

THE BACKGROUND AND EDUCATION OF METHODIST MINISTERS
IN THE UNITED STATES, 1790 - 1860
AS REVEALED IN THEIR AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

by

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INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose of Study

Few fields of history have been more extensively studied by successive generations of historians and few offer more rewards in the shape of fresh facts and theories than the story of religions in America. There have been numerous volumes which discuss the history, growth, and the development of every religious movement in America, yet there are few, if any, comprehensive studies of the men who guided their churches through the years. If this is true of any denomination, it is especially true of the Methodists. Of the ancestral, social, religious, educational background, and ministerial training, little is known. From what kind of families did they come? How were they shaped by their environment and nurtured by training for their future mission? What led them to the Methodist Church, and impelled them to devote the rest of their lives to its service? Were the pioneer Methodist preachers recruited from a pious, stereotyped clerical group? How well educated were they? How did they compare with the clergy of rival denominations? The purpose of this study has been to answer these and similar questions.

This study not only contributes to the better understanding of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but also throws light upon other phases of American social and cultural history. In addition to showing the background of the pioneer Methodist preachers, it tells something of the story of general education, and more especially, theological education, in the United States during the years 1790 to 1860. It also discusses, as far as the limited data available have permitted, the nature of these schools, colleges, and theological seminaries; their buildings, faculties, student bodies, curricula, extracurricular activities, and the status of religion in them.

B. Sources of Information

The data for this study has been secured mainly from a study of over two hundred and fifty autobiographies of pioneer preachers in the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, 1790 to 1860. It has been the aim of this study, as far as possible, to let the circuit riders tell their own story--the struggles of their early family life on the frontier, the thrill of their boyhood mischief and amusement, their thirst for education, the long, arduous process of their spiritual conversion, their glorious call to preach, and their meager theological training. Supplementary sources have been used sparingly. An introduction to American

Methodism has been prepared with the use of two secondary sources, both written by authorities in the field of American Methodism, William W. Sweet and Nolan B. Harmon.

The materials and data for this dissertation have been secured from the library of Drew University in Madison, New Jersey, which contains the largest and most important collection of sources for the history of American Methodism in the world. Its collection of autobiographies of pioneer Methodist preachers is particularly noteworthy.

C. Conclusions

The following conclusions have emerged from this study of the early life of the Methodist minister in the United States, 1790 to 1860:

1. The clergy of the Methodist Episcopal Church during the years 1790 to 1860 was recruited from no peculiarly pious clerical class of society. The vast Methodist clergy consisted of a conglomeration of all sorts of Americans. The call to preach the Methodist gospel came not only in the crowded centers of population, but also on the frontier; not only to the wealthy and cultured, but even more predominantly to the poor, neglected, and unlearned classes of society.
2. The pioneer Methodist preachers enjoyed a normal,

active youth. Their childhood was active and exciting, not staid and pious as one might expect.

3. The pioneer Methodist preacher thirsted for education. This is a phase of pioneer Methodism, denominationally and individually, which has been grossly misrepresented in many studies of American Methodism. It is true that the Methodist clergy was poorly educated when compared with certain other denominations; yet, in spite of the difficulty of securing books and the lack of good educational institutions and qualified instructors, the pioneer Methodist circuit riders were surprisingly well educated. There were some Methodist preachers who did enjoy the best educational advantages which early America offered.
4. The pioneer Methodist preachers came from a variety of religious backgrounds ranging from staunch Roman Catholicism to atheism. Most of the preachers were products of evangelical Protestant groups; most enjoyed a fair amount of religious training in the home.
5. The pioneer Methodist preachers literally interpreted their Savior's commandment: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." Upon their spiritual conversion, a new task was theirs: "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel!"

6. The pioneer Methodist preachers had no formal theological training. Some of them, however, were well prepared for the ministry; others had little knowledge of English grammar and common arithmetic. Methodist circuit riders studied theology in "Brush College" and were trained under the professorship of Wesley, Fletcher, and Clarke. Through practical experience under the junior-senior preacher system and by intense self-study of a course of reading prescribed by the various conferences, these men had received their ministerial training. As Methodism matured, the desirability of formal theological training was recognized. By 1855 two Methodist Episcopal theological seminaries had been founded in the United States, one in New England and the other in the Middle West.

CHAPTER I AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN METHODISM

In order to discuss the background and training of the Methodist minister in the United States from 1790 to 1860, it is necessary first to understand the historical foundations of the ecclesiastical system within which he lived and labored. It is also essential to know who were these people called Methodists? What was the attitude of other denominations toward them? Was their mode of worship distinct? How effective was this new sect in America? What was the secret of the success of the pioneer Methodists? The purpose of this chapter has been to answer these and similar questions. If such factors are significant for determining why Methodism flourished in early America, they are even more significant in the raising of a native clergy.

Methodism is generally dated from 1739, when the first congregations were formed in London and Bristol, England. It was not until thirty years later, however, that John Wesley sent official representatives to the American colonies. In August, 1769, at the conference at Leeds, England, Wesley finally became cognizant of the rapid growth of the Methodist societies in America which had been founded in the 1760's by Irish laymen,

Philip Embury and Robert Strawbridge. He stated, "We have a pressing call from our brethren of New York (who have built a preaching house) to come over to help them. Who is willing to go?"¹ The two volunteers were Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor. When the first official missionaries arrived in Philadelphia on that autumn day in 1769, Methodism had been firmly planted in Maryland, Delaware,² New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York.

By 1771 Wesley received requests for more preachers to lead the growing number of Methodist societies in the American colonies. In answer he appointed Francis Asbury and Thomas Rankin, the former as the first superintendent of American Methodism. The infant church grew by leaps and bounds, for at the close of the Revolutionary War eighty preachers and almost fifteen thousand members³ were reported.

The formation of an independent Methodist Church in America was inevitable by the 1780's. The Methodist societies became increasingly restless at their limitations; their preachers who had been sent by Wesley were not clergymen, but authorized laymen who were unable to administer the holy sacraments and perform the full duties of a parish priest. At the English Conference of 1784 Wesley accepted the inevitable and acted to provide an ordained clergy for the Methodists in America, consecrating Thomas Coke as episcopal head of the Methodist societies in the colonies. The Methodists in America soon demanded a separate church of their own.

This came as a great shock to Wesley, who did his best to keep Methodism a lay movement within the Church of England. Accordingly, at the famous Christmas Conference of 1784 held at Baltimore, the Methodist Episcopal Church was born. Wesley's abridgement of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion of the Church of England, his version of the Anglican liturgy and hymns, and the "General Rules" for Methodist societies were incorporated into a book of discipline which was first published in 1785. The first general conference of the new Methodist Episcopal Church was held in 1792. Thus, the Methodists were the first religious body in America to work out an independent and national organization.⁴

Methodism from the days of John Wesley onward has been known for its organizational efficiency. The basic features of its episcopal structure have persisted through the years. Methodism began in England as a paternal system, John Wesley being in complete control. Toward the end of his life Wesley became increasingly concerned with the survival of the Methodist movement. As the number of societies grew, he found it necessary to appoint certain of the more experienced among them assistants.

Episcopacy is the central theme of the Methodist organizational framework. Wesley believed the Episcopal form of church government to be "both scriptural and apostolical."⁶ He also was convinced that there were only two orders of the ministry, deacons and elders.

Bishops, according to him, were merely elders who had been set aside for administration in the church. He preferred these administrators to be called superintendents rather than bishops, because the latter term suggested the pomp and ceremony of the traditional worldly English bishops.⁷ Francis Asbury, on the other hand, wished to drop the long, cumbersome name and adopted for himself the title of bishop. Some of the preachers objected to the change, as did Wesley in England, but a majority approved it and its use soon became established in American Methodism.⁸ Thus, the heads of the Methodist hierarchy became known as bishops. For the infant church functioning in a sparsely settled, rapidly-developing country, centralization was the best policy. No one realized more than Asbury how essential to the success of the evangelical movement was his authority to send preachers wherever he chose.⁹ The bishop alone has the right to say where each preacher shall preach. His other important responsibilities include the ordaining of men into the clergy, presiding over annual and general conference sessions, and carrying through the church program in general. His duties arose through the needs of a growing church for firm episcopal leadership.¹⁰

The General Conference of 1792 realized that the superintendence of the growing Methodist Episcopal Church was a task too large for one man, Asbury, to handle alone. The office of presiding elder was thus established. These

men were appointed by the bishops of the various annual conferences to supervise a group of circuits and their preachers.¹¹

The regular Methodist clergy consists of two orders, elders and deacons, the former being fully-ordained men, capable of administering all of the sacraments. Deacons assisted the elder in all parish duties and were¹² able to marry and baptize in the absence of an elder. Methodism also set up a lay ministry, which consisted of local preachers and exhorters who followed regular vocations during the week, but devoted some of their time to preaching and organizing Methodist classes in their neighborhoods. The advantages of the lay ministry to the young expanding church are at once apparent. By means of it the denomination retained the services of many gifted men whose talents would have been lost had the church relied wholly on the itinerancy. The local preachers served the church with diligence and supplemented the¹³ work of the itinerants in a most able manner. Many of them were thus induced to enter the itinerancy permanently.¹⁴

The characteristic governing body of the Methodists is the conference. Within a few years of its founding the Methodist movement had prospered beyond Wesley's fondest dreams. The need for some form of democratic governing body was obvious in the Methodist system. Wesley called the first Methodist general conference in England in 1774. This historic conference had

within it the basic forms of the elaborate conference system which grew up in American Methodism.¹⁵

The quarterly conference is the traditional business and governing body of the local parish or "charge." It included all local church and lay officials plus the preacher or preachers. At least two meetings of each quarterly conference were to be held each year. This important body had all supervisory and property-holding powers on the local church level.¹⁶

Until 1773 what little business the American Methodists had was conducted in these quarterly meetings. In that year Thomas Rankin, Wesley's first "General Assistant," called the first annual conference. From this time until 1884 such conferences were held annually, all preachers, being required to attend.¹⁷ The introduction of the governing conference thus marked the end of Wesley's personal rule in America.

The whole character of the Methodist conference system had now changed. It was given the power to elect deacons and elders and to admit men into the ranks of the ministry and into conference membership. By 1800 it was proving impracticable, if not impossible, for the scattered and rapidly increasing clergy of the church to meet annually and legislate satisfactorily. Accordingly the country was divided into geographical sections known as annual conferences.¹⁸

Still another development was the rise of the general conference, the first of which was held in Balt-

more in 1792. Here it was agreed that thereafter a general conference, consisting of delegates from the various annual conferences, was to be held every four years. Thus the idea of a representative church governing body was added to the Methodist system, but not without struggle, discussion, and debate. Each conference level had been given its own rights and responsibilities; each was made dependent upon the other.¹⁹

Undoubtedly, the greatest factor in the expansion of Methodism on the frontier was the itinerant system. The itinerant ministry had its origins in early English Methodism, Wesley being regarded as the first real "Itinerant." Wesley opposed the parish system, being convinced by his own experience that the itinerant ministry was not only the best-suited for providing spiritual guidance to converts, but also was supported by apostolic example.²⁰

The circuit system and the travelling ministry was even more effective in America than it was in England. Several serious disadvantages confronted the churches on the frontier. Population shifted rapidly, it was widely scattered, and because of the poverty of the people, it was out of the question for many communities to support a settled pastor. Under the circuit plan a single circuit preacher could supply the needs of many settled communities. Usually two preachers were appointed to a circuit, a younger man and an older one, designated junior and senior preacher. The younger man profited

from the older man's experience, for there were no formal schools for training preachers in the early days of Methodism.²¹

The circuit system enabled the pioneer Methodist preachers to keep pace with the new settlements. The Methodist Church is one of the largest Protestant denominations in the United States today because it developed the best technique for following and ministering to a moving restless population--the itinerant system. It appears that no denomination so effectively overcame the disadvantages of the frontier as did the Methodists.²²

From the very beginning of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, an elaborate discipline was drawn up and widely distributed. Originally the Methodist societies were governed by the "General Rules" drawn up by Wesley in England in 1743, and by regulations in the conferences, which were held yearly from 1744. These regulations were first published in the "Conference Minutes" from year to year and later collected together and printed in a tract called the Large Minutes. The same rules and regulations which governed English Methodism were used in America, so far as they applied. When the Methodists formally organized as a separate church at the Christmas Conference of 1784, a Form of Discipline for the Ministers, Preachers, and Other Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America was prepared. It was modeled

after Wesley's Large Minutes, to which were added the Twenty-Four Articles of Religion, and The Sunday Service and Hymns prepared by John and Charles Wesley as the form of divine liturgy. A large section of the Discipline was devoted to the ministry and the rules for governing the life and work of the local church.²³

The publication of the first Methodist Discipline in 1785 marks the beginning of a new era in American Methodism, since it provided for the stabilization of Methodist church government. With an episcopacy established, a ministry ordained and itinerating, a liturgy adopted, and the Methodist practice of holding representative conferences firmly fixed in the plan of the new church, Methodism in America began.

The people called "Methodists" in America were of a peculiar sort. Looking back over fifty years of his early experiences, Peter Cartwright thus describes the backwoods Methodists of the beginning of the nineteenth century:

The Methodists in that early day dressed plain; attended their meetings faithfully, especially in preaching, prayer, and class meetings: they wore no jewelry, no ruffles; they would frequently walk three or four miles to class meetings, and home again, on Sundays; they would go thirty or forty miles to their quarterly meetings, and think it a glorious privilege to meet their presiding elder, and the rest of the preachers. They could, nearly every soul of them, sing our hymns and spiritual songs. They religiously kept the Sabbath day; many of them abstained from dram-drinking, not because the temperance reformation was ever heard of in that day, but because it was interdicted in the

General Rules of our Discipline. Methodists of that day stood up and faced their preacher when they sung; they knelt down in the public congregation as well as elsewhere, when the preacher said, "Let us pray." . . . Parents did not allow their children to go to balls or plays; they did not send them to dancing-schools; they generally fasted once a week, and almost universally on the Friday before each quarterly meeting.²⁴

The pioneer Methodists held no enviable social position. Indeed, unfavorable sentiment towards them had existed from the very founding of the Methodist movement in the colonies. Naturally the older established denominations detested the Methodist preachers who were invading their territory. As the Methodist circuit rider pushed into new areas, he was generally welcomed by²⁵ jeering and angry crowds. The humble Methodist preacher, however, was so convincing in his fiery extemporaneous sermons that many who first attended the services only²⁶ to mock soon went to worship and to pray. An old gentleman at the end of a Methodist meeting in New Hampshire exclaimed: "I came to this place cursing about the Methodists, but Glory to God, he has just spoken²⁷ peace to my soul!"

Slandorous rumors circulated widely throughout the colonies concerning these "peculiar people," as the²⁸ pioneer Methodists were often called. It was widely reported that the Methodist "preachers were hired by the King of England, and sent over to this country to proselyte the people; so as to bring back the states to be British Colonies again; that the preachers received \$400

per head, for every convert they made, and this was paid²⁹
to them by the British Consul, residing in New York."

Some said the Methodists were possessed of the devil;³⁰
others said New England witchcraft had been revived.

"Methodism was a new thing. . . , and all that the people³¹
knew of it was against it." The Methodist preachers
were called imposters, false prophets, ignorant fanatics,
and the like.³² A sister of John Wood typifies the anti-

Methodist sentiment then so rampant when she shouted:
"I'd go to hell before I'd go to the Methodist church!"
Yet only a few months later, she and her whole family³³
joined that church.

There is no indication that the hatred for the
Methodists was a local phenomenon peculiar to one geo-
graphical locale. On the contrary, this sentiment was
quite widespread, finding its most powerful display in
the New England states. Naturally Congregationalism,
then the state church in Massachusetts, Connecticut,
and New Hampshire, resented the invasion of its terr-
itory by this aggressive band of religious enthusiasts.
The success of Methodism in New England brought open³⁴
demonstrations of hostility. This animosity was
directed primarily against the Methodist clergy. Magis-
trates in a number of New England states refused to
recognize the Methodist preachers as ministers capable
of administering the holy sacraments. Sharp controversy
arose over their ability to marry. Dan Young, speaking

of his first few years in the Methodist itinerancy,
writes:

Our preachers were not then allowed by law to celebrate the rights of matrimony. That is to say, although a fair construction of the law would give them the right, yet the spirit of persecution was so remorseless against them, that if they did it they would be subject to expensive lawsuits, which in their poverty, they could not sustain; and our young and blushing lovers were obliged to go to our persecutors to be united in sacred wedlock.³⁵

The breaking up of a Methodist service offered great sport and amusement for the rougher element of America. It was often necessary to post guards outside of a Methodist meeting-house to protect the worshippers from
³⁶
assaults.

In the Middle States the situation was little different. "Methodism had gained a strong hold on the affection of the people, but all opposition was not yet broken down In other denominations among ministers and members were many to be found to cry out against it."³⁷
The "Pennsylvania Dutch" folk and other immigrant groups of strict Calvinistic background "had much to say against the Methodists."³⁸

The Southern States, too, were not free from
³⁹
resentment toward the Methodists. In Virginia in the early 1800's "the Methodists, though equal in standing and numbers to any single denomination of Christians, were, nevertheless, still the 'sect everywhere spoken against.'"⁴⁰ Even as far south as Georgia and Louisiana the Methodists were treated with much indignation and

⁴¹
inpropriety. The Methodist preachers were everywhere
spoken against, caricatured, and misrepresented.

Enmity toward the Methodists was drilled into
the children by their parents, whether they were
Anglicans, ⁴² Presbyterians, ⁴³ Lutherans, ⁴⁴ or Baptists. ⁴⁵
It was a common belief among such families that a Meth-
odist could not be a true Christian. ⁴⁶ Some of the men
drank in the prejudices of their parents against the
Methodists and became active in degrading them, and
"used every opportunity to persecute the Methodists." ⁴⁷

The life of an early Methodist convert was not
pleasant. Many of the young men who later became Meth-
odist preachers were even ordered to leave their homes,
since they had disgraced their family by associating
with the despised Methodists. ⁴⁸ Parental dislike for
Methodists manifested itself even more severely at times:

Persecution and vilest reproach everywhere followed
them [the Methodists], and gave a practical comment
on the declaration that if any man will 'live Godly
in Christ Jesus, they shall suffer persecution.'
In some instances parents cruelly whipped their
children till the blood ran down to the ground for
no other reason than living and serving their
adorable God and Savior. In other instances wives,
highly worthy and deeply pious, were cruelly turned
out of doors in the darkness and cold by their
persecuting husbands merely for joining the Meth-
odists. ⁴⁹

From a social and economic standpoint, it was
precarious in most places to become a Methodist. To join
them in the early days of America was to subject one's
self to continual annoying ridicule. Erhardt Wunderlich
realized full well these unfortunate consequences: "Although

I had become willing to repent of my sins, I was not willing to become a Methodist."⁵⁰ George Boeshenz in Missouri had the same idea in mind, for he remarked: "The customs of the Methodist Church interested me . . . but the name of Methodist I could not endure!"⁵¹ The Methodists were denied social standing and treated with contempt and disrespect by their fellow countrymen. Social ostracism seems to have been one of the many "crosses" which an enterprising young Methodist had to endure.⁵² Daniel DeVinne wrote: "I really thought a union with the Methodists would ruin me."⁵³ In Massachusetts the Methodists were considered beneath the notice of the upper classes;⁵⁴ Freeborn Hibbard commented: "I wanted to be a Congregationalist and be respectable."⁵⁵ He who joined the Methodist church had to make up his mind to bear a heavy cross and suffer much persecution in the name of Jesus Christ.⁵⁶

It is interesting to note that Methodism was not destroyed by false rumors, physical violence, literary attacks, or social discriminations. To the contrary, the Methodists, although everywhere spoken against yet everywhere increased! The continual assaults upon the Methodists served only to advertize them. People out of sheer curiosity went to hear the fanatical Methodist preachers and many soon were convinced and converted. In spite of all of the widespread prejudice against them, few Methodists were discouraged. "Neither fewness of numbers, nor poverty, nor persecution, can keep them [the Methodists]

from joining the church of their choice."⁵⁷ It is little wonder that with such zeal and enthusiasm for the faith that the Methodist Episcopal Church grew so rapidly in America. No amount of persecution could dishearten the Methodists. The Lord granted them such strength that nothing could have prevented them from attending their meetings. They would "choose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season."⁵⁸ "Their weapons, with those who opposed them, were not harsh words and disputations, but faith and fervent prayer."⁵⁹ With the latter two ideals, who could have failed?

When the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1784 there were only about fifteen thousand Methodists in America, and on the surface there appeared to be no reason why the new Church should ever become prominent in American life. In fact the Methodist movement came into existence almost unnoticed by the populace. By the year 1844, however, the Methodists had become the largest⁶⁰ Protestant group in America. That marvelous growth is one of the outstanding religious phenomena of American history. Why were so many people attracted to the Methodist fold? Decisions to become Methodists were based on a number of widely motivated suggestions.

Probably more than any other factor which influenced men and women to join the Methodist societies in America was their marked religious zeal and enthusiasm for

the faith. It is not hard to understand that the meetings of the pioneer Methodists attracted many when we consider how active they were in their worship. The warmth of their devotion, and their fraternal spirit made them more than any other the desire of many pious souls.⁶¹ Few will argue that the Methodist services were not conducted with more life and animation than most of their rival churches of the day.⁶²

Another influential factor which attracted many to Methodism was their plain, practical preaching of the Gospel.⁶³ Newell Culver writes:

I needed the benefit of the Methodist doctrines of free grace and salvation, a knowledge of present acceptance with God, and 'full assurance of hope' to meet special necessities. I needed the soul-stirring hymns, the earnest, importunate prayers, the hearty, responsive shouts of praise to God, the clear testimonies of love to him, and the wide-awake, free, social means of grace of Methodism to help me into the deeper waters of life than I had heretofore fathomed.⁶⁴

The ignorant persons understood the simple message of the circuit riders, for Methodism had a sensible theology. People were not required to subscribe to creeds and dogmas before they could enter the Methodist Episcopal Church. Membership was open to all those who desired to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins. The Methodists endeavored as Wesley instructed to spread Scriptural holiness rather than theology over America.

Who did become Methodists in the early decades of the nineteenth century? Surely people did not become

Methodists because they hoped to secure social, political, or economic advancement. It is only natural, then, that Methodism's greatest initial appeal was largely limited to the lower and middle classes of society. The conservative upper classes naturally would have little to do with the wild, vulgar religious fanatics called Methodists. Indeed, the Methodists were far from respectable in the eyes of most people. Even during the 1830's Methodism still was "the butt of ridicule in the upper tiers of society."⁶⁵ However, the upper classes did participate in the Methodist movement even from the very beginning, though never in great numbers. Only gradually did Methodism gain general public acceptance. More and more "respectables" joined the new church as the nineteenth century progressed. As early as 1817 "many wealthy, fashionable families" became members of the Methodist churches in Ohio.⁶⁶ During the 1830's "many of the best families in Maryland, as to wealth, culture, and social position were connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church."⁶⁷ In spite of the constant barrage of anti-Methodist feeling, a number of the more wealthy families joined the Methodists, yet it remained predominantly a middle class church.

The Methodists developed an entirely different method of preaching from the established churches. Pioneer American Methodists worshipped God not only in their crude churches but also in their homes and even in the open field. Methodist preachers alone would mount a stump

or a boulder, stand in the bed of a wagon, or sit in the saddle, and without a note expound and apply the word of God to the hearts and consciences of the people wherever curious groups gathered. There was something characteristic about pioneer Methodist worship which came to be known as old-fashioned "Methodist enthusiasm." So strikingly different was the preaching of the Methodist circuit rider that they were claimed to "preach damn-⁶⁸ation and hellfire enough to burn the world up!" The plain and pointed exhortations quickly found their way to many hearts.⁶⁹ There was something unique about the way a Methodist circuit rider preached:

Divine influence came upon the people under the preaching of the word; they had never heard or seen anything like that before. They fell like dead men over the [meeting] house, some cried aloud for mercy, while others remained for hours perfectly helpless and speechless.⁷⁰

Methodist preachers did not deliver the comforting pulpit oratory and "sing song mode of preaching" common to other denominations.⁷¹ Methodist sermons were uttered in "tones of thunder which seemed to emit flashes of living light."⁷² The preacher may have started a sermon calmly stating man's sinful nature and need for God, but inevitably his emotions clouded his better judgement and "praise would fairly burst forth from his lips in shouts of 'Glory Hallelujah!'"⁷³ It is little wonder that in those days there was a great eagerness among the spiritually starved lower classes to hear the rousing Methodist Gospel. Poor preaching though it may have been, nevertheless, it was

the Christian Gospel, pure and simple, offered in a most
enthusiastic and appealing manner.⁷⁴

Early Methodist preaching was largely extemporaneous, effecting a powerful impression on the congregation. The typical Methodist sermon consisted of an "exhortation to attention, to repentance, to prayer, to confession, to faith in Jesus Christ, and profession" of that faith in accepting membership in the church.⁷⁵ Peter Cartwright

quickly won the attention of his congregation at the outset of a discourse by "giving them some Western anecdotes, which had a thrilling effect on the congregation and excited them immoderately, I cannot say religiously."⁷⁶

The frontier Methodist preachers prided themselves above the "Easterners" who preached from manuscripts or notes.

"We Westerners preach extemporaneously," boasted Peter

Cartwright.⁷⁷ Little manuscript preaching was delivered in the early days of Methodism, for those who entered the itinerancy felt that they were "called to preach, and not to read, the Gospel."⁷⁸

The ultimate aims of Methodist preaching are clearly stated by James Erwin:

Our preaching was largely doctrinal and experimental; we explained the doctrines of the Bible, and then applied them. In so doing we cultivated the gift of exhortation that roused the people from their sins and led the church to higher attainments in religion.⁷⁹

Special sermons on such topics as temperance, profanity, morality, worldliness, and politics were equally successful. Much preaching was also directed at discrediting rival faiths, particularly the Baptists and Presbyterians.⁸⁰

Inter-denominational rivalry was very keen on the frontier.

The effectiveness of the Methodist technique of preaching was obviously successful in converting many

"sinners."⁸¹ The "peculiar methods and doctrines of the Methodist preachers so commended themselves to the hear-⁸²ers that the Church continually increased in numbers."

God poured his holy spirit upon the people through these sermons; whole congregations were awakened and happily converted to God.⁸³ During the sermons it was not

uncommon for the congregation to begin weeping and moan-⁸⁴ing for mercy. It is little wonder that such fiery

sermons crowded Methodist altars with "reclaimed back-⁸⁵sliders and scores of weeping and praying sinners."

"Methodism enthusiasm" exhibited itself in many strange ways. Fervent preaching was always accompanied⁸⁶ by exuberant hymn singing. The wild Methodist meetings left vivid impressions on many circuit riders and thus many excellent descriptions can be found. Heman Bangs describes a meeting thus:

Our meeting lasted several hours, it was a time of great power. Some fell to the floor as dead, and others shouted for joy. A man ploughing in the neighboring field heard the sound, was awakened, dropped his plough, came to the meeting and soon found peace in believing. All the way home my mouth was filled with praise! I no longer hung my head as we passed through the village, but felt willing that the world should know that I had been to a Methodist prayer-meeting.⁸⁷

The typical aftermath of a Methodist revival meeting would find mourners in the meeting house, and all over the⁸⁸ yard, crying mightily to God for mercy.

Newcomers at Methodist meetings were particularly upset by intermittent shouting, especially the loud "Amens" during the prayers and sermons. They simply could not understand why the Methodists "groaned so dismally, and uttered 'Amen' so often!"⁸⁹ The word "Amen" was familiar to them as the conclusion of a prayer, but to think that anybody would use it to punctuate both the prayers and the sermons in every part was to them unthinkable.⁹⁰ Some even believed that the Methodists treated the preacher rudely by saying "amen" before he was done praying, and wished him to stop, but he usually prayed the more fervently.⁹¹ The tradition of "shouting Methodism" is thus far from fiction. That the early Methodists shouted with unusual spirit and enthusiasm at their meetings is an undisputed fact.

Camp meetings or revivals were standard features in the life of every pioneer Methodist church. Their meetings often lasted several days. Multitudes came from miles around on horse-back, carriage or wagon, or on foot,⁹² drawn mostly by curiosity.

The tents were pitched in a hollow square, with the tabernacle, or preaching place in the center. Rude seats for the auditors and plenty of clean wheat straw at the altar where penitents knelt, a rustic platform for a pulpit, and a huge ox horn hung up in a convenient place to call the people to worship-- this was the outfit. Thus equipped, the 'sons of thunder' did such preaching as is seldom heard in this later and more scientific period.⁹³

Often as many as seven preachers spoke at the same time to accommodate the huge crowds which gathered at these meetings.⁹⁴ There was so much of the presence of the

power of God at these camp meeting grounds that "careless sinners . . . were melted into contrition and penitence like wax before the fire."⁹⁵ Scores of sinners fell under the preaching like men "slain in mighty battle."⁹⁶ The preaching, exhorting, singing, and praying was carried on with "a zeal that never cooled and lungs that seemed never to grow weary."⁹⁷ The Hallelujahs⁹⁸ and "Amens" could be heard for miles around.

The worshippers at Methodist meetings fell into many strange and wild exercises. One of the most common physical manifestations of the so-called "Methodist enthusiasm" was known as the "Jerks." This peculiar exercise consisted of convulsive jerking all over the body. "To obtain relief they would rise up and dance."⁹⁹

This affection would often seize [the preacher] in the pulpit, with so much severity, that a spectator might fear it would break his neck, and dislocate his joints. He would laugh immoderately, stand up and halloo at the top of his voice, finally leap from the pulpit and run into the woods screaming like a crazy man. When the exercise was over, he would return to the church as rational and as calm as ever. 100

This peculiar overdose of religious tension and nervous anxiety became also called "Methodist fits" or "Methodist spasms."¹⁰¹ An equally peculiar physical phenomenon which occasionally overcame people at Methodist revivals was known as "the Slaying Power" or the "falling exercise."¹⁰² A preacher scarcely considered his labor crowned of God unless "the slain" fell helplessly about him. Under the tremendous tension and excitement, many fell into a trance which at times lasted for several days,

during which they were without food and drink. In such trances they claimed to have seen "heaven and hell, God and the angels, the devil and the damned."¹⁰³ "Laughing fits" and the "running, jumping, barking exercise" were other common physical manifestations of their enthusiasm.¹⁰⁴ In defence of "Methodist Enthusiasm" and its accompanying strange exercises John Bangs writes:

Altho I have not much faith in a noise without religion, yet I firmly believe that all pure religion, produced by the operation of the Holy Ghost, will cause the subject to praise God with a loud voice. ¹⁰⁵

The more respectable Methodist preachers never encouraged these emotional excesses, and many understood that they were caused by other than spiritual causes. Peter Cartwright gave his opinion about such activity very frankly:

There is no doubt in my mind that, with weak-minded, ignorant, and superstitious persons, there was a great deal of sympathetic feeling with many that claimed to be under the influence of this jerking exercise; and yet, with many, it was perfectly involuntary. It was, on all occasions, my practice to recommend fervent prayer as a remedy, and it almost universally proved an effectual antidote.¹⁰⁶

The pioneer Methodists placed great emphasis on corporate worship, for they had a very full complement of weekly religious services. In the more settled religious regions of the East they had three sermons¹⁰⁷ every Sabbath and at least one during the week. General prayer meetings were held weekly in the church with others held in private homes several times each week.¹⁰⁸ Occasionally evening "experience meetings"

were held which were attended with such interest that
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they often continued all night.

On the frontier the worship pattern of the Methodists differed. These people preferred "all-day preaching" once in four or six weeks rather than weekly
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services. Since they lived in such widely scattered communities and travel conditions were so terrible, it was not practicable to hold meetings more often. In other less isolated areas "half-day preaching" was the rule, which occurred usually every other Sunday at some
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central place on the circuit. James Erwin describes a typical frontier Sabbath observance among the Methodists:

The morning prayer occupied from thirty to forty-five minutes, and the sermon was proportionately long, never less than one hour and a half in length. After an intermission of half an hour we enjoyed another service similar to the morning, only the prayers were shorter and the sermon longer, as the minister warmed up in the 'doctrines.' We usually reached home a little past three o'clock, and after our Sabbath dinner, the family were seated in a semi-circle . . . 'for catechism.' 112

The class meetings became the outstanding characteristic of pioneer Methodist worship. These were weekly meetings of a few believers in a given community, presided over by a class leader, whose duty it was "to advise, reprove, comfort, and exhort" as the occasion
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might require. Such meetings gave to many young men
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the first impetus toward the pulpit. At these meetings young and old arose as their names were called and
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spoke of the love of God in the most touching manner.

The most important meeting for the members of the scattered Methodist societies on the frontier was the three-day quarterly meeting. There it was that the sacraments were administered and the "love feasts" were held.¹¹⁶ To these meetings came both senior and junior preacher along with church members from all points on the circuit.

Fridays were always strictly observed as fast-days. Preaching began on Saturday morning at 10 or 11 o'clock, and in the afternoon a short service was held, after which the Quarterly Conference was convened. At night there was again preaching generally by the junior preacher of the circuit; or prayer-meetings were held at several convenient points in the neighborhood.¹¹⁷

Early Sunday morning the "love feast" was held, which began with singing and a prayer, after which bread and water was passed.¹¹⁸ The testimonies began, the leader first, each in turn relating simple Scriptural views of Christian experience.

