, we might conclude thus: Only a certain type or category of men, with their independent economic and social conditions, could accept Christianity in the traditional village community in the late 19th century in the village of Shimamura. They were the rising upper middle strata in the village community. They were then strengthened by their Christian faith.

And then, in turn, this strengthened spirit of theirs, above all the ascetic puritan Ethos, led them to contribute to economic development and social reform.

For these rising small or medium producers in Shimamura, the puritan Ethos was a mile-stone to support them and to guide them in a new direction in their lives. In this sense, we may agree with Weber saying that "the supposed conflict between... asceticism and ecclesiastical piety on the one side, and participation in capitalistic acquisition on the other, might actually turn out to be an intimate relationship."<sup>21</sup>

I owe much to Mr. Kanai Tsugio of Shimamura Church who gave me information about Shimamura and Shimamura Methodist Church for my field research. In addition to my field research, I owe much to Dr. Kudoh Eiichi and Dr. Sumiya Mikio on whose works this paper depends.—Kega Takeo

1. Kudoh Eiichi, "Economy and Religion in Japanese Society" in A History of Christianity in Meiji Era, Tokyo, 1979, p. 43.
2. Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, (trans. by Talcott Parsons), London: Allen & Unwin, 1930, p. 36.
3. O. Cary, A History of Christianity in Japan, 1909, Vol. II, p. 107. Kega Takeo, Honda Yoitsu, Tokyo, 1968, pp. 24-39.
4. Kudoh Eiichi, A Study of Socio-Economic History of Christianity in Japan, Tokyo, 1980.
5. Kudoh Eiichi, "The Establishment of Shimamura Church and the Silkworm Egg Industry", in A Study of Socio-Economic History of Christianity in Japan, Tokyo, 1980, p. 195.
6. It is interesting to see that, in Gumma Prefecture, Presbyterians worked in the weaving industry areas, and Congregationalists got into silkworm and mulberry raising areas, whereas Methodists took the silkworm egg raising areas.
7. J. Liggins and G. M. Williams of American Episcopal Church, to Nagasaki; J. C. Hepburn of American Presbyterian Church, to Kanagawa; S. R. Brown and J. H. Ballagh (1861) of American Dutch Reformed Church, to Yokohama, etc.
8. They were R. S. Maclay, I. H. Correll, Julius Soper, M. C. Harris, George Cochran, Davidson MacDonald and others. See, Reports of the the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1872, 1873.
9. A corrupted accent of Jesus (jesus) with a slight touch of meaning to ridicule Christians.
10. According to the Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1888, (by I. H. Correll) p. 311, the number baptized were 67 adults and 27 children.
11. "The Membership List of Shimamura Methodist Episcopal Church"
12. Sumiya Mikio, A Study of History of Protestantism in Japan, Tokyo, 1983, pp. 69-79.
13. The description and account of this chapter is mainly based on Kuribara Jintaro, History of Shimamura Church (MSS), 1947; and Kudoh Eiichi, A Study of Socio-Economic History of Christianity in Japan, Tokyo, 1980, in addition to my own field research.
14. Silkworms eat only mulberry leaves.
15. Kuribara Jintaro, The Shimamura Chronicle (MSS); Cf. Kudoh, Socio-Economic History of Christianity, pp. 207-212.

16. The export business had previously been carried on by the Yokohama agents to whom Shimamura producers had sold the goods.
17. No one of them must have spoken any foreign language whatsoever.
18. The historical accounts of this chapter are mainly based on Kudoh, Socio-Economic History of Christianity; Cf. Shimamura Chronicle MSS.
19. Max Weber, Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism, p.43.
20. Kudoh, Socio-Economic History of Christianity, p. 215. He extracted this figure from On the Silkworm Culture, Continued, by Tajima Yahei himself, published in 1880.
21. Max Weber, Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism, p. 42.

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# HISTORICAL BULLETIN

## WORLD METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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### THE EDITOR'S MAIL BAG

This title may sound a little old-fashioned in 1988, and it is. In fact, it would fit any of many editors of the respective Christian Advocates of our ancestral and related Methodist bodies in the USA. It would do as well for the similar-titled "news media"--there! we're modern--of the Evangelical United Brethren, the United Church of Canada, indeed of all modern journalism.

For sometimes when an editor faces the deadline she/he finds the blankness of the sheet of paper -- or the word processor screen -- to be intimidating. But the "mail bag," far from being a last resort of laziness, is a neat and systematic way of saying much in little space, and of acknowledging a variety of communications.

1) This editor says "Thank you" to our colleagues of the Bristol Branch, Wesley Historical Society, UK. Their Bulletin No. 51 presents an interesting address, "John Wesley, Kingswood and Kingswood School," by the Reverend Rupert E. Davies, given at Kingswood School on March 5, 1988. (The name Kingswood is borne proudly in 1988 by a church camp of the Minnesota Annual Conference, UMC). Bulletin No. 52 gives a delightful account, by Hubert A. Pitts, of the British Branch's visit to the Cotswolds on June 4, 1988.

2) Likewise we have received from the Wesley Historical Society (NZ) the remaining portion, on Samoa, of their Wesley's South Seas Heritage. This piece gives a transcript of the Rev. Siatua Leuluaialii's address to the South Pacific Regional Conference, of May 1987. We thank D. G. Roberts, Secretary, for this courtesy.

3) Also noted is the exhibition, "The People Called Methodists," held during the period April 13-July, 2, 1988, at the John Rylands University Library of Manchester (UK). The exhibits were drawn largely from the Methodist Archives and Research Centre, the official archive of the Methodist Church in Great Britain.

