"William Taylor, 'Taylor' Missionaries and Shifting Concepts of Holiness in Nineteenth Century Calls to Missionary Service"

Dr. Douglas D. Tzan

Wesley Theological Seminary

The late nineteenth century saw a surge in evangelical interest in foreign missions. From 1860 to 1900, for example, the number of American missionary societies mushroomed from sixteen to ninety.[1] Historians have offered several reasons for this growth of missionary enthusiasm. Sydney E. Ahlstrom argued that American Christians turned to foreign missions to "heal or hide" conflicts over the rise of historical criticism and evolutionary theory.[2] William Hutchison claimed that missions of this period sought to offer "a moral equivalent for imperialism."[3]

Such explanations fail to explain completely increased missionary interest and participation. Brian Stanley comes much closer to the mark by arguing that increased British evangelical mission activity in that period lay not in rising British imperial interests, but in the emergence of new varieties of holiness theology.[4] As David Bebbington accurately noted,

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[1] William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 91-93.

[2] Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 733.

[3] Hutchison, *Errand*, 91-124.

[4] Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions & British Imperialism in the Nineteenth & Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester, Apollos, 1990), 81-2.

however, there were several different varieties and forms of holiness theology present in the late nineteenth century.[5] While the rise of new holiness theologies was critical to increased evangelical missionary activity, that insight does not fully explain the phenomena.

Ideas of holiness, of course, were nothing new to nineteenth century Methodists. A belief in God's sanctifying grace had long been essential to a Methodist sense of mission. But the rise of the holiness movement over the course of the nineteenth century certainly propelled Methodists to undertake new missionary endeavors. As historian Dana Robert has shown, American Methodist women, inspired and empowered by their own, experiences of sanctification organized the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[6]

This paper will explore ways a theology of sanctification compelled nineteenth century Methodists to enter into missionary work through the career of William Taylor (1821-1902) and missionaries he recruited and inspired. Over the course of his life, Taylor was at times a Methodist preacher, a missionary, an author, an evangelist, a mission promoter, and a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He is a well-known figure to scholars of Methodist history and mission through the work of historians such as David Bundy, Jay Riley Case, Robert Lay, and David Hempton.[7]

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[5] David Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth-Century England: The 1998 Didsbury Lectures* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000).

[6] Dana L. Robert, "Holiness and the Missionary Vision of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church," *Methodist History* 39, no. 1 (October 2000).

[7] David Bundy, "Bishop William Taylor and Methodist Mission: A Study in Nineteenth Century Social History (Part 1)," *Methodist History* 27, no. 4 (July 1989): 197-210; David Bundy, "Bishop William Taylor and Methodist Mission: A Study in Nineteenth Century Social History (Part 2)," *Methodist History* 28, no. 1 (October 1989): 3-21; David Bundy, "The Legacy of William Taylor," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 18, no. 4 (1994): 172-76;

This paper will go beyond the work of such historians to ttrace Taylor's own call into missionary service and the calls of those recruited by or inspired by him to chart a shift in the theologies that carried American Methodists into missionary work. I will argue that while Taylor was propelled by a theology of sanctification derived from Phoebe Palmer that empowered testimony and emphasized sacrificial consecration of one's self and all one held dear, he placed greater emphasis on the notion of sacrifice and submission to both the will of God and all vicissitudes life brought. Beginning in 1875, as Taylor recruited missionaries from among the late nineteenth century holiness movement, he sought similar self-denying qualities in his missionaries. But as Taylor's missionary movement grew in popularity and expanded beyond the scope of his personal missionary recruitment and others took over that role, language of sanctification as a source of empowerment for mission returned to the fore in new ways. Thus, Taylor's example illustrates that within mission-minded Methodists of the nineteenth

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David Bundy, "The Development of Models of Missions in Methodism During the Early American Republic: With Attention to the Antecedents of the Holiness Movement" (paper presented at the Currents in World Christianity incorporating North Atlantic Missiology Project, Cambridge, 1997); David Bundy, "William Taylor as an Interpreter of African Culture: The Foundation for a Theory of Mission" (paper presented at the Currents in World Christianity Project incorporating North American Missiology Project, Cambridge, 1998); David Bundy, "Unintended Consequences: The Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society and the Beginnings of Pentecostalism in Norway and Chile," *Missiology: An International Review* 27, no. 2 (1999): 211-29; David Bundy, "Pauline Missions: The Wesleyan Holiness Vision," in *The Global Impact of the Wesleyan Traditions and Their Related Movements*, ed. Charles Yrigoyen, Jr. (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 13-26; Jay Riley Case, *An Unpredictable Gospel: American Evangelicals and World Christianity, 1812-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 103-55; Robert F. Lay, ed. *Lessons of Infinite Advantage: William Taylor's California Experiences. With Isabelle Anne Kimberlin Taylor's Travel Diary, 1866-67, Written During a Voyage with Her Family En Route from the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa, to London and Subsequent Travels Throughout Europe*, (Lanham: Scarecrow Press and The Center for the Study of World Christian Revitalization Movements, 2010); David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 168-76.

