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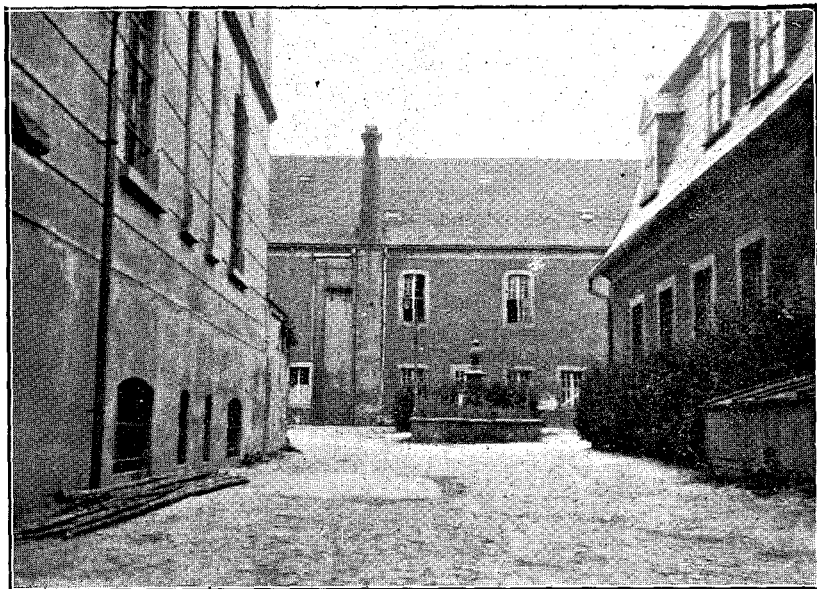
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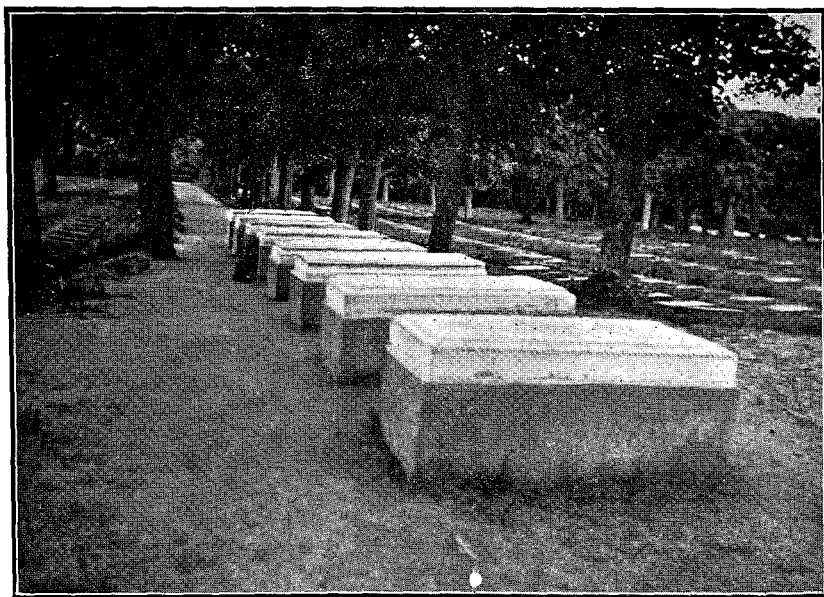
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A table of contents for the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_whs_01.php



ENTRANCE TO THE BRÜDERHAUS, HERRNHUT.



**GRAVES OF EARLY MORAVIAN LEADERS IN HUTBERG,
HERRNHUT.**

The fourth and fifth are those of Count Zinzendorf and his wife.

Photographs by Rev. Stanley H. Keen, C.F.

A PILGRIMAGE TO HERRNHUT.

About the beginning of June, I happened to find myself in the lovely old city of Dresden and, while turning over the pages of Baedeker, I came across the name of Herrnhut, and discovered to my surprise that my return journey to Upper Silesia on the morrow would take me to within a few miles of that famous spot. Memories of John Wesley and of Count Zinzendorf combined to make it impossible for me to pass by Herrnhut without visiting it; so the next day I found myself in a train which carried me to Löbau. It was 6 o'clock in the evening before I set out for Herrnhut in the little branch-line train which runs up into the Lusatian hills from Löbau, but within half an hour or so I alighted at the old-fashioned station which does duty for Herrnhut and the cluster of three or four villages which lie near.

Herrnhut is quite a small place, hardly more than a village, with perhaps 2,000 inhabitants. My first impression was one of surprise, for Herrnhut is modern, with newly-built villas and a long up-to-date street with shops on both sides. There is nothing antique about Herrnhut, and I half wondered whether anyone would know of those distant days, in 1738, when John Wesley paid his momentous visit there. However, I stopped an elderly man and asked him if there was such a thing as a museum anywhere near, and as I expected, he said he did not know of one; but he called a very dirty and impudent youth, who replied that there was a Museum, and that I should probably be too late to see it that night. Then he apparently came to the conclusion that I was a foreigner, and scenting "trinkgeld" he said he would show me the way. We reached the Museum after a few minutes walk, where, having been relieved of a few marks by my guide, I was left to make my entrance as best I could. Time was of the essence of the contract, as I had only two hours to spend in Herrnhut, and even then I should have to travel all night in order to report back for duty in Upper Silesia at the proper time, so I rang the bell as vigorously as I could. After ten minutes of fruitless bell-ringing, a young lady came by and, taking pity on me, informed me that the curator's wife was ill and that he was at that moment visiting his wife in hospital, and would not be back for an hour or so. So my hopes almost vanished, when one last idea came to me. "I suppose this is the place where all the old Moravian relics are kept?" I asked. 'To my relief my fair

informant replied "No, you are on the wrong track. The Moravian 'sachen' are in the 'Brüderhaus,' but you will be too late to see them to-night" I hastened to the "Brüderhaus." I found it to be very well inhabited by 30 or 40 young men, who are either apprentices or students, and who use the place as a kind of hostel. I climbed up some stairs from the courtyard, and found myself in a long corridor, with hermit-like cells ranged on either side. It was only the matter of a few moments after I had knocked my way down one side and half way up the other before a voice said "Kommen Sie bitte herein!" The owner of the voice was, I believe, the janitor, by name Simmering, and Herr Simmering began our acquaintance by remarking that the "Altertümer" museum had been closed for a couple of hours; but he gathered up his keys at last, and we began our inspection. The "Brüderhaus," it would seem, was built on the site of the first house which the Moravian colony erected on that memorable day, in 1722, when the first tree was felled in the forests of Herrnhut. It looks out on a quaint old-world quadrangle, with an old-fashioned pump, and nicely arranged little garden plots. Notwithstanding the bad light, I was tempted to try to photograph it. The "Brüderhaus" has become an institution in Herrnhut, and has, as its opposite number, a "Schwesterhaus" a few yards down the street. The purpose, apparently, of the two houses is to provide a cheap and well-regulated home for the young men and women of the neighbourhood during the years when they need most help, both practically and also in regard to spiritual oversight.

