

## “Silent Witness”: Adam Crooks and Christian Holiness Activism

Caleb W. Southern

On the campus of Southern Wesleyan University in the small town of Central, SC sits a one-room, unassuming log structure. Nestled between a new residence hall and a classroom building, the wooden church is surrounded by trees, shrubs, and a beautiful courtyard shaped like a wagon-wheel, a symbol of freedom among the African-American slave community. Freedom’s Hill Wesleyan Methodist Church was the first Wesleyan church in the South. Founded in 1848, the church was home to Southern abolitionists during a time when Southern abolitionism was criminal. Originally built in North Carolina, the run-down church was moved to the campus of Southern Wesleyan in the early twentieth-century and reassembled there board-by-board. Freedom’s Hill and its first pastor, Adam Crooks, are witnesses to nineteenth-century Christianity in America. An emphasis on personal piety and holiness gave birth to a variety of social movements, primarily abolitionism. Adam Crooks traveled South as an abolitionist missionary in 1847. There, he faithfully ministered to a small, but growing, group of Christians who were courageous in their stand for abolition when slaveholders were increasingly growing in power. The ministry of Crooks evidences a powerful blend of personal holiness that flowed outward into social activism, a tradition lost to modern American Evangelicals.

As the Revolutionary fervor in the United States began to decline with the opening of the nineteenth century, many Americans asked, “Where is the nation going?”<sup>1</sup> Religiously, American Methodism was becoming the “most powerful religious movement in American history, its growth a central feature in the emergence of the United States as a republic.”<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 98.

<sup>2</sup> Nathan O. Hatch, “The Puzzle of American Methodism.” *Church History*. Vol. 63, No. 2 (June 1994): 177-178.

Methodism was appealing as the religion of the people, and “commoners” were encouraged to make religion their own within Methodism. Their message of individual salvation, responsibility, and achievement transcended class barriers and inspired a rise of conversions among the underprivileged, especially African-Americans. “The Methodists could function anywhere” and for and with anybody.<sup>3</sup>

The democratization of American religion that Methodism facilitated helped produce the Second Great Awakening (SGA). Daniel Walker Howe has noted that the SGA “was remarkable for embracing... ‘all sorts and conditions of men.’”<sup>4</sup> The distinctive feature of the SGA was “a remarkable set of popular leaders who proclaimed compelling visions of individual self-respect and collective self-confidence.”<sup>5</sup> The emphasis on individual salvation and responsibility preached by Methodists resulted in the elevation of the individual in American society. The rise of individualistic understanding of religion made free-will, Arminian theology more popular than the previous Calvinistic, predestination theology of the Puritans. Where before God ordained every earthly event, now individual humans had an important role to play in individual and societal salvation. Free-will theology “meant that if immediate conversion is available by an act of the human will, then, through God’s miraculous grace, all things are possible: human nature is open to total renovation in the twinkling of an eye and so, then, is the nature of society.”<sup>6</sup>

The greatest societal movement that arose out of the free-will doctrine of the SGA was the Abolitionist movement. Abolitionists were considered radicals because they called for the

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 179.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2007), 187-188.

<sup>5</sup> Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 56.

<sup>6</sup> McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, 114.

immediate abolition of the race-based, chattel slave system that engulfed the American South. Free will, individualistic theology combined with an emphasis on Christian love to produce the theology of most abolitionists. The editor of *The Watchmen*, a Delaware abolitionist newspaper, wrote that slavery's growth

“could only be halted...when Christians comprehended the infinite value which Christ had attached to *every human creature* through his incarnation, sufferings, and atoning death. Men must ‘learn to regard slavery as not merely the denial of rights conferred in original creation, but as an outrage on the nature which the Son of God was pleased to make the temple of His divinity.’ For this reason, he believed that the growth of the ‘pure spirit’ of Christianity would be more effective against the extension of the institution than a hundred legislative prohibitions.”<sup>7</sup>

The SGA had brought to the nation's attention “the scriptural teachings that all are equal in the sight of God and all are one in Christ” which did more than anything else to challenge “the traditional assumption that the worth of human beings depended on their race, class, and gender.”<sup>8</sup>

John Wesley and the first Methodists were anti-slavery. In fact, “the first African-American churches took shape in a Methodist context.”<sup>9</sup> It would not be long before white Methodists backtracked on their commitment to anti-slavery. Not the least of their motivations was the allure of wealth, power, and growth that southern slaveholders would bring to the Church. “When faced with the alternative of growth into a national church or maintaining discipline on the slavery issue, Methodism chose growth and prosperity.”<sup>10</sup> The government of the Methodist Church further exacerbated the problem. The leadership was split between local,

---

<sup>7</sup> Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1957), 151. *Emphasis added.*

<sup>8</sup> Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 187.

