ASBURY, BISHOP FRANCIS
FRANCIS ASBURY'S LAST JOURNEY

By

ELMER T. CLARK
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By Ebenezer T. Clark

Francis Asbury started on his last journey in 1815. It was the forty-fourth year of his travelling and he had already covered a quarter of a million miles on horse and in wheeled contrivance. Sixty times he had crossed the eastern mountains along the primitive trails first traversed by the aboriginal tribes, carrying religion, morals, and the genius of culture to the advancing frontier.

For this a grateful people would later place him on his horse in bronze in the nation's capital, the country's President would declare him "entitled to rank as one of the builders of our nation," and the United States Government would ask that his papers be found, edited and published along with those of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and sixty others famous in history.

Where Did It Start?

From whence did Asbury start on this last ride? We cannot tell. Where does a cycle begin? Where is the top of a hill? Asbury was always going, always on the round of his circuit from Maine to Charleston, and there was no beginning and had been none since 1771.

So ceaseless was his round that only two months before his death he wrote to Joseph Benson in England to send letters for him "to any part of the United States." Any postmaster in the land knew that Francis Asbury would soon pass and claim his mail.

He had come up from the Carolinas and Maryland in the Spring and in June of 1815 he was in New England. Then he turned back towards the South, after holding the New England Conference at Unity,
Massachusetts. He went through Wilbraham, Boston and Cambridge to the fine home of Freeborn Garrettson at Rhinebeck, New York. Garrettson was the young preacher who "rode off like an arrow" to summon the preachers to the Christmas Conference where Asbury had been ordained Bishop more than thirty years earlier. He had married Catherine, daughter of the noted Judge Livingston, who had enjoyed a close friendship with George Washington; Garrettson was a preacher all his life and never accepted the customary stipend for his ministry.

Asbury passed rapidly through New York and New Jersey to Philadelphia. There he had landed forty-four years ago, and there in old St. George's, ... the first preacher in the New World. He went to the home of Thomas Haskins who had attended the Christmas Conference and was one of the first editors of Asbury's documents. Then he went on to Martin Boehm's near Lancaster. That old saint was a founder of the United Brethren and his son William was a noted Methodist preacher who often traveled with Asbury.

In the adjoining county lived another dear friend whom he did not see. Mrs. Rebecca Grace of Coventry Hall often entertained Washington when he was at Valley Forge; she would not marry Benjamin Franklin but he asked her to sit by his side when he died and point him to the "Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world."

Proceeding across the mountains Asbury visited a camp meeting near Zanesville, Ohio, and on the fourteenth of September he reached the conference at Cincinnati.

Through The Southeast

But let us concentrate in the South, which Asbury loved and where Methodism has always been strongest—to which he went thirty times in thirty-one years, where he spent most of the winters, and where at last he died by the side of the road on which he lived.

John Wesley Bond, the loyal and loving man assigned by the conference to accompany Asbury, went with him from Cincinnati through Lexington and Shakertown in Kentucky to Middle Tennessee in October of 1815. There lived the McKendrees, at Fountain Head, the present Portland, one of whom was also a Bishop; there he buried the little son of Dr. James McKendree, the Bishop's brother, married their sister Frances to Nathaniel Moore, one of his preachers, and baptized Francis Elizabeth Mahy. Two weeks later, John McKendree, the father of the family, died, but the two Bishops were then well on their way to South Carolina.

The widow of Learner Blackman, a noted preacher, lived near Fountain Head, and Asbury went to see her. She had been married twice and would marry again—and then in her fine home at Nashville, Mrs. Elizabeth Ellison kept a "bishop's room" for McKendree. But when Asbury visited her the last time she was Mrs. Blackman. "Ah! what a state of human frailty," he exclaimed. "The body of the first husband rests in a tomb near the dwelling; the body of the second may yet float in the Ohio."

Those were strange words, for Asbury had just come from Cincinnati and should have known that Learner Blackman's body had been recovered from the Ohio in which he had been drowned in June and was resting in the church yard at the rear of the Old Stone Church, the present Wesley Chapel there. But Asbury was old and failing rapidly.

His Last Conference

Asbury went on to his last conference, at Bethlem Meeting House, a log house with eight corners four miles south of Lebanon, in which the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, would later find its origins. But the feeble old saint could do little. He preached a sermon in memory of his colleague, Bishop Thomas Coke, the great missionary who had been buried in the Indian Ocean the previous year, and he ordained the deacons. But he could not make the ap-
pointment: "My eyes fail. I will resign the stations to Bishop McKendree—I will take away my feet."

Because the road was better that way, Asbury went by way of Crab Orchard and Kingston to Knoxville while McKendree went through the Cherokee Indian country. The two were to meet at Charleston for the South Carolina Conference two days before Christmas.

Bond drove the failing Bishop in his little chaise through East Tennessee by way of Newport to Western North Carolina. Five years previously he, with McKendree, Henry Boehm, and John McGee of camp meeting fame, had gone across the aboriginal Cataloochee Trail by way of the present Lake Junaluska and Clyde, where he stayed in the home of Jacob Shook, which still stands and where the old 1798 society, founded by Samuel Edney and the first in that area, is now called Louisa Chapel. But he could not undertake that difficult crossing in 1815.

In Familiar Territory

On the Tennessee-Carolina border Asbury was in familiar territory. He had visited John O'Haver's camp ground in Cocke County and travelled Philip Hoodenpile's road from Hot Springs to the Tennessee line, and he was concerned for Hoodenpile's soul. He stayed at Barnett's (or Barnard's) tavern, where he had dosed the landlord and cured him in 1809; now there was fiddling and drinking there, and Asbury delivered his testimony and cleared himself of the publican's blood.

The chaise labored over the mountain from Marshall to Buncombe Court House, now Asheville, where David Milling usually entertained him in the house which still stands, where the Asbury Methodist Church stands, and where a road marker has been erected. Then he inclined along to William Mill's and Samuel Edney's near the present Hendersonville.

Grandfather Mills had been hanged at King's Mountain, and for ten years only because the papers found an exhorter's license on his person. Nellie Mills had married Samuel Edney, the first preacher appointed to travel west of the Blue Ridge and whose church at Edneyville survives; a marker of the Methodist Historical Society recites his story.

Asbury was to meet McKendree at the Charleston Conference, so John Wesley Bond drove him through Saluda Gap into South Carolina. Here he was also at home, as he had been in Buncombe. He stopped with Father Staunton on the Saluda near Greenville and at the Grover's near Salmon Falls in Abbeville County. From there he struck for the Georgia line, hoping to reach Samuel Rembert's, who had removed from the hospitable and famous Rembert Hall in Buncombe County to Wilkes County, Georgia, where all the early conferences in that state were held. He reached the line at Grover's, but his weakness forced him to turn back. He went to Thomas Child's at Cambridge near the present Ninety-Six.

Asbury's Journal Ends

On to Charleston!

Asbury crept along to Dr. Moon's in Newberry County, who gave him digitalis, then to Hezekiah Arrington's near Powders, and to Mrs. Means who lived across the Broad near Monticello in Fairfield County, and where Bond preached in the kitchen. He could make but slow progress through this familiar country where he had friends everywhere. Three nights he stayed with the Arms, two with Alexander McDowell, one at Colonel Hughes's, who was "like myself—broken to pieces," and then he crossed the river at Columbia. And there Asbury's famous Journal came to an abrupt end, on Thursday, December 7, 1815. "We met a storm and stopped at William Baker's, Granby," he wrote, and then the quill fell from his hand and the record closed forever.

Granby is no more, but it was once prominent enough to be visited by the first President of the United States. It was at the head of navigation on the Congaree, opposite Columbia, a mile below the present town of Cayce. In an open field the diligent searcher may find an old stone marker with a chis-

There are no other contemporary remains. The very next year Granby closed up shop and sold the court house to the Presbyterian Church in Columbia. The father of Woodrow Wilson was its pastor when the future President was fourteen years old.

Tracing the Journey

Asbury's movements between that day at Granby and March 4, 1816, when he turned up at Rich­mond, have never before been traced. They can be pieced together only by the study of cognate docu­ments. He could no longer write his Journal and half the state lay between him and the conference at Charleston, but the amazing man pushed on. He did not reach the conference and he never saw McKendree again.

He had a regular route through that part of the state and we know where his friends lived and with prac­tical certainty we can follow him. Near Orange­burg Court House lived the widow of his old friend General Rumph, and Asbury went there. Recuper­ating his strength, he proceeded to the home of Squire Eccles on Cypress thirty miles north of Charleston. He could go no further.

McKendree held the South Carolina Conference alone, but Asbury, resting at the Squire's, received daily reports from his colleague. At this conference the last remnants of William Harmott's schism, "a few whites and a considerable number of colored people," returned to the fold.

The Virginia Conference was to meet at Raleigh, North Carolina, on January 4th, and McKendree went northward to meet Asbury at that place. As­bury started also, and reached John Whetstone's near St. Matthew's in Calhoun County, seventy miles from Charleston. Here his feebleness was so extreme that he seemed to have partaken of his friend's hospitality for two or three weeks.

John Mason, the Presiding Elder, was now with him, and at Whetstone's the Bishop dictated to Mason on January 16, 1816, a long and bewilder­ing letter to Joseph Benson, vice president of the Con­ference in England and the famous editor of the Methodist Magazine, in reply to an invitation from the British Conference to visit the Mother Church.

In this important document Asbury denounced Thomas Rankin, referring to him as "Diotrephes," who on his return from America had slandered Asbury and sowed seeds of distrust against him in the mind of John Wesley. Asbury told McKendree that he wanted this letter to be read to the General Conference, which was not done.

Here also he wrote his valedictory address to the General Conference of 1816, headed "On the Santee 70 miles above Charleston," where Whetstone lived. The dying Asbury went on. The next lap took him to Rembert Hall, his much-loved retreat at the Rembert settlement in Sumter County. William Capers—later to be a Bishop but who was then located—saw him there in January and asked him for an appointment, "I am a dying man," replied Asbury, "or I would give you one. I will never see another conference in Carolina. You had better wait for your Quarterly Conference to recommend you to a Presiding Elder." Capers said that this was a sore disappointment but there was no alternative.

From Rembert Hall Asbury went eastward to Port's Ferry and turned northward to Marion. Jo­seph Travis was headmaster of the Marion Academy and Asbury spent several days and nights with him "in the early part of the year." Travis knew the end was near, and he reported that when re­covering from a paroxysm of pain the old man would shout aloud, "Hallelujah, Hallelujah!" and declared that "my only hope of heaven is in the merits and righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ."

Travis said there was some prejudice against As­bury because of the anti-slavery clause in the Gen­eral Rules, but he regarded Coke as the real auth­or of the trouble. "In all the conversational and epis­tolary intercourse that I have had with Bishop As­
bury," he wrote, "not one item was ever hinted to me in favor of Abolition from the good old man."
The Bishop urged Travis to give up the school and re-enter the itinerant ranks, which Travis did at the very next conference.

He Reaches North Carolina

From Marion the party passed into North Carolina. Asbury could not reach the conference, but he was in Raleigh in February and spoke to the society in the home of the eldest son of Dr. John King.

Memories must have crowded the mind of Asbury. John King, medically educated in England, had preceded him to America by two years, and had stood on a horse-block in front of a blacksmith shop at Front and Centre Streets to preach the first Methodist sermon in Baltimore the year before Asbury landed. He married the daughter of Colonel and Senator Benjamin Seawell and located in 1781 to settle on land bought in Halifax County from Gabriel Long, the man who gave the first money for Methodist education in America. He later acquired large acreage near Raleigh and moved there; his grave was nearby and there lived Mrs. Perry his widow. His son, Joel, was the brother-in-law of Green Hill, and when that famous man moved to Tennessee, Joel King lived in the house near Louisburg where was held in 1785 the first Annual Conference after the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church. But Asbury could enter none of these things in his Journal.

Too late for the conference at Raleigh, Asbury set his heart on the General Conference which was to assemble at Baltimore on the first of May. Surely he could make the trip in two months! But he did not.

He went to the home of William Williams near Louisburg—near the Green Hill House, now a shrine of Methodism. There in an earlier day Coke had objected to the passage of Jesus Lee's character because Lee attacked his sermon on slavery—but Coke was forced to withdraw his objection and apologize. Here on February 29th, John Wesley Bond reported to Bishop McKendree that Asbury was a little better, but still very feeble.

The Bishop now entered Virginia, although Bond opposed his attempt to reach Baltimore because he knew it was not possible. On March 4, 1816, they were at the home of Matthew Myrick in Brunswick County. Bond had not dispatched his letter to McKendree, and he opened it here to enclose another letter and one from Asbury himself. These letters dealt mainly with sending missionaries to the German population, and Asbury suggested that Presiding Elders Robert R. Roberts and Henry Bohm be exchanged because the latter preached in the German tongue. This could not be done because Roberts was elected as the Bishop to succeed Asbury on the fourteenth of May.

Preaches His Last Sermon

With amazing fortitude the dying Asbury went to Richmond. He could neither walk nor stand, but he insisted on preaching and would not be dissuaded, saying that he must again deliver the gospel message in this beloved city. Bond gently lifted him from the chair and placed him in a chair, and he was thus carried into the old church on Franklin and Nineteenth Streets. Seated on a table and supported by pillows, he preached his last sermon. He spoke nearly an hour, with frequent stops to gasp for breath, on "He will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness: because a short work will the Lord make upon the earth."

The rest is known history and can be read in Hollingsworth's account at the end of the Journal.

At a snail’s pace Asbury crept on towards Baltimore, advancing scarcely ten miles a day. Six miles north of Spottsylvania his strength failed utterly and Bond carried him in arms into the cabin of George Arnold, an old friend. Two days he lingered, declining a physician who could do nothing or even arrive in time, calling the family around him for Brother Bond's little service, unable to swallow barley water, lifting holy hands in token of complete victory.
Then "as he sat on a chair, with his head reclined on the hand of brother Bond, without a struggle, and with great composure, he breathed his last." Francis Asbury, greatest of the Circuit Riders, had gone to join the other Immortals trying in the gathering mists of death to take up a missionary collection.

"The brave pilgrim’s journey is over. The greatest itinerant of the ages has come to the end of the Long Road, and behold there is a House at the end of the Road, and a light in the window and a welcome. At last the Man without a home has found his Home."

McKendree was ill with rheumatism in the home of Dr. Henry Wilkins, an old friend who lived between Baltimore and Philadelphia, when Bond’s messenger came with the news: "Our dear father has left us, and has gone to the Church of the gathering mists of death to take up an missionary collection.

Removed to Baltimore

But Asbury’s travels were not over. On the first day of the General Conference the male members of the church in Baltimore presented a petition for the removal of his body to that city. The Conference agreed, thanked Brother Arnold "for his attention to our venerable father," and appointed Bond to supervise the removal. Asbury was brought to Baltimore on Thursday, May 9th, to the house of William Hawkins, and the General Conference adjourned to attend his funeral on the following morning.

Baltimore might have been called the headquarters of American Methodism. There the Methodist Episcopal Church was formed, there Asbury had been elected and ordained, and there all the General Conferences save one had met. But none of Asbury’s previous visits to the city were so impressive or honorable as his coming in death.

The whole General Conference and an immense throng of citizens assembled at Light Street Church, from whence the body of the great leader was taken to the Eutaw Street Church. McKendree headed the "vast procession," followed by the General Conference and the people. Among the marching mourners were Jesse Lee, Asbury’s opponent, who was to follow his chief in six months and eventually to rest by his side, William Black, the British itinerant delegate who had come down from Canada to the Christmas Conference and had witnessed Asbury’s ordination there, and Henry Boehm and John Wesley Bond, who had been his travelling companions. McKendree delivered a brief oration and the "Prophet of the Long Road" was interred in the vault of Eutaw Street Church. A noble epitaph was placed over the tomb and there he reposed for nearly forty years.

In 1854 the body was removed to the God’s Acre of Mount Olivet Cemetery where rest the remains of other stalwarts like Jesse Lee, Robert Strawbridge, Ebenezer Ellis, Wilcox Lewis, John Wesley Bond, and Bishops George, Emory, and Waugh.

Faithful to His Charge

Thirty-two years had passed since Asbury had been ordained Deacon, Elder, and Superintendent on three successive days in this city of his final rest. On that occasion Bishop Thomas Coke, fresh from the holy hands of John Wesley, told Asbury that a good bishop "must make of every golden moment, pick up every fragment of time, and devote his little all to the service of his LORD, He looks with deepest contempt on filthy lucre, and is perfectly satisfied with the ‘Riches of CHRIST.’" "Oh thou Man of GOD," charged Coke to the new Bishop, "be not thou ashamed of the Testimony of our LORD, but be thou a paraker of the afflictions of the Gospel, and with the Power of GOD, endure hardness as a good Soldier of JESUS CHRIST. Do the work of an Evangelist, and make full proof of thy Ministry. And thy GOD will open to thee a wide door.
indeed, which all thine enemies shall not be able to shut. He will carry his Gospel under thy direction, from sea to sea, yea, perhaps, from one end of the Continent to the other.