Another almost interminable corridor, and then my guide placed a huge key in a cavernous key-hole, and ushered me into the museum where the memories of great men were enshrined. My guide beamed upon me, as who should say, "Now the world is at your feet!" and I found myself face to face with modern Herrnhut's idea as to what constituted the glory of the past. In front of me stood a life-size figure of an eighteenth century farmer, clad in the old-fashioned costume of that century. Near him sat his wife at her spinning wheel. Over them a very substantial wooden angel was suspended from the ceiling by two stout cords. As I looked around me I felt that my journey had been utterly wasted. My guide hurried before me pointing out this wax-work figure and that old-fashioned costume, and from his demeanour it was clear that he felt I was enjoying an opportunity that came to but few of the dwellers on this earth. But at last I could stand it no longer; so I said to him "I don't want to see these things;

PROCEEDINGS.

they are very interesting, no doubt, but I want to see the old Moravian relics. Have you ever heard of Count Zinzendorf, or Michael Linner, or Christian David, or Johannes Wesley?" Then he understood. He turned on his heel and led me through into another room where the objects of my search were to be found. It would appear that very few people ever ask to see the relics of those heroic times, so Herr Simmering just shows his wooden figures and his old costumes, and the glories of other days are not revealed.

At last I discovered traces of those early Moravians, Here was the great beam which was built into the first hut in 1722; and there, in the corner, was the pulpit from which Mr. Wesley heard several sermons during his visit to Herrnhut. Here was the chair of the "Eldest," and in this glass cupboard are preserved the Communion vessels, and the pulpit Bible. Over by the pulpit is a picture of Count Zinzendorf, and so many things were there that would repay some hours of study, that I had at last to turn reluctantly away unsatisfied. We looked into a few more rooms, and soon came to the end, and then emerged into a large room which used to be used as a dormitory, but now is fitted up with the latest gymnastic equipment as a very efficient gymnasium. I paused a moment to reflect how the years had changed things even at Herrnhut. When Mr. Wesley was there, he was much impressed by the Spartan régime which the children had to undergo, how they "rose at five, the smaller ones between five and six, worked all day until ten o'clock, their only recreation being a walk out into the country," and now the very house they lived in has become a gymnasium. I wonder what our Founder would say to the change. It is possible, that when he left Herrnhut, he had visions of Kingswood, where the children were to be allowed no play, for "he that plays as a boy will play as a man!"

Before I left Herr Simmering I asked to be shown some of the letters which Mr. Wesley wrote to Count Zinzendorf, but he replied "The letters are not kept here, they are kept by Dr. Müller at the 'Universitäts Archivum' some little distance away." Having still the best part of an hour, I made my way to the "Archivum." I was met by Dr. Müller, who was kindness itself, and although he had done with his library for the day and his supper was awaiting him, he very graciously put himself at my disposal. I explained the object of my visit, and he understood immediately. He speaks good English, and he led me into the large library of which he is the curator. "I have never before

had a visit from a Methodist minister," he said, "but I have had some correspondence with Mr. Nehemiah Curnock. I will show you the letters." He brought down a large folio from the shelf, and I found myself looking at the letters written by Mr. Wesley to Count Zinzendorf. On the top of the pile was a letter from Mr. Curnock, dated January 22nd, 1914, saying that Bishop Hasse, of the Fetter Lane Moravian Church had told him of the existence of these letters, and asking to be allowed to include them in the new *Journal* which Mr. Curnock was then editing. They were sent to him, and after photographing them, Mr. Curnock returned them safely to Dr. Müller but a few weeks before the outbreak of War.

Dr. Müller spoke of the deep influence upon Mr. Wesley of his visit to Herrnhut, and going to his books he brought down a copy of the *Journal* which had apparently been published in 1825, in fortnightly parts, at the price of one shilling. Therein we traced how Mr. Wesley travelled through Cologne and Frankfurt, until he reached Dresden, and then made his way to Herrnhut, arriving there on August 1st, 1738. Then we read how he had talked with Christian David about the great fact of Justification, and how he listened with profound interest to the sermons that were preached by David Schneider, Martin Döber, and Augustine and Wensel Neusser. Then we read of that funeral he attended on the Hutberg; until I suddenly discovered that but half an hour remained ere I must continue my travels again.

"Have you any portraits of these men?" I asked, and for answer Dr. Müller led me upstairs, and there in a succession of three rooms I looked upon the portrait gallery of the early Moravians. There was Count Zinzendorf again, and near to him Peter Böhler, and Peter Böhler's wife just above. Then came James Hutton, and altogether perhaps several hundreds of these portraits, all of them of grave, serious men, with strong, furrow-marked faces, and yet such a calmness withal as made one feel that these were some of the saints of God. "You haven't Mr. Wesley here?" I asked. "No, I don't think we have," said Dr. Müller, but the uncertain note in his answer made me cast my eyes around in the hope of finding him. I thought I had found him, for in one corner was an oil painting which much reminded me of the Didsbury Wesley; but it was one John West, and not John Wesley.

I thanked Dr. Müller very heartily, and found I had still a few minutes to spare, so I made my way to the station by way of the Hutberg, a slight eminence about the village. At the top of

PROCEEDINGS.

the Hutberg lies the Moravian cemetery, one of the most peaceful and beautiful cemeteries I have ever seen. Commanding a long view of all the surrounding valleys, and crowned by a very simple chaste memorial to the German soldiers who died in the Great War, the Hutberg is a spot to be remembered. There under the trees I found the tombs of those early founders of Herrnhut, and the centre one is inscribed :—

Nicolai Ludwigs,
Grafen und Herrn
von Zinzendorf
und
Pottendorf,
geb. May 26 1700
in Dresden,
gest. 1760

and there lie Count Zinzendorf and his wife.¹

So ended my flying visit to Herrnhut, but notwithstanding the all-night journey it entailed it will always remain as a much cherished memory.

STANLEY H. KEEN,
Wesleyan Chaplain to the Forces,
British Army of the Rhine.

RICHARD VINEY'S DIARY. 1744.

III.

