JOHN WESLEY AND THE GERMAN PIETISTS IN GEORGIA

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Prologue. Great men suffer from the stereotypes which history forms of them, and it is sometimes difficult to realize that they are not all-hero or all-villain, all-theologian or all-politician. John Wesley has been misunderstood along with the others. Our stereotype of his mission to Georgia is that it was a disastrous failure relieved only by meeting the Moravians, who led him to conversion. Such a statement needs qualification at three points: in the normal sense of the words he did not fail, he was not later converted, and—most important for our present purpose—in Georgia he was introduced not only to the Moravians but to a rival body of Pietists, the Salzburgers. His influence upon *them* was minimal; their influence upon him, singly and jointly, was immeasurable. It is not too much to say that a handful of devout representatives of three varying Christian traditions, from Germany and England, through their brief encounter in Georgia, changed the religious history of the English-speaking world.

Georgia. The colony of Georgia was founded, not by chance, but by design. And it was founded with mixed motives, both political and philanthropic: to form a buffer against the encroachments of Spanish adventurers in Florida, to bring Christianity to Negroes and Indians, and to provide a fresh start for English misfits. James Oglethorpe brought out the first group of settlers in the winter of 1732/3, and they were soon building the first town, Savannah. Already, however, a new purpose had been suggested, for which the experimental colony seemed ideally suited—that of providing a haven for persecuted Protestant refugees from the continent of Europe.

Disunited Germany. In *The Times Atlas of World History,* a magnificent volume published in 1978, pp. 190-1 are entitled, 'Germany Disunited, 1648-1806.' The main map presents a patchwork quilt of perhaps two hundred sections small and large, in twelve different colours, surrounded by a pink border proclaiming that the whole constituted the Holy Roman Empire. Although basically by Wesley's day most cities and states in southern Germany were Roman Catholic, and most in the north were Lutheran, they were all largely dependent in matters of religion upon the convictions or the whims of their rulers, secular or spiritual. Widespread religious wars had become a shameful memory, but the long history of religious persecution had not ended, and remained a constant threat to the minorities who were in deadly earnest about their religion. Among these were the Pietists—a convenient though somewhat vague term describing those sharing the attempt begun in Saxony to rejuvenate the German Lutheran Church through personal piety, whether by the systematic religious exercises at Halle or by the almost mystical devotion to the Redeemer at Herrnhut, in each case with an emphasis upon the life of the spirit rather than upon the formulas of theology. The father of Pietism was Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705), and its main centre the University of Halle, founded in 1694 to promote this spirit.

The Salzburgers. In 1731 the Archbishop of Salsburg began to drive the Protestants from his domain by such stratagems as confiscating the property of any who dared to read the Bible. The great majority, over 20,000 of them, travelled north to Prussia. A few looked to England for help, especially as the gateway to the New World. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1699, had become the chief dispenser of British funds to support Protestant refugees from the continent, beginning with the Huguenots fleeing from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.[1] King George II of England, of course, was himself by birth a German Protestant, and his chaplain, Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, helped to organize a financial drive for the Salzburgers. Even before the first English settlers had set out for Georgia, the Trustees for the new colony had agreed to take fifty Protestant families from Salzburg, pay their passage out, give them fifty acres a family,[2] and support two Lutheran ministers to serve them. The SPCK agreed to organize the transplantation, and left the selection of emigrants to the Revd. Samuel Urlsperger, the senior Lutheran minister of Augsburg.[3] An enthusiastic young Lutheran nobleman, Philip Von Reck, was ready to accompany the party to Georgia as their leader. Appointed as ministers for the Salzburgers were John Martin Bolzius (1703-65) and Israel Gronau.[4]

The first party, of forty,[5] led by Von Reck and accompanied by Bolzius and Gronau, left England in January 1734, on March 10 arrived in the year-old town of Savannah–which now had a population of 250[6]–and within a month began to build their own town at Red Bluff, twenty-five miles upriver from Savannah. Unfortunately their great industry was largely wasted, for the area proved to be infertile and swampy, so that within two years they moved six miles east, once more to open up virgin territory, where subsistence was possible but difficult, because of the lack of supplies and the difficulty of communications. Having chosen their site and seen them settling in, Von Reck hastened back to Europe to secure more German settlers for the town, which they named Ebenezer. A second batch of fifty-six[7] set sail in November 1734, this time led by a much older man, John Vat. They arrived in Georgia on December 28, and were welcomed by the pioneers to the hardships of Ebenezer.