These Selections from the incoming mail reinforce the editor's quoting the pitchman's cry, "Keep those cards and letters coming." -- T. L. Agnew

### BOOK NOTE--By Thomas Lessmann

"Role and Importance of the Holy Spirit in Wesley's Theology." --thus may be translated the title of Thomas Lessmann's book "Rolle und Bedeutung des Heiligen Geistes in der Theologie John Wesley's," published by the Historical Society of the United Methodist Church in Germany. The combined historic and systematic reflexion is developed along with the soteriology and the close connection of "grace" and the "Holy Spirit" in Wesley's theology. The study stresses much more than is done in former studies the importance of holiness in the spiritual intercourse with the Holy Spirit ("works of piety"); it examines the relation of the Holy Spirit toward scripture, tradition, reason and experience; it checks Wesley's statement about charismatic gifts; and finally, it puts Wesley's positions into the light of today's ecumenical reports (like the Honolulu report of the dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church and the dialogue with the World Lutheran Council: "The Church: A Community of Grace"). Orders to: Christliches Verlagshaus, Motorstr. 36, 7000 Stuttgart 31, Federal Republic of Germany. Cost of the book: 10DM.

### EUROPEAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE -- W M H S

Seventy Methodists from 13 countries and 3 continents recently gathered at the Viktoria Hotel, Reuti-Hasliberg, for the Regional Conference of W M H S to study the theme "The Methodist Church in Continental Europe, 1912-1940." As they lived in this beautiful Methodist Conference Centre high in the Swiss Alps from 11 to 15 July, 1988, they grew together in an understanding of their past and an awareness of their common mission in the world today.

In order to make communication possible between those coming from so many language groups, German and English were used as official languages. Therefore, all lectures were heard and printed in both German and English. Some lecturers spoke in German while others chose English. A few used both German and English. The technical equipment installed in the chapel to make the instantaneous translations possible worked excellently.

The topic chosen for the conference provided an opportunity for European Methodist scholars and pastors to discuss freely and honestly those crucial periods of their history that still evoke such strong emotions that they are seldom probed at depth--the witness of the European Methodist Churches during World War I, the rise of National Socialism in Germany and World War II.

This topic proved to be equally interesting to those who lived outside Europe. As an Australian who had lived through the explosive period of European history since the rise of Hitler, I found it fascinating to hear Methodists from different parts of Europe, particularly Germany, talk together about the Methodist Churches during the Third Reich and the years immediately afterwards.

An enthusiastic welcome to the Conference was given by Dr. Michel Weyer, a Frenchman lecturing in German to Methodist Theological students at Reutlingen Seminary, West Germany. Recognizing the great diversity of the group, he stressed in his opening remarks, "We are joined by a common faith, a common love for Jesus Christ."

His welcome was supported by the Rev. Peter Siegfried, the pastor-administrator of the recently enlarged Viktoria Hotel.

On the second day of the conference lectures were given by Russian born Dr. Wilhelm Nausner, a Methodist minister from Linz, Austria, American Professor Dr. Steve O'Malley, from Asbury Theological Seminary and Dr. Karl Zehrer, a Methodist pastor from East German. The three lecture themes were respectively "Bishop Nuelson, the Formative Figure of the Period," "The Relationship of the Evangelical Association in Europe to the American Mother Church, 1912-1940" and "Social and Political Responsibility Within the Methodist Churches in Continental Europe, 1912-1940."

The diversity of backgrounds and points of view expressed in these lectures and the discussions which followed was an outstanding feature of this conference which was sponsored jointly by the Historical Commission of the European Council of the United Methodist Church and the World Methodist Historical Society. With the wide variety of cultural, political, economic and language differences evident, it soon became clear why the chairman of the conference had stressed, "We are joined...by a common love for Jesus Christ."

## European Conference--Continued

A display of fireworks characterized the third morning of the conference when Dr. Herbert Strahm, a young Methodist trained pastor serving the Swiss Reformed Church, argued in a long paper entitled "The Methodist Church During the Third Reich, 1933-1945" that:

Many Methodists, like many other Germans could not avoid being fascinated by the National Uprising. The emotions which this movement aroused earned strong overtones of the negative experiences of the preceding years, so that the idea of a "new era," which National Socialism propagated, caused expectations to grow in Methodist circles too. The result was an unqualified recognition of the National Socialist State.

This thesis was strongly criticised by older competent German scholars who argued that the lecturer had not fully understood how to read "private letters" written at a time when everything could be opened by the German Gestapo and were consequently composed with this fact in mind. The atmosphere in the conference room became as warm as any critical historical study could possibly be!

In the afternoon we climbed 2000 feet up the mountain from Reuti to Bidmi and Maegisalp. Walking in the mountains where the snow was still on the ground was a wonderful way to cool off after the heat of the morning debate!

In the evening, a young Methodist pastor from West Germany, the Rev. Martin Kupsch spoke on "War and Peace: the Attitude of the Methodist Church in Europe." The lecturer pointed to some of the values in European Society which seemed to be more influential with some members of the Methodist Church than the Bible and its message of peace. Martin raised the tantalising question whether the Christian Faith or the political structure of the time was most important in shaping attitudes towards war and peace within the Methodist Church.

Discussion on the fourth day of the conference was begun by a careful analysis of "Relations between the German Branch of the Methodist Church in Europe and the Ecumenical Movement" by Methodist Superintendent Karl-Heinz Voigt of West Berlin. Karl-Heinz made specific reference to the heated discussions of the previous morning and offered an alternative interpretation of the sources quoted then.

After lunch Bishop Reudiger Minor of DDR spoke on the theme "Church Leadership and Structure in the European Branch of the Methodist Church." His presentation was particularly interesting to those of us who came from countries outside Europe and had not appreciated the legal difficulties of the Methodist Church functioning in countries where religious matters were mainly in the hands of those linked with State Churches.

Later in the afternoon the Rev. Erik Kyst of Jerusalem Methodist Church, Copenhagen, Denmark, discussed "The Scandinavian Congresses" after which Dr. Helmut Mohr, minister of the United Methodist Church, Hamburg, BRD, spoke on "The History of the United Brethren in Europe." Unfortunately, the Methodist representative from USSR was unable to secure his visa in time to attend the conference. Consequently, his paper on "Methodism in Estonia, 1907-1936" could not be given.