Jan. 18. Viney walked to Aberford, arriving at Mr. Ingham's about one o'clock.—' Mr. Ingham and I had much discourse this afternoon about the Brethren and my present condition with regard to them. (He had first so order'd it that Lady Margeret left us alone.) I told him my Thoughts of going to Mr. Westley ; of going somewhere where no one has been to Preach ; of going to Germany and making out my matters with Count Zinzendorf or Leonhard Dober. I told him briefly how matters had gone between Span[genberg] & me, and in a word I open'd my whole Heart to him. He on the other hand was very Hearty & free with me, told me y^e objections he had against Span's proceedings

1. It is sometimes said that Count Zinæendorf was buried in the Chelsea Moravian Burial Ground. But that is a mistake, as Mr. Keen's article shows. The monument on the wall of the Chelsea enclosure commemorates the death of Count Zinzendorf's only son. J.S.S.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

here, of y^e Brethren's running into Debt, abusing y^e Lot, Govern- ing arbitrarily, etc. ; but with me agreed that y^e Brethren now in Yorkshire were not to be blam'd, that they are truly Honest simple children who have been lead by Span. into things which were not right. He told me that when he went to Germany he had left £40 in Marshal's hands to make use of some if need requir'd in Hutton's Housekeeping during his absence, but that instead of that, he had lent it to y^e Society for y^e furtherance of y^e Gospel without Ingham's knowledge and had now lately wrote to him to give it to the Society. To this Mr. Ingham wrote a sharp answer (a copy of which he read to me) declaring against such shuffling tricks, and desir'd he would see to it that he had his mony again soon.'

Ingham with Mr. and Mrs. Hutton and others went to Germany on May 20th, 1743. and returned on July 16th. during which time Marshall occupied the office of *paterfamilias* in Hutton's place. Benham's *Hutton*, p. 117. Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists*, p. 124.

Viney proceeds: 'As to what I had told him of my thoughts' He advis'd me not to go to Mr. Westly, for tho' I might resolve to do nor say nothing to y^e detriment of the Brethren, yet I could not be sure that when I came nearly acquainted with Mr. Westly I should not tell him my Thoughts, and then if I did He was not master of himself, but in all likelihood would make a bad use of it and publish it and thereby do much hurt to y^e work y^e Brethren have in their Hands ; Therefore he advised me if by any means to make it up with y^e Breⁿ and so much y^e rather inasmuch as I had been y^e Transgressour in laying down my office and in speak- ing against y^e Count Zinzendorf.'

At Mr. Ingham's request Viney preached in the evening to the Aberford Society, about 50 or 60 persons present.

'Thursday y^e 19. Glad that I came to Aberforth: the advice and mind of Mr. Ingham was very refreshing to me. . . . We had further discourse about y^e Things which are amiss among the Breⁿ and I could but admire and love Mr. Ingham in as much as he sees and is convinced of y^e Faults among them, particularly their running into Debt, the abuse of y^e Lot, and in general y^e confus'd proceedings of Br. Spangenberg since he has been in England; and yet stands fast and will not only endeavour that y^e wrong things may be mended, but will by no means break union with them; His words over and over were, "I will join with y^e Breⁿ in carrying on y^e work of y^e Lord, but will not join with them but rather declare to them against y^e things that are amiss." We had also a open bandlike discourse about y^e marriage

PROCEEDINGS.

state, of y^e Brethren's opinions about it, and our own experience in it. . . . In y^e evening y^e awaken'd souls of Aberforth met at Mr. Ingham's, and he form'd them into a Society i.e. he appointed them meeting nights and readers from among themselves, who might read when he was not at home.

In discourse Mr. Ingham further adviz'd me to write a Letter to y^e Breⁿ. Holland and Teltchig and offer to beg pardon of the Yorkshire Church when they were all assembled together, as also to beg of them to take me into their fellowship. I answer'd that they could do nothing in it without Span. or y^e Count. But he persisted in my writing it and said he would carry it himself next Saturday and would speak with them. At last I consented being willing not to miss any opportunity which might have y^e best probability of bringing our matters to a conclusion.

Friday, Jan. 20.—*Employ*: Rose and wrote y^e Letter to Br. Holland and Teltchig. Took measure of Lady Margeret for a pair of stays and after having sat a while went from Aberforth $\frac{1}{4}$ before 11 o'clock, pass'd thro Whitchurch at 12, thro Hawton to Leeds, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past one, dined, bought some stay goods, and some of Mr. Westley's pamphlets, was at all y^e Booksellers shops to see for Dr. Sydenham on Phicick [which he had been reading at Ingham's.] . . . Got home at $\frac{1}{2}$ hour past 5. Rested & read Mr. Westley's thoughts on Marriage & Mr. Charles Westley's Elegy on Esq^r. Jones's Death.

Mind. Thankfull to our Saviour for that confidence & Love he had given between Mr. Ingham and me, great hopes that by Mr. Ingham's means y^e Breach between y^e Brethren and me will be made up again and many faults among some Brethren rectifyd.

Health: well and Hearty.

Occurrences: I left Br. Hutchings at Aberforth. Mr. Ingham came from his house about a mile with me, declar'd much love to me, gave me a Guinia and half to buy Goods for his Wife's stays and a 36^s Piece for a Present. He brought me a nearer way than Perlington Hall, leaving it on y^e left hand. I din'd at y^e Talbert at Leeds, a larger house than I suppos'd before I went in. Going down y^e street at Leeds, I saw in a Barber's Window some of Mr. Westley's books, upon which I turn'd in and bought som pamphlets which I had not already. Here I heard that Mr. C. Westley is to be at Nottingham y^e 25 inst. and to go from thence thro Lincolnshire to Newcastle from whence he returns to Yorkshire and Derbyshire. My Sister Gussenbauer has vissited my wife while I have been gone, and express'd some fear of my being hurt by Mr. Ingham, who she said did not stand very well towards y^e Brethren.

The next day Mr. Ingham attended a Moravian Conference at Teltchig's house, and at 8 a.m. on Sunday, the 21st, Viney heard him preach and had a private conversation with him. 'Mr. Ingham,' he writes, 'told me he had given y^e Letter I had wrote to y^e Brethren, and had insisted much on their forgiving me and taking me into their fellowship as a fellow-Labourer, but they answered that it was not in their Power, they dare not do it till I had made it up with y^e Count least they themselves should be call'd to an account for it, that if it lay in their Power they would willingly do it for that they Loved me &c. He then ask'd why Span. made out his own matters seeing his faults were as great as mine, and added that he did not like such doings. They said they did not very like it neither. I found by his talk that he had spoken very sharply to them. He adviz'd me to write soon to y^e Count, as he had done before and as I had promis'd him. I told him that y^e Head ach had hinder'd me yesterday, and another thing was since he had told me y^e Count was now at Petersburg and would not be at Marienburn before March, I was a little fearfull if I did write that it would be intercepted and scarce come to y^e Count's Hands. Mr. Ingham then proposed to me whether it would not be better for me to go to Germany and speak with y^e Count himself. This seem'd to me not a bad proposal. Before I left him he said, "If you can order it so as to go to try my wife's stays on, while I am gone to Nottingham which will be 3 weeks I desire you will order it so as to be there on a Wensday or Sunday and Preach to y^e Society, this *I desire* added he. I thank'd him and parted, after he had assur'd me that if nothing was done in my affair before April he would then press hard for it in y^e General Conference of all y^e English Labourers which is to be held y^e first week in that month.