century there existed two different theological framings of sanctification, either of which could become an engine motivating missionary outreach.

Becoming a Methodist Missionary

Accounts of Taylor's own call to missionary service, both contemporary descriptions and those written many years after the experience, illustrate that Phoebe Palmer's theology of sanctification was critical in his understanding of his missionary call. For Palmer, sanctification began with the believer consecrating himself or herself to Christ and surrendering everything to God. In faith, the believer was then to trust in God's will. Finally, the believer was to give testimony to his or her sanctification. This last stage—testimony—was a critical stage in the process, because the refusal to testify would result in the loss of one's sanctification. To remain silent when given an opportunity to testify was to jeopardize one's own salvation.[8]

Born in the western portion of Virginia, Taylor entered into the Methodist Episcopal Church as a young man after being converted at a camp meeting revival. A few years later, he became a Methodist preacher, serving for several years in the mountains of western Virginia. He claimed to have experienced sanctification during those early years in ministry after struggling with anxiety about meeting conflicting preaching appointments and surrendering the problem to God. He performed well as an itinerant preacher, and in 1846, Taylor was moved to more prestigious appointments within his conference, first in Georgetown, then Baltimore.

From Baltimore, Taylor was recruited to be one of the first two Methodist missionaries to be sent to California in the aftermath of the discovery of gold and the close of the Mexican War.

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[8] Robert, "Holiness and the Missionary Vision"; Charles Edward White, *The Beauty of Holiness: Phoebe Palmer as Theologian, Revivalist, Feminist, and Humanitarian* (Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press, 1986), 136-40.

In May 1848, the Methodist Episcopal Church's General Conference voted to send two missionaries to newly-conquered California. Bishop Beverly Waugh was tasked with selecting these missionaries. Through the fall of 1848, Waugh considered many candidates. In October, he made his first selection, an Indiana minister named Isaac Owen. Taylor would be the second.[9]

Unlike Owen or others who volunteered for the job, but were not selected, Taylor did not seek appointment as a missionary. He was recruited. This fact made Taylor something of an anomaly among Methodist missionaries. While Methodist preachers were appointed to their charges by a bishop, those sent as missionaries were traditionally selected from volunteers. It is not readily apparent, therefore, why Waugh approached Taylor or why Taylor agreed to become a missionary. Nevertheless, at some point late in 1848, Waugh summoned Taylor to offer the appointment.[10]

Waugh certainly weighed practical considerations. Having selected in Owen a missionary who would travel overland to the Pacific coast, a missionary sent by ship from Baltimore could transport books and other resources to supply the new mission. Taylor's character and health were also elements in Waugh's decision. Waugh described Taylor to Owen as "a most reliable man" with "a robust Constitution—is pious, zealous—steady & uniform," a "Tried man, " and "all that you could reasonably expect in a Colleague."[11] Dependability, good

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[9] B. Waugh to Rev. Isaac Owens, October 16, 1848, Isaac Owen Papers, 1830-1866, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[10] Taylor later claimed the interview took place in September 1848, but that chronology does not match other evidence. Wade Crawford Barclay, *Early American Methodism, 1769-1844: Missionary Motivation and Expansion*, vol. 1, History of Methodist Missions (New York: Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, 1949), 100-1; Lay, ed., *Lessons of Infinite Advantage*, 143; Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 100-02.

[11] B. Waugh to Rev. Isaac Owen, January 1, 1849, Isaac Owen Papers, 1830-1866, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

health, and a measure of experience were certainly important qualities that would serve the mission well.