The conference organisers were generous in allotting the President of the World Methodist Historical Society ample time to bring greetings and to talk about the various activities of the Society. With assistance from several linguists present, he was able to give half the presentation in German. It was obvious to all that he was much more confident speaking in English!

Conference members expressed keen interest in the W M H S involving the non-English speaking Methodist Churches of Europe in its program. Seventeen participants indicated

that they wished to be financial members of the Society. Several offered to submit to the Historical Bulletin short reports on important works on Wesley and Methodism published in German and other European languages.

The closing day of the conference included an interesting summing up by Dr. Michel Weyer and a fascinating paper by Dr. Karl Steckel of BRD listing some significant publications that have recently appeared in various European languages, on Wesley and the European Methodist Church.

The conference closed with what the printed program described as "Bundesperneuerungsgottesdienst." This was the Covenant Service first used by John Wesley in 1755 and issued as a pamphlet in 1780. It was made available to us in both German and English thus making it possible for all present to join fully in it. We were led in the meaningful liturgy by Bishop Ruediger Minor of Dresden, DDR, Bishop Hanz Schaefer of Zurich, Switzerland and Dr. Steve O'Malley of Kentucky, USA.

On this fifth day together each of us joined in the deeply personal covenant with God expressed in English by John Wesley over two centuries ago: "I am no longer my own, but Thine." Our diversity was clearly demonstrated by our use of both German and English. But it was evident that below these obvious differences there was an awareness of our unity in Christ.

Bishop Schaefer recalled that on the first night of the conference he had drawn attention to the fact that the Viktoria Hotel was close to the geographical center of Switzerland. But clouds had formed and were hanging low over the valley blocking out the panoramic views seen earlier when the sun had been shining on the glistening snow peaks. Then the Bishop said:

On Wednesday we went up into the mountains and could see the centre. Today the clouds have come down around us so that we cannot see the centre. But we know it is there. We Christians know where our centre is even when clouds form around us. We must constantly move towards this centre, which is Christ."

With these words ringing in our ears we left Hasliber-Reuti for the thirteen countries from which we had come. We had enjoyed eating and drinking together, been inspired by regular worship and singing, relaxed by walking and cable-car rides and had been stimulated by lectures and discussions. Though different in so many ways we had become acutely aware that we were joined by a common love for Christ.

Looking back on this W M H S Regional Conference from the perspective of Copenhagen, Denmark, where I travelled by car with Erik and Karen Kyst, I think there were at least six practical results of this conference.

- 1) The conference allowed European Methodists to talk freely about a most difficult period of their history which still stirs deep emotions and therefore is seldom discussed.
- 2) The conference allowed those of us from outside Europe to listen to these discussions within the family of European Methodism.
- 3) Seventeen conference members joined W M H S and will make W M H S more truly expressive of the historical work being undertaken in the Methodist Churches of Europe.
- 4) The Historical Commission of the European Methodist Churches decided in a meeting following the conference to begin a regular newsletter which will be distributed to all Methodist ministers in Europe.

European Conference--Continued

- 5) Plans were made to publish the lectures given at the conference in order to make them more widely available to Methodist scholars around the world.
- 6) Initial plans were made for another European conference to be held within the next 2 or 3 years.

Dr. James S. Udy  
President  
World Methodist Historical Society

THE PROPOSED 1990 CONFERENCE WITH THE BENEDICTINES  
"THE ROOTS OF CHRISTIAN PERFECTION"

A recent letter from W M H S President James Udy tells of further progress toward the goal of a joint W M H S-Benedictine Conference in Europe in 1990, on "The Roots of Christian Perfection."

The exact date is not yet set, but would likely be summer or September. The venue is not determined; the Benedictines have a facility in Rome, and Italian Methodists likewise have a centre "Ecumene"; while the Swiss site of the recent European Regional Conference might be available.

"The Benedictines are most interested in the possibility of such a conference," Jim writes. Now we have to gain financing, and above all participation of Methodist scholars. Who will step forward first?

THE ARMINIAN FACTOR IN THE CHRISTMAS CONFERENCE--

A paper presented to the World Methodist Historical Society, North American Sector Meeting, Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky, August 9, 1984. --by Carl Bangs, Professor of Historical Theology, Saint Paul School of Theology

The Question

When the Christmas Conference brought forth a new American denomination and the first Methodist denomination in 1784, it was a theological event as well as an ecclesiastical event. The theology was Arminian. The question is: how was Arminianism a factor in the Christmas Conference that launched a new denomination in North America and the first organized Methodist church? Underlying this question is another: whence came this Arminianism into Methodism?

To the latter question, some simple answers must be dismissed immediately, not so much because they are false but because they are unilluminating. It is too simple to say that Methodism got its Arminianism from John and Charles Wesley, or that John and Charles Wesley got their Arminianism from Arminius. The sources are earlier and more diffuse, and they are also important for understanding Methodism. The Arminian factor, in turn, was important for what happened at the Christmas Conference.

English Arminianism

English Arminianism is probably as old as the English Reformation itself. I shall not speculate about some national "English mind" that was disposed to it, but the fact that England had a unique Reformation, drawing on Continental Lutheran and Reformed sources, but assimilating them in its own way. In broad terms, the Church of England was properly called a "Reformed Church," but its retention of episcopacy and liturgy was at marked variance with Geneva. The Thirty-Nine Articles drew on Lutheran and Reformed confessions, but they lacked the precision that Calvinists would have preferred. The Homilies, Protestant enough in general, could in a later time commend themselves also to

the Arminian-minded Wesley. In the Elizabethan period, when the exiles returned from Geneva and other Reformed centers, the comprehensiveness of the English Church was challenged by those who came to be known as Puritans. Richard Hooker (1554-1600) defended the Episcopalian way of being Anglican. He specifically taught what would be a recurring feature of Arminianism, the model character of the church of the early centuries, not merely in its pre-Constantinian form, but also in the Constantinian "settlement," in which he saw a commendable precedent for the Elizabethan Settlement. Such a church lodged its highest authority in a layman, the emperor, and was thus not yet corrupted, it was felt, by the late Latin theology and predestinarianism of Augustine.