Francis Asbury had been faithful to that charge and the success of his ministry had fulfilled that prediction. He had exemplified literally the conception of the good Bishop, for he had looked with contempt upon filthy lucre and was satisfied with the riches of Christ.

For forty-five years he was a man without a home; there was not even a rented room which he could call his own. His home was the saddle and the open road, and he ate and slept wherever he happened to be at the time. He slept beneath the trees on the hard ground, in the carousing taverns, in one-room shabby cabins with numerous others and even with animals; he slept in the great homes of the rich and the mansions of Governors, but in his Journal he drew no comparisons between them.

He surpassed Wesley by traveling 270,000 miles, and he averaged a sermon a day for nearly half a century. When he reached these shores there were a dozen lay preachers and a thousand "members in society"; when he died there were 300 preachers and 214,000 communicant members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He held 224 conferences, ordained 4,000 preachers, and saw the increase of Methodists outstrip the growth of the population five to one.

This was the preacher who was known as "the man who rambles America" and of whom it was said that he was "the most familiar figure on every road." His enemies called him a tyrant but the results of his administration answered them. He was attacked, but the arrow of his character and influence turned every arrow. There were schisms in the Church, but they came to nothing. Across the intervening years American Methodism has had many great leaders, but in administrative and executive genius, in self-abnegation and evangelistic influence, none has quite attained the stature of Francis Asbury.

STANDARD ANNOTATED EDITION
OF THE JOURNAL AND LETTERS OF
FRANCIS ASBURY

Edited by
ELMER T. CLARK
J. MANNING POYN
JACOB S. PAYTON

assisted by a corps of Consulting Editors and
Regional Research Editors

The Journal of Bishop Francis Asbury has been out of print for more than a hundred years and is unknown to most Methodists. It has never been annotated. The Letters of Asbury have never before been collected.

These basic documents of American Methodism are now being published in a Standard Edition. This is the greatest Methodist historical project of the generation.

The forthcoming work is under the sponsorship of the Historical Publications Committee of the United States Government, the World Methodist Council, and the associated Methodist Historical Societies of the world. This is the highest sponsorship ever accorded to any Methodist publication.

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It will be published in the Western Hemisphere by the Abingdon Press of Nashville and New York, and in the Eastern Hemisphere by the Epworth Press of London. The first two volumes should be ready for delivery in the autumn of 1956.

World-Wide Acclaim

The work has been acclaimed in advance by Methodist leadership of the world:


Dr. Harold Roberts, Chairman of the Theological Faculty of the University of London and Principal of Richmond College: "Will prove to be a highly important event in the literary world."

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The Rev. Dr. Frank Baker, Secretary, Wesley Historical Society, England: "Scholars and laymen throughout the world will be grateful for this venture."
Bishop
Francis Asbury
In The Making of
American Methodism
BISHOP FRANCIS ASBURY
IN THE MAKING
OF
AMERICAN METHODISM

by
Wallace Guy Smeltzer, D.D.

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THE TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY
of the arrival of Asbury in America
Revived at Gran Barr, near Birmingham in England, Francis Asbury was converted at fifteen, and became a Methodist Local Preacher in 1762. He entered Wesley's full-time ministry in 1767 and volunteered to come to America in 1771. He alone of Wesley's "Missionaries" remained in America during the Revolutionary War. Elected Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church at the organizing Christmas Conference of 1784, Asbury was ordained Deacon and Elder by Thomas Coke, assisted by the Elders whom Wesley had ordained and sent to America and by Asbury's friend Philip William Otterbein, founder of the United Brethren in Christ. Asbury never married.

Under his administrative oversight American Methodism developed its characteristic features. He held nearly all the Conferences until 1816, ordained practically all of the early Methodist preachers, and appointed them to their Circuits. He manipulated the new denomination in a superb strategy of expansion so that he may rightly be called "the Father of American Methodism."
ness conducted; and preaching, prayer meetings, and a "Love Feast" would be held. Wesley, himself, itinerated constantly in these Circuits, raising up and appointing the preachers, authorizing the construction of Chapels, seeing that the provisions of the discipline were adhered to, insisting that his Societies were a Movement within the Church of England, and cooperating with evangelical clergymen wherever possible. He admitted candidates to be his Helpers On Trial at his annual Conference sessions, and, if they proved acceptable in their Circuit ministry, received them into Full Connection.

This system of spiritual discipline was devised by Wesley as a vehicle for his doctrine of Free Grace or Arminianism. Basically this was a reaction against the prevalent Calvinism of the times with its emphasis upon the doctrine of Election or Limited Grace, and the spiritual inertia of the Church of England. Wesleyan doctrine, by the time of the emergence of American Methodism, had been formulated in three main sources. They were: the four volumes of Wesley's Sermons, published in 1746, 1748, 1750, and 1760 containing the 44 "standard sermons"; Wesley's Notes Upon the New Testament; and The Larger Minutes. To this was added, in the 1770's, John Fletcher's Checks on Antinomianism.

The Problem of Transferring this System of Spiritual Nurture to the British Colonies in North America

The primary task of the first two decades of American Methodism was that of transferring the essentials of this Wesleyan system of Doctrine and Discipline to America. The effective instruments of God in making the transfer were Thomas Rodney and Francis Asbury.

As is well known the first American Methodist Societies were raised up in Maryland, New York, and Philadelphia in the 1760's under the leadership of three of Wesley's Local Preachers, Robert Strawbridge, Philip Embury, and Thomas Webb, acting on their own initiative. The appeal to Wesley for preachers in 1768 laid a burden on the heart of the founder of Methodism as it raised the question — how could the system of spiritual nurture evolved over three decades in England be successfully transferred to the British Colonies in North America? Wesley clearly saw that the transfer was, basically, a matter of competent leadership. For three years, from 1769 to 1772, he seriously considered coming to America himself to oversee the Movement that had sprung up here.

When Boardman and Pilmoor were sent to America in 1769 Boardman was placed in charge as "Assistant." Asbury volunteered "for America" at the Conference of 1771 and arrived at Philadelphia on October 23rd of that year. He had traveled Circuits in England for five years and had been admitted to Wesley's Itineracy as a "Helper" in 1767. Born in 1745 he was 26 years old when he arrived on these shores 200 years ago.

Asbury quickly perceived that the Circuit system was not being followed by Boardman and Pilmoor. As early as November 10, 1771 he said: "I remain in New York, though unsatisfied with our being both
in town together. I have not yet the thing I seek—a circulation of preachers... I am fixed to the Methodist plan... My brethren seem unwilling to leave the cities, but I think that I shall show them the way." We see his hand in the events of 1772 with the establishment of the first Circuits around New York and Philadelphia, with Boardman's contact with the Strawbridge Methodism in Maryland and with his preaching tour in New England as far as Boston, and with Pilmore's year long tour into the south reaching as far as Charleston, South Carolina.

Captain Webb went to England to the Conference of 1772 seeking the appointment of a strong disciplinarian for the Methodist work, and Wesley appointed Thomas Rankin to take over as his "General Assistant" in America in 1773. On October 10, 1772 Asbury received a letter from Wesley naming him as "assistant" for America, replacing Boardman until the coming of Rankin. Under Rankin's administration during the five years until 1778 the Wesleyan Rules and Doctrines were effectively established, the number of Circuits was increased to 15, the number of preachers to 36, and the membership in the Societies to 6,968. Asbury worked diligently under Rankin's supervision, but he became increasingly unhappy with his superior because of his authoritarian methods. The achievement of Rankin and the other Wesleyan itinerants in effectively establishing the Wesleyan Discipline in America in the five years from 1773 to 1778 was the foundation upon which Asbury built when he fell into command of the Movement on this side of the Atlantic.

How the solving of the Near Schism of 1779-1780 placed Asbury in command of American Methodism

The period from 1778 to 1782 was crucial for American Methodism and a division of the Movement over the question of the administering of the sacraments by the itinerants was narrowly averted under Asbury's leadership. It was the prevention of this near schism which set Asbury in command of American Methodism and commenced his annual itinerating over the entire Movement in this country.

Seen in the light of history the impact of the Revolutionary War upon infant American Methodism was providential. It forced the Americanization of the Movement and raised up the great leader who was to guide it for the next thirty-seven years.

Rankin had administered the work in an Annual Conference session, beginning in 1773, and by some itinerating among the Circuits. By 1777 Wesley's itinerancy position had rendered his English preachers unacceptable, and it was expected that by the end of the year they would all have returned to England. At the Conference of 1777 on May 20th farewell were said and Rankin named a committee of five American preachers to superintend the work. These men were: Philip Gatch, Edward Dromgoole, Daniel Ruff, William Glendenning, and William Watters. By the time of the Conference session held in May 1778 the twenty-nine young American preachers were bereft of leadership. All of Wesley's preachers had returned to England except Asbury.
he was "shut up" in Delaware. On March 13, 1778 he wrote in his Journal, "I was under some heaviness of mind. But it was no wonder: three thousand miles from home—my friends have left me—I am considered by some an enemy of the country—every day liable to be seized by violence, and abused. However, all this is but a trifle to suffer for Christ, and the salvation of souls. Lord, stand by me!"

The departure of many of the Anglican clergy during the Revolution denied the sacraments to the Methodist people, many of whom had availed themselves of this privilege, and increasing pressure was being brought for the Methodist Itinerants to administer them. This was a departure from the Wesleyan Rule that the preachers were unordained laymen and could not administer the sacraments. This had been an issue in Maryland from the earliest days when Strawbridge had administered the sacraments without ordination, and the Methodist revival in Virginia in 1775 and 1776 had made it an insistent issue in that region.

By the time of the Conference session in the spring of 1779 this issue brought about a division in emerging American Methodism. After a few weeks of persecution in the Spring of 1778 Asbury was cleared of suspicion of disloyalty and began to give strong leadership to the Methodism on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake in Maryland and Delaware. Being informed of the probable action of the Virginia preachers, he called a Conference of the northern preachers at Judge Thomas White's on April 28, 1779. Seventeen preachers, including Asbury, accepted the authority of this Conference. To the question, "Shall we guard against a separation from the Church, directly or indirectly?" the answer was given, "By all means." This Conference also asserted that Asbury should act as "General Assistant in America."

The southern preachers met in Conference at the Broken Back Church in Fluvanna County, Virginia on May 18, 1779. When the question of administering the sacraments came to a vote 18 out of the 27 preachers present voted to change the Rules. A presbytery of four men, Philip Vierch, Reuben Ellis, Thomas Foster, and Leroy Cole was set up to ordain as many of the preachers as wished to administer the sacraments to Methodists only. These men administered the sacraments in the southern Circuits during the next year, much to the satisfaction of the people.

By the spring of 1780 Asbury felt it to be safe to leave his wartime sanctuary in Delaware. At the Conference of the northern preachers held in Baltimore under Asbury's presidency on April 24, 1780 action was taken dismissing the Virginia brethren as "no longer Methodists in connection with Mr. Wesley and us until they come back." Asbury, Freeborn Garrettson and William Watters were then sent to the Conference of the southern preachers held at Manakinstown, Virginia on May 9th to try to heal the division. After much prayer and heart-searching the southern preachers agreed to suspend the administration of the ordinances for one year. A condition of this agreement was the promise that Asbury lay no problem of the need of the sacraments by American Methodism before John Wesley, and that he travel through the southern Circuits explaining the Methodist Rule to the people.
A background factor prompting this compromise by the southern preachers was the trend of the war in 1780 pointing to the probable disestablishment of the Anglican Church in America.

From April 12, 1780 to April 24, 1781 Asbury made his first supervisory tour of the Circuits, covering about 4,000 miles in Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. In the Conference of 1781 thirty-nine of the preachers signed an agreement "to preach the old Methodist doctrine, and strictly enforce the discipline, as contained in the Notes, Sessional, and Minutes published by Mr. Wesley, as far as they respect both preachers and people, according to the knowledge we have of them, and the ability God shall give; and (are) firmly resolved to the discountenance a separation among either preachers or people." Only one of the preachers refused to sign this agreement. Then in the Conference of 1782 it was agreed to "erase the question respecting the ordinances." Thus we see it was the decision of Francis Asbury to remain in America, and his leadership in settling this near schism over the rules respecting the administration of the sacraments, which made possible the emergence of The Methodist Episcopal Church as a united body.

The Americanization of the Wesleyan Movement — Creation of the Methodist Episcopal Church

The next five years, 1782 to 1787, saw the Americanization of the Wesleyan Movement in this country. The Conference of 1782 reaffirmed and expanded the authority given to Asbury by the Delaware Conference of 1779 by inserting the question in the Minutes, "Do the brethren in Conference unanimously choose brother Asbury to act according to Mr. Wesley's original appointment, and preside over the American Conferences and the whole work?" with the answer "yes." It was not until December 24, 1783 that Asbury received a letter from Wesley naming him General Assistant in America. The failure of John Wesley to provide for the leadership of the American portion of his Movement until more than five years had elapsed after the return of Rankin can only be explained by the conjecture that Wesley's distrust of Asbury was being fostered by the influence of Rankin. It is clear that Asbury came into the leadership of American Methodism by the action of the American preachers in Conference assembled, and not by the appointment of John Wesley.

The manner in which Asbury and the American preachers received Wesley's provision for Methodism in this country in 1784 further sets forth the Americanization of the Movement. With the achieving of American independence, and the disestablishment of the Church of England in this country, the problem confronting John Wesley, from his point of view, was how to give to American Methodism the ecclesiastical authority and organizational polity and leadership that would enable it to function in the new order and provide for the Methodist people in every way, including provision for the ordinances of the Church. He seemed to feel that an accommodation might be achieved that would permit a continued union with English Methodism. Thus the Discipline of the Christmas Conference,
acting on the instructions of Wesley as conveyed by Coke, has in its second question: "What can be done to the further union of the Methodists?" With the answer: "During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the gospel, ready in matters belonging to Church Government, to obey his commands. And we do engage, after his death, to do everything that we judge consistent with the cause of religion in America and the political interests of these States, to promote and preserve our union with the Methodists of Europe."

Wesley ruled English Methodism with autocratic authority. He considered the actions of his Conferences as advisory only. He made the final decisions and expected them to be carried out. This is the way Rankin ruled the Movement in this country in the 1770's. But under Asbury the Conference came to have decisive authority. Thomas Coke, Richard Whatcoat, and Thomas Vasey, Wesley's emissaries to America, landed in New York on November 3, 1784, and met with Asbury at Barratt's Chapel in Delaware on November 14th. Coke's Journal illuminates the decision making authority of the preachers under Asbury's administration. "After dining in company with eleven of our preachers at Sister Barratt's, about a mile from the Chapel, Mr. Asbury and I had a private conversation concerning the future management of our affairs in America. He informed me that he had received some intimations of my arrival on the continent, and as he thought it probable that I might meet him that day, and might have something of importance to communicate to him from Mr. Wesley, he had therefore collected a considerable number of the preachers to form a council; and if they were of the opinion that it would be expedient immediately to call a Conference, it should be done. They were accordingly sent for, and after debate, were unanimously of that opinion. We therefore sent off Freeborn Garrettson, like an express, from North to South, directing him to send messengers to the right and left, and to gather all the preachers together at Baltimore on Christmas Eve." This is the Christmas Conference was not called by the authority of John Wesley. He had not envisioned the preachers as having authority over the new Church. Apparently he had intended that his Superintendents should ordain whom they chose and that they should be the sole ecclesiastical rulers, under himself, of the Methodism that had arisen in America. But the organizing Christmas Conference was called by a Council of the Preachers, after debate. And when the Conference met from December 24, 1784 to January 2, 1785, its decisions in creating the new Church were made, after debate, by majority vote. Asbury refused the Superintendency unless he was elected by the Preachers, and it was done. Coke was also elected. And the men to be ordained Deacons and Elders were elected on the recommendation of a Council that had assembled at Perry Hall for a week before the Conference. Wesley's Larger Minutes were studied by the Council at Perry Hall, revised to fit the American scene, and adopted by the Conference by vote as the first Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Articles of Religion and the Ritual sent over by Wesley were adopted unchanged thus retaining the spiritual authority of Methodism's founder in those vital matters. But Wesley's temporal authority was almost eliminated.