Br. Gussenbauer came about 4 in y^e afternoon and staid with us an hour and $\frac{1}{2}$. He came in a seeming extacy, full of admiration at y^e extraordinary Grace showr'd on y^e congregation at their Prayer-Day which began about noon and lasted till 3 o'clock. He said y^e Letters and every thing were so very extraordinary that he knows not when he has heard of y^e like About noon y^e Postboy brought me a Letter from *Mr. Westley*, dated Bristol, Jan. y^e 14. He wrote that he had rece'd mine but a day or two before, that his Br. [Charles] is to go to New Castle this winter, and therefore he should not be in Yorkshire before May, but that he thinks to be in London on y^e 31 inst., that at any time or in any place my company would be agreeable to him. He subscrib'd himself Affectionate Brother. N.B. tomorrow will be 4 weeks since I wrote to him.'

PROCEEDINGS.

Notes. 1. *Rev. Benjamin Ingham*: see Tyerman, *The Oxford Methodists*; Benham's *Hutton*; Holmes' *History of the Church of the Brethren*: Viney's frequent references to him are of great interest, both from the Moravian and Methodist points of view. He married Lady Margaret Hastings on November 12, 1741, at the residence of her brother, the Earl of Huntingdon, in London. Through her testimony, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, had been led into conscious fellowship with Christ. Ingham's efforts to restore Viney to the Moravian fold were kindly, but ineffective. Here in the background we see the shadow of his own unhappy breach with Wesley and John Nelson. We note also his independent judgment as to defects in Moravian discipline. 2. *Letters* about the work of God read to the Society on Prayer-day. Wesley had adopted this Moravian custom. Viney has other allusions, both Methodist and Moravian, to the valuable usage, which survived, at any rate until quite recently, in the reading of selections from letters of Missionaries at the monthly Missionary prayer-meeting.

(To be continued).

M. RIGGALL.

ROBERT STRAWBRIDGE AND AMERICAN METHODISM.

In response to the request of Bishop Hamilton of Washington University, I undertook, some time ago, to examine once more the data available from Irish sources, in connection with the emigration of Robert Strawbridge to America, and if possible to settle the date of that event. The importance of the questions at issue are known to all Methodist students—they determine who is to have the honour of having been the first Methodist Itinerant Preacher in America. The honour has usually been given to Philip Embury, but there is a likelihood that the premier place should be given to Robert Strawbridge.

In the case of Philip Embury the dates are fairly certain. He went to America in 1760, but his first sermon was not preached till the autumn of 1766 in New York (Stevens; *Hist. Amer. Meth.*, p. 34). Robert Strawbridge, on the contrary, began preaching as soon as he arrived at Sam's Creek and continued to work for many years in and around Maryland. Unfortunately Strawbridge was an uneducated man, and left no Diary or papers. He also worked in a district that was but recently reclaimed from savagery in his time, and in which little attention was given to public records. The date of his arrival is therefore hard to come by. On the Irish side of the Atlantic, data are not any more plentiful. Strawbridge did only a small amount of work in Ireland as a lay-preacher, and left practically no mark on the official documents

of our church. Abel Stevens depends for his information about him on a letter of the late Mr. John Shillington, of Portadown, who was born at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and who may or may not have talked with men who remembered Strawbridge. At any rate Mr. Shillington's letter is recognised as likely to have contained the traditional information so far as it could have been gathered 80 years ago. As to the date in question he says that it was not earlier than 1764, and not later than 1765. (Stevens, vol. i, pp. 71, 72). Rev. C. H. Crookshank in his *History of Irish Methodism* (vol. i, p. 175), says :

“About this period, (1764) Robert Strawbridge, having removed to Tanderagee where he was employed in erecting some buildings near the town, made Terryhoogan his headquarters. From this as a centre he itinerated through the adjoining country where his labours were highly prized, and where his name and memory were cherished by all who knew him. Here also he married a Miss Piper, one of the worthy Methodists of the place and soon after, with his young wife bade farewell to Ireland to find his life-work, and final resting place in the New World.”

Other matters concerning his history are dealt with by Crookshank, and also by Crook, *Ireland and American Methodism*, p. 156, but we are concerned now only with a date and nothing else. I may say at once that I have not been successful in finding the date of his emigration, and am writing only to let other students know what roads have been travelled in my search. It may be, too, that fresh suggestions may come to their minds.

The searches I have made are as follows :—

1.—I tried to find the date of Strawbridge's marriage from the Parish Records. If he lived in the little mud hut at Terryhoogan described by Mr. Wesley, *Journal*, May 9, 1758, he would probably have delayed his marriage until he was ready to sail to America; the “prophet's chamber” was no place to which to bring a wife. The Records of Ballymore Parish, in which Terryhoogan was situated, do not go back to the dates required. I tried the Parish Records of the neighbouring parishes of Tanderagee, Aghaderg (for Scarva) Mullaghbrack (for Markethill) and Kilmore (for Richhill), but without success.

2.—If Miss Piper was a young lady with a dowry, it is likely that she would have had a Marriage License Bond drawn up, as was then the custom. I therefore examined the index to the Marriage License Bonds for the names Strawbridge, Strobridge, Trobridge, Piper, Pyper, but without result.

PROCEEDINGS.

3.—There was a census of religions ordered by the Irish Parliament in the spring of 1766. Its purpose was to find out the respective numbers of Protestant and Roman Catholic families, and it was taken in every parish by the Clergy of the Irish Church. In many parishes the clergyman wrote out the full list of names, and these returns are most valuable historical material. But in the Diocese of Armagh few of the clergy went to this trouble, and the report from the Parish of Ballymore simply states

	Protestant Families	615
	Popish	286
		901
Two reputed Popish Priests. Thomas Sacheverell, Curate.	Total	901

I therefore drew a blank as regards the Census Return.

4.—There is a well-known book, Hotten's *List of Emigrants to America in the 17th Century*. I tried to find if there were emigration or shipping lists available for the 18th Century also. But there were no regular lists kept until the middle of the 19th Century, and Hotten had to get his information from other sources, mostly American.