. . . about 11 o'clock the principal sermon of the Quarterly Conference was preached by the Presiding Elder The sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper were usually administered at the close of the morning services, though sometimes they were deferred til the afternoon. At night there was again preaching--generally followed by a prayer-meeting, exhortation to repentance, collects for penitent seekers, and stirring hymns.¹¹⁹

At the beginning of the century there were few Sunday Schools in Methodism. Although the Methodist Sunday School movement was launched forth in 1790, it was in its experimental state for many years. Many members regarded them as a desecration of the Sabbath.¹²⁰ A Methodist church in New York City in 1813 tried to form

a Sunday school to train its children, but "the older members thought it would be Sabbath-breaking."¹²¹ However, three years later one of the earliest Sunday schools in America was formed in a Brooklyn Methodist church.¹²² In April, 1827 the turning point of the Sunday school movement occurred with the foundation of the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church.¹²³ From that date Sunday schools spread rapidly throughout the church.

The early Methodist Sunday school curriculum consisted not only of hymn singing, reciting the catechism, and memorizing Bible verses.¹²⁴ Secular subjects were also taught in various Methodist Sabbath schools. In certain areas where public schools were lacking, particularly on the frontier, writing, spelling, English grammar and composition, and simple arithmetic were taught along with Biblical instruction.¹²⁵ The circuit riders and their helpers thus gave to the frontiersmen the rudiments of learning long before the coming of the public school system.

By 1790 the Methodist Episcopal Church in America had been firmly established; it operated through an efficient hierarchical organization; it had a history and traditions; it possessed strong appeal and could count on the zeal of its members. In the last analysis, however, the continuance of the Church and the vitality of its spirit depended upon the hundreds of ministers it could

attract to its service. These ministers played a vital role in the life of the church. They translated the forms of religion into personal experience; they applied the rules of the conferences to the local parish; they provided leadership for each congregation and consolation for every member.

What kind of men were these vital agents of the Church? How were they shaped by environment and nurtured by training for their future mission? What led them to the teachings of Methodism, and impelled them to devote the rest of their lives to its service?

The pioneer circuit rider during the early years of the development of the Methodist Episcopal Church came from no peculiarly pious clerical class in society. Indeed, the Methodist preachers were recruited in large numbers from all social classes and a variety of religious and educational backgrounds. In 1784 there were only eighty-three Methodist preachers in America, but by 1865 there were almost thirty thousand ministers, which was nearly six thousand more than the combined number of Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Protestant Episcopal clergymen.¹ This vast Methodist clergy consisted of a conglomeration of all sorts of men. These men had a normal, active boyhood, and were not early marked for a pious life in the ministry. Their boyhood and school days were full of games and mischief and their youthful sins and besetments were as real to them as to any boy. The call to preach the Methodist Gospel came not only in crowded centers of population, but also on the frontier; not only to wealthy and cultured, but even more predominantly to the poor, neglected, and unlearned classes of society. The appeal of Methodism was universal.

Geographical distribution of the birthplaces of the

Methodist ministers is not significant or startling, yet it is indicative of the wide representation of every area of the new nation. As might be expected, more than half of the group were originally residents of the Middle Atlantic States.² The New England States rank second with about one-third of the group,³ and the Southern States next, with one-fifth of the group.⁴ Few were born and raised in the West, for this period only saw the beginning of America's expansion westward. A number of these ministers were of foreign birth. Many came to America with the large wave of German immigration during the decades of the 1830's and 1840's.⁵

Some interesting facts about the ancestry of these men need brief mention. Obviously the predominant number of men who entered the Methodist ministry were of English background. Apart from the Germans, the other Western European nations such as France, Ireland, and Holland can claim but few native-born Methodist preachers.

The background from which the Methodist minister emerged was also diversified. The social position of the family was largely determined by the occupation of the father. Apart from a few who taught in common grammar schools⁶ and colleges,⁷ the remainder of the fathers had little or no education and engaged in the simple trades or farming. Less than five percent of the men followed their father's footsteps into the Methodist itinerancy;⁸ less than one percent were sons of ministers of other

denominations.⁹ Few thus had any previous inclination to the Methodist ministry through their families.

The Methodist Episcopal Church appealed most strongly to the lower classes; in fact, over three-quarters of the families which produced Methodist preachers fell into this classification. The majority were engaged in farming. The families were usually large and the unreliable income of the farm was seldom sufficient to support the rapidly expanding family.¹⁰ As a result the young boys were early put to work in order to supplement the meager family income. There was, however, a surprising number of Methodist ministers who came from middle and upper class families.

Since the families were generally large, extreme financial hardships often arose. The situation became even more serious when the husband died,¹² leaving the mother to support a large family alone. This obviously necessitated all of the children to help support the family as soon as they were able.¹³ The sons were either hired out to a surrounding businessman as an apprentice to learn a trade, or stayed at home to help on the farm.¹⁴ Those families which were not engaged in agriculture would commonly hire their sons out to neighboring craftsmen. In the apprentice system, a boy was bound by legal contract or indenture to serve a skilled master for a specified period of time with the intention of learning a Trade.¹⁵ Aaron Hall describes the terms of his apprenticeship when he was seventeen years old:

My master agreed . . . to teach me the business. . . ; to board me; give me five weeks each winter to attend school and pay me thirty dollars for the first year, forty dollars for the second, fifty dollars for the third, and at the rate of sixty dollars for the fractional part of the fourth year. Fifty dollars of the above my father was to have for my time. 16

The indentures usually required suitable clothing, a certain amount of public schooling, "liberty of conscience and the use of the means of grace," along with a meager salary. 17 The age at which these young men entered

their apprenticeship varied, but it was generally in their teens, usually between the ages of fifteen and sixteen. 18 The length of the term of the indenture also differed; it commonly ended at the age of twenty-one. 19

A variety of trades were studied by these men before they entered the ministry. They included various types of construction work, 20 masons and bricklayers, 21 and carpenters. 22 Others were engaged as shoemakers, 23 miners, 24 printers and bookbinders, 25 surveyors, 26 millers, 27 salesmen and clerks, 28 and a variety of different factories. 29 Blacksmithing was common trade for the preacher-to-be, a proper prelude to a life in the saddle. 30 For those who grew up on the frontier hunting and fishing, 31 trapping, 32 and prospecting were the usual means of support. 33 By far the most common early occupation was farming. 34

The system of apprenticeship was not without its evils. The son had little or no choice in selecting the trade which he was to follow; the parents usually sent him

where they could get the best deal.³⁵ There was also the problem of being sent away from home with little parental guidance and restraint.³⁶ John Mills viewed his apprenticeship thus:

The . . . period away from home was very injurious to me in many respects. I lived, among those who care little for my spiritual welfare, and took little interest in helping me form good moral habits. I was under little restraint to observe the Sabbath, not being required to attend church. 37

Fortunately more employers offered better guidance and attention to their young apprentices. Some were first brought into contact with the Methodist Episcopal Church through their new master.³⁸ One of the most serious criticisms which was leveled against the apprenticeship system was its unfortunate effect on formal education. Schooling was generally interrupted and often completely discarded upon apprenticeship.³⁹

During their early formative years a healthy home life was thus often lacking. Families were often broken up upon the death of one or both of the parents.⁴⁰ At thirteen Luther Lee's mother died and his family was scattered. He recalls it thus:

I found myself alone in the world and under God. I have been my guardian and care-taker ever since. The years that followed . . . were the saddest years of all my life. 41

Other children were forced to leave home upon apprenticeship to a neighboring tradesman. All this made for poor religious and educational training in their early years, which resulted in wild youthful lives which these men soon came to regret. Those who were unfortunately separated

from their parents through death or by apprenticeship, were thus forced to live with relatives or friends. Such foster parents seldom proved to be good parents. It is unfortunate that so many were deprived of the important benefits of normal family training in the home. ⁴²

One of the most common professions in which these ministers engaged some time or other during their lifetime was teaching. ⁴³ Working or attending schools during the summer and teaching in the winter was a common practice. ⁴⁴ Certification was sometimes necessary in order to be appointed to a teaching position, but the standards could never have been very rigid. ⁴⁵ As late as 1850 Louis Beaudry was certified to teach at the age of seventeen after going to school for only one year, so pressed were the schools for teachers. Most of the men who engaged in common school teaching were little better qualified. ⁴⁶ The pay for teaching was never attractive, but nevertheless, jobs were hard to come by in those days and money was scarce. ⁴⁷ How well these pioneer Methodist preachers knew the value of the dollar! A few men taught on the higher levels of education before entering the ranks of the Methodist itinerancy. Some taught in secondary schools and the classical academies and seminaries. ⁴⁸ Other more qualified and ambitious men taught ⁴⁹ in the newly founded colleges and universities.

The early ambitions of these men differed considerably. Apart from the trades already discussed, there were strong lurings to the sea ⁵⁰ and the army ⁵¹ for some.

Others were attracted to such professions as journalism,
business,⁵³ and medicine.⁵⁴ It is surprising to note the
large number of these men who at one time were preparing
for a career in law.⁵⁵ Many of these men had already
begun and even finished certain stages of their training
when they were called by God to preach in the Methodist
Church.

The early Methodist preachers could never be
considered to have been a generation of children set aside
early in life for a pious career in the ministry. On the
contrary, these boys enjoyed a normal, active youth, and
their recreation would be little different from the aver-
age country boy of more than a century ago. Indeed
recreation, amusement, and mischief abounded in their
youth. John Wood confesses that he "was a regular boy . . .
and did [his] share of . . . playing ball and other
harmless sports."⁵⁶ In amusement or play of any kind
these boys were as active and energetic as any boy could
be, but "for any labor or useful occupation, [they] had
a very decided dislike."⁵⁷ The boy, especially if he
was on the frontier, had certain unique luxuries in the
way of pastime. To him there was pleasure in the pathless
woods which surrounded his home, in tree climbing, in
hunting berries and nuts, in robbing the treasure of
"bee trees," and the like.⁵⁸ Playing Indian, acting
out mock military battles, building play houses, wagons,
and forts were common means of excitement for the energetic
boys of the early 1800's.⁵⁹ Pets and small gardens brought

much joy to some of these young adventurers. ⁶⁰ Playing
jokes and other prankish acts were special forms of
childish entertainment. ⁶¹ Stealing large luscious melons
was a well-liked prank in the Southern States. ⁶²

A variety of boyhood games were enjoyed by these
active children; many of them still exist today in some
form or another.

Marbles were played We played 'Town Ball,'
probably a primitive form of what is now called
baseball. We also played shinny which I have
thought resembled what is called golf; though is
much simpler. Foot-ball was often played, but with
less violence than is now used in that dangerous
game. We sometimes played 'Prisoner's Base,' a lively
game especially if girls were in it. Another game--
Mumbly-Peg, played by a group seated on the ground
and by the use of a pocket knife. ⁶³

Other games such as Antny-over, ⁶⁴ Cat and Bullpen, ⁶⁵
⁶⁶ Mumble Peg, ⁶⁷ rule in the hole, ⁶⁸ and Sky Ball, ⁶⁹ brought
much excitement to these young boys.

Others delighted in more athletic-type recreation, ⁶⁹
such as calisthenics, wrestling, foot racing, and boxing.
Swimming, sailboating, and horseback riding afforded
opportunity for fun and relaxation during the summer months. ⁷⁰
In winter ice skating, coasting, and snowballing were
equally popular. ⁷¹ Hunting and fishing were yearlong
sports. ⁷²

Music seems to have played a rather small part in
the recreational life of these young men apart from dancing
tunes. Only a few men mention any music ability other
than "singing vain songs." ⁷³ A few had some minor training
in musical instruments such as the drum, fife, and

"clarionet."⁷⁴

Holidays, such as Christmas, New Year's, and national celebrations, did afford time for fun and festivity even in the pious life of the pioneer Methodists. "The holidays . . . were spent in shooting-matches, dancing, and frolicking."⁷⁵ These days were eagerly awaited, for hunting, fishing, card-playing, balls, and "all kinds of jollity and mirth" added much spice to the relatively dull and unexciting life on the farm.⁷⁶

In spite of their generally strict moral upbringing, these young Methodists often "felt the seed of corruption within."⁷⁷ Willfull disobedience to parents led⁷⁸ many to fall into sin.

We were taught that Sabbath-breaking and dancing ranked with profane language, drinking and gambling, and were not only sinful, but low and disgraceful.⁷⁹

Daniel Dorchester mentions that one day his pastor, a Methodist preacher, saw him with a baseball bat in his hand "and with a look of great gravity and seriousness he asked . . . if I thought Jesus ever played ball." Pioneer Methodists could not conscientiously participate in the amusements and recreations of the world. There were few sports and amusements which could be taken in the name of the Savior or be done to the glory of God. They felt that as Christians they were not to be of this world. Indeed, other worldliness and self-denial were two of their outstanding characteristics. Such strict morality naturally caused much resentment among these curious boys.

Temptation was too strong for many to resist. When they left home to seek a job, an entire revolution often took place in their conduct as they drifted from every religious thought and duty.⁸¹ This rebellion against parental authority turned them from conscious religious boys into "scoffers and opposers of the religion of Jesus."⁸² John Risley late in his life earnestly prayed: "May God help me now to be as zealous in His cause as I then was in the service of the devil!"⁸³

These wild, thoughtless, rebellious youngsters were soon haunted by their previous instruction. "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him," and other Biblical teachings rang in the ear of conscience. They were thus "troubled on every side,⁸⁴ fighting Satan without, and fears within." There were those who felt they had plenty of time to seek religion,⁸⁵ but first they wanted to serve sin and Satan for a season. It was easy to succumb to evil temptation and soon they lived after the example of the masses and "took up all manner of youthful follies--gambling, cursing and swearing,⁸⁶ blaspheming the name of a holy God, attending ball, etc." The so-called "Four Vices" or sinful besetments to which they were most frequently subjected were theft, gambling,⁸⁷ tobacco, and drunkenness. On the frontier it was said to be a "very rare thing to find a young person professing religion. The youth were generally devoted to vain amusements."⁸⁸ Peter Cartwright explains his youthful dis-

position thus:

I was naturally a wild, wicked boy, and delighted in horse-racing, card-playing, and dancing. My father restrained me but little, though my mother often talked to me, wept over me, and prayed for me, and often drew tears from my eyes; and though I often wept under preaching, and resolved to do better and seek religion, yet I broke my vows, went into young company, rode races, played cards, and danced.⁸⁹

Many reluctantly confessed in their autobiographies that they did much "sowing of wild oats" in their early days.⁹⁰ Charles Hertel said he acquired his bad habits thus:

Cursing and swearing I learned in the army . . . ; drinking and fighting in the University; mocking at sin and blaspheming God in the bar-rooms, and so I came pretty near being a desperado. [sic] ⁹¹

One of the most troubling forms of sin which caused a great deal of discussion was the temperance problem. ~~Because~~ The Methodist position regarding the liquor traffic stood counter to public opinion. All harvesting, corn-husking, log-rollings, house-raisings, weddings, funerals, and ordinations "demanded something to drink."⁹²

In those days 'King Alcohol' was very popular. There were no temperance societies. It was common to have liquor on the table or side-board, and to invite people of all ages to drink. No temperance lectures were heard. There was a great laxity among both the ministry and the laity of the church in regard to liquor drinking The Methodists, however, were somewhat in advance of their times. Their Discipline strictly forbade the sale and drinking of liquor as a beverage; and they enforced this rule.⁹³

It was a common thing for ministers to take a "dram" when visiting parishoners.⁹⁴ Alcoholic beverages were commonly used in early America both as a beverage and as a medium of exchange. The Discipline of the Methodists expressly

forbade buying or selling or the use of liquor.⁹⁵ Some of these men who later entered the ministry formed habits of drinking not only from an idle curiosity, but also from social custom. This practice took root in the fertile soil of the youthful heart and stood ever before them as a grave sin in their later life.⁹⁶

Card-playing, too, was condemned by the Methodists as being not only worldly, but also tending toward other evils. Yet by sheer curiosity card-playing found a few enthusiasts among the early Methodist young people.⁹⁷ Many rainy days were spent at the gaming table. Smoking and chewing tobacco were also tested by these young boys,⁹⁸ often with very sickening consequences.

Because dancing was so often associated with intemperance and immorality, it was strictly banned by the early Methodists. Dancing was denounced because it tended to destroy the spirituality of its devotees. Yet dancing became one of the most loved of all "youthful sins."⁹⁹ "Dancing constituted my chief joy," commented James Finley, "to enter its giddy mazes, and enjoy its frenzied whirl offered me the most pleasurable entertainment."¹⁰⁰ In New York state the "ballroom was the place of general resort."¹⁰¹ and even in puritanical New England "Dancing parties and balls had been occasions of amusement with the young people, even the older ones."¹⁰² A few of the men were privileged enough to attend dancing schools, "thinking it was polite accomplishment."¹⁰³ George Henry,

however, felt dancing schools to be quite unnecessary, for he boasts: "From early childhood, my feet would almost universally join in the chorus of the violin and respond with rumble antics to its bewildering tones." 104

The opposite sex, as is true of every generation, made a powerful impression on these young men. John Maffitt explains:

I attended every ball within the circle of my connection; paid my addresses at the shrine of every fashionable beauty; and devoted every leisure hour to the study of my dress and appearance. 105

Evenings were spent with the ladies of the neighborhood 106 whenever possible. Lorenzo Waugh more fully describes the dating practices of the early 1800's:

We boys in those days were always delighted when we could manage to have the pleasant company and association of the girls! And there were two items of work in which our courting customs made it perfectly right and pleasant for the girls to join us. One of these was the 'Corn-shucking,' and the other the 'Flax-pulling.' [In the former game] those who got the greatest number of speckled and red ears of corn were to have certain preferences in the way of kisses in the little lays which were to come off after the shucking was done. 107

George Henry relates his early love affairs thus:

I was usually ready to bestow gallant attentions upon the fair, and occasionally [was] touched with a tender inspiration of Cupid The society of worthy young ladies had always a multitude of charms for me. . . . courtships, flirtations, meetings, partyings, frolicking, &c . . . such vain delusions must give place to more substantial and profitable things. 108

Seeking happiness in the youthful "pleasures of sin" afforded little satisfaction in the end. "Many sleepless midnight hours [were spent] under the lashings of a guilty conscience of acting in opposition to the light of heaven." 109

"I went with the multitude to do evil, and my religious purposes were deferred to a more convenient season," said Alfred Brunson. But he later regretted such action, for he said:

After these scenes of mis-called innocent amusement (dancing), I never rested well at night. I was often afraid to sleep, lest I should wake up in hell before morning. Under such feelings I often resolved to quit all such practices, but the charm of young company was so great for me, that all my good purposes failed under its influence. 110

These ministers were not all of a sinful sort.

There were those who felt they stood in striking contrast to the rest of their playmates with regard to religion and morality in their youth. 111 George Rankin said he could 112

not remember when he was not religiously inclined.

Emory Miller boasted that he "never attended a theater or a dance, never spoke a profane oath, knew nothing of cards, and never even sang a secular song or whistled a tune of any kind on the Sabbath." 113 No young man in such circumstances of poverty and obscurity ever had more favorable conditions for religious growth and spiritual progress as did H. L. Chapman, for he says: "My companions were all more or less devout Christians, including some young men." 114 He claims he had little contact with vulgarity and wickedness as did his colleagues.

In studying the early lives of these men who later entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church one fact stands out. Their Childhood was active and exciting. Their general inclination to evil led them to "sow their

wild oats" just as eagerly as did ordinary boys. From the discussion one could hardly conclude that this group of young Methodist ministers was very much different from the "regular boys" of their time. It is true that many were forced by strict parents to observe the letter of the law in religious and moral practice. It was these boys, when later left on their own to seek a job, who rebelled against their previous parental teaching and authority and fell into all forms of sin. There were those, however, who praised their early piety, but many more of these men realistically remembered their youth as being filled with "fun and frolic, mischief and meanness." 115

CHAPTER III

HIS THIRST FOR EDUCATION

The pioneer Methodists are usually portrayed as indifferent to education and their ministers as ignorant, unpolished, rough frontiersmen overflowing with the spirit of the Lord. It is, indeed, surprising to note the great thirst for education of these young men who were destined for the Methodist itinerancy. This enthusiasm and zeal for knowledge can be seen in their efforts to attend secondary schools and colleges, as well as in their efforts to educate themselves by reading and studying at home or at work. Good educational institutions were generally not available, and if they were, the cost of attending them made them almost prohibitive. Those ^{men} who did struggle to work their way through private academies and even colleges hardly indicates an indifferent attitude toward education. This longing for a better education is a phase of the life of the pioneer Methodist preacher which is too often overlooked in the many volumes which discuss the development of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Methodists, denominationally and individually, have been too often unjustly criticized ¹ for their lack of emphasis upon education.

It is true that the formal educational advantages of these men were limited as they were for the general populace, but the Methodist ministers recognized

the need for more thorough mental training and more extended opportunities for education. This intense interest in education was by no means confined to a few specially interested individuals. Parents were seldom able to furnish the means for gratifying their intense desire for knowledge. They wished to give their children the best educational advantages which they could afford, but their meager family incomes included little or no money for private schooling. More often, the children were needed at home to help support the large family.²

Much of the little education which these men had was the result of their training in the home. Here they were taught only the barest essentials, for their parents generally had little or no education themselves.³ Often their mothers were their only teachers and the Bible their main textbook.⁴ A few were fortunate enough to have more educated parents as instructors.⁵ Some of the more wealthy families had elaborate private libraries and hired private tutors to train their children.⁶

The longing for education was very real to these young men. William Wyatt earnestly prayed for education and "wondered why it did not come to him, as to Adam, by intuition!"⁷ Elwood Stokes writes of his eagerness for learning:

From the time of my conversion I had felt a great thirst for knowledge. I longed for a thorough education at some of the schools, but this seemed beyond my reach. The next best thing within my grasp was to devote my leisure to a concise course of solid reading. 8

Although their school days were over at an early age, their time when not at work as an apprentice or at home on their farm was not idly spent. These men had a great desire for books and delighted in reading everything they could get their hands on. 9 The Bible, of course, was one of the few books which was generally available. Some of these men literally studied themselves sick in their seemingly unquenchable thirst for knowledge. They would work from sun-up till early evening and then sit by the fire and read late into the night. Many a midnight hour saw these men perusing the best books which they could obtain in an effort to prepare themselves more adequately for the ministry. 10 James Anthony called it "knowledge fever":

The hardships of my former active life, coupled with intense study, broke me down in health. I became dyspeptic and emaciated and got into such a low physical state that our family physician advised me not to look into a book for the next six months! 11

It is true that these men had not always longed for an education. The previous chapter has already pointed out that as young boys, "being of a wild, playful disposition [were] diverted from their books and. . . 12 [often] got but little education." In his younger years George Peck bitterly hated school: "I used to

be driven to school as a slave to his toil," he said,¹³ but he later regretted his childish actions. As they matured, others grieved^{at} their lack of education and tried to do everything in their power to become¹⁴ educated. It would seem that many of these early Methodists realized the necessity of a well-educated clergy, even if the church did not yet see the value of it. In the late 1830's William Meeker with prophetic insight noted after his call to preach: "I. . . began to feel that my life work was to be of no ordinary character and that I must bend every energy to acquire a¹⁵ good mental training.

Formal education among these men was severely limited for a number of reasons. Many were forced to leave school early in order to work to support their¹⁶ families. John Nichols writes:

In those days, few people knew the value of education. True, we had a short session of school in each scholastic district nearly every autumn, generally taught by men who knew but little themselves. . . I was not always permitted to attend; so when I reached the age of seventeen years I was just able to read very little by spelling of the words. I never studied grammar or mathematics. ¹⁷

"Three months was our allowance--occasionally less," says Silas Cummings, depending on the work he and his¹⁸ brothers had to do on the farm. The farm work load lessened during the winter months and enabled those who lived in areas which had a local elementary school to¹⁹ attend for the usual three or four month term.

Good educational facilities were lacking throughout the nation in the early decades of the nineteenth century, except for the larger, more progressive cities on the eastern seaboard.²⁰ During the early 1800's New England had at least the rudiments of a sound public educational system:

[New England] at that early period was furnished only with a few endowed institutions of learning; and these, many, for the want of means, could not reach. But the common branches were open to all, and were universally pursued; while the higher and ornamental branches were chiefly left for prouder days and greater resources of wealth. 21

The Middle Colonies offered fewer educational advantages in these early years. In New York state at the turn of the century, "school advantages were scarce."²² Pennsylvania, too, had few schools, and many of them "were of a very inferior character."²³ The Midwest had its educational deficiencies; the new frontier communities in the wilderness had little means of education.²⁴ Of the educational system in the West, James Finley writes:

At that time [1800] there were but few schools in the country. . . . The most of the children were, however, taught to read; as for writing, that was an accomplishment for which they had no use. Those who had the rare privilege of going to school generally graduated in a quarter. 25

Educational facilities were limited in the South as well.²⁶ Most of these men were thus faced with little real opportunity for intellectual development. Even the facilities for the most elementary education were generally lacking during the early decades of the nineteenth

century. As the century progressed more and better educational facilities accessible to the public were established.²⁷

Self education was the only alternative for many of these young men if they insisted on obtaining even the most rudimentary training. They realized that the next best thing for them to do was to devote their leisure to a course of reading. After their meager allotment of formal training, many continued to improve themselves at home.²⁸ Seth Reed explains:

I continued my habits of study alone, without a teacher, without assistance of any kind other than a few books, and those often borrowed from neighbors, and by the light from the large stone fireplace of our small, one-room log shanty, studied diligently. 29

Many could boast that they were "home educated."³⁰ Luther Lee learned to read the Bible, "to write a little, and to work in figures as far as division and all this without going to school!"³¹ These men used every spare moment to read some good book or to pursue a diligent study of English grammar and composition, arithmetic,³² geography, natural philosophy, logic, or rhetoric.

What little money these young men earned was used to purchase books on a wide variety of subjects. Books on English grammar and composition, geography, history, natural philosophy,³³ theology, religion, and the Bible were eagerly sought. Such languages as Greek and Latin, and even Hebrew were also mastered through self-study.³⁴ Even mathematics and the sciences, such as

chemistry, geology, and astronomy were considered im-
portant.³⁵ At least an elementary knowledge of a wide
variety of topics was thus acquired in remarkable fashion.
William Wyatt was once asked: "At what college were you
educated, and where did you graduate?" His answer was
simply this: "In my father's lower meadow, sir, one of
the grandest institutions in the world!"³⁶

Over eighty percent of the men who entered the
Methodist itinerancy attended some form of elementary
school at one time or another, though few ever attended
more than a few short terms.³⁷ In the early decades
of the nineteenth century these schools were private
since the teacher collected a small fee from each scholar.
The state and territorial governments soon made some
provisions for public schools. The early common schools
were open only during the winter months when farm work
was less pressing. The subjects taught were the ele-
mentary ones, and rarely extended beyond reading, writing,
and arithmetic. Here during the long winter months the
children gained the rudiments of the English language
from generally poorly qualified teachers. The school
buildings were often crude log structures complete with
the most uncomfortable benches made of slabs split from
logs. There were no individual desks; a long narrow
table at the rear of the room served as a "writing board"
for those who took penmanship and spelling. The pens
used were made of goosequills and the ink from the

bark of swamp maple.³⁹

These crude elementary schools were open only a few months in the winter, there being much work to be done on the farm during the rest of the year. The length of the term varied. Although a three-month⁴⁰ term was common, four-, five-, and even eight-month⁴¹ sessions were occasionally held. There was a great divergence in the ages at which these men entered school. Some began at the age of five or six, while others were near adults when they were first able to attend elementary⁴² school.⁴³ The common beginning ages were seven to ten. The schools in those pioneer days were not graded, since the course of study was restricted to the mere rudiments.

The curriculum of these district or common schools was quite restricted. Text books were sadly lacking and⁴⁴ thus cut down the curriculum considerably. Chauncey Hobart mentions that the district school which he attended in Ohio had only "a spelling book, a geography, a New Testament, and an English Reader."⁴⁵ The range of studies was limited also by the lack of qualified instructors. The curriculum was mostly confined to the essentials--reading, writing, grammar, and "written and mental⁴⁶ arithmetic." History, geography, and "orthography,"⁴⁷ were occasionally offered. Said George Rankin:

The course of study was limited, and the attainments of the teacher were neither varied nor comprehensive. He taught Readin', 'Rithmetic, Spellin' and Writin'. . . I went to him two terms and never did learn the A,B,C's. ⁴⁸

In a few instances where the teacher was competent and the students were ambitious, Latin, history, natural philosophy, and even algebra were taught.⁴⁹ The method of teaching stressed memorization, and much attention was paid to spelling and reciting "by heart," as it was termed.⁵⁰

Religion played a very important role in the common school curriculum of the early 1800's. School began daily with religious exercises. In addition, the Bible was often the only reader which the school had in its library. Learning to read and write certain passages of the Bible was an integral part of the training.⁵¹ It was common for preachers to teach in the local schools, for they were usually the most educated persons in the frontier communities.⁵² Morals and manners were also a part of their daily routine.⁵³

The teachers of the elementary schools during the early nineteenth century were not well qualified for their important position. Seldom could they instruct beyond the basic principles of "the Three R's."⁵⁴ Adam Miller explains:

After attending the winter school for several terms, the teacher sent word, to my father to keep me home, saying that he could teach me no further. ⁵⁵

Apart from the simple intellectual drudgery of reading, spelling, and arithmetic exercises, old fashioned spelling bees were often held. The pupils were divided into two equal groups who lined up on each side

of the classroom and would spell until all of one or the other side was eliminated by misspelling words. Spelling matches were sometimes held between neighboring schools and produced great excitement and interest.⁵⁶

The early school days of these men were filled with "the usual admixture of fun and frolic, mischief and meanness."⁵⁷ The recesses and dinner hour were considered the most interesting periods in the whole day; the rest of it was considered irksome and monotonous. Said John L. Dyer:

These three monts of good times we had together brightened the whole year. Our games were rugged, and our tricks were not the gentlest. One of the latter was to bar out the teacher at Christmas, and dictate terms of admission, which usually were two days' vacation time to be made up by him, and a treat at his expense of a quarter or two of whiskey. ⁵⁸

H. L. Chapman assures us: "We did study--but not in our books. Our main study was how we could have a good time. . . . When school was dismissed every boy seized his hat or cap and made for the door in hot hustle," preferring the freedom of the outdoors to the discipline of the school room.⁵⁹

Corporal punishment was administered whenever necessary by the teacher. "It was thought not possible to govern a school without a rod."⁶⁰ Each school had its supply of well-seasoned birch rods, which were "dominant factors in the discipline" of the school. The teachers seldom spared the rod and spoiled the child, for the boys feared the rod.⁶² "We often sat in 'torment,'

as if in prison. . . The discipline was like the Connecticut 'Blue Laws,' never to be abrogated, right or wrong, but to be carried out if death ensue," said

⁶³
John Burgess. Billy Hibbard remembered his school day punishments very vividly:

I was frequently flogged by the schoolmaster by breaking the rule 'not to look off my book, while studying or reading.' Some times when I stopt to spit, or blow my nose, I was accused of looking off my book, and called up and flogged. I was also whipped for sitting cross-legged on the seat, or picking my nose. ⁶⁴

James Anthony said his back often bled until his shirt was stained with blood, so severe were some of the whippings which he received from his teacher. These "stripes," he said, were used to "advance the students in their studies." ⁶⁵

The extent of public schooling which these men enjoyed varied, but never was very adequate. Some attended school for only a session of a few months, while ⁶⁶ others spent a number of years attending school. ⁶⁷ A few of these men had no formal education at all.

Private academies, seminaries, and classical schools were the next step upward above the rudimentary education which could be obtained in the common district schools. These schools were not public high schools as we know them; they were private boarding schools which offered the basic courses plus a more expanded curriculum. All students paid tuition; room and board was either provided by the school or by the community in which it

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was located. It was common in most schools for students to board with private families, for only a few of the larger and more progressive secondary schools had adequate dormitory facilities.⁶⁹ It was often a severe struggle for many of these men to cover their financial obligations, but with such a great zeal for education, few were forced to leave school after they had matriculated. Means were found to obtain the all-important funds.

George Rankin describes the private academy which he attended in the late 1850's:

In large measure it [the academy] was up-to-date and furnished with all the modern appliances. We had a fairly good cabinet of minerals and a very good elementary laboratory. We also had good desks and seats, classrooms, and a large chapel for public exercises. It was a good, practical school. When the classes were overly large, we had an assistant teacher or teachers. They knew the art of training and the best methods for making pupils study.⁷⁰

The school was coeducational, having seventy-five students, a large number of whom were girls. The school of course "allowed no communication between the sexes except in the classroom." The teachers were very strict disciplinarians, ruling the school "with a rod of iron." A typical school day began with reveille at four in the morning. "Every boy," he said, "had to rise at that hour and put in good time on his books." Classes began about eight o'clock. At the sounding of a bell the students marched to their classes with the regularity of soldiers. When they were all seated, the old professor took his place on the platform with authoritative manner. After his secretary took

the roll, the professor read a chapter from the Bible, announced a hymn, which was sung "with zest and in good time," and then led in a stately prayer. After the religious exercises the recitations began.⁷¹

The secondary school curriculum of the early nineteenth century included such subjects as reading, spelling, geography, arithmetic, natural philosophy, rhetoric and grammar.⁷² The classics were an important segment of the course of study; Latin and Greek were standard items,⁷³ Hebrew was offered in a few schools as an aid to Biblical study.⁷⁴ Higher levels of mathematics, algebra and trigonometry were studied as well as more advanced courses in natural philosophy, chemistry, surveying, natural physics, astronomy, geology, and history.⁷⁵ Rhetoric and elocution were supplements to the usual English grammar training.⁷⁶

The cost of education at these private academies was considerable. The actual expenses depended upon the grade of instruction, the length of the term, and what arrangements were made for room and board.⁷⁷ Henry Kimball of New York mentions that in the 1850's room, board, and tuition for a twenty-two week term was thirty dollars.⁷⁸ During the same time J. Wesley Garhart paid seventeen dollars for a thirteen-week term, which included "board, room, fuel, and instruction."⁷⁹ Yet many of these men did all in their power to scrape enough money together to finance a few terms at a nearby academy, so great was

their zeal for education.