<sup>9</sup> Hatch, “The Puzzle,” 188.

<sup>10</sup> Donald W. Dayton and Douglas M. Strong, *Rediscovering an Evangelical Heritage: A Tradition and Trajectory of Integrating Piety and Justice* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academics, 2014), 120.

regional, and central authorities, much like the United States. However, Methodism wielded its greatest power at the local levels where people actually worshipped and worked. The centralized government overseeing the entire denomination decided that abolitionism was dangerous to the unity of the denomination and increasingly unleashed punishment and reprimands to abolitionist pastors who refused to back down from their convictions. “Within this context dissenting Methodists faced, as they saw it, the entangled evils of authoritarian church government and fellowship with slaveholders.”<sup>11</sup>

Called “together by the voice of bleeding humanity” to put their antislavery views in writing for distribution and publication, abolitionist Methodists from ten states met in Philadelphia on 4 December 1833.<sup>12</sup> Orange Scott became the leading voice of abolitionists in the church. He came to abolitionism at the age of thirty-three, having read rebukes of slavery by John Wesley and Francis Asbury.<sup>13</sup> “I felt it my duty to call the attention of my countrymen to the wrongs and outrages suffered by the wretched slaves of our land, to which I had been so long indifferent and a stranger; that by having a torch light presented to the slumbering national mind, it would be roused to see the evil and defilement of the land, and throw off this great abomination.”<sup>14</sup> He studied *The Liberator*, a New England, abolitionist newspaper published by William Lloyd Garrison, and was so convicted that he paid \$100 for a three-month subscription

---

<sup>11</sup> Chris Padgett, “Hearing the Antislavery Rank-and-File: The Wesleyan Methodist Schism of 1843,” *Journal of the Early Republic*. Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring 1992): 69-70.

<sup>12</sup> Lucius C. Matlack, *The History of American Slavery and Methodism from 1780 to 1849 and History of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America* (1849. Reprint. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 98. This convention may be the formal beginnings of an anti-slavery movement within Methodism.

<sup>13</sup> Dayton and Strong, *Rediscovering an Evangelical Heritage*, 121. Lucius C. Matlack, *The Life of Rev. Orange Scott* (1848. Reprint. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 69.

<sup>14</sup> Matlack, *The Life of Rev. Orange Scott*, 31-32.

for 100 pastors in his conference.<sup>15</sup> The rise of Scott and his New England abolitionists caused a greater crackdown by Methodist authorities.

By 1839, with the recent restrictions put in place by the Methodist Church, abolitionists began to see no hope within the denomination, and they began to call for secession. In May 1843, Orange Scott led a secession from the Methodist Episcopal Church. In a published document outlying their reasons for the secession, Scott writes, “We take this step after years of consideration, and with a solemn sense of our responsibility to God—we take it with a view to his glory and the salvation of souls.”<sup>16</sup> Their commitment to abolition as an expression of their faith outweighed any camaraderie they felt with the Methodist Church: “The strongest earthly ties are those by which men are attached to the religious organization, through whose instrumentality they have been called from sin unto holiness. But the most ardent affection may be destroyed, by accumulating evidence of the unworthiness of its object.”<sup>17</sup>

Following the secession, Scott and his allies formed the Wesleyan Methodist Connection with 6,000 New York pastors and laymen.<sup>18</sup> Because the fight for abolition was intricately intertwined with the question of church government, Wesleyans renounced episcopacy “as heartily as compromise with slaveholders.”<sup>19</sup> Wesleyans were continuing Methodism’s democratizing impact by creating a church government that would be more responsive to local

---

<sup>15</sup> Dayton and Strong, *Rediscovering an Evangelical Heritage*, 120-121.

