

The Trans-Atlantic Triangle. Relations between British, Canadian, and American Method- ism during Wesley's lifetime.

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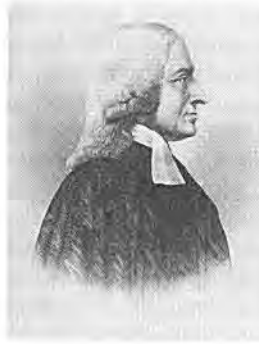
The spread of Methodism in the New World is a fascinating study, with many mysteries still remaining to be unravelled. In general it is a story of key individuals with special qualities of courage and dedication, of vision, of administrative skill, of eloquence, or of that personal magnetism which we now call charisma. Many such men, and not a few women, played important parts, both large and small, in transmitting Methodism across the trans-Atlantic triangle, from its apex in Britain to a base spreading down the whole eastern seaboard from Newfoundland to the West Indies. Many of these key individuals were influential in themselves, but a few were ordinary, even weak, Methodists thrust into important roles by circumstance. Out of the hundreds of names which are recorded during the generation preceding Wesley's death only a handful in each region are remembered as significant. These enable us to envisage the processes at work throughout the area and the period. They may be divided into three basic groups, though these arose in various regions at different times and in differing ways: the pioneers (chiefly laymen), the consolidators (chiefly itinerant preachers), and the co-ordinators (especially two ordained clergymen, John Wesley and Thomas Coke). Most of us have examined in careful detail one or more elements of this Methodist mosaic, and more research is still needed to secure and interpret the many missing pieces. In this all-too-sketchy paper an attempt is made to assemble the available segments in order to discover any discernible patterns, or — to change the metaphor — to see the whole panorama through a wide-angle lens.

It is surprising how often we take obvious things for granted, and then proceed to forget them. Thus my mention of Britain as the apex of the trans-Atlantic Triangle had nothing to do with national superiority, whether obvious, assumed, or purely imaginary. The relationship is simply one of chronology and causality. We must not ignore the fact that Methodism was a British phenomenon transplanted into new territories and climates, where, like wild flowers, in the process of adaptation to different environments it developed new characteristics, and, in especially congenial soils, grew to far greater proportions than those attained in its homeland. Our study makes it quite clear, however, that in spite of the changes brought about by adaptation, this religious experience and activity dubbed Methodism was carried chiefly (though not exclusively) by the tradewinds of nation and family, and found conditions most suitable for vigorous growth among people whose own roots had been in the British Isles. This was true from Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, to St. John's, Antigua.

To a certain degree it is possible to claim that John Wesley himself brought Methodism over with him as a missionary to Georgia during those frustrating twenty-one months in 1736 and 1737. At the very least he experimented with various innovations in religious organization and expression which were later to be incorporated into fully developed British Methodism. His junior Oxford Methodist protégé and colleague, George Whitefield, while answering repeated calls for assistance,



Thomas Coke



John Wesley



Francis Asbury



George Whitefield



Philip Embury



Barbara Heck



William Black



Lawrence Coughlan



Freeborn Garrettson

coming of Francis Asbury in 1771 did Pilmore feel able to make a closing missionary journey down the east coast through Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, stabilizing the old causes, and founding some new ones — but not many, because he, like Wesley, felt that it was better to establish a society securely rather than use the shot-gun method of evangelism. Under Asbury the widespread consolidating itinerancy became the normal pattern, and when Thomas Rankin came out in 1773 it was to a Methodism rooted more or less firmly from New York to Savannah. He was thus able to introduce another basic feature of Methodist connexionalism, a co-ordinating annual conference. At the conference the statistics of membership were estimated, in round figures, at a total of 1160, but this day of small things was pregnant with influence, as well as with opportunity.⁶

