Harold Sloan and Methodist Essentialism

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As leader of Methodist conservatives in the 1920s, Harold Paul Sloan defended the divinity of Jesus against modernism. Though he sometimes associated with Fundamentalists, he disavowed two of their chief concerns, the verbal inerrancy of the Bible and the premillennial return of Christ. Sloan wanted Methodists to retain the cultural forms, the language and the inner experience of previous generations. Only on such bases, he believed, could men and women maintain a rooted sense of themselves and a clear view of God's purpose in the world. Sloan trusted only proven answers to age-old problems. He felt no compulsion to alter the resolutions of the past.

After graduating from Drew Theological Seminary, Sloan served several obscure parishes before winning a place of leadership in the New Jersey conference. For twenty years after 1915 he pastored some of its largest churches: Red Bank; Central Church, Bridgeton; and Haddonfield, a Philadelphia suburb. In 1925 he began the League of Faith and Life, the main organization of the Methodist response to modernism, and served thereafter as its president and publicist. The League had at least 10,000 dedicated followers, and perhaps many more. Several bishops and other national leaders supported Sloan behind the scenes. In 1934 he became superintendent of the Camden district and two years later the general conference elected him editor of the denomination's most influential weekly, the New York Christian Advocate. From 1941 to 1953 he pastored the Wharton Memorial Church in Philadelphia.

After entering his first pastorate, Sloan began to perceive modernism as a threat to The Methodist Church and he lamented the neglect of the preaching and experience of new birth among fellow Methodists. When the New Jersey annual conference in 1913 appointed him a member of a committee instructed to review both Sunday school literature and the books assigned to prospective ministers in the course of study, Sloan found opportunity to rebuke those who emphasized Christian nurture over spiritual rebirth. The committee reported that the church was entrusted with certain inviolable doctrines: the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ; the supernatural works of Christ, especially his atoning death for sins; the resurrection and ascension of Christ; and the outpouring and continued presence of the Holy Spirit. The committee "heartily agreed" with the "method of biblical criticism." This set of "fundamentals" evidenced the primary concern of Methodist conservatives for the doctrine of salvation through Christ, rather than for the

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inerrancy of Scripture or the Second Coming.2

After the 1916 General Conference failed to remove certain books from the course of study, as recommended by Sloan, the New Brunswick district directed him to renew his investigation into the denomination’s modernism. A book, *The Child and the Church*, resulted from his efforts, and for the next four years Sloan mounted an assault upon Methodist modernism. Aiming to produce a confrontation at the next general conference, he distributed to denominational leaders *The Child and the Church* and resolutions which the New Jersey Conference had passed against the course of study. He received favorable responses from across the country, including those of Bishops Charles B. Mitchell of Minneapolis, and Joseph F. Berry, newly appointed to the Philadelphia area; Clarence True Wilson, head of the denomination’s board of temperance, prohibition and public morals; James R. Day, chancellor of Syracuse University; and Henry Clay Morrison, president of Asbury College.3

Meanwhile, Professor John Alfred Faulkner of Drew helped Sloan formulate positions to be used against the Methodist liberals. Faulkner tried to keep Sloan’s critique of modernism on an intellectual level, while believing that Methodists faced a choice of modernism’s lifeless rationalism and John Wesley’s “apostolic enthusiasm.”4 He feared that “in a few years Unitarians will have percolated through our whole structure,”5 and he became discontent with the theological direction of his colleague at Drew, Edwin Lewis. Liberals seemed to be “on the saddle everywhere.” It was a “queer old world,” Faulkner said, when Methodist ministers were “far more radical” in their beliefs than the “old Unitarians.”6 Because of Faulkner’s warnings, doctrines which seemed to threaten the divinity of Jesus became the focus of Sloan’s attacks.