The final step in this Americanization of Method-
ism as an independent Church occurred in 1787. The plan for the Conference of 1787 was set to meet in three sections: Salisbury, North Carolina on May 17th; at Petersburg, Virginia on June 19th; and at Abingdon, Maryland on July 24th. On Coke's second trip to America he brought instructions from Wesley that a General Conference should be called to meet at Baltimore on May 1, 1787; that Richard Whatcoat was appointed to be a General Superintendent along with Asbury; and that Freeman Garrettson was to be sent as Superintendent to Nova Scotia. The Baltimore section of the Conference was changed to the May 1st date. But when the preachers assembled they rejected Wesley's appointments of Whatcoat and Garrettson. Moreover the preachers rescinded the action of the Christmas Conference in which they had accepted Wesley's authority as his "sons in the gospel." John Wesley never understood American democracy, whereas Asbury had come to see the necessity of governing by the consent of those governed.

Thus as the young republic was shaping its instruments of government, a new Church, providentially equipped in doctrine, leadership, and organization, had been raised up to meet the spiritual needs of the expanding new nation. American religion was at low ebb, the influence of the Great Awakening in the forty years before the Revolution having been largely dissipated during the war. The first census of 1790 returned only eight percent of the population as members of any Church.

### Asbury an Itinerating Field Marshal of the Lord

From the beginning of Asbury's administration he kept constantly before him the single objective, "to spread scriptural holiness throughout the land." In his annual tours he sought to visit every segment of the expanding Church every year. He was not just an itinerating "prophet of the long road." Rather he was a field marshal of the Lord as he commanded the Methodist Circuit Riders in a superb strategy of Church expansion, following the pioneers in the dynamic expansion of the young United States of America. Beginning in 1780 he tried to visit every Circuit each year; then, beginning in 1788, his annual tours reached every Presiding Elder's District each year; then, after the creation of the Annual Conferences in 1796, his travels were designed to get him to each Conference session. From 1785 until 1816 there were two hundred fifty District and Annual Conference sessions and Asbury presided at all but fourteen, which he missed only on account of illness. He ordained practically all the early preachers and appointed them to their positions. He was an able administrator and one of the frustrating things about his Journal is that he seldom recorded his plans and we have to arrive at them by observing the development of the Church under his leadership.

### Evolution of the governing General Conference, and the Annual Conferences

The Christmas Conference authorized the ordination of eighteen of the American preachers as elders. With Coke, Asbury, Whatcoat and Vasey this made a body of twenty-two elders. Two were sent to Canada and two to Antigua in the West Indies. Georgia and Charleston were created as new Circuits and each of them was assigned an ordained elder as the itinerant. The preachers assigned to
New York and St. Mary's were elders. Two of the Americans plus Watson and Vasey were assigned over groupings of Circuits to make possible the administration of the sacraments in the Quarterly Meetings. Asbury quickly began to use them as administrative assistants and thus the Presiding Eldership, now the District Superintendency, was born.

The Christmas Conference was an organizing Convention. It made no provision for an over-all governing body for the new Church. Asbury attempted to meet this need in 1789 by calling the Presiding elders together in a General Council. This Council met annually for only two years. Since it was a creature of the Bishop, denying the authority of the preachers, it met with opposition, and, in 1792, the first quadrennial General Conference was called.

In like manner the Annual Conferences arose under Asbury's oversight as an expedient means of administering the work and making the appointments of the preachers as the Church expanded numerically and geographically. Thomas Rankin held the first Conference of American Methodism in 1773 and it met in one session annually until 1779. It met in two sections from 1779 to 1784, and in three sections from 1785 to 1787. Starting in 1788 Asbury began to increase these regional Conferences, scheduling them to meet according to his planned itinerary. During the year he would often deviate from the plan to meet changed circumstances. Thus for 1788 six Conferences were planned and eight were held; for 1789 eleven were planned and twelve were held; and for 1790 thirteen were planned but only ten were held. The Conferences for 1796 were all crowded into the Spring of the year to accommodate the itinerary of Dr. Coke, who was in the country that Spring, and to allow Asbury time for his first tour of New England. For 1796 nineteen Conferences had been planned and fifteen were held with an adjustment of dates placing the Baltimore session October 29th, followed by the first General Conference on November 6th.

During the 1795-1796 quadrennium Asbury began combining these sectional Conferences for greater administrative facility in making the appointments. Thus in 1796 twenty Conferences were scheduled but only fourteen were held; for 1797 fourteen were scheduled and ten were held; for 1798 the number scheduled was reduced to seven and all seven were held; and in 1799 seven Conferences were scheduled but nine were held.

The General Conference of 1796 created the six original Annual Conferences with geographical boundaries. They were New England, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Virginia, South Carolina, and Western. In 1800 the New England Conference was divided into New England and New York. These were the seven original Annual Conferences with geographical boundaries. The Conferences held before 1796 were looked upon by Asbury as District Conferences held regionally for the convenience of the preachers, with himself supplying the connecting link by his annual tour in which he presided over them consecutively, conducted the business, and ordained and appointed the preachers. Apparently he carried the records of the admission of preachers,
the ordinations, the reports of statistics, and the appointments with him for the year, turning them in at Philadelphia as the report of the denomination for the year. The appointments are not listed for Districts within Annual Conferences until 1802, and the statistics of members are first listed within Districts of Conferences in 1803. It was not until 1805 that admissions of preachers and ordinations were listed by Conferences.

There was agitation during the 1804-1808 quadrennium for the creation of a diocean episcopacy with the election of a bishop for each Conference. Instead the 1808 General Conference elected William McKendree as a General Superintendent to serve along with Asbury, adopted the Restrictive Rules generally regarded as the Constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and created the General Conference. We see the strong hand of Asbury in these actions. In 1810 Asbury by his own action created the Genesee Conference to administer the Circuits that had grown up around Lake Ontario, both in New York State and Canada. The 1812 General Conference confirmed this action, with some criticism of Asbury for exceeding his authority in creating the Conference. That first assigned General Conference also divided the original Western Conference into Tennessee and Ohio Conferences.

Thus the General and Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church were evolved between 1785 and 1812 under the guiding hand of Bishop Asbury as administrative agencies to meet the needs of the expanding Church.

The Early Methodist Circuit System

The key structure in early American Methodism was the Circuit. By the time of the Christmas Conference its characteristic features had been developed. The normative Circuit consisted of twelve preaching places for a one-preacher ten-week Circuit, or twenty-four preaching places or Classes for a two-preacher four-week Circuit. Preaching places were located in homes from five to ten miles apart. Asbury would send one or two men into an area to create a Circuit. Preaching was carried out six or seven days per week. In the two-preacher arrangement the men followed each other at two-week intervals. If a Class could not be organized at a preaching place after two or three services the place would be abandoned and a more favorable location would be sought in the same neighborhood.

After the arrangement of the Circuits under Presiding Elders, beginning in 1785, Quarterly Meetings of the Circuits were held. These were two-day meetings held on a Saturday and Sunday presided over by the Presiding Elder. The collections of the Classes would be reeled and the temporal business of the Circuit conducted. A love feast, the administration of the sacraments, and preaching would mark these high times in the life of the Circuit. Asbury directed his itinerary to attend as many Quarterly Meetings as possible. The preachers would report to the Bishop in the Conference sessions, and when the prospects warranted it Asbury would divide the Circuit and put two preachers on each part. Expecting them to organize new Classes and come up with a full Circuit at the next Conference. This was an important technique of expansion and evangelism in early Methodism.
After the beginning of the Campmeeting as an interdenominational sacramental service on the western frontier in 1801 Asbury recognized its value as an evangelizing agency. Writing to Thornton Fleming, Presiding Elder of the Pittsburgh District, on December 2, 1802 Asbury said: "I wish you would also hold Campmeetings; they have never been tried without success. To collect such a number of God's people together to pray, and the ministers to preach, and the longer they stay, generally, the better — this is field fighting, this is fishing with a large net." When Asbury came through western Pennsylvania in August 1803 he found Fleming had taken his suggestion seriously and had arranged the first Asbury-called Campmeeting near Brownsville, Pennsylvania. So useful was the Campmeeting to early Methodism that by 1812, the summer Quarterly Meeting of nearly every Methodist Circuit was held as a Campmeeting. This greatly accelerated the creation of new Circuits as the converts opened their homes for preaching and the organizing of new Classes.

Another factor making for the rapid spread of Methodism, especially on the western frontier, was the migration of Methodist families westward. They would send a request to Asbury for the establishment of preaching in their homes in the new settlements and the Bishop would send preachers. Thus Methodism blanketed the nation. By the time of Asbury's last Conferences, in 1815, 167,978 white and 43,187 negro members were reported. The 704 preachers were appointed to man 53 Districts in 9 Annual Conferences with 402 Circuits. Counting 12 Classes for the 202 single preacher appointments and 24 Classes for the 200 two-preacher Circuits gives approximately 7,224 Methodist preaching places by the time of Asbury's death. It is little wonder that the American Church historian Philip Schaff called the Methodist Circuit System "the best army of conquest for the Lord that has ever been devised." This System may well be called Asburian since his was the primary guiding influence in its development.

The secret of the effectiveness of the System lay in the three-fold conditions under which the Itinerants labored. These conditions were: 1. The equal pay of all the Itinerants, $64 per year at first, then $80 in 1800, then after 1808, $100. 2. The limited tenure of a preacher on a Circuit, six months at first, and set a maximum of two years in 1804. And 3. The unlimited power of the Bishop to make the appointments. Asbury carefully guarded this power, seeing it as the means of maintaining the unity and flexibility of the Circuit System to meet the needs of the expanding Church in the expanding nation. This power of making the appointments was an issue in every General Conference from 1792, when it was the occasion of the O'Kelly schism, until 1828, when the "reformers" who contended for a limitation on this power withdrew to form the Methodist Protestant Church. Asbury didn't trust either Coke or Wharton with the making of the appointments, and relinquished it to McKendree only in limited fashion after 1808. To the charge of autocracy leveled against him in this matter Asbury sagely and humbly contended that he held the power of the appointments solely for the good of the Church.
Asbury's Strategy of Geographical Expansion

To understand the manner in which Methodism expanded to occupy the nation we need to be aware of Asbury's strategy of geographical expansion. The region of Methodist origins was the Atlantic seaboard from New York City to northern North Carolina and inland to the Appalachian Mountains. The rest of the nation to the Mississippi River was occupied in five Asbury-directed expansion thrusts.

After the Treaty of Fort Stanwix with the Iroquis Indians, in 1768, legal settlement was opened west of the mountains as far as the Ohio River and down the Ohio to the mouth of the Mississippi. The next year Asbury appointed Jeremiah Lambert to form a Circuit on the headwaters of the Holston, and sent Richard Owings, Strawbridge's first Local Preacher, to lay plans for a Circuit among relatives and friends in western Pennsylvania who had emigrated from the Baltimore region. The next year Asbury appointed John Cooper and Samuel Breeze, to organize the original Redstone Circuit in western Pennsylvania and western Virginia. Between 1784 and 1816 Asbury made twenty tours through this northern section of the western expansion of Methodism. In 1788 he made his first trip into the Holston valley in the southern section of this western expansion. His first trip into Kentucky was in 1789, and by the last tour of 1815 he had included this Kentucky-Tennessee region in twenty-three of his annual tours. After the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, with the western Indians, opening the region west and north of the Alleghany and Ohio rivers to legal settlements, settlers flocked into the Northwest Territories and Circuits began to be organized among them as early as 1797. By 1815 there were 110 Circuits west of the mountains reporting 50,000 members.

The thrust southward into South Carolina and Georgia began in 1785 with the appointment of Beverly Allen to Georgia, John Tunnell to Charleston, and Woolman Hickson to Georgetown. Asbury reached Charleston in his tour of 1785, and included Georgia for the first time in 1786. He visited this region of the deep south thirty-three times in his annual tours between 1785 and 1816 spending the winter months in the southern Circuits. By 1816 the South Carolina Conference reported 39,494 members in forty-seven Circuits.

As soon as the Revolutionary War was over, in August of 1783, Asbury returned to New York and found that the Society at John Street Church had survived the British occupation. In 1788 Asbury readied a dynamic thrust to occupy the upper Hudson valley. Selecting Freeborn Garrettson as Presiding Elder, six potential Circuits were laid out reaching from New Rochelle on Long Island Sound to Lake Champlain, and nine young preachers were assigned to them to establish Methodism in the region under Garrettson's oversight. So effective was this effort that in its first three years, from 1788 to 1791, it had grown into two Presiding Elder's Districts manned by twenty-three preachers and reporting 3,809 members. By 1807 new Circuits were being created around Lake Ontario, both in New
York and Canada. In his tour that year Asbury included the Finger Lakes region as far westward as Lyons, and in his tour of 1810 he organized the Genesee Conference in Daniel Dorsey's granary near Lyons. By 1816 the upper Hudson region plus the Genesee Conference reported 24,028 members organized in seventy-one Circuits. Asbury supervised the work by including the region in his annual tours fifteen times between 1791 and 1815.

Bishop Asbury employed a similar strategy in the Methodist invasion of Congregational New England. In 1789 Jesse Lee and Andrew Van Nostand were appointed to organize the Stamford, Connecticut, Circuit. The next year Lee was made the Presiding Elder over four Circuits reaching to Boston, and in 1791 Asbury included New England in his tour for the first time. He included New England in his annual tours twenty-one times between 1791 and 1815. By 1816 there were 11,974 members in the New England Conference organized in sixty Circuits.

Asbury the Theological Tutor of early American Methodism

By the time Wesley's Discipline emerged as the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church it had been so changed that we may properly call its American form Asburian. But the Wesleyan Doctrines of free grace, assurance of experiential salvation, growth in grace to Christian perfection or perfect love, and the Christian witness for the godly life as the fruits of the Spirit were transferred to American Methodism intact. Asbury's mind was saturated with Wesleyan doctrine. He insisted that the young preachers read Wesley's Sermons and Notes and they have a personal experience of salvation. They all heard the Bishop preach these doctrines in Conference, in Camp Meetings, and in their Circuits as his annual itinerary would bring them into contract with him. The new History of American Methodism states, "It was Francis Asbury who exercised the primary role of theological tutor for early American Methodism. Throughout his ministry Asbury continued in his concern to preach, defend, and establish others in the grand doctrines of the gospel — man's original rectitude — his fall — the atonement — repentance — justification — sanctification — the resurrection — the last judgment, and final rewards and punishments."

The name "Asbury" has passed into the language of Methodism and America. Children, Churches, Colleges, and Towns have been named for him. Historians of the Federal Government have included him in the list of the three-score most significant founders of America. All of American Methodism bears the imprint of Francis Asbury's hand and mind and spirit, and all of Christian America owes an immeasurable debt to Asbury and the early Methodist Circuit system. The dynamic Methodist evangelism that flourished under the guiding hand and oversight of Francis Asbury operated, largely, in a vacuum of spiritual need in the life of the young Republic. All who are concerned that the
Christian way of life may triumph can look at
the toilsome suffering life of dedication and achieve­
ment lived by Francis Asbury and thank God that
In his providence such a leader was raised up to
guide the forces of rightness in such critical age.

THE AMERICAN METHODIST
BICENTENNIAL HYMN

As a part of the celebration of the Bicentennial of American Methodism carried on under the leadership of The Association of Methodist Historical Societies in 1966 the Contests Committee conducted a contest to secure a Bicentennial Hymn. A hymn titled GOD OF THE GENERATIONS, written by Dale Charles Berry, former faculty member of the College of Business Administration of Syracuse University, was chosen for first prize. Its use in Asbury Bicentennial Programs is suggested.

Sing to the tune of "Lead on O King Eternal."

LAMAScular 10.A.5D

God of the generations, we offer Thee our song
Of praise and adoration, for through the centuries long
Thy grace has led our people on life's ascending ways;
And now, God of the ages, we lift our hymn of praise.

We thank Thee for the high road our faithful fathers trod,
For witness of the Spirit that they were born of God,
For circuit riders called by Thee who traveled far and wide
To tell the matchless story of Jesus crucified.

Man now seeks other planets; he walks in stellar space;
He plumbs the ocean's darkness, all knowledge to embrace;
But yet he yearns to find Thee, to hear Thy voice so still.
How shall Thy church make answer, her mission to fulfill?