Enter the Moravians. Von Reck's eager youth, however, introduced a factor very disturbing to his fellow Lutherans. Seeking more recruits for Georgia, not only did he consult Gotthilf August Francke (1696-1769) at Halle, and Samuel Urlsperger of Augsburg, but visited Count Zinzendorf at Herrnhut, with the idea of including Moravians also in a joint emigration. He pleaded with the Lutherans: 'Both parties labour earnestly in God's cause . . . They [the Moravians] have no wish to turn from the evangelical faith . . . Ought we to persecute such folk? Ought we to turn them out of our churches?'[8] Urlsperger replied: 'My dear Herr Von Reck, you have only recently been converted, and you do not adequately grasp the situation . . . Count Zinzendorf must change completely . . . I have nothing to do with the Hernnhut community . . . What do you think our worthy preachers in Georgia would think if people so contrary to them were placed at their side? Or our Salzburgers, if they should see such fraternities, hours of prayer, and all the other arrangements, which are more like the papal yoke than evangelical freedom.'[9] Lutheran fear of Moravian infiltration seemed to threaten the whole project. It was too late, however, though not for the warning that any Moravian settlement should be insulated from that of the Salzburgers.[10] Ten Moravians turned up in London, ready to pay their own expenses to Georgia. They were led by August Gottlieb Spangenberg, who himself had taught at Halle, but had been dismissed under unhappy circumstances, and had become Zinzendorf's right-hand man and eventual successor. Having been warned, the Georgia Trustees forbade Von Reck to meddle with any more such schemes, and put real pressure on Spangenberg to keep the peace with the Salzburgers. The Secretary of the SPCK, Henry Newman, wrote reassuringly to Urlsperger in Augsburg, and to Bolzius and Gronau in Georgia, pointing out that the Moravians had promised to co-operate, and as a safeguard would be 'settled upon the River Ogeechee, a day's journey from the Salzburgers'.[11]

The First Moravians in Georgia. Thus in February 1735 the first tiny group of Moravians set sail from England, landing in Savannah on April 8. Only the leaders of the two Pietist groups met, and got along together reasonably well, though never relaxing their guard during an armed truce. Bolzius wrote to Ziegenhagen in London: 'I soon informed him [Spangenberg] that I had been more depressed than cheered by the arrival of himself and his people, because their character and peculiar ways, which I had observed myself in Hernnhut, were well known to me . . . The heavenly Father keep the hand of his grace over his vineyard, that it may not be uprooted by wild boars and foxes, and according to his mercy bring back all those who are in error, and those who have been led astray, whereas he may suppress and put an end to all factions and offences.'[12] For his part, after ten months of occasional conversations, Spangenberg noted in his diary, 'They love us very much.'[13]

The Great Embarkation. Later that year came what was known as 'The Great embarkation,' the largest company of immigrants coming to the infant colony at any one time, assembling in London from various parts of Europe, and sailing in two ships carrying 120 passengers each, escorted by His Majesty's Sloop *Hawk*. On the *London Merchant*, with others, came out the third party of forty-six Salzburgers, led by Von Reck;[14] on the *Simmonds*, together with the second party of twenty-five Moravians, led by the first bishop of the Renewed Church, David Nitschmann (1696-1772), came many English emigrants, a group of Oxford Methodists led by John Wesley, and James Oglethorpe himself. As the senior clergyman John Wesley found himself in spiritual charge of the ship's company, and industriously learned German in order to converse with the Moravians. He was tremendously impressed by their exuberant Christian experience and their deep faith in God, remarkable especially during a week of terrifying storms in January 1736, when he himself confessed in his diary, 'afraid to die', and 'storm greater; afraid'.