<sup>16</sup> Orange Scott, *The Grounds of Secession from the M. E. Church* (1848. Reprint. New York, NY: Arno Press, 1969), 3.

<sup>17</sup> Matlack, *History of American Slavery*, 301.

<sup>18</sup> Padgett, “Hearing the Antislavery,” 64. Until the merger in 1968, the Wesleyan Church was called the Wesleyan Methodist Connection. Throughout this paper, I have called Wesleyan Methodists simply “Wesleyans” in order to avoid wordiness and confusion with the Methodist Episcopal Church.

<sup>19</sup> Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform*, 185.

churches and congregations. Wesleyans “cultivated holiness and humanitarianism together from the beginning.”<sup>20</sup> In their abolitionist crusade, they “refused to substitute reform for piety.”<sup>21</sup>

The new denomination could not sustain itself solely on protesting the Methodist Church and its stance on slavery. In order for Scott’s secession “to lead to something permanent, it would need to move beyond protest to positive action. Holding the high moral ground was no longer enough. It was time to build on that ground.”<sup>22</sup> The Wesleyans’ contemporaries thought they would build on that ground in the north where they would have more sympathizers and allies. “But in this they were mistaken for they had not considered what manner of men there were in the new movement. They did not realize that the founders of the Church, as well as those who made up its membership, were men and women actuated by what they considered a principle worthy of their very best effort and sacrifice.”<sup>23</sup> When a small Southern congregation requested an abolitionist Wesleyan pastor, the new denomination would have their chance to prove themselves.

Edward Smith, a Wesleyan abolitionist, gave a speech that a group of Southern Quakers printed and distributed. When a Methodist pastor in North Carolina found some of his congregants reading Smith’s speech, he banned it as dangerous propaganda. Those congregants withdrew and formed the Free Methodists. In October 1846, the Free Methodists of North Carolina wrote to the Alleghany Conference of the Wesleyan Church, of which Edward Smith had previously been president. Their request was simple: they wanted a pastor.<sup>24</sup> When the

---

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 212.

<sup>21</sup> Dayton and Strong, *Rediscovering an Evangelical Tradition*, 123.

<sup>22</sup> Robert Black and Keith Drury, *The Story of the Wesleyan Church* (Indianapolis, IN: Wesleyan Publishing House, 2012), 36.

<sup>23</sup> Roy S. Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*. (Syracuse, NY: The Wesleyan Methodist Publishing House, 1933), 25.

<sup>24</sup> Lee M. Haines, “Radical Reform and Living Piety: The Story of Earlier Wesleyan Methodism, 1843-1867,” in *Reformers and Revivalists: History of the Wesleyan Church*, edited by Wayne E. Caldwell (Indianapolis, IN: Wesley Press, 1992), 82.

Alleghany Conference met in September 1847 in Mesopotamia, Ohio, the congregation's request was read aloud. According to one attendee, "Every eye seemed to turn to brother Crooks as the man for that place."<sup>25</sup>

Adam Crooks was born 3 May 1824 in Leesville, Ohio to a "worldly" father and a godly mother.<sup>26</sup> At the age of fourteen, Adam heard his older brother, William, claim that religion was absurd, and that religious people were hypocrites. Concerned, Adam prayed earnestly for his brother's conversion.<sup>27</sup> During this time, Adam became increasingly aware of *his own* need for salvation. For "a time he prayed as often as twenty times a day to be saved. One day, at daybreak, as he was returning across the fields from a season of secret prayer deliverance came to him and he entered into a steady and victorious Christian experience."<sup>28</sup> He originally joined the Methodist Church, but became increasingly concerned by slavery and Methodism's apathy to the issue. In July 1843, Edward Smith—the abolitionist whose speech would inspire a small Southern abolitionist congregation to request a pastor—planted a Wesleyan Church in Leesville. At the age of nineteen, Crooks had a church home and calling.<sup>29</sup> Crooks was given a license to preach by the Wesleyan Church in May 1844. According to his wife, he was concerned that his call to ministry was "a fire of his own kindling," and he had an "oppressive sense of his own incapacity; hence...it was the subject of earnest solicitude and prayer."<sup>30</sup> He pastored a small church in the Erie Circuit of the Alleghany Conference whose congregants were mostly poor,

---

<sup>25</sup> Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*, 29.