The stirrings of American independence from British control came after the American ethos had become well established, so that the major initial change was one of leadership, although gradually new national qualities did develop. The same was true of American Methodism. The transition was eased by the fact that the more conservative and the more timid among the immigrants tended to leave the country, while the more robust and radical remained. Violent change was avoided because the key figure in American Methodism for over forty formative years was Francis Asbury, a devout Englishman from the working classes who tempered his own stubborn independence with a love as well as a respect for the values of Wesley's proven methods. It was he above all, even in semi-retirement during the War of Independence, who kept his American colleagues from throwing everything British overboard, to join the tea in Boston harbour. Asbury's enterprising vigour and sincere piety were such that most of the younger Americans whom he recruited for the Methodist itinerancy joined with him in paying at least lip-service to Wesley's person as well as his movement. Even during a decade of rumours of war and of war itself American Methodism grew, so that by May, 1783, the circuits had increased in number six-fold, from 6 to 39, the preachers eight-fold, from 10 to 80, and the 1160 members estimated in 1773 had multiplied twelve-fold to 13,740.

Growth in the British provinces to the north was far less spectacular. Indeed Coughlan's departure might well have marked the temporary end of Methodism in Newfoundland, for his Anglican successor joined the local bigwigs in an almost successful campaign to stamp out the Methodists.⁷ Coughlan's efforts were preserved by a group of local laymen, notably John Stretton, another Irishman, who on Christmas Day, 1774, conducted what was probably the first Methodist love-feast in the northern provinces.⁸ To his aid in 1775 came John Hoskins, an elderly English schoolmaster for whom a few years later Wesley in vain tried to secure ordination, replying to the bishop's refusal in the memorable words: 'Your lordship did not see good to ordain *him*; but your lordship did see good to ordain and send to America other persons who knew something of Greek and Latin, but who knew no more of saving souls than of catching whales.'⁹ Eventually Stretton wrote asking Wesley for an itinerant preacher to organize Methodism in Newfoundland, and thereafter they corresponded frequently. The preacher came, in fact recruited in America by Thomas Coke, though later interviewed by Wesley. His name was John M'Geary. Unfortunately he proved somewhat tactless in asserting his authority, so that not until a few months after Wesley's death did a revival and Methodist consolidation come to the province, through the instrumentality of William Black.¹⁰

William Black was an English preacher who had already exercised a remarkable

ministry in Nova Scotia. He had come out from England with his father in 1775, when he was fifteen. The family settled at Amherst in Cumberland County, Nova Scotia, where in 1779, among a handful of devout Methodist immigrants of whom many came from Yorkshire,¹¹ he experienced a typical Methodist conversion. By 1781 he had become a proven evangelist, and with three likeminded young men formed a Methodist circuit with 200 members, from which the work spread over much of the southwestern half of the province.¹² They welcomed visitors from New England, and in turn received invitations to extend their ministry to that area.¹³ In October, 1783, Black found the people 'senseless as stones' except for the man who invited him, Benjamin Chappell, a Methodist machinist from London, wrecked on his way to Quebec in 1775 — another of Wesley's correspondents.¹⁴