Wesley in Savannah. The storms helped to cement Wesley's closeness to the Moravians, which continued after he had settled in Savannah as a missionary of the Church of England. In this capacity he was probably one of the most assiduous clergymen who ever served there. He held brief public prayers before and after every working day–specifically at 5.0 A.M. and 9.0 P.M.[15] In order to serve some of his isolated parishioners he also learned Spanish and Italian (being already familiar with Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and French, and now increasingly with German), though he felt unable to tackle Dutch as well.[16] Faithfully 'he prepared wills, conducted baptisms, weddings, funerals', 'spent three hours a day visiting from house to house, conducted weekly catechism classes for [both] children and adults, and prepared young people for Communion. He administered Holy Cpmmunion every Sunday and Saint's day, and on every day (except Good Friday) in Holy Week; he also carried the elements to the sick and dying (whom he visited daily), and kept not only a regular tally of the number of communicants present on each occasion, but a register showing on which days each had attended.'[17] Constantly he was frustrated at his inability to conduct a mission to the Indians, writing sadly, 'A parish of above two hundred miles in length laughs at the labours of one man.'[18]

Wesley and the Moravians. Nevertheless Wesley managed to spend much time with the Moravians. On the way out he had lived alongside them for four months. After disembarking, until the parsonage was available, and even afterwards, he and his colleagues lodged with them for over five weeks, and came to value them even more.[19] The Moravians helped Wesley to choose a site for the Indian mission-house which Oglethorpe promised to build.[20] He discussed with them the pastoral problems[21] and administration of his large parish,[22] was heavily dependent upon their guidance in matters of spiritual experience, and even consulted them about his contemplated marriage to Sophy Hopkey.[23] He was deeply moved at the ordination of Anton Seifferth (1712-85) as the Moravian pastor of Georgia, which (he wrote), 'almost made me forget the seventeen hundred years between, and imagine myself in one of those assemblies where form and state are not, but Paul the tent-maker or Peter the fisherman presided, yet with the demonstration of the Spirit and of power'.[24] By a series of carefully prepared questions he endeavored to secure an outline of their views on church, ministry, and sacraments, on worship, the devotional life, Christian conduct, and on conversion.[25] From their first meeting, just before Wesley disembarked, he and Spangenberg had become very friendly, and Spangenberg encouraged him to write to Zinzendorf.[26] Eighteen months later Spangenberg reported that although Wesley still placed too much importance upon Holy Communion as a means of conversion, yet he was a promising Christian, adding: 'I have asked the Brethren to receive him in love, and to wait in patience to see how he gets along . . . If the English cast him out, they will take him in our house.'[27]

Wesley and the Salzburgers. Wesley felt a responsibility also for the Salzburgers in Georgia. One of the last messages which he received from Henry Newman of the SPCK as he embarked had been: 'I hope you received the packet of books . . . by the Society's messenger . . . by which you will see the Society desires you would spare what you can to supply the present wants of Messrs. Bolzius and Gronau.'[28] They had now been in Ebenezer for a year, undergoing many hardships. While he was still lodging with the Moravians Wesley wrote to them (in Latin): 'I give thanks to the Greatest and the Best, the Giver of all good gifts, because now at last he has given me the opportunity of seeking your friendship and the right hand of fellowship. And indeed it is fitting that I should be the first to seek it, inasmuch as I have the greatest need both of your prayers and your advice. Allow me, however, whatever kind of person I am, to exhort you that none of you be alarmed by these sufferings of ours to which we are called. Let me implore you, faithful servants of God, that you should never be reluctant to make use of the help (if in any way he can help you) of him who is your servant in Christ, [John Wesley].'[29]