Where greed and envy flourish, where hate holds its sway,
There let Thy Church speak boldly, reach out her loving hands.
And lead men of all nations to find the Promised Land.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

WALLACE GUY SMELTZER is the historian of the Western Pennsylvania Conference of the United Methodist Church. He served on the executive committee of The Association of Methodist Historical Societies from 1960 to 1968, being the Contests Chairman for the Methodist Bicentennial in 1966. He was a regional editor for the annotated edition of The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury published in 1958. His 350icolor slide Illustrated Lecture, The Origins and Early Development of American Methodism was distributed from 1963 to 1965 and has enjoyed wide use. He is the author of Mysticism on the Headwaters of the Ohio, the 406 page history of western Pennsylvania Methodism, published in 1951, and in 1969 he edited the 923 page Historical Records Volume of the Western Pennsylvania Conference Uplift Methodist in Western Pennsylvania, 1784-1968. He is a native of western Pennsylvania; a graduate of Indiana University of Pennsylvania (then Indiana State Normal School) in 1921; a graduate of Grove City College, B.S. in 1926, and D.D. in 1948; and a graduate of The Pittsburgh Theological Seminary (then Western) S.T.B. in 1932. He served as a pastor in Western Pennsylvania Methodism from 1925 to 1965, including a tour of duty as a navy chaplain, 1943-1945. He participated in the Guam and Okinawa campaigns of World War II as a naval headquarters chaplain, III Amphibious Corps, USMC.

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LIVING SELECTIONS FROM
THE GREAT DEVOTIONAL CLASSICS

Selections from
the Journal of
Francis Asbury

ARRANGED AND EDITED
by
J. Manning Potts
INTRODUCTION

Francis Asbury (1745-1816), the prophet of the long road, more truly than any other person can be called the founder of The Methodist Church in America even though there were other Methodist preachers who preceded him to the New World. He took the experimental religion, the "rational scriptural, and preachable theology," and most of the policy of John Wesley and made them practical in the wilderness of America. His was a dynamic faith, and he preached a personal gospel with all its implications. He denounced slavery, drinking, gambling, war, and other social evils. He taught the three R's and did much to stamp out illiteracy. He built schools and colleges. He founded Sunday schools. He preached to the people in jails, and had an interest in men wherever he found them.

Asbury went up and down the land for 45 years in an ever-widening circle of travels, often on horseback, frequently in a chaise, a fly cart, a vanly, or, in his old age, sometimes in a closed carriage, winning converts and emphasizing that his purpose was to "reform the continent and spread scriptural holiness" over this land.

It has been said that the early circuit riders made as great a contribution to the development of America as did the great statesmen. There were many of these in several denominations, but Francis Asbury stands out in
from these early pioneers. He rode further than any, preached more sermons, visited more homes, talked more people, organized more churches, and lived longer. When he died, he left churches and the impress of his personality from Ontario to Georgia, from Virginia to Ohio, and upon all the states within that circuit. He sent out other preachers. They carried the Gospel in new states and territories, and the preachers soon established a reputation for following the pioneers wherever they went. Asbury was truly the prophet of the long road, though often beset with sickness. In spite of his ill he traveled.

In this booklet the material, arranged in chronological order, has been taken from Asbury's Journal, Hollingsworth's 1821 edition. The prayers are from the pen of the editor of the booklet.

To Dr. J. Minor Batten, Professor of Church History, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, the editor is deeply indebted. He is also indebted to staff members for their help in the compilation, especially to the Reverend Brooks B. Little, Miss Clarice Winstead, Mr. Russell Q. Chilcote, and Mr. Harold L. Hermann.

J. Manning Potts
Editor, The Upper Room
Nashville, Tennessee
them again: the text was, "The time will come, when they will not endure sound doctrine." My companion was cut to the heart, but I was unmoved. The next year Mr. [name] came into those parts. I was then about fifteen; and, young as I was, the word of God soon made deep impressions on my heart, which brought me to Jesus Christ, who graciously justified my guilty soul through faith in his precious blood; and soon showed me the excellency and necessity of holiness.

About sixteen I experienced a marvelous display of the grace of God, which some might think was full sanctification, and was indeed very happy, though in an ungodly family. At about seventeen I began to hold some public meetings; and between seventeen and eighteen began to exhort and preach. When about twenty-one I went through Staffordshire and Gloucestershire, in the place of a travelling preacher; and the next year through Bedfordshire, Sussex, &c. In 1769 I was appointed assistant in Northamptonshire; and the next year travelled in Wiltshire. September 3, 1771, I embarked for America, and for my own private satisfaction, began to keep an imperfect journal.

I. EARLY YEARS

[September, 1771 (At Sea).] Thursday, 13th. I will set down a few things that lie on my mind. Whither am I going? To the New World. What to do? To gain honor? No, if I know my own heart. To get money? No, I am going to live to God, and to bring others so to do.

[September, 1771 (At Sea).] On the Lord's day, September 22, I preached to the ship's company on John 10, 15: but alas! they were insensible creatures. My heart was much pained on their account. I spent my time chiefly in retirement, in prayer, and in reading the Appeals, Mr. De Renty's life, part of Mr. Norris's Works, Mr. Edwards on the Work of God in New-England, the Pilgrim's Progress, the Bible, and Mr. Wesley's Sermons. I feel a strong desire to be given up to God—body, soul, time, and talents, far more than heretofore.

[Philadelphia, 1771.] October 27. This day we landed in Philadelphia, where we were directed to the house of one Mr. Francis Harris, who kindly entertained us in the evening, and brought us to a large church, where we met with a considerable congregation. Brother Filmore preached. The people looked on us with pleasure, hardly knowing how to show their love sufficiently, bidding us welcome with fervent affection, and receiving us as angels of God. O that we may always walk worthy of the vocation wherewith we are called! When I came near the American shore, my very heart melted within me, to think from whence I came, where I was going, and what I was going about. But I felt my
mind open to the people, and my tongue loosed to speak. I feel that God is here; and find plenty of all we need.

[New York, November, 1771.] Thursday, 22. At present I am disappointed. I judge we are to be shut up in the cities this winter. My brothers seem unwilling to leave the ship, but I think I shall show them the way. I am in trouble, and more trouble is at hand, for I am determined to make a stand against all partiality. I have nothing to look but the glory of God: nothing to feel, but his displeasure.

[Pennsylvania, 1772.] April 11. Found an inclination to study, an unwearied frame of mind, such immovability of soul, and a back-wards form of prayer. Lord, help me with an active warm heart to move, and with a vigorous soul to rise!

[New York, September, 1772.] Wednesday, 23. In the morning I preached, and felt a sense of peace, and stronger confidence in my soul towards God.

I am now twenty-seven years of age, and have had a religious concern on my heart about fourteen years; though I felt something of God as early as the age of seven.

[Maryland, November, 1772.] Tuesday, 24. Preached at Winchester [now Westminster,] in an unfinished house, and while the rain beat in upon me, many people looked and wondered at the stranger. However, I delivered my message with some energy, and then rode three miles to Richard Owing's, where the Lord enabled me to preach with much feeling to a great number of people.

Wednesday, 25. We rode about twenty miles to my old friend Joshua Owing's, the house of the Methodists at that time, and found a very agreeable house and family. The old man is "an honest, indeed." He was once a serious Church-man, who sought for the truth, and now God has revealed it to him. The Lord has also begun to bless his family. He has one son a preacher, and the rest of his children are very thoughtful.

[Maryland, 1773.] Lord's day, January 10. Many people attended at J. P.'s to whom I preached twice, with some life, and then went three miles into the Neck, and felt much power while preaching on perfect love. The more I speak on this subject, the more my soul is filled and drawn out in love. This doctrine has a great tendency to prevent people from settling on their lees.
is the portion of my soul. He honours me with sweet peace, and sanctifies all my afflic-
tions. Lord, evermore keep me, and conduct me in safety to thy blessed presence above!

[Maryland, February, 1774.] Friday, 18.
While preaching at the house of Mr. Moore, his father and mother were moved by the word of God. But after lying down at night to rest, my heart was oppressed with imprassi-
able feelings for the inhabitants of Baltimore. I am pressed unto them as a cart full of sheaves; and would rather be employed in the most servile offices, than preach to them, if it were not from a sense of duty to God, and a desire to be instrumental in saving their souls. If honour and worldly gain were held out as motives to this painful work, they would appear lighter than vanity. But, Lord, thou knowest my motives and my ends!

[Maryland, March, 1774.]... much indisposed on Friday. Though I continued very unwell the next day, I went to church, and heard Mr. Chase deliver a good discourse on retirement and private devotion; and afterward I attempted to preach at the Point, but found myself much worse at my return to town. My indisposition and weakness of body have so pressed me down for some time past, that I do not expect to abide long in this world of danger and trouble; neither do I desire it. But, come life or come death, let the will of the Lord be done! After the physicians had given over, and thought they could do him no more service, we had recourse to our old-fashioned remedy, prayer; and had reason to believe the Lord in mercy heard us.

[New York, May, 1774.] Lord's day, 29.
I visited Mr. Wight, who is going to Eng-
land, but found he had no care for spiritual
subjects. Lord, keep me from all superficial
of dress and from preaching empty stuff to
please the ear, instead of changing the heart!
Thus has he fulfilled as a hireling his day.

My mind is in peace. I have now been sick
near ten months, and many days closely con-
fined; yet I have preached about three hun-
dred times, and rode near two thousand miles
in that time, though very frequently in a high
fever. Here is no care, worldly profit, or
honour. What, then, but the desire of pleas-
ing God and saving souls, could stimulate to
such laborious and painful duties?

[New York, August, 1774.] August 1.
I have great discoveries of my defects and weak-
nesses. My soul is not so steadily and warmly
devoted to the Lord as it might be. Lord, help me, and supply me with grace always!
In preaching from Ephesians ii, 12, 13, I had
great freedom. It seems strange, that some-
times, after much premeditation and devo-
tion, I cannot express my thoughts with readi-
ness and perspicuity; whereas at other times,
proper sentences of Scripture and apt expres-
sions occur without care or much thought.
Surely this is of the Lord, to convince us that
it is not by power or might, but by his Spir
the work must be done. Nevertheless, it is
our duty to give ourselves to prayer
and meditation, at the same time depending
entirely on the grace of God, as if we had
made no preparation.

[New York, September, 1774.] Lord's day,
18. Losing some of my ideas in preaching, I
was ashamed of myself, and pained to see
the people waiting to hear what the blunderful
had to say. May these things humble me, and
show me where my great strength lieth! In
knowing the society I urged the necessity of
more private devotion, and of properly
digesting what they hear. Set off the next morning
for New Rochelle, and found E. D. in distress
of soul. This is an agreeable family, and the
children are both affectionate and obedient to
their parents. I hope she and the rest of
them will become true Christians, and be
finally bound up in the bundle of

[New Jersey, April, 1776.] Monday,
22. I found Christ in me the hope of glory; but
felt a pleasing, painful sensation of spiritual
hunger and thirst for more of God. On
Tuesday I rode to Burlington, and on the
way my soul was filled with holy fears, and
employed in heavenly contemplations: but
found, to my grief, that many had so inhabited
a martial spirit that they had lost the spirit of
pure and undefiled religion. I preached from
been a play-house. Surely the Lord will not
always suffer his honour to be trampled in the
dust. No; I entertain a hope that we shall
have a house and a people in this town. My
heart is filled with holy thoughts, and deeply
engaged in the work of God. On Tuesday
evening about one hundred and fifty souls at
tracted to hear the word, and about fifty at
five o'clock on Wednesday morning, which, by
the presence of the Lord, was found to be a
good time. I then went over to Portsmouth,
and found my spirit at liberty in preaching to
a number of souls three.

[Virginia, 1775.] Friday, June 2. The
Lord is pleased to show me the danger which
a preacher is in of being lifted up by pride,
and falling into the condemnation of the devil.
How great is the danger of this! A consid-
erable degree of ballast is highly necessary
to bear frequent and sudden puffs of applause.
Lord, fill me with genuine humility, that the
strongest gusts from Satan or the world may
never move me!

[Virginia, May, 1775.] Monday, 20. With
a thankful heart I landed at Norfolk, after
having been much tossed about by contrary
winds in the bay. My accommodations on
board the vessel were also very indifferent,
so that it was a disagreeable and fatiguing pas-
tage.

Here I found about thirty persons in so-
ciety after their manner; but they had no reg-
ular class-meetings. However, here are a few
who are willing to observe all the rules of our
society. Their present preaching-house is an
old, shattered building, which has formerly
been a play-house. Surely the Lord will not
always suffer his honour to be trampled in the
dust. No; I entertain a hope that we shall
have a house and a people in this town. My
heart is filled with holy thoughts, and deeply
engaged in the work of God. On Tuesday
evening about one hundred and fifty souls at
tracted to hear the word, and about fifty at
five o'clock on Wednesday morning, which, by
the presence of the Lord, was found to be a
good time. I then went over to Portsmouth,
and found my spirit at liberty in preaching to
a number of souls three.
Rom. viii. 11, but found it was a dry and barren time. And some who once ran well now walk disorderly. On Wednesday I rode to Tr<:!!mn; and found very little liberty in preaching among them; thus has the Lord humbled me amongst my people. But I hope, through grace, to save myself, and, at least, some that hear me.

[Virginia, June, 1776.] Thursday, 27. This was a day of trials. Satan drew my thoughts into a train of reasoning on subjects which were out of my reach; for secret things belong to God, but things which are revealed belong to us and our children. Thus, while I was soaring out of the region of my duty, I became inattentive to what immediately concerned me, and oversetting my chaise, broke it very much. Though, blessed be God, my body was preserved.

[Virginia, June, 1776.] Sunday, 30. I was consoled by the sight of my dear brother S[hadford]. But I was weak in body, through riding so far in extreme heat, and much exercised in mind; and did not know how I should be able to go through the labour of the day. We went to the chapel as usual, where I had liberty of mind, and strength of body beyond my expectation. After preaching I met the society, and was more relieved, both in body and mind. At four in the afternoon I preached again, from "I set before thee an open door, and none can shut it." I had gone through about two-thirds of my discourse, and was bringing the words home to the present— Now, when such power descended, that hundreds fell to the ground, and the house seemed to shake with the presence of God. The chapel was full of white and black, and many were without that could not get in. Look wherever we would, we saw nothing but streaming eyes, and faces bathed in tears; and heard nothing but groans and strong cries after God and the Lord Jesus Christ. My voice was drowned amidst the groans and prayers of the congregation. I then sat down in the pulpit; and both Mr. S[hadford] and I were so filled with the divine presence, that we could only say, This is none other than the house of God! This is the gate of heaven! Husbands were inviting their wives to go to heaven, wives their husbands; parents their children, and children their parents; brothers their sisters, and sisters their brothers. In short, those who were happy in God themselves were for bringing all their friends to him in their arms. This mighty effusion of the Spirit continued for above an hour in which time many were awakened, some found peace with God, and others, his pure love. We attempted to speak or sing again and again; but no sooner we began than our voices were drowned. It was with much difficulty that we at last persuaded the people, at night drew on, to retire to their own homes.
[Maryland, July, 1776.] Monday, 15. We set off for the springs. Mr. D[allam] overtook us in the evening; and that no opportunity might be lost, I preached at night in the tavern where we lodged. And both the tavern-keeper and his wife appeared to have some thought about their souls. On Tuesday, we reached Frederick, and collecting as many people as we could by a shore notice, I preached from 2 Corinthians vi, 2, and found my spirit at liberty. My body complains of so much travelling, for which it is almost incompetent; but the Spirit of the Lord is the support and comfort of my soul. I was thrown out of my chaise the next day, but was providentially kept from being much hurt.

[Maryland, March, 1778.] Monday, 16. I applied myself to the Greek and Latin Testament; but this is not to me like preaching the Gospel. However, when a man cannot do what he would, he must do what he can.

[Maryland, April, 1778.] Tuesday, 7. My soul was kept in peace; and I spent much of my time in reading the Bible and the Greek Testament. Surely God will stand by and deliver me! I have none other on whom I can depend. And he knows with what intention and for what purposes I came into this distant and strange land, and what little I have suffered for his cause.

[Delaware, March, 1779.] Lord's day, 28. My mind was much drawn out in prayer, and I believe I have not spent more time in this exercise for many years past, if ever, than I do now. But my mind has been much perplexed about wandering thoughts in prayer, though Mr. Wesley's deep and judicious discourse on that subject has afforded me no small satisfaction. He hath both shown the causes of those thoughts, which are not sinful, and incontestably proves that they contract no guilt. Yet a devout and tender mind must be grieved, to find any kind of temptation in that sublime exercise wherein the whole soul desires to be employed.
it; and find it of more consequence to a preacher to know his Bible well, than all the languages or books in the world—for he is not to preach these, but the word of God.