While Methodism was thus being firmly consolidated in middle America, and was in its early formative stages in the maritime provinces, pioneer beginnings were also in progress in the West Indies, or 'South America', as one of Wesley's former preachers, now an ordained clergyman in the Bahamas, entitled the area in a letter to Wesley in 1777.¹⁵ Nathaniel Gilbert, an influential lawyer in Antigua, chief of the Leeward Islands, was sent copies of Wesley's *Appeals to Men of Reason and Religion*, which so impressed him that in 1757 he took his entire family to England, to see Methodism in operation. They stayed for almost two years, during which time John Wesley baptized their fifth little girl, and two of their black house-servants, of which Wesley confessed in his *Journal*: 'One of these is deeply convinced of sin, the other rejoices in God her Saviour, and is the first African Christian I have known.'¹⁶ Gilbert returned to Antigua determined to be a missionary as well as a lawyer, taking back to assist him a young Methodist widow, Mary Leadbetter. She began teaching his black slaves, while he conducted services for them, and also attended to his duties as a Member and for six years the Speaker of the Antigua House of Assembly. Emancipation of the slaves was at that time and in that place almost inconceivable. Indeed most people were genuinely astonished at the thought that Blacks might have souls. A 1742 account of Antigua stated: 'There are 3,441 Christians and 24,695 Negros.' It was to the latter, however, that Gilbert chiefly directed his efforts. Within a few months of his return he wrote telling Wesley that he was preaching to a congregation of over 200 people packed into the largest room of his house, and that scores of converted Blacks were meeting in a Methodist society class. For a time his brother Francis, cut out of their father's will for becoming a Methodist preacher, came to Antigua to help organize the work. One of their sisters also became a staunch Methodist, marrying Captain Thomas Webb, and sailing back with him in 1773 to serve American Methodism. Nathaniel Gilbert died in 1774, and Francis who had married Mary Leadbetter, was compelled to escape the killing climate, though he almost persuaded Francis Asbury to take the 300 Antiguan Methodists under the American wing. Two converted slaves took over — probably those baptized by Wesley. Then came an English shipwright from Chatham, a naval base 28 miles east of London, named John Baxter, a Methodist local preacher. He nurtured a society in English Harbour, while the widow of the now dead Francis Gilbert returned to take over at St. John's, regularly meeting two society classes, one for black women, one for white. She also held a preaching service in her home every Friday evening, while being the chief promoter and administrator of the first Methodist Chapel in St. John's, opened by John Baxter in 1782. The chapel soon recorded a membership of over 1000, mostly black.¹⁷



London
Feb. 26. 1743

My Dear Brother

I did indeed very strongly expostulate with the Bishop of London, concerning his refusing to ordain a pious man, altho he had ^{not} Learning, while he ordained others, that to my Knowledge, had no Piety, & but a moderate share of Learning. I incline to think. That Letter will appear in public some time hence. Our next Conference is to begin in July, & I have great hopes, we shall be then able to send you a visitance. One of our Preachers informs me, He is willing to go, to any part of Africa or America. He does not regard Danger or toil: nor indeed does he count his life dear unto himself, so he may testify the Gospel of the Grace of GOD, & win sinners to Christ. But I cannot advise any person to go alone. Our Lord sent his Disciples two & two. And I do not despair of finding another young man, as much devoted to GOD as him.

The Arianism you mention ought to be guarded against, with all possible diligence. Otherwise

He will do more hurt in Six years, than he can
 do good in twenty. And it is well, if he that
 calls himself ^{Lord} ~~Lady~~ Hastings's Preacher,
 does not do as much as him. Of Calvinism,
 Mysticism & Arminianism have a curse:
 For they are the base of True Religion.
 And one or other of them has been y^e grand
 hindrance of y^e work of God, whenever it has
 broke out.

If you come over
 to England, we will make room for you at
 Kingswood. Peace be with all y^e spirits
 I am,

My Dear Brethren,
 Your Affectionate Brother
 John Wesley

This significant letter refers to Wesley's attempts to get episcopal ordination for John Hoskins, one of Wesley's preachers who was serving as a schoolmaster at Old Perlican, Newfoundland. The refusal of Dr. Louth to ordain Hoskins probably helped precipitate Wesley's decision to organize the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784. See p. 14 for a transcription of the letter.

London
Feb. 26. 1783

My Dear Brother:

I did indeed very strongly expostulate with the Bishop of London, concerning his refusing to ordain a pious man, altho he had not Learning, while he ordained others, that to my Knowledge, had no Piety, & but a moderate share of Learning. I incline to think that Letter will appear in public some time hence. Our next Conference is to begin in July, & I have great hopes, we shall be then able to send you assistance. One of our Preachers informs me, He is willing to go, to any part of Africa or America. He does not regard Danger or toil: nor indeed does he count his Life dear unto himself, so he may testify the Gospel of the Grace of God, & win sinners to Christ. But I cannot advise any person to go alone. Our Lord sent his Disciples two & two. And I do not despair of finding another young man as much devoted (sic?) to God as Him.