After an exchange of courtesy visits or letters, however, there was little further contact until after both Ziegenhagen in London and Francke in Halle had urged Bolzius and Gronau to cultivate the English missionaries.[30] When the weather permitted in 1737, therefore, the Lutheran pastors visited Wesley in Savannah every two or three weeks, and became very friendly with him. Gronau assured Francke that Wesley was indeed a good Christian, although he deplored Wesley's peculiar self-discipline, his giving up of salt and fat, sleeping in his clothes on an animal skin ('ein Fell') laid on the ground, wearing no stockings, but long linen trousers, etc.[31] Francke replied that this was because Wesley intended going to the Indians, and wanted to harden himself to live like them.[32] Both Gronau and Francke expressed regret that Wesley had no personal experience of Christ. By the summer of 1737 Bolzius especially had become very friendly with Wesley, and during a visit in July lasting several days he asked Wesley to admit him to Anglican Communion. Wesley stated that even at the risk of losing his friendship he dare not break Church discipline to this degree, because Bolzius was not validly baptized, nor could he accept Bolzius' explanation of the Lutheran view of ordination.[33] Nonetheless they remained good friends, and on August 1 Wesley paid a long intended visit to Ebenezer, where he was greatly impressed by the industry and piety of the Salzburgers.[34] On October 1 he went again, a farewell visit this time, asking if he could do anything for Bolzius when he left for England.[35] (Ziegenhagen and Francke seem to have lost hope of recruiting Wesley, so that when he visited Halle the following year he was given a rather cool reception.)[36]

Wesley's Debt to the Salzburgers. The gentle piety of Bolzius, who continued the faithful pastor at Ebenezer until his death in 1765, left its mark on Wesley. Although Wesley defended Spangenberg against the Lutheran's account of the Moravian's behavior in Halle, he was nevertheless disturbed, and the seeds of his disillusionment with the Moravians were sown. When he and Spangenberg visited Ebenezer together, Wesley listened with interest to Bolzius's criticism of some aspects of Moravian worship, offered (as Wesley said) in 'the most mild and friendly manner'. He became convinced that even Spangenberg suffered from human failings,[37] and that something could after all be said for non-episcopal Lutheran Christianity. He was especially unsettled by the manner in which Bolzius accepted his own refusal to administer the Lord's Supper to him—'with such lowliness and meekness as became a disciple of Jesus Christ'.[38] The growth of Wesley's catholic spirit—what we might today call 'ecumenicity'—under such influences became abundantly clear in 1749, when he received a letter from Bolzius, in response to Wesley's inquiries about Ebenezer of a former Savannah friend. Presenting the letter in his *Journal* he added the comment: 'What a truly Christian piety and simplicity breathe in these lines! And yet this very man, when I was at Savannah, did I refuse to admit to the Lord's Table, because he was not baptized—that is, not baptized by a minister who had been episcopally ordained. Can anyone carry High Church zeal higher than this? And how well have I been since beaten with mine own staff!'[39] In that very year Wesley was making new ventures in cooperation with those of other religious opinions. And it was indeed in the following year that his sermon on Catholic Spirit was published, in Vol. 3 of his *Sermons,* stating, 'I dare not . . . presume to impose my mode of worship on any other . . . My belief is no rule for another . . . My only question at present is this: "Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart? [If it be, give me thy hand.] " '[40] By this time Wesley had come fully to accept one of the characteristic emphases of Pietism, the spiritual renewal of God's people everywhere, irrespective of all denominational boundaries.[41]

Wesley's Debt to the Moravians: (A) Experience. There is little doubt that it was through the Moravians chiefly that John Wesley's personal religion was transformed from an arduous ethical and ritualistic discipline into a liberating spiritual relationship with a saving and sustaining God. In the background were ten years of devout self-denial, of rigorous religious exercises, which nevertheless left him unsure and unsatisfied—as well as exhausted. In the foreground, on board the *Simmonds,* was the disturbing realization that a group of common people, without his education, without his episcopal ordination, might yet know more about God with their hearts than he with his head, even aided by his duly conferred ecclesiastical authority. Continued conversation with other Moravians, confirmed also by the Salzburger leaders, from their different angle, underlined the emphasis upon the need for personal spiritual experience. Eventually, on May 24, 1738, he was able to write in his *Journal*: 'I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death.' Although this happened in England over two years later, there is little doubt that a major turning-point leading to it came when he first met Spangenberg off Savannah on February 8, 1736. Asking him for spiritual advice on the basis of what he had already witnessed of Moravian religious experience, said Wesley, 'He told me he could say nothing till he had asked me two or three questions. "Do you know yourself? Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit that you are a child of God?" I was surprised, and knew not what to answer. He observed it, and asked, "Do you know Jesus Christ?" I paused, and said, "I know he is the Saviour of the world." "True," replied he; "but do you know he has saved you?" I answered, "I hope he has died to save me." He only added "Do you know, yourself?" I said, "I do." But I fear that they were vain words.'[42]