Beyond these qualities, one tantalizing possibility behind Taylor's selection rests in an encounter Taylor had with an unnamed bishop of his church at a love feast in Baltimore. At these gatherings, Methodists gave testimonies to the ways they believed God had been at work in their lives. According to Taylor, a bishop present at the gathering testified that although he believed that sanctification was available to all believers, he himself had not yet attained it. Taylor found this message disturbing. He worried the bishop's words would put new converts off the pursuit of sanctification, if even a bishop of the church could not claim the blessing. At the same time, Taylor worried that, as a young preacher, it would be arrogant for him to claim publically a spiritual endowment that his superior in the church could not. Taylor wrote that as the love feast proceeded, he struggled in prayer and felt Satan tempting him to keep silent. In the end, Taylor believed he emerged victorious from his spiritual struggle by rising to give his testimony of sanctification to the congregation.[12]

Taylor never named the unsanctified bishop of his story, but it was likely Waugh. Taylor was only in Baltimore for a few months before Waugh consulted him about the California mission, and Waugh lived and was based in the city. If so, it is tempting to speculate that Taylor may have been sent to California as a form of punishment to a young upstart who needed to learn his place. Whatever the case, this episode clearly illustrates the influence of Palmer's theology of testimony as a part of sanctification on Taylor actions.[13]

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[12] Taylor, *How to Be Saved*, 356-58.

[13] Ibid., 357; Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 100-02.

Taylor certainly believed his sanctification was his chief missionary qualification, and references to sanctification infused accounts of his missionary call. These descriptions, however, extended beyond the expectation of testimony. Taylor described the entry into missionary service as act of sacrifice, submission, and consecration. Newspaper accounts of a farewell worship service for the missionary family in April 1849 noted that Taylor spoke to the congregation about his motives for becoming a missionary. These were described by one reporter as being "fully sacrificed to California. His whole heart was there," and he offered everything—"home, country, friends, life"—to God.[14]

In Taylor's fullest account of his call, written much later in life, themes of submission to God's will and sacrifice also surface. Taylor wrote that he told Waugh in his interview that he had not considered missionary service, but trusted the bishop's choices would express God's will. He said he was called to "'preach the Gospel to every creature,' and I suppose that includes California."[15] In that account, Taylor agreed to go to California, but Waugh advised him that he should consult his wife, Anne, before committing to the proposition. William went home and told Anne what he and the bishop had discussed. According to the story, Anne retired to pray over the matter and soon returned with her consent. According to William, she prayed,

> Lord, Bishop Waugh wants to send us to California. Thou knowest, Lord, that I don't want to go, and can see no possible way of getting there; but all things are possible with thee, and if it is thy will to send us to California, give me the desire to go.[16]

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[14] "Local Matters: Meeting in the Aid of the California Mission," *The Sun*, April 12, 1849; Junius, "Letter from Baltimore," *Christian Advocate*, April 19, 1849.

[15] Taylor, Story of My Life, 101.

[16] Ibid., 102.

William's account of this prayer ends with Anne's experience of peace presented as a confirmation that a mission to California was God's will for them. But Anne's initial reluctance should be noted. She had already given birth to the couple's first child, Morgan Stuart, and was expecting their second. The Taylors were also caring for Anne's two sisters, the oldest a widow in poor health, the youngest still a minor. Relocation to the other side of the continent as a missionary wife would require sacrifice.[17]

The Taylors arrived in California in late 1849 and remained there until 1856. During those years, the family had ample opportunity to experience their missionary service as a kind of sacrifice offered to God in submission to God's will. These themes are best seen in Taylor's reflections on the death of his children. In addition to Morgan, Anne gave birth to a daughter, Oceana, at sea, and in California to William Jr. (Willie) in 1851 and Charles Reid (Charlie) in 1853. Another son born in California, also named William Osman, died in New York on Christmas Day just after the family returned east. Of those children, only Morgan survived to adulthood. The deaths of all these children were grieved. The death of the first William Jr. could have been doubly tragic, as while his parents attended his death, Morgan fell into the bay. His parents only learned of it after he came in wet and never knew how he had been saved.[18]

William interpreted these deaths as works of God's providence that called for deeper consecration and faith. They were to Taylor a reminder that in his sanctification he had given his children up to God. At Oceana's death, he wrote, "We feel the bereavement keenly, but submit

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[17] Ibid.

[18] William Taylor, "Memoirs: Little Charley Taylor," *Western Christian Advocate*, January 4, 1860; Lay, ed. *Lessons*, 117-23; Taylor, *California Life*, 50.

gladly to the decisions of God's providence."[19] After Willie's death and Morgan's near tragedy, he reflected,

> I have long since consecrated myself, & wife & boys all to the Lord, and hold all subject to his order, and I shall certainly not complain if He take one, or any, or altogether…. I feel that my Savior is sanctifying this bereavement to my good. Yesterday was good training in theological study. There are lessons learned in experience which cannot be spread out on paper, and yet of infinite advantage in the details of Christian duty.[20]

Through it all he believed God was benevolently at work. Anne's feelings about the loss of her children are not recorded.