A specifically Arminian soteriology was spelled out at about the same time by the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, Peter Baro (1534-99), in writings which appeared from 1579 to as late as 1596.<sup>2</sup> Baro ran into opposition, especially from his Cambridge colleague the Puritan theologian William Perkins (1558-1602), who wrote against Baro in his *De Praedestinationis Modo et Ordine* (1598). Perkins's attack on Baro caught the attention of an England-watcher in Amsterdam, the Dutch Reformed pastor Jacobus Arminius (c. 1559-1609). From the inventory of Arminius's library it is evident that he was especially interested in the controversies between Puritans and Episcopals in the Church of England. Arminius did not own Baro's works, but from Perkins's attack on Baro he understood Baro's position and came to its defence in a lengthy letter to Perkins. Perkins died before the letter was finished, and the letter was not published until after Arminius's death.<sup>3</sup>

Although Arminius had been developing his position since his student days and did not learn it from Baro, he acknowledged his agreement with Baro and, tacitly, with the general tenor of the non-Puritan Anglican theology of the Elizabethan era. English Arminianism was older than Arminius, but it had no label.<sup>4</sup> It was the Vorstius affair, when King James I attempted to influence the choice of a successor to Arminius in Leiden, that brought Arminius to the attention of English theologians and which led, I believe, to the publication of his writings, almost all posthumously.<sup>5</sup> "Arminianism" then became a label for the episcopal, non-Puritan party in the Church of England, at first a label of scorn pinned on the party by the Puritans but soon a label accepted by the episcopal, "Establishment" party.<sup>6</sup>

In the turmoil of the seventeenth century the pattern of English Arminianism was crystallized and became the prevailing motif of Establishment Anglicanism. Its chief features can be enumerated, and major turning points in its explication can be identified.

Its chief features include a preference for the early, Greek church and writers over Augustine and the Latin writers. The Church of England is seen as distinct from the Continental Reformation in its restoration of "primitive Christianity." Luther and Calvin and their cohorts are held at a cool distance, but more warmth is shown to a Lutheran such as Nicholas Hemmingius in Denmark or Heinrich Bullinger in Zurich, both mild on predestination. A church run by its clergy (Presbyters) is suspect; a church with bishops under the aegis of the chief magistrate (the crown) is preferred. Human response-ability is upheld; antinomianism is feared; predestination is rejected or muted. Comprehensiveness (Latitudinarianism) is esteemed over doctrinal uniformity and conformity. Continuity with the catholic (small c) church is prized.

## ARMINIAN FACTOR--Continued

This kind of theology received some notable and influential literary expressions in the century preceding the ministry of John and Charles Wesley. A few can be mentioned as prime examples. Writings of Arminius himself appeared in English (for the first time, and the last, until 1825), when Tobias Conyers issued in 1657 a translation of Arminius's Declaration of Sentiments and Answers to Nine Questions with a preface to the then ruling Oliver Cromwell, urging him to put aside his prejudices against Arminianism. Cromwell is reported to have received the appeal sympathetically. If John Wesley ever read Arminius in English, for which I know no evidence, it would have been this small volume.

Another writer to contribute to the literary expression of an Establishment Anglican Arminian pattern was William Cave (1613-1713), a patristic scholar, who began publishing his findings in his Apolostici (1677) and Ecclesiastici (1682), studies in the first four Christian centuries which were popularized in translations in English (Primitive Christianity, 1672, with numerous reprintings), French (Amsterdam, 1712), and Dutch. John Wesley was deeply influenced by Cave, teaching that the Church of England was the finest modern embodiment of the church of the New Testament and of the first five centuries, and going on to say that Methodism was nothing but "good old Church of England religion."

In 1681, Peter Heylyn, a "professional controversialist" and Anglican Arminian, published his Historia Quinqu-Articularis, in which he told in some detail the events preceding and during the Synod of Dort, all this in plain English and large type, so that the story became well known. He traced his theme through the Patristic period (a typically Anglican and Arminian enterprise), through the continental Reformation with a focus on Calvin, and through the English Reformation in great detail, precisely documented and closely reasoned. Perkins is portrayed as an innovator in the Church of England; Baro and William Barrett as defenders of its (anti-predestinarian) orthodoxy. Then he told with less detail the story of the Dutch pastor Van Harmine, as he called him, drawing his paragraph from the funeral oration over Arminius by Petrus Bertius. Arminius is praised but at the same time seen very much as prologue to the Remonstrants, whose "five points" occupy Heylyn's attention. This was to be typical of 17th-century reports on the Dutch origins of Arminianism. Arminianism was really the faith of the primitive church, Calvinism is an innovation, the Church of England ought to be clinging to the ancient tradition, and it is helped in doing this by studying Arminius and the Remonstrants.

After the Restoration, the Calvinist-Arminian controversy continued to rage in England. The "latitudinarian" Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715), born in Edinburgh, was the son of an Anglican father and a Presbyterian mother, and, although he himself eventually became Bishop of Salisbury, he repeatedly tried to mediate the Calvinist-Arminian dispute which he had experienced between his own parents. The Calvinists continued to appeal to Article 17, on predestination, of the Thirty-Nine Articles. It was, indeed, a problem for the non-Calvinists. Burnet wrote a commentary on all the articles, attempting to show that both Calvinists and Arminians could be brought under the common umbrella that the article provided. In his exposition of Article 17, Burnet engaged in an exegesis of Romans 9 which wittingly or unwittingly adopted the exegesis of Arminius. It did not satisfy the Puritans, of course, nor did his recognition of the permissibility of Calvinism satisfy ardent anti-Puritan Anglicans, but the net effect of such comprehensiveness was to provide argument for the legitimacy of Arminianism in the face of the Calvinism of Article 17.