5.—There is, what may well be a piece of circumstantial evidence in Wesley's *Journal*. On May 6th, 1765, he visited Terryhoogan. At that time, if tradition be correct, Strawbridge had been working there for almost two years, with great success. Mr. Wesley says he found there "Much of the power of God among that plain simple-hearted people." On April 8, 1767, he visited it again, and records that he preached "to our old Society at Terryhoogan, the mother church of all these parts." Wesley was hard put to finding a laudatory epithet for a church when he was reduced to speaking of its antiquity. Two years later, he again visited it and speaks pityingly of "the poor people." There seems to be some evidence in these passages that after the summer of 1765 and within the next two years a decline set in at Terryhoogan. If this be true, the cause was almost certainly the departure for America of Robert Strawbridge.

6.—Apart from a couple of references to people called Strawbridge, in Bolton's *Scotch-Irish Pioneers* (pp. 156, 373), which throw no light on our search, the Irish public records, and books dealing with them, have no references to Strawbridges in the period 1750-1770, with the exception of one interesting fact that I leave till the last. It is as follows. I went through the files of the "Belfast Newsletter" for the years 1763-4-5-6-7 and made out a list from the

advertising columns of the emigrant ships which left Ulster ports for America in that period. In a few cases the advertisements are fortified with testimonials from the passengers carried by the ship on its previous voyage. The testimonials are generally to the effect that the emigrants had enough to eat and drink and that the captain was a "humane" man. Some of these documents are signed by 30 or 40 names and I searched them with keenest anticipation, only to find again that there was no mention of a Strawbridge. Turning then to the lists of vessels, it is seen that about 20 ships sailed each year from Ulster ports across the Atlantic. They ranged mostly from 200 to 300 tons and sailed generally during the summer months. In each case the name of the captain is given. On September 10th, 1765, the last boat of the year left Belfast: she was the "Prosperity," (350 tons), bound for Charleston, S. Carolina, and her captain was JOHN STRAWBRIDGE: There is something tempting about this record. It links eastern Ulster with Maryland. It coincides with the traditional time of the emigration of Robert Strawbridge. Moreover the extreme rarity of the name Strawbridge tempts one to surmise that Robert and his young wife took advantage of the opportunity offered of sailing on a ship of which the master was a relative. It was I think the only time the ship and her skipper sailed from Belfast. It is probable that she was registered at Liverpool, and a search of the port records there, might reveal something further. Or possibly a search through the columns of the American early newspapers for mention of the ship might lead to light. If one could assume that Robert Strawbridge sailed on the "Prosperity," he would have arrived in Maryland about the last week of December 1765,—six months before Philip Embury began to preach.

7.—A speaker at the Ecumenical Conference, claimed that Laurence Coughlan, who began work in Newfoundland in the spring of 1766, was the pioneer of Methodism on the American Continent. Coughlan was a converted Roman Catholic from the same neighbourhood in Ireland as Strawbridge. Through the influence of Mr. Wesley and the Countess of Huntingdon, he was ordained by the Bishop of London, and sent out to Newfoundland by the S.P.G. Abel Stevens is on safer ground when he asserts that Barbara Heck was really the foundress of American Methodism. To acknowledge this historical fact would be as romantic as it is true.

I am afraid I have not pushed the problem any nearer a solution, but perhaps one little piece of exultation may be

PROCEEDINGS.

pardonable,—whoever of all these four persons was first in the race, Philip Embury, Barbara Heck, Robert Strawbridge, or Laurence Coughlan, ALL were IRISH.

R. LEE COLE.

SHIPS SAILED FROM ULSTER PORTS FOR AMERICA
IN 1765.

P, *Philadelphia.*

N, *Newcastle.*

Ship & Tons.	Captain.	Date of Sailing.	From.	To.	Remarks.
Jupiter, 200	Hen. Ha'thorne	March 20	Belfast	N. & P.	
Elizabeth, 200	James Montgomery	March 1	Newry	P.	
Alexandria, 200	John Montgomery	March 10	Belfast	Quebec	
New Hope, 300	Wm. Worsdell	May 3	Belfast	P. & N.	
Dolphin, 200	Wm. Brown	April 20	Derry	P. & N.	
Katherine, 200	Alex. Hend'son	June 6	Belfast	P. & N.	
Marquis of Granby, 300	Arc'd M'Ilwaine	April 20	Derry		
Buchanan, 200	Thos. Cochran	June 15	Newry	New York	
Phenix, 300	Robt. Millar	June 6	Derry	P. & N.	
Sally, 180	Geo. Wilson	June 1		Boston & Charleston	
Rainbow, 250	Jesse Taylor	June 15	Portrush	P. & N.	
Admiral Hawke, 250	J. M'Caddon	June 20	Derry	Halifax	
Pitt, 250	Jno. Allen	Sept. 1	Larne	Charleston	Advertised
Newry, 300	M. Russell	Sept. 1	Newry	New York	but did not sail
James & Mary, 250	Jno. Moore	Aug. 1	Belfast	N. & New York	Passengers transferred to
Jenny, 200	Sam. Baldwin		Belfast	Barbadoes	Prosperity
Providence, 300	Thos. Clarke	July 30	Coleraine	New York	
King George, 250	Hen. Dunn	Aug. 20	Belfast	P.	
Hibernia, 300	Wm. Keith	Aug. 1	Derry	N. & New York	
Prosperity, 350	Jno. Strawbr'ge	Sept. 10	Belfast	Charleston	Old English Built; took passengers off 'Pitt.'

Since the foregoing paper was written the Public Records Office in the Four Courts, Dublin, has been almost destroyed by explosion and fire. It is to be feared that some of the lines of search indicated above are now for ever closed against enquiries.

R L.C.

THE DEATH OF JOHN WESLEY.

On April 2, 1864, I left the Southwark Circuit, where I had been supplying for Mr. Workman. Dr. Osborn, the President of the Conference, had directed me to go to City Road. John Mason had died a month before; Dr. Jobson had been put in charge of the Book Room until Conference and needed someone to assist him in his circuit-work. My residence in John Wesley's house, with Dr. and Mrs. Jobson, has left ineffaceable memories of acts of kindness and of words of counsel that have helped me through many days. It has occurred to me that, as "an old inhabitant" of "Wesley's House," I may be able to cast a little light on a problem which, in the estimation of some people, needs to be solved. The members of the Wesley Historical Society know that there is a serious difference of opinion on the question concerning the room, in the City Road house, in which Wesley died. The annotator of the last volume of Wesley's *Journal* admits that "much uncertainty remains." He says that "the traditional view" is that it was the back room on the first floor; but states the suggestion that, when Wesley's friends saw how ill he was, they moved him into the front room. It appears that Mr. Curnock favoured this suggestion; and that fact is of great importance.