Missionary Recruitment, 1875-1884

The Taylors left California because William was unable to repay a debt he had undertaken to expand his ministry with sailors in San Francisco. Following the assassination of a friend, Taylor developed a plan to pay his debt through the publication of a book about his ministry in California. He quickly became a popular revivalist in northeastern and midwestern cities, small towns and camp meetings during the years of the pre-war revival. When the Civil War broke out, Taylor moved his revival campaigns to Canada, and from there to the British Isles, Australasia, South Africa, and the Caribbean. Taylor's experience in the South African revival of 1866 convinced him he had recovered an apostolic method for rapid evangelization of the world across linguistic barriers, and an invitation to preach at the American Methodist Episcopal mission in India led him to move his campaigns there from 1870-1875.

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[19] William Roberts, *The Roberts Letters: Book Two: The Carbonic Copy Book* (Salem: The Commission on Archives and History, Oregon-Idaho Conference, United Methodist Church, 1998), 37.

[20] Lay, ed. *Lessons*, 122-23.

In 1875, Taylor left India and returned to North America for the first time since the Civil War. From that year until 1882, Taylor traveled North America enlisting missionaries at camp meetings and colleges to serve in churches or missions he started in India or South America. His recruitment tours were interrupted only by occasional trips to South America to start new missions there. By 1882, Taylor had sent 117 missionaries to both regions.[21] By the middle of the 1880s, when missionaries began to join him in Africa, the number of people following Taylor into foreign missions exceeded 200.

Like Taylor, his missionaries were driven by a belief that sanctification was the basic qualification for missionary service, available to all people, and demanded perfect fidelity to God's will. Language about sanctification requiring sacrifice of one's self and all one held dear permeated Taylor's discussions with his recruits and his description of his missionaries often referenced their sanctification as their primary qualification. He called Robert E. Carter, a missionary to Rangoon, Burma, "one of our holiness men."[22] Henry Hoffman, a student from German Wallace College sent to minister to Germans in Valdivia, Chile, was "willing to go anywhere, and to do anything under the orders of the Savior of sinners, to whom he had consecrated his soul and body."[23]

Taylor judged this spiritual quality of his candidates by interrogating their willingness to sacrifice their lives and accept suffering and loss as God's will. When Taylor interviewed Sarah Longley, he asked if she was willing to go to Panama. Would she, a white woman, live with

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[21] William Taylor, *Ten Years of Self-Supporting Missions in India* (New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1882), 285.

[22] "Rev. Wm. Taylor," *Christian Standard*, March 29, 1879.

[23] William Taylor, *Pauline Methods of Missionary Work* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Association for the Promotion of Holiness, 1879), 71-3.

black Jamaican workers and share any discrimination they faced? She agreed. Taylor next told her that her own death was likely. Longley persisted. Taylor eventually sent her to Concepcion, Chile, and sent Charles and Lillie Birdsall to Panama. As expected, disease was a problem; Charles became fatally ill. As her husband died, Lillie wrote that she was able and willing to give him up because of her own sanctification. Because she had already sacrificed everything to God, her husband's death was bearable. Lillie returned to the U.S. after Charles' death, but within seven months, became a Taylor missionary in India.[24]

Taylor believed he was following God's will, and his candidates were convinced that God was working through him. Because this theology of sanctification demanded submission of one's own will and fidelity to God in order to retain that state, missionary candidates who saw Taylor as an agent of God believed the best way to maintain their own salvation was to follow Taylor's orders into the mission field, even if they were reluctant to do so. One missionary to Chile, Ira LaFetra, had not considered becoming a missionary before meeting Taylor. He recalled,

> It was in the parlor of a friend's house that I first met Mr. Taylor. After a brief conversation he said to me, "I want you to go to open the work at Valparaiso." His words came to me as a call from the Lord. I bowed my head on the chair before me in a moment of prayer to make sure I was not mistaken, and said, "I should like to see my parents before I go."[25]

Taylor told him there would not be time; LaFetra obediently left and never saw his parents again. Taylor asked Leila Waterhouse to be a teacher in Concepcion. She was not interested in

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[24] William Taylor, *Our South American Cousins* (New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1878), 315-8; *Minutes of the Central Ohio Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1890* (Cleveland: Cleveland Printing & Publishing, 1890), 433-435; Taylor, *Pauline Methods*, 113-114.