Most of the men who attended private schools financed their education themselves, for their parents were seldom able to help. Numerous ways were devised to secure funds for school. Since most of the classes were held in the early morning hours and the forenoon, the afternoon was left free for labor, and the evenings for study. ⁸⁰ Hugh Fisher writes:

I worked from early morning until nine o'clock, then met my classes in the academy and recited with them, returning immediately to my work, which I would continue until four p. m. again returning to recite, then working until dark and studying until midnight. My lessons in the languages, higher mathematics, and astronomy were studied with my books lying or standing open on my bench held in position by a block of wood. I would catch a sentence and while champhering a head or setting a hoop, would repeat it over and over til I could catch another and settle it in my mind. ⁸¹

Saturdays they were free to work a full day, probably ⁸² on a nearby farm or for a merchant in the town.

Aaron Hall had a difficult time meeting his school expenses:

I rented a small room in a private house, and boarded myself, living on bread and milk; and to still further lengthen out my stay in school, worked some each day in a leather shop in the village. ⁸³

It was common for the men to "board themselves" in order to conserve their financial income. ⁸⁴ Some men earned money during the school term by tutoring dull pupils and teaching in neighboring elementary schools which ⁸⁵ so badly needed better qualified teachers. Others

preached in nearby churches in order to earn money to pay some of their educational expenses.⁸⁶ Beside work during the school term, usually enough money could be earned during the summer months to defray most of the expenses of the next term.

The heavy work loads of the students reduced their amount of free time for recreation. Some managed to find time to join lyceums and debate societies in their schools, which served as good training for young ministers in the arts of oratory and extemporaneous speaking. Various contests between such organizations added much excitement to the seemingly dull work-sleep-⁸⁸ study cycle of their school life.

In the period from 1790 to 1860 the Methodist Episcopal Church could boast few college graduates in its clergy. Indeed, the pioneer Methodist preacher may have seemed poorly educated as compared with the educated⁸⁹ clergy of the other denominations. Less than ten percent of the Methodist ministers attended college and less than half of this group graduated with a full degree. Perhaps this may be explained by the simple fact that the Methodist Episcopal Church officially made little effort to establish higher educational institutions until the 1830's.⁹⁰

The first attempts of the Methodist Episcopal Church to establish a college failed. Cokesbury College in Abingdon, Maryland, first opened in 1787, but

within a few years was destroyed by fire three times
never to be rebuilt again.⁹¹ Thus the idea of estab-
lishing Methodist-related colleges faded into the back-
ground for a few decades. The poverty of the first
generation of Methodism was only temporary. Soon weal-
thy members were found in the church. When the Method-
ists became financially able to educate their children,
they discovered that all of the colleges were under the
control of the Calvinists and other heretical sects.
The Methodists faced the alternative of seeing their
children leave the Methodist fold or of establishing
colleges of their own. The action of the General Con-
ference of 1820 led to the great college-building era
in Methodism between 1820 and 1840. By 1870 the Method-
ists had founded nearly three hundred schools and colleges
to meet the increasing demand for better educated clergy
and laymen among the Methodists.⁹²

The college curriculum in the early eighteen
hundreds was little different from that of the classical
academy; indeed, the level of studies was little higher
in some of the colleges. The course of study included
a strong emphasis in the classics and mathematics.⁹³
In addition to the usual Greek and Latin grammar and
literature, Hebrew was sometimes offered.⁹⁴ Philosophy
and the sciences were usually taught; the more advanced
schools offered physics, chemistry, geology, and botany.⁹⁵
English grammar and composition, modern languages, and

history occupied a surprisingly minor position. Few evidences of courses in the fine arts can be found.

Those who attended college in this day applied themselves to their studies diligently. The courses were difficult and much study was required.⁹⁶ "We had little leisure," said Samuel Williams, "as our studies were hard and the recitations exacting."⁹⁷ Their strict study schedules allowed little time for sleep and play. Classes were held six days a week; Saturday afternoon⁹⁸ was usually the only free period. during the week. There were, of course, a few activities which were popular outside the classroom.

The principal extracurricular activities centered about literary societies. Debate clubs, literary organizations, oratorical societies, and various other fraternities afforded much opportunity for heated debate and campus rivalry.⁹⁹ Says George Rankin:

We had [on our campus] two literary societies and they gave scope and opportunity for development and exercise of our gifts and graces as public speakers . . . There we met in the arena and measured swords in the intellectual combats of college life. How the sparks used to fly in our society debates! 100

Student publications, literary magazines and particularly rival college newspapers added much excitement to college life.¹⁰¹ Forensic and music festivals were annual events at which the brass band would offer a few selections, Latin and Greek orations would be given, discussions, speeches, essays, and dialogues were

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delivered. Sports, such as football, baseball, and
soccer were generally frowned upon as vulgar and barbaric,
although cricket was popular at Ohio Wesleyan as early
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as 1840. In the spring and early fall outdoor swim-
ming and hiking were common means of exercise and relax-
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ation. Hunting and fishing in the nearby forests
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were also enjoyed in leisure moments. "The favorite
recreation, apart from hunting, was social or solitary
rambling," says Samuel Williams, "sometimes for minerals
to illustrate geology, but more often for simple exercise."106

Vital religion held a significant place in the
pioneer Methodist colleges. Religious exercises became
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a very important part of the daily activities. Re-
ligious observances demanded of students in most colleges
were extremely exacting. Required-attendance chapel
services were held twice a day. The roll was called
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each time to mark their attendance or absence. Re-
peated absence from chapel services subjected the offender
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to discipline; they were even subject to dismissal.
Morning chapel was held before classes began, sometimes
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as early as four o'clock in the morning! "To miss
morning prayer was to forfeit breakfast," said John
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McLean. Evening chapel services were held either
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directly before or after dinner. Saturday evening
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"experience meetings" were also held and well-attended.
The Sabbath was almost wholly devoted to religious ser-
vices. The morning sermon at eleven a.m., class meeting

at three p.m., and an evening preaching service at seven
rounded out the day's religious activities. ¹¹⁴ Some
colleges held annual revival meetings which were eagerly
awaited by the students. ¹¹⁵ The majority of the faculty
members of these early colleges were ordained ministers. ¹¹⁶

A number of these young men spent much of their
leisure in community Christian service. They were gen-
erally active in the Methodist churches, if there was
one in the vicinity of the college. Often they would
assist the local ministers in their pastoral labors and
were occasionally able to preach in his stead. ¹¹⁷

While at Washington College in Maryland in 1804, James
Erwin records his week-end religious obligations:

I used to start from . . . college about four
o'clock Saturday afternoon; preach three times
on Sunday, meet class, hold a prayer meeting,
and walk back home again at night, reaching
the academy Monday morning at ten o'clock in
time for my first lesson, having studied it
thoroughly, book in hand, along the way. ¹¹⁸

The cost of a college education in the first half
of the nineteenth century was even more prohibitive than
it is today. Few families could afford to send their
sons away to school; scholarships and other student fin-
ancial aids were not readily available. ¹¹⁹ It was a cons-
tant struggle for those who did attend college to meet
their financial obligations. George Rankin explains:

By strict economy and frugality I had means barely
sufficient to meet my actual expense, and I mea-
sured the worth of a dollar with scientific ac-
curacy. My clothing was plain, but simple; and
board in that out-of-the-way country place was

exceedingly reasonable. There was no need and not much opportunity for spending money foolishly, and there was no boy who was either able or desirous to indulge in luxuries. 120

William Turner, a student in the newly founded Asbury University in Indiana, said of his college years: "These were years of great self-denial and hard work. I lived on seventy-five cents a week and worked hard at my trade on Saturdays." 121 In 1854 at McKenzie College in Texas, John McLean tells us that "preparatory grade" cost \$110, while "collegiate grade" cost \$130 for "nine calendar months, embracing board, lodging, tuition, and laundry." 122 Arrangements for room and board were usually made by the student in the surrounding area. Few schools were equipped with adequate dormitories and dining halls. 123

The students used various methods to secure funds for college. Teaching or serving as assistants to professors was one of the common methods. 124 Some were given a few classes in the preparatory department to teach. 125 Part-time jobs in the college communities gave added opportunity for income for others. 126 Living expenses were cut to the barest minimum by "boarding themselves," as they called it. They could rent a small room and prepare their own meager meals; sometimes they even planted a small plot of land and grew some of their own food as an economy measure. 127 Summers, of course, afforded an opportunity for them to replenish their empty wallets.

Whatever may have been the attitude of the Methodist Episcopal Church as a denomination or of the rank and file of its membership toward education, it is evident that a number of the early itinerants were extremely interested in their education. An intrinsic interest in learning seems to have impelled these men to educate themselves. Those who had no means to attend formal schools studied much on their own. Others who attended preparatory schools and colleges had an intense desire to learn as much as possible. This is well-illustrated by the desperate efforts of the students to secure enough money to cover their educational expenses.

Of the Methodist ministers in the early nineteenth century few could be mentioned as having outstanding educational qualifications. Only occasionally does one encounter a man who earned a college degree. Others may have been well read in the Scriptures but were by no means learned. However, there were many who were more than superficially acquainted with higher mathematics, the classics, philosophy, theology, and other more advanced studies. Through constant application and serious self-study many of these men overcame their lack of formal training. In spite of the difficulty in securing books and the lack of good educational institutions and qualified teachers, the pioneer Methodist circuit riders were surprisingly well-educated, certainly more so than most authorities give them credit for.

During the years 1790 to 1860 the Methodist ministers were recruited from a variety of religious backgrounds. Only one third of the group were of Methodist parentage; the remainder were won to Methodism from the Lutherans, Presbyterians, Baptists and Roman Catholics.¹ A substantial group had little or no religious training in the home, but the majority of these men were reared in homes rich in religion. The attitude of the family toward religion, the Church, and the ministry had a profound effect on the later religious experience and eventual call to preach of these young men.

The foundation of the deep faith of the pioneer Methodist preachers was usually laid in their humble homes. The parents, especially the mothers, were greatly concerned for the spiritual upbringing of their children. In spite of the fact that they had a very limited education, the parents were often persistent students of the Holy Scriptures.² John Smith writes of his mother:

She was a woman of extensive reading and of much more than average culture. Besides the Bible, she was familiar with the theological writings of Wesley & Fletcher Thoroughly posted on the subject of the Bible doctrines, and well informed on the religious topics of the day, she was by no means an incompetent instructor.³

Lessons of "the Blessed Saviour--of his condescending love, and of his suffering and death to save a guilty world" were frequent subjects of bed-time stories to these children.⁴ A "praying mother" was considered to be a great asset,⁵ for she acted as a stern counselor and spiritual advisor. Thus it was in the home that many of these men received the first rudiments of the Christian faith. Such children were well-founded in the faith via their mothers' simple Biblical teachings and fervent prayers. These pious mothers advised their children early to read the Bible and showed them "the need of religion."⁶ They were taught to "fear God, to love His word and His messengers, to reverence His Sabbath, and to look upon religion as the one thing needful."⁷

The fathers, too, were often very interested in religion; their earnest teaching and example exerted a tremendous influence on the religious development of their children.⁸ John Maffitt's father sought constantly to "infuse the strictest principles of propriety, philanthropy, and heart-felt devotion" into his children and neglected no opportunity to "train up a child in the way he should go."⁹

Some parents were very strict and exacting in the religious requirements of their children.¹⁰ The parents of H. L. Chapman were strict disciplinarians, for they required their children to recite ten or twenty verses of the Bible each night before supper. If the children failed to recite properly, they would get no supper. In

his mother's conscientious efforts to bring up her children in the way they should go, he confesses, she often found it necessary to use "the rod".¹¹ Many of these children were required to memorize the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Apostle's Creed, and¹² the catechism while they were very young.

By the very nature of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, family worship was encouraged to promote piety, particularly in sparsely settled communities of the West. Such simple religious services were held in the homes of the pioneers until the circuit rider could organize a class meeting and eventually a church. Even after the church was formed, family devotions continued to be an important part of the daily religious obligations of all pioneer Methodists. No meal was ever eaten without asking of a blessing or the returning of thanks.¹³ Morning and evening a chapter of the Bible was read, members of the family each taking his turn, a hymn or two was usually "lined" and sung, and a mighty prayer ended this worship. Such humble services at the family altar were seldom allowed to be interrupted by business or other activities, so essential were they to their daily lives. Much earnest prayer and fervent singing occurred about these family altars, for they were common in the homes of all pious Methodists in the early decades of the nineteenth century.¹⁴

Pioneer Methodists were strict observers of the Sabbath. All labor that possibly could be done on Saturday was so done.¹⁵

The cows might be milked and the horses fed and watered, but they must not be groomed nor the stables regulated. The wood must be put in the box on Saturday afternoon, the water brought from the well, boots blackened, shaving attended to, clothes laid out, and cooking done for the Sabbath. Our two meals on Sunday were served cold, except for the tea or coffee for the old people.¹⁶

In addition to the regular morning and evening devotions at the family altar, the family would gather together on Sunday afternoon or evening for Bible study. The father or mother would then exhort their children to earnestly seek the Lord.¹⁷ The children were never pleased with the intensified religious activity on Sundays. Francis Mood says Sunday was the darkest day of the week for him.¹⁹ James Erwin writes:

Our family worship was the most tedious and dreaded part of the Sabbath services, for it occupied the entire evening. It consisted of reading from eight to ten chapters from the Bible, singing several of the Psalms of David in metre, and prayer. And as this was the only family prayer for the entire day, it was an hour and ten minutes in length.²⁰

Many of these men were thus brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Parents deeply impressed on them that as children they were damned and hell must be their portion unless they seek the Lord diligently until he is found.²¹ These men who were blessed with Godly parents benefited much from their religious teachings and example.²² Francis Mood declares:

I would not give the precious legacy of my father's prayer and example, and my mother's pious devotion and instruction for all the wealth, jewels, gold & fame that the world could offer me. 23

Being brought up in a Christian home with Godly parents and a busy family altar, a home where conversation was almost exclusively on religious subjects, and where the Bible was the center of life, it is easy to see that many of these young men acquired a deep faith and zeal for Christ and for His church.

However, not all of the families from which the pioneer Methodist circuit riders came were nearly so religious as those mentioned above. Almost seventy-five percent of them did benefit from at least some religious training in their home, yet the other twenty-five percent of the group had no such training. Luther Lee writes that one of his biggest disadvantages in his early religious life was that he was not reared to manhood by Christian parents.²⁵ Others complained that they had "no religious instructor."²⁶ John Mills complains that his own parents possessed a "religious creed so lax and accommodating as²⁷ to permit the indulgence of almost any ordinary sin."

In spite of the above group many of these young men developed a rigorous schedule for their daily religious life. Bible reading became a definite part of each day's activities. Habits of prayer, too, were developed.²⁹ Private worship and prayer in the woods, in the fields, at the barn, or in the bedroom afforded daily communion

with their God.³⁰ These men were as attentive to public worship as they were to their private devotional life. Class meetings, love feasts, and preaching services were³¹ never missed.

The Lord visited these men at various ages, many very early in their youth. Even in childhood the influence of divine things made deep and serious impressions on the minds of these young men.³² The sentiment was deeply imprinted on their minds that "the righteous would be happy³³ in the future world and the wicked would be wretched there." Orcenth Fisher describes his early religious experiences thus:

My early religious impressions were very early, perhaps about my seventh year. When I was about twelve years old I was taught to read the Bible I never used His name profanely from the time I was old enough to know the import. I maintained a pretty fair morality; knowing, however, all the time that I must be born again or never inter [enter] into the Kingdom of God. 34

The pioneer Methodist preachers were powerfully converted to God through constant prayer and meditation. They were able to recognize a specific time in their life when they were convinced that Christ had forgiven their burden of sin. This pure feeling of absolute certainty of forgiveness was derived immediately from the testimony of the spirit, the coming of which could be definitely placed to the hour. This consciousness of perfection was accompanied by a sudden spiritual transformation. This emotional experience distinguished the true convert

in his own eyes and those of others by the fact that sin no longer has power over him. The ages at which these men experienced spiritual conversion differ. There were those who boasted that the Lord visited them very early in their life, but the predominant time of conversion was between ten and fourteen years of age.³⁵

Spiritual conversion, however, did not come easy. Three things were indelible fixed in the minds of these men from their early youth: first, that each child was a great sinner; second, that each must be "born again" in order to be saved; third, that the people called Methodists were the Lord's people. They realized that if happiness was to be enjoyed in another world by their poor souls, it could be found only "through faith in a crucified Redeemer."³⁶ But how could they get this faith and be sure of pardon? "How shall I escape the misery of Hell?"³⁷ they asked.

Many had been taught that in infant baptism they received the promises of the Lord, that he would be a gracious God to them and forgive all their sins by mere grace for the sake of Jesus Christ. It was also well understood that they could not trust in this promise except they heartily repented for all of their past sins. After true repentance, through a true and living faith in Jesus Christ, the remission of sins and the renewal of the Holy Ghost in them would be a real experience. Realization of sin and the need for rebirth was an

important step in their spiritual conversion. Of all the sinners in the world, of course, each thought himself to be the greatest.³⁸ Billy Hibbard writes:

I was altogether unholy in my nature; my sins had corrupted every part, so that there was nothing in me that was good; I was a complete sink of sin and iniquity All my hopes of obtaining mercy and getting to Heaven at last, are gone and gone forever. 39

Awareness of sin brought on much anxiety. Many felt they could no longer bear their burden of guilt and sin; others⁴¹ were afraid to sleep lest they wake up in hell. These men feared that if they died as they were, sinful and unpardoned,⁴² hell would surely be their portion. In becoming aware of their terrible sinful state, the need of a Saviour was felt even more than ever before. Their sole object was now to find Jesus dear to their souls.

The hardest part of the process of spiritual conversion was surrendering a sinful, stubborn, rebellious heart to God. Many were too proud to confess and too stubborn to forsake their sins and put "getting religion"⁴³ off until a later date. It was considered a "terrible cross"⁴⁴ to publically confess that one was a sinner and to ask for the prayers of the church. Others found that in striving to personally know God's pardon, they found⁴⁵ disfavor among their friends. Deep and painful spiritual struggles followed which sometimes lasted for days and even months.⁴⁶ . . . The attainment of repentance under certain circumstances involved an emotional struggle of

such intensity as to lead to the most terrible ^sectasies⁴⁷ which often took place in the public meetings. This formed the basis of a belief in the undeserved possession of divine grace and at the same time of an immediate consciousness of justification and forgiveness.

Some event or person sometimes had a direct effect on bringing forth the conversion experience, such as the illness or death of a loved one,⁴⁸ a stirring sermon or testimony,⁴⁹ or the life of a devoted Christian friend.⁵⁰ The latter persons are referred to by pioneer Methodists as "nursing fathers and mothers."⁵¹ John Risley writes:

In those days we had nursing fathers and mothers in the church. They were tenderly solicitous for the growth of the converts, and that they would hold out to the end. They used to tell us with tears, that they would rather follow us to the grave, now that we were rejoicing in hope, and than that we should backslide. And they told us we must all work for God, or we should be sure to grow cold and die spiritually. 52

Many sought direct help from the church, earnestly⁵³ seeking the prayers of all the saved.

Not all sought outside help in solving their spiritual problems. There were those who wished to be converted to God alone.⁵⁴ These men went about mourning day and night for weeks at a time, crying: "God, be merciful to me a sinner."⁵⁵ Some retired to a sacred spot in the woods, in the barn, or in their room, fell on their knees and resolved to persevere in prayer until⁵⁶ the Lord had forgiven all their sins. John Risley found

these strenuous exercises to be somewhat uncomfortable:

I employed my moaning in prayer in the attic
As this knee work was new to me, my knees became
sore, and to remedy this new difficulty, I took
some pieces of sheepskin and made a cushion to
kneel on. 57

Their feelings were so harrowed up at the thought of
dwelling with devils and damned spirits in hell and being
banished from the presence of the Lord forever, in the
bitterness of their souls, many cried, with John Maffitt:
"Lord, save or I perish; Lord, save or I sink into hell!" 58

During the actual conversion experience many
strange physical phenomena took place. Some lost their
strength and fell to the ground in a trance, others became
rigid and could not speak, so powerfully were they
impressed with the presence of the Lord. 59 There were
those also who claimed they actually saw their Saviour 60
come down from heaven and remove all of their sins.
Still others broke out in earnest prayer and fervent
song giving glory to God in loudest strains since their
load of sin was now gone. 61 The actual conversion ex-
perience thus took many different forms. Some were the
climax of a long process of intense meditation and prayer,
others were literally instantaneous. The experience
came to some during a worship service, particularly at
camp meetings and love feasts; to others it came in pri-
vate prayer or even while at work. While some claimed
they saw visions, elaborate dreams, and the like, others
equally claimed that the Lord literally spoke to them.

However, not all of these conversion experiences were nearly so highly emotional as those discussed above. During a camp meeting H. L. Chapman felt the presence and peace of God enter his soul: "I was not ecstatic, as some were, but I felt my heart changed--a new light dawned upon my understanding and a new love seemed born in my heart."⁶² Some felt that the noise of an old-fashioned Methodist revival distracted attention from the deep internal struggle which accompanied conversion. Others frowned upon emotional outbursts and religious enthusiasm as exemplified by the actions of some of their colleagues at the altar.⁶³ After their conversion, however, the Methodists were not ashamed to own Christ before the world and did not hesitate to tell the whole area that they had found their blessed Saviour.⁶⁴

Through the conversion experience these men were suddenly "made new creatures in Christ."⁶⁵ Immediately many became active in the work of the local church "going . . . to seek souls, instructing penitents at the altar, praying often in public, . . . and conducting worship."⁶⁶ Old things had literally passed away and in conversion all things became new.⁶⁷ "From being pleasure-loving, Sabbath-breaking, gambling, swearing, drinking, skeptical sinners," said John Daniels, "the grace of God made us rejoicing heirs of heaven, and by the witness of His spirit . . . assured us of adoption into His family."⁶⁸

Indeed, the Methodist converts had a new task:

To tell the sinners round
What a dear Saviour I had found. 69

Spiritual conversion fostered a new outlook on life. The desperate need of their fellowmen for saving grace gave new urgency to the call of the church. Having received the end of their faith, the salvation of their souls, many felt "an ardent desire that others should be partakers of like precious faith."⁷⁰ They were soon led to speak by way of exhortation in the "social meetings" and were frequently troubled in mind about becoming a preacher. Early American Methodists interpreted literally the Saviour's commandment: "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." "Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel" rang continuously in their ears.⁷¹ Fitch Reed heard in the ear of conscience a distinct and emphatic voice from heaven audibly declaring: "Preach, or be lost forever."⁷² In a desperate effort to save himself from the awful proclamation, Elijah Woolsey cried out:

By the grace of God I'll try [to preach]. And if he has not called me to the work, I hope he will shut my mouth! 73

The call to the work of the minister among the Methodists came at various ages. Thoughts of entering the Methodist itinerancy were often early impressed on their childish minds.⁷⁴ The seriousness of the impression which the Methodist Church and its travelling preachers made on the minds of these young fellows is evidenced by

their efforts to imitate the life and duties of the Methodist circuit rider. Seymour Landon explains his admiration for Methodist itinerants thus:

I was charmed, enchanted, even, almost in my very boyhood, with Methodist preachers and the itinerancy-- though I didn't know what the word meant. Before I was five years old I was want to get upon the horse-block, and then climb to the top of the gate post, and watch . . . for the coming of the preacher; and when he came in sight it wasn't my heart alone that leaped and danced for joy. 75

"Playing church" became a popular pastime for many of these young men. In their early youth they conducted meetings "in innocent play among the children, or alone in the forest, going through with the regular order of exercises." They would hold religious meetings among their little friends, giving out hymns, praying, and preaching. A piece of board served as a Bible and hymn-book. They also conducted prayer and class meetings and even administered the Holy Sacraments to their colleagues and pets "after the manner of the older people." 76 In an effort to imitate the life of a Methodist circuit rider Seymour Landon wrote: "I used to get astride a stick and go round my circuit, and stop at the different appointments, and, with all the gravity and dignity of a minister, go through the forms of worship--in my way." 77 William Wyatt tells an amusing story of his early "ministerial efforts":

We had a pet cat that was very much thought of in the family; it occurred to me that she had been neglected and had not been properly Christianized like the rest of the children Without

making an appointment for divine service or getting any witnesses to the ordinance, nor even a god-father, nor god-mother, nor yet did I ask Miss Fuss the usual questions, but took her to the spring and immersed her But I found to my sorrow before I got through with it that if the cat had been allowed to choose her own mode of Baptism, she never would have chosen immersion. . . . I had already administered the ordinance of Baptism to Miss Fuss, and it now fell to my lot, to act as chaplain at the funeral of a large number of her descendants, who by birthright came into regular succession, and claimed the right of the sacraments, and give them proper Christian burial, in duly consecrated ground. 78

One might expect that the highest ambition of such young men was to become a Methodist circuit rider.

George Rankin was exceedingly fond of the Methodist itinerants and would accompany them to their nearest appointments and often closed the services with prayer

even as a small boy. ⁷⁹ In his early boyhood Charles Bishop sighed: "Oh that I could preach Jesus when I become a man!" ⁸⁰ To be a mighty preacher of the Word became the

sudden desire of many of these "converted" young Methodists. ⁸¹

The call thus did come to some of these men at an early age, ⁸² but more predominantly the call to preach came soon after their spiritual conversion. Upon this experience almost immediately a missionary spirit arose in their souls. They were quickly impressed with the thought that they would have to preach. ⁸³ From the moment of their conversion there were those who thus felt an accompanying desire for the salvation of all men.

"Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel," was their sincere

84
belief. A sense of grave responsibility rested with 85
them. Only a few of the men were called at a later age.
The nature of the call to the ministry also varied greatly.
Some were highly emotional, sudden religious experiences,
others were simply a gradual acceptance of a childhood
ambition to enter the Methodist ministry. The highly 86
emotional call was the most common.

If conversion involved weeks and maybe months of
solid prayer and earnest meditation, weeping, and moaning
for God's forgiveness, the decision to enter the Methodist
ministry involved even a greater mental struggle; the 87
matter had to be weighed thoroughly. Wesson Miller
writes:

To enter the Itinerancy involved responsibilities
that could only be sustained under the deepest
convictions that can possibly penetrate a human
soul. The minister is God's Ambassador to lost men.
He can only enter upon this work under the sanction
of Divine Authority. Having entered he is charged
with the care of souls and if these shall suffer
harm through his inefficiency or want of fidelity,
he must answer in the Divine assizes for the
breach of trust. 88

A deep sense of unworthiness and lack of proper qual-
ifications was the most pressing problem confronting
these men. Suggestions about preaching as a career
frequently entered their minds but were often promptly
repelled because it seemed to them absurd to suppose
that such ideas came from God. Some thought that such 89
impulses to preach were mere temptations of the devil.
Upon seeing the stupendous responsibilities and hard-

ships of itinerant life, many easily shrank from enter-
taining such high thoughts.⁹⁰ There was a certain
characteristic cautiousness about the way in which these
young Methodists entered the ministry.

In spite of a natural timidity, a profound sense
of unworthiness came over these men.⁹¹ How could they
think of entering the ministry with their lack of edu-
cation? James Finley in his early teens went out into the
woods and told God bluntly: "If I must preach the Gospel,
or go to hell, then the latter must be my portion, as I
[have] not the qualifications for the work."⁹² Heman
Bangs wrote:

My diffidence, my youth, my ignorance, my lack,
indeed, of every necessary qualification--the
greatness of the work, the awful responsibilities
of a minister of Christ, not only held me back,
but kept me from opening my heart to anyone on
the subject.⁹³

Deciding whether or not to enter the Methodist ministry
was truly a difficult decision to make. Many hindrances
stood in the way which had to be first evaluated. It
was obvious that a life in the Methodist itinerancy was
not the most enviable. There were many hardships
connected with the Methodist itinerant system. Entering
the Methodist clergy in those days was to give up all
thoughts of wealth, leisure, and social position. Those
who were well-established in businesses of their own
and earning good salaries were more than tempted not to
give up all of this to preach the gospel of Christ.⁹⁴

A. Hill saw his position as a medical doctor a dear occupation to relinquish in order to enter the ministry to which he felt he was now called:

I saw my position [a medical doctor]-- I saw what was duty, and what it would cost to do that duty, and this occasioned a wonderful struggle. Duty . . . stood before me On the other hand, I thought of my position, social, religious, and professional. Schemes of cherished ambition were before me. The loss of social status--the opinion of men-- the humiliation--the crucifixion. I hesitated--I struggled--I wept--I prayed. The Word of God was ringing in my ears, and 'If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.' 95

There were those who felt they could not enter the itinerancy because they were needed at home for family support;

others hated to leave their families, friends, and communities. 96 The prevalence and harshness of anti-Meth-

odist sentiment led many to hesitate to accept the call to preach. 97 Some complained that they had not the supplies nor the money to purchase the necessary equipment for a life as a circuit rider, which included a horse, saddle, 98 proper clothing, and a Bible, hymnbook, and Discipline.

Poor health forbade others to enter the rigorous life in the itinerancy. 99 In the face of exposure to the elements,

Indians, and wild animals, the poor roads and general travelling difficulties, it is easy to see why many hated to make so great the sacrifice even for the Lord.

Reluctance to enter the ministry was also due to the "cross" of public speaking. 100 Many were thus tempted

to go around the "cross." 101

It was only natural for these men, standing on the

threshold of life, to tremble when they thought of the seriousness of the decision which they were about to make. One might ask, however, in the light of all of the many hindrances which accompanied a life in the itinerancy, why these men entered the Methodist itinerancy? It is true that few stayed away due to a lack of qualifications. But the Methodist circuit riders were men of power because they were men of prayer. They felt a sense of dependence upon the Almighty and therefore daily and almost hourly asked for divine guidance and assistance. The early Methodist preachers did not enter the itinerancy depending upon their own strength, but upon the power which came from close communion with God. They sincerely felt that if God had called them to preach, he would preserve and keep them in their work no matter how unqualified they thought themselves to be. ¹⁶² The solemn vow "to be the Lord's forever, and to do whatever he might require" caused them to obey the call of ¹⁰³ the church and preach the gospel as best they could.

In spite of their apparent unworthiness and lack of qualifications these men humbly entered the Methodist ministry. Young, inexperienced, and uneducated though they may be, yet they willingly submitted themselves to go where God and the church appointed and to endure whatever "crosses" might be laid before them, agreeing to "be known even as a poor, despised minister of the

Gospel." ¹⁰⁴ They resolved to be faithful and improve the gifts which the Lord had already given them. If God should require anything further of them, he would surely endow them with additional talents to accomplish that end. ¹⁰⁵ Thus God took men of unpolished and unlettered minds that glowed with piety and sent them out under divine influence to proclaim Christ's salvation to the world in the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The call to the ministry came as a shock to some families. Some parents and wives violently disapproved ¹⁰⁶ of their son's or husband's intended profession. John Wood was told by his mother: "John, if you want to be a poor man, carry an empty pocket, and live from hand to mouth, be a Methodist preacher." ¹⁰⁷ Most parents, ¹⁰⁸ however, did approve of the decisions of their sons. Charles Giles wrote:

My parents were led to believe that the call from Heaven would take me away from them; and they knew that the divine will should be revered by submission. Hence they set up no antagonizing claims, or wished to bar or oppose my obvious course of duty; though the ties of affection instinctively waked up a degree of reluctance in their minds. ¹⁰⁹

The church, of course, offered much encouragement to the men looking toward the ministry. Every opportunity was afforded to them to get as much experience as possible, whether it be in the pulpit, praying at public meetings, ¹¹⁰ or assisting in the various pastoral duties of the circuit. Some Methodist churches went a little too far in encouraging men to enter the ministry. Some of these men were

literally coerced by their churches to accept a local preacher's or an exhorter's license in an effort to push them into the itinerancy. ¹¹¹ Erastus Haven

complained that the good Methodist ministers of his conference "without a hint from me forced upon me a license to exhort. ¹¹² Fortunately most of the churches were not that zealous in encouraging men to enter the ministry, yet through the long, arduous process of spiritual conversion and the call to preach, the church offered more than a guiding hand.

The making of the pioneer Methodist preacher was no simple task. The process began in the home, where religious training varied. Most of the ministers came from generally religious families and benefited much from the teaching and example of Godly parents. There were those, however, who came from families who would have nothing to do with prayer, the Bible, the church, or its ministers. But most of the parents took a deep interest in the spiritual upbringing of their children and early taught them to read the Bible, to pray, to love Christ, to fear God, and to keep His commandments. Thus many of these young men developed a rich personal religious life which consisted of a rigorous program of prayer and Bible study, both public and private.