The Antinomian you mention ought to be guarded against, with all possible diligence. Otherwise he will do more harm in one year, than he can do good in twenty. And it is well, if he that calls himself Lady Huntingdon's Preacher, does not do as much hurt as Him. Of Calvinism, Mysticism & Antinomianism have a care: For they are the bane of True Religion. And one or other of them has been ye grand hindrance of ye work of God, wherever it has broke out. If you come over to England, we will make room for you at Kingswood. Peace be with all yr. Spirits. I am,

My Dear Brethren,
Your Affectionate Brother,
JOHN WESLEY.

To:

Mr. Will^m Black
In Halifax
Nova Scotia

The end of the War of American Independence in 1783 proved a major turning-point for all the eastern Atlantic regions. In the United States itself the way was at last opened for John Wesley to offer an ordained ministry and a scheme of church government which might make the best of both worlds, independent of British control, yet subject to British influence. An influx of loyalist refugees to the north stimulated the growth and consolidation of Methodism in what was to be Canada and the high seas became safer for missionary travel to the West Indies. The impact of Wesley's revision of the Book of Common Prayer as *The Sunday Service of the Methodists* did not prove earthshaking to United States Methodists who had already been emancipated from British forms of religion. Yet in American Methodism the orders for the sacraments and for ordination, together with the abridged Articles of Religion, have remained in constant use, and the strange fact remains that during the six years preceding Wesley's death six distinct editions (quite apart from variant issues) were published, sufficient for one copy between every three or four members in all the Americas.¹⁸ The other documented element in his articulated plan for the new American church, his ordination as superintendent of Coke, and through him of Asbury, with authority like bishops themselves to ordain, was an unqualified success, leading to rapid advances both in status and statistics of both ministry and members.¹⁹ The preachers, summoned from far and near to the Christmas Conference at Baltimore in 1784, immediately implemented Wesley's plan as outlined by Coke, and approved the constitution modelled upon Wesley's large *Minutes* of 1780.²⁰ Soon batches of preachers were being ordained as deacons, and a more limited number as elders, of the new Methodist Episcopal Church, the first newly-constituted autonomous church in the United States.

Thomas Coke was not only Wesley's ambassador in the States, but to the world. Earlier in that year of 1784 Coke had published *A Plan of the Society for the Establishment of Missions among the Heathens*, followed up in 1786 with an *Address to the Pious and Benevolent*, which spelled out his dream of missions in Erse to the highlands and islands of Scotland, a mission in French to the Channel Islands, an extension of Gilbert's and Baxter's work in the Caribbean, and of Methodism in 'the provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec, and the Island of Newfoundland.' Wesley endorsed all four elements of this scheme, as did the British Conference — especially as Coke proposed himself to raise the needed funds. Coke urged the claims of the latter two areas also upon the American Christmas Conference, and secured the cooperation of the new church. In America he found the preacher for Newfoundland for whom John Stretton had petitioned Wesley. In Nova Scotia William Black had already been greatly successful as a British layman, and almost impossibly successful from 1783 onwards, with the flooding in of Methodist refugees and immigrants, such as Robert Barry, one of the founders of the new town of Shelburne. Barry joined Black in appealing to Wesley for preachers, another appeal answered by means of Coke's epochal visit to America in 1784. William Black came south to meet Coke, and found himself caught up in the deliberations of the Christmas Conference, noting with joy in his journal: 'Two preachers, Messrs. Garretson and Cromwell, were appointed for Nova Scotia.' Thus did American Methodism send forth its first two missionaries — as the result of a Canadian appeal and an English suggestion. At the same time Coke persuaded the conference to look to the south, and they appointed John Baxter an elder — though he was still British, and apparently never set foot in the United States. To aid him in the West Indies they ordained Jeremiah Lambert as elder.