[25] Goodsil F. Arms, *History of the William Taylor Self-Supporting Missions in South America* (New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1921), 34.

missionary work, but believed she was bound by the nature of her sanctification to accept this call. She told her parents, "From babyhood you have taught me that God had a mission for me in the world. I have asked him to use me where I could do the most good. This may be simply a test of the sincerity of my consecration. The situation is none of my seeking."[26]

Beyond a commitment to holiness, Taylor targeted individuals with qualifications that met particular missionary needs. He anticipated his missionaries to South America would both preach and teach school. Shortly before his first tour of South America, he visited Boston University in search of ministerial students who possessed the combination of holiness piety, missionary zeal, and higher education Taylor sought. After returning to the United States, Taylor selected his candidates from the student body.[27]

Although the expectation of missionary service as a sacrifice to God was inherent in Taylor's recruitment of candidates, one notable feature of Taylor's missionaries was that many saw their missionary service as a short-term commitment. Reliable steam transportation made it both easier to reach the missionary field and easier to return home. Two Boston students suspended their education to become missionaries. William A. Wright described his missionary call, and his plan to return, in a letter to his sister:

> Mr. Taylor has charge of a mission on the Western coast and there are one or two at least of the brethren here that shall go the following Summer. I have been requested to go. . . . I do not know . . . but should probably have some preaching in English to do. Meanwhile I should take up the 3 languages that are there chiefly spoken, French, German and Spanish. I should only arrange to stay 3 yrs when I would expect to return here and

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[26] Ibid., 34-5.

[27] Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997), 141-3.

finish my classical and theological courses.[28]

Wright completed his education in Boston in 1884.[29] Philip Price went to Guayaquil, Ecuador, but returned to graduate from Boston University in 1886.[30]

Taylor preferred young missionaries because he believed they would be better able to learn new languages. This desire for young minds could conflict with an interest in educated missionaries. Given a choice between youth and education, Taylor chose youth. Education was only in certain circumstances necessary to be an effective missionary; the ability to communicate was always critical.[31] Taylor met C. B. Ward as he was preparing to enroll at Northwestern University. Ward recalled that Taylor

> cut short our interview by saying: "Brother Ward, go home and pray over the matter three days. If the Lord wants you to go to India, I would rather send you now than after you have spent six years more of the best part of your life in getting college stuffing after which you will have to learn your A.B.C. with any other barbarian boy out in India." With this he bade me good morning.[32]

Ward abandoned his education.[33]

Generally speaking, Taylor had better success finding young, educated women to serve as missionaries than men. Except in situations where Taylor hoped to send an ordained minister, neither gender was no barrier in Taylor's recruitment. Because Taylor believed sanctification

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[28] William A. Wright to Jennie Wright, February 1, 1878, copy of letter in a private collection.

[29] *Historical Register*, 70.

[30] *Historical Register*, 74; Taylor, *Ten Years*, 482.

[31] Wm Taylor, "The New Idea," *Christian Standard*, November 22, 1879.

[32] Ward, *Our Work*, 11-12.

[33] Ibid., 12.

was available to and expected of all people, it led to a radical openness to potential missionary candidates. In 1880, Taylor visited Mount Allison Seminary in New Brunswick, Canada, to recruit missionaries from the faculty. The school president was a supporter of Taylor's work, and the trustees released the preceptress, Adelaide Whitfield, and two members of the faculty, Lizzie Kipp and Rosina Kinsman, from their jobs to go to Chile.[34] For young women who became Taylor missionaries, the mission offered an opportunity to rise to a heroic and sacrificial challenge called for by their faith.[35] Of at least seventy-three missionaries sent by Taylor to South America from May 1878 to June 1882, thirty-seven were women.[36]

Second-wave Recruitment, From 1884

As noted previously, Taylor made two trips to start missions in South America. By the start of his Brazilian mission in 1880, Taylor's missionary movement had grown beyond the size that he could manage alone. In the late 1870s, prompted by a minor outrage within the holiness movement that some of Taylor's missionaries had been forced to travel steerage, the publishers of the holiness newspaper *The Christian Standard* offered its administrative apparatus to raise funds for missionary transport. By the turn of the decade, Taylor also needed help with identifying mission personnel. In 1880, Taylor delegated the task of missionary recruitment for India to James M. Thoburn, an India missionary who would become a bishop in the church, and

[34] "Letter from Rev. Wm. Taylor," *Christian Standard*, January 1, 1881; *Adelaide Whitfield LaFetra: A Teacher of Young Women*, (Los Angeles: J. O. C. Class of the Bible School of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Los Angeles, California), 37.