By the time of the 1920 General Assembly, thirty-one annual conferences had passed resolutions regarding the removal of certain books from the course of study for preachers. A commission authorized to deal with the matter, however, recommended few changes. The books that were finally substituted for controversial ones seemed to Sloan and Faulkner no less modernist. So Sloan immediately prepared for the next general conference.7

In 1922, largely because of Faulkner and the proximity of Drew, Sloan began to direct much of his discontent with modernism against Professor Edwin Lewis, who taught theology at Drew.8 As the two men vented their concerns in letters to each other, Sloan admonished Lewis to refute his “naturalistic thinking” and join the battle against “proud-hearted unbelief.”9 But Lewis minded a different agenda. He explained to Sloan his intent to reach those who rejected the old supernaturalist reasons for following Jesus as Lord.10 But Sloan remained convinced that men and women needed a “fearless advocacy” of faith, not Lewis’s “mediating opinions.”11 Though Lewis tried to persuade Sloan that he was as fully “evangelical” as any Christian insofar as he stated the faith in a constructive rather than defensive manner, and insofar as he was personally devoted to Christ, Sloan warned that “heart devotion” did not guarantee orthodox theology.12

Meanwhile, Sloan progressed with his conservative drive and believed that he and his allies won a victory for the faith at the general conference held in June 1924. Bishop Berry, reading the key address, affirmed the deity of Jesus, the virgin
birth, the Bible as the inspired Word of God, and the necessity of repentance for sin and justification by faith for personal salvation. Sloan himself could hardly have said it better. Indeed Christian Advocate editor James R. Joy reported that Sloan's "impassioned" appeals for the "standards of evangelical belief" had "carried the convention."13

After the conference, Sloan organized the "Methodist League for Faith and Life." Its initial aim was to purge modernist books from the course of study, but it soon focused upon seminary professors suspected of heresy. With its headquarters in Philadelphia, in April 1925, Sloan began publishing the League's Call to Colors (renamed the Essentialist in 1927). The publication maintained a sometimes vicious attack on modernism and supposed modernists. The League relied on the financial contributions of professionals and small-business proprietors, and received money from various sources, including manufacturing companies, life insurance agencies and law firms. Perhaps the leaders of such enterprises felt left out of the vast organizational networks transforming the national economy and found satisfaction in joining one devoted to renewing the kind of evangelical faith which they believed had built America.14

Sloan's cause united many theologically conservative Methodists. He was a leader in rallies the League held throughout the nation and his paper advertised anti-modernist resolutions passed by various groups.15 A few Methodists hoped he would be elected bishop, and occasionally laypersons solicited his advice as if he were already one. In response to queries, Sloan affirmed that Christians might attend motion pictures, that Catholics were "beautifully devoted to the faith," and that infant baptism was consistent with the New Testament and the entire history of Christianity. He refused to adopt positions which deviated from the historic stream of Methodism. By such means he held many Methodists back from joining fundamentalist or holiness sects. He refused to become a demagogue.16

Remaining within Methodism, Sloan sought allies among the more conservative bishops. Berry often defended him before the board of bishops. Adna Leonard advised Sloan on the wording of various resolutions. Sloan tried to persuade Leonard to head the League and later approached him about a plan to start a Methodist seminary committed to the denomination's stated creeds. Sloan considered Bishops Brenton T. Badley, Anton Bast, Frederick D. Leete, and Ernest G. Richardson friendly to his cause.17 Leete, for instance, told Sloan that he was also eager to save what was "most vital in the Christian religion."18 Sloan criticized liberal bishops Francis J. McConnell, Edwin H. Hughes and Edgar Blake, but they generally ignored him. After the League was expanded into the South, a few southern bishops, including Warren A. Candler, Collins Denny and Horace M. DuBose, supported Sloan's efforts. Some dreamed of creating a denomination composed of conservatives from both branches of Methodism.19

Sloan resumed heated attacks on Edwin Lewis. In Jesus Christ and the Human Quest, published in 1924, Lewis had tried to present the religion of Jesus in such a way as to make it personally and socially appealing to modern men and women. He attempted to prove the divinity of Jesus on the basis of his ethical character.20 Sloan tried to elicit from Drew students and from direct correspondence with
Lewis any evidence that his teachings were unorthodox. In December, 1927, Sloan proclaimed that the struggle against Lewis was "the next major battlefield in Methodism." Lewis should either "return to the faith or else leave Drew Theological Seminary," Sloan declared, for there he robbed "young men of their faith."