Unfortunately, however, Lambert died before setting out. Thus while Asbury was organizing the advance of Methodism in the United States, his fellow superintendent Coke organized Methodism on a world scale, encouraging the Methodist Episcopal Church to share, if not undertake, the oversight of their neighbours to the north and south, who did not achieve their own autonomy until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The ravages of war had prompted migration in America, a movement which was quickened by the security of peace. This was triggered largely by the generous land grants available for disbanded soldiers and loyalist refugees from America, and was greatly encouraged by a general westward movement of the American people.²¹ The torrent of refugees streaming into New Brunswick (formed in 1784 from the western half of Nova Scotia), included many Methodists,²² and there were stirrings even in Quebec,²³ and a steady development of work along the St. Lawrence and the northern shores of Lake Ontario, known after 1791 as Upper Canada, and now as Ontario. Barbara and Paul Heck, along with other members of the pioneer Methodist group in New York, had left that state for Montreal in 1778, and after some years moved up the St. Lawrence to settle at Augusta, fifty miles below Kingston, the principal town in Upper Canada. At Augusta they formed a Methodist society at some time around 1788 — authorities vary in their dating.²⁴ To Kingston in 1788 came from the U.S.A. James M'Carty, an Irishman converted under Whitefield. He was welcomed as their preacher by a group of Methodists, but soon martyred by their opponents.²⁵ At Adolphustown in the Bay of Quinté area James Lyons, an exhorter from the Methodist Episcopal Church, maintained from 1788 a lay ministry while teaching school.²⁶ Major George Neal, a Loyalist army officer and local preacher, took his land grant in the vicinity of Niagara Falls, beginning to preach about 1786, and founding a society at Stamford in 1790.²⁷ And just as the New York pioneers had appealed to Methodist experience in England, so did these pioneers appeal to the closer source of experience, to what was for many of them 'home' — the New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Here Freeborn Garrettson, who had been pulled back from his missionary work in Nova Scotia, readily supported the loan of his young colleague, William Losee, himself a Loyalist, to become the first regular Methodist itinerant in Upper Canada. Though crippled by a withered arm, Losee was a fiery and successful evangelist. In addition to reviving and co-ordinating the witness of already established groups, he also organized new societies, notably during a few weeks in early 1791 — at Hay Bay on February 20, at Bath on February 27, and at Fredericksburg on the very day of Wesley's death, March 2.²⁸

In spite of the great potential in the north, however, Providence somehow seemed to side with Thomas Coke against John Wesley in favouring the West Indies in the overall strategy for eastern Atlantic Methodism. The pattern was set in 1786, when Wesley ordained and sent out John Clarke and William Hammer for the Maritime provinces, together with William Warrenner to join John Baxter in Antigua. Coke decided to accompany them. Storms blew the 'crazy, shattered vessel' 2000 miles out of its course, however, so that the northern port was abandoned. The captain made south, eventually limping into the harbour of St. John's Antigua on Christmas morning, three months after setting off from England. The ill wind which robbed the Maritimes, however certainly blew good to the West Indies. Coke visited six islands, and left behind all three missionaries, thus launching the expanding Methodist work in the Caribbean. American Methodism celebrated its own official birth at Christmas, 1784, and the Caribbean in 1786.²⁹

This incident also furnishes one of many examples demonstrating how all regions of the trans-Atlantic triangle were linked during Wesley's lifetime. The point should perhaps be reinforced. Two of Coughlan's French-speaking Newfoundland converts, especially Pierre le Sueur, took Methodism back to Jersey, thus presenting Coke with the feasibility of a consolidating mission the Channel Islands.³⁰ Among the leaders of the New Brunswick influx Stephen Humbert was a Methodist from New Jersey and John and James Mann from New York;³¹ Duncan McColl was a Scots Episcopalian highlander, shipwrecked as a British soldier in Bermuda, and there converted to Methodism, settling on the Maine border of New Brunswick in 1784 and founding a vigorous Methodist society;³² still another was a native of Pierre le Sueur's Jersey, Abraham Bishop, who was so successful in organizing Methodist work in New Brunswick that Coke persuaded him to oversee the French work in Grenada in the West Indies, where unfortunately he succumbed to yellow fever.³³ Similarly in 1787, when American help was for a time withdrawn from Nova Scotia,³⁴ Wesley ordained James Wray, an English preacher, for that work. Wray proved as abrasive as Rankin had been in America, and was wisely replaced by William Black, who with the brothers Mann was ordained at the 1789 Methodist Episcopal Conference for the mission in Nova Scotia, while Wray ended a faithful ministry at St. Vincent in the West Indies.