[35] Arms, *History*, 60-1.

[36] Taylor, *Ten Years*, 482-484.

South America to Asbury Lowrey, an active leader in the holiness movement.[37] Taylor also tasked Emily Fowler, and her husband, Anderson, to be the secretary and treasurer of this nascent missionary organization in New York. Emily Fowler was the daughter of William Arthur, author of *The Tongue of Fire* (1856), a work in which historians have found some seeds of twentieth century Pentecostalism.[38] Lowrey and the Fowlers formed administrative core of Taylor's missionary enterprise for years to come and took over some of his missionary recruitment.[39] This administrative core was eventually incorporated as "The Transit and Building Fund Society of Bishop William Taylor's Self-Supporting Missions" and given responsibility to raise money to supply and send missionaries to India and South America and Africa while Taylor was overseas.[40]

In 1882, a conflict erupted between Taylor and mission leaders and bishops of his church. Church leaders who had previously celebrated Taylor as a representative of the best of the

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[37] Melvin E. Dieter, *The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century*, Second ed. (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1996), 108-110; William Kostlevy, "Lowrey, Asbury," in *Historical Dictionary of the Holiness Movement*, ed. William Kostlevy, Historial Dictionaries of Religions, Philosophies, and Movements 98 (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 186.

[38] Donald W. Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1987), 73-80; Donald W. Dayton, "From 'Christian Perfection' to the 'Baptism of the Holy Ghost'" in *Perspectives on American Methodism: Interpretive Essays*, ed. Russel E. Richey, Kenneth E. Rowe, and Jean Miller Schmidt (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1993), 289-97.

[39] "Letter from the Rev. Wm. Taylor, *Christian Standard*, July 10, 1880; "Letter from the Rev. Wm. Taylor," *Christian Advocate*, July 29, 1880.

[40] "The General Missionary Committee," *Zion's Herald*, November 19, 1884; The Chile Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1878-1893, (Santiago: Published by the Mission, 1894, 32; ; Taylor, *Story of My Life*, 684, 699; "General News," *Christian Standard*, January 10, 1885; "Brief Mention," *Zion's Herald*, January 7, 1885; "Religious Items," Ibid., Feburary 25, 1885; Alida Chatelain and Amy Roch, *Héli Chatelain, L'ami De L'angola, Fondateur De La Mission Philafricaine* (Lausanne: Secrétariat de la Mission Philafricaine, 1918), 43-44.

Methodist missionary tradition and had eagerly embraced his initiatives in India and South America began to raise critical questions about those initiatives. In the midst of that conflict, Taylor rashly resigned his ordination and went to South America. Elected as a lay delegate from the South India Annual Conference to the General Conference of 1884, at that gathering, Taylor was surprisingly elected to become a missionary bishop for Africa.

As Taylor returned to the task of missionary recruitment, this time for Africa, the language of sanctification as sacrifice again permeated his efforts. For example, he consulted John Franklin Goucher, a leader in Methodist missions and higher education, for recommendations. Taylor wrote that he sought strong, healthy men who possessed the requisite faith—"men of good constitution, not corpulent men, but wirey & tough, sound Methodist men, wholly consecrated to God, who will feel it an honor to die for Jesus in Central Africa, if the Lord shall so order."[41]

Taylor's preference for young, single men quickly faded. Because the primary qualification for missionary success—sanctification—was available to all believers, almost anyone could become a missionary. Dr. Mary R. Myers became celebrated among Taylor's supporters for convincing him to accept women as missionaries to Africa because she was willing to accept the sacrifices necessary. She reportedly told him, "I can walk a thousand miles into Africa."[42] Over time, women became essential to the Africa mission, and few barriers existed to participation. In 1887, Taylor enlisted an African American woman, Susan Angeline

[41] Wm. Taylor to John F. Goucher, July 26, 1884, William Taylor Collection, Lovely Lane Museum and Archives.

[42] "The Missionaries for Africa," *Christian Standard*, May 9, 1885; "The Taylor Band," Ibid., February 27, 1886.