The statement of the annotator concerning "the traditional view" is certainly correct. When I was "shewn over the house," in 1864, "the back room on the first floor" was pointed out to me as the place where Wesley died. That was "the traditional view" held fifty-eight years ago. Its correctness is now challenged. Why? I would suggest that the reason may be traced to the influence of Marshall Claxton's well-known painting, "The Death Bed of John Wesley." The picture was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1844; and it has become widely-known by means of engravings and photographs. The original is in the Mission House, and all who look at it will be impressed by the spaciousness of the room in which the artist has placed his large group of people. If the painting is a correct representation of the scene, "the traditional view" is doomed.

It is generally supposed that Claxton's painting represents the scene when Wesley uttered the words "The best of all is, God is with us." But the figure of Peard Dickinson, whose uplifted hand suggests the offering of "the commendatory

PROCEEDINGS.

prayer," points to the actual "passing" of Wesley on March 2, 1791, rather than to the previous day when he actually spoke those memorable words. This is only a personal impression, but it raises the question—Where can we find a supreme authority which will enable us to ascertain the facts concerning Wesley's last illness and death? The answer is at once forthcoming. We must turn away from the picture, open the eighth volume of the *Journal*, and read with care Miss Elizabeth Ritchie's "Account of Wesley's Last Days." (See pp. 131-44).

It was on March 1, 1791, the day before his death, that John Wesley spoke the words which still thrill the hearts of the Methodist people. He had passed a very restless night, but commenced the day by singing some verses of the hymn which begins "All glory to God in the sky." Then, after lying still a while, he asked Joseph Bradford, his old "travelling companion," to give him pen and ink. When they were brought he found that he could not write. Some time after he said to Miss Ritchie, "I want to write." Finding that his hand had lost its power she offered to write for him, "Tell me what you would say," she said. He replied "Nothing, but that God is with us." A little later he wished to get up, and while his clothes were being got ready he sang two verses of "I'll praise my Maker while I've breath"—the last hymn he gave out in City Road Chapel, and which continued to sound in his mind until the end. Being dressed, he got into his chair. It was then that those who were in the room noticed that he suddenly "changed for death." His loving attendants laid him down on his bed, and from it "he rose no more." After a time he begged that those who were present would "pray and praise." Several of the friends who were in the house were called into the room to join in song and supplication. The names of all those who were present at this pathetic service are not recorded, but we know that Hester Ann Rogers, Elizabeth Ritchie, James Rogers, John Broadbent, and John Horton, one of Wesley's executors, were there. Later in the day Wesley tried to speak. Finding that those who watched by his bedside could not understand him, he paused a little, and then, with renewed strength, cried out, "The best of all is, God is with us." In token of victory he lifted up his arm, and again repeated the words. He spoke them so clearly and with such vehemence that those who were not in the room, but in the house, heard them. The little circle of his friends who waited in the room were astonished; they must have hoped that his life might, after all, be spared.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

With Miss Ritchie's narrative before me I cannot accept the opinion that Claxton's painting is a true representation of the scene when Wesley uttered the watch-word of the Methodists. It is, however, conceivable that the artist may have thought the words were spoken on the day when Wesley died, and that they influenced him in the composition of his picture; but I have no doubt that his intention was to represent the scene of Wesley's death in the morning of March 2. In doing so, I hold that he introduced details into his painting that were suggested by his imagination.

If I am right in supposing that some of those who reject "the traditional view" concerning the room in which Wesley died by reason of the spaciousness of Claxton's painting and the crowded condition of his canvas, I would ask them if they think that all the persons represented in the picture were present on March 2,? It is fortunate that we have a list of those who were in the room. Miss Ritchie is our informant. She omitted James Rogers' son; but his father completed the list by adding, "and my little James." Who then were "Kneeling around" Wesley's bed a few minutes before ten o'clock on Wednesday morning, March 2, 1791? Miss Sarah Wesley, John Horton, Robert Carr Brackenbury, James Rogers, Hester Ann Rogers, Dr. Whitehead, John Broadbent, George Whitfield, Joseph Bradford, Elizabeth Ritchie, and little James Rogers. These listened to Wesley's quiet "Farewell."

In Claxton's picture the figures of the following appear who were not present when Wesley died: Peard Dickinson, Dr. Whitehead's assistant, Mrs. Charles Wesley, Thomas Rankin, James Creighton, Thomas Broadbent, Alexander Mather and Jonathan Edmondson. Eight persons have been introduced into Claxton's painting who were not in the room. If we eliminate them the popular argument against "the traditional view" disappears.

As my mind wanders over past years I recall the fact that when I was in the City Road circuit, nearly sixty years ago, I used to visit some old people who lived in the almshouses near St. Luke's church. One of them was a man with whom I had most interesting conversations. One day he told me a fact which has a bearing on the subject of John Wesley's death. He remembered being taken by his mother to the City Road chapel to see John Wesley lying in his coffin. He could not give me any details as he was only a little child at the time; but I looked upon him as a link uniting me with the days of Wesley. It is

PROCEEDINGS.

well-known that by Wesley's express desire his coffin was placed in the chapel. Crowds thronged to see him. The pressure was so great that it was determined that the funeral should take place between five and six o'clock in the morning. At that early hour some hundreds of people assembled; and, amidst the tears of those who loved him, Wesley's coffin was deposited in the vault which he had some years before prepared for himself and for his Preachers who should die in London. That solemn service carries us away to another scene. When Bishop Ken died, burials before daybreak were usual. Let those who visit Frome churchyard picture the scene. The bishop was buried under the chancel window. The children from the village school which he had established, and in which he taught, followed him to the grave. Canon Overton tells us that just as the last spadeful of earth was cast upon the grave, the sun rose, and the children sang with their clear young voices, the bishop's hymn, "Awake, my soul, and with the sun Thy daily stage of duty run." It is a song for those who linger amidst the shadows of earth. They sing a new song who see the daybreak of heaven.