Prior to the 1928 General Conference, Sloan circulated a petition calling upon the church to demand of its pastors, teachers and laypersons an unqualified pledge to uphold its creed. Though "we are tolerant of any and all opinions that do not strike at the essential truths of Christianity," the petition read, "we will not tolerate any teaching that compromises Christ and His Word." The petition criticized books in the course of study, indicted several seminaries, including Drew, for "employing professors who teach contrary to our doctrines," and criticized the Sunday school literature and most other material being published by the denomination. Ten thousand Methodists signed the petition before the general conference convened. During one session Sloan dramatically strode to the podium in order to speak on behalf of the signers and to urge the petition's adoption. He was quickly turned away without being allowed to make his appeal. Embittered, Sloan returned home to renew his attacks on Lewis and modernism.

Throughout the controversies in the 1920s, Sloan recognized that his ideas regarding what was crucial to Christian faith differed not only from those of Methodist liberals but from those of most American fundamentalists. Sloan's criticism of modernism was that it offered a "whittled-down" Christ. His criticism of fundamentalism was that it made the verbal inerrancy of the Bible and the pre-millennial coming of Christ as important as his divinity and the possibility of new birth. A decisive conversion, Sloan believed, was necessary in order to change an individual's destiny from eternal punishment to salvation, and this was the central Methodist doctrine in danger of being lost.

The view of biblical inspiration which Sloan defended was that of Olin A. Curtis. Not every word of the Bible was given directly by God, Sloan said. God revealed Himself to men and women in the context and language of their cultures. Nevertheless, Sloan declared that the Bible was inerrant in all matters essential to Christian faith. Since higher criticism did not directly undermine that way of interpreting the Old and New Testaments, it could be accepted. The Bible, Sloan wrote, was "God's progressive revelation of Himself," and as such some parts testified more nearly than others to the central Word of God in Christ. Since Hebrew writers lacked the full light, the Old Testament needed to be judged by the teachings of Jesus. Sloan's idea of biblical inspiration paralleled his view of salvation. Both stressed the human response to divine initiative. Though he wanted to retain a high view of Scripture, he actually depended more upon the creeds than biblical authority to support his positions against modernism. This reflected an uncertainty among many Methodists as to how they should best combine historical criticism and biblical inspiration.

Sloan did not at first see the theory of evolution as a threat to the biblical theology of creation. Faulkner believed that the theory posed no threat to Christianity. At one point Sloan declared himself for the teleological implications
of evolution, that history was proceeding toward a goal. But later Sloan repudiated the theory. He noted the use of Darwinism to attack supernaturalism and to advance novel theological ideas. Too many scientists speculated on ethical and religious matters and endeavoured to impose their naturalism and behaviorism on others. Those who were truly objective would not move so readily from their own fields. When Darwinism “ceased to be a hypothesis” and became a “creed” the conflict became one between two faiths. Yet such theories could never really touch inward faith, he declared. “The progress of science has not made Christ obsolete.” Therefore he did not make evolution a major issue in his attacks on modernism.

Sloan’s ambivalence toward premillennialism further separated him and other conservative Methodists from fundamentalists. Postmillennialism had encouraged nineteenth-century Methodists to find humanitarian ways of expressing the gospel, and Sloan did not criticize their efforts. In April 1922, William Bell Riley invited Sloan both to participate in an Indiana campaign and to speak at the July assembly of the “World’s Christian Fundamentalist Association” in Los Angeles. Initially Sloan agreed, affirming his belief in every historic Christian doctrine, including the Second Coming. Sloan believed that the event would occur someday, but did not specify whether he believed that Christ would come before or after the millennium, or whether he believed in a millennium at all. He told Riley that the question was trivial and that its emphasis prevented a broader coalition of evangelicals. Riley rebutted him, declaring that the premillennial coming of Christ was “as plainly taught in Scripture as any other doctrine,” and that to “soft-pedal” it was to “suppress” the Bible’s “plain statements.”

Meanwhile San Francisco Bishop Adna Leonard reminded Sloan that Methodists would never support premillennialism and warned him that his participation in the convention would embarrass the denomination. Sloan had hoped that by offering to swing “the whole of Pacific Methodism” behind the fundamentalist movement he might persuade Riley to drop his stress on premillennialism; but Riley refused to budge or to widen the fundamentalist fray. So Sloan decided that he would not attend the convention. He recognized Riley as a “friend and ally,” and his influence as “vital to saving faith in Jesus Christ,” but he did not think it wise for him to concentrate on a doctrine not truly central to historic Christianity.