Spiritual conversion was the climax of their early religious life. Realizing their sinful nature

they prayed constantly until they received God's pardon. These conversion experiences were usually highly emotional exercises, vividly recorded in their autobiographies. This experience gave these men a new outlook on life. Indeed, a new task was theirs: "Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel!"

Closely following the conversion came the divine call to preach. There were generally three ingredients in God's call to preach: first, the moving of the holy spirit; second, the consensus of the church; and third, God's providential leadings through parents, friends, and events. The decision to enter the Methodist ministry was a difficult one, especially in the light of all of the hardships of itinerant life. A profound sense of unworthiness and lack of qualification also kept many from openly declaring themselves to be candidates for the ministry. In spite of all of their reservations about entering the Methodist ministry, they gradually and humbly accepted God's holy call in the faith that God would help them overcome all of their inefficiencies. The reaction of others to the call was generally favorable, yet there were those few who disapproved of men who would devote their lives to such a lowly and base occupation as that of a Methodist preacher. Some men lost their closest friends and even their families because they chose to obey God's call to

preach. The church, of course, was eager to get these men into its clergy and did all in its power to encourage them to devote their lives wholeheartedly to the life and work of a preacher. Thus these men entered upon a new life, noted for its trials and tribulations, its hardships and poverty, fully confident that God would be their strength and song.

CHAPTER V

HIS THEOLOGICAL TRAINING

The Methodist preacher in the early decades of nineteenth century America was, in the main, poorly educated as compared with his Dutch, Anglican, Congregational, or Presbyterian brethren.¹ In England the thorough training and intellectual interests of Wesley promoted all phases of education. But the intense religious enthusiasm of the Methodists in America was tempered by no such thorough and sound interest in education. The early Methodists were prejudiced against a theologically-trained pedantic clergy. The important thing to them was the conversion experience, and the plain, practical preaching of the Gospel. It was thus sixty-three years after the Christmas Conference that the first Methodist theological seminary in America made its appearance.

Since the early Methodists were a highly aggressive and militant religious group, their very task was such as tended to make ministerial education appear to be unnecessary, if not a sinful waste of time and energy. The task of the preacher was not to settle down and minister to the needs of any one community; the world was a vast mission field to be conquered; there was no time to lose! Feeling the urgency of their task, the Methodists

tended to send their preachers out into the field at the earliest possible moment. Candidates for the itinerancy were encouraged to forget about formal education because their spiritual advisors did not regard a "collegiate" education as essential.² Instead, they were urged to join the travelling connection at once. "You should not have to go through college," "souls are perishing," "getting knowledge is good, but saving souls is better," and many other sophisticated suggestions were used to induce these men to enter the itinerancy immediately and educate themselves.³ When William Capers as a young man desired to make further literary preparation before entering the conference, his presiding elder warned him:

. . . and if you are called to preach, and sinners are falling daily into hell, take care lest the blood of some of them be found on your skirts.⁴

Thus many yielded to the pressure and gave up their ambition for more formal education.

Furthermore, the type of gospel preached by the Methodist ministers was such that could be easily grasped and understood without special training. The early Methodists placed little emphasis on an elaborate intellectual foundation of doctrine. In the task of preaching, the only qualifications necessary were convictions and ability to influence others. Theological schools were counter to the Methodist theory that God furnished the preacher's message. It was believed that no amount of education could supply the divine call to preach.

Thus for many years the leaders of the Methodist Episcopal Church opposed theological education. They felt that when God called a man to preach, it was sinful for him to waste time getting ready, for God would not have called an unprepared man. The Methodist Discipline of 1785 advised the preachers not to permit study and learning to interfere with soul-saving: "If you can do but one, let your studies alone. We would throw by all the libraries in the world rather than be guilty of the loss of one soul."⁵ A

It is true that the pioneer Methodist preachers were not graduates of theological seminaries. Only a few ever matriculated at a college. The majority of the itinerants had attended only elementary schools before entering the conference. That does not mean, however, that the circuit riders were ignorant. On the contrary, these men showed a remarkable acquaintance with the knowledge of their day. This was due largely to the fact that all Methodist preachers were expected to read and study while serving their circuits.

The earliest attempt of the Methodist Episcopal Church to train its clergy was the establishment of the junior-senior preacher system. From the very beginning of American Methodism at least two preachers were sent to the larger circuits, a younger man being associated with an older one, designated junior and senior preacher respectively. The younger man profited from the older

man's experiences. Joseph Trimble mentions that the Methodists in the early 1800's did not want theological schools, "believing that the circuit system, with a senior and junior preacher proffered the best advantages for theological study and for the training of young men of the Conference to be useful ministers of the Lord Jesus."⁶ The senior preacher selected certain books "both literary and theological" for his young assistant to read.⁷ Thus these men were tutored not only in theology, but also in English grammar and literature, philosophy, and history.⁸ The saddle became their principal place of study and the saddle bags contained their meager library. John Dodd writes:

The work thus required of me as junior preacher with the kind and helpful advice and instruction given by my colleague, who was a man of wide knowledge and experience, was the next best thing to a course of study in the schools. Indeed, it was what the old-time veterans used to call going through "Brush College."⁹

The junior-senior preacher system enabled young, inexperienced ministers to gain first-hand the mechanics of the Methodist system and also afforded an opportunity to be privately tutored in the Bible, theology, Methodist doctrines, and even secular subjects.

The alma mater of the early Methodist preachers was "Brush College," which according to John Strange was "more ancient, though less pretentious than Yale, Harvard, or Princeton." The curriculum was constituted of such subjects as "the philosophy of nature and the

mysteries of redemption," while the library consisted of the "word of God; the discipline and hymnbook, supplemented with trees and brooks and stones, all of which are full of wisdom and sermons and speeches; and her parchments of literary honors are the horse and saddle-bags."¹⁰ "Regular attendance upon Sabbath Schools, Bible classes, and teachers' meetings became as schooling to me," said Hugh Fisher. "In fact, I graduated from the Sabbath School into the ministry. It was my theological Alma Mater."¹¹ The pioneer preachers considered the ministerial education furnished at "Brush College" or "College on Horseback" to be sufficient. They believed that practical experience received there was of more importance than formal theological instruction. The Methodists became so satisfied on this point that they declared there was no place in Methodism for "preacher factories."¹²

During most of the years from 1790 to 1860 the Methodist Episcopal Church supported no formal theological schools. The ministers were forced to acquire what little education they could on their own. Self study and practical experience were the source of most of their ministerial training. "Few of the preachers had received even . . . a good common-school training, and the demand for laborers in the Gospel field was so urgent that young men, who had not even studied English grammar were continually thrust out into the work to

study and improve as best they could."¹³ These men sought to prepare themselves as speedily and as thoroughly¹⁴ as possible for the great work which lay before them. Hugh Fisher cried: "How my heart panted for the knowledge that would fit me for the ministry!"¹⁵ The call to preach thus seemed to have revived in these young men their smothered aspirations for knowledge and they began to extend their studies and took advantage of all opportunities for advancement. A

The circuit riders who entered the ministry with "no learning from books, save what was derived from the pages of the Bible and hymn book," were now afforded an excellent opportunity for meditation and study.¹⁶ Thomas Morris mentions that he and his ministerial colleagues "read much on horseback, occasionally closing the book and reflecting on its contents; to which mode of study our long lonesome rides were admirably adapted."¹⁷ An amazing amount of reading was done by some of the pioneer circuit riders. Along with the usual Bible, Discipline, and Hymnbook, the Methodist itinerant carried books of literature and science, pouring over them as he rode hastily along with ardour and perseverance such as perhaps was never witnessed in any college community. Alfred Brunson systematically studied the rules of grammar and read much in Christian literature as he rode his circuit, commencing to read a volume on Monday after preaching

and finishing it on Friday while on his horse before¹⁸
he reached his next preaching point.

Some men set up elaborate schedules for self-study, carefully coordinating it with their ministerial labors in an effort to make the most efficient use of the time available.¹⁹ The Discipline of 1785 admonished the preachers to "Read the most useful Books and that regularly and constantly. Steadily spend all the Morning in this Employ, or at least five Hours in four and twenty."²⁰ Orange Scott set up a rigid schedule for daily study along with his regular circuit duties:

Rise at five o'clock; breakfast at eight; travel, if need be, from nine till eleven; dine at one; retire at two; spend the afternoon in reading or visiting the sick; take tea at five; retire at six; spend from seven till nine in preaching and meeting the societies; retire and prepare for rest at half-past nine or ten. ²¹

The Holy Bible was the preacher's primary textbook and theological subjects occupied the most prominent position in their course of self-study. In reading the memoirs of the most prominent early Methodists together with the works of Wesley, Fletcher, and Clarke, these men became acquainted with Wesleyan theory.²² Methodist doctrine was also explicitly stated in the Twenty-four Articles of Religion as found in the Discipline. Readings in Christian biography included the lives of Abbott, Bramwell, Carvoso, Drew, Fletcher, Garrettson, Johnson, Lee, Nelson, Payson,²³ Rogers, Wesley, and many others. Such noteworthy

lives were a source of much inspiration. Methodist tracts and magazines, such as the Methodist Review, National Magazine, and the Christian Advocates were also²⁴ carefully read and "yielded many new and valuable ideas." The reading of these pioneer preachers, then, was truly²⁵ "Methodistic."

Theological subjects were not the only subjects studied by these young itinerants. They studied such secular subjects as history, geography, philosophy, literature, arithmetic, spelling, grammar, elocution,²⁶ and composition. Hebrew, Latin, and Greek added a²⁷ classical flavor to their curriculum. The sciences, including physiology, anatomy, pharmacy, geology, astron-²⁸omy, and chemistry were also not neglected. The books which the Methodist minister read in his attempt to educate himself during his busy life in the itinerancy covered a wide and varied field. It is indeed surprising that such a wide range of reading material was available²⁹ when one considers the scarcity of books on the frontier.

There were usually two sources of books. Either these men would purchase them from the supply which the traveling Methodist preachers carried or else they were borrowed from neighbors and friends. The circuit riders always managed to have a few books or pamphlets in their saddlebags which they would distribute among the eager young scholars.³⁰ [One of the additional duties of the circuit rider was explicitly set forth in the

1848 edition of the Discipline; all preachers were now required "to encourage . . . the publication and distribution of Bibles, tracts, and Sunday-school books."³¹

The only other alternative was to borrow books from a neighbor who was fortunate enough to have a few of them.³²

While on the frontier Chauncey Hobart claimed it was his practice to call upon each family as soon as they moved into the neighborhood and to borrow all the books they possessed which he had not already read, so eager was he for reading material.³³

Luther Lee was so eager to get new books that when a man moved into his neighborhood who had a copy of "Murray's English Grammar," he worked three days for that man to pay for the book.³⁴

James Erwin notes that the Methodists of that day were very interested in good reading. He writes:

In the homes of our people we often found Clarke's and Benson's commentaries, Wesley's works, Watson's Institutes, etc.. There was a greater readiness among Christian people of that day to purchase good, solid, reading books Parents found them a great help in the education of their children. ³⁵

Library facilities were generally not available to the early Methodist scholars. Private libraries, such as those of nearby families, as well as the larger libraries of old ministers or other prominent scholars in the community, were frequently used whenever possible.³⁶

A few of the homes of these men had considerable libraries which their fathers had gathered,³⁷ but most of the men had to diligently seek out reading material.

Sunday schools, which were just beginning to rise in popularity in Methodism in the 1840's, also made available good selections of reading material along Methodist lines. ³⁸

In 1816 a systematic plan of study for the preachers was adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Church. The haphazard method of the first thirty-two years had not proved entirely satisfactory since many of the young preachers did not continue their studies after entering the itinerancy. The General Conference of 1816 therefore instructed the bishops "to point out a course of reading and study proper to be pursued by candidates for the ministry." To enforce this legislation it was decided that no candidate could be received into full connection until he had satisfactorily passed an examination of the course of study. ³⁹ It took time, however, to standardize the curriculum. It was not until 1848 that an official "Conference Course of Study" appeared in the Discipline. Up to that time the books assigned varied with the bishops and the conferences. ⁴⁰ A glance at the first selected course of study for the entire church indicates that a knowledge of the Holy Bible was of greater importance than that of any theological or secular book. Doctrinal books ranked next to the Bible. The circuit rider endeavored to master Watson's Institutes, Fletcher's Checks, and Wesley's sermons. There were only a few secular books on the list--English grammar ⁴¹ and composition, history, and natural philosophy.

The itinerants never regretted the thorough drill which they received in the "Old-fashioned theological school of Methodism," as the conference course of study came to be called.⁴² At the end of four years of intense self-study, examinations were held by the conference board of ministerial training.⁴³ Henry Smith describes his examination before that committee thus:

We were called up, one by one, and gave in our religious experience, and assigned some reasons why we thought we were called to the ministry; and the bishop asked some questions on points of doctrine and discipline. He put some close questions some, which alarmed me very much. I was the last that was called up. While I told my experience, &c., I trembled and wept; the sympathies of the preachers were waked up in my favor, and the good Bishop himself appeared to be touched.⁴⁴

The conference probationers dreaded to be examined on the course of study. The sleep of many a young preacher was disturbed by the thought of the formal quiz which awaited him at conference.⁴⁵ James Erwin wrote of his feeling when he faced the committee in 1835:

I don't know how my associates felt in coming before the committee, but no timid school boy ever felt more abashed when summoned before the dreaded pedagogue than I did 'when I to the awful presence came.'⁴⁶

These examinations were not always easy to pass; the nature of the test depended on the conference.⁴⁷ The Troy Conference, for example, had a reputation for strictness. Several of Newell Culver's friends whom he supposed to be well prepared for their examination "were pronounced by the committee to be 'deficient,'"⁴⁸ and were put over to another year for re-examination.

The majority of the examinations, however, were simple. It often happened that many members of the examining board were themselves unacquainted with the books assigned, and they therefore were only capable of questioning the candidates superficially upon general topics. Few committees rejected a student who, because of the duties of his circuit, had been unable to read the books assigned to him. The preachers who conscientiously prepared their assignment were often disgusted with the nature of the examination. After his examination George Peck wrote: "I came away almost vexed. I had studied hard for two years, and the books over which I had spent many a day of intense application were hardly named."⁴⁹

Even with its apparent defects, the early course of study served a great purpose in early American Methodism. Men who otherwise might have stopped their education were forced to pursue the standard books of theology, history, philosophy, and grammar. The course of study combined the theoretical with the practical because the circuit riders had the opportunity of putting into practice daily the knowledge gained from the books. The course of study was of such importance in early Methodism that Bishop Morris wrote:

The consequence of the whole was, many of the Methodist preachers who entered the work with very limited education, became not only grammarians, historians, philosophers, and orators, but what was much better, profound theologians and able ministers of the New Testament. 50

The Methodists during the early years of the nineteenth century held that no amount of education could make up for the lack of a divine call. They argued that theological training was not required of the apostles. To preach the simple gospel, they maintained, did not require a long period of training in a theological seminary. They were convinced that God would never call an unprepared man to preach, though he had called many an uneducated one. "Christ," said Peter Cartwright, "had no literary college or university, no theological school or Biblical Institute, nor did he require his first ministers to memorize his sayings or sermons, but simply to tarry at Jerusalem till they were endued with power from on high."⁵¹ Other Methodists bitterly opposed the idea that one could make a preacher simply by sending him through a theological school. According to them, preaching the Gospel of Christ was not an art to be learned in the schools, but only by persistent practice.⁵²

The theological school movement in Methodism "met with marked opposition from most of its ministers and members," says Newell Culver.⁵³ It was popular to make jocular and even sarcastic remarks about ministers who were graduates of colleges and theological schools. Some prophesied if Methodism established theological seminaries, "her glory would depart from her and Ichabod be written on her walls."⁵⁴

→ Theological schools of other denominations were con-

(New P)

temptuously denounced as "minister mills," "theological mills," "preacher factories," and the like.⁵⁵ The graduates of such venerable institutions were called "manufactured preachers," "men-made ministers," and the like.⁵⁶ In a sermon in the early 1840's a young itinerant, Newell Culver, declared:

I have heard of a wonderful thing under the sun. I have heard that men take the pure Gospel seed and carry it to a 'theological Mill,' and get it ground to fine flour, and then sow it over the people and wonder why it doesn't spring up and 'bear fruit.'⁵⁷

Alfred Brunson opposed theological schools on the ground that they turned out "learned dunces and third-rate preachers," while Peter Cartwright compared the theologically educated preachers he knew to the pale lettuce "growing under the shade of a peach tree," or to a "goosling that has got the waddles walking in the dew."⁵⁸ The Methodists accused the so-called "manufactured preachers" of not understanding the "plain Bible teachings of the new birth."⁵⁹ They wanted not professors of history or Greek, but "professors of religion" for their preachers!

History aided the Methodists in their fight against theological seminaries. They could truthfully declare that the Wesleyan movement had made phenomenal progress under the leadership of untrained men. Peter Cartwright wrote:

It is true we could not, many of us, conjugate a verb or parse a sentence, and murdered the king's English almost every lick. But there was a Divine unction attended the word preached, and thousands fell under the mighty power of God, and thus the Methodist Episcopal Church was planted firmly in this Western wilderness, and many glorious signs have followed. 60

The logical conclusion to such an argument was that divinity schools were not needed at any time. It must be admitted that on the American frontier the graduates of "Brush College" triumphed over the theologically trained men of other denominations. Peter Cartwright insisted that the illiterate Methodist preachers set America on fire while the educated preachers of the other churches "were lighting their matches!"⁶¹

Another argument against an educated clergy was that only unlearned men could really sympathize with and understand the lower classes of people. When William Capers, the first college graduate to enter the South Carolina Conference, joined the itinerancy, many preachers and laymen predicted that Capers would fail because his education would render him haughty and proud.⁶² It was thought that the church invariably declines in spirituality in the same proportions as her ministers become distinguished for the general popularity as eloquent and learned divines.⁶³ Heman Bangs reiterated:

I am not an apologist for ignorance. I have no objection to our ministers being learned men: but I do not believe that Jesus Christ is dependent

upon learned men for His ministers. He sometimes chooses the ignorant, and makes them more abundantly useful, to teach us not to think more highly of men and learning than we ought to think; and to show that the excellency of the power is of God, and not in human instrumentality. 64

Indeed, our Methodist forefathers were strongly prejudiced against "man-made ministers," as they were called. They believed that men truly called of God and endowed with power from on high would, with proper care and study, whether highly educated or not, make 65 better ministers than the college educated ones. It was thought that "studying theology too much as a science and as a profession and not enough for spiritual food, and immediate, practical use," would remove all 66 notion of a deep spiritual life. Education, they thought, led to skepticism and indifference. With these prejudices in their way, it is little wonder that there were so few college or seminary graduates in the Methodist clergy and membership in the early eighteen hundreds.

Thus the Methodist Episcopal Church lagged behind the other denominations in establishing theological seminaries for the training of its clergy. Throughout the first three decades of the nineteenth century the prevailing sentiment was entirely against establishing them. 67 Stephen Beggs explains:

I learned to think that if a man could read, and write, and sing, and pray, he had about all the qualifications needed for the itinerant work. 68

The entire church felt that the ministry demanded not 69 so much learned men as it demanded holy men.

The modern Methodist may be amused by the arguments used by the circuit riders against formal theological education, but in many ways those early Methodists were correct in their views. Pioneer Methodism did not necessarily need a trained ministry. No great educational demands were made upon the Methodist itinerants. The people with whom they worked were uneducated. The frontiersmen understood better the simple message of a circuit rider than they did a scholarly address from a Yale or Princeton graduate. Methodism did not stress doctrine and therefore did not need theologians in the pulpit. The circuit system made possible the use of uneducated preachers, for when a minister spoke at a different place each day of the month no large number of prepared sermons were required.

As Methodism grew older a changed attitude toward theological training emerged. In the face of such marked opposition, what were the influences which finally led the Methodists to advocate a theologically educated clergy and to the establishment of their first theological schools? Perhaps the most obvious of these influences was the contacts of the Methodists with other religious groups. Certain of the other larger denominations maintained comparatively high educational standards for their clergy.

An obvious change of attitude came about as a result of the example set by other successful religious groups. Stephen Vail argued:

We must educate young men in order that our rising ministry may stand on a level with that of our sister churches. They educate their candidates in the very best manner We must demonstrate our power to be equal, if not superior. 71

This was the primary reason why the first Methodism theological seminary was established in New England, where denominational competition was earliest felt.

A second, and perhaps more powerful influence, was that exerted by educated and wealthy laymen who began to demand ministers of whom they need not feel ashamed. The growing number of Methodist colleges and academies throughout the country were producing more and more educated laymen who were no longer content to listen to the preaching of crude, untrained preachers. Trained ministers, they said, were needed to attract the cultured people of the cities. "Give us men who can instruct us, not uneducated boys,"
72
they cried.

The work of the Methodist minister was rapidly changing as the mid-century mark approached. No longer was it possible to send the young man to the backwoods circuits where they did not preach to the same congregation more often than once in two, four, or even six weeks. An exhortation then would pass well

instead of a sermon, but not so a generation later. The old circuit system was breaking down and resident pastorates were becoming more common. The exhilarations of riding the backwoods circuits, with its trials and hardships and its varied scenery, was now given up for the sober reality of facing the same congregation two or three times a week. The congregation thus demanded well-prepared sermons, each with some new thought or idea.

There was another, more serious change which was taking place in American Methodism as the mid-century mark approached. The old junior-senior preacher system had been abolished. The division of the large circuits into smaller units destroyed the influences of "Brush College"; the junior preacher could no longer be trained under an old and experienced minister. The multifarious duties of the pastorate no longer allowed a young man to educate himself as in the days gone by. It was necessary for the second generation of Methodist preachers to be better educated before they entered the ministry. Thus, the increasing complexity of the role of the Methodist minister in society had much to do with fostering the idea of the urgency of an educated clergy to lead the Methodists.

A final reason for the increasing demand for an erudite clergy is that scholars were needed to refute

in the press and on the platform the attacks made upon Methodist theology by other denominations.

Stephen Vail, with prophetic insight, noted to 1853:

It is exceedingly desirable that the new generation of Methodist ministers, may do more than the former generation has done, in writing for the press, and thus gaining an influence on the public mind, and leaving works for the edification of posterity We need a new generation of able defenders to promote our cause. Methodist theology, on many points, needs to be re-written. 73

After a lengthy campaign which was waged by the more progressive leaders of Methodism, the denomination as a whole began to see the real necessity of a learned clergy. Such changed conditions caused outspoken opponents of theological education to change their attitude. Even Alfred Brunson, once bitterly antagonistic to any suggestion of establishing Methodist theological schools, in his old age recognized the indispensability of such training and said:

In view of all the circumstances of the case, the change from the circuit to the station system--each young preacher being alone, instead of having an elder brother with him to teach him, the elevated state of society, and the wish of our good people to have educated men, . . . and in view of the influence mere tinsel of this kind has upon outsiders in attracting them to our places of worship, it is probably best to have such institutions. 74

Even Peter Cartwright accepted an honorary degree from a college!

When the sentiment for theological training began to gain ground, it was thought by many that the

existing Methodist colleges could provide the instruction. But there was one preacher, however, in the Methodist Episcopal Church who refused to be satisfied with this compromise. That man was John Dempster. He saw that although educated men were converted under Methodist preaching, many of them united with denominations that had educated ministers. Therupon it became Dempster's great aim in life to establish schools that would furnish the needed men. With the aid of friends he was finally able to found at Concord, New Hampshire, in 1847, Methodist General Biblical Institute, the first theological school of American Methodism.

Reverend Dempster was not satisfied with just one Methodist divinity school. He desired to organize three such institutions, one in the East, a second in the Middle West, and the third on the West Coast. With the help of Mrs. Eliza Garrett, he was able to open another theological institution in 1855 near Chicago, Garrett Biblical Institute. Thus by 1855 the American Methodists, who had for so many years opposed formal ministerial education, possessed two schools of the prophets. They represented in a large degree the work of John Dempster, who realized that the time had come in Methodism when trained leaders were necessary.

Since Methodism did not take its first

definite steps in the direction of establishing Methodist schools of theology until the late 1840's, few of the men in this research benefitted from the new theological institutions. In fact, only three ever matriculated in a theological seminary, and one of these attended an inter-denominational school.⁷⁹

A reprint of an early catalogue of Methodist General Biblical Institute, which was established in Concord, New Hampshire in 1847, affords a good picture⁸⁰ of life in the earliest Methodist theological school. As stated in the constitution of this newly-formed institution, its object was:

... the more ready and perfect preparation for the Christian ministry of young men who shall have been deemed by the church divinely called thereto. No doctrines or opinions which are contrary to the fundamental principles of Methodism, as recorded in the book of Discipline, and the standard authors of the Methodist Episcopal Church, shall be taught in the Institution.

Applicants for admission to this seminary who belonged to the Methodist Church had to present a written recommendation from a quarterly or annual conference. Applicants from other denominations were also accepted with proper commendation from their respective denominations. Candidates for admission to the regular three-year course of study were required to have a "thorough knowledge of the common English branches and also a good knowledge of the higher English and of the Greek grammar." The faculty, however, was allowed to

suspend this rule, if, in their judgement, it would be desirable. It was the design of the trustees and the patronizing conferences of the school to reduce the expenses of the students to the lowest possible rates, so that those candidates whose means were limited would be able to obtain an appropriate education for their future calling. Hence no charge was made for tuition. The school's boarding house was occupied by students free of rent; board and laundry could be secured for about \$1.30 per week. the institution made no charge on the student except "one shilling per week for contingent expenses, upon those who occupy rooms in the building, and fifty cents per term upon those who room out." A number of students supported themselves by "supplying vacant congregations on the Sabbath, others by teaching during winter vacations, and a few by manual labor." Three twelve-week terms were held each year: a spring, summer, and fall term. In 1847 the library of the school contained 2600 volumes "to which the students have access without any additional expenses." The curriculum, which is reproduced in full in the appendix of this study, was broken down into a three-year program--a junior, middler, and senior year. Henry Kimball, who attended this institution in the early 1850's, mentions that he studied such subjects as historical theology, history of the Christian

church, Hebrew, systematic theology, mental science,
ethics, New Testament, and Greek.⁸¹

Few pioneer Methodist preachers could be mentioned as having any special educational qualifications. Occasionally a reference is found to a man who had legal training and some knowledge of Latin, Greek, or even Hebrew, but even in such cases the men were usually self-educated. Indeed, few had more than a common school education. In spite of the emergence of Methodist schools of theology in the late 1840's, most of the early circuit riders gained their theological training in what they liked to call "Brush College." They studied divinity in "the school of Christ, and [were] trained under the professorship of Wesley and Fletcher."⁸² Books became the constant companion of the Methodist circuit rider and did much to pass his time on the lonely rides from appointment to appointment. Through practical experience under the junior-senior preacher system and by intense study of a course of reading prescribed by the conferences, these men educated themselves to a remarkable degree. Wesley's admonition to his early preacher's was well heeded by the pioneer Methodist preachers in America: "Reading Christians will be knowing Christians."⁸³ As Methodism matured the desirability of formal theological training was re-evaluated. A few far-sighted leaders realized the

inadequacy of the former system of training a clergy. This method may have been the most effective way of winning the West for the Methodists, but times had changed and so had men's tastes. Agitation in the early 1840's among the Methodists, primarily through the efforts of John Dempster, led to the final establishment of Methodism's first theological schools, but not without much heated debate. This marked the end of an exciting, heroic era of American Methodism.

APPENDIX I

The First Conference Course of Study for All Probationers and Traveling Deacons, in The Methodist Discipline, 1828, appendix.

First Year

1. The Bible--Doctrines
2. Systematic Theology
3. Common English
4. Composition

Second Year

1. The Bible--Sacraments
2. Systematic Divinity
3. Church Government
4. Philosophy
5. Composition

Third Year

1. The Bible--History and Chronology
2. Systematic Divinity
3. History
4. Composition

Fourth Year

1. Systematic Divinity
2. Preaching
3. Biblical Criticism
4. Composition

APPENDIX II

Course of Study at Methodist General Biblical Institute, Concord, New Hampshire, the first Methodist theological school, in Stephen Vail, Ministerial Education in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Boston, 1853, 233-234.

Junior Class

- First Term: Hebrew commenced. Lectures on Sacred Geography. Greek harmony and exegesis. Natural Theology, with Lectures.
- Second Term: Hebrew continued. Lectures on Scripture Natural History. Mental and Moral Science, with Lectures. Greek Harmony continued. Lectures on the style and composition of Sermons.
- Third Term: Hebrew Historical Books, finished. Lectures on Biblical Archaeology. Greek Harmony of the Gospels, finished. Lectures on the evidence of Christianity and Inspiration of the Scriptures. (Exercises in Elocution and Preaching throughout the year).

Middle Class

- First Term: Hebrew Poetry. Psalms, with Exegetical Exercises. Acts of the Apostles with Exegetical Exercises. Revealed Theology, with Lectures. Ecclesiastical History, with Lectures, throughout the year.
- Second Term: Revealed Theology, Ecclesiastical History. Epistles of Paul, with Exegetical Exercises. Lectures on Pastoral Theology. Hebrew Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, with Lectures and Exegetical Exercises.
- Third Term: Revealed Theology and Ecclesiastical History, finished. Paul's Epistles with exegetical Exercises, finished. Hebrew books of Job, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, with Lectures and Exegetical Exercises. Lectures on Pastoral Theology. (Sermons and Preaching).

Senior Class

- First Term: Institutions of the Church, with Lectures. Epistles of Peter and James, with Exegetical Exercises. Lectures on Pastoral Theology. Hebrew Minor Prophets, with Lectures and Exegesis.
- Second Term: Polemic Theology, with Lectures. Lectures on Church Government. Prophecy of Zechariah and the Apocalypse.
- Third Term: Polemic Theology, finished. Church Government and Discipline, with Lectures. Biblical Chaldee. (Sermons and Preaching).

APPENDIX III

A Complete List of the Colleges Attended by the Pioneer Methodist Preachers in this Research.

Name	Location	Number Attending
* Allegheny College	Meadville, Pa.	1
Amherst College	Amherst, Mass.	1
* Asbury College	Wilmore, Ky.	1
* Asbury University	Indiana	1
* Augusta College	Augusta, Ky.	1
College of Charleston	Charleston, S.C.	1
Dartmouth College	Hanover, N.H.	1
* DePauw University	Greencastle, Ind.	1
* Dickinson College	Carlisle, Pa.	2
* Grand River College	Edinburg, Mo.	1
* Hiwassee College	Madisonville, Tenn.	1
* Illinois College	Jacksonville, Ill.	1
Kenyon College	Gambier, Ohio	1
* McKenzie College	Texas	1
Marshall University	Marshall, Texas	1
* Mount Pleasant College	<i>Mount Pleasant, Iowa</i>	1
New York University	New York, N.Y.	1
Oberlin College	Oberlin, Ohio	1
* Methodist related institutions		

Name	Location	Number Attending
Ohio University	Athens, Ohio	2
* Ohio Wesleyan University	Delaware, Ohio	2
Philadelphia College of Medicine	Philadelphia, Pa.	1
South Carolina College	Columbia, S.C.	1
Union College	Schenectady, N.Y.	1
Vanderbilt University	Nashville, Tenn.	1
Washington College	Chestertown, Md.	1
* Wesleyan University	Middletown, Conn.	1
Worthington Medical College	Worthington, Ohio	1
Total number attending colleges and universities		<hr/> 30

* Methodist related institutions

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21. Charles Giles, 123; Peter Cartwright, 67; William Sweet (1954), 45f.
22. John Dyer, 67; George Brown, 36; William Burke, 26; Heman Bangs, 30; Maxwell Gaddis, 102; James Finley, 181; Peter Cartwright, 29; Charles Giles, 123; see also William Sweet (1946), 46f.
23. William Sweet (1954), 110f.
24. Peter Cartwright, 61.
25. John Swahlen, 90; William Wyatt, 17.
26. George Andre, 311.
27. Dan Young, 36.
28. John Plank, 239.
29. Freeborn Hibbard, 65.
30. William Wyatt, 17.
31. William Wyatt, 17.
32. Heman Bangs, 3; Conrad Gahn, 264; Freeborn Hibbard, 65.
33. John Wood, 18.
34. Alfred Brunson, 172; Seth Crowell, 32; Joseph Snelling, 9f.
35. Dan Young, 117f.
36. Joseph Snelling, 9f; Dan Young, 117; Alfred Brunson, 172; N. Fessenden, 15.
37. David Lewis, 49f; see also John Scarlett, 20f; N. Fessenden, 15.
38. William Shreck, 236; see also John Schmidt, 325; H. L. Chapman, 32; Maxwell Gaddis, 45.
39. James Finley, 177.
40. George Brown, 88.
41. George Andre, 311; Thomas Griffin, 154; Peter Cartwright, 164.
42. Jacob Young, 42.