Wesley's Debt to the Moravians: (B) Theology. Not only did the Moravians (aided by the Salzburgers) thus lead Wesley to a personal experience of God of which he had never dreamed, and which became the foundation-stone of Methodism. They also transformed his view of Christian teaching on the way of salvation. Now he saw the Protestant theology of justification by faith through the eyes of an experience for which he was indebted to the Pietists, and henceforth this became the focal point of his preaching emphasis. Within a few months he discovered that this interpretation of faith as experience rather than as belief was already present in the Homilies of the Church of England, and his favourite definition of faith became (in the words of the Homily on Salvation). 'a sure confidence which a man hath in God that through the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and he [is] reconciled to the favour of God.'[43] It was mainly to restore this

Moravian-born understanding of forgotten Anglican teaching that he strove to reform the Church of England from within, and to induce others to seek the vital experience into which he himself had entered.'[44]

Wesley's Debt to the Pietists in General. Wesley's encounters with Pietists of both major groups in Georgia also led to an immense growth and enrichment in hymn-singing in the English-speaking world, through a transfusion from German hymnody. The classic age of the English hymn was Wesley's century–his dates were 1703-91. Though Charles was the greater original writer, it was through John that the new outpouring was organically linked with the classic age of the German hymn, the age of the Hussites (ancestors of the Moravians), of Martin Luther and of Paul Gerhardt. Pietism itself did not produce many great hymn-writers–though the much-maligned Zinzendorf was probably one–but it certainly strengthened the spiritual current from which hymn-singing at least partly arose.

Wesley had already begun to sing hymns in England, both at Epworth and in Oxford, especially those of Isaac Watts, but his introduction to the German hymns added a new dimension. He began to learn German aboard the *Simmonds* with the aid of the Herrnhut *Gesangbuch,*[45] he missed no opportunity of attending the Moravians' evening singing sessions,[46] and he could never forget their singing during the Atlantic storms. He continued to join in their hymns in Savannah, and his first letter to Zinzendorf quoted a verse of a hymn by Freylinghausen.[47] By May 1736 he had begun to translate German hymns into English[48]–very good English verse–and continued this task throughout his stay in Georgia. Five of these translations were included in his *Collection of Psalms and Hymns,* published by Lewis Timothy of Charleston, South Carolina–the first true hymn-book (as distinct from a book of metrical psalms) published in America. It seems to have appeared in June, 1937.[49]

When Bolzius visited Wesley on June 28, 1737, he noted, 'Mr. Wesley . . . diligently sings German hymns from the Herrnhut hymn-book, and praises the superiority of our Church over others with respect to this treasury of hymns.' Bolzius felt sufficiently modest to set Wesley right, however, when he said that most of those hymns seemed to have originated in Halle, though he agreed that many of the best ones indeed did, including two by Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (1670-1739), who had taken over the direction of much of the Halle enterprise after the death of August Herman Francke in 1727. Freylinghausen had published the standard hymn-book for the Halle Lutherans, entitled *Geistreiches Gesangbuch*; this included forty-four of his own hymns, of which Wesley had translated two for his 1737 Collection, including 'O Jesu, Source of calm repose.'[50] At least from November 1736 onwards Freylinghausen' hymn-book became a constant companion to the Herrnhut Hymn-book for Wesley, who thus united in his own practice the two rival groups. From these sources he translated no fewer than thirty-three hymns by seventeen different authors, including two by Freylinghausen, four by Paul Gerhardt, four by Johann Scheffler, two by Gerard Tersteegen, and eight by Zinzendorf. These translations first appeared in five successive hymn-books by Wesley, in 1937, 1938, 1739, 1740, and 1742, one at least remaining unpublished. No fewer than seventeen of these translations were included in Wesley's famous 1780 book, *A Collection of Hymns for the Use* *of the People called Methodists,* two of the longer ones divided into two each, to make a total of nineteen.

The major influence of the Pietists and their hymns on Wesley, however, cannot be measured by the number or even the quality of those which were made available by him to British congregations, or those which still remain in general use, as many do. It must be looked for in the manner in which a rich German heritage of hymns encouraged the Wesleys to use Christian song as a means of spreading spiritual awakening throughout the English-speaking world, along with a new burst of religious lyricism in English verse, and a dynamic warmth in Christian worship.