Sloan refused to alter his stands in order to suit fundamentalists. In 1931, when plans were being laid for a fundamentalist convention in Philadelphia, Sloan’s credentials in it, despite his renown as Methodism’s leading conservative, were challenged by its organizer, Charles G. Trumbull. Sloan defended his right not to subscribe to either the premillennial Second Coming or the verbal inerrancy of the Bible. The latter more than the former jolted Trumbull. In response, Sloan affirmed that he believed in biblical authority, but repeated his long-held view that the Holy Spirit had spoken in a variety of situations to writers with different capabilities of understanding and expression. This, he said, was the true and historic position of the Christian Church. If fundamentalism would return to this truth and refute the novel theory of verbal inerrancy, he told Trumbull, its
influence would be much greater.\textsuperscript{35} Though he declined a leading part in fundamentalism, Sloan lectured at the Winona Lake School of Theology, spoke occasionally at Moody Bible Institute and was instrumental in the reformation of the League of Evangelical Students in 1921.\textsuperscript{36}

Sloan felt closer to the faculty at Princeton Theological Seminary than to the premillennialist wing of fundamentalism. In the 1920s he encouraged Methodist ministerial students to attend Princeton in order to study under such men as J. Gresham Machen. Though Machen welcomed these Methodists, he concentrated his efforts on his own denomination. Princeton, Machen believed, was succumbing to modernism. He felt sure, nevertheless, that though “evangelical Christianity” might be driven out of Princeton and other citadels in the Presbyterian or Methodist churches, it could never be rooted out of the hearts of believers.\textsuperscript{37} When Machen started Westminster Theological Seminary in 1929, Sloan suggested that the school’s faculty include a professor of Methodist doctrine and discipline. Having taught theology part time at Temple University for the previous two years, Sloan clearly was proposing himself. But Machen was as convinced that Calvinism represented true Christianity as Riley of premillennialism; so he did not offer Sloan a job.\textsuperscript{38}

Sloan distinguished Calvinist from Wesleyan evangelicalism. Strict Calvinists taught that sin was inherent to human life, that God chose which individuals would be saved, and that the atonement of Christ reached only those so chosen. True Methodists, Sloan said, believed that God offered salvation through the atonement of Christ to all who would believe and that individuals freely chose whether or not to accept this grace.\textsuperscript{39}

Because his fight was not over verbal inspiration or the Second Coming, but over the divine nature of Jesus and his power to transform lives, Sloan declared that Methodist conservatives were “fundamentalists” on a “broader basis than the organized movement.”\textsuperscript{40} His League of Faith and Life attracted Lutherans and other evangelicals without ties to either the premillennialist or Calvinist wings of fundamentalism.\textsuperscript{41} Bishop Leonard proposed the word “essentialism” to differentiate the Methodist movement from fundamentalism, though Curtis had used the term in 1907. “Essentialists,” Sloan wrote, were those who believed that Christ’s incarnation was the means by which God offered salvation to a fallen humanity and that the Bible was the “providentially produced and guarded record of this redemptive work.” “Fundamentalism” was a perfectly good word, Sloan added, but in the recent controversy it had been taken over and distorted by Calvinists.\textsuperscript{42}

Despite these efforts to strengthen the conservative position in Methodism, Calvinist fundamentalism lured some away from the denomination. The most notable was Harold John Ockenga, who Sloan hoped would succeed him as editor of \textit{The Essentialist}. Ockenga had graduated from Taylor University, then enrolled at Princeton and followed Machen to Westminster. Though Ockenga continued to work closely with Sloan and the League, he came to believe that the crucial battle was not between Wesleyans and the Calvinists, but between true Christians and modernists. In order to defeat modernism, he wrote in 1930, “all evangelicals must unite.” He described Sloan as standing virtually alone in
Methodism, “a true, balanced and uncompromising witness in the days of its apostasy.” But the logic of Machen’s Calvinism proved “irresistible.” To Sloan’s sorrow, the promising young preacher left the Methodist church and joined the Presbyterians. By his conversion to Calvinism, Ockenga was headed toward leadership in post-war evangelicalism in America.