43. James Erwin, 5.
44. E.g., John Klein, 197; Paul Brodbeck, 393; Jacob Crist, 15.
45. E.g., Orcenth Fisher, 471.
46. Ebenezer Newell, 60.
47. Lewis Nippert, 201; Dan Young, 126; Peter Wilkins, 311; John Klein, 195; James Finley, 177; G. L. Mulfinger, 150; John Scarlett, 81.
48. Ebenezer Newell, 59; see also notes 42 through 45.
49. Dan Young, 26.
50. Erhardt Wunderlich, 339.
51. George Boeshenz, 333.
52. Alonzo Selleck, 41.
53. Daniel DeVinne (1887), 40.
54. Joseph Snelling, 34.
55. Freeborn Hibbard, 69.
56. George Brown, 84.
57. William Wyatt, 10, 17.
58. Philip Kuhl, 207.
59. Lorenzo Waugh, 62.
60. William Sweet (1954), 254f.
61. E.g., H. L. Chapman, 52; Alfred Brunson, 65; J. H. Bahrenberg, 180.
62. Alfred Brunson, 9.
63. J. H. Mills, 48; Henry Smith, 238; John Scarlett, 110; William Nast, 141.
64. Newell Culver, 22f, 29.
65. John Mathews, 13; William Boyd, 59.
66. Peter Cartwright, 127.

67. J. S. Porter, 4.
68. John Hudson, 17.
69. Elijah Woolsey, 7; Christian Nachtrieb, 406; James Erwin, 6.
70. William Wyatt, 17.
71. Peter Cartwright, 96.
72. John Stewart, 25.
73. Henry Kimball, 32.
74. Mark Trafton, 64.
75. George Peck, 27; Granville Moody, 86; Alfred Brunson, II, 389.
76. Peter Cartwright, 310.
77. Peter Cartwright, 204, 236.
78. John M'Ferrin, 16.
79. James Erwin, 21.
80. John Hudson, 18; David Lewis, 33; Peter Cartwright, 87, 56, 30, 132; Henry Smith, 52; George Brown, 75; Seth Crowell, 96f; Alfred Brunson, 220; William Wyatt, 16; James Finley, 161f; Philip Kuhl, 207; Lorenzo Waugh, 62; Dan Young, 36; Maxwell Gaddis, 88.
81. Henry Smith, 243; John Stewart, 22.
82. Samuel Williams, 53.
83. Maxwell Gaddis, 100.
84. James Finley, 186; Maxwell Gaddis, 97, 103.
85. Peter Cartwright, 244.
86. William Meeker, 29; Peter Cartwright, 61; Christian Brokmeier, 213; John McLean, 36; Mark Trafton, 47.
87. Heman Bangs, 14.
88. William Burke, 26; John Burgoss, 119f.
89. George Peck, 24; Elbert Osborn, 16f.
90. George Peck, 24.

91. Henry Smith, 235.
92. Peter Cartwright, 37; H. L. Chapman, 60.
93. Henry Morrison, 14.
94. Peter Cartwright, 31.
95. John Risley, 18.
96. Peter Cartwright, 30.
97. George Peck, 48.
98. Peter Cartwright, 46.
99. Maxwell Gaddis, 57; Peter Cartwright, 48.
100. Jacob Young, 135f.
101. Peter Cartwright, 259, 264; Alfred Brunson, 63; John Stewart, 22; George Peck, 27.
102. Alonzo Selleck, 35f; John Stewart, 232.
103. Peter Cartwright, 51.
104. Hugh Fisher, 73; Peter Cartwright, 46.
105. John Bangs, 30.
106. Peter Cartwright, 46, 51.
107. Daniel DeVinne (1887), 41.
108. Daniel DeVinne (1887), 41f; see also Samuel Williams, 51f.
109. William Burke, 26; Peter Cartwright, 38; George Hughes, 128.
110. George Hughes, 127f; Elbert Osborn, 43f; William Burke, 26f.
111. Elbert Osborn, 44.
112. James Erwin, 10.
113. E.g., J. Wesley Carhart, 15; Samuel Williams, 53.
114. Oscar Fitzgerald, 97.
115. Maxwell Gaddis, 61; Brantley York, 26.
116. John Dyer, 17; Samuel Williams, 54.

117. Samuel Williams, 56; James Erwin, 17; James Finley, 178; H. L. Chapman, 77.
118. James Finley, 178.
119. Samuel Williams, 56f.
120. William Sweet (1954), 227.
121. Daniel DeVinne (1887), 42.
122. Daniel DeVinne (1887), 45.
123. William Sweet (1954), 227f.
124. John Dyer, 24; Nicholas Vansant, 69; Chauncey Hobart, 31; Hugh Fisher, 70; Luther Lee, 29; George Rankin, 93f; Edward Davies, 14; John Burgess, 60f.
125. James Anthony, 10; Daniel Dorchester, 14f; Daniel DeVinne (1887), 47.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. William Sweet (1954), 119.
2. The Middle Atlantic colonies had over one-half of the group studied: New York had almost half of this group, Pennsylvania running a close second. New Jersey, Maryland, and Delaware could claim only a few.
3. New England states ranked second in the total picture with one-third of the entire group studied: Connecticut had almost half of this group, Vermont had a third of the group, and the other New England states had only a few, if any.
4. Southern States ranked third, with one-fifth of the total group studied. Virginia and Tennessee each had almost one-fourth of this group, the rest of the Southern States had few if any native born Methodist preachers.
5. The number of German Methodist preachers is obviously high in proportion to other nationalities in this research because fifty-five cases were gathered together in a book of Experiences of German Methodist Preachers, edited by Adam Miller, published in Cincinnati, Ohio, 1859.
6. Rudolph Havighorst, 380; Thomas Pearne, 24; John Scarlett, 14; Lorenzo Waugh, 130.
7. William Nast, 142; Granville Moody, 135.
8. James Anthony, Stephen Beggs, Daniel Dorchester, Erastus Haven, Seymour Landon, John M'Ferrin, Thomas Pearne, James Reiley, Landon Taylor, Nicholas Vansant, Robert Witten, Brantley York.
9. Henry Boehm, J. M. Buckley, James Finley, and Henry Kimball.
10. Orange Scott, 5; Stephen Beggs, 11; Heman Bangs, 2; John Bangs, 14.
11. H. L. Chapman, 13, 13, 18; Henry Morrison, 11; John McLean, 89; Alfred Brunson, 57; Charles Deems, 17; Lorenzo Waugh, 30; George Rankin, 8.

12. George Batchelder, 7, 8f, 11; William Capers, 2; Silas Cummings, 14; Charles Deems, 38; Daniel DeVinne (1887), 37; George Henry, 7; Billy Hibbard, 5; John Hudson, 15; H. Koeneke, 158; Luther Lee, 17; William Meeker, 21; Henry Morrison, 5; John Swahlen, 89.
13. Lorenzo Waugh, 23.
14. Chauncey Hobart, 16; Orcenth Fisher, 472; Hugh Fisher, 65; John Dyer, 16; John Wood, 12; George Brown, 39; Charles Giles, 13; John Shaffer, 5.
15. William Boyd, 19; Silas Cummings, 20.
16. Aaron Hall, 3.
17. E.g., James Erwin, 6.
18. Alfred Brunson, 37; H. L. Chapman, 14; William Ryder, 14; Samuel Smith, 13f; Heman Bangs, 6; George Batchelder, 18ff; George Rankin, 69; Mark Trafton, 33; Brantley York, 31.
19. Silas Cummings, 18f; Heman Bangs, 6; see also note 18.
20. George Henry, 11f, 87f; John Klein, 194.
21. James Davidson, 15.
22. Alonzo Morehouse, 10.
23. E.g., Luther Lee, 23; John Mills, 47.
24. E.g., George Henry, 46.
25. Elwood Stokes, 14.
26. James Finley, 115; Philip Kuhl, 204.
27. George Boehm, 44; Henry Ellerbeck, 397.
28. C. H. Doering, 138; Elnathan Gavitt, 69; Henry Kimball, 30; James Finley, 115; George Mathews, 17.
29. William Boyd, 82; Silas Cummings, 23; Alonzo Selleck, 24; Luther Lee, 18; John Wood, 14; David Lewis, 35; George Henry, 111; James Peck, 9; George Rankin, 80.
30. E.g., John Bangs, 12; James Peck, 9.
31. See note 68.
32. E.g., James Finley, 158.
33. E.g., John Dyer, 40.

34. See notes 12 through 14.
35. E.g., John Scarlett, 33.
36. E.g., John Mills, 47; John Bangs, 14.
37. John Mills, 27.
38. George Batchelder, 45; Oscar Fitzgerald, 15; Seth Crowell, 10.
39. George Brown, 46; John Scarlett, 24ff; Orange Scott, 37; Elwood Stokes, 40.
40. John McLean, 31; George Rankin, 79; John Shaffer, 5; George Batchelder, 8f; Andrew Manship, 35; William Boyd, 19; Silas Cummings, 14; George Henry, 7; John Hudson, 15; H. Koenke, 158; William Capers, 2; Charles Deems, 38; Daniel DeVinne (1887), 37; Billy Hibbard, 5; Luther Lee, 17; William Meeker, 21; Henry Morrison, 5; John Swahlon, 89.
41. Luther Lee, 134.
42. E.g., John Shaffer, 5; George Batchelder, 8f; Andrew Manship, 35.
43. George Brown, 46; Silas Cummings, 28; Daniel DeVinne (1887), 46; Henry Kimball, 54; John Mathews, 18; Wesson Miller, 45; Alonzo Morehouse, 42; John Reiley, 161; John Scarlett, 80; I. Smith, 9; Tobias Spicer, 16; John Stewart, 23; Lorenzo Waugh, 35; Brantley York, 32; John Nichols, 17; Ebenezer Newell, 16f.
44. Adna Leonard, 24; Adam Miller, 51; J. Wesley Carhart, 31; Landon Taylor, 6.
45. Louis Beaudry, 180; Oscar Fitzgerald, 55; Maxwell Gaddis, 41; Henry Morrison, 20; Seth Reed, 146; John Nichols, 17; John Burgess, 151.
46. Louis Beaudry, 180; see also note 43.
47. Seth Reed, 15; William Round, 4; Maxwell Gaddis, 41.
48. J. Wesley Carhart, 12, 34; Erastus Haven, 76; Wilson Spottswood, 10f.
49. William Turner, 15, 23; Erastus Haven, 53, 56, 63; Charles Deems, 41f, 47, 49; William Nast, 142.
50. E.g., John Boynton, 146; Alfred Brunson, 35.

51. E.g., Alfred Brunson, 31f.
52. E.g., Oscar Fitzgerald, 33.
53. E.g., John Scarlett, 37; Alonzo Morehouse, 4.
54. E.g., John Roche, 75; Charles Hertel, 30; James Finley, 113; Mark Travis, 29; A. Hill, 313.
55. Silas Swallow, 38; J. O. Peck, 11; Casper Jost, 234; Alfred Brunson, 45, 48; B. F. Crary, 138; John Emory, 14; William Capers, 67, 69; John Plank, 243; G. M. Pierce, 21; Seth Reed, 20; William Herr, 7; J. M. Buckley, 5; Charles Deems, 52.
56. John Wood, 108.
57. John Mills, 27.
58. William Capers, 42; J. Wesley Garhart, 9; Granville Moody, 36; Henry Morrison, 15; George Brown, 35; William Capers, 42; John Wood, 13; H. L. Chapman, 36; Mark Travis, 15; Francis Mood, 29ff.
59. See note 58.
60. Henry Morrison, 15; William Capers, 31, 38; H. L. Chapman, 13.
61. James Anthony, 36; George Henry, 8; Alfred Brunson, 30; William Capers, 30; John Burgess, 88.
62. James Anthony, 26f.
63. H. L. Chapman, 27.
64. George Rankin, 37.
65. George Rankin, 37.
66. John McLean, 33.
67. Learner Stateler, 6.
68. Nicholas Vansant, 62.
69. James Finley, 164; Oscar Fitzgerald, 54; John Burgess, 90, 95-98; Hugh Fisher, 7f.
70. William Capers, 42; Joseph Snelling, 119; Thomas Morris, 261; George Brown, 31; Granville Moody, 37.

71. Chauncey Hobart, 14; Granville Moody, 36; John Wood, 14.
72. James Finley, 115; John Dyer, 20; H. L. Chapman, 36f; William Capers, 36; John Maffitt, 165; Chauncey Hobart, 17; Alonzo Morehouse, 10; H. Fiegenbaum, 369; Learner Stateler, 6; John Burgess, 108.
73. Abner Chase, 13; Hugh Fisher, 69.
74. George Peck, 32; Mark Trafton, 34.
75. James Finley, 149.
76. Peter Cartwright, 25; John Burgess, 97f.
77. John Mills, 26; Henry Morrison, 11; Henry Smith, 234; Charles Helwig, 126; Stephen Noland, 28.
78. Alonzo Morehouse, 5f.
79. Emory Miller, 19.
80. Daniel Dorchester, 15.
81. John Maffitt, 13; James Anthony, 38.
82. John Risley, 4.
83. John Risley, 4.
84. E.g., John Adams, 30; Reuben Peaslee, 4.
85. George Henry, 23; Reuben Peaslee, 4; John Maffitt, 13; James Anthony, 38f.
86. Heman Bangs, 5; William Boyd, 17; Frederic Schuler, 394; Seth Crowell, 7, 29.
87. George Henry, 13.
88. Abner Chase, 23.
89. Peter Cartwright, 31.
90. James Anthony, 46; Charles Militzer, 343.
91. Charles Hertel, 302.
92. E.g., William Boyd, 21f; Mark Trafton, 34; Henry Smith, 62; Stephen Noland, 28.

93. Alonzo Selleck, 25f.
94. E.g., John Scarlett, 21; Peter Cartwright, 146.
95. William Sweet (1954), 171f.
96. William Boyd, 231; William Ryder, 35; Mark Trafton, 34.
97. Landon Taylor, 11; Jacob Young, 28; Peter Cartwright, 27, 31; James Finley, 164; Alfred Brunson, 42.
98. Silas Cummings, 25; John Mills, 42, 49; William Boyd, 200f.
99. Henry Henke, 317; Jacob Young, 28; Philip Kuhl, 204; John Bangs, 12, 15; John Hudson, 14f; Thomas Griffin, 154.
100. James Finley, 166.
101. Abner Chase, 10.
102. Silas Cummings, 32.
103. Alfred Brunson, 40f; Dan Young, 15.
104. George Henry, 25.
105. John Maffitt, 15.
106. E.g., William Capers, 64f; Learner Stateler, 6.
107. Lorenzo Waugh, 109; see also Learner Stateler, 6; John Burgess, 99f.
108. George Henry, 35.
109. Alonzo Selleck, 21; see also Alonzo Morehouse, 5f; John Wood, 14; Emory Miller, 19; John Burgess, 72f, 386-391.
110. Alfred Brunson, 64.
111. George Rankin, 13; Staphen Beggs, 11; Alonzo Morehouse, 5f; John Wood, 14; Theodore Miller, 383; John Roche, 44.
112. George Rankin, 13.
113. Emory Miller, 19.
114. H. L. Chapman, 59.
115. Chauncey Hobart, 30.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. E.g., Sylvanus Milne Duvall. The Methodist Episcopal Church and Education Up to 1869. New York, 1928.
2. J. Wesley Carhart, 24; William Wyatt, 6; Elwood Stokes, 32; George Rankin, 14; Louis Beaudry, 182; Lorenzo Waugh, 59; Adam Miller, 48; Henry Morrison, 12; William Boyd, 35; Hugh Fisher, 65; Seth Reed, 19; see also chapter II.
3. Alonzo Morehouse, 4ff; William Boyd, 18; Louis Beaudry, 177.
4. Maxwell Gaddis, 40; Jacob Young, 26f; Lorenzo Waugh, 30, 39; William Boyd, 16; Tobias Spicer, 11; Francis Mood, 29; John Scarlett, 17.
5. H. L. Chapman, 22; Granville Moody, 25; John McLean, 9. The fathers of Granville Moody and John McLean were graduates of Dartmouth and Princeton, respectively.
6. George Rankin, 7; Granville Moody, 25; John McLean, 9f; Charles Giles, 13; Heman Bangs, 3.
7. William Wyatt, 34.
8. Elwood Stokes, 32.
9. Erastus Haven, 50; Luther Lee, 13; H. L. Chapman, 28f; Henry Morrison, 12; G. L. Mulfinger, 146; John Bahrenberg, 178; Maxwell Gaddis, 40; Henry Kimball, 17f; Adam Miller, 6, 48; John Burgess, 66f.
10. H. L. Chapman, 28f; Charles Deems, 32; Silas Cummings, 56; John Roche, 56; Alfred Brunson, 64; Hugh Fisher, 67; John Burgess, 157.
11. James Anthony, 33.
12. Henry Smith, 234; see also George Rankin, 39, and Chapter III.
13. George Peck, 19f.
14. See notes 1, 7, and 8.

15. William Meeker, 47.
16. Henry Morrison, 12; George Rankin, 35; Adam Miller, 6, 48; see also chapter II.
17. John Nichols, 14.
18. Silas Cummings, 19.
19. H. L. Chapman, 20f.
20. James Hudson, 9f.
21. Charles Giles, 13f.
22. David Lewis, 41; Elwood Stokes, 9; Luther Lee, 25; Daniel DeVinne (1869), 4; George Peck, 55.
23. James Quinn, 16; Andrew Manship, 12.
24. Heman Bangs, 2; George Brown, 40, 45.
25. James Finley, 155.
26. William Burke, 24; George Peck, 55.
27. E.g., Samuel Williams, 27.
28. Adam Miller, 48; Henry Morrison, 12; William Boyd, 35; Erastus Haven, 39; Seth Reed, 19; Brantley York, 11; Charles Deems, 33; Elwood Stokes, 32f.
29. Seth Reed, 19.
30. E.g., Orange Scott, 60f; Luther Lee, 25f; see also note 28.
31. Luther Lee, 25f.
32. E.g., James Anthony, 33.
33. John Nichols, 15; Luther Lee, 68; Adam Miller, 51f; Lorenzo Waugh, 37; see also chapter V.
34. Daniel DeVinne (1883), 43f; James Finley, 144; Seth Crowell, 35; Thomas Pearne, 29; Adam Miller, 17f; see also chapter V.
35. James Finley, 144; Adam Miller, 51f; Lorenzo Waugh, 37, 38; Hugh Fisher, 66f.
36. William Wyatt, 230.

37. Over 80% of the men studied in this research attended some form of elementary school, even if it was for only a few months. The names of these schools varied in different areas, among them being: common school, Village school, English school, country school, old field school, German school, French school, district school, common district school, city school, and dame school.
39. E.g., George Rankin, 38f; Stephen Beggs, 12; Samuel Williams, 27.
40. Maxwell Gaddis, 43; Daniel DeVinne (1869), 5; Chauncey Hobart, 29; James Finley, 41; William Wyatt, 20; see also chapter V.
41. E.g., Chauncey Hobart, 30; George Rankin, 159; Henry Morrison, 12.
42. Chauncey Hobart, 13; Billy Hibbard, 10; Erastus Haven, 42; John Burgess, 89.
43. Henry Kimball, 25; Daniel DeVinne (1869), 5; Nicholas Vansant, 67; George Rankin, 36; Stephen Beggs, 12.
44. Maxwell Gaddis, 43; Daniel DeVinne (1869), 5; Chauncey Hobart, 29; see also chapter V.
45. Chauncey Hobart, 30.
46. John Burgess, 85; John Roche, 33; Silas Cummings, 16.
47. John Dyer, 24; Emory Miller, 34; John Burgess, 85.
48. George Rankin, 39.
49. E.g., Erastus Haven, 42; George Rankin, 39f; Samuel Williams, 27.
50. William Boyd, 18; Erastus Haven, 42; Brantley York, 6f.
51. George Peck, 20; Stephen Beggs, 14; Charles Doering, 137; Erastus Haven, 29; Chauncey Hobart, 29; John Scarlett, 20; John Burgess, 83.
52. E.g., Nicholas Fessenden, 10; Erastus Haven, 29; John Scarlett, 19f; Maxwell Gaddis, 44.
53. Chauncey Hobart, 16; William Burke, 24; William Boyd, 18; Peter Cartwright, 32; Adam Miller, 6; Elwood Stokes, 12; J. Wesley Carhart, 31; John Nichols, 14, 17.

54. J. N. Shaffer, 7; Seth Reed, 18; Chauncey Hobart, 16; Brantley York, 10f; Peter Cartwright, 32.
55. Adam Miller, 6.
56. George Rankin, 40; Henry Morrison, 116; John Dyer, 24; Erastus Haven, 42; John Burgess, 84f.
57. Chauncey Hobart, 30; see also John Burgess, 38.
58. John Dyer, 32.
59. H. L. Chapman, 25, 27.
60. H. L. Chapman, 27.
62. Oscar Fitzgerald, 16; George Peck, 19f; George Rankin, 39f; John Burgess, 83, 87.
63. John Burgess, 87.
64. Billy Hibbard, 9.
65. James Anthony, 11f.
66. James Erwin, 2; Seth Reed, 16; George Coles (1851), 44f; Luther Lee, 26.
67. George Batchelder, 4; Louis Beaudry, 177; Orange Scott, 6.
68. Samuel Williams, 241ff; Erastus Haven, 50.
69. Samuel Williams, 241f.
70. George Rankin, 114f.
71. George Rankin, 111-115.
72. Hugh Fisher, 66f; John Burgess, 161; James Finley, 113f; George Rankin, 144.
73. Seymour Landon, 17; James Anthony, 33; Wilson Spottswood, 2f; Peter Cartwright, 59f; William Capers, 47; James Finley, 113f; John Burgess, 161.
74. J. Wesley Carhart, 28; William Capers, 47; Louis Beaudry, 184.
75. Louis Beaudry, 184; James Finley, 113f; Brantley York, 36; Dan Young, 27; William Fee, 35; John Burgess, 161; Henry Kimball, 55; Seth Reed, 20; Hugh Fisher, 66f.
76. E.g., James Finley, 39.

77. William Capers, 39; J. Wesley Carhart, 27.
78. Henry Kimball, 49.
79. J. Wesley Carhart, 25.
80. Thomas Pearne, 28; Silas Cummings, 22, 26f; J. Wesley Carhart, 29; Hugh Fisher, 66.
81. Hugh Fisher, 66f.
82. William Turner, 14; John Nichols, 16; James Erwin, 7f.
83. Aaron Hall, 6.
84. John Nichols, 16; Aaron Hall, 6; Thomas Pearne, 28; William Turner, 14.
85. J. O. Peck, 13; Silas Swallow, 38.
86. Henry Kimball, 59; Alexander Gilmore, 8.
88. E.g., Erastus Haven, 52; Louis Beaudry, 184.
89. William Orpheus Shewmaker. "The Training of the Ministry in the United States of America Before the Establishment of Theological Seminaries." Favors of the American Society of Church History, second series, VI, 1921, 71-202.
90. Sylvanus Milne Duvall. The Methodist Episcopal Church and Education Up to 1869. New York, 1928, chapter IV, 62-83.
91. William Sweet (1954), chapter XI, 207-223.
92. Sylvanus Duvall, chapter V, 84-104.
93. Charles Deems, 47, 52; George Rankin, 208; Samuel Williams, 231, 234; William Capers, 47f.
94. James Finley, 326; George Rankin, 208; William Capers, 47.
95. Emory Miller, 34; Charles Deems, 47, 52; George Rankin, 208; Samuel Williams, 231, 234.
96. Samuel Williams, 246; George Rankin, 209, 214.
97. Samuel Williams, 255.
98. William Capers, 48; William Fee, 39; Charles Deems, 49; Samuel Williams, 251.

99. John McLean, 47; George Rankin, 209f; Charles Deems, 48f; George Rankin, 209; Samuel Williams, 258f, 273.
100. George Rankin, 207.
101. John McLean, 46; George Rankin, 207.
102. Samuel Williams, 257f.
103. John McLean, 47, 49; George Rankin, 209, 214; Samuel Williams, 254f.
104. Charles Deems, 50f; George Rankin, 214; Samuel Williams, 256.
105. Samuel Williams, 253.
106. Samuel Williams, 254f.
107. George Rankin, 210; John McLean, 47; William Fee, 38; William Capers, 68.
108. E.g., Samuel Williams, 271.
109. E.g., Samuel Williams, 270f.
110. George Rankin, 210; Samuel Williams, 244; John McLean, 49f; William Capers, 49; Charles Deems, 54.
111. E.g., John McLean, 49f.
112. E.g., William Capers, 49.
113. E.g., Samuel Williams, 249.
114. John Burgess, 177; Samuel Williams, 244; John McLean, 48f; Charles Deems, 50.
115. E.g., George Rankin, 211.
116. Samuel Williams, chapter XII, especially 244f.
117. William Fee, 38, 41; Henry Kimball, 45; Samuel Williams, 249; John McLean, 47; George Rankin, 211; Charles Deems, 50; James Erwin, 3f.
118. James Erwin, 3f.
119. E.g., J. O. Peck, 13.
120. E.g., George Rankin, 209f.

121. E.g., William Turner, 14f.
122. John McLean, 47.
123. A student could procure room and board in the 1840's for \$1.50 to \$1.75 per week--Samuel Williams, 291.
124. William Turner, 15; Erastus Haven, 67; John McLean, 81; J. O. Peck, 13.
125. William Turner, 15.
126. William Milburn, 32; Elijah Steele, 18.
127. William Milburn, 32.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Methodist, 46; Lutheran, 41; Presbyterian, 15; Roman Catholic, 14; Baptist, 10; Congregational, 9; Protestant Episcopal, 8; Reformed groups, 6; Amish, 3; Quaker, 2; Moravian, 1.
2. Arthur Bradshaw, 61f; Dan Young, 14; Daniel DeVinno (1883), 36; George Rankin, 96; John Smith, 225; David Lewis, 15; J. Wesley Garhart, 8; John Burgess, 23, 68; Ezekiel Cooper, 12.
3. John Smith, 225.
4. David Lewis, 15; Charles Deems, 36; Elijah Woolsey, 6; see also note 2.
5. Maxwell Gaddis, 44; William Wyatt, 18; Billy Hibbard, 5; Charles Deems, 19; J. Miller, 221; Alonzo Morehouse, 4; Elnathan Gavitt, 55; James Quinn, 16; John Burgess, 69.
6. H. L. Chapman, 17; Elbert Osborn, 14; James Finley, 155; James Erwin, 2; Samuel Keon, 17; G. L. Mulfinger, 146; John Bangs, 15; Hugh Fisher, 60; Stephen Beggs, 14; N. Fessenden, 8; William Fee, 18ff; Thomas Griffin, 155; Francis Mood, 53; Learner Stateler, 13f; John Nichols, 25; Maxwell Gaddis, 44; Joseph Creighton, 17.
7. Charles Bishop, 343.
8. George Brown, 46; Ebenezer Newell, 6; John Nichols, 11; Francis Mood, 51; Learner Stateler, 13f; Heman Bangs, 3.
9. John Maffitt, 10.
10. Billy Hibbard, 5; Charles Deems, 19; Alonzo Morehouse, 4; J. Miller, 221; Elnathan Gavitt, 55; James Quinn, 16.
11. H. L. Chapman, 16, 18.
12. James Quinn, 16.
13. E.g., Samuel Williams, 60.

14. Robert Witten, 54; James Anthony, 9; John Dyer, 16; Charles Deems, 20; Adna Leonard, 19; Thomas Pearne, 24f; J. Wesley Carhart, 14; John Stewart, 19; George Brown, 40; Chauncey Hobart, 20; Samuel Williams, 60f; Hugh Fisher, 60; J. Miller, 221.
15. James Anthony, 9; James Finley, 155; Daniel DeVinne (1869), 7.
16. James Erwin, 9.
17. Alexander Gilmore, 6; H. L. Chapman, 16f; Elbert Osborn, 14; James Finley, 155; John Maffitt, 25; Lorenzo Waugh, 51; Alfred Brunson, 29.
19. E.g., Francis Mood, 29.
20. James Erwin, 11.
21. George Boehm, 15; Billy Hibbard, 17; Thomas Pearne, 24f; W. W. Foster, 5; John Mills, 48; John Risley, 1; Henry Kimball, 14f; Maxwell Gaddis, 49; Samuel Keen, 15; Nicholas Vansant, 73f.
22. James Erwin, 2; Elnathan Gavitt, 55; Samuel Keen, 17; G. L. Mulfinger, 146; John Bangs, 15; Henry Kimball, 14f; John Risley, 1; Maxwell Gaddis, 49; J. Wesley Carhart, 14; John Stewart, 19; George Brown, 40; Chauncey Hobart, 20.
23. Francis Mood, 52.
25. Luther Lee, 25.
26. W. S. Titus, 212; John Adams, 25; J. H. Barth, 230; Charles Giles, 14f; Luther Lee, 19; Jacob Young, 289; John McLean, 25; George Henry 141; John Scarlett, 19f; James Finley, 171; William Boyd, 5; Orange Scott, 56.
27. John Mills, 24.
28. N. Fessenden, 8; Henry Morrison, 28; Stephen Beggs, 14; Mark Trafton, 42; J. Wesley Carhart, 16; Alonzo Morehouse, 4f; John Stewart, 13.
29. William Fee, 18f; Maxwell Gaddis, 42; J. Wesley Carhart, 19; Heman Bangs, 46; Henry Morrison, 26.
30. Maxwell Gaddis, 42; Heman Bangs, 46; J. Wesley Carhart, 19; Henry Morrison, 26; John Stewart, 13; John Wood, 9; George Boehm, 41; John Risley, 7f.

31. Mark Travis, 17; John Wood, 12; John Stewart, 20; John Maffitt, 25; Lorenzo Waugh, 51; Alfred Brunson, 29.
32. John Maffitt, 2; William Ahrens, 110; Samuel Keen, 15; John Scarlett, 12; Daniel DeVinne (1869), 7; Henry Morrison, 15; David Nash, 251; Elnathan Gavitt, 57; Chauncey Hobart, 18; Joseph Creighton, 17; Lorenzo Dow, 2; Lewis Beaudry, 148; David Lewis, 15; Heman Bangs, 5; Daniel DeVinne (1887), 36; John Mathews, 10; Learner Stateler, 14; John Nichols, 12.
33. Charles Giles, 16.
34. Orcenth Fisher, 470f.
35. John Wood, 9; Erastus Haven, 37f; Mark Travis, 17; N. Fessenden, 13f; Maxwell Gaddis, 15f, 70, 72; David Lewis, 18; Samuel Keen, 19; John Mathews, 10; Henry Morrison, 13f; Learner Stateler, 14; Orcenth Fisher, 471; John Maffitt, 23; John Risley, 1, 4; John Nichols, 12; John Hudson, 18; Frederic Hebler, 363; Henry Kolbe, 327f; Heman Bangs, 3; Mark Travis, 178.
36. Alfred Brunson, 49.
37. Dan Young, 19; Ezekiel Cooper, 15; Alfred Brunson, 49; William Fee, 21; William Mast, 136f; Elijah Steele, 12; Alfred Brunson, 47; Dan Young, 19; Charles Deems, 39; Adam Miller, 45; Alonzo Solleck, 21.
38. John Mills, 58f; William Capers, 65; Billy Hibbard, 22; see also note 37.
39. Billy Hibbard, 22.
40. George Batchelder, 31; William Capers, 65.
41. Ezekiel Cooper, 12, 15; Alfred Brunson, 48; Seth Crowell, 8; John Adams, 27.
42. William Boyd, 16; Billy Hibbard, 18; J. Boynton, 145.
43. Heman Bangs, 6f; Henry Smith, 237; John Bangs, 15f.
44. Alonzo Morehouse, 7; Alfred Brunson, 23.
45. John Risley, 3; John Hudson, 14f.
46. Ludwig Jacoby, 128; H. L. Chapman, 49; Lorenzo Waugh, 53; Ben Sabin, 142.

47. See chapter I.
48. E.g., William Fee, 21.
49. John Adams, 25; Stephen Beggs, 14; Alfred Brunson, 27, 40; William Burke, 25; James Finley, 166f; Chauncey Hobart, 89; W. H. Poole, 21; J. Swahlen, 90; Henry Smith, 239; John Dyer, 25; Aaron Hall, 2.
50. Alfred Brunson, 45; J. Wesley Carhart, 15; John Adams, 20; Henry Smith, 8; John Risley, 13.
51. Henry Smith, 8; John Risley, 13; John Wood, 21.
52. John Risley, 13.
53. William Boyd, 38; David Gay, 306; John Mathews, 13; John Mills, 24; John Plank, 242.
54. George Boehm, 17; Reuben Peaslee, 11; George Danker, 174; Alfred Brunson, 47f; Chauncey Hobart, 58.
55. John Adams, 28; George Boeshenz, 334.
56. Frederic Flocken, 374; J. Wesley Carhart, 15; Charles Deems, 42; John Risley, 9; Seth Crowell, 9; H. L. Chapman, 148; George Batchelder, 29, 31; James Finley, 169; David Lewis, 19.
57. John Risley, 11.
58. John Maffitt, 19.
59. Heman Bangs, 4; William Burke, 25f; Francis Mood, 61; Freeborn Hibbard, 36; Learner Stateler, 15; J. Wesley Carhart, 14, 16; Alfred Brunson, 50; Jacob Young, 42f; Alonzo Solleck, 29; John Scarlett, 178f.
60. Orange Scott, 9f; William Herr, 9; John Klein, 194; Mark Travis, 27f; George Batchelder, 35f; Elnathan Gavitt, 58; Alonzo Morehouse, 55; David Lewis, 19; John Phetzing, 260; W. H. Poole, 23; Dan Young, 28f; Lorenzo Dow, 14; Henry Boehm, 17; G. L. Mulfinger, 152.
61. J. Wesley Carhart, 14, 16; William Herr, 9f; Orange Scott, 9f; Reuben Peaslee, 17; Jacob Young, 52f; Peter Cartwright, 141; Henry Boehm, 17; Maxwell Gaddis, 73.
62. H. L. Chapman, 51.
63. Jacob Young, 44; Henry Kimball, 21; John Klein, 194.