<sup>26</sup> Elizabeth Willits Crooks, *The Life of Rev. Adam Crooks* (Syracuse, NY: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing House, 1875), 7.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 8. William would become a minister and die on 14 February 1847, only a few months shy of Adam's missionary calling.

<sup>28</sup> Ira Ford McLeister and Roy S. Nicholson, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America* (Revised Edition. Syracuse, NY: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing Association, 1951), 74.

<sup>29</sup> Black and Drury, *The Story*, 46.

<sup>30</sup> Crooks, *The Life of Rev. Adam Crooks*, 11.

escaped slaves.<sup>31</sup> It was as a representative of this small church that he unsuspectingly attended the Alleghany Conference gathering.

There was a general sense that Crooks was especially chosen by God for the task. After several, long moments of silent prayer by Crooks and others at the conference, he “arose, his cheeks pale as marble, and said: ‘I will go. Sustained by your prayers, and in the name of my Saviour, I will go to North Carolina.’”<sup>32</sup> He quickly prepared to leave, and after about three weeks of travel, he arrived in Guilford County, NC on 23 October 1847.<sup>33</sup> The congregation there numbered about forty, but they had no meeting house.<sup>34</sup> Simon Dixon deeded some land in nearby Chatham County to the congregation so that they could construct a meeting house.<sup>35</sup> A small, one-room wooden church was built, and on the third Sunday of March 1848, Crooks led a dedication service.<sup>36</sup> The new church was named Freedom’s Hill because it stood for freedom for slaves and sinners.<sup>37</sup> “[S]imple as it was, it stood as an eloquent witness to the Wesleyan message in an unwelcoming environment.”<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*, 30.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>34</sup> Clifton H. Johnson, “Abolitionist Missionary Activities in North Carolina,” *The North Carolina Historical Review*. Vol. 40, No. 3 (July 1963): 299.

<sup>35</sup> Roy S. Nicholson, *Freedom’s Hill Wesleyan Methodist Church: 1847-1976* (Asheboro, NC, 1976), 1. Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*, 35. Chatham County, NC is now Alamance County.

<sup>36</sup> Juanita Owens Euliss, *History of Snow Camp, North Carolina* (Snow Camp, NC: Snow Camp Historical Drama Society, 1971), 18. Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*, 35.

<sup>37</sup> Black and Drury, *The Story*, 48.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.



Adam Crooks “could not possibly comprehend the bitter persecutions which he would have to endure.”<sup>39</sup> Slaveholders soon began calling Freedom’s Hill, “Free Nigger’s Hill.”<sup>40</sup> Many slave owners attempted to get rid of the abolitionists by firing on the church, but the congregants “were not to be silenced over so great a moral issue. They were as solid as the pews.”<sup>41</sup> Writing home, Crooks once noted, “opposition to my course is great. My image was tarred and feathered in this town.... [S]ome of my friends are beginning to tremble for my personal safety; but my trust is in the Friend of the poor, the Deliverer of the oppressed.”<sup>42</sup> Despite the opposition, Crooks faithfully continued his work, and by the end of just his first year in NC, the Guilford Circuit had eight churches composed on 275 members.<sup>43</sup>

Adam Crooks’s work was outgrowing Freedom’s Hill. He traveled to nearby Randolph County, NC where he established another meetinghouse. Next, he traveled to Grayson County, Virginia, where he met a local abolitionist, Isaac Moore, and built an abolitionist church: Liberty Hill.<sup>44</sup> With the expanded responsibilities, Crooks was in need of help. In November 1848, Rev. Jarvis Bacon joined Crooks in Virginia to lead a revival.<sup>45</sup> They met with almost immediate success: at their first camp meeting, 150 were saved!<sup>46</sup> Bacon was arrested and indicted for anti-slavery propoganda after preaching a sermon challenging Christians to be the salt and light of the

---

<sup>39</sup> McLeister and Nicholson, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church*, 76-77.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 449.

<sup>41</sup> Nicholson, *Freedom’s Hill*, 2.