[Delaware, November, 1779] Wednesday, 17. I have read through the Book of Genesis; and again have read the Confession of Faith, the Assembly's Catechism, Directory of Church Government, and Form for the Public Worship; now I understand it better than I like it. I purposed to rise at four o'clock, as often as I can, and spend two hours in prayer and meditation; two hours in reading, and one in recreating and conversation; and in the evening, to take my room at eight, pray and meditate an hour, and go to bed at nine o'clock; all this I purpose to do, when not travelling, but to rise at four o'clock every morning.

[Delaware, January, 1780] Friday, 28. A fine day for travelling; yesterday was so cold, it was barely possible to travel without getting one's limbs frozen. I rose soon after five o'clock, prayed four times before I left my room, and twice in the family. I then set out for Isaac Moore's below Broad-creek, met with some difficulty in the way from the ice, but came there safe. Was variously exercised with thoughts, and had hard fightings. After riding twenty-five miles I took a little food, this being a day of abstinence and prayer with me.

[North Carolina, September, 1780] Saturday, 3. This day nine years past I sailed from Bristol, Old England. Ah! what troubles have I passed through! What sickness! What temptation! But I think, though I am grown more aged, I have a better constitution, and more gifts; and I think much more grace. I was near disappointment, and contradiction with greater ease.

[Delaware, November, 1781] Tuesday, 7. I was closely engaged in reading Mr. Withers's Journal of above three hundred pages, ended it to Wednesday morning. I felt dejection of spirits for want of public exercise; I have had so much of it, that within this six months I have traveled, according to my computation, two thousand six hundred and seventy-one miles; yet am anxious when still. I proposed meeting the children when I came again; I appointed a place for them to sit, and desired the parents to send a note with each, letting me know the temper, and those vices to which the child might be most subject.

[New York, September, 1786.] I was taken ill, and was confined about eight days during which time I was variously tried and exercised in mind. I spent some time in looking over my journals, which I have kept for fifteen years back. Some things I corrected, and some I expunged. Perhaps, if they are not published before, they will be after my death, to let my friends and the world see how I have employed my time in America. I feel the worth of souls, and the weight of the present charge, and that the conscientious discharge of its important duties requires some.
...d more than human learning, unwieldy salaries, or clerical titles of D.D., or even bishop. The eyes of all—both preachers and people, will be opened in time.

Prayer

Dear Father in heaven, we thank Thee for...
to know how rough it is may tread in our path. What made it worse to me was, that while I was looking to see what was become of our guide, I was carried off with full force against a tree that hung across the road some distance from the ground, and my head received a very great jar, which, however, was lessened by my having on a hat that was strong in the crown. We came on to the dismal place called Roan's Creek, which was pretty full. Here we took a good breakfast on our tea, bacon, and bread.

[Kentucky, May, 1790.] Tuesday, 11. Crossed Kentucky River. I was strangely outdone for want of sleep, having been greatly deprived of it in my journey through the wilderness, which is like being at sea, in some respects, and in others worse. Our way is over mountains, steep hills, deep rivers, and muddy creeks; a thick growth of reeds for miles together; and no inhabitant but wild beasts and savage men. Sometimes, before I am aware, my ideas would be leading me to be looking out ahead for a fence; and I would, without reflection, try to recollect the houses I should have lodged at in the wilderness. I slept about an hour the first night, and about two the last; we are no regular folk; our bread grew short, and I was much spent. I saw the graves of the slain—twenty-four in one camp. I learn that they had set no guard, and that they were up late, playing at cards. A poor woman of the company had dreamt three times that the Indians had surprised them all; she urged her husband to enquire the people to set a guard, but they only abused him, and cursed him for his pains. As the poor woman was relating her last dream the Indians came upon the camp; she and her husband springing away, one east, the other west, and escaped. She afterward came back and witnessed the carnage....

[South Carolina, March, 1791.] Saturday, 26. We had white and red Indians at Catawba; the Doctor [Colby] and myself both preached. I had some conversation with the chiefs of the Indians about keeping up the school we have been endeavoring to establish amongst them.

[Virginia, April, 1791.] Friday, 29. The solemn news reached our ears that the public papers had announced the death of that dear man of God, John Wesley. He died in his own house in London, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, after preaching the Gospel sixty-four years. When we consider his plain and nervous writings; his uncommon talent for sermonizing and journalizing; that he had such a steady flow of animal spirits; so much of the spirit of government in him; his knowledge as an observer; his attainments as a scholar; his experience as a Christian; I conclude, his equal is not to be found among all the sons he hath brought up, nor his superior among all the sons of Adam he may have left behind.
God will work powerfully amongst these people, and save thousands of them. We have travelled about twenty-four miles this day over very rough roads; the weather is cold for the season, my horse is very small, and my carriage inconvenient in such roads, uneven, jolting ways. This country is very hilly and ungenial, and about the Peak of Derbyshire, I feel faith to believe that this visit to New-England will be blessed to my own soul, and the souls of others.

Rhode Island, June, 1791. Sunday 19. Came to Providence. I attended the service at Mr. M's, a Baptist, in the forenoon, and Mr. S's, a New Light, in the afternoon. In the evening, I preached with some 5,000 people, there being Presbyterians, Baptists, Independents or Congregationalists, here; but the Baptists appear to be the leading people. I found a few gracious souls, and some seeking.

Rhode Island, June, 1791. Monday 20. I visited some serious families that truly love and fear God. The afternoon I spent very agreeably with the old prophet Mr. Snow, aged about seventy years; he was awakened by the instrumentality of Gilbert Tennant, whose memory I revere. He told me much about Mr. Whitefield, and old times, and of the ministers of old times—of himself, his awakenings, and conversion to God—of his riding thirty miles to Newport, in exceeding cold weather, to bring Mr. Tennant to Providence.

Maryland, 1791. Monday, December 5. I went from house to house through the snow and cold, begging money for the support of the poor orphans at Cokesbury College.

Virginia, 1791. Wednesday, December 7. A day to be remembered. We stopped once in four-thousand miles; when we reached Green Hill Ferry, opposite to Alexandria, I was nearly frozen, being hardly able to walk or ride. We crossed the Potomac in an open boat, or whose icy bottom the horses with difficulty kept their feet; and still worse it would have been, had I not thoughtfully called for some straw to strew beneath them; we had five of them on board and the waves were high.
to night before we have a table spread, and
ah! how few Christian houses! I had my
trials in the evening.
[Kentucky, April, 1792] Monday, 23. I
rode to Bethel. I found it necessary to change
the plan of the house, to make it more com-
fortable to the scholars in cold weather. I am
not much in company, and hear so much about
Indians, convention, treaty, killing, and scalping,
that my attention is drawn more to these
things than I could wish. I found it good to
get alone in the woods and converse with
God.
We have founded a seminary of learning
called Union School; brother C. Conway is
manager, who also has charge of the district;
this establishment is designed for instruction
in grammar, languages, and the sciences.
I have had some awful thoughts lest
my lameness should grow upon me, and render
me useless. I sometimes have fears that
I am too slack in speaking in public, at conferen-
ces; I also feel that want of time and places to
pursue my practice of solitary prayer, being
frequently obliged to ride all the day and
late at night, that I may in time reach the
appointed places to preach.
[Kentucky, May, 1793] Tuesday, 7. We
rode down to the Crab Orchard, where we
found company enough, some of whom were
very wild: we had a company of our own, and
refused to go with them. Some of them gave
us very abusive language, and one man went
upon a hill above us, and fired a pistol
wards our company. We resolved to travel in
our order, and bound ourselves by honor and
conscience to support and defend each other,
and to see every man through the wilderness.
But we could not depend upon wicked and
unprincipled men, who would leave and neg-
lect us, and even curse us in our faces. Nor
were we at liberty to mix with swearers, liars,
drunkards; and, for ought we know, this may
not be the worst with some. We were about
fourteen or fifteen in company, and had
twelve guns and pistols. We rode on near the
defeated camp, and rested till three o'clock
under great suspicion of Indians: we pushed
forward; and
by
riding forty-five miles on
Wednesday, and about the same distance on
Thursday, we came safe to Robinson's station,
about eight o'clock.
I came to Boston unwell in body, and with a
heavy heart. I passed the road and bridge
from the University to Boston. A noble road
and grand bridge. We have very agreeable
lodging in this town: but have to preach, as
did our Lord, in an upper room. We had a
prayer-meeting, and the Lord was present
to bless us.
[South Carolina, February, 1796] Friday
5. I spent in reading and writing, and re-
sisted it as a day of fasting and prayer. I
felt myself under a sense of sin. Ah! what a
dreadful world is this! my mind is un-
der solemn impressions—the result of my re-p
flections on God and souls. I will endeavor not to distress myself above measure. If sinners are lost, I cannot save them, nor shall I be damned for them.

If sinners are lost, I cannot save them, nor shall I be damned for them.

I was happy last evening with the poor slaves in brother Wells's kitchen, while our white brethren held a sacramental love feast in the front parlor to-morrow.

[Maryland, June, 1797.] June 25. I met the male members of the society Sabbath morning, as I had met the town and the official members in the preceding week. I obtained the library of the managers of the African academy to congregate the fathers as well as to teach the children. We had nearly five hundred coloured people. Brother Willis preached on Acts vii, 7, and I added a few words. In the afternoon I gave a short exhortation at Mr. Ormond's church, in Howard's Hill. I am now waiting for the making of a sulky. Thomas Barber, from Birmingham, (England,) took a second likeness of me, at the desire of my mother, to send to England. I am trying to organize the African church.

[Virginia, March, 1798.] March 4. I can only make a few weak observations. What little pen-work I dare do, has been in writing a letter to York. I shall only journals a little, and never enter deeply into my other subjects. I scorn to be idle; the past week had been spent in one cotton work with my fingers, and in hearing the children read, and instructing them in the English grammar.

[Delaware, June, 1799.] Sabbath day, 2. After meeting, I rode to Duck Creek Cross Roads, and called at Dr. Cook's to see Thomas White's children. Doctor Anderson, Dr. Ridgely, and Mr. Goddard considered my case; they advised a total suspension from preaching, limiting a consumption or a dropsey in the breast.

[Delaware, June, 1799.] Monday, 3. I ordained one person at the Cross Roads, and another at Dickinson's meeting-house. I dined with Mr. Mover near the Appoquinimink bridge, and then rode on to Wilmington; we have made forty miles this day. What with labour and fevers my rest is greatly interrupted.

Prayer: Our Father, we realize our dependence on Thee. When we are weak, then we are strong. Afflictions may be our crosses, but they can become crowns if we will sanctify them as our privilege. Help us to take the bitterness, the hardest the losses, the calamities and our trials as means of grace to center our affections on our Saviour. Give us this kind of courage, this kind of faith. In Jesus' name. Amen.

III. LATE YEARS

[North Carolina, February, 1801.] We have ridden at least five hundred and fifty, if not six hundred, miles, on the hills, backwoods, swamps, swamps, hills, and creeks, of South Carolina.
At Gause's Manor, or more properly town, we were pleasantly situated. I had a most solemn visit to the sea-beach, which to me was a most instructive sight: the sea reminded me of its great Maker, "who stayeth the proud waves thereof;" its innumerable productions; the diversified fauna of its shores—the sand-hills, the marshes, the pines, eel and slider; the sheep and goats tripping in the shade or browsing in the sun; the eye, directed to the waters, beholds the rolling porpoise: the sea-gulls lifting and letting fall from high the clam, which breaking, furnishes them with food; the eagles with hovering wings watching for their prey; the white sail of the solitary vessel tossed upon the distant wave—how interesting a picture do all these objects make!

[Georgia, November, 1801. Thursday, 19. We started, hungry and cold, crossing at Malone's mill a branch of Oconee, and came to Henry Pope's in Oglethorpe. We have ridden about eighty miles this week of short and cold days. Why should a living man complain?—but to be three months together upon the frontiers, where, generally, you have but one room and fire-place, and half a dozen folks about you, strangers perhaps, and their family certainly, (and they are not usually small in these plentiful new countries,) making a crowd—and this is not all; for here you may meditate if you can, and here you must preach, read, write, pray, sing, talk, eat, drink, and sleep—or fly into the woods. Well! I have pains in my body, particularly my hip, which are very afflictive when I ride; but I cheer myself as well as I may with songs in the night—Wesley's, Watts's, and Stennett's sight of Canaan, in four hymns.

[Maryland, April, 1802.] Monday, 5. Whilst in Baltimore, I received an account of the death of my mother, which I fear is true. And here I may speak safely concerning my very dear mother: her character to me is well known. Her paternal descent was Welsh, from a family ancient and respectable, of the name of Rogers. She lived a woman of the world until the death of her first and only daughter, Sarah Asbury: how would the bereaved mother weep and tell of the beauties and excellencies of her lost and lovely child! pondering on the past in the silent suffering of hopeless grief. This afflictive providence graciously terminated in the mother's conversion. When she saw herself a lost and wretched sinner, she sought religious people, but "in the times of this ignorance" few were "sound in the faith," or "faithful to the grace given:" many were the days she spent chiefly in reading and prayer; at length she found justifying grace, and pardoning mercy. So dim was the light of truth around her, from the assurance she found, she was at times inclined to believe in the final perseverance of the saints. For fifty years her hands, her heart, were open to receive the people of God and ministers of Christ; and thus a lamp was lighted up in a dark place.
called Great Barre, in Great Britain. She was an afflicted, yet most active woman, of quick bodily powers, and masculine understanding; nevertheless, 'as kindly was the elements were mixed in her,' her strong mind quickly felt the subduing influences of that Christian sympathy which 'welds with those who weep,' and 'rejoices with those who do rejoice.' As a woman and a wife she was chaste, modest, blameless; as a mother (above all the women in the world would I claim her for my own) ardently affectionate; as a "mother in Israel" few of her sex have done more by a holy walk to live, and by personal labour to support, the Gospel, and to wash the saints' feet; as a friend, she was generous, true, and constant.

Elizabeth Asbury died January 6th, 1802; aged eighty-seven or eighty-eight years. There is now, after fifty years, a chapel within two or three hundred yards of her dwelling. I am now often drawn out in thankfulness to God, who hath saved a mother of mine, and, I trust, a father also, who are already in glory, where I hope to meet them both, after time, and cares, and sorrows, shall have ceased with me; and where glory shall not only beam, but open on my soul forever. Amen.

[Tennessee, October, 1802.] Wednesday, 20. I sent word to James Douthat to explain to the elders of Georgia and South Carolina my situation. I also dispatched John Wagon to meet brother Smithen, and give him my plan to fulfill the appointments in Georgia—but behold, brother Smithen had had a fall from his horse, and was left lame upon the road! I have been sick for twenty-three days; ah! the tale of woe I might relate. My dear M'Kendree had to lift me up and down from my horse, like a helpless child. For my sickness and sufferings I conceive I am indebted to sleeping uncovered in the wilderness.

[South Carolina, December, 1802.] Tuesday, 28. Yesterday and to-day I have been busy writing letters. My general experience is close communion with God, holy fellowship with the Father and his Son Jesus Christ, a will resigned, frequent addresses to a throne of grace, a constant, serious care for the prosperity of Zion, forethought in the arrangements and appointments of the preachers, a soul drawn out in ardent prayer for the universal Church and the complete triumph of Christ over the whole earth. Amen, Amen, so be it! I have finished many letters, and adjusted some plans. For my amusement and edification, I was curious to read the first volume of my journals. I compared my former with my latter self. It was little I could do thirty years ago; and I do less now.

[Georgia, January 1804.] Friday, 27. We reached Georgetown. I have suffered in my flesh, and have had "deep waters" of a temporal and spiritual nature to wade through. If I should die in celibacy, which I think quite probable, I give the following counsel for who can scarcely be called my choice. I was called to my fourteenth year; I began my public exercises between sixteen and seven.
teen; at twenty-one I travelled; at twenty-six I came to America: thus far I had reason enough for a single life. It had been my intention of returning to Europe at thirty years of age; but the war continued, and it was ten years before we had a settled, lasting peace, this was no time to marry or be given in marriage. At forty-nine I was ordained superintendent bishop in America. Amongst the duties imposed upon me by my office was that of travelling extensively, and I could hardly expect to find a woman with grace enough to enable her to live but one week out of the fifty-two with her husband: besides, what right has any man to take advantage of the affections of a woman, make her his wife, and by a voluntary absence subvert the whole order and economy of the marriage state, by separating those whom neither God, nature, nor the requirements of civil society permit long to be put asunder? It is neither just nor generous. I may add to this, that I had little money, and with this little administered to the necessities of a beloved mother until I was fifty-seven: if I have done wrong, I hope God and the sex will forgive me: it is my duty now to bestow the pittance I may have to spare upon the widows and fatherless girls, and poor married men.