This was only part of Sloan’s woes. In the summer of 1930 Sloan suffered an illness that he himself called a nervous breakdown. An “obscure infection” accompanied severe head pains, a rapid pulse and trembling hands. His controversies now pressed upon him “like a continent,” while his “strength and resource” seemed like those of a “fly.” His anxiety was deepened by the economic depression of the 1930s, which left his Haddonfield congregation struggling to pay a $19,000 debt, and left both his broadcasting ministry and The Essentialist in jeopardy. The crusade against Lewis took its toll emotionally as it became evident that Drew’s new president, Arlo A. Brown, was not about to take Sloan’s side in the dispute, and much less appoint him to the Drew faculty. A revival at Ocean Grove campmeeting, conducted by evangelist Gypsy Smith, brought scores of ministers to the altar of prayer. Sloan described it as a “modern Pentecost.” Perhaps it was a turning point for him.

Other reasons as well prompted changes in Sloan’s attitudes toward the role he was called to play in Methodism. After the merger of The Essentialist with The Bible Champion in January, 1931, he left its control to others. Later that year Faulkner died. Though a faithful mentor, he had burdened Sloan with his nagging pessimism. Most important, Edwin Lewis’s new book, God and Ourselves, seemed to Sloan a major return to the faith. In the book Lewis commented at length on the failure of Methodism, and stressed the limitations of human speculation regarding God in comparison to his divine revelation.

The two men began to reconcile their differences. Sloan told Lewis that he would recommend God and Ourselves to young people who had lost their faith. When they met in Atlantic City during the 1932 General Conference, Sloan admitted to Lewis that he had come “short of the grace” anyone could expect of a Christian in many of his tactics, and that where he still could he would make amends. Sloan even advised his son to attend Drew, so that he might experience Lewis’s “vision of Christ.” Sloan was further astonished by the completeness of his agreement with Lewis’s Christian Manifesto, and he was also impressed by the book’s generally positive reception. “What you have affirmed in your ‘manifesto’ is what I have striven to hold,” Sloan wrote Lewis; “I will honor you as a chosen instrument of Christ.”

Sloan considered his own election to the editorship of the New York Christian Advocate in 1936 the ultimate vindication for his ideas. Sloan used his position as editor to promote a revival which he hoped would center Methodists once more upon a vital, saving faith. Upon such faith Methodists might lead the nation upward toward “spiritual renaissance.” He reported signs that revival was indeed on its way. Indeed the conference that united the northern and southern branches of Methodism in 1939 declared evangelism to be the church’s primary task. Bishop Edwin H. Hughes, once on Sloan’s list of liberals, edited a book entitled
Are You an Evangelist?, which explored new methods of accomplishing the old aim of winning souls to Christ. The Federal Council of Churches sponsored large-scale preaching missions, many of them conducted by E. Stanley Jones. And Sloan also considered neo-orthodoxy a part of the revival. It recovered many essential Christian truths, he believed, even though he could not accept Reinhold Niebuhr's seeming equation of human finitude with evil. He tried to preserve a distinct Methodist viewpoint toward neo-orthodoxy, despite the parallels between his moral relativism and Niebuhr's Christian realism.

As the war approached, Sloan found himself drawn to spiritual assurances that while all else gave way it could be well within his own soul. The 1940 General Conference decided to combine the denomination's regional papers, and to his great disappointment he was not selected to edit the national Christian Advocate. Instead, he became pastor of the Wharton Methodist Church in Philadelphia. He affirmed as he always had the provisions of faith. Despite the horrendous evils all around, Sloan continued to believe that individuals who possessed faith in eternal verities could remain unshaken. Nevertheless, he later described the war period as one when "demons" seemed incessantly attacking him.

During the war Sloan no longer attacked modernism, which he considered dead, but he still blamed the war on the decline of religious convictions in the face of rising secular forces. Men and women, entranced by the notion that they could remake the world, had blinded themselves to the brutalities of Hitler. Sloan believed that the war was being fought to protect sacred institutions and to preserve free societies. But he had few illusions regarding a permanent moral victory. He did not preach hope or optimism regarding the future.