All this argues a fluidity and flexibility which is still somewhat difficult for us to conceive. It bespeaks not a committee, but a commander. These widespread activities throughout the eastern Atlantic, like those in the British Isles, were largely orchestrated by John Wesley, or by Thomas Coke or Francis Asbury in theory acting for him — though practice did not always follow theory. Francis Asbury in particular, especially — and naturally — after the achievement of autonomy in 1784 had elevated him to the position of concertmaster, stuck to his own interpretation of the Methodist symphony, vigorously followed by the American string section. Wesley's enthusiasm for the American venture remained undiminished. Witness his sharp rebuke to some foot-dragging among the British preachers: 'On no account whatever can I excuse any preacher in the Connexion from using his utmost endeavours for the preachers going to America.'³⁵ He was also greatly encouraged by the response of Blacks to Methodism, and wondered if more could not be done for the Indians.³⁶ Yet he confessed that somehow the work in Nova Scotia concerned him even more than that in the States, probably because they were 'younger and tender children', who needed the greater care.³⁷ He remained convinced of his own providential role, and did in fact exercise a remarkable co-ordinating ministry.

Apart from the supply of manpower his main support to all regions was given by his letters — a very influential support indeed. Wesley was an even more indefatigable letter-writer — if this can be conceived — than either he or Coke or Asbury were travellers. He seems to have kept in touch with almost every Methodist preacher everywhere. With a measure of success he strove to hold all the preachers together as one family of evangelist-pastors, to assist them in administering their complex and sometimes lonely tasks, and to inspire them with a sense of forming an essential element in an immense co-ordinated venture in the worldwide work of God. This is not obvious to a mere hasty glance at his published letters, but reveals itself clearly to careful study. During the last two decades of his life concrete evidence exists of his correspondence with literally dozens of Methodist leaders in the New World, in some cases with many extant examples: four correspondents in Newfoundland, five in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, one in Prince Edward Island, four in the West



*The Consecration of Bishop Asbury**

Indies, and at least twenty-eight in the United States.³⁸ It should be remembered, of course, that the extant letters constitute only a fraction of those which Wesley actually wrote.

It is therefore not surprising to discover the way in which the father of the Methodist family responded so warmly to the maturing of his spiritual children as they themselves fathered new Methodist families. In the *Minutes* of his annual conference in 1785, surely with some pardonable pride, or at least gratitude to God, he sets out the details of their progress, continuing the list of the 76 numbered stations and their preachers in the British Isles with those in America, numbered from '77 Georgia, B. Allen' to '127, Long Island, Ezekiel Cooper', and then on to '128 Nova Scotia' (though with no mention of William Black, who seems still to have been regarded as a pioneer layman), and '129, Newfoundland, John M'Geary', with the elders supervising the work named as Freeborn Garretson and James Cromwell, appointed by the Christmas Conference; the *Minutes* conclude, '130, Antigua, J. Baxter, Jer. Lambert.' Clearly the actual details came from Thomas Coke's memoranda, which occasionally enrich the British *Minutes* with details about American Methodism not to be found in the American *Minutes*.³⁹ The unity of world Methodism in the minds of Wesley and Coke is underlined in the official manuscript *Journal*, from which only a selection was printed in the *Minutes*. In answer to the question, 'Who are in Full Connexion with the Conference?' the *Journal* for several years listed all the itinerant preachers, in the Americas as well as in Britain.⁴⁰ The same was true of the membership statistics, and the last inscription in 1789, before the signatures of Wesley as President and Coke as Secretary, was Coke's summary of the membership of Atlantic Methodism — which during Wesley's lifetime implied World Methodism —

Q. What are the numbers in our Societies?

A. In England and Scotland	56,295	Total in Europe	70,305
In Ireland	14,010	Total in America	48,687
In the West Indies	4,622		
In the States of America	43,265		
In Nova Scotia and Newfoundland	<u>800</u>		
In all	118,992		