[New York, May, 1805.] Friday, 31. I read the latter part of Mr. Wesley's Journal. How great and unceasing were his labours! how various, comprehensive, and just are his observations on men, women, modes, manners, doctrines, opinions, authors, and things! I have felt myself strongly urged to pray after every meal, where the families are in the habit of prayer; but I believe there are Methodist households that sometimes fall in my way, who never pray in this way, and is their poor success, after eighteen years of faithful labours? God be gracious to us, and to such families and unfaithful souls!

[Pennsylvania, July, 1809.] Friday, 21. We were comfortable while resting at Doctor Hopkins. Arrived at the ferry bank, no boat appeared, so I came back and called a meeting. Since we left Baltimore in April, we have made we compute, two thousand miles. Such roads, such rains, and such lodgings! Why should I wish to stay in this land? I have no possessions or babes to bind me to the soil, what are called the comforts of life I rarely enjoy; the wish to live an hour such a life as this would be strange to so suffering, so toil-worn a wretch. But God is with me, and souls are my reward: I may yet rejoice, yea, and will rejoice. I might fill pages with this last week's wonders.

[Canada, 1811.] Tuesday, July 2. At eight o'clock we set sail, and crossed the St. Lawrence by rowing: the river here is three miles wide. We rode through Cornwall in the night, and came to Evan Roy's, making forty-four miles for the day's journey. It is surprising how we make nearly fifty miles a day over such desperate roads as we have lately travelled: we lose no time: Ah! why should
Tuesday, I preached, and again on Wednesday: we rode along the banks of the river; they are neatly and pleasantly improved. We dined with Stephen Bailey, and went from thence with brother Glassford in his calash. I asked him how we were to get out if we upset; his answer was actual experiment: the saplings on the side of the path broke the fall, so that we escaped unhurt.

Friday, I preached at the German settlement: I was weak in body, yet greatly helped in speaking. Here is a decent, loving people: my soul is much united to them. I called upon father Dulmage: and on brother Hicks—a branch of an old Irish stock of Methodists in New York. I lodged at David Brackenridge's, above Johnston.

Saturday, we rode twelve miles for our breakfast. Reached Charleston: our ride has brought us through one of the finest countries I have ever seen: the timber is of a noble size: the cattle are well-shaped and well-looking: the crops are abundant, on a most fruitful soil: surely this is a land that God the Lord hath blessed.

Wednesday, January 3, 1812. A steady ride of thirty-eight miles brought us into Charleston. The highways were little occupied by travellers of any kind, which was the more providential to me, for my lameness and my light fly carpet would have made a shock of the slightest kind disagreeable. I was anxious also to pass this first day of the new year in undisturbed prayer.

Thursday, Friday, Saturday, in reading, meditation, writing, and prayer. I do not reject visitors.

[New York, July 1, 1812.] Tuesday, 28. I will leave Newtown this afternoon. There must be a great change here. We came away, after meeting, to Elijah Griswold: my host is a brand plucked from the burning—strong drink had scorched him forty years. He had a pious son who prayed for him; and he himself never closed his doors against the pious. The Lord heard prayer on his behalf, and has entirely delivered him from the love of whiskey. I hear of another wonderful emancipation from the slavery of drunkenness.
State of Maryland, who died childless; besides some legacies which I have never taken. Let it all return, and continue to aid the cause of piety.

[New Jersey, 1814.] Tuesday, July 19. I would not be loved to death, and so came down from my sick room and took to the road, weak enough. Attentions constant, and kindness unceasing, have pursued me to this place, and my strength increases daily. I look back upon a martyr's life of toil, and privation, and pain; and I am ready for a martyr's death. The purity of my intentions; my diligence in the labours to which God has been pleased to call me; the unknown sufferings I have endured; what are all these?—The merit, atonement, and righteousness of Christ alone make my plea. My friends in Philadelphia gave me a light, little four-wheeled carriage; but God and the Baltimore Conference made me a richer present—they gave me John Wesley Bond for a travelling companion; has he his equal on the earth for excellencies of every kind as an aid? I groan one minute with pain, and shout glory the next!

[Ohio, August, 1816.] Tuesday, [23]. I preached in great weakness in Chillicothe; but my help was with me, and I am ready to make my boast. From the 24th to the 30th, we are at sensor Worthington's. I pay new visits of worship in this amiable family in great weakness. The kind attentions I received are greatly beyond my desires. Mrs. Worthington has taught her boys and girls, servants and children, to read the holy Scriptures, and they are well instructed: I heard them more than one lesson with much satisfaction. O that all mothers would do likewise! I preserve the worship of God is kept up in this house, though neither of the heads thereof have attached themselves to any society of professing Christians; doubtless God will bless them, and their children after them.

[Ohio, November, 1815.] Sabbath, 22. I ordained the deacons, and preached a sermon, in which Doctor Coke was remembered. My eyes fail. I will resign the stations to Bishop McKendree—I will take away my feet. It is my fifty-fifth year of ministry, and forty-fifth year of labour in America. My mind enjoys great peace and divine consolation. My health is better, which may in part be because of my being less deeply interested in the business of the conference. But whether health, life, or death, good is the will of the Lord: I will trust him; yes, and will praise him: he is the strength of my heart and my portion forever—Glory! glory! glory! Conference was eight days and a half in session—hard labour. Bishop McKendree called upon me to preach at the ordination of elders.

Prayer

Dear Father, how great a thing it is to read the intimate glimpses of men who have walked with Thee, and thereby have gotten an insight into Thy goodness, Thy mercy, and Thy love.

We are thankful for Thy servants who have
finished their courses in faith and now live within the celestial city. We thank Thee for Thy redemption which comes through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. May He be mine today and may my life be a witness to His grace. In the Saviour's name. Amen.

IV. A SHORT ACCOUNT OF HIS DEATH AND BURIAL

Traveling with John W. Bond in a closed carriage they came to Richmond, Virginia, where he preached his last sermon March 24, 1816, in the old Methodist Church. He was almost too weak to deliver his sermon. He had to be carried to the pulpit from the carriage in which he rode and they seated him on a table prepared for that purpose. He spoke nearly an hour from the text, Romans ix: 28, "For he will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness; because a short work will the Lord make upon the earth." After his sermon he was carried from the pulpit to his carriage and on Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday he journeyed and finally came to the house of his old friend, Mr. George Arnold, in Spottsylvania County, Virginia. Here on Sunday, the 31st of March, 1816, he died in the 71st year of his age, having devoted about 55 years to the ministry, 45 of which were spent in America. He was buried at the house of Mr. Arnold but his body was moved a month later to Eutaw Place Church, Baltimore, where it remained for 40 years. It was then moved to Mount Olivet Cemetery, Baltimore, for its final interment.
THE

ASBURY TRAIL

AWARD

The Asbury Trail Award is offered to Explorers and their Dads under the joint sponsorship of the Boy Scouts of America and the Western North Carolina Historical Association. The Award consists of a Medal and a Certificate and will be conferred on those who fulfill the following conditions:

1. Hiking the old Cataloochee trail over which Bishop Francis Asbury crossed the mountains in 1810.
2. Reading one of the recommended books on the life of Asbury.
3. Submitting an essay of not less than one thousand words on Asbury and his contribution to America.

The official hike covers approximately twenty-three miles between Cove Creek Gap, North Carolina, and Davenport Gap, Tennessee, as indicated on the map in this folder. Other nearby points historically related to Asbury are also indicated on the map, but visits to them are optional.

Francis Asbury was the first Bishop elected and consecrated in America by any denomination. He was the virtual creator of the largest Protestant body in the United States.

The Asbury Trail Award, however, is not denominational. As the religious pioneer on the early frontier, Asbury's contribution to the country is recognized by all historians, and a bronze equestrian statue has been erected in Washington and was dedicated by the President of the United States. The Award may be earned by any Scout without regard to his affiliation.

Preparation for Hiking the Trail

Hikers on the Asbury Trail should remember that it is a twenty-three mile long, rugged mountain trail and not a one-day hike. Not less than two days will be required. All persons should be well prepared with equipment.

Most important in personal gear is a pair of sturdy leather hiking boots, preferably at least six inches high. Other equipment may be carried as desired.

There are ample camp sites along the Trail. The base is the Cataloochee Camp indicated on the map. Water is available at three or four spots, but canteens should be carried, also. Note the location of the Ranger Sta...
The old Cataloochee Trail runs from Cove Creek, North Carolina, to the area around Cosby, Tennessee. In general it parallels Highway 284, and coincides with that road at several points. It skirts the border of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park for 52 miles or more, and is inside and outside of the Park at various points.

The best description of the Trail is a report submitted to the National Park Service in 1966 by Mr. H. C. Willburn entitled The Cataloochee Aboriginal Trail and Its Use and Development by White People. This report may be seen at the Park Headquarters in Gatlinburg, Tennessee, and in Washington, D.C.

It is still possible to identify parts of the Trail which do not coincide with the highway. There are remnants, "dug out" stretches, Indian "trails," or sites of settlements or resting places, a stone cairn or "Indian grave," and similar evidences, which are described and located in Mr. Willburn's report.

The origin of the important Trail along which the Cherokees crossed the mountains is lost in antiquity. It was mentioned in literature as early as 1709, when it was called a "turnpike." The Indians had by that time abandoned their settlements along the Trail, although the area was in their hunting grounds and protected by law.

Francis Ashbury crossed the Appalachian mountains around sixty times, using different routes. He frequently went from the Knoxville area by way of the present Marshall and Hot Springs to Asheville, or Buncombe Court House, North Carolina. Sometimes he went from the present Morganton, North Carolina, through the gap east of Roan Mountain near Elk Park to the present Elizabethton and Bristol in Tennessee.

In 1879, however, he took "the new route" and followed the old Cataloochee Trail.

Ashbury was accompanied on this trip by Bishop William McKendree, the Rev. Henry Boehm, of Pennsylvania, a German-speaking preacher who often travelled with Ashbury, and whose father, Martin Boehm, was a Moravian bishop and one of the founders of the United Brethren Church, and the Rev. John McGee, one of the founders of the Camp Meeting movement.

Ashbury travelled through Kentucky in the McKendree home near Nashville and to the Ulman's Cove, near East Tennessee. His party reached the home of Mitchell Perry, three miles south of Sevierville on the present Highway 71 between Sevierville and Gatlinburg. Perry's Chapel was there, at the present Abingdon Cemetery. Then the party started up the mountains.

The story is told in Ashbury's famous Journal,
ASBURY'S JOURNAL

Thursday, November 29, 1810. We were in doubt whether we should take the old or the new route; we took Mahon's road, and got along pretty well, thirty miles, to the gate, the woman was sick, but the girls of the house were attentive and polite at Mr. Mahon's.

Friday, our troubles began at the foaming, roaring stream, which hid the rocks. At Cataloochee 4 I walked over a log. But O, the mountain—height after height, and five miles over! After crossing other streams, and losing ourselves in the woods, we came in, about nine o'clock at night to Vater Shuck's. What an awful day!

1 The "new route" was the aboriginal Cataloochee Trail.
2 Mahon's road was from near Pigeon Forge on Highway 71 to the land of Cosby Creek in Cocke County, Tennessee, where is intersected present Highway 32 from Newport to the present Great Smoky Mountains National Park.
3 The Mahon house was at a toll gate near Cosby, Tenn.
4 This stream was Cataloochee Creek, which had various spellings. On the bank of the creek they fed the horses and asked a blessing on a meal of bread. John McGee drove the horses through the stream while Asbury, McKendree, and Boehm crossed on the log. (Boehm: Reminiscences, 328.)
5 At the eastern foot of the mountains they came to Cove Creek, passed through a gate, and reached the settlements on Richland Creek and Pigeon River. They probably went up Jonathan Creek, through Dollywood Gap and along Richland Creek where is now formed Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, since the better-known trail led that way. Or they could have followed Pigeon River to the mouth of Richland Creek a few miles away. (Bretton, op.cit., 328; Allen: History of Haywood County, 217f.)
6 "Vater Shuck" was "Father" Jacob Shuck (or Shook), son of a Dutch immigrant and a Revolutionary soldier, who settled on Pigeon River at the present Clyde, North Carolina, in 1786, and is said to have built the first frame house in Haywood County. It is still standing, the home of Mrs. Mary Morgan, and the attic room which was used for preaching has been preserved with its pulpit and chairs. Here was the first society in the county, probably formed by the Rev. Samuel Edney, the pioneer circuit rider of Western North Carolina. Shuck bequeathed a tract of land for a camp meeting and the church was long known as Camp Ground. It is now Linea Chapel. It stands on the original property and bears the date 1798. (Allen, op.cit., 217-225, 581-596.)

Saturday, December 1. Last night I was strongly afflicted with pain. We rode, twenty-five miles, to Buncombe.

Sabbath, December 2. Bishop McKendree and John McGee rose at five o'clock and left us to fill an appointment about twenty-five miles off. Myself and Henry Boehm went to Newton's academy, where I preached. Bishop Boehm spoke after me; and Mr. Newton, in exhortation, confirmed what was said. Had I known and studied my congregation for a year, I could not have spoken more appropriately to their particular cases; this I learn from those who know them well. We dined with Mr. Newton: he is almost a Methodist, and reminds me of dear Whatcoat—the same placidness and solemnity. We visited James Patton; this is, perhaps, the last visit to Buncombe.

1 At Buncombe Court House or Asheville the party probably stayed at the home of Daniel Killian, Asbury's favorite stopping place. The place still stands in the northern edge of Asheville and is inhabited by one of Killian's descendants. A marker has been erected there. Nearby in the Ashby Church, which grew out of the society in Killian's house and in which some Asbury relics are preserved.
2 These men doubtless preached in the home of the Rev. Samuel Edney at the present Edneyville, near Hendersonville. The Edney society is still active.
3 The Rev. George Newton, a Presbyterian and Asbury's friend, conducted a well-known school at Asheville.
4 Richard Whatcoat (1736-1806) came from England in 1784 and became a Bishop in 1800.
5 James Patton and his sons, James W. and John E., were large property owners in Asheville and ran the Eagle Hotel. Patton Avenue is named for them. Among others who entertained Asbury at various times in the Asheville area were Senator Thomas Foster, George Swain, whose son was three times Governor and President of the University of North Carolina; Colonel James Lowry; halflbrother of Governor Swain, William Mills, father-in-law of Samuel Edney, and many others both prominent and otherwise.
6 This was not Asbury's last visit to Buncombe County. He visited the area each autumn until his death in the spring of 1816.
FRANCIS ASBURY
1745-1816

In Washington, D. C., there stands a great eques- trian statue of Francis Asbury. It was unveiled by the President of the United States, who presented it to the nation in an address which extolled the preacher on horseback as one of the greatest figures in the pioneer period of American history. More recently the Historical Publications Commission of the United States Government placed the name of Asbury on the list of sixty great Americans whose works should be collected and published, along with such notables as Washington, Jefferson, Adams and Lincoln.

Who was this minister of the Gospel who holds such a secure place in our history?

Boyhood

Francis Asbury was born on August 20, 1745, about four miles from Birmingham, in England. His boyhood home, but not his birthplace, still stands on Norton Road in West Bromwich and is by the city preserved as an historic site.

He was the only son of Joseph (1715-1798) and Elizabeth Rogers (1715-1801) Asbury. He received but little formal education and at the age of thirteen became an apprentice at a nearby forge. Soon thereafter he became a convert of the Evangelical Revival that sweeping England under the leadership of John and Charles Wesley. He became a local preacher, and in 1766 he was admitted to the Conference.

America

The Revival had been brought to America by immigrants from Ireland. It arose almost simultaneously in Maryland and New York and a meeting house had been erected in each place, and an unfinished building had been bought in Philadelphia.

Help was needed and the people appealed to John Wesley for regular preachers. He responded by sending Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor late in 1769.

In 1771 Mr. Wesley called again for volunteers for America, and Francis Asbury and Richard Wright were chosen. They sailed in September and landed at Philadelphia on October 27, 1771.

On shipboard Francis Asbury began his famous journal, later to be carefully edited and published in three volumes in 1821. Among other things he wrote these well-known words:

"What is it I am going to the New World. What do I expect? To gain honor? No, I know my own heart. To get money? No. I am going to live to God and to bring others so to do."

Asbury in America

On Monday, October 28, 1771, Asbury preached his first sermon in America at St. George's Church in Philadelphia, the oldest church house of the denomination in the United States, now in a National Park by act of Congress. Immediately thereafter he went to New York, where he encountered a problem in the administration of the infant societies.