<sup>42</sup> Dayton and Strong, *Rediscovering an Evangelical Heritage*, 125.

<sup>43</sup> Johnson, “Abolitionist Missionary Activities,” 299.

<sup>44</sup> Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*, 36-38.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>46</sup> Black and Drury, *The Story*, 49.

earth. It was clear to Crooks that still more help was needed, so the Alleghany Conference sent him another aid: Jesse McBride arrived in October 1849.<sup>47</sup> When Bacon was released from prison, he would handle the work in Virginia, McBride took over leadership of Freedom's Hill, and Adam Crooks would continue to expand his abolitionist message across North Carolina.<sup>48</sup> By the end of 1849, there were at least eight established Wesleyan churches in NC and VA, and the following year they recorded as many as twelve preaching points. As 1851 ended, the Wesleyans numbered almost 500.<sup>49</sup> Commenting on the work of Crooks and his followers, one Southern pastor said, "If these abolitionist preachers were killed for their doctrines, they have created followers who would keep the abolition ball in motion after their decease. I tell you...these are daring men, they have gone too far to retreat."<sup>50</sup>

Southern slaveholders would do everything within their power to force a retreat by the abolitionist ministers. In June of 1850, Crooks was arrested while he was doing missionary work out of town. A \$1000 bond was posted for his release, and three strangers came forward to pay it.<sup>51</sup> Almost a year after this arrest, on 15 June 1851, Crooks was preaching at Lovejoy's Chapel in Montgomery County, NC. A mob arrived and demanded Crooks surrender. "Crooks told his captors that they found him a free man and would leave him like that or a dead man. This was warrant enough, they reasoned, to jail him."<sup>52</sup> It is not clear how Crooks was able to be released after this arrest, though it is likely some of his supporters again paid his bond.<sup>53</sup> Finally, it was

---

<sup>47</sup> Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*, 41, 45. McBride's wife had recently died in March 1849, and relatives took in his young daughter so he could assist Crooks.

<sup>48</sup> Haines, "Radical Reform and Living Piety," 83.

<sup>49</sup> Black and Drury, *The Story*, 49.

<sup>50</sup> Nicholson, *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*, 46.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 66-7.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 68. Nicholson does not describe how or why Crooks was released.

decided that, for his own safety and that of his followers, Crooks should leave the South. He left in late 1851 having served as an abolitionist missionary in the South for four years.<sup>54</sup> During those years, “his mother fasted twice a week and prayed for the advancement of the cause, and the preservation of her son. He left North Carolina with sorrow and sadness, feeling that the friends of Jesus and suffering humanity were left as sheep without a shepherd, and among wolves.”<sup>55</sup>

After Crooks returned north, the wolves descended on Freedom’s Hill. Many church members and their families decided to flee to Ohio and Indiana to escape the lawlessness and violence. The church continued to keep its doors open, sustained by the ministry of local pastors and community leaders. In 1857, Daniel Worth, an abolitionist missionary and native of Guilford County, would become the primary pastor of Freedom’s Hill. He was a friend to many famous state politicians, and this gave the church a brief respite from intense persecution.<sup>56</sup> The small church would weather the Civil War, and “remained a strong force in the community until” membership began to decline in the 1970s.<sup>57</sup> Meanwhile, Adam Crooks married Elizabeth Willits, a teacher at Leoni Institute on his birthday in 1853.<sup>58</sup> He would remain a national leader within the Wesleyan Church until his death in 1874.<sup>59</sup> Elizabeth lovingly praised her husband’s leadership: “His sense of honor, his dignified manhood, his fidelity to the truth, his faith in God, his deep piety, his practical common sense, his unflinching fortitude, his tender sympathies, his

---

<sup>54</sup> Haines, “Radical Reform and Living Piety,” 83.

<sup>55</sup> Crooks, *The Life of Rev. Adam Crooks*, 109.

<sup>56</sup> Haines, “Radical Reform and Living Piety,” 83.

<sup>57</sup> Euliss, *History of Snow Camp*, 18.

<sup>58</sup> Crooks, *The Life of Rev. Adam Crooks*, 112.