I have referred to the incidents connected with Wesley's interment in order to correct a wrong impression that has been created by the placing of Wesley's coffin in what was then known as "the New Chapel." Wesley was a man of simple tastes, wonderfully free from the weakness of ostentation. But the temporary resting of his coffin in the chapel has been called his "lying in state"; and Southey has given currency to a view of the act which may be easily misunderstood. Following Hampson, an unsafe guide, he says that Wesley's body was carried into the chapel the day preceeding the interment, "and there lay in a kind of state becoming the person, dressed in his clerical habit, with gown, cassock, and band, the old clerical cap on his head, a Bible in one hand, and a white handkerchief in the other." (*Life of Wesley*, p. 587, Bohn's edn.). Henry Moore, writing as an eye witness, says "There is no truth at all in this account. He had no clerical cap, old or new, in his possession: and his friends had too much sense to put anything into the hands of a corpse." (*Life of Wesley*, ii, p. 394, note). The literary excellence of Southey's *Life of Wesley* is undeniable; but many of his statements and opinions need the chastening hand of a competent editor. I know that he read the *Journals* carefully for I have examined the copy he used; and the abundance of his marginal marks arrested my attention. Later in life he altered his estimate of Wesley's character and work.

It is a relief to forget the mistakes he made in his biography, and to turn to the opinion he expressed in his letter to Wilberforce. In it he says: "I consider Wesley as the most influential mind of the last century,—the man who will have produced the greatest effects, centuries, or perhaps milleniums hence, if the present race of men should continue so long." (See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, iii, p. 656). His late repentance must not be in vain; but I wish he had revised his book.

JOHN S. SIMON.

THE STANDARD SERMONS OF JOHN WESLEY.

Annotated by E. H. SUGDEN, M.A., B.Sc., D.LITT.

The Epworth Press, J. ALFRED SHARP, 2 Vols. 21/- each, net.

We heartily congratulate Dr. Sugden and the ex-President of the Conference upon the publication of these handsome volumes, the type, binding and general *format* of which are admirable. No more important production could come from the Methodist press at any time than a worthy edition of the Standard Sermons, but there is a peculiar fitness in the appearance of Dr. Sugden's noble edition within a few years of the completion of Mr. Nehemiah Curnock's Standard Edition of the *Journal*. Students of Methodism have now ready to their hands its supreme documents as regards both its History and Theology in a vastly superior state to what has been possible heretofore.

We have made use above of the abbreviated title of these volumes as found on their covers, but the title-pages show that they contain not only the forty-four Sermons now declared to be the Standard Sermons of Methodism, but also the additional nine for so many years printed with them and regarded as of equal legal authority. Wesley's *Sermons* as originally published in four volumes in 1746, 1748, 1750, and 1760, were forty-three in number, but a second undated edition of the 1750 volume contained an additional sermon on "Wandering Thoughts," which brought up the number to forty-four. In 1771, Wesley published the first five volumes of an edition of his *Works* which eventually extended to thirty-two volumes and was completed in 1774. The first four

PROCEEDINGS.

of these volumes contained the forty-four sermons mentioned above and nine others which are inserted at various places: reasons for their addition and for the several places assigned to them are suggested by Dr. Sugden, i, 14-16. These fifty-three sermons were regarded until recent times and almost without doubt as the four volumes of Sermons specified in Wesley's Model Deeds of 1763 and later, and in the Deed of Declaration of 1784. Wesley however foresaw the possibility of trouble arising at some time or other by the differing contents of the two sets of four volumes of Sermons, and accordingly when in 1787-8 he issued an eight volume edition of his sermons, he reverted both in text and order of the sermons to the four volumes first published by him, including the sermon on "Wandering Thoughts" but excluding the nine sermons added in 1771. How the question was raised by the late Rev^d Richard Green as to the actual number and identity of the Standard Sermons, investigated by the Committee on Law, referred by the Conference to Counsel, and finally settled by the adoption of his "Opinion" is fully narrated, with copies of the "Case" and Counsel's "Opinion" ii, 331-340.

The text of Wesley's *Sermons* in general use is that of 1771. Dr. Sugden founds his on "Thomas Jackson's revised and corrected edition of 1825," which in turn was based on Wesley's Edition of 1787-8. Attention however is called to all important variations. In order to make the present issue as much alike as possible to the four volumes as first published, the sermons are printed in sections corresponding to those volumes, with a facsimile of the original title-page in each case.

We have already referred to the subject Dr. Sugden deals with in the first section of his Introduction, viz: the contents and relations of the various editions of the *Sermons* published by Wesley during his life. The second section of the Introduction is a valuable essay on "the exact relation of the Standards to the Ministry and Membership of the Methodist Church." This essay is a judicial and weighty production, and in view of the doctrinal charges which have engaged the attention of the Conference during the last few years will receive as it deserves careful study. Some of Dr. Sugden's judgments may be disapproved by individual readers but in general they will be heartily accepted.

It may well cause surprise concerning Wesley's *Sermons*, that notwithstanding their supreme importance in relation to the Theology and Church Discipline of Methodism, "no edition of them with annotations has hitherto been issued." The field was

therefore quite open for a skilled and trustworthy writer, such as Dr. Sugden has proved himself to be. Each sermon is prefaced by an excellent historical note in which are set forth as far as possible the occasion of its preparation, the date and place where it was first preached, later references to it in Wesley's ministry and life, literary and historical allusions, and occasionally, general criticism of the sermon. Many of these notes are of considerable length: they are all of great interest, and will undoubtedly lead to a deeper appreciation of both preacher and sermons. Furthermore, to each sermon there are appended footnotes in which literary quotations and allusions are traced to their sources, Wesley's expositions are discussed and criticised in the light of modern theological scholarship and philosophy, and the materials are provided for an up-to-date judgment on Wesley's teaching. It is in these prefaces and notes that the unique character and and peculiar value of Dr. Sugden's edition consists. The tracing to their sources of the numerous quotations (many of which as being given from memory are reproduced in imperfect form) and of the theological and literary allusions must have been a prolonged and difficult task. It cannot but happen that in so detailed a work some of Dr. Sugden's conclusions will be questioned, but all persons will acknowledge the wide scholarship and great patience he has displayed in the fulfilment of his task. In many cases the notes show how Wesley with his frank, open mind not infrequently anticipated many of the results of modern biblical study. On the other hand it is clear that Wesley's exegesis of certain passages cannot now be entirely accepted, a fact of considerable importance in the detailed application of the Standard Sermons to cases of Church Discipline. A careful student cannot but see that the world-wide extension of Methodism is largely due to the breadth and sanity of Wesley's mind. The essential and experimental truths of Scripture he grasped most firmly, but those which were secondary and speculative he left to individual judgment. Dr. Sugden says that "John Wesley was a Pragmatist before Professor James had popularized that term" (i, 20). This is true: to Wesley the truths relating directly to personal experience were ever of greater importance than those of metaphysical and controversial theology.