Thus in the Atlantic area Wesley was seeing something like a realization of the world parish of which he had spoken (in a different context) in 1739. It had come about through the loyalty of a host of followers, both pioneering laity and consolidating itinerant preachers. There were occasional complaints about sacrifices in manpower from British Methodists, and on the other side of the Atlantic some murmuring against his distant and aging hand trying to retain control. Yet on the whole his work was received by a chorus of admiration and occasionally almost awe at his devotion and vision and wisdom. It was an affection not obscured even by Asbury's

* This engraving was made from a nineteenth century painting by Thomas Coke Ruckle, a relative of Barbara Heck. William Black of Nova Scotia has been placed in the pulpit of the Lovely Lane Preaching House in Baltimore. The platform and Holy Table have been placed in the preaching house, but not yet the Communion Rail, indicating its transition from a preaching house to a church, with the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church as a separate body in America from the remnants of colonial Anglicanism.

references to 'our dear old daddy' — far different from his angry slurs on the domineering Thomas Rankin as 'Diotrephes', the man in 3 John 9 who 'likes to put himself first'.⁴¹ As Wesley's death neared it could be seen that Methodism was becoming more fragmented, the United States in one fold, including Upper Canada and the Eastern provinces, while the United Kingdom was in another, accompanied by Newfoundland and the West Indies. Nonetheless, there still continued some interchange across these lines of demarcation for a decade or two.⁴² It is good to know that in this generation we have been able to return once more to what Wesley saw as in some sense a reality, as well as a dream. In the words penned by Wesley across the Atlantic from England to Ezekiel Cooper in the United States only a month before his death: 'Lose no opportunity of declaring to all men that the Methodists are one people in all the world, and that it is their full determination so to continue,

Though mountains rise, and oceans roll,

To sever us, in vain.⁴³

NOTES

1. Wesley, *Journal* Oct. 30, 1784.
2. Frank Baker, *From Wesley to Asbury*, Duke Univ. Press, 1976, pp. 33–40.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 40–4.
4. G.G. Findlay and W.W. Holdsworth, *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, London, Epworth Press, 1921, 5 vols., (henceforth WMMS), I. 259–62; Charles Atmore, *Methodist Memorial*, Bristol, Edwards, 1801, pp. 81–3; L. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 1776; Frank Baker, *John Wesley and the Church of England*, London, Epworth Press, 1970 pp. 200–1.
5. Baker, *Wesley to Asbury*, pp. 35, 44–69.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 70–98; cf. John Wesley, *Letters*, to Fletcher, Jan. 15, 1773, and Methodist Episcopal Church, *Minutes of the Methodist Church*, 1773–95, Philadelphia, 1795, pp. 6–7.
7. WMMS, I 262–3.
8. Thomas Bennis, ed., *Christian Correspondence*, Philadelphia, Graves, 1809, pp. 212–14.
9. Aug. 10, 1789, cf. Bennis, op. cit., pp. 217, 225–6, 228, 277–40, and Hoskin's autobiography in *Arminian Magazine*, 1785, pp. 24–7, 85–8, 143–4 [= 146], 194–6.
10. Bennis, op. cit., pp. 244–56; *Arminian Magazine*, 1792, pp. 120–3, 176–81, 233–7.
11. T. Watson Smith, *History of the Methodist Church...of Eastern British America*, Vol. I, 84–96, 115–18.
12. *Arminian Magazine*, 1791, pp. 177–9.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 353.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 407; WMMS, I. 290; Matthew Richey, *A Memoir of the late Rev. William Black*, Halifax [N.S.], Cunnabell, 1839, pp. 115–16.
15. Richard Moss, Apr. 28, 1777 (see *Arminian Magazine*, 1788, pp. 158–60).
16. Jan. 17, Nov. 29, 1758.
17. *London Quarterly Review*, CDXXXV, pp. 9–17 (Jan., 1960), "The Origins of Methodism in the West Indies: the story of the Gilbert family," by Frank Baker.
18. According to William Strahan's ledgers 2000 copies of the 1784 edition were printed, 3000 of that of 1788, say an average of 2500 or a total of 15,000. According to Coke's figures the membership for the Americas in 1789 was 48,687. That all six editions were disposed of is implied by the printing of a new edition in 1792.