<sup>59</sup> McLeister and Nicholson, *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church*, 96.

breadth of thought, his care for the common weal, and his philanthropic spirit made him a natural leader.”<sup>60</sup>

In an age when Evangelical Christians often, under the banner of political conservatism, take a stand against societal transformation, the example of Adam Crooks is shocking. In early national America, Evangelicals more often than not led the way in challenging its adherents to personally grow in holiness and to take that personal transformation to others. There are myriad reasons for this evangelical tradition’s decline. Reform mindsets are hard to sustain over long periods of time. Further, many of the changes advocated by nineteenth century Christians became institutionalized. A growing concern for personal piety among Christians overcame the clamors of social activists. The increasing secularization of American society in the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries led many Evangelicals to retreat from the public sphere as a whole.<sup>61</sup> A “great heritage of evangelical social witness was buried and largely forgotten, and the stage was set for the ironic struggles of the 1960s in which the spiritual descendants of earlier evangelical social activists would reject the modern manifestations of the reform impulse as inherently unbiblical and opposed to the spirit of evangelical Christianity.”<sup>62</sup> Today, Freedom’s Hill “stands as a silent witness to the part it played in the struggle to deliver men from the chains of human slavery, as well as from the chains of sin.”<sup>63</sup> More than that, the small church is a silent monument to Adam Crooks and those others whose witness is now silent. Though largely forgotten by modern evangelicals, the doors of Freedom’s Hill still stand open,

---

<sup>60</sup> Crooks, *The Life of Rev. Adam Crooks*, v.

<sup>61</sup> Dayton and Strong, *Rediscovering an Evangelical Heritage*, 168-170.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

<sup>63</sup> Nicholson, *Freedom’s Hill*, 5.

calling all who dare enter to an earlier tradition when Evangelicals' holiness made them not self-righteous, but compassionate advocates for those without a voice.

## Bibliography

- Black, Robert and Keith Drury. *The Story of the Wesleyan Church*. Indianapolis, IN: Wesleyan Publishing House, 2012.
- Crooks, Elizabeth Willits. *The Life of Rev. Adam Crooks*. Syracuse, NY: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing House, 1875.
- Dayton, Donald W. and Douglas M. Strong. *Rediscovering an Evangelical Heritage: A Tradition and Trajectory of Integrating Piety and Justice*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academics, 2014.
- Euliss, Juanita Owens. *History of Snow Camp, North Carolina*. Snow Camp, NC: Snow Camp Historical Drama Society, 1971.
- Haines, Lee M. "Radical Reform and Living Piety: The Story of Earlier Wesleyan Methodism, 1843-1867." In *Reformers and Revivalists: History of the Wesleyan Church*, edited by Wayne E. Caldwell, 31-117. Indianapolis, IN: Wesley Press, 1992.
- Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989.
- . "The Puzzle of American Methodism." *Church History*. Vol. 63, No. 2 (June 1994): 175-189.
- Howe, Daniel Walker. *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Johnson, Clifton H. "Abolitionist Missionary Activities in North Carolina." *The North Carolina Historical Review*. Vol. 40, No. 3 (July 1963): 295-320.
- Matlack, Lucius C. *The Life of Rev. Orange Scott*. 1848. Reprint. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971.
- . *The History of American Slavery and Methodism from 1780 to 1849 and History of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America*. 1849. Reprint. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971.
- McLeister, Ira Ford and Roy S. Nicholson. *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America*. Revised Edition. Syracuse, NY: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing Association, 1951.
- McLoughlin, William G. *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Nicholson, Roy S. *Wesleyan Methodism in the South*. Syracuse, NY: The Wesleyan Methodist Publishing House, 1933.

———. *Freedom's Hill Wesleyan Methodist Church: 1847-1976*. Asheboro, NC, 1976. Accessed 6 March 2019. <http://www.wesleyan.org/d/TQUHu/Freedoms-Hill-1976-Nicholson.pdf>.

Padgett, Chris. "Hearing the Antislavery Rank-and-File: The Wesleyan Methodist Schism of 1843." *Journal of the Early Republic*. Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring 1992): 63-84.

Scott, Orange. *The Grounds of Secession from the M. E. Church*. 1848. Reprint. New York, NY: Arno Press, 1969.

Smith, Timothy L. *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1957.