Dr. Sugden's Edition of the *Sermons* will take for itself at once the foremost position, not simply because it has no rival but through its own sterling merits. It ought to revive the study of our Standards, and so exercise a powerful influence upon the present generation of Methodist preachers in particular and upon

PROCEEDINGS.

universal Methodism in general. Wesley has found in Dr. Sugden an able, sympathetic and loyal interpreter who will assuredly lead his students into a fuller apprehension and richer appreciation of the treasure which Methodism possesses in the scriptural and practical Sermons of her Founder.

A copy of this important work should be in the hands of every ministerial student and probationer in all the Churches of Methodism. We would venture to suggest that a similarly annotated volume on Wesley's theological treatises including the *Appeals* would be of great service, and would form a fitting addendum to the present work.

J. CONDER NATTRASS.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Held on July 21st at Sheffield. Mr. E. S. Lamplough presided. The audited accounts showed a balance in hand of £50 4s. 10d. The Secretary reported that many new members had joined during the year. It was resolved to start a reserve fund and to transfer to it £20 of the balance now in hand.

It was reported that Miss Jones, of Naples, sister of the late Rev. T. W. S. Jones, and a lineal descendent of Mrs. Vazeille, had kindly expressed her intention of bequeathing a portrait in oils of Mr. William Smith, of Newcastle, son-in-law of Mrs. John Wesley, to the Wesley Historical Society, and it was resolved to place it, when received, in the custody of the Trustees of Brunswick Chapel, Newcastle-on-Tyne. All the officers of the W.H.S. were thanked and reappointed.

The scheme now contemplated for the renovation of Wesley's Chapel, City Road, London, gave rise to an interesting conversation and was heartily recommended to the favourable consideration of all the members of the W. H. Society, many of whom will doubtless wish to send contributions in memory of the great world-evangelist who purchased the Foundery and laid the foundation-stone of the now venerable church. Subscriptions specially earmarked as from members of the W.H.S. may be forwarded per Rev. F. F. Bretherton.

M.R.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

590. *Valuable Bibliographies.* JAMES WHEATLEY.—Mr. J. C. Whitebrook, B.A., 24, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, is one of the most skilful of bibliographers. He has allowed us to use his list of tracts and pamphlets relative to the above. These confirm his judgment, expressed in his preface to the list, that Wheatley's "hysterical acknowledgements of weakness are probably true. He was of attractive appearance and personality, and doubtless behaved in a fashion ill-befitting a minister with some or one of the half-Christianised wenches who beset him with their adoration." Wesley's sentence upon him was "lenient," says Mr. Whitebrook. "Perusal of the whole evidence can leave the investigator, who chooses to wade through the mire, little choice but to believe that Wheatley was innocent of the grosser accusations preferred against him."
591. WESLEY AND REV. JAMES HERVEY ON THE "THERON AND ASPASIO" AND SANDEMANIAN CONTROVERSIES.—Mr. Whitebrook has also compiled a useful *Bibliography of Pamphlets, Tracts, etc.*, relative to these topics, indispensable to members engaged in research. We regret that lack of space prevents us, at present, from printing this. Some years ago we received enquiries from Oxford on these subjects which we could only answer in part. We will try to trace the enquirer. We have most of the Wesley publications relative to the subjects, which we shall be willing to lend to members, but Mr. Whitebrook has much more complete knowledge of the questions raised.—*T.E.B.*
592. *Re* GOLDSMITH'S LETTER TO JOHNSON. (*Proceedings*. W.H.S., xiii, p. 44.—I suggest the following reasons for doubting the genuineness of this letter:—
- (1) The form of the address is too familiar. G. had only met J. in the previous year, J. having supped with Percy at G's lodging on May 31st, 1731. (*Frankfort Moore*, p. 214). They had probably met before (Forster i, p. 271), but the acquaintance could scarcely warrant the familiarity of the "My dear Mr. Johnson." Moreover the form is very unusual in the 18th Century. I do not find another instance of such familiar address in Boswell's *Johnson*. There is only one

PROCEEDINGS.

letter extant of Johnson to Goldsmith, written on April 23, 1773, nearly 10 years later and J. begins "Sir" and ends "Sir, your most humble servant." (Johnson's *Letters*, Ed. by Hill, i, p. 215). Forster says this is the only fragment of correspondence between J. and G. that has been preserved. (*Forster* ii, p. 367). Goldsmith's form of address to Hodson (brother-in-law), Garrick, Colman and Cradock is "Sir" and "Dear Sir."

(2) The play *She Stoops to Conquer* was not finished until sometime in the summer of 1771 (Moore p. 395). The *Title* was not settled until the morning of the day of production, Monday, March 15, 1773 (Moore p. 401) more than eleven years after the date of this letter. The original title was what is now the sub-title, *The Mistakes of a Night*. Two other titles were suggested by G's. friends—*The Old House and New Inn* and *The Belle's Stratagem*. G. himself finally fixed on *She Stoops to Conquer*.—*Robert A. Taylor*.

593. "WROTTESLEY'S FLOWERY PLAIN." (*Proc.* xiii, p. 106, Rev. R. Butterworth on *Mary Whateley*).

Wrottesley Park is four miles N.W. of Wolverhampton. The estate has been in the Wrottesley family since the Norman conquest, [The sister of the present peer is married to the present Viscount Wolverhampton, whose father was the most famous Methodist layman of his time, the son of the equally famous minister, the Rev. Joseph Fowler.]—*W. C. Sheldon*.

594. *The Calvinistic Methodist Historical Society of Wales. THE TREVECKA LETTERS.*—It has been a great pleasure to receive from the Rev. H. M. Jones, B.A., the lists of the *Trevecka Letters*. These were the subject of the *Davies Lecture* delivered by Mr. Jones at the General Assembly of the Calvinistic Methodists at Cardiff, June 14th, 1922. Based on first-hand sources the Lecture forms a valuable chapter in Church History, relating to Religion in Wales during the 18th Century. The scope of the study is limited to the years 1725-1791. It deals with:

The meaning of the term *Methodist* as first applied in Wales. The date and home of the first Methodist Private Society, 1737. The Rules of the private Societies between 1738 and 1742. The formation of the first Monthly, Bi-Monthly Meetings and Quarterly Associations. The Dygoedydd Association of January 1742, embodying the true origin of Welsh Methodism. The native factors at work

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

in Welsh Methodism (before the Anglo-Welsh Association of Watford, 1743) embodying the true origin of Welsh Methodism *re* the provision for the Sacrament, Hymn singing, the Welsh Schools, Itinerant Evangelism, and Field preaching. The full lecture will be published in book form.

CORRIGENDUM.

In the Rev. G. H. Bancroft Judge's article in our last issue on "John Wesley's Visits to Stanley" the name three times misprinted *Stanley Pentlargo* should be corrected to *Stanley Pontlargo*.