Epilogue. The thriving community of Salzburgers was disrupted by the War of American Independence, and eventually their descendants were scattered, their town almost derelict.[51] The Moravians in Georgia dwindled to six, who in 1740 left for Pennsylvania. After two years John Wesley returned home, to foster a new evangelical spirit in the Church of England, and in spite of himself to found a new denomination, for whom, as for him, the world became a parish. The full impact of that brief crossing of the paths of a handful of Germans and English in Georgia, however, can never adequately be assessed.

NOTES

1. W. O. B. Allen and Edmund McClure, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,* London, SPCK, 1898, 385-8.

2. Robert G. McPherson, ed., *The Journal of the Earl of Egmont: abstract of the Trustees' Proceedings for Establishing the Colony of Georgia, 1732-1738,* Athens, Georgia, Univ. of Georgia Press, 1962 (henceforth "Egmont *Journal*"), 18.

3. Martin Schmidt, *John Wesley: a Theological Biography,* Vol. 1, 1703-38, trans. by Norman P. Goldhawk, London, Epworth Press, 1962, 171, points out that Urlsperger, like John Wesley, had become a corresponding member of the SPCK.

4. Gronau, assistant to Bolzius, died in Georgia in 1745. In order to avoid entanglement with the episcopal prejudices of the Church of England the young men were ordained by Lutherans before setting out for London and Georgia. For the two missionaries see Samuel Urlsperger, *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants who settled in America,* trans. by J. Lacker, intro. by G. F. Jones, Athens, Georgia, Univ. of Georgia Press, 1968, Vol. 1, 1733-1734, and George Fenwick Jones, *Henry Newman's Salzburger Letterbooks,* Athens, Georgia, Univ. of Georgia Press, 1966. Cf. also P. A. Strobel, *The Salzburgers and their Descendants,* Baltimore, Kurtz, 1855.

5. Earl of Egmont, *Diary of Viscount Percival, afterwards First Earl of Egmont,* 3 vols., London, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1920-3, I.463; Egmont, *Journal,* 38.

6. Leslie F. Church, *Oglethorpe: a Study of Philanthropy in England and Georgia,* London, Epworth Press, 1932, 79.

8. Schmidt, 172.

9. *Ibid.,* 172-31

10. *Ibid.,* 173-5.

11. Jones, 151-3; for Bolzius' reply see *ibid.*, 584.

12. Schmidt, 177.

13. *Ibid.*, 177.

14. Egmont, *Journal*, 108.

15. Frank Baker, *John Wesley and the Church of England*, London, Epworth Press, 1970, 43.

16. *Ibid.*, 45-6.

17. *Ibid.*, 46.

18. John Wesley, *Works* (Oxford edn.), Vol. 25, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980, ed. Frank Baker, 473-4 (Sept. 11, 1736, to James Vernon).

19. Nehemiah Curnock, ed., *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley* (Standard edn.), 8 vols., London. Epworth Press, 1909-16, with a summary of his diary. The former minister, Samuel Quincy, was in the parsonage still, leaving on Mar. 15. Wesley continued to live with the Moravians until Apr. 4.

20. Curnock, I.168-9.

21. e.g., the difficulty with Mrs. Hawkins, Curnock, 1.155.

22. Curnock, 1.209.

23. Clifford W. Towlson, *Moravian and Methodist*, London, Epworth Press, 1957, 42-4.

24. Curnock, I.170-1. Wesley speaks of Seifferth as being ordained a 'bishop' by Bishop Nitschmann, but this is an error. It seems likely, however, that this was the first episcopal ordination performed and documented in America. (See *A History of the Beginnings of Moravian Work in America*, The Archives of the Moravian Church, Publication No. 1, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1955, 70.)

25. Curnock, I.372-4 (July 31, 1737).

26. Curnock, I.151 (see below, p. 35). For Wesley's first letter to Zinzendorf, of Mar. 15, 1736, see *Works* (ed. Baker), Vol. 25, pp. 449-50, and cf. Zinzendorf's reply of Oct. 23, a lengthy summary of his belief (*ibid.*, pp. 479-83).