In the meantime, a fresh injection of Dutch Arminianism into the Church of England was coming from Holland through a professor at the Remonstrant Seminary at Amsterdam, Phillipus van Limborch (1633-1712). He was descended from the brother of Arminius's protege and successor, Simon Episcopius. Limborch was well into the rationalist and Enlightenment mentality of the time and expounded Arminianism accordingly. Like Arminius before him, he was an England-watcher, but unlike Arminius, he engaged in active correspondence with Englishmen, including Bishops Burnet, Richard Kidder (Bath and Wells), William Lloyd (St. Asaph, Lichfield and Coventry, Worcester, successively), Edward Stillingfleet (Worcester), and John Tillotson (Canterbury), and Deans John Spencer (Ely) and Thomas Pierce (Salisbury)--also Henry More and Ralph Cudworth (Cambridge Platonists), and John Locke. Limborch is said to have been "the most stimulating mind to operate upon Locke's during the philosopher's exile in Holland."<sup>12</sup>

The upshot of this influence of Limborch on Anglicans was the translation, enlargement, and publication of his Theologica christiana . . . (Amsterdam, 1686), as A Compleat Body of Divinity (London, 1702), translated by and edited by William Jones "with improvements from Bishop Wilkins, Archbishop Tillotson, Dr. Scott, and other," as Jones had it on the title page. Limborch, thus doubly Englished, became a chief resource for theological education for Anglican clergy as the book went through several editions and many printings. Something of the purpose and effect of this new wedding of Dutch and English Arminianism comes through in a passage from the editor's preface:

. . . to the best of my Judgment I have in copying Limborch follow'd the Dictates of Right Reason, and the clearer light of Sacred Writ. 'Tis some Comfort to me to consider, that most of the Modern Divines of the Church are on my side, and I think they have cause for it; so that if I must needs pass for an ARMINIAN, I am in good Company, whose Writings and Preachings will in a great measure justify my Agreement with Limborch.<sup>13</sup>

Perhaps the most impressive and influential of all the literary expressions of Anglican Arminianism also came from Holland and did not deal directly with England at all--the English translation of Gerard Brandt's massive history of the Dutch Reformation.<sup>14</sup> Gerard Brandt (1626-1685) was a Remonstrant, a sometime pastor, a prolific writer, and an amateur historian who was requested by the Remonstrant Brotherhood to gather materials and write a "correct" account of the Reformation in Holland. An appeal was sent out for relevant documents, which he collected. With evident bias but with remarkable documentation and accuracy, he gave the classic Arminian philosophy of history: that the Primitive Church of the New Testament and the first five centuries had been corrupted by late Latin theology, that the major Continental Reformers and the Puritans were too much under the influence of Augustine, that the Dutch Reformation had been an independent lay movement of biblical piety until the influence of Geneva was introduced, that Arminius and the Remonstrants had been true to the biblical, primitive, and original Dutch vision, that this vision was the same as that of the early English Reformers, that a church dominated by its clergy tends toward a new papacy, and that the Synod of Dort had been a national and international miscarriage of ecclesiastical and theological justice.

It was in Brandt's editorial introductions that the issue of the English church was raised most sharply. Reflecting on what he regarded as the debacle of the Synod of Dort, he dreamed of what a true synod would be--



## ARMINIAN FACTOR--Continued

Imagine . . . a Synod where the first Greek and Latin Fathers, Justin . . . , Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Lactantius Hilary, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, Primasius, and Theophylact presided, where also the lights of these latter ages, Erasmus, Melancon, Bullinger, Erasmus Sarcerius, Cruciger, Latimer, Hooper, Hemming, Holman [early Dutch theologian], Peter Baro, Cellius Snecanus [Frisian critic of Calvin's exegesis of Romans 9], the English Bishop Lancelot Andrews, John Overal, and other Divines might give their votes.<sup>15</sup>

Note the absence of Augustine, Aquinas, Luther, Calvin, Beza, and Perkins, among others.

In the same passage, which drew an angry response from some Dutch Calvinists, Brandt cited a letter from an Anglican to a Remonstrant, neither correspondent identified. Said the Anglican: "There is certainly a very great conformity between the doctrine of our church and that of the Remonstrants." He went on to say that although Article 17, on predestination, was troublesome, the conflict could be resolved if "the following article should be agreed upon: That no Christian should feed himself with vain hope, or believe he could be saved without conforming his life seriously and sincerely to the commands of Christ."<sup>16</sup> From this it appears that as early as the seventeenth century there was consideration of amending the Articles, a caution about antinomianism, and a concern for holiness.

Even a non-Remonstrant, the Grand Pensionary of Holland, Frans Nicolas Fagel, remarked to Bishop Burnet that it would be worth Burnet's time to learn Dutch just to be able to read Brandt's volumes.<sup>17</sup>

There is no evidence that Burnet did so, but there developed in England a demand for an English translation of Brandt. To translate this long and difficult work into English and to publish it was no small task. To finance it, subscriptions were raised and the subscribers' names published at the beginning of the first volume. The list is impressive. After five members of the royal family, placed at the top, the list, otherwise alphabetical, begins with the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. It includes numerous bishops, deans, archdeacons, chancellors, rectors, fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, chaplains, prebendaries, lords, ladies, dukes, duchesses, earls, knights, gentry, barristers, ambassadors, admirals, bank governors, military officers, surgeons, a few booksellers, college libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, cathedral libraries, Sir Isaac Newton, and even the governor of New York--over 500 names and institutions in all, including some 30 women. It was a visible substantiation of Bishop George Morley, who, when asked, "What do the Arminians hold?" answered wryly, "All the best bishoprics and deaneries."