64. See note 61.
65. Adna Leonard, 22; John Adams, 29; Billy Hibbard, 24; George Batchelder, 36f; James Finley, 170.
66. Henry Morrison, 29f; C. J. Richman, 325; George Batchelder, 36; Billy Hibbard, 24, 27; James Finley, 170; John Dyer, 25; Brantley York, 26.
67. John Risley, 12.
68. John Daniels, 234.
69. Maxwell Gaddis, 75; Nowell Culver, 22f; Charles Giles, 81; John Dyer, 25; Alfred Cookman, 39; William Herr, 9.
70. James Finley, 172; W. W. Foster, 6; Lewis Dunn, 60f; J. Porter, 3; John McLean, 51; John Risley, 2; Elnathan Gavitt, 73; George Peck, 53f; Jacob Young, 51; William Fee, 24f.
71. E.g., John Wood, 17; Ezekiel Cooper, 13f.
72. Fitch Reed, 6.
73. Elijah Woolsey, 22f.
74. John Risley, 2; Ezekiel Cooper, 13; Elnathan Gavitt, 73; Charles Doering, 138; H.E. Pilcher, 8f; R. W. Hawkins, 309.
75. Seymour Landon, 20; see also Stephen Noland, 12f.
76. Hugh Fisher, 67f; Seymour Landon, 20; James Anthony, 35; William Ryder, 27; William Wyatt, 19; George Rankin, 95; Charles Bishop, 343; Stephen Beggs, 13; James Anthony, 35
77. Seymour Landon, 21.
78. William Wyatt, 19.
79. George Rankin, 95.
80. Charles Bishop, 343.
81. Stephen Bangs, 23, 31; Henry Morrison, 35; William Clark, 227.
82. Chauncey Hobart, 8; Luther Lee, 21; Brantley York, 7; Hugh Fisher, 6; Thomas Pearne, 28; William Turner, 13; Daniel DeVinne (1887), 37; Hugh Fisher, 61; Elnathan Gavitt, 59.

83. John McLean, 88; John Roche, 55f; Elijah Steele, 15f; Francis Mood, 64f; John Risley, 13f; John Adams, 32; John Bangs, 32; Daniel DeVinne (1887), 44; Conrad Gahn, 267; David Gay, 360f; John Haas, 273; Charles Giles, 81; Henry Morrison, 30; John Plank, 242; George Rankin, 93; John Scarlett, 111; Orange Scott, 10f; Alonzo Selleck, 36.
84. Philip Kuhl, 209.
85. Alfred Brunson, 97; J. Wesley Carhart, 23; H. L. Chapman, 68; James Erwin, 2; George Batchelder, 94.
86. William Capers, 83; John Dyer, 37; N. Fessenden, 21; Charles Giles, 83f; Billy Hibbard, 121; John Inskip, 54, 57; F. Merten, 104; Englehardt Reimenschneider, 121f; Henry Morrison, 20.
87. E.g., John Bangs, 31; Ezekiel Cooper, 19; William Ahrens, 117; George Rankin, 99; N. Fessenden, 22; Lorenzo Dow, 22; David Lewis, 77; John Burgess, 214f.
88. Wesson Miller, 4.
89. Aaron Hall, 3; F. S. Mintzer, 323; George Rankin, 99; John Risley, 22; Alonzo Selleck, 33; N. Fessenden, 22.
90. H. Fiegenbaum, 371; Stephen Bangs, 21; John Boynton, 146; Lorenzo Dow, 22; Hugh Fisher, 66; John Nichols, 28; S. C. Woodard, 554; Ebenezer Newell, 86ff; Seth Crowell, 210f; Landon Taylor, 18; Elijah Woolsey, 27; Adam Miller, 9; George Rankin, 144; Alfred Brunson, 55; Casper Jost, 246; Abner Chase, 34f; Wilson Spottswood, 15; H. L. Chapman, 69f; James Finley, 183.
91. Freeborn Hibbard, 35; Chauncey Hobart, 76; F. S. Mintzer, 324; John Stewart, 24; Stephen Noland, 130f.
92. James Finley, 172.
93. Homan Bangs, 17.
94. Homan Bangs, 23f; George Henry, 137; Alonzo Morehouse, 60; John Risley, 25; Alonzo Selleck, 52.
95. Aaron Hill, 313.
96. William Wyatt, 20; John Schmidt, 327; Homan Bangs, 25f; David Lewis, 40f; Mark Trafton, 61.
97. John Risley, 13f; see also chapter I.

98. Heman Bangs, 17; H. Fiegenbaum, 277; Henry Kolbe, 331; Adam Miller, 56f.
99. Erhardt Wunderlich, 338; William Fee, 36.
100. William Fee, 36; Alonzo Morehouse, 18; Englehardt Reimenschneider, 123; Henry Smith, 243f; Charles Giles, 83; David Lewis, 77;
101. George Batchelder, 77; John Klein, 198; H. L. Chapman, 73; James Finley, 176.
102. Wilson Spottswood, 13; Adna Leonard, 23; Elnathan Gavitt, 44; Oscar Fitzgerald, 97; Alfred Brunson, 68f; Henry Kolbe, 321; N. Fessenden, 25f; John Hudson, 23; Peter Cartwright, 255; Stephen Beggs, 16.
103. William Ahrens, 117.
104. William Fee, 64f; see also Englehardt Reimenschneider, 123.
105. Charles Giles, 61, 84; John Scarlett, 113f; Ludwig Jacoby, 132; John Adams, 33; Maxwell Gaddis, 103; Stephen Bangs, 44; Socrates Townsend, 276; Frederic Kopp, 318.
106. James Erwin, 5; Henry Henke, 312f; J. M. Trimble, 6.
107. E.g., John Wood, 17.
108. E.g., David Nash, 251; W. S. Titus, 212; John Walther, 278.
109. Charles Giles, 101f.
110. Luther Lee, 23; John Mathews, 17; John Risley, 21; Samuel Smith, 1; J. Wesley Carhart, 31; Maxwell Gaddis, 77; Andrew Manship, 19f; Seth Reed, 25; William Fee, 34; George Batchelder, 61; Henry Kimball, 30; William Turner, 13; Louis Hippert, 202; John Mills, 139, 147; Chauncey Hobart, 44f; William Burke, 25f; N. Fessenden, 20; Heman Bangs, 15f; James Finley, 181; George Rankin, 43; Seymour Landon, 19.
111. Alonzo Morehouse, 62; J. McKendree Reiley, 161; William Day, 85; John Bangs, 33; Erastus Haven, 76; George Danker, 176; Maxwell Gaddis, 81; John Bier, 218; John McLean, 89f; Andrew Carroll, 21; J. Wesley Carhart, 22;

111. . . . Thomas Pearne, 25; Adam Miller, 54f; John Maffitt, 66ff; John Mills, 154f; Charles Deems, 65; Edward Davies, 28; Luther Lee, 27f.
112. Erastus Haven, 73.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. See William O. Shewmaker, "The Training of the Ministry in the United States of America before the establishment of Theological Seminaries," Papers of the American Society of Church History, second series, VI, 1921, 71-202.
2. E.g., Seymour Landon, 19; Mark Tarlton, 57; Stephen Beggs, 15; Thomas Pearne, 29; Hugh Fisher, 83; Thomas Morris, 251; Heman Bangs, 3; Charles Giles, 59.
3. See especially Mark Trafton, 34; see also note 2.
4. William Capers, 145.
5. The Methodist Discipline, 1785 edition, 17.
6. Joseph Trimble, 11; Frederic Kopp, 317.
7. Peter Cartwright, 162.
8. Elnathan Gavitt, 60; Thomas Morris, 251; Seth Reed, 55; Hugh Fisher, 73f; see also discussion of self-education in chapter III.
9. John Dodd, 10.
10. John Strange, 38f; see also Alfred Brunson, 219; John Dodd, 10.
11. Hugh Fisher, 69.
12. Newell Culver, 168f; Peter Cartwright, 212; Alfred Brunson, 145.
13. George Peck, 55f; see also J. Wesley Carhart, 22.
14. Alfred Brunson, 219-222; Aaron Hall, 3; Edward Davies, 24.
15. Hugh Fisher, 66.
16. Thomas Morris, 250f.
17. Thomas Morris, 250f; see also James Finley, 325f.
18. Alfred Brunson, 219.

19. Granville Moody, 79; William Milburn, 279; Hugh Fisher, 65; George Brown, 98; John Boynton; J. M. Reiley, 161.
20. The Methodist Discipline, 1785 edition, 16f, 44.
21. Orange Scott, 61.
22. John Boynton, 145; George Brown, 98; J. M. Reiley, 161; John Roche, 56; John Hudson, 22f; George Batchelder, 21f; Peter Wilkins, 184; James Finley, 96; Seth Reed, 32; Adna Leonard, 25; George Brown, 69; George Peck, 51f; Elbert Osborn, 22f; Dan Young, 25; H. Neff, 340; Socrates Townsend, 275; B. F. Crary, 139; Oscar Fitzgerald, 77; Samuel Keen, 23; H. L. Chapman, 76; Daniel DeVinne (1883), 43; Andrew Carroll, 25; Ludwig Jacoby, 129; Wilson Spottswood, 16; Granville Moody, 79; Henry Smith, 52f; John Scarlett, 181; Elijah Poole, 28; Henry Kimball, 24f; Seth Reed, 26-29; David Nash, 252; Edward Davies, 24; William Eyder, 57; Peter Cartwright, 12; El Nathan Gavitt, 73; William Boyd, 35.
23. William Turner, 57; William Wyatt, 19; John Scarlett, 96; J. N. Short, 339; Charles Bishop, 345; George Peck, 51f; Elbert Osborn, 22f; Jacob Young, 51; H. Neff, 340; Robert Hawkins, 310; G. H. Blakeslee, 326; David Gay, 307; William Clark, 228; J. W. Hoover, 258; P. C. Bennett, 262; Socrates Townsend, 275; George Pierce, 288; A. M. Steele, 296; Oscar Fitzgerald, 77; Tobias Spicer, 13; Mark Trafton, 371; Elwood Stokes, 32f; Granville Moody, 79; John Phetzing, 260; Alonzo Morehouse, 54; Erastus Haven, 53; Freeborn Hibbard, 84; Chauncey Hobart, 57; H. L. Chapman, 57; J. Wesley Carhart, 18; George Batchelder, 91; N. Fessenden, 31; Edward Davies, 22; Andrew Carroll, 42f; Ludwig Jacoby, 131; Alexander Gilmore, 6; George Rankin, 94; Emory Miller, 20f; James Finley, 177; J. N. Boynton, 145.
24. E.g., H. L. Chapman, 121f; Oscar Fitzgerald, 58.
25. John Wood, 12.
26. George Brown, 98; Charles Deems, 23; William Wyatt, 9; William Milburn, 18; Henry Morrison, 47; George Henry, 205; Erastus Haven, 50; Chauncey Hobart, 57; H. L. Chapman, 25-29; George Batchelder, 17; Andrew Carroll, 47f; Stephen Beggs, 12; Freeborn Hobbard, 195; Emory Miller, 20f; H. L. Chapman, 115; Dan Young, 60; Daniel DeVinne (1883), 42.
27. George Brown, 98; Dan Young, 62; Charles Deems, 35; Daniel DeVinne (1883), 43; Andrew Carroll, 26, 47f; Dan Young, 60; see also chapter III.

28. Daniel DeVinne (1883), 43; Freeborn Hobbard, 195;
H. L. Chapman, 115.
29. Luther Lee, 66f; Mark Trafton, 23; Tobias Spicer, 11;
Peter Cartwright, 122; Samuel Williams, 28; James Quinn,
16f; Daniel DeVinne (1883), 42.
30. Elbert Osborn, 22f; George Brown, 86; James Erwin, 20;
Peter Cartwright, 187.
31. The Methodist Discipline, 1848, 57f, 73.
32. Elbert Osborn, 22f; Seth Reed, 19; Ebenezer Newell, 26.
33. Chauncey Hobart, 56.
34. Luther Lee, 26.
35. James Erwin, 20; see also John Nichols, 15; George
Batchelder, 21f; N. Fessenden, 8.
36. Silas Swallow, 38f; Ebenezer Newell, 26f; John Hudson,
28.
37. Charles Giles, 19; George Rankin, 26.
38. George Pierce, 291; J. Miller, 221; John Wood, 12.
39. Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist
Episcopal Church, Vol. I (1796-1836), 160f; see also
George Peck, 73.
40. Ibid., Vol II (1840-1848), 125f; see also The Methodist
Discipline, 1848 edition, 381.
41. The Methodist Discipline, 1848 edition, 381f.
42. Newell Culver, 168; Emory Miller, 22.
43. The Methodist Discipline, 1848 edition, 46; see also
George Peck, 91; Newell Culver, 167; William Ryder, 56.
44. Henry Smith, 51; see also George Peck, 91.
45. George Peck, 91; Newell Culver, 167f; Henry Smith, 51;
William Ryder, 56.
46. James Erwin, 73.
47. Hugh Fisher, 82; Andrew Carroll, 27.
48. Newell Culver, 168

49. George Peck, 91f; see also Heman Bangs, 31f.
50. Thomas Morris, 251.
51. Peter Cartwright, 267.
52. E.g., Alfred Brunson, 145; Peter Cartwright, 64; Stephen Bangs, 41f.
53. Newell Culver, 168.
54. Newell Culver, 168.
55. Peter Cartwright, 212; Newell Culver, 168f; Stephen Bangs, 41f.
56. Peter Cartwright, 243; Newell Culver, 168f.
57. Newell Culver, 169.
58. Alfred Brunson, 145; Peter Cartwright, 64.
59. Peter Cartwright, 243.
60. Peter Cartwright, 215.
61. Peter Cartwright, 178.
62. William Capers, 59.
63. Stephen Bangs, 41; Peter Cartwright, 265, 267; Mark Trafton, 94.
64. Heman Bangs, 32.
65. E.g., Newell Culver, 162f.
66. Freeborn Hubbard, 41.
67. Newell Culver, 166; George Peck, 182.
68. Stephen Beggs, 13.
69. Stephen Bangs, 41; Peter Cartwright, 265; Mark Trafton, 41f.
70. See William O. Shewmaker, op. cit.
71. Stephen M. Vail. Ministerial Education in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Boston, 1853, 165.
72. Stephen Vail, 150.

73. Stephen Vail, 159f.
74. Alfred Brunson, 330f.
75. Peter Cartwright, 291.
76. William Sweet (1954), 224f.
77. Stephen Vail, 231-238.
78. William Sweet (1954), 226.
79. Emory Miller, 38f; William Titus, 213f; Henry Kimball, 63.
80. Reprint of a catalogue of Methodist General Biblical Institute, 1849?, in Stephen Vail, 231-238.
81. Henry Kimball, 63f.
82. John Stewatr, 39.
83. John Wesley to Richard Boardman, near London, January 12, 1776. Letters of John Wesley, Vol. VI, John Telford (ed.), London, 1931, 201.

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A. Methodism and its Sense of History

The amount of published and unpublished biographical and autobiographical material on American Methodism is enormous. One distinguished historian, William Warren Sweet, estimates that there is a larger amount of Methodist historical material than that of any other religious group to be found at work in the early days of our nation.¹ This vast treasure is rich in personal primary material of great interest to the historian. Here occur source materials for a history of philosophical, sociological, economic, political, and of course, religious opinion. But in addition to the broad sweep of ideas which we find in these personal narratives, we find much which is less permanently significant but no less exciting and interesting.

Some explanation is needed for the unique passion of many Methodist preachers to preserve their life story in detailed journals and autobiographies. It is no accident that a large body of Methodistica has accumulated through the years. Wesley encouraged his early preachers from the very beginning to keep journals and to write autobiographies. He recognized the effective power of the printed word and produced many volumes of journals, letters, poems,

hymns, and theological dissertations. Wesley earnestly sought to instill in his preachers a desire to record their daily experiences for posterity. Thus, the story of Methodism from the very beginning has been carefully preserved by successive generations of dedicated preacher-historians.

Wesley raised the question of keeping journals at his first Methodist conference, which was held at the Foundery in London in June, 1744: "Should all our Assistants keep journals?" he asked. His answer was: "By all means, as well for our satisfaction as for the profit of their souls."² It would seem that Wesley had what present-day historians might call a "sense of history." He firmly believed that any good Christian life was inevitably a practical manifestation of divine grace. That is, he realized the importance of a good example in the training of devoted Christians. Hence his emphasis on Christian biography in the education of his early preachers. Wesley labored tirelessly to educate the poorer classes so that they might be able to enjoy the abundant pleasures and enlightening inspiration of Christian biography. When he organized his Methodist societies, he set up libraries for them and urged the purchase and reading of good books wherever he went. Wesley's preachers were not only instructed to read much in Christian biography, but also admonished to record their own personal religious experiences in the hope that they might be an inspiration for others to find Christ amid the increasing secularity of the age.

What good reason can one assign for a man's being his own biographer? Quite frequently the individual's motivation for writing his own personal narrative emerges in the author's preface or introduction. These reasons vary from John Scarlett's notion that he "was simply gifted by nature with a good memory"³ to the answer of William Ahrens: "No doubt the Lord gave me the thought."⁴ John Burgess hoped his autobiography would "accomplish much good, both to elevate the minds of the young, in all time, to great usefulness, and to console the aged by past and pleasing reminiscences."⁵ Others simply desired to exhibit to later generations their subordination to the divine will, to demonstrate the various ways in which God works through men, as well as to express their gratitude for God's unbounded goodness in a long life.⁶ Methodist annual conference resolutions occasionally requested certain outstanding leaders of the church to prepare and publish autobiographical sketches or reminiscences.⁷ "Anniversary sermons," which are largely autobiographical accounts given at conference sessions, are given and recorded to this day in the Conference Minutes. This practice undoubtedly arose from Wesley's impetus.

Perhaps George Coles made a more accurate response to the question why he wrote an autobiography when he stated that it was simply due to "the good judgement of Mr. Wesley, who required . . . his early preachers to draw up a brief account of their Christian experience."⁸

Many Methodist preachers naturally followed the example of their great founder and his distinguished associates, George Whitefield, Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury, Peter Cartwright, Alfred Brunson, James Finley, all of whom kept records of their activities in extensive journals and autobiographies which were published many times and widely circulated. There are few men in history about whom the known facts are more complete, thanks to Wesley who instilled a "sense of history" into Methodism. To Methodism's far-sighted founder present-day Methodist historians are deeply indebted for his impetus in providing ample primary documents from which one can assemble accurate and detailed accounts of almost any stage in the history of the Methodist movement. Few religious groups can boast a richer treasure of historical material and a wiser founder than the people called "Methodists."

NOTES

1. William Warren Sweet (1946), v.
2. Wesley Historical Society. Publications, I (1897), 16.
3. John Scarlett, 10.
4. William Ahrens, 111.
5. John Burgess, 5; see also Stephen Nolan, 3.
6. E. g., N. Fessenden, 52; Thomas Pearne, 5; John Burgess, 5; Billy Hibbard, 1.
7. William Fee, 111.
8. George Coles (1852), 3.

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1791-1858. Born in New Hampshire; worked as a boy in a brickyard; quick conversion; entered ministry 1812; married; little information on education.

Ahrens, William. "Narrative of William Ahrens." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 105-118.

1811-1901. Born in Germany; 1838 came to New Orleans; 1839 migrated to Cincinnati, Ohio; Lutheran background; entered ministry 1847; traveled in Ohio and Kentucky.

Allyn, President R. "Testimony of Rev. President R. Allyn, D. D." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 71-75.

Reared in New England, son of German farmer; converted to Methodism, 1835; attended Wesleyan University in Conn.; entered ministry 1838; good on early education.

Andre, ^[John] George. "Experience of George Andre." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 309-313.

~~1828-1872~~ Born in Germany; came to New Orleans 1846; migrated to Louisiana, Kentucky, and finally to Iowa; Lutheran background; converted to Methodism, 1847; joined ministry 1848.

Anthony, James D. Life and Times of Rev. J. D. Anthony: An Autobiography with a few Original Sermons. Atlanta, Georgia, 1896.

1825-1896. Born in South Carolina, reared in Alabama and Georgia; son of a Methodist preacher; converted at 13, joined the ministry in 1846; little education; married three times. Good discussion of pioneer childhood days and his early itinerant life.

Bahrenberg, John H. "Experience of Rev. John H. Bahrenberg." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 178-182.

1814-1885. Born in Germany; came to Baltimore, Maryland in the late 1830's; migrated to Ohio; Lutheran background; only grammar school education; entered ministry 1844 in Ohio, traveled also in Pennsylvania.

Bangs, Heman. The Autobiography and Journal of Rev. Heman Bangs, edited by his daughters. New York, 1874.

1790-1869. Born in Connecticut, reared in New York; son of a poor farmer; Protestant Episcopal background; little or no formal education; entered ministry 1815; married. Two of his brothers were ordained Methodist clergymen.

Bangs, John. Auto-Biography of Rev. John Bangs of the New-York Annual Conference. To which are added A Vindication of the Christian Religion and Remarks on Church Membership, Division of the Church, &c. New York, 1846.

1781-1849. Born in Connecticut, reared in New York; son of a poor farmer; Protestant Episcopal background; little or no education; joined ministry 1811; married twice.

Bangs, Stephen Beekman. Selections from his autobiography in, W. H. N. Magruder. The Young Minister; or Memoirs and Remains of Stephen Beekman Bangs, of the New-York East Conference.

1823-1846. Born in New York City, son of Rev. Heman Bangs, a Methodist minister; well-educated, attended Wesleyan University and New York University, graduating from the latter institution in 1843; joined the ministry in 1844, died two years later.

Barth, John H. "Experience of Rev. J. H. Barth." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 230-235.

1821-1899. Born in Germany; came with family to Pennsylvania in 1831, then migrated to Indiana and Kentucky; Lutheran background; entered ministry in early 1840's.

Barth, Sebastian. "Experience of Rev. Sebastian Barth." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 249-252.

Born and reared in Germany; came to America in late 1830's, migrated to Kentucky; joined ministry in Missouri in 1842.

Batchelder, George W. A Narrative of the Life, Travels, and Religious Experience, of George W. Batchelder, from his Birth, in the year 1803, to the year 1843, written by himself. Philadelphia, 1843.

1803- ? . Born in Philadelphia, reared in Western Pennsylvania; Baptist background; little education; entered the ministry late in life, 1842; married; was an orphan at 11 years of age.

Beaudry, Louis ^{Napoleon} Spiritual Struggles of a Roman Catholic: An Autobiographical Sketch. New York, 1875.

1833- 1892. Born in Vermont; French ancestry; Roman Catholic background; joined Methodist Church in 1854, its ministry 1855 in New York; poorly educated; married. The autobiography is given in a series of conversations and therefore in familiar style, but rather difficult to follow.

Beggs, Stephen R. Pages From the Early History of the West and North-West: Embracing Reminiscences and Incidents of Settlement and Growth and Sketches of the Material and Religious Progress of the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, with especial Reference to the History of Methodism. Cincinnati, 1868.

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Born in New York; no religious training in the home; converted to Methodism at 16; joined ministry in New York when about 22 years old; married.

Bier, John. "Experience of Rev. John Bier." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 221-222.

1819-1891. Born in Germany; came with family to Pennsylvania in 1836, migrated to Ohio; Reformed background; secondary education; joined ministry in 1844 in Ohio, traveled also in Kentucky.

Bishop, Charles H. S. "Testimony of Rev. Charles H. S. Bishop." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 342-345.

Born and reared in New York by pious parents; converted to Methodism in 1847; joined ministry in 1858 in New York. Little information on early life.

Blakeslee, George Hubbard. "Testimony of Rev. George H. Blakeslee." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 326-327.

Born and reared in New York. Little information available; mostly religious experiences.

Boehm, Henry. Reminiscences, Historical and Biographical, of Sixty-Four Years in the Ministry. Joseph B. Wakeley (ed.) New York, 1865.

1775-1875. Swiss parentage; Mennonite background; son of a Mennonite preacher; 1789 joined the Methodists; 1801 joined their ministry; traveled throughout the East. Little education.

Boeshenz, George. "Experiences of Rev. George Boeshenz." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 331-336.
(also Boeshenz)

1817-1883. Born and reared in Germany; came with family to New York in 1836, migrated to Missouri; Lutheran background; joined Methodist ministry, 1847; married.

Boyd, Robert. Personal Memoirs: together with a discussion upon the Hardships and Sufferings of Itinerant Life; and also a Discourse upon the Pastoral Relation. Cincinnati, 1867.

1792-1880. Born and reared in Pennsylvania; Presbyterian background; little education; joined Methodist ministry, 1815; married; excellent description of early boyhood days.

Boynton, J. "Testimony of Rev. J. Boynton." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences . . . New York, 1868, 145-149.

1814?- ? . Converted at age of 11; joined the Methodist ministry, 1834; married.

Bradshaw, Arthur. "Selections from the Autobiography of Rev. Arthur Bradshaw, a pioneer Methodist Preacher in Illinois." Illinois State Historical Society Journals, Vol. III, No. 2 (1910), 61-64.

Born in East, family moved to Illinois when he was very young; Methodist background; little mention of education; entered ministry in 1836 in Illinois; married.

Breunig, George A. "Experience of Rev. George A. Breunig." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 93-104.

1810-1896. Born and reared in Germany; came to Baltimore with family in 1833; migrated to Michigan; Roman Catholic background; 1837 joined Methodists; entered ministry, 1842 in Ohio; married.

Brodbeck, Paul. "Experience of Rev. Paul Brodbeck." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 391-393.

1809-1889. Born and reared in Germany; Roman Catholic background; came to Pennsylvania in 1834; joined ministry in West Virginia in 1847; traveled also in Ohio; married.

Brokmeier, Christian. "Christian Brokmeier's Experience." in Adam Miller (ed.) Origins and Progress of German Methodist Missions in the Methodist Episcopal Church, including an Account of the Christian Experience of some of the Converts from Popery and Infidelity, as Furnished by themselves. Cincinnati, 1843, 212-217.

1827-1903. Born and reared in Germany; a tailor by trade; Roman Catholic background; came to West Virginia from Germany in 1839; joined Methodist ministry in 1867 in New York.

Brooks, Cyrus. "Testimony of Rev. Cyrus Brooks, D. D." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences . . . New York, 1868, 217-226.

1810?- ? . Converted at 20; joined the ministry
1832? Little information about early life.

Brown, George. Recollections of Itinerant Life: Including Early Reminiscences by Rev. George Brown, D. D., of the Methodist Protestant Church. Cincinnati, 1866.

1792-1871. Born in Pennsylvania; reared in West Virginia and Ohio; very poor parents; Methodist background; secondary education; sudden call; joined ministry, 1815; married. Important account.

Browning, William Garritson. "Testimony of Rev. William G. Browning." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences . . . New York, 1868, 332-334.

----- Fifty Years a Minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church: a Semicentennial Discourse. New York 1898?

1825-1910. Born in Connecticut; son of a tombstone maker, relatively wealthy; Methodist background; attended a private academy; joined ministry in 1818 in Ohio and Pennsylvania; married; excellent account of his early amusements and education.

Buckley, James Monroe. The Changes of Twenty-Five Years. Quarter-Centennial Sermon, by Rev. J. M. Buckley, D. D., in the Summerfield Church, Brooklyn, New York, April 1, 1883. New York, 1883.

1836-1920. Born in Connecticut; son of a Congregational minister; well-educated, attended Wesleyan University; taught school; entered Methodist Ministry in 1858.

Burgess, John. Pleasant Recollections of Characters and Works of Noble Men, with Old Scenes and Merry Times of Long, Long Ago. Cincinnati, 1887.

1821-1879? Born in Maryland; reared in Ohio; son of a prosperous lawyer; Quaker background; Kenyon College and Ohio Wesleyan; entered Methodist ministry in 1844; traveled in Iowa, Tennessee, and Ohio; married.

Burke, William. "Autobiography" in James B. Finley. Sketches of Western Methodism: Biographical, Historical, and Miscellaneous. Illustrative of Pioneer Life. W. F. Strickland (ed.). Cincinnati, 1856, 22-92.

1770- ? . Born in Virginia; reared in North Carolina; of Irish-Welsh parentage; Methodist background; little education; joined ministry, 1792; married.

Capers, William. "Autobiography" in William M. Wightman. Life of William Capers, D. D., One of the Bishops Of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; including an Autobiography. Nashville, Tennessee, 1858.

1790-1855. Born in South Carolina plantation; French background; Methodist background; rather wealthy family; well-educated, attended college; joined ministry, 1808 at age of 18; became bishop in 1846; excellent account of his early life in the South.

Carhart, J. Wesley. Four Years on Wheels; or Life as a Presiding Elder. Written by himself. Oshkosh, Wisconsin, 1880.

1834-1914. Born and reared in New York state, son of a poor farmer; Methodist background, deeply pious family; attended high school; joined ministry, 1855, traveling in New York, Vermont and Wisconsin. Good account of secondary education.

Carroll, Andrew. Moral and Religious sketches and Collections, With Incidents of Ten Years' Itinerancy in the West. Vol. I. Cincinnati, 1857.

1810-1870. Born in Ireland, came to Ohio in 1820's with family; Methodist background; self-educated; joined ministry in 1835 in Ohio; married.

Cartwright, Peter. Autobiography. Charles L. Wallis (ed.). Nashville, 1956.

1785-1872. Born in Virginia of poor parentage; reared in Kentucky; Methodist background; little formal education; joined ministry 1804, traveling in Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee; married; very important for elaborate description of frontier Methodism.

Chapman, H. L. Memoirs of an Itinerant, an Autobiography.
no date, no place.

1833-1915. Born in Pennsylvania; of "Pennsylvania Dutch" descent; very poor family; Presbyterian and Lutheran background; 1846 joined Methodists; little education; joined ministry in Pennsylvania in 1850; married; vivid description of grammar school education.

Chase, Abner. Recollections of the Past. New York, 1848.

1784-1854. Born in Connecticut, raised in upper New York state; little mention of early life; non-religious family; joined Methodist ministry in 1810; traveled in Connecticut and New York. Autobiographical material interspersed between detailed biographical sketches of his colleagues.

Clark, Laban. A Semi-Centennial Sermon Delivered Before the New-York East Conference. New York, 1851.

1778-1868. Born and raised in New England; joined Methodist ministry in 1801; little information on early life and education.

Clark, William Warner. "Testimony of Rev. W. W. Clark." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 227-231.

1838- ? . Born in Canada; converted to Methodism in 1854; joined ministry in 1856; little information on early life and education.

Coles, George. My Youthful Days. An Authentic Narrative. Daniel P. Kidder (ed.). New York, 1852.

-----, My First Seven Years in America. New York, 1852.

-----, Incidents of My Later Years. A Sequel to "My Youthful Days," and "My First Seven Years in America." New York, 1855.

1791-1858. Born in England, 1806 came to Nova Scotia; migrated to New York; Episcopalian background; little education; joined the ministry 1813 in New York; married.

Cook, Charles O. "Testimony of Rev. C. O. Cook." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 300-302.

1845-1899. Born in Pennsylvania; reared in Maryland; converted at 12; entered ministry in 1865; account consists mostly of religious experiences.

Cookman, Alfred. "Testimony of Rev. Alfred Cookman as Written by Himself." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 76-84.

1828-1871. Born and reared in Pennsylvania; joined ministry in Philadelphia in 1840; little information on early life.

Cooper, Ezekiel. "A Short Account of the Life and Experience of Ezekiel Cooper: written by Himself." in George A. Phoebus (Comp.) Beams of Light on Early Methodism in America: Chiefly Drawn from the Diary, Letters, Manuscripts, Documents, and Original Tracts of Rev. Ezekiel Cooper. New York, 1887, 11-21.

1763-1847. Born in Maryland; Anglican background; pious parents; 1776 influenced by the Methodists; 1784 joined the Methodist ministry in Virginia; traveled also in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, South Carolina, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. Lengthy discussion of his early religious impressions, his conversion and call to preach.

Crane, R. H. "Testimony of Rev. R. H. Crane." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 210-211.

Reared in Michigan; Baptist background; joined ministry in Michigan in late 1840's. Little information on early life.

Crary, B. F. "Testimony of Rev. B. F. Crary." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 305-308.

Joined the Methodist ministry about 1845; little facts know about early life; important religious experiences.

Creighton, Joseph Hunter. Life and Times of Joseph Hunter Creighton, A. M., Written by himself and his friends. Lithopolis, Ohio, 1899.

1820-1905. Born and reared in Ohio; of Scotch-Irish peasant ancestry; Presbyterian background; well-educated, attended Worthington Medical College in Ohio, graduating in 1840; converted to Methodism, 1844; joined the ministry, 1844, traveling in Ohio and Iowa; married.

Crist, Jacob Bishop. Selections from his autobiography in Donald Herbert Yoder (ed.) He Rode with McKendree: Selections from the Autobiography of Jacob Crist. no date, no place.

1798-1881. Born and reared in Pennsylvania; of Pennsylvania German stock; Lutheran background; converted to Methodism, 1823; joined ministry, 1825; little education; married.

Crowder, Thomas J. "Testimony of Rev. T. J. Crowder." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 328-329.

Converted to Methodism at 12 years of age and soon joined the Methodist ministry. Little known facts about his early life.

Crowell, Seth. The Journal of Seth Crowell; Containing an Account of His Travels As a Methodist Preacher, for Twelve Years. Written by Himself. New York, 1813.