As Sloan later saw the power struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union emerge, he sensed that communism was a threat to Christianity as well as democracy. Because communism made no efforts to change men and women spiritually, it ultimately would fail, Sloan believed. Rather than relying on God, Communists tried to find salvation in their own social schemes. He linked the deficiencies of the social gospel (which he had not often criticized before the war), to those of communism. Both the social gospel and communism, he now said, taught that men and women could be perfected by social engineering. He attacked communism with the same vengeance with which he had attacked modernism. But he knew that this new menace was quite out of his reach. He charged the entire nation to preserve Christianity against communism.

Throughout the years when great change in society took place, Sloan professed to have consistently maintained the faith he long before had been personally given. His emphases were lines of defense against the enemies which seemed to encroach upon his faith and even threaten him personally. Sloan believed that his holding on to belief in the divine nature of Jesus had helped thwart the intrusion of modernism. By 1940, events seemed to confirm that Christians could not exist for long without faith in a divine Savior and in God's transforming grace. Sloan found theologians and bishops he had opposed coming around to his long-held beliefs. He sensed a revival sweeping over the country. But during the war it seemed obvious that the forces which threatened the collapse of Christianity and
civilization itself were much larger than modernism. His faith remained, but even he clung more dearly than he ever had to the inward assurances central to his Methodist beliefs.

Notes


5. Faulkner, Madison, to Sloan, Red Bank, 1 June 1917, Sloan papers.

6. Faulkner, Madison, to Sloan, Bridgeton, 6 May 1919, Sloan papers.


8. Faulkner, Madison, to Sloan, Bridgeton, 11 August 1922.


10. Lewis, Madison, to Sloan, Bridgeton, 5 May 1923, Sloan papers.

11. Sloan, Bridgeton, to Lewis, Madison, 19 May 1923, Sloan papers.

12. Sloan, Bridgeton, to Lewis, Madison, 4 March 1924, Sloan papers; Lewis, Madison, to Sloan, Bridgeton, 1 February 1924, Lewis papers, Drew University.


15. The Call to the Colors, 1 (January 1926): 151; The Essentialist, 3 (June 1927): 76; ibid., 3 (July-August 1927): 110-112; ibid., 3 (October 1927): 155-156; ibid., 6 (May 1930): 33.


18. Leete, Indianapolis, to Sloan, Bridgeton, 1 July 1923, Sloan papers.


23. Sloan, Haddonfield, to Lewis, Madison, 28 September 1926; and 14 March 1928, Sloan papers.


28. Faulkner, Winona Lake, IN, to Sloan, Haddonfield, 15 August 1924, Sloan papers.

29. Sloan, Historic Christianity, 188.


31. William B. Riley, Minneapolis, to Sloan, Bridgeton, 21 April 1922, Sloan papers.


33. Sloan, Bridgeton, to Riley, Minneapolis, (26 April 1922); Riley, Minneapolis, to Sloan, Bridgeton, 23 May 1922, Sloan papers.
34. Sloan, Bridgeton, to Riley, Minneapolis, 10 June 1922, Sloan papers. See Sloan, Bridgeton, to Riley, Minneapolis, 19 April 1922, 26 April 1922; Riley, Minneapolis, to Sloan, Bridgeton, 14 April 1922, 19 June 1922, Sloan papers.


43. Ockenga, Atlantic City, NJ, to Sloan, Haddonfield, 26 July 1930, Sloan papers.


45. Ockenga, Pittsburgh, to Sloan, Haddonfield, 20 October 1933; Sloan, Haddonfield, to Ernest G. Crabill, Binghamton, NJ, 22 August 1930, Sloan papers.

46. Sloan, Haddonfield, to Charles K. Haddon, Haddonfield, 10 February 1933, Sloan papers.

47. First Camden National Bank, Camden, to Sloan, Haddonfield, 24 March 1930, Sloan papers; *The Essentialist*, 6 (December 1930): 249.


51. Sloan, Woodbury, NJ, to Lewis, Madison, 8 September 1934, 10 September 1934, Lewis papers.