It related to the famous system of itinerancy, or a "circulation of preachers," under which the ministers were changed at intervals. Asbury had been trained under Wesley's rule of frequent changes, but Boardman and Pilmoor preferred longer tenures. On November 27, 1771, Asbury wrote in his Journal:

"At present I am dissatisfied. I judge we are to be shut up in the cities this winter. My brethren seem unwilling to leave the cities, but I think I will show them the way."

Show them the way he did. He became the first and greatest of the Circuit Riders, who carried religion, morals, education and general culture along the advancing frontier of this continent. He established the itinerant system which enabled the preachers to keep up with the migrating multitudes and to open up all others in growth.

At the Conference in 1774, after Boardman and Pilmoor had returned to England, it was officially determined that the preachers should exchange each six months and that those in New York and Philadelphia should move quarterly.

The first Conference met in 1773, stationed ten preachers, and reported 360 "numbers in Society." Year by year Asbury, along with the ever-increasing number of preachers, rode circuits in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and as far south as North and South Carolina.

During the Revolutionary War the other British preachers left the country, but Asbury remained. For several months he was forced to go into seclusion in Delaware because his nationality brought him under suspicion. New York was cut off from the Conference. But by 1784 the number of preachers had increased to 85 and the "numbers in Society" to 14,280.

Organizing a Church

These people were not members of any Church. The preachers were all laymen: not one had been ordained and they were forbidden to give the Holy Communion to their flocks. After the ties with England and the Church of England were broken they were in an anomalous situation with reference to the ordinances, which the people were demanding from the hands of
their own preachers, but which both Wesley and Asbury opposed. The societies in the South broke away from those in the North in the controversy.

It was clear that something had to be done. It was then that John Wesley made one of the important decisions of ecclesiastical history. The British Church authorities refused to ordain one of his preachers for America, and he took the momentous step of ordaining one with his own hands, though he was not a Bishop.

Wesley did this because his studies of the early Church convinced him, as they had convinced others, that Bishops were not a "third order" of the clergy. There were only two "orders," namely, deacons and elders or presbyters. Episcopacy was an office, and a Bishop was an elder who had been set apart to a certain office or work in the Church.

It followed, therefore, that Wesley, being an ordained elder or presbyter of the Church of England, had a right to set apart persons for this office or work in his own societies, and this he proceeded to do.

In September, 1774, assisted by James Craigton, also an elder, he "set apart" Thomas Coke, LL.D., another presbyter, as "superintendent" for America, and sent him to those shores with instructions to "set apart" or ordain Francis Asbury to the same office.

But Asbury, who knew Americans, refused to accept the ritual and office on Wesley's appointment but insisted upon learning the will of the preachers. They were called together at Baltimore in December, 1774, and at this famous Christmas Conference the first independent denomination in America was formally organized and Francis Asbury was unanimously elected Bishop of any Church to be ordained in America.

The New Bishop

Asbury was the superintendent of societies scattered along the Atlantic seaboard from New England to Charleston, South Carolina, and as far westward as the Holston country of East Tennessee across the Appalachian Mountains.

The Minutes showed that John Wesley and Thomas Coke were also superintendents, but Wesley did not visit the new Church and Dr. Coke came only at intervals. Even when Coke was here Asbury attended all the conferences, and since he alone knew the country and the preachers he nominally discharged nearly the whole responsibility.

Immediately after the adjournment of the Christmas Conference he started on his first episcopal round. It led him through Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and to Charleston. Then he turned northward and on April 20, 1785, he and Coke convened the first Conference of the new Church at the home of the Rev. Major Green Hill, a local preacher and Revolutionary soldier, whose house still stands near Louisburg, North Carolina.

The operations of the new Church were now in full swing. There were ordained elders and deacons, the sacraments were administered, the people were satisfied since they had the status of members in a recognized Church. Asbury and Coke, accompanied by the Rev. Major Thomas Morrett, another Revolutionary soldier among the preachers, and John Drake, who became the first Publishing Agent, visited President George Washington immediately after his inauguration and presented him a congratulatory address on behalf of the Church.

In the meantime the Circuit Riders followed the pioneers as they streamed westward along the Wilderness Road and the other early routes. It was said that the first sound in the wilderness was the ring of the settler's axe as he cleared a space for his cabin, and the second was the "hello" of the Circuit Rider at the settler's door.

The Church spread ever westward as they rode. When Asbury died in 1816 it had reached the Father of Waters.

The Great Circuit Rider

Asbury was "The Prophet of the Long Road." From 1774 until 1900 he was alone in the episcopacy and visited each annual conference. Richard Whatcoat was elected in 1800 and travelled with him. Whatcoat died in 1806, and William McKendree was elected two years later, and the practice continued.

Year by year until his death Asbury rode his circuit from New England to Charleston and over the mountains. As long as he was able to do so he rode a horse, and in later years he used a chair. In spite of almost superhuman sufferings at times, he rode on, though on his last journey he could not stand and had to be carried bodily from the chair to his preaching places.

In forty-five years Francis Asbury travelled 275,000 miles over the pioneer trails of the continent. He preached more than 16,000 times, an average of a sermon a day. More than sixty times he crossed the uncharted Appalachians.

When he came there were only ten preachers of his faith in the land; when he died there were 700, and he had ordained 6,000 with his own hands. Under his supervision the members increased from under twelve
hundred to nearly a quarter of a million; a ratio of
growth greater by far than that of the population.
Asbury never had a home. He did not even have a
tented room. He lived literally on the road and slept
wherever night overtook him. His only address was
"America," and letters so addressed always reached
him.
On his last journey in 1816 he was unable to reach
the Conference at Charleston, although he was within
thirty miles of the city where he was forced to stop. He
turned back northward and went a few miles a day
when he could travel at all, intent on reaching the
General Conference at Baltimore. But he could not go
on. His travelling companion, the Rev. John Wesley
Bond, carried him into the cabin of George Arnold in
Spotsylvania County, Virginia, where he died on
March 31, 1816.
He was buried at Arnold's house, but a month later
his body was taken to the General Conference and
buried under the pulpit of the Eutaw Street Church in
Baltimore. Forty years later it was moved again, and
now rests in Mount Olivet Cemetery with many other
notable men of his Church.

Asbury's Place in History

Asbury was the virtual creator of a great Church. His
genius shaped its policy and his iron control guided it
during the perilous formative days. He made it, by his
insistence on itinerancy, into one of the most effectively
functioning bodies in the world. Whatever it has meant
to America is due in no small degree to the organizing
and administrative genius of Francis Asbury.

As the bearer of a moral culture to the rude frontier
settlement, he probably has no peer in our history. He
and his Circuit Riders went into every new community
and into nearly every log cabin in the wilderness. In
their saddle bags they carried the Bible, the hymnal,
books, and religious literature of every kind. They
brought the news of the outside world. They fought
for people, and turned new souls to God. They showed
wherever they went that the Church could not be
confined to fixed locations, but had to be a mobile force,
conferring college in Maryland.

Their successor established hundreds of schools and
colleges in practically every state. Many of these were
suspended as the progress of public education rendered
them unnecessary, but more than 150 are in operation
today, and some of them are among the greatest in the
land.

In 1789 Asbury was instrumental in starting a Pub-
lishing House, which is now the largest of its kind in
America or in the world. In the same year he started
The Arminian Magazine, a monthly periodical which,
under different names and with some lapses, has con-
tinued until this day. Books and periodicals poured
from the presses in a stream which has been increasing
in volume for more than 150 years and is now greater
than it has ever been. Asbury may almost be said to
deserve the title of American Publisher Number One.

It is small wonder that President Calvin Coolidge, in
dedicating the Asbury monument, exclaimed, "Who
shall say where his influence, written upon the im-
 mortal souls of men, shall end?"

***

REFERENCES

The following books are recommended for reading in
connection with the Asbury Trail Award. One of them
should be found in your public library, or they can be
read in the Historical Library at Lake Junaluska, North
Carolina. They cannot be borrowed from the library but
may be used in the reading room.
1. Asbury: The Journal of Francis Asbury, 3 vol-
umes
2. Tipton: The Prophet of the Long Road
3. Tipton: The Heart of Asbury's Journal
4. Strickland: The Pioneer Bishop—Life and Times
of Francis Asbury
5. Smith: Life of Francis Asbury
6. Briggs: Bishop Asbury, a Biographical Study
7. DeBose: Francis Asbury, a Biographical Study
8. Dureen: Francis Asbury
9. Malone: Francis Asbury
10. Asbury: The Journal of Francis Asbury, 3 vol-
umes
11. Tipton: The Prophet of the Long Road
12. Tipton: The Heart of Asbury's Journal
13. Strickland: The Pioneer Bishop—Life and Times
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14. Smith: Life of Francis Asbury
15. Briggs: Bishop Asbury, a Biographical Study
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17. Dureen: Francis Asbury
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(2) to accumulate exact knowledge;

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Proceedings OF THE Wesley Historical Society

December 1959

EDITORIAL

This lack of the Proceedings makes a long postponement, for which we tender apologies to our readers. We hope that the value and quality of its contents will compensate for the delay, which has been caused by various technical difficulties beyond our control. Members should be warned, however, that the exceptional bulk of this issue must not be regarded as a precedent. Our finances limit us to twenty-four pages, but those who are particularly observant will have noticed that so far in this volume we are eight pages short of our minimum. The current issue of thirty-two pages is merely a "catch-up" on the arrears! Only a large increase in our membership would enable us to achieve the desired result of a "bouquet" of every number.

The last promised index to the first thirty volumes of the Proceedings is now at the proof stage, and we hope that before long we shall be able to give details of its publication. This admirable "tool for the job" is the work of Mr. John A. Velinder of Ipswich, who has the voluntary assistance of many of our members in the work of checking the entries in the desired field. Later items to its compilation are a labour of love. Students of early Methodism will discover, by its use, that we already have realised that the earlier volumes of the Proceedings are rich in stimulating material for research as well as containing thousands of interesting details and out-of-the-way facts not to be found elsewhere. We regret that we can no longer supply complete sets of the thirty volumes (though many individual parts are still available); indeed, complete sets would be beyond the financial reach of most of us, for the current market price of complete sets at about £30. Members may be glad to be reminded, however, that any volume of the Proceedings may be obtained from our Library at Wesley's Chapel, London, where we have two sets available for this purpose, as well as a third set for reference in the library. We are glad to say that the Library is being unrestrictedly used by members, both by post and in person. The Librarian will be glad to receive offers of sample books. Items of the various denominational Journals will be especially welcome.
Richard Treffry, Senior and Junior (1771-1842 and 1804-38)

Sources:
Dixon, J. C. C., and Courthay, W. F., Blackstone Correspondence, 1783-88. For Treffry Family and Bibliography, see II, pp. 221-22; III, pp. 263-7.
Treffry, Rev. Richard, Jr., Nineteenth Century Journal, 1802-1882. For E. Treffry, see III, pp. 224.
Treffry Correspondence, presented in the London Book of the Rev. Henry Hearthside, for Mrs. J. J. Heath, M.I.A. This correspondence contains 6 (Treffry, jun., to Miss Black Wren, of Hull, 1816.) (6 Treffry, jun., to Mrs. Eliza Baron, of Redruth, 1832.) (2) Treffry, jun., to his mother, written on "Memorial Tokens," 1816.

The portrait of the two Richard Treeffrys, father and son, may be seen in the 1834 volume of the Methodist Magazine and in the Memoirs of the Rev. Richard Treffry, jun. respectively. The young likeness is at once apparent—the large features, full mouth and wanton eye, no longer couched straight down "in the manner of the Ancients" as seen in the portraits of the Arundel Majesties. Fortunately, both wore a heavy high-buckled coat, revealing a waistcoat and white cravat. The father's coat is obviously a riding coat, well suited to the life of an itinerant; the son's coat is of a more fashionable cut, with a little lapel and two rows of decorative buttons.

Richard Treffry, sen., lived from 1771 to 1842, and his son from 1804 to 1836; therefore the ministry of both men was expected in that interesting transition period, the first three decades of the 19th century. Interesting to account of (i) the progress of Methodism, (ii) the influence of democratic Methodism, and (iii) the changing relation of Methodism to the Church of England due to Methodism's increasing self-sufficiency and its role in the Nation. This period can be illustrated from the writings, published and unpublished, of both Treffrys.

The family came from Croydon, Cornwall, where Thomas Treffry (1739-1812) was a farmer. He joined the Methodists in 1776, and became a class-leader and local preacher. In 1782, Richard, joined the Methodists while in his teens, and entered the ministry in 1792. He was a typical itinerant of the period, and itinerant for the majority of his ministry in Holt's Arrangement can be filled in by his early Journal (1802-7), hisvariorum letters, and the Correspodence. He has a niche in Smith's and Stevens' histories, but none in Greg or the Dictionary of National Biography. Smith and Stevens both describe him as capable, and "too wise and astute to be made much of." He was the editor of Wesleyan Times, and a "friend to his words, and a friend to his friends." He lived largely in appreciation of his own handling of the reform of Methodism in the South London societies. In 1828 he was appointed Governor of the Theological Institution at Hoddesdon. He was firmly attached to the Conference during the disputes of the 1830s, but he was recognized by both sides as not being a party man. His writings include a Reply to the Revd. C. V. Le Grice, a critic of the Carisbrooke Revival of 1814, and biographies of Benson, Travers, Trefry, and his own son.

Richard Treffry, jun., was born at the Camelford house in 1804, and was baptised at the beginning of the following year by Dr. Coke, then in the course of one of his missionary degradation tours. After leaving Kingswood, young Treffry was apprenticed to a London printer, and for a time led the Methodists. This was in 1825, but within the next five years he returned to the fold and entered the ministry. After travelling for six years in London and Yorkshire circuits, and always battling against ill health, he was forced to superannuate. From 1831 until his death in 1842 he lived mainly at Penzance. During these years of decreasing strength he honoured with his pen in the service of Methodism. He was instructed by Coke to write in defence of the Eternal Sonship of Christ—a doctrine which Adam Clarke (in his one theological aberration) had denied. During the Warminster controversy he managed to get to the District Meeting at Truro, and there drew up an official statement defining the attitude of the assembled preachers. His other publications include biographies of the Revs. John Smith, Mr. J. E. Treffry, and of his mother—all useful source-books today. By his early death Methodism undoubtedly lost one who would have been one of its leading thinkers if not statesmen.

It now remains to show how the writings of the two Treffrys illustrate the three centuries:

(1) Methodism between 1800 and 1840

The itinerants were still largely homogenous at the beginning of the period. Between 1806-7 Treffry, jun., regularly rode round the various homes on horseback (often on a borrowed horse). By 1830 Treffry, jun., journeyed mostly by horse-drawn carriage. Throughout the period there were many references to chapel-building. At Swansea, in 1807, Treffry, jun., called the justices for allowing his house to be used for preaching without having licensed it. He promised that the preaching would be discontinued, and the following week Treffry sent to the parish to find a new place for preaching. Treffry's writing often referred to a distant building. In the same year Treffry recorded a visit to the Quarter Sessions to obtain preaching houses for himself and six local preachers.

At the beginning of the century Sunday-schools were still few in number, and in its travels-up and down the country the indefatigable Dr. Coke found time to press for their establishment, even offering summary absolution to those who would undertake the work. On Good Friday 1825 Treffry, jun., who was then at Camelford, called the
society together and informed them of Coke's offer of two-quarterns to start a school. He reported, too, that the leaders' meeting favored the scheme, but he evidently felt that the society would need some remaining, for he went on: "You may think that it is a very good thing & like many other new things more envious than sound." He pointed out that the purpose of the school was to teach the children "to read, to teach them the principles of religion, & pray with & for them & labour to train them up for heaven." The school sessions were to be from 8 a.m. to 10 a.m. and for "an hour or two" in the afternoons. The Methodists, he suggested, might not be behind the Church of England or the Calvinists in the founding of Sunday-schools.

The elder Treffry lived a busy life, continually preaching, meeting cholera, practicing soliciting, urging the hospitality of so many hosts ([Dined at Mr. Cock's. The first pussyberry pie for the season", "Dined at a free house", "even spending a day working in the garden fields."

He had his days off-the-vacant days", when he called his garden or took his wife out in a gig. Books were a problem, at least for those who needed them. The younger Treffry, in Penzance, writing to his father, at Bristol, asked him to forward certain books, Turretin's Works, Episcopist's Works, Burton's Intemperate Rhetorick, and others. The panel of books, like another panel that on its way to him, would travel by sea from Bristol.