Collins, to serve in the Congo.[43] In 1890, Taylor declared that women managed the hardest missionary stations in Africa, and he was quoted as saying, "When I find a field too hard for a man, I put in a woman."[44]

Taylor's first recruits for Africa also expanded to include families with children. Eleven-year old Herbert Withey met Taylor at a camp meeting in 1884. He and his three sisters often play acted Stanley's search for Livingstone. Their father, Amos, was a Methodist evangelist in Lynn, Massachusetts, but the children's interest was a decisive factor in the family's decision to enlist with Taylor. On one occasion, their mother, Irene, testified that she did not want to be a missionary. She became convinced, however, that God wanted her children to be missionaries and that she had to accept the sacrifice asked of her submit to God's will. Taylor accepted the Witheys and five other families—with seventeen children among them—as missionaries in his first party. For Taylor, these children were not incidental additions to the enterprise, but essential members. Taylor consistently advocated that children were spiritual agents and responsible to God for their own salvation and that of others. Taylor issued the children, just as the adults, certificates identifying them as his missionaries. Taylor was especially proud that his son Ross, his wife, Ada, and his four grandchildren, the youngest only weeks old, joined the mission.[45]

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[43] Jan B. Van Buren, "Susan Angeline Collins Rediscovered: The First African American Missionary in Angola" (paper presented at United Methodist Women's History: Voices Lost and Found conference, Delaware, OH, May 29, 2015).

[44] "The Dark Continent," *Christian Standard*, September 18, 1890; Caroline Atwater Mason, *Lux Christi: An Outline Study of India, a Twilight Land* (New York: Macmillan, 1902), 228.

[45] "Selections," *Christian Standard*, April 18, 1885; E. Davies, *History of Silver Lake Camp Meeting, near Brandon, Vermont* (Reading: Holiness Book Concern, 1880), 11; Certificates of Mary Estella Withey, Lottie May, Withey, and Florence Steele Withey, W. S.

While Bishop Taylor was in Africa, Taylor's first band of missionaries for that continent met in New York before leaving in early 1885. Just before their departure, in a practice that became a tradition with later parties, they participated in a week long "Holiness Convention" at a Methodist church in the New York area. At the gathering, the missionaries gave testimonies linking their sanctification and missionary call. For example, Henry McKinley of Raymore, Missouri, declared he would go to Africa because, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Chirst, or of the doctrine of Holiness. I have been cleansed from all sin, and I cannot help speaking of the things I know."[46] Charles H. Miller, of Baltimore, described how he received "the blessing of entire sanctification," but had not considered missionary work until he decided to offer himself in that way to God.[47]

Lowrey was instrumental in planning these events, and his involvement marked a theological shift that began to be evident among Taylor's missionaries. Taylor always interrogated potential missionaries about their sanctification using language of personal sacrifice and submission to God's will. Lowrey, however, employed theological language more common in the turn of the century holiness movement and early Pentecostalism that described empowerment from the Holy Spirit. Lowrey called the first convention a "Pentecostal preparation for the missionaries."[48] At the holiness convention before the second group of twenty-three missionaries was sent to Africa in 1886, Lowrey invited guests to experience "the

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Matthew Papers, California-Nevada Conference Archives, Pacific School of Religion; South Central Africa Minutes, California-Nevada Conference Archives, Pacific School of Religion.

[46] "The Missionaries for Africa," *Christian Standard*, March 21, 1885.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

descent of the tongues of fire and the enduement [*sic*] of power."[49] In contrast to Taylor's interrogation of missionaries about their willingness to sacrifice and suffer, the first question Lowrey asked missionary candidates was, "Do you trust you are moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you the work of a foreign missionary?"[50]

Interest in the mission was so broad that although Lowrey interviewed applicants, it was generally understood and celebrated that almost anyone could become a missionary to Africa if they were so moved by the Holy Spirit. This, too, was a difference in recruitment methods between Taylor and Lowrey. While Taylor was open to the missionary call of many different people, he did not invite all to participate. The second party sent to Africa would include a former slave, J. L. Judson, mechanics, farmers, surveyors, a school teacher, and a woman named Mary A. Clift. Clift had not been invited to join the mission, but traveled to New York from Iowa for that purpose. It was generally assumed in the atmosphere of the missionary holiness conventions that anyone called and empowered by God to be a missionary should be a missionary. Two men exchanged their tickets for steerage passage and collections were taken to pay her way. In a sign that that perhaps Taylor was more judicious in his missionary selection than Lowrey, soon after she arrived in Africa, Taylor sent Clift home.[51]

In part because, Taylor's theology of holiness emphasized sacrifice and acceptance of suffering as part of God's will, he stood opposed to later developments in the holiness movement such as the rise of faith healing. Missionary Charles Miller died in Africa in 1885. Although

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[49] "The Taylor Band," Ibid., February 27, 1886; Ibid., March 6, 1886.