1781-1826. Born and reared in Connecticut; Presbyterian background; apprenticed to a Methodist, converted at 16; joined the ministry, 1801; traveled in Canada, Vermont, Connecticut, and New York; married.

Culver, Newell. Methodism Forty Years Ago and Now: Embracing Many Interesting Reminiscences and Incidents. Also the Responsibilities, Present and Prospective, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York, 1873.

1808-1882. Born and reared in Vermont; Methodist background; little education; converted 1829; joined ministry, 1833; excellent description of a self-educated Methodist itinerant minister.

Cummings, Silas Stearns. Life and Work of Rev. Silas S. Cummings, Pastor, Chaplain, Delegate of Christian Commission, Missionary Agent of New England Home for Little Wanderers Twenty-nine Years. Somerville, Massachusetts, 1898.

1814-1903. Born and reared in Maine; an orphan at five years of age; Baptist background; well-educated, attended academy; joined ministry, 1840; married.

> Daniels, J. R. "Testimony of Rev. J. R. Daniels." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 234-239.

Born and reared in New Jersey; joined Methodist Church in 1856, its ministry in Newark in 1859; little information of early life.

> Danker, George. "Experience of Rev. George Danker." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 174-176.

1794- ? . Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; little mention of education; came to America in 1836, settling in Ohio; joined Methodist ministry in 1839 at the age of 45.

Davidson, James F. Seal-Centennial Discourse. Detroit, 1882.

1810-1885. Born and reared in Ohio; little mention of education; converted to Methodism, 1827; joined its clergy in 1833, traveling in Ohio, Michigan, and Virginia.

Davies, Edward. He Leadeth Me; or the Personal Narrative, Religious Experience, and Christian Labors of Rev. E. Davies. Reading, Massachusetts, 1873.

1830- ? . Born in England, came to New England in late 1840's and joined the Methodist itinerancy; married. Little information about education.

> Day, William. "Testimony of Rev. William Day." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences . . . New York, 1868, 85-89.

Born and reared in New Jersey, joined ministry in 1850; little information about early life and education.

Deems, Charles Force. Autobiography and Memoirs by his Sons. New York, 1897.

1820-1893. Born and reared in Baltimore, Maryland; son of a wealthy Dutch merchant; Methodist background; excellent educational advantages; private schools, prep school, graduate of Dickinson, 1839; joined ministry, 1840, traveling in New Jersey, North Carolina, and New York; married.

DeVinne, Daniel. Recollections of Fifty Years in the Ministry. New York, 1869.

-----, A Memorial of the Rev. Daniel DeVinne . . . and his Autobiography . . . New York, 1883.

1793-1883. Born in England, came to New York state in 1794; Roman Catholic background; little education; joined the Methodist ministry, 1819, traveling in Mississippi, New York, Louisiana, and Alabama; married; excellent descriptive account.

Dodd, John Foster. A Semi-Centennial Address Delivered in the Methodist Episcopal Church at Chatham, New Jersey, Sept. 23, 1906. no date, no place.

1838-1909. Born and reared in New Jersey; converted to Methodism in 1854; joined ministry in 1856; married; little information on education and early life.

> Doering, C. H. ^{Charles} "Experience of Rev. C. H. Doering." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 137-145.

1811- ? . Born and reared in Germany; came to America in 1836 to Baltimore and from there went to western Pennsylvania and Ohio; Lutheran background; well-educated, attended Allegheny College in Pennsylvania, graduating in 1840; early decided to enter the ministry; joined the itinerancy in 1840.

Dorchester, Daniel. A Half-Century Discourse Delivered Before the New-England Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Lowell, Massachusetts, April 7, 1897. Boston, 1897?

1827-1907. Born and reared in Connecticut; son of a Methodist minister; little mention of education; joined ministry in 1847, traveling throughout New England. He came from a family of Methodist preachers: his father, two sons, and an uncle were Methodist clergymen!

Dow, Lorenzo. Perambulations of Cosmopolite; or Travels and Labors of Lorenzo Dow, in Europe and America, including a Brief Account of His early Life and Christian Experience, as Contained in His Journal.

1777-1834. Born and reared in Connecticut; Congregational background; converted to Methodism, 1791; little formal education; entered ministry, 1796 at age of 19; married; interestingly written account, but it skips over the most important phases of early life--home training, education, and the like.

> Dunn, Lewis Romaine. "Testimony of Rev. Lewis R. Dunn." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences . . . New York, 1868, 60-64.

1822-1898. Born and reared in New Jersey; Dutch Reformed background; converted at 15; joined the ministry at 19; little factual information about other aspects of his early life.

Dustin, Mighill. Fifty Years Ago, and Now. A Semi-Centennial Sermon by Rev. M. Dustin, D. D., Delivered in the Conference Room at Piqua, Ohio, September 4, 1886. Piqua, Ohio, 1886.

1816?-1898. Little information about early life other than religious experiences; joined the Methodist ministry in Ohio in 1836.

Dyer, John Lewis. The Snow-Shoe Itinerant. An Autobiography of the Rev. John L. Dyer, familiarly known as "Father Dyer," of the Colorado Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Cincinnati, 1890.

1812-1901. Born in Ohio, reared on the frontier of Indiana and Illinois; very religious family, but not denominationally affiliated; converted to Methodism in 1830; little education; joined ministry, 1851, traveling through Wisconsin, Minnesota, Colorado; New Mexico, and Arizona; married.

Edmonds, L. M. "Testimony of Rev. L. M. Edmonds." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences . . . New York, 1868, 248-250.

Born and reared in Pennsylvania; little early religious experiences; converted, 1863, joined the ministry in Pennsylvania in 1864?

Ellerbeck, Henry. "Experience of Rev. Henry Ellerbeck." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 396-399.

1818-1916. Born and reared in Germany; 1844 came to New Orleans, then migrated to Missouri; 1845 joined the Methodists, 1850 joined the ministry; married.

Emory, John. Selections from his autobiography in The Life of the Rev. John Emory, D. D., by His Eldest Son. New York, 1841, 11-15.

1789-1835. Born in Maryland, reared in Pennsylvania; son of a distinguished jurist, rather wealthy; Methodist background; well educated: attended private schools and graduated from Washington College in Maryland in 1804; joined the Methodist ministry

in 1810, traveling in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New York. Became bishop in 1835. Excellent description of his education.

Erwin, James. Reminiscences of Early Circuit Life by Rev. James Erwin of Central New York Conference. Toledo, Ohio, 1884.

1813-1894. Born and reared in New York state; son of a poor farmer; Presbyterian background; secondary education; joined Methodist ministry in 1832; married; very descriptive account of early life, education, and call to the ministry.

Fee, William Ingram. Bringing the Sheaves: Gleanings from Harvest Fields in Ohio, Kentucky, and West Virginia. Cincinnati, 1896.

1817-1900. Born and reared in Ohio; son of a rather wealthy Welsh family; Methodist background; well-educated: attended grammar and secondary schools and graduated from Augusta College, Kentucky, 1842; joined Methodist ministry, 1842, in Ohio.

Fernley, Thomas A. Semi-Centennial and Reminiscential Thoughts. Philadelphia, 1895?

Born and reared in Pennsylvania; Methodist background; attended a classical academy; early decided to enter the ministry; joined the itinerancy, 1845; married.

Fessenden, N. Memoirs of Rev. N. Fessenden, With an Appendix. Syracuse, New York, 1863.

1825?- ? . Born in lower New York state, reared in Pennsylvania, son of a poor farmer; Baptist background; little formal education; joined ministry 1848 in New York and Pennsylvania; married; account is difficult to follow, poorly dated.

Fliegenbaum, H. rd "Experience of Rev. H. Fliegenbaum." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 368-371.

1820- ? . Born and raised in Germany; came to United States in 1833, migrated to Missouri; Lutheran background; joined Methodist ministry in 1847, traveling mostly in Illinois.

Fliegenbaum, William. "Experience of Rev. William Fliegenbaum." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 275-278.

1824-1906. Born and reared in Germany; came to the United States in the later 1830's, migrated to the Middle West; Lutheran background; joined Methodist ministry in 1847; traveled in Michigan and Missouri.

Finley, James Bradley. Autobiography, or Pioneer Life in the West. W. P. Strickland (ed.). Cincinnati, 1853.

1781-1856. Born in North Carolina, reared in Kentucky and Ohio; son of a Presbyterian minister; well-educated, attended grammar and secondary schools and a medical college in Philadelphia; joined Methodist ministry in 1809, traveling mostly in Ohio; married; excellent account for descriptive material on early education--description of school buildings, curriculum, teachers, playmates, etc.

Fisher, Hugh Dunn. The Gun and the Gospel--Early Kansas and Chaplain Fisher. Chicago, 1897.

1824-1905. Born and reared in Ohio; German ancestry; Methodist background; attended grammar and secondary schools; entered the ministry, 1848, traveling in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Kansas, Nebraska, Utah, Idaho, and Montana; married.

Fisher, Orceneth. "Letters of Orceneth Fisher, Methodist Preacher on Three Frontiers: Indiana, Texas, and Oregon" in William Warren Sweet. Religion on the American Frontier: 1783-1840, Vol. IV, The Methodists: A collection of Source Materials. Chicago, 1946, 470-498.

1803-1880. Born in Vermont, son of a new England farmer; Baptist background; little education; joined Methodist ministry in 1833, traveling in Illinois, Texas, Oregon, Indiana, and California. Included in this collection are two lengthy autobiographical letters.

Fitzgerald, Oscar Penn. Sunset Views in Three Parts. Nashville, 1900.

1829-1911. Born in North Carolina, reared in Virginia; Irish ancestry; Methodist background; little education; entered ministry in 1854, traveling in Georgia and California; married.

Flocken, Frederic W. "Experience of Rev. F. W. Flocken." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 371-375.

1831-1893. Born in Russia, reared in Germany; came to New York in 1749, migrated to Boston; Lutheran and Greek Orthodox background; converted to Methodism, 1850; joined the ministry, 1855, traveling in New York and New England.

Ford, C. B. "Testimony of Rev. C. B. Ford." in Phoebe Palmer. (ed.) Pioneer Experiences . . . New York, 1868, 337-338.

Little known of his early life other than his early religious experiences and call to preach.

Foster, William W. Personal Experiences: A Semi-Centennial Sermon Preached in the Methodist Episcopal Church at Gloversville, New York, during the session of the Troy Conference, April 17, 1896. Round Lake, New York, 1896.

1820-1900. Born in England, reared in Canada; Methodist background; joined itinerancy in 1843, traveling in Canada and New York; married.

Freygang, Joseph E. "Experience of Rev. Joseph E. Greygang, Extracted from his 'Life, Experience, and Views,' published in the Christian Apologist." in Adam Miller (ed.) Origin and Progress of the German Missions . . . Cincinnati, 1843, 87-191.

Born and reared in Germany; Roman Catholic background; entered the Roman Catholic priesthood at the age of 20; converted from "Popery and Infidelity" after migrating to America in the late 1830's and joined the Methodist ministry in the Middle West.

Gaddis, Maxwell Pierson. Foot-Prints of an Itinerant: an Autobiography. Cincinnati, 1863.

1811-1888. Born and reared in Pennsylvania; Irish parentage; Calvinistic background; joined Methodists 1816; attended grammar and secondary schools; joined ministry in Ohio in 1834; married; an important sourcebook.

Gahn, Conrad. "Testimony of Rev. Conrad Gahn." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 262-269.

1818- ? . Born and reared in Germany; came to America in early 1840's; Lutheran background; converted to Methodism, 1843; joined ministry, 1846 in Ohio; married.

Gavitt, Elnathan Corrington. Crumbs from My Saddle Bags, or Reminiscences of Pioneer Life and Biographical Sketches. Toledo, Ohio, 1884.

1808-1896. Born and reared in Ohio; Presbyterian and Congregational background; little education; powerfully converted to God through Methodist preaching; entered ministry, 1828, traveling in Ohio and Michigan; married twice. Excellent sourcebook.

Gay, David. "Testimony of David Gay." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 306-308.

1837- ? . Little known facts about his early life: devoted Christian father inspired him to enter the Methodist ministry; joined itinerancy in Illinois at the age of 18 in 1855.

Gilder, John L. Semi-Centennial Sermon Delivered Before the New-York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, April 2, 1879. New York, 1879.

1812-1883. Born and reared in Pennsylvania; little mention of early religious training or formal education; joined Methodist ministry in New Jersey in 1829 at the age of 17.

Giles, Charles. Pioneer: A Narrative of the Nativity, Experiences, Travels, and Ministerial Labors of Rev. Charles Giles . . . with Incidents, Observations, and Reflections. New York, 1844.

1783-1867. Born and reared in Connecticut; son of a poor farmer; Deist and Universalist background; family converted to Methodism, 1800; little education; entered ministry, 1805 in Philadelphia Conference, traveled mostly in New York state; married; important source for material pertaining to the social status of early Methodists in New England.

Gilmore, Alexander. Semi-Centennial Sermon, Delivered by Rev. Alexander Gilmore, at the Annual Session of the New Jersey Held in Trenton, March 10, 1887. Camden, New Jersey, 1897.

1812-1894. Little information on early life; converted to Methodism, 1824; attended a private academy in Massachusetts, 1833-35; joined the ministry in 1837, traveling mostly in Pennsylvania and New Jersey; married.

Gorham, B. W. "Testimony of Rev. B. W. Gorham." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 240-244.

Born and reared in New York state; little information on early religious and educational experiences; joined ministry in New York, traveling mostly in Pennsylvania.

Griffin, Thomas. Lengthy extracts from his autobiography in biographical sketch by C. B. Galloway in Mississippi Historical Society Publications, VII (1903), 153-170.

1787-1850. Born in Virginia; reared in Georgia; Methodist background; converted in 1808; little education; joined ministry in 1808 in North Carolina, traveling also in Louisiana, Georgia, Kansas, Missouri, and Mississippi; married.

Haas, John. "The Experience of Rev. John Haas." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 270-275.

1800?- ? . Born and reared in Germany, came to America in late 1830's; family converted to Methodism in 1843; joined ministry in 1845 in Missouri; married.

Hall, Aaron. Reminiscences in the Life of Rev. Aaron Hall, a semi-Centennial Sermon Delivered at the Conference Session of 1890 at Saratoga Springs, New York. Fort Plain, New York, 1890?

1816- ? . Born in Vermont, reared in New York state; son of a poor farmer; Congregational background; attended a private academy; joined Methodist ministry in 1840 in New York; married three times; two brothers became Methodist clergymen.

Hargrave, Richard. "Testimony of Rev. Richard Hargrave." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 119-121.

Little information on early life other than religious development.

Hauck, J. "Brother J. Hauck's Experiences" in Adam Miller (ed.) Origin and Progress of German Methodist Missions Cincinnati 1843, 203-217.

Came to New Orleans from Germany in 1841, migrated to Cincinnati, Ohio; Roman Catholic background; converted to Methodism, 1843; joined Methodist clergy in 1843; married.

Haven, Erastus Otis. Autobiography of Erastus O. Haven, D. D., One of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Charles Carroll Stratton. (ed.). New York, 1883.

1820-1881. Born and reared in Boston, Massachusetts; Dutch and Welsh parentage; son of a Methodist preacher; attended grammar and secondary schools and Wesleyan University; joined ministry in 1848 in New York Conference; married. Interesting boyhood impressions and descriptions.

Havighorst, Rudolph. "Experience of Rev. R. Havighorst." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 380-383.

1829-1910. Born and reared in Germany; son of a school teacher; Lutheran background; came to America in 1847, migrating to Illinois; 1848 joined Methodists, 1850 joined their clergy in Illinois; traveled also in Missouri.

Hawkins, R. W. "Testimony of Rev. R. W. Hawkins." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences . . . New York, 1868, 309-312.

Methodist background; little education; early call to the ministry; few known facts about his early life; no dates.

Heller, Frederic. "Experience of Rev. Frederic Heller." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 363-368.

1807- ? . Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; 1834 came to America, settling in Indiana; 1839 converted to Methodism; 1846 joined the ministry; married.

Helwig, Charles. "Experience of Rev. Charles Helwig." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 176-178.

1818-1885. Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; 1834 came to Baltimore, finally settled in Ohio in 1837; joined Methodists, 1837; joined the ministry in 1848 in Ohio, traveled also in Indiana and Wisconsin.

Henke, Henry. "Experiences of Rev. Henry Henke." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 318-322.

Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; 1836 came to America settling in West Virginia; joined ministry 1845; married.

Henry, George W. Incidents in the Life of George W. Henry up To the Forty-sixth Year of his Age: Together with His Religious Experiences, To which is added a number of Choice Hymns and Popular Odes, with accompanying Music. Dictated By Himself, being Blind. Utica, New York, 1846.

1801- ? . Born in Connecticut, reared in New York state; son of a poor blacksmith; Methodist background; little education; called to the ministry in 1845, at the age of 44; traveled in Pennsylvania; married. Important source.

Herr, William. A Semi-Centennial Sermon, Historical, Biographical and Itinerary, delivered before the Cincinnati Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, During its session at Piqua, Ohio, September 4, 1878. Cincinnati, 1891.

1806-1897. Born in Maryland, reared in Ohio; German parentage; Lutheran background; converted to Methodism 1827; well educated, attended Ohio University 1824-1828; joined the ministry in 1828 in Ohio, traveled also in West Virginia and Michigan; married.

Hertel, Charles Augustus Emmanuel. "The Experiences of Ref. Charles A. E. Hertel." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 297-308.

1824- ? . Born and reared in Germany; son of a prominent lawyer; Lutheran background; 1848 came alone to New York City; converted to Methodism, 1849; well-educated in Germany; joined ministry in 1850 in New Jersey; married twice.

Hibbard, Billy. Memoirs of the Life and Travels of Billy Hibbard, minister of the Gospel, Containing an Account of his Experiences of Religion; and of His Call to and Labors in the Ministry for Nearly Fifty Years: in which are recorded many important, curious, and interesting events, illustrative of the Providence and Grace of God. New York, 1843.

1771-1844. Born in Connecticut; raised in Massachusetts; son of a poor shoemaker; Congregational background; little formal education; joined Methodist ministry in 1795; married.

Hibbard, Freeborn Garrettson. "Testimony of Freeborn G. Hibbard." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 34-45.

1811-1895. Little known about early life; joined New York conference in 1843; good account of conversion and call experiences.

Hill, Aaron S. "Testimony of the Rev. Dr. A. S. Hill." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 313-316.

1800-1893. Born and raised in New York state; became a medical doctor; son of a wealthy New York family; joined the ministry in 1826 in New York City; important account for description of the difficulties of a late call to preach.

Hobart, Chauncey. Recollections of My Life. Fifty Years of Itinerancy In The Northwest. Red Wing, Minnesota, 1885.

1811-1904. Born and reared in Vermont, moved to Ohio during his teens; Baptist background; little education; gradual call; joined ministry 1835 in Illinois, traveling also in Minnesota and Wisconsin; married.

Hoover, John W. "Testimony of Rev. John W. Hoover." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 256-261.

1820-1876. Born and reared in Pennsylvania; Swiss parentage; converted to Methodism 1839; moderate education; joined ministry, 1844 in Maryland, traveled also in Virginia and Tennessee.

Horne, J. W. "Testimony of Rev. J. W. Horne." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 203-206.

Born and reared in New York state; joined ministry early in life; little education; married.

Hudson, John Bishop. Narrative of the Christian Experience, Travels, and Labours of John B. Hudson, A Local Elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church. With voices of the Introduction of Methodism into Various Sections of the State of New York. Written by Himself, with the assistance of a friend. Rochester, New York, 1838.

1770-1888? Born and reared in Connecticut; Presbyterian background; 1789 converted to Methodism; 1804 entered the ministry in Pennsylvania and New York; married; little education.

Hughes, George. "Testimony of Rev. G. Hughes." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 127-131.

1823-1904. Born and reared in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; pious family; joined ministry of Methodist church 1844 in New Jersey; traveled also in New York.

Hughes, J. "Testimony of Rev. J. Hughes." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 341-342.

Brief account of his early religious experiences; brevity diminishes value.

Inskip, John Swanel. "A Brief Synopsis of My Life." in E. I. D. Pepper (ed.) Memorial of Rev. John S. Inskip, Philadelphia, 1884?, 13-16.

----- "Testimony of Rev. John S. Inskip." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 52-59.

1816-1884. Born in England, 1820; family came to Delaware, 1832, migrated to Pennsylvania; converted to Methodism, 1832; non-religious family; joined ministry 1835 in Pennsylvania, traveled in Delaware, Ohio, New York, and Maryland; married.

Jacoby, Ludwig Sigismund. "Experience of Rev. Ludwig S. Jacoby." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 125-136.

1813-1874. Jewish ancestry, later joined the Lutheran church in Germany; born and reared in Germany; 1839 came to America, settling in Cincinnati, Ohio; 1839 joined the Methodists; entered ministry in St. Louis, Missouri in 1841; married.

Jost, Casper. "Experience of Rev. Casper Jost." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 243-247.

1817-1883. Born and reared in Germany; Roman Catholic background; graduated from law school in Germany; 1840 came to America, settling in Missouri; 1843 joined the Methodists; 1846 joined the ministry in Missouri; married.

Keen, Samuel Ashton. Praise Papers. A Spiritual Autobiography. Cincinnati, 1894.

1842-1895. Little mention of early life; well-educated, graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University; joined ministry in 1868 in Ohio; much religious experience.

Kimball, Henry. Records of a Journey From Sunrise to Evening Glow: An Autobiography. Cincinnati, 1911.

1841- ? . Born and reared in New York; son of a Lutheran minister; attended college; joined Methodists in 1857; joined their ministry in 1864 in New York, traveled in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Washington; married.

Klein, John Adam. "Experience of Rev. John A. Klein." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 193-198.

1822-1875. Born and reared in Germany; came to America in late 1830's, settling in Ohio; Lutheran background; 1843 converted to Methodism; 1848 called to preach; traveled throughout Ohio and western Pennsylvania.

Koch, Herman A. "Experiences of Rev. Herman Koch." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 252-253.

1828-1897. Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; 1843 came to America, settling in the Middle West; converted 1850; joined the Methodist ministry in Missouri in 1851.

Koeneke, Charles. "Experience of Rev. Charles Koeneke." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 189-193.

Born and reared in Germany; came to America in 1837, settling in West Virginia; joined Methodist ministry in 1842, traveled in Ohio and Illinois; married.

Koeneke, H. ^{Henry} "Experience of Rev. H. Koeneke." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 157-173.

1800- ? . Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; came to America with family in 1836, settling in West Virginia; joined Methodist ministry in 1840; traveled in Ohio, Indiana, West Virginia, Illinois, and Missouri; married.

Kolbe, Henry. "Experience of Rev. Henry Kolbe." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 327-331.

Born and reared in Germany; family was not religious; 1851 came to America, settling in Ohio; converted to Methodism, 1852; joined ministry, 1853 in Indiana; traveled also in Minnesota.

Kopp, Frederic. "Experience of Rev. Frederic Kopp." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 313-318.

1827-1892. Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; 1849 converted to Methodism; 1846 came to America, settling in Wisconsin; 1851 joined the ministry in Wisconsin; traveled also in Minnesota.

Kuhl, Philipp. "Experience of Rev. Philipp Kuhl." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 203-211.

1814-1887. Born and reared in Germany; Reformed Lutheran background; 1834 came to America; converted 1837; joined Methodist ministry in 1845 in Ohio, traveled also in Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa; married.

Landon, Seymour. Fifty Years in the Itinerant Ministry. A Semi-Centennial Discourse. New York, 1868.

1798-1880. Born in Vermont, reared in New York state; son of a Methodist preacher; little education; entered the ministry in 1818 in New York; important sourcebook.

Lawrence, R. V. "Testimony of Rev. R. V. Lawrence." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences . . . New York, 1868, 207-209.

Born and reared in New Jersey; converted to Methodism in 1852, joined ministry, 1853 in New Jersey; little information about early education.

Lee, Luther. Autobiography of Luther Lee. New York, 1882.

1800-1889. Born and reared in upper New York state; son of a poor farmer; little education; Methodist background; joined ministry in 1827 in New York; married; important source.

Leonard, Adna Bradway. The Stone of Help--Autobiography of Adna B. Leonard, D. D., LL. D., New York, 1915.

1837-1916. Born in Ohio, reared in Indiana; German ancestry; attended grammar and secondary schools; early called to ministry; entered the ministry in 1860; married; brief, sketchy material on years prior to call to ministry.

Lewis, David. Recollections of a Superannuate: or, Sketches of Life, Labor, and Experience in the Methodist Itinerancy. S. M. Merrill (ed.). Cincinnati, 1857.

1783-1867. Born in Connecticut, reared in New York state; son of a poor farmer; Baptist background; 1809 entered Methodist ministry in New York; married.

Luneman, Xaver. "Brother Xaver Luneman's Experience." in Adam Miller (ed.) Origin and Progress of German Methodist Missions Cincinnati, 1843, 201-203.

Born and reared in Germany; Roman Catholic background; came to the U. S. in late 1830's settling in Missouri; entered the Methodist ministry in 1840's.

McCarty, J. M. "Testimony of Rev. J. M. McCarty." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 122-126.

Little facts about early life; joined the ministry in New York state in late 1840's.

M'Ferrin, John Berry. Semi-Centennial Discourse: Delivered by the Rev. John B. M'Ferrin, D. D., Before the Tennessee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at its Session in Fayetteville, Tennessee, October 18, 1875. Nashville, 1875.

1807-1887. Born in Tennessee, reared in Alabama; Scotch-Irish ancestry; Presbyterian background; converted to Methodism 1820; joined Methodist ministry in 1825 in Tennessee; son of a Methodist preacher.

McLean, Alexander. "Testimony of Rev. Alexander McLean." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 167-171.

Little known about early life; went to California in 1849 looking for gold, found none, became a Methodist preacher in California in 1850; returned East later.

McLean, John Howell. Reminiscences. Nashville, 1918?

1838- ? . Born in Georgia, reared in Texas; Scotch ancestry; son of a Princeton graduate and college professor; Presbyterian background; converted to Methodism, 1854; attended college in Texas; joined ministry in 1860 in Texas; married. Excellent description of early education, at the academy, and at college; important sourcebook.

Maffitt, John Newland. Tears of Contrition; or, Sketches of the Life of John Newland Maffitt: With Religious and Moral Reflections. To which are added Several Poetic Effusions. Written by Himself. New-London, 1821.

1794- ? . Born in Ireland; came to New York city in 1819; Methodist background; joined itinerancy in 1822; spiritual experiences related in great detail.

Mann, John. "Experience of Rev. John Mann." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 253-255.

Born and reared in Germany; little information on early life; came to Pennsylvania in early 1830's, settled in Ohio; converted to Methodism 1833, joined ministry in 1839 in Ohio; married.

Manship, Andrew. Thirteen Years' Experience in the Itinerancy. Philadelphia, 1856.

1824- ? . Born in Delaware; reared in Pennsylvania; Quaker background; little information on early life; joined Methodist ministry in 1842, traveled in Delaware and Pennsylvania.

Mathews, John. Peeps Into Life, Autobiography of Rev. John Mathews, D. D., a Minister of the Gospel for Sixty-years. Nashville, 1904.

1826-1907. Born in Philadelphia, reared in Tennessee; Scotch-Irish parentage; Presbyterian background; little mention of education; joined the Methodist ministry in 1846 in Tennessee, traveled also in Kansas, Louisiana, and Alabama; married.

Meeker, William Hamilton. Sacred Reminiscences. Amsterdam, New York, no date.

1824-1902. Born and reared in New York state; son of a poor farmer; Methodist background; attended secondary schools; joined ministry in 1849 in New York.

Merrill, Abraham D. "Testimony of Rev. A. D. Merrill." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences . . . New York, 1868, 105-108.

1796-1878. Little known about early life; converted to Methodism at twenty years of age; entered the ministry in 1822.

Merten, F. "Experience of Rev. F. Merten." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 400-404.

Born and reared in Germany; non-religious family; little formal education; came to America in 1848, settling in Missouri and Iowa; joined Methodist clergy in 1850.

Milburn, William Henry. Ten Years of Preacher-Life: Chapters from an Autobiography. New York, 1859.

1823-1903. Born and reared in Pennsylvania; son of a prosperous business man; Methodist background; well-educated: attended Illinois College; 1843 entered ministry in Illinois, traveled also in Maryland and Alabama; married.

Militzer, Charles A. "Experience of Rev. Charles A. Militzer." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 343-346.

1831- ? . Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; 1855 came to America, 1855 entered ministry.

Miller, Adam. "Experiences of Rev. Adam Miller." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 43-75.

-----, Then and Now, A Sixtieth Anniversary Sermon Preached Before the Cincinnati Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church At Urbana, Ohio, September 7, 1891. Chicago, 1891.

1810-1901. Born in Maryland, reared in Ohio; German ancestry; Mennonite background; joined Methodists 1827; 1830 joined Methodist ministry in Ohio; noted for his work as a missionary to the German immigrants in the Middle West; married.

Miller, Emory. Memoirs and Sermons. New York, 1911.

1834-1912. Born and reared in Pennsylvania; German and Dutch ancestry; Mennonite background; attended college and a Methodist theological seminary for one year, Garrett Biblical Institute; 1858 joined the ministry in Iowa, traveled also in Minnesota and Michigan; married; good description of educational opportunities.

Miller, J. "Testimony of Rev. J. Miller." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 321-322.

Little information about early life except early religious experiences; converted to Methodism at 19, and soon joined their ministry.

Miller, S. "Testimony of Rev. S. Miller, D. D." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 99-104.

1823- ? . Born and reared in New England; Methodist background; migrated to Wisconsin in 1840's, joined ministry in 1845 in Wisconsin.

Miller, Theodore. "Experience of Rev. Theodore Miller." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 383-386.

1830- ? . Born and reared in Germany; 1847 came to America, settling in Wisconsin; Lutheran background; 1851 joined the Methodists, 1853 joined the ministry in Wisconsin.

Miller, Wesson Gage. Thirty Years in the Itinerancy. Milwaukee, 1875.

1822-1894. Born and reared in New York state; Methodist background; 1844 family moved to Wisconsin; 1844 he joined the ministry in Wisconsin; married; little information on early life and education.

Milliken, A. "Testimony of Rev. A. Milliken." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 330-331.

Little known about early life except religious experiences and call to the ministry.

Mills, John H. Autobiography of Rev. John H. Mills, a Local Deacon in the Methodist Episcopal Church: With Miscellaneous Thoughts, consisting of Fugitive Pieces in Prose and Rhyme. New York, 1857.

1811- ? . Born and reared in New York state; son of a prosperous dairy farmer; non-religious family; little formal education; 1844 joined the Methodist ministry in New Jersey and New York state; married.

Mintzer, F. S. "Testimony of The Rev. F. S. Mintzer." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 323-324.

1825- ? . Little information about early life; non-Methodist background; converted to Methodism in 1842 and soon thereafter joined the ministry.

Mitchell, J. S. "Testimony of Rev. J. S. Mitchell, D. D." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 157-159.

Little known about early life; converted to Methodism at 18; joined ministry in early 1820's.

Moelling, Peter. "Peter Moelling--Cloister Life and Conversion." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 347-361.

Born and raised in Germany; Roman Catholic background; well-educated, attended college in Germany; 1847 came to New Orleans, and migrated to the Mid-West; converted to Methodism in 1847; entered the ministry in 1848.

Mood, Francis Asbury. Excerpts from his autobiography in C. C. Cody. The Life and Labors of Francis Asbury Mood. Chicago, 1886.

1830-1884. Born and reared in Charleston, South Carolina; German parentage; Methodist background; graduate of Charleston College in 1850; entered ministry in 1850 in South Carolina; excellent description of early boyhood days and education; important source.

Moody, Granville. A Life's Retrospect, the Autobiography of Granville Moody. Sylvester Weeks (ed.). Cincinnati, 1890.

1812-1887. Born in Maine, reared in Baltimore, Maryland; Scotch and French parentage; Presbyterian background; little education; joined ministry in 1833; married; well-written account--sprightly, humorous, emotional, and descriptive.

Morehouse, Alonzo Church. Autobiography of Alonzo C. Morehouse, An Itinerant Minister of the New York and New York East Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York, 1895.

1820-1903. Born and reared in New York; son of a poor carpenter; Methodist and Presbyterian background; little mention of education; entered ministry in 1856 in New York; married twice.

Morris, Thomas Asbury. Miscellany: Consisting of Essays, Biographical Sketches, and Notes of Travel. Cincinnati, 1854.

1794-1874. Born and reared in West Virginia; son of a poor farmer; Baptist background; joined ministry in 1816; traveled in Kentucky, Ohio, and Arkansas; married twice; autobiographical essays important sources.

Morrison, Henry Clay. Autobiography of Henry C. Morrison. George H. Means (ed.). Nashville, 1917.

1842-1921. Born in Tennessee, reared in Kentucky; son of a poor pioneer farmer; Methodist background; little mention of education; entered ministry in 1863 in Kentucky; married.

Morrison, Henry Clinton. Life Sketches and Sermons. Louisville, Kentucky, 1903.

Born and reared in Kentucky; son of a rather wealthy frontier family; Methodist background; attended Vanderbilt University; entered ministry early in life; and traveled in Kentucky and Ohio.

Mulfinger, George L. "Experience of Rev. George L. Mulfinger." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 146.

1819-1886. Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; 1834 family came to America, settled in Ohio; little education; joined Methodist ministry in 1847 in Indiana, then soon moved back to Ohio; married.