The translation was done with remarkable skill, and the printing was a faithful parallel of the layout of the Dutch original. The first volume appeared in 1720, with the other three published by 1723. If ever there was a manifesto of English Arminianism at the heart of the Establishment, this was it.

All of this is to say that the question of where Wesley learned his Arminianism is not susceptible of a simple answer. Arminianism was the theological air one breathed in the Church of England unless one had opted out for Puritanism or departed entirely for Nonconformity. When Wesley,<sup>19</sup> in 1778, launched a new magazine for the Methodists, he called it The Arminian Magazine, thereby

avoiding, on the one hand, the term "Methodist," which he still disliked, and linking his evangelicalism to "good old Church of England religion" rather than to Puritanism, on the other. Lest anyone miss the point, the very first issue began a serialized abridgment by Wesley himself of the story of the Synod of Dort, drawn from the English translation of Brandt. The first article in the first issue, moreover, was Wesley's abridgment of Peter Bertius's funeral oration over Arminius.<sup>20</sup> This was probably the first popular biography of Arminius in English, Heylyn's being only one paragraph, and a longer account, drawn entirely from Bertius, in Peter Bayle's General Dictionary, not widely available.<sup>21</sup>

A New Problem: Could There Be an Arminian Church in the American Nation?

In the American colonies the possibility of an Arminian National Church was slim indeed. By the 1780s there had been no Arminian church (except for the small and weak General Baptists). Anglicans were few in number, fragmented in the several colonies, a minority vis-a-vis a Puritan culture marked by its antipathy to bishops, liturgy, vestments, glebe lands, tithes, and ecclesiastical pomp, not to mention Arminian soteriology. The crown itself became increasingly distasteful. The Anglicans, be they Methodists or not, suffered alike from the lack of a resident bishop, and during and after the Revolution they were both under the cloud of loyalty to the crown. Many had to flee. The situation was epitomized in a broadside cartoon entitled "An Attempt to Land a Bishop in America."

[It shows] "a bishop in his wind-swept vestments climbing the rigging of [the ship] The Hillsborough, which flies the Union Jack, and saying, "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy Servant depart in Peace." On board are his staff and disassembled coach, bearing the insignia of episcopacy, and he is hoping to escape from the wrath of men armed with clubs and staves pushing the vessel away from the dock and from a rock about to be hurled by a monkey. A Quaker is there holding a copy of Barclay's Apology, others are hurling copies of Locke's works, Sydney's On Government, and Calvin's Works are about to strike the bishop's head."<sup>22</sup>

Not all the difficulties of obtaining a bishop in America should be put to the account of the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London! There was powerful opposition in America, as when, at Yale, it was rumored that certain men were "tainted with Arminianism and prelacy."<sup>23</sup> The rumor was true.

The end of the Revolutionary war and the Treaty of Paris, which recognized the American nation in 1783, exacerbated the problem for all Anglicans, including the Methodists. The chances of obtaining a bishop were even more remote, while the need was likewise the more desperate. It is not surprising, then, that a plan should emerge, somewhat irregular to be sure, to solve this problem and provide for an indigenous Arminian church in the United States of America. Its features will sound familiar, but it will be useful to recount them here.

1. Commitment to episcopacy as an ancient and desirable polity, to be approximated so far as possible in the new nation.
2. The selection of a bishop from among the presbyters, to be raised by presbyterial ordination to a provisional or functional office of bishop, following the precedent of the "primitive church." Such an episcopacy would make no claims of exclusive validity nor criminate against other ministries.

## ARMINIAN FACTOR--Continued

3. The avoidance of offense by calling such a person not a bishop but a superintendent. The term was strategic on two fronts: it was thought that it would lessen the resentment of Anglicans in England, and it was hoped that it would lessen the offense to Puritans in America.
4. Such a superintendent would be a spiritual office only, laying no claim to governmental functions or to the support of taxes, tithes, or glebe lands.
5. Granted the new condition of the "superintendency," in practice, there would continue to be three orders of ministry.
6. The new church should have a shortened liturgy, including the simplification of the church year and the elimination of the Athanasian and Nicene creeds. The Apostles' Creed itself would be made less offensive by dropping the clause of the Descensus.
7. Baptism could be administered without the sign of the cross.
8. Provision was to be made for lay leadership of worship in the local churches.
9. The Articles of Faith would be shortened, most notably by changing Article 37 to meet the new political situation in the United States, and by dropping Article 17, Of Predestination and Election, admittedly incompatible with Arminianism, along with others which seemed to deal with by-gone issues.
10. The theology of the church, expressed in related writings, denied that the book of Romans supported the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, taught that redemption is offered to all, denied the notions of either imputed sin or imputed righteousness, held that "grace alone" is not incompatible with human liberty and that grace is resistible, felt that the doctrine of the final perseverance of the saints is bad for morality and is unsupported by the texts adduced for it by Calvinists, and maintained that without grace we cannot turn to God but the evidence of grace is the fruits of the Spirit, that there should be a minimum of philosophical speculation, that the Bible contains all things necessary to salvation, that the tradition of the whole church ought to be esteemed, and that common sense ought to rule.

If what I have maintained about the close continuity of Wesley's Arminianism with Anglican Establishment Arminianism is correct, it should not be surprising to learn that the proposals just mentioned were not those of Wesley but were, in fact, put forth by the Anglican rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, the Reverend William White.<sup>24</sup> When Anglicans finally were able to organize, in 1789, White was the chief architect of the new denomination. Many of his more radical proposals were rejected, but others were accepted, and he himself, along with Samuel Seabury and Samuel Provoost, became one of the first three bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church.<sup>25</sup>

Before the Christmas Conference itself is considered, another matter of context is needed. The Baptists were to rival the Methodists in their ability to adapt to a new situation in the United States, especially in the southern states. Virginia, a stronghold of Methodism by the time of the Christmas Conference, is an instructive case in point. From 1760, when there were only four Baptist churches in Virginia with 143 members, the Baptists grew in only 30 years to over 20,000 members.<sup>26</sup> From their New England beginnings, under persecution, they were to become strongest in the South. Their roots were Puritan, but they were not all or entirely Calvinist.