[50] Ibid., October 16, 1886.

[51] "General News," *Christian Standard*, February 14, 1885; "The Taylor Band," Ibid., March 27, 1886; Ibid., August 21, 1886; Ibid., October 2, 1886.

most of Taylor's missionaries suffered from some illness in Africa, Miller believed in faith healing. He trusted that God would miraculously cure him, and refused medical treatment.[52] Taylor's opponents in America would seize on Miller's death as proof that his missionaries were unstable fanatics, but on this matter Taylor and his critics agreed. Taylor mourned Miller's death, but also his theology. He thought the faith healing movement was a diabolical parasite within the holiness movement, where it had begun to flourish. For Taylor, to trust that God would heal without availing oneself of medical treatment was not true faith, but a form of presumption before God. True faith sometimes required the believer to accept suffering.[53]

Conclusion

Despite these differences of theological opinion, Taylor was able to hold his missionary movement together by the force of his personality until 1896. In that year, he was retired by his church due to failing health. By that time independent, faith missions were flourishing elsewhere in the world, and missionaries who no longer wished to be associated with the Methodist Episcopal Church, for whatever reason, had options before them. Some returned home. Because missionaries sent to Africa were rarely tracked by any organization at the time, it is not possible to come to definitive conclusions about missionary attrition. A strong impression arises from the evidence, however, that those missionaries recruited by Taylor who understood as a part of their beliefs about sanctification and missionary call that missionary service would require sacrifice and suffering were more persistent than those missionaries cultivated by Lowrey and the

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[52] Ibid.; "The Taylor Band," Ibid., July 18, 1885.

[53] Ibid., July 25, 1885; Heather D. Curtis, *Faith in the Great Physician: Suffering and Divine Healing in American Culture, 1860-1900*, ed. David D. Hall and Robert A. Orsi, Lived Religions (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 194-195.

Fowlers. Despite the outbreak of war and unstable economic conditions, for example, twenty-six of the thirty-three people Taylor recruited for South America remained for at least four years.[54] When Taylor's successor for Africa, Bishop James Hartzell, visited the Congo, a region for which missionaries were recruited by Lowrey and the Fowlers, however, he found that only one of the seven mission stations started along the river remained.[55]

In the early twentieth century, an option for those who wished to become independent emerged in the form of Pentecostalism. While the role of certain Taylor missionaries and others associated with Taylor in the emergence of world Pentecostalism is a familiar fact, it is also an overstatement of the case to write, as historian David Bundy did that "many" Taylor missionaries became Pentecostal after 1906. Most of the over 200 did not; most of those that remained missionaries also remained a part of the Methodist Episcopal Church. For the purposes of this paper, however, it is worth noting the families of "Taylor" missionaries who became first generation Pentecostals, such as Willis C. and May Hilton Hoover in Chile and Samuel J. and Ardella Mead in Africa, were recruited by Lowrey and the Fowlers, primed as they were by a theology of sanctification to anticipate they would be endowed with power from God.[56]

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[54] Arms, *History*, 73

[55] "Letter from Bishop Taylor," *Christian Standard*, October 15, 1887; *Journal of the General Conference,… 1892*, 374-375; J. Tremayne Copplestone, *History of Methodist Missions: Twentieth-Century Perspectives, the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1896-1939*, History of Methodist Missions 4 (New York: United Methodist Church, 1973), 4.

[56] Bundy, "William Taylor as an Interpreter," 2; Robert, *American Women in Mission*, 244-8; Walter J. Hollenweger, "Methodism's Past in Pentecostalism's Present: A Case Study of a Cultural Clash in Chile," *Methodist History* 20 (1982): 169-82; D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought*, Journal of Pentecostal Theology 10 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 220.

Additional research is needed to articulate how the theology of Lowrey and the Fowlers differed it its fullness from Taylor, but clearly a new theological emphasis had emerged. This emphasis was in some respects an old emphasis, rooted in Phoebe Palmer's theology that empowered testimony in the consecrated believer. That emphasis, however, had been moderated through much of Taylor's career by the stress he placed on sacrifice and suffering as a part of one's missionary call. Such missionaries were more willing to endure obstacles and vicissitudes they experienced.