27; Douglas L. Rights, 'A Moravian's Report on John Wesley - 1737,' *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XLIII.407-9 (1944).

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 448-9, dated Mar. 13, 1736.

30. Karl Zehrer, "Die Beziehungen zwischen dem hallischen Pietismus und dem frühen Methodismus," pp. 43-56 in *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, Vol. 2, ed. Andreas Lindt and Klaus Deppermann, Luther Verlag Bielefeld, 1975, 46. (This has now been translated into English by James A. Dwyer, with the title, 'The Relationship between Pietism in Halle and Early Methodism,' in *Methodist History*, Vol. XVII, No. 4 (July, 1979), 211-24—see 213-24.)

31. *Ibid.*, letter of June 9, 1737. One would dearly love to know all that was implied in this "etc." ("usw")! (*Meth. History*, 214).

32. *Ibid.*, letter of July 29, 1737 (*Meth. History, ibid.*).

33. *Ibid.*, 47 (*Meth. History*. 215); cf. Schmidt, 180.

34. Curnock, I.374-6.

35. *Ibid.*, I.396.

36. *Ibid.*, II.16-17; cf. Schmidt, 282.

37. Curnock, I.376. For Spangenberg's account of his troubles at Halle see *ibid.*, I.154, from a MS Journal which circulated among his friends in London and (seen by Ziegenhagen) greatly disturbed Francke, who pointed out that Spangenberg's account was not accurate in several points (see Zehrer, 44-5, *Meth. History* 212-13).

38. Curnock, I.370; cf. Zehrer, 47-8 (*Meth. History*, 215-16).

39. Curnock, III.433-4, under date Sept. 29, 1749. Wesley recounted the same incident against himself when laying the foundation-stone of his New Chapel in City Road, London, in 1777 (Sermon on Numbers xxiii.23, London, 1777, 1.4).

40. 2 Kings 10:15, the text of the semon, see espec. I.11

41. Cf. F. Ernest Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Piety*, Leiden, Brill, 1965, 7, and *German Pietism during the Eighteenth Century*, Leiden, Brill, 1973, p. 5, etc.; cf. Baker, *John Wesley and the Church of England*, 120-36.

42. Curnock, I.151. In his diary Wesley noted: "Mr. Spallenberg a wise man. Advised me as to myself."

43 See, e.g., Wesley, *Works* (Oxford edn.), Vol. 11, (ed. Gerald R. Cragg), Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1976, 69, etc., in his *Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, §59.

44. This is somewhat similar to the Moravian concept of their mission, to spread the leaven of primitive Christianity through the world, which the Lutheran Pietists tended to regard as pride, self-aggrandizement, and 'enthusiasm.'

45. John L. Nuelsen, *John Wesley und das deutsche Kirchenlied*, Bremen, Anker-Verlag, 1929, trans. by Arthur S. Holbrook et al, as *John Wesley and the German Hymn*, Calverley, Yorkshire, 1972 (it is the latter edn. which is cited), 16.

46. *Ibid.*, 17, quoting David Nitschmann's journal of Dec. 4, 1736: 'The English parson, John Wesley, misses no opportunity to attend our singing sessions. We wish we could converse easily so that we could show him more clearly the way to God.'

47. Wesley, *Works*, Vol. 25 (ed. Baker), 450, dated Mar. 15, 1736.

48. See his diary for May 5, 7 (cf. Curnock, I.211-12).

49. Wesley, *Works*, Vol. 32 (in preparation), *Bibliography*, No. 8. Cf. *John Wesley's First Hymn-book: A Facsimile with additional Material*, ed. Frank Baker and George Walton Williams, Charleston, S.C., Dalcho Historical Society, and London, Wesley Historical Society, 1964.

50. Schmidt, 178-9.

51. Strobel, chaps. X-XIII, Lars P. Qualben, *The Lutheran Church in Colonial America*, New York, Nelson, 1940, p. 191, but Dr. George Fenwick Jones of Savannah informs me that the ruined church has been tastefully restored, and that a religious retreat community has been formed around it (1970).

The Harold Jantz Collection

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