The Regular Baptists clung to their Calvinism, the smaller General Baptists were Arminian (but not in the full Anglican sense), and then there broke away the "Separate" Baptists, who regarded the Regular Baptists as Hyper-Calvinist and Antinomian and who moved toward Arminianism.<sup>27</sup> These distinctions were blurred by revivalism, which led even the Particular or Regular Baptists to preach for decisions, Arminian-style. The Separate Baptists insisted on an experience of grace, but this could lead them to see it as a sign of election.

The word "Arminian" came to mean for many separate Baptists "luke-warm," "rationalist," even "Pelagian" . . . not as meaning that grace was available for all on condition of belief, but as simply some slack church's offer of easy membership terms. . . . Arminian churches like the Episcopalians and General Baptists tended to regard revival meetings as undignified and somewhat irreverent . . .<sup>28</sup>

This language highlights the peculiar doctrinal position of the Methodists. Their Arminianism put them in the company of Anglicans and the rationalist-tending General Baptists. Their revivalism put them in the company of the Great Awakening and its offspring. Keyser sees a link in the person of George Whitefield (1714-70), the sometime associate of the Wesleys, whose ministry in the colonies, beginning with his succession to John Wesley in Georgia, was to spread a Calvinist form of Methodism in the New World. Keyser agrees with those who see no sharp break between the first and second Great Awakenings, pointing out that Whitefield's revivalism bridged the two movements with a continual revival leading from Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) to those who would promote the campmeeting revivals at the turn of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, his Calvinism was "Arminianized." Says Keyser, "One should not exaggerate; there is a great deal of pure Calvinism in his sermons; but the whole thrust of his approach at the end of a sermon was to urge his listeners not to reject the proffered grace."<sup>29</sup>

The Separate Baptists adopted this Whitefieldian mixture, and they had a considerable appeal to Anglicans, which contributed to the urgency of Anglicans to consolidate their position, and there was a passing back and forth between Methodists and Separate Baptists, a threat to Methodism. The Methodists came out of it somewhat the better, for although they lacked a bishop, they did have a tradition of discipline, societies, and conferences to hold them together.

## The Christmas Conference

Out of this mix, and the rivalry between three possible kinds of Arminianism, it was the Methodists who emerged as an enduring Arminian church in America. Some Episcopalians, most notably Bishop White, tried to maintain the Arminian theology of their English backgrounds, but new issues of liturgy and churchmanship intervened, and the Arminianism was forgotten.<sup>30</sup> The Separate Baptists lacked organization, theological leadership, and courage to say no to Calvinism to allow their Arminianism to flourish. The Methodist Episcopal Church maintained its Arminian theology, preaching, and publication, as did its parent bodies in England, well into the nineteenth century, and thus it became in the United States the major Arminian denomination. Perhaps one reason for its vigor in this regard was its contact and controversy with Baptists in the South, with Presbyterians in the Middle States, and especially with Congregationalists in New England. One of the great missions of Nathan Bangs was to evangelize the Catskills, the west bank of the Hudson, and upstate New York, clear into Ontario (then "Upper Canada"), to head off the advance of New England Cal-

## ARMINIAN FACTOR--Continued

vinism.<sup>31</sup> None of these Arminianisms, however, could maintain in the new nation the fact or the theory of the Arminian view of the relation of church to state or clergy to laity.

In a more academic way, Methodist theologians in England and America from Richard Watson to Miner Raymond embraced or adapted Arminian themes in their systematic theologies. At the level of popular preaching, antinomianism was condemned and holiness was extolled, and predestination was rejected and human responsibility affirmed. The marks of these passions are sometimes to be found among Methodists yet.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hooker spelled out his view in Treatise on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, which began to be published in 1594.

<sup>2</sup> Praelectiones on Jonah, 1579; De Fide ejusque Ortu Natura plana ac dilucida Explicatio, 1580; De Praestantia et Dignitate Divinae Legis Libri Duo, n.d.; a letter to the Danish professor of theology, Nicholas Hemmingius of April 1, 1596, and a pamphlet, "A Summary of Three Opinions on Predestination," n.d., both in English translation in James Nichols, The Works of James Arminius, D.D., 1, (London, 1825), 91-100.

<sup>3</sup> On Arminius's interest in English theology, cf. C. O. Bangs (ed.), The Auction Catalogue of the Library of J. Arminius, a facsimile edition with an introduction by C. O. Bangs (Utrecht: H & S Publishers, in press, August, 1984). On Baro and Arminius, cf. Bangs, Arminius: A Study in the Dutch Reformation (New York & Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971), 207-209, and Bangs, "'All the Best Bishops and Deaneries': The Enigma of Arminian Politics," Church History, 32, 1 (March, 1973), 7-8.

<sup>4</sup> To speak of "Puritans" and "Anglicans" in the Elizabethan period is, strictly speaking, incorrect, for the Puritans were also "Anglicans." An attempt to defend such usage, unsuccessful in my opinion, is offered by John F. H. New in his Anglican and Puritan: The Basis of Their Opposition, 1558-1640 (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1964), 2.

<sup>5</sup> These events are recounted in Bangs, "'All the Best Bishops' . . ."

<sup>6</sup> The earliest occurrence of the term "Arminian" in English that I have found is in John Yates's God's Arraignment of Hypocrites (Cambridge, 1615).

<sup>7</sup> Thus Milton's "New presbyter is old priest writ large."

<sup>8</sup> It is noteworthy that the Remonstrants and the English Episcopalians shared this distaste for a presbyterian polity, both wishing to lodge the highest authority in the church in the laity through the office of the magistracy. In Holland, the Remonstrants wanted the call of pastors to be subject to the approval of the burgomasters; in England, the Episcopalians wanted the bishops to be appointed by the crown. The jurist Hugo Grotius, a Remonstrant, admiring Anglican liturgy and polity, proposed that the Remonstrants seek Anglican ordination and become the Protestant Episcopal church of the Netherlands.