Muller, D. N. "Testimony of Rev. D. N. Muller." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 327.

Little known about his early life; good descriptions of his conversion and call to preach; converted in 1852 and entered ministry the next year.

Nachtrieb, Christian. "Experience of Rev. Christian Nachtrieb." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 404-408.

1825-1891. Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; 1848 came to New York, migrated finally to Michigan; 1852 joined the Methodist ministry in Michigan.

Nash, David. "Testimony of Rev. David Nash." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 251-255.

1807-1892. Born and reared in England; Methodist background; came to United States in 1850; joined Methodist ministry in 1851 in New York.

Nast, William. "Experience of Rev. William Nast." in Adam Miller (ed.) Origin and Progress of German Methodist Missions Cincinnati, 1843, 136-143.

1807-1899. Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; well-educated in Germany, taught in a German college; came to New York in 1828; converted to Methodism, 1835 and joined the ministry the same year; preached mostly in Ohio.

Neff, H. "Testimony of Rev. H. Neff." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 340.

Little known about early life; good account of his conversion and call to the ministry.

Newell, Ebenezer Francis. Life and Observations of Rev. Ebenezer F. Newell, Who has been more than Forty Years an Itinerant Minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church: New England Conference. Compiled from His Own Manuscripts. Worcester. 1847.

1775-1867. Born and reared in Massachusetts; Congregational background; joined Methodists 1800; little formal education; 1806 joined ministry, traveled mostly in Maine; excellent work, helpful for anti-Methodist sentiment in early New England; married.

Newton, G. "Testimony of Rev. G. Newton." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 334.

Little known about his early life; brief account of his conversion experience and call to preach.

Nichols, John Harmon. Proof of the Pudding: Autobiography of John Harmon Nichols. Nashville, 1913.

1840-1914. Born and reared in Tennessee; Irish descent; Methodist background; very little formal education; joined ministry 1864 in Tennessee.

Nippert, Lewis. "Experience of Rev. Lewis Nippert." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 199-203.

1825-1894. Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; converted to Methodism 1829; little mention of education; 1830 family came to America, settling in Ohio; 1848 entered ministry in Ohio.

Noland, Stephen. Will Makes Way; or, Autobiography of Rev. S. Noland, of the Kentucky Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Nashville, 1887.

1818-1890. Born in Indiana, son of a poor school teacher; early moved with family to Kentucky; apprenticed in a law office; Methodist and Baptist background; little formal education; 1851-1862 served as Commonwealth Attorney for Kentucky while retaining full parish duties as a Methodist preacher; entered the Methodist ministry in 1840 in Kentucky; married.

Nuhfer, Nicholas. "Experiences of Rev. Nicholas Nuhfer." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 223-230.

1814-1887. Born and reared in Germany; Roman Catholic background; came to America in late 1830's, joined Methodist church in 1842; entered the ministry in 1849 in Ohio.

Osborn, Elbert. Passages in the Life and Ministry of Elbert Osborn, an Itinerant Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, illustrating the Providence and Grace of God. New York, 1849-51.

1800-1881. Born and raised in Connecticut; son of a poor farmer; Congregational background; 1808 family converted to Methodism; little mention of education; 1823 joined the ministry in New York, traveled also in New England; married.

Owen, E. "Testimony of Rev. E. Owen." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences . . . New York, 1868, 331-332.

1829- ? . Little known about early life and education; good account about his early religious experiences; joined the Methodist ministry in 1853.

Paddock, B. G. "Testimony of Rev. B. G. Paddock." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences . . . New York, 1868, 335-337.

Little known about his early life and education; good account of his religious experiences; joined the Methodist church in 1804 and joined the ministry shortly thereafter.

Parker, John. "Testimony of Rev. John Parker." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences . . . New York, 1868, 65-71.

1805-1892. Born and reared in England; non-religious family; converted to Methodism, 1831 in America; joined the ministry shortly thereafter; mostly an account of his religious experiences.

Pearne, Thomas Hall. Sixty-One Years of Itinerant Christian Life in Church and State. New York, 1898.

1820-1901. Born and reared in New York; English ancestry; Episcopalian background; attended secondary school; son of a Methodist minister; entered ministry in 1837 in New York, traveled also in Ohio and Oregon; married twice.

Peaslee, Reuben. The Experience, Christian and Ministerial of Mr. Reuben Peaslee. Haverill, (?), 1822.

1777- ? . Born and reared in New Hampshire; converted to Methodism in 1806, joined ministry in 1809 in New England; married; little information of early education; vivid account of conversion and call to preach.

Peck, George. The Life and Times of the Rev. George Peck, D. D. Written by Himself. New York, 1874.

1797-1876. Born and reared in New York; English parentage; son of a poor blacksmith; Congregational background; little education; joined ministry in New York in 1816, traveled also in Pennsylvania and New England; married.

Peck, Jonas Oramel. Special Providence Illustrated: Quarter-Centennial Sermon by Rev. J. O. Peck, D. D., in the Hanson Place Methodist Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, New York, October 21, 1883. New York, 1883.

1836-1894. Born and reared in Vermont; son of a poor farmer; Congregational background; attended grammar, secondary schools, and Amherst College; joined New England Conference in 1860; good account of his high school and college experiences at Amherst in 1850's.

Phetzing, John. "Experience of Rev. John Phetzing." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 256-262.

1814- ? . Born and reared in Germany; Reformed background; 1836 came to America settling in Western Pennsylvania; joined Methodist ministry about 1840.

Pierce, E. W. "Testimony of Rev. E. W. Pierce." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 193-195.

Born and reared in New York; joined the Methodists at 18; entered the ministry in Wisconsin shortly thereafter; little information on early life and education.

Pierce, G. M. "Testimony of G. M. Pierce." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 285-290.

Born and reared in New York; little information on his early life; attended law school in New York; converted to Methodism at 18; joined the ministry at 21 in New York.

Pilcher, Henry E. Semi-Centennial Address of Rev. Henry E. Pilcher, Before the Central Ohio Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at the Session of 1879, in Lima, Allen County, Ohio. Marysville, Ohio, 1879.

1802-1891. Born in Virginia; reared in Ohio; German and English ancestry; Methodist background; little education; joined the ministry 1830 in Ohio; married.

Pitezel, John H. Lights and Shade of Missionary Life: Containing Travels, Sketches, Incidents, and Missionary Efforts, during Nine Years Spent in the Region of Lake Superior. Cincinnati, 1857.

1814-1906. Born in Maryland; little information on early life and education; mostly religious experiences; joined the ministry in Ohio in 1835; married.

Plank, John. "Experience of Rev. John Plank." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 239-243.

1807- ? . Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; 1829 came to America, settling in Missouri; joined Methodists in 1841; joined the ministry in Missouri in 1843.

Poole, W. H. "Testimony of Rev. W. H. Poole." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 20-33.

Born and reared in Ireland; came to U. S. in early 1830's; Methodist background; little mention of education; 1838 converted and soon joined the ministry.

Porter, John S. Semi-Centennial Sermon preached by the Rev. John S. Porter, D. D., Before the Newark Annual Conference, Patterson, New Jersey, March 29, 1880. New York, no date.

1805-1889. Born and reared in Maryland; Methodist background; little mention of education; 1829 joined ministry; traveled in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey; married.

Quinn, James. Selections from the autobiography in John F. Wright. Sketches of the Life and Labors of James Quinn, Who was Nearly a Half Century A Minister of the Gospel in The Methodist Episcopal Church.

1775-1847. Born and reared in Pennsylvania; Irish ancestry; Episcopal background; 1786 family joined the Methodists; little formal education; joined the ministry in 1799; traveled in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio; married; difficult to follow excerpts from autobiography in text.

Rankin, George C. The Story of My Life; or, More than a Half Century as I have Lived it and Seen it Lived. Written by Myself at My Own Suggestion and That of Many Others Who Have Known and Loved Me. Dallas, Texas, 1912.

1849-1915. Born and reared in Tennessee; son of a wealthy plantation owner; Presbyterian background; attended grammar and secondary schools and graduated from college. Excellent description of school days through college.

Ranks, Swanton. "Testimony of Rev. Swanton Ranks." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 245-247.

Little known of his early life; converted to Methodism in 1841; entered ministry in 1849 in Maine.

Reed, Fitch. A Semi-Centennial Sermon Preached Before the Oneida Annual Conference, At Utica, New York, April 19, 1867. Utica, New York, 1867.

1795- ? . Born and reared in upper New York state; little known of early life and education; joined Methodist church in 1814 and the ministry in 1815; traveled in upper New York state and Canada.

Reed, Seth. The Story of My Life. Cincinnati, 1914.

1823-1913? Born and reared in New York state; English parentage; non-religious family; converted to Methodism at 16; apprenticed to study law; entered ministry in 1844, in Michigan; married twice.

Reiley, J. McKendree. "Testimony of Rev. J. M. Reiley." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 160-166.

Born and reared in Maryland; Methodist background; little education; entered ministry in 1844; traveled in Maryland and Virginia; married.

Reuter, George Adam. "Experience of George A. Reuter." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 387-390.

1819- ? . Born and reared in Germany; trained as a cooper; Lutheran background; came to America in 1837, settling in Cincinnati, Ohio; entered Methodist ministry in 1845 in Ohio; married.

Richman, C. J. "Testimony of Rev. C. J. Richman." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 324-325.

Little known about his early life other than religious experiences; converted to Methodism, 1823 and entered ministry shortly thereafter.

Riemenschneider, Englehardt. "Experiences of Rev. E. Riemenschneider." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 119-124.

1815-1900. Born and reared in Germany; non-religious family; 1835 came to America, settling in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; joined the ministry in 1842 in West Virginia and Ohio.

Risley, John E. Some Experiences of a Methodist Itinerant, in a Ministry of Half a Century. Boston, 1882.

1802- ? . Born in Vermont, reared in Connecticut; son of a poor farmer; little mention of his education; pious family; converted to Methodism, 1821; joined the ministry in 1822, traveled throughout New England; married.

Ritty, Leger. "Brother Leger Ritty's Experience." in Adam Miller (ed.) Origin and Progress of German Methodist Missions Cincinnati, 1843, 218-227.

Born and reared in Germany; came to America in 1828, settling in Ohio; little information about early life; Roman Catholic background; converted to Methodism 1833, joined the ministry shortly thereafter.

Roberts, George C. M. "Testimony of Rev. Dr. George C. M. Roberts." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 175-178.

Little known facts about early life and education; good account of his early religious experiences.

Roche, John Alexander. Autobiography and Sermons Together With The Expressions Elicited by His Death, Compiled by his Children. No place, no date.

1813-1898. Born and reared in Maryland; Roman Catholic background; French ancestry; 1830 converted to Methodism; graduated from Philadelphia College of Medicine and Union Theological Seminary in New York; joined the ministry in 1835; married; little descriptive material on his education.

Round, William. Semi-Centennial Discourse Delivered Before the Wyoming Conference, April 19, 1878. no place, 1878.

1803-1881. Little information about early life; attended private academy; entered ministry in 1828; traveled mostly in New York and Pennsylvania; married.

Ryder, William. The Superannuate: or, Anecdotes, Incidents, and Sketches of the Life And Experience of William Ryder, A 'Worn Out' Preacher of the Troy Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Related by himself. George Peck (ed.) New York, 1853.

1805-1849. Born in Massachusetts, reared in upper New York state; English ancestry; Methodist background; attended a private academy; joined ministry in 1828; traveled throughout New England; married.

Sabin, Benjamin. "Testimony of Rev. Benjamin Sabin." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 142-144.

1790-1875. Born and reared in Connecticut; Methodist background; little information on early life and education; good account of early religious experiences and call to preach.

Scarlett, John. The Itinerant On Foot; or, Life-Scenes Recalled. New York, 1882.

-----, "Testimony of Rev. John Scarlett." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 179-182.

1803-1889. Born in Morris county, New Jersey; Irish parentage; son of a poor schoolteacher; Episcopalian background; little formal education; joined ministry in 1841 in New Jersey; married. The first volume contains a very detailed study account of his early life, well written, and descriptive. His educational and religious experiences, and his apprenticeship are well treated. Second account is a short testimony of his conversion and call to the ministry.

Schelper, Charles. "Experience of Charles Schelper." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 248-249.

1800-1865. Born and reared in Germany; came to America in 1836, settling in West Virginia; converted to Methodism in 1838; entered the ministry 1846 in Ohio.

Schmidt, John. "Experience of Rev. John Schmidt." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 323-327.

1822- ? . Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; 1838 came to America, settling in Pennsylvania; migrated eventually to Iowa where he entered the Methodist ministry in 1848.

Schnittaker, Henry. "Experience of Rev. Henry Schnittaker." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 410-414.

1833-1892. Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; 1852 came to America, settling in Missouri; 1855 joined Methodists; joined the ministry in Missouri in 1858; traveled also in Iowa.

Schreck, William. "Experience of Rev. William Schreck." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 236-239.

1815- ? . Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; 1836 came to America, settling in Indiana; joined the Methodists and their ministry in early 1840's.

Schuler, Frederic. "Testimony of Rev. Frederic Schuler." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 394-396.

1826- ? . Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; 1846 came to America, settling in Illinois; joined Methodists and their ministry shortly thereafter.

Scott, Orange. The Life of Rev. Orange Scott: Compiled From His Personal Narrative, Correspondence, and other Authentic Sources of Information. In Two Parts. Lucius C. Matlack (ed.). New York, 1847.

1800-1847. Born and reared in Vermont; son of a poor farmer; non-religious family; converted to Methodism 1820; very little formal education; joined ministry, 1821; traveled throughout New England; important for his early experiences.

Selleck, Alonzo Farrington. Recollections of An Itinerant Life. J. W. Selleck (ed.). New York, 1886.

1806- ? . Born and reared in New York; Welsh parentage; son of a poor farmer; non-religious family; converted to Methodism in 1826; joined ministry in 1834, traveled in New York and New England; married.

Shabe, R. "Experience of Rev. R. Shabe." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 276-380.

1821- ? . Born and reared in Switzerland; German parentage; came to America in 1844; Moravian background; 1855 converted to Methodism and entered its ministry, traveling in Missouri, Illinois, and Ohio.

Shaffer, J. N. Discourse on the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Rev. J. N. Shaffer's Joining the New York Conference. no place, 1895.

1811-1901. Born and reared in Connecticut; Dutch parentage; son of a prosperous business man; Presbyterian background; attended private academy; an orphan at 14; converted to Methodism 1829; 1835 joined the ministry, traveled in Connecticut and New York.

Short, J. N. "Testimony of Rev. J. N. Short." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 338-339.

Little known about his early life, good account of religious experiences; called to preach at 19 years of age.

Silsbee, R. N. "Testimony of Rev. R. N. Silsbee." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 317-320.

Little known about his early life and education; some material on his religious experiences; converted to Methodism in 1825 and entered ministry shortly thereafter.

Smith, Allen B. "Testimony of Rev. Allen B. Smith." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 303-305.

1825-1870. Little known about early life and education other than his religious experiences; converted to Methodism 1859 and entered the ministry in 1860; traveled in Wisconsin and finally in Maryland.

Smith, Henry. Recollections and Reflections of An Old Itinerant. A Series of Letters First Published in the Christian Advocate and Journal and the Western Christian Advocate. George Peck (ed.). New York, 1854.

1769-1863. Born in Maryland, reared in Pennsylvania; German parentage; son of a poor blacksmith; German Reformed background; 1790 joined the Methodists; little formal education; 1793 joined the ministry, traveled in Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, and Pennsylvania; married. Important source; Letter XXVIII, pp. 233-243, gives a good autobiographical sketch of his early life, other important letters scattered throughout; letters not arranged chronologically, hard to follow.

Smith, I [saac]. Reasons for Becoming a Methodist . . . Including A Brief Account of the Author's Religious Experience Up To The Time of His Becoming a Methodist. New York, 1850.

1817-1860. Born and reared in Ohio; non-religious family; joined Baptists, finally the Methodists in 1820; attended Oberlin College; entered ministry 1844; traveled in the Middle West.

Smith, John Lewis. Indiana Methodism, A Series of Sketches and Incidents, Grave and Humorous Concerning Preachers and People of the West With an Appendix Containing Personal Recollections, Public Addresses, and Other Miscellany. Valparaiso, Indiana, 1892.

1811- ? . Born and reared in Virginia; son of a poor farmer; Methodist background; little education, his mother tutored him in his theological studies; entered ministry in 1836; traveled mostly in Indiana; lengthy autobiographical letter in appendix is very important.

Smith, Samuel H. Semi-Centennial Address of Rev. Samuel H. Smith, Delivered by Request Before the New York East Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the Hanson Place Church, Brooklyn, April 13, 1901. New York, 1901.

1829-1906. Born and reared in New Jersey; little information on early life and education; 1851 joined the New York East conference; married.

Smith, Thomas. Experience and Ministerial Labors of Rev. Thomas Smith, Late, an Itinerant Preacher of the Gospel in the Methodist Episcopal Church. compiled by Rev. David Dailey from his Journal. George Peck (ed.) New York, 1848.

1776-1844. Born and reared in Maryland; Anglican background; 1792 joined the Methodists; 1799 joined the ministry; traveled in Pennsylvania, New York Virginia and Maryland; little education; much of the journal is reprinted here.

Snelling, Joseph. Life of Rev. Joseph Snelling, Being A Sketch of His Christian Experience and Labors in the Ministry. Written by Himself. Boston, 1847.

1769?-1847? Born and reared in Massachusetts; English parentage; Congregational background; joined Methodists in 1793; joined ministry in 1794; traveled throughout New England; good description of social position of early Methodists in New England.

Spicer, Tobias. Autobiography of Rev. Tobias Spicer: Containing Incidents and Observations; Also Some Account of His Visit To England. New York, 1852.

1788-1862. Born and reared in New York state; 1803 converted to Methodism; little mention of education; 1810 joined the ministry; traveled mostly in New York state; married; sparse material on early life.

Spottswood, Wilson Lee. Brief Annals. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1888.

1822-1892. Born and reared in central Pennsylvania; Methodist background; attended Dickinson College, graduating in 1844; 1844 joined ministry, traveled in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Ohio; married; excellent description of his educational experiences both in public schools and college.

Stateler, Learner Blackman. Selections from the journal in Edward J. Stanley. Life of Rev. Learner B. Stateler: A Story of Life on the Old Frontier Nashville, 1916.

1811-1896. Born and reared in Ohio; German parentage; son of a poor farmer; Methodist background; 1830 entered ministry, traveled mostly in Ohio; married; scattered lengthy quotes from journal contain important descriptive material on his early life and boyhood.

Steele, A. M. "Testimony of Rev. A. M. Steele." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 295-299.

Born in New York, reared in Ohio; little known about his early life and education other than his deep religious experiences.

Steele, Elijah. "Autobiographical Recollections of Rev. Elijah Steele, in a letter dated New Orleans, August 16, 1841." in B. M. Drake. A Sketch of the Life of Rev. Elijah Steele. Cincinnati, 1843, 11-20.

1814-1841. Born in Tennessee, reared in Mississippi; son of a very poor farmer; Methodist background; attended private academy; entered ministry in 1835 in Mississippi.

Stewart, John. Highways and Hedges: or, Fifty Years of Western Methodism. Cincinnati, 1870.

1795-1876. Born in New Jersey, reared in Ohio; Scotch parentage; Methodist background; little formal education; entered ministry in 1817 in Ohio; married.

Stewart, John H. "Testimony of Rev. John H. Stewart." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 232-233.

Little known about early life; entered ministry in 1840 in the East.

Stockton, J. N. "Testimony of Rev. J. N. Stockton." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 279-284.

Little known about early life; entered ministry in New Jersey in 1852.

Stokes, Ellwood Haines. Footprints In My Own Life. Asbury Park, New Jersey, 1898.

----- The Story of Fifty Years. Ocean Grove, New Jersey, 1893.

1815-1897? Born and reared in New Jersey; lived part of his early life in Philadelphia; Quaker background; 1834 joined Methodists; little education; 1843 joined ministry; married; important source.

(Swahlen) Swahlen, John. "Experience of Rev. John Swahlen." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1849, 89-92.

1808-1898. Born and reared in Switzerland; German parentage; Reformed Lutheran background; 1832 came to America settling in Ohio; 1842 joined Methodist ministry; traveled in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia.

Swallow, Silas Comfort. III Score & X; or, Selections, Collections, and Recollections of Seventy Busy Years. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1904.

1838-1830. Born and reared in Pennsylvania; son of a poor farmer; Methodist background; attended private academy; entered ministry in 1862; married.

Taylor, Landon. The Battle Field Reviewed. Narrow Escape From Massacre by the Indians of Spirit Lake, When Presiding Elder of Sioux City District. Rocky Mountain History and Tornado Experiences. Also Remarkable and Amusing Incidents, embracing Forty Years in the Ministry: Including Four Years in Southern Ohio, Thirty Years in the Territory and State of Iowa, and One Year in Vineland, New Jersey in 1863. Chicago, 1881.

1813-1884. Born and reared in New York state; son of a Methodist preacher; little formal education; 1834 went to Ohio; 1842 became minister; traveled in Ohio, Iowa and New Jersey; married. This is one of the most complete autobiographies read. It is extremely detailed and fails to omit even the little, significant facts of his early life, boyhood experiences, education, etc.

Timken, Gerhard. "Experience of Rev. Gerhard Timken." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 408-410.

Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; 1837 came to New York, migrating finally to Missouri; 1840 entered Methodist ministry in Missouri.

Titus, W. S. "Testimony of Rev. W. S. Titus." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 212-216.

Little known about his early life; Baptist background; attended Union College in New York state and Union Theological Seminary; entered ministry in 1850's. Short account of his studies in Union Theological Seminary.

Townsend, Socrates. "Testimony of Rev. Socrates Townsend." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences New York, 1868, 275-278.

1815- ? . Born and reared in New Jersey; converted to Methodism 1834; 1840 joined the ministry in New Jersey; little information on early life and education.

Trafton, Mark. Scenes in My Life: Occurring During a Ministry of Nearly Half A Century In the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York, 1878.

1810-1901. Born and reared in Maine; son of a poor blacksmith; Congregational background; attended private academy; 1831 joined ministry of Methodist

church in Maine; married. Good account of his early life, amusingly written, sharp wit in descriptions.

Travis, Joseph. Autobiography of Rev. Joseph Travis, A. M., A Member of the Memphis Annual Conference, Embracing a Succinct History of the Methodist Episcopal Church South; particularly in parts of West Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, with Short Memoirs of Several local preachers and an Address to His Friends. Thomas O. Summers (ed.). Nashville, Tennessee, 1856.

1786-1858. Born in Maryland, reared in Virginia; English and French parentage; Methodist background; attended grammar schools, a private academy, and graduated from college; 1806 joined ministry; traveled throughout the South; married. Important descriptions of early life in the South.

Trimble, Joseph M. Semi-Centennial Address of Rev. Joseph M. Trimble Before the Ohio Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church At the Session of 1878, in Columbus, Ohio. Columbus, Ohio, 1878.

1807-1891. Born in Kentucky, reared in Ohio; non-Methodist background; converted to Methodism, 1827; attended grammar and private schools, graduated from Ohio University in 1827; entered ministry in 1828; traveled mostly in Ohio. Brief description of college experiences.

Turner, William S. Story of My Life. Cincinnati, 1904?

1826- ? . Born and reared in Pennsylvania; son of a prosperous tailor and justice of the peace; Methodist background; attended Wesleyan University and DePauw University, graduating from the latter in 1852; 1852 entered the ministry; traveled mostly in California and Washington; married twice. Important descriptions of educational experiences and life in the far west.

Vansant, Nicholas. Semi-Centennial Address Before the Newark Annual Conference, at Morristown, New Jersey, 1892. no place, no date.

----- Sunset Memories. New York, 1896.

1823-1902. Born and reared in New Jersey; Dutch parentage; son of a Methodist minister; little formal education; entered ministry in 1842 in New Jersey; married. Important descriptions of early life in the latter autobiography.

Walther, John L. "Experience of Rev. John L. Walther."
in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist
Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 278-283.

1818- ? . Born and reared in Germany; 1840 came
to America, settling in the middle west; Lutheran
background; apprenticed to a Methodist family, converted
1848; 1851 entered Methodist ministry; married.

Waugh, Lorenzo. Autobiography. The Life of Lorenzo
Waugh With Some Historical Events. San Francisco,
1884.

1808- ? . Born and reared in West Virginia;
Scotch-Irish parentage; joined Methodists 1822;
1832 joined ministry in mid-west; 1835 left Ohio
for Missouri; 1848 left for California; married.
Interestingly written account, although it is hard
to follow chronologically.

Wheeler, Henry. Progress and Development in Church and
State, A Semi-Centennial Sermon Delivered Before the
Preacher's Meeting in Wesley Hall, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania, May 27, 1907 Philadelphia,
1907.

1835-1925. Born and reared in England; little
mention of his early life; converted to Methodism
at 15; 1855 came to New York, being an ordained
minister since 1853.

Wilkins, Peter. "Experience of Rev. Peter Wilkins."
in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist
Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 183-188.

1819- ? . Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran
background; 1837 came to America, settling in Ohio;
1843 entered Methodist ministry; traveled in Missouri,
Illinois, Ohio, and Kentucky.

Williams, Samuel W. Pictures of Early Methodism in Ohio.
Cincinnati, 1909.

1827- ? . Born and reared in Ohio; little mention
of early life; attended Ohio Wesleyan University.
Little material on early life, excellent descriptions
of pioneer Methodism, important lengthy discussion
of his college days at Ohio Wesleyan; important
sourcebook.

Winkler, J. M. "The Experience of Rev. J. M. Winkler."
in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist
Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 284-296.

1824- ? . Born and reared in Germany; Roman Catholic background; 1846 converted to Methodism; 1845 came to America, settling in Ohio; 1845 entered ministry.

Witten, Robert R. Pioneer Methodism In Missouri and the Mission of Methodism: A Semi-Centennial Sermon Delivered by the Rev. Robert R. Witten Before the Missouri Annual Conference at its Session in St. Joseph, Missouri, October 7, 1906, to which is Added Brief Outlines of His Ancestry, Religious Experiences, Call to The Ministry, Military Experiences, and other Interesting Events of His Life. Springfield, 1906.

1831-1911. Born in Tennessee, reared in Missouri; German background; son of a Methodist minister; attended Grand River College in Missouri, graduating in 1855; entered ministry in 1855; traveled in New York, Missouri, Ohio, Mexico, and Kansas; married; very descriptive, short and concise account.

Wood, John Allen. "Testimony of Rev. John A. Wood." in Phoebe Palmer (ed.) Pioneer Experiences . . . New York, 1868, 346-350.

----- Auto-Biography. Chicago, 1904.

1828- ? . Born and reared in New York; son of a prosperous business man; Methodist background; attended a private academy; 1850 entered ministry; traveled in Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts; married twice. Latter autobiography is an important sourcebook; former is a short sketch, containing mostly religious experiences.

Woolsey, Elijah. The Supernumerary: or, Lights and Shadows of Itinerancy. Compiled From Papers of Rev. Elijah Woolsey. George Coles (ed.). New York, 1845.

1771-1850. Born and reared in New York state; son of a poor farmer; Presbyterian background; little mention of education; 1793 joined Methodist ministry; traveled in New York, Canada, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey; married.

Woodard, Stephen Crawford. "Reminiscences of the Early Itinerancy." in Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections, XIV, 1889, 553-560.

1819-1893. Born in New York; at seventeen came with family to Michigan; converted to Methodism, 1838; little mention of education; 1840 entered ministry

in Michigan; married. Short, descriptive, autobiographical sketch.

Wunderlich, Erhardt. "Experience of Rev. Erhardt Wunderlich." in Adam Miller (ed.) Experiences of German Methodist Preachers. Cincinnati, 1859, 337-342.

1830-1895. Born and reared in Germany; Lutheran background; 1849 came to America, settling in Ohio; 1849 joined the Methodist church; 1853 joined the ministry in Ohio; well-educated in Germany.

Wyatt, William. The Life and Sermons of Rev. William Wyatt of the Wyoming Conference. Written by Himself. Albany, New York, 1878.

1812-1879. Born in New York, reared in lower Canada; English and French ancestry; Methodist background; very little formal education; 1833 entered ministry, traveled in Pennsylvania and New York; married; important sourcebook.

York, Brantley. "The Autobiography of Rev. Brantley York," in The John Lawson Monographs of the Trinity College Historical Society, Durham, North Carolina, Vol. I. Durham, North Carolina, 1910.

1805-1891. Born and reared in North Carolina; English parentage; son of a very poor farmer; Baptist background; 1831 joined Methodists; very little formal education; 1838 joined the ministry in North Carolina; married twice; important descriptions of early life in the south.

Young, Dan. Autobiography of Dan Young, A New England Preacher of the Olden Time. W. P. Strickland (ed.) New York, 1860.

1783- ? . Born and reared in New Hampshire; English ancestry; non-religious family; 1798 joined Methodists; 1804 joined ministry; traveled throughout New England; married. Attractively written, much information on the beginnings of Methodism in New England and its trials and tribulations. Good descriptions of early life; studied at Dartmouth, but didn't graduate.

Young, Jacob. Autobiography of a Pioneer; or, Nativity, Experience, Travels, and Ministerial Labors of Rev. Jacob Young, with Incidents, Observations, and Reflections. Cincinnati, 1857.

1776-1849. Born in Pennsylvania, reared in Kentucky; son of a poor farmer; Presbyterian and Anglican background; 1795 joined Methodists; 1801 joined the ministry; traveled in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio; married; little education other than the teaching of his mother. Important descriptions of a self-educated pioneer Methodist preacher.

C. Supplementary Sources

Annual Conference Journals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, scattered volumes.

"Catalogue of Methodist General Biblical Institute, Concord, New Hampshire, for 1849 (?)" in Stephen M. Vail. Ministerial Education in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Boston, 1853, 231-238.

Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, scattered volumes.

Duvall, Sylvanus Milne. The Methodist Episcopal Church and Education Up To 1869. New York, 1928.

General Conference Journals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, scattered volumes.

Harmon, Nolan B. The Organization of the Methodist Church. New York, 1953.

Shewmaker, William Orpheus. "The Training of the Ministry of the United States of America Before the Establishment of Theological Seminaries." Papers of the American Society of Church History, second series, VI, 1921, 71-202.

Sweet, William Warren. Religion on the American Frontier, IV; The Methodists: A Collection of Source Materials. Chicago, 1946.

----- Methodism in American History. New York, 1954.

Vail, Stephen M. Ministerial Education in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Boston, 1853.

THE BACKGROUND AND EDUCATION OF METHODIST MINISTERS
IN THE UNITED STATES, 1790 - 1860
AS REVEALED IN THEIR AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

by

Kenneth E. Rowe

An abstract of a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the College of Liberal Arts in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts with honors.

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ABSTRACT

The amount of autobiographical material in the field of American Methodism during the years 1790 to 1860 is particularly abundant. These many volumes are rich in personal primary material of great interest to the historian. From these personal narratives one can carefully assemble much information concerning the background and education of the Methodist minister in the United States.

The clergy of the Methodist Episcopal Church during the first half of the nineteenth century was recruited from no peculiarly pious clerical class of society. The vast Methodist clergy consisted of a conglomeration of all sorts of Americans. The call to preach the Methodist gospel came not only in crowded centers of population, but also on the frontier; not only to the wealthy and cultured, but even more predominantly to the poor, neglected, and unlearned classes of society.

The pioneer Methodist preachers enjoyed a normal, active youth. Their childhood was active and exciting, not staid and pious as one might expect. Their youth was filled with "fun and frolic, mischief and meanness."

The pioneer Methodist preacher thirsted for education. This is a phase of pioneer Methodism, denominationally and individually, which has been grossly misrepresented in many studies in the history of American Methodism. It is true that the Methodist clergy was poorly educated when compared with certain other denominations; yet, in spite of the difficulty of securing books and the lack of good educational institutions and qualified instructors, the pioneer Methodist circuit riders were surprisingly well educated. There were, however, a few Methodist preachers who did enjoy the best educational advantages which early nineteenth century America offered.

The pioneer Methodist preachers emerged from a variety of religious backgrounds, ranging from staunch Roman Catholicism to outright atheism. Most of the preachers were products of evangelical Protestant groups; most enjoyed a fair amount of religious training in the home. Many of these men early developed a rich personal religious life.

Their Saviour's commandment: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature" was literally interpreted by the pioneer Methodists. Upon spiritual conversion, the climax of their early religious development, a new task became theirs: "Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel!"

The Pioneer Methodist preachers had no formal theological training. Some of them, however, were well prepared for the ministry, while others had little knowledge even of English grammar and common arithmetic. Through practical experience under the junior-senior preacher system and by intense self-study of a course of reading prescribed by the various conferences, these young recruits received their ministerial training. They studied theology in "Brush College" and were trained under the professorship of Wesley, Fletcher, and Clarke. As Methodism matured, the desirability of formal theological training was increasingly recognized. By 1855 two theological seminaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church had been founded in the United States, one in New England and the other in the Middle West.

By 1790 the Methodist Episcopal Church in America had been firmly established. In the last analysis, however, the continuance of the Church and the vitality of its spirit depended upon the hundreds of ministers which led the Church during these trying years of expansion. These ministers played a vital role in the growth and development of one of the largest American Protestant denominations. They succeeded in presenting Scriptural truths in a simple, appealing manner; they translated the forms of religion into personal experience; they provided leadership for each congregation and consolation for every member.