19. Baker, *Wesley to Asbury*, pp. 148-9.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 150-3.
21. Goldwin French, *Parsons and Politics*, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1962, pp. 39-42.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
23. George F. Playter, *The History of Methodism in Canada*, Toronto, Green, 1862 (Vol. 1), p. 10; The Centennial of Canadian Methodism, Toronto, Briggs, 1891, p. 5.
24. WMMS, I, 354 (about 1780); John Atkinson, *The Beginnings of the Wesleyan Movement in America*, New York, Hunt & Eaton, 1896, pp. 55-6 (1788, but notes that Carroll dates as 1785); Goldwin French, article, "Canadian Methodism", in *Encyclopedia of World Methodism*, 1975 (1788).
25. Playter, *op. cit.*, I, 17-19; WMMS I, 356-7.
26. Playter, *op. cit.*, I, 17; WMMS I, 355-6.
27. Playter, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 20; WMMS I, 355.
28. See J. William Lamb, *William Losee*, Old Hay Bay Church, 1974; Playter, *op. cit.* I, 20-5; WMMS I, 357-9.
29. John Vickers, *Thomas Coke*, Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1969, pp. 144-7, 150-72.
30. Matthieu Lelièvre, *Histoire du Methodisme dans les Iles de la Manche*, Paris, Librairie Evangélique, 1885, pp. 158-74; WMMS I, 263; *Methodist Magazine*, 1820, p. 801; T. Watson Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-8.
31. WMMS, I, 300; French, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6.
32. WMMS, I, 301-2.
33. *Ibid.*, I, 299-301.
34. Frank Baker, "Freeborn Garretson and Nova Scotia", *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, xxxii, 18-20; cf. the valuable discussion in Norman A. McNairn, "Mission to Nova Scotia", *Methodist History*, January, 1974, pp. 3-18.
35. Aug. 30, 1784, to Joseph Taylor.
36. Cf. his letter to Asbury, Nov. 25, 1787.
37. Letter to John Mann, June 30, 1788.
38. Newfoundland: Lawrence Coughlan, John Hoskins, John Stretton, James Wray; Nova Scotia: Robert Barry, William Black, John Mann, James Mann, Philip Marchington; Prince Edward Island: Benjamin Chappell; West Indies: John Baxter, Francis Gilbert, Mrs. Mary Gilbert (with Nathaniel Gilbert earlier, 1764-5), Richard Moss; U.S.A.: Beverley Allen, Francis Asbury, Anthony Benezet, Richard Boardman, Ezekiel Cooper, James Dempster, John Dickins, Edward Dromgoole, Edward Evans, Freeborn Garretson, Levi Heath, Devereux Jarratt, Ann Jarvis, William Jessop, John King, Thomas Morrell, John Moseley, James O'Kelly, Joseph Pilmore, Thomas Rankin, George Robinson, Richard Sause, George Shadford, Samuel Spraggs, William Watters, Thomas Webb, Richard Whatcoat, William White, Robert Williams.
39. E.g. the American membership statistics for 1786.
40. Similar details for other minor categories appear in the printed *Minutes*.
41. Francis Asbury, *Letters*, London, Epworth Press, 1958, III, 62-3.
42. From 1791-9 the stations and statistics for Upper Canada and Nova Scotia were printed in both the American and the British *Minutes*. The Maritime Provinces left the American fold in 1800, Upper Canada in 1828 (cf. French, *op. cit.*, p., 17, etc.)
43. Letter of Feb. 1, 1791, at Garrett Theological Seminary. (Cf. letter to Thomas Morrell, Feb. 4, 1790.) the quotation is from Wesley's *Redemption Hymns*, 1747 (*Poetical Works*, IV, 280)