<sup>9</sup> The Just Man's Defence. Or, the declaration of the judgment of J. Arminius, . . . concerning the principal points of religion, before the States of Holland and Westfriesland. To which he added, nine questions exhibited by the Deputies of the Synod, to the . . . Regulators of the University of Leyden. With their solution. Translated . . . by T. Conyers. London, 1657.

<sup>10</sup> Historia Quinqu-Articularis: or, A Declaration of the Western Churches, And more particularly of the Church of England; in the Five Controverted Points, Reproached in these Last times by the Name of Arminianism. Collected in the way of an Historical Narration, Out of the publick Acts and Monuments, and most approved Authors of those several Churches. London, 1681.

<sup>11</sup> Gilbert Burnet, Exposition of the XXXIX Articles (1699).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Rosalie Colie, Light and Enlightenment: A Study of the Cambridge Platonists and the Dutch Arminians (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1957), 27-31 et passim.

<sup>13</sup> From second edition, corrected, London, 1713, xxvii.

<sup>14</sup> Gerard Brandt, Historie der Reformation en andre Kerkelyke Geshiedenissen, in en ontrent de Nederlanden (4 vols., Amsterdam, 1671-1704). Only the first two volumes were published during Brandt's lifetime, the latter two volumes being issued by his son Johannes Brandt in 1704.

<sup>15</sup> From the ET of the preface to volume 2, x; see note 18 below.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 2, xii.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 1, in the unpagged translator's preface.

<sup>18</sup> The History of the Reformation and other Ecclesiastical Transactions in and about the Low-Countries, From the Beginning of the Eighth Century, Down to the Famous Synod of Dort, inclusive. In which all the Revolutions that happened in Church and State, on Account of the Divisions between The Protestants and Papists/The Arminians and Calvinists, Are fairly and fully represented By the Reverend and Learned Mr. Gerard Brandt, late Professor of Divinity, and Minister to the Protestant Remonstrants at Amsterdam. Faithfully Translated from the Original Low-Dutch [by John Chamberlayne (1666-1723)]. London, 1620-23. Reprinted, with a new introduction by J. W. Smit, New York: AMC Press, 1979.

Chamberlayne, according to Smit, was competent in 16 languages, had learned Dutch at the University of Leiden, was a member of the Royal Society (of which Sir Isaac Newton was president), and was a founder and secretary of both the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (1699) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701), thus promoting two movements for spiritual renewal in the Church of England.

<sup>19</sup> Superseding The Methodist Monitor.

<sup>20</sup> Wesley refers to the oration as "prefixed to his [Arminius's] works," indicating that Wesley had at hand a Latin edition of the Opera of Arminius. He also uses the Latin "Isalo" for the river Yssel, showing his dependence on the Latin text. The Arminian Magazine: Consisting of Extracts and Original Treatises on General Redemption. 1 (1778), 9.

<sup>21</sup> Bayle's Dictionnaire historique et critique (1695-7 and 1702) had appeared in English in 1734-41. Wesley does not seem to have used it in his account of Arminius, nor does he draw on Caspar Brandt's life of Arminius, published in Latin in 1724, and 1725.

<sup>22</sup> Thus described by Raymond W. Albright, A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church (New York: Macmillan, 1964), 109.

<sup>23</sup> Reported in E. Clowes Chorley, Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1961), 133.

<sup>24</sup> White began to put forth his proposals in his The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered

(Philadelphia, 1783). This has been reprinted in W. S. Perry, Journals of General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, vol. 3, Historical Notes and Documents (Claremont, N. H., 1874), 419-436. On White's further proposals, cf. White, The History of the American Episcopal Church 1487-1883 (2 vols., Boston, 1885). He expressed his theological views as late as 1817 in his Comparative Views of the Controversy between the Calvinists and the Arminians (Philadelphia). I am indebted to Robert A. Krogman for bringing this book to my attention.

<sup>25</sup> As it called itself, following the precedent of the Anglicans in Virginia prior to 1784, when the Methodists styled themselves the Methodist Episcopal Church.

<sup>26</sup> Thus C. Dirck Keyser, "The Virginia Separate Baptists and Arminianism, 1760-1787" (Unpublished paper, December 7, 1982), 2.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>30</sup> Much the same thing happened in the Church of England. When James Nichols, the last of London's printer-scholars, an Anglican, researched and set type for his monumental (and monumentally disorganized) first volume of Calvinism and Arminianism Compared (London, 1824), followed by the first volume of his translation and editing of The Works of James Arminius, D.D. (London, 1825) and the second volume (London, 1828), he was so discouraged by the lack of interest that he abandoned both projects. The third volume of Arminius was eventually prepared by his son, William Nichols, and published in London in 1875, too late to arouse much interest except in Methodist circles.

<sup>31</sup> Bangs wrote against "Hopkinsianism," and he published a biography of Arminius (New York, 1843), drawn entirely from Bertius's Funeral Oration and extracts from Caspar Brandt's biography as these had been sandwiched into the first volume of Nichol's Works of Arminius. It was the first biography of Arminius to appear as a separate book in English. A monograph by Michael G. Nickerson, "Planning and Spontaneity: An Analysis of the Circuit System's Expansion into Central New York between 1787 and 1810," March, 1983, led me to see that Nathan Bangs and his brothers, radiating out from Stamford, Delaware County, New York, were consciously or unconsciously a part of the strategy to block the New England infiltration of up-state New York with its Calvinism.

<sup>32</sup> The next step will be to show how Methodism in Britain and America kept interest in Arminius and Arminianism alive until the turn of the twentieth century through its Quarterly Reviews and its book publication. This writer has done much of the research for this task and hopes to pursue it "if anyone is still listening."

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