Treffry's son's references to the Quarterly Meetings are too very detailed, but it is evident that "increased assessments" were then, as now, receiving some of the congregations. Extra quadrat was sometimes required to send the preachers to Conference. One Rev. present at the time was for each Quarterly Meeting to be attended by one or more itinerants from the adjoining circuits. Thus we find the Lancaster man attending the Camborne meeting, and Camborne and Plymouth itinerants at the Lusignan meeting. It would be interesting to keep the origin of the custom and its duration, but it seems to have been a formal arrangement at this period. When the Judas circuit was formed, the representatives from the separate appeared as the Quarterly Meeting of the old circuit and claimed a fifth part of the furniture of the Camborne manse. It was agreed that the furniture be valued, and that the furnishing of the Lusignan house began. The Quarterly Meetings were invariably accompanied by preaching services, lovefeasts, or sacramental celebrations.

Apart from occasional visits to neighboring circuits, the itinerants only left their circuits to travel to the Quarterly Meeting on reference. The District streaming sessions opened at 5 a.m. (1804), and were attended by several preachers and circuit stewards. The stewards had been admitted to District meetings, with certain limitations, by resolution of the Conference of 1801.

Treffry comments (1802) that "the stewards acted after breakfast", and (1804) that "the stewards were with us all the same except for an hour during the morning."

Richard Treffry, Senior and Junior

Through the writing of the Treffrys we have glimpses of their contemporaries. "I understand that it is arranged for Mr. Bell to come with Mr. Bunting upon our depredation," writes Treffry, jun., to his father in 1833, "I do not know him, but I should fear he was a considerable fellow from Mr. Scott." In the same letter there is a reference to a financial arrangement with the Schools Committee, of which Treffry, sen., was chairman. The son writes:

Mr. Ast (the Rev. William Ast) begged me to look after some of his affairs after his decease, and among other things one I was to state. Some years ago be left the school at two several periods, £100 and £10. For these he had no security but a mere memorandum of Mr. Smith (the Rev. John Smith, ed.). He wished me therefore to apply for a legal security for these. Would you be so good as to procure this for me. But if Mr. Smith or someone else has to do with the thing will you give the security, Mr. A. without the money to be required forthwith.

Then there are the contemporaries who make a fuss but inventing disappearances—"Old Mr. Deane (a gentleman at Plymouth) was as swift as a post and as crook as a pig", "Ben Gregory was object to at the Convention of 1807 because he was different from the sermon"; the Lizard preachers were charged with "travelling long in bad weather", even till 9 a.m. at Squire Blackett's (Mr. Moore said that the Puritans use the word "charlanting" literally required long being in bad). Among the Treffrys' itinerant contemporaries were the Methodists near Mess. Lizard who missed the evening service because a cargo of unconverted goods had just been landed on the beach; and the discontented smugglers who had been relieved of their cargo in the Bristol Channel and were journeying back across Cornwall to their home base.

There are several references to William Carew, the wealthy banker of Penzance, who supported Wesley in 1797 and who was still living in a large house in the 1800s. He was steward of the first Cornwall circuit in 1788, and held the same office in 1814. He appears to have observed Wesley's rules on the use of money, for it is said that he gave away over £20,000. Mr. Beard, a trustee at the time, wished me therefore to apply for a legal security for these. Would you be so good as to procure this for me. But if Mr. Smith or someone else has to do with the thing will you give the security, Mr. A. without the money to be required forthwith.

Then there are the contemporaries who make a fuss but inventing disappearances—"Old Mr. Deane (a gentleman at Plymouth) was as swift as a post and as crook as a pig", "Ben Gregory was object to at the Convention of 1807 because he was different from the sermon"; the Lizard preachers were charged with "travelling long in bad weather", even till 9 a.m. at Squire Blackett's (Mr. Moore said that the Puritans use the word "charlanting" literally required long being in bad). Among the Treffrys' itinerant contemporaries were the Methodists near Mess. Lizard who missed the evening service because a cargo of unconverted goods had just been landed on the beach; and the discontented smugglers who had been relieved of their cargo in the Bristol Channel and were journeying back across Cornwall to their home base.
The issue underlying these disagreements within and across the Wesleyan Methodists was of course that of ministerial authority. It was not always the obvious issue, but it was the fundamental one, who should exercise the power, the leaders, the stewards, or a democratic combination of both? In 1835 Richard Treffry, then District Chairman, asked his son to express his opinion on "Ministerial Power in the Excision of Unworthy Members of the Church." He must have been evident to him when he raised the question that if the itinerants were possessed of the power to include and exclude members, then ministerial rule would follow as a consequence. The son's reply took the form of a lengthy, closely-reasoned essay, written on a large sheet of paper which also contained a short cover letter.

After examining the evidence, Treffry states that no one in the New Testament is represented as responsible for the spiritual prosperity of a church except its pastor, and argues that this can only be because they possessed the power to exclude unworthy members. His comment on 1 Peter 5:1.3 is: "If ministers possess no power the exhortation of St. Paul against the abuse of power is important." Diotrephes is censured (1 John 2:11-15) not for exercising the right to excommunicate, but for misusing that power. Treffry has no difficulty in citing St. Chrysostom on the power of the elders to exclude members from the church and its pastors absent. He then points out that a ministry must exist before the formation of a church and that every ministry must maintain, exercise the power of the keys. If this power belongs to the ministry by the authority of God it is a governance of aynon community, it is clear that by that authority alone the power can be wielded by him. But God has never intervened his authority to that effect; the original grant and appointment of ministerial authority therefore remains in full force.

Treffry finally adds a few comments on the law and usage of Methodism up to that time. From Wesley's death until 1797, the power of expulsion had been, without check or control, in the hands of the preachers. In that year a Conference agreed on one clock on this system: "No person shall be expelled from the society for immorality until such immorality be proved at the Leaders' Meeting." Treffry argues that this does not mean that the leaders' meeting is to be the judge or jury. Pointing out that, at that date, a person has the power of withholding a ticket from one who has failed to attend class, he says that it cannot be the case that a minister has the right to exclude a repentant member but no power to exclude an immoral one.

Whatever may be thought of this doctrine by modern Methodists, there is no doubt that father Treffry found it both workable and scriptural. It implies called to trust his own exercise of the power of the keys at York-ponds in 1782, when his "excluded two from the society for being triflingly intemperate without a procedural sanction," and at Tintagel in 1794, when he expelled two members for quarrelling.

Richard Treffry, Senior and Junior 71
(3) Relations with the Church of England

It is a commonplace that there was never a formal act of separation between Methodism and the Church of England, but that was partly because there was never a formal unity. Throughout the period of the Trevffrys large numbers of Methodists perceived themselves as being members of "the Church" as well as of "the Society", yet throughout the same period there was a growing sense of being a separate body. This separateness was heightened on the one side by a feeling of self-sufficiency and on the other by a lack of sympathy on the part of the clergy. It was the parish of Stilton who hounded (Thomas Gundry before the justices in 1695, and the rector of Luton in by Canisford who in that same year refused to bury a child who had been baptized by the itinerant Joseph Obelins. It was in that same year also that the elder Trevffry attended Conference and hence Dr. Coke criticized for making a similar approach to the bishops, with a view to uniting the societies to the Church by the ordination of selected itinerants.

While Richard Trevffry, jun. was at Pershore the bishop of Evesham (Phillipots) made an appeal to the Wesleyans in his famous Vocations Charge of 1835. "Speaking to the clergy of the Wesleyans, he said: "They agree with us almost entirely in doctrine, certainly in all which the most rigidly orthodox amongst us would deem essential parts of the Christian Covenant;... Would to God that the narrow partition which divides them from us could be broken down." In spite of the elastic tone in this charge, the Methodists read it with some suspicion. Trevffry thought that "these attentions from dignitaries of the Church are rather flattering, yet I fear they will be mischievous." He considered that the bishop's proposals were indefinite and impracticable, and in some instances ridiculous. He considered publishing a reply to the bishop, but did not do so. Yet Trevffry had no objection to the Anglican Church as such, and during his retirement considered taking orders therein so that he could fulfil his ministry in a broader sphere than was possible to Methodism. Dr. Bunting advised him against this course, on the ground that he might still become strong enough to resume the itinerancy.

In the year of Phillipots's Vocations Charge already quoted, Newman issued his famous Tract No. 4, on the Ministerial Charges, which contained an exposition of the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession. This tract naturally provoked fresh thinking on the subject among the Methodists. The fruits of this new thinking can be seen in Alfred Harriet's Essay on the Pastoral Office (1835), and in the slightest but handsomely important essay on the Apostolic Succession, published in the Mercenary of the younger Trevffry.

The Essay may be summarized by the following quotations:

- "The most appropriate exposition of the phrase would be a succession of ministers in one degree or another, viz., the apostles, apostolic men, deacons, elders, bishops. In the existence of such a succession there is strong reason to believe that bishops must have been different bishops—if they were only presbyters (of the same order as the presbyters)... their ordinations were presbyteral." --RICHARD TREFFRY, SENIOR AND JUNIOR

The 1859 edition of Rotherham's Journal of the Wesleyan Conference, contains only one brief article in English, on "Edward Phillips, Macauzavos," by Griffith T. Roberts. The rest of its contents is in Welsh, and therefore completely unintelligible to most of us. An article on Welsh hymns looks as though it might be particularly interesting. We are glad that our sister Society continues to make good headway, and note with interest that its treasurer bears the admirable name of "Proflite".

The George Press has re-published as a "paper-back" in its Wesley series Leslie F. Church's The Church of the Opening Heart (1857, 8vo). A better book than this can be found in introductions by John Wesley's children and young people. Our only criticism is that it takes the author 66 pages to arrive at the 1758 Abingdon Street experience, having only another 60 pages to travel the remaining fifty somethi page parts of Wesley's life. These are some minor errors of fact, such as the confusion between Stoane Harcourt in Staffordshire and in Hampshire as the home of Vanezane.

A new church has just been opened at Kirkham, in the Lytham St. Annes circuit, Lancashire. This is the fifth Methodist church in the village, the first being built in 1834. But the consequence to 1851. These and other well-illustrated facts are briefly given in a sermon lecture addresset to the Rev. Clifford W. Chevsworth, of the Masson and Stanley in Lytham St. Annes...
A JOURNEY TO CONFERENCE IN 1794

There is nothing new under the sun—a saying to which this letter supplies abundant proof. The solicitude of a preacher for his wife during his long absence at Conference, ministerial friendships—old and new, and the traditional Methodist hospitality. The letter was written by Charles Atmore to his wife after a week's journey to Bristol for the 1794 Conference.

Charles Atmore was stationed at Halifax, which had recently been the scene of a great revival in which 700 members had been added to the circuit. He was one of the outstanding preachers of his day, having been ordained by Wesley for Scotland in 1785, and became President in 1815. His biography was published in serial form in The Methodist Magazine in 1845, and some of the letters he received from his great friend John Newton were printed in volumes 3 and 4 of the Proceedings.

When Atmore left home for Conference his wife was seriously ill. He wrote in his diary:

Wednesday, July 10. About half past ten am. I took a sorrowful leave of my dear belly, and set off for the Conference. I never felt her with such reluctance before. I would gladly have stayed at home, and sent Mr. Lewis (the second preacher in my place) but she would not consent. She said, it was the Lord's will, who would not only preserve me, but keep her in her absence.

When he arrived home on 19th August, after a month's absence, he found his wife critically ill, and she died a week later, after only seven years of married life. The letter, printed below, contains many terms of endearment and expressions of concern about her health which we have deemed it necessary to reproduce.

Charles Atmore to His Wife

Bristol, July 24, 1794

My dearest,

By the good providence of God we arrived safe in this city last night. Surely the Lord is good to good to us. I do feel it in some measure. May I feel it more.

Wednesday we got safe to Manchester. I called upon Mrs. Walker, who expected to see us and she says she will come to see us when she comes to Manchester, which was the last of the way. Thursday we reached Liverpool. I cannot tell you how glad poor James was to see us. He is an excellent lad and in every respect—handsome and will rejoice to see his friends. As Friday was so very hot and we were much fatigued, we accepted the kind invitation of our friends and stayed another night. I scarcely hope to see you.

Saturday morning we set off early, and reached Dudley, where we were kindly received by Mr. and Mrs. Lowery. There we spent the Sunday. I read prayers & Mr. J. preached in the morning, and then I preached at 2 and 4. Sunday we came to Worcester. Mr. Joseph Taylor was post, and Mr. J. preached as well. In the evening

1 Letter: History of Wesleyan Methodist on Holtsfer, 1845.
2 Methodist Magazine, 1845, p. 318.

A Journey to Conference in 1794

I was much persuade to preach, but as William Collins was in town before us both Mr. Q. and I thought he would expect to preach, and would be highly displeased if he did not. Such a preaching I never heard before either in Church or Chapel in all my life. So much complaint I do believe was never heard in an hour before. My very soul was pleased, and had I not been in the pulpit I certainly should have gone out. Some of the people supposed he began himself. After he had done I told him I wished to say a few words, which he submitted to, and I endeavored to do as well as I could to make matters up by informing them of the glorious work of God in Yorkshire, Mr. Watson from Wakefield was there and desired his kind love to you.

Tuesday we came to Stroud. Mr. and Mrs. Collins were glad to see us and I preached in the evening to a tolerable company, but religion in this county, indeed all the way after we left Manchester, seems to be at a very low ebb. Mr. Cousins wished not to stay another day at Stroud. Mr. Q. said to go to iron, and I did not wish to delay longer by myself as he was a perfect stranger. We therefore came here yesterday. Mr. Collins performed his journey remarkably well, and they both seemed so happy when we reached Bristol as when we left Halifax.

Mr. Q. and I found it very profitable to stay together, and indeed the whole journey has been the most profitable and agreeable of any I almost ever travelled. For we have had no company all the way, so that we could converse and pray without interruption from any one. If you be no better I certainly will return again as soon as possible. Mr. Pavman and Mr. Q. join not in kind love to you all,

I am, my dearest, your own,

Charles Atmore

The delegates did not meet yesterday, several were not come in, so that I can say nothing yet. I quite forget to mention in Mr. Crompton & Mr. Harvey the clearing of the chapel in the time of Conference. It certainly ought to be whitewashed and painted before winter, and this will be the best time to do it if they think proper. Mr. Lewis may speak to them about it.

Theophilus Lecky was the assistant of the Wolverhampton circuit, and became President in 1815. Joseph Taylor was the assistant of the Worcestershire circuit, and Jonathan Cousins of the Gloucestershire circuit. The identity of Mr. Q. remains obscure. The only constant preacher with that initial on the station at that time was John de Quelleville. His ministry was spent in the Channel Islands, where he was an heroic Methodist pastor. What could be done in Halifax? But Atmore's travelling companion was obviously a preacher. Mr. Collins was present also at the Glorious Meeting, and was pleased with the warmth of the Halifax chapel. William Collins was the second preacher at Epsom.

The 1794 Conference followed hands upon the fame for famous 8 Lichfield Meeting, and was largely occupied with the sacramental controversy which led to the Plan of Pacification the next year. (Wrote Atmore)
BISHOP FRANCIS ASBURY (1745-1816)

[The house where Francis Asbury was born at Great Bromwich, 26 miles from Birmingham, England, is now open to visitors. The occasion was the unveiling of an equestrian statue of Francis Asbury, and the principal speaker was the President of the United States. The statue is on Mount Pleasant, at the junction of Sixteenth Street N.W. and Columbia Road, and on the plinth of the statue Francis Asbury is described as the "Prophet of the Long Road." President Calvin Coolidge paid a great tribute to a great man. He said: "This Circuit Rider spent his life making stronger the foundation on which our Government rests, and seeking to implant in the hearts of all men, however poor and unworthy they may have seemed, an increased ability to discharge the high duties of their citizenship. His opponents met with the pioneers, his missionaries visited the homes of the poor that all might be taught to a knowledge of the truth. Who shall say where his influence-writing on the immortal souls of men shall end? How many temples of worship did our landscape! How many institutions of learning, some of them rejoicing in the name of Wesleyan, all trace the promotion of their existence to the sacrifice and service of the late Circuit Rider! He is entitled to rank as one of the Builders of our Nation."

In a permanent memorial to this pioneer Churchman who did so much to strengthen the foundations of the great American Empire, it is fitting that the American Bishops pay tribute to the spirit of his life and laborame."

His Citizenship

President Coolidge spoke of Asbury's "extremity," though certainly enough he never became an American citizen in the legal sense.

WASHINGTON, D.C., was the scene of a particularly interesting ceremony on 16th October 1924. The occasion was the unveiling of an equestrian statue of Francis Asbury, and the principal speaker was the President of the United States. The statue is on Mount Pleasant, at the junction of Sixteenth Street N.W. and Columbia Road, and on the plinth of the statue Francis Asbury is described as the "Prophet of the Long Road." President Calvin Coolidge paid a great tribute to a great man. He said: "This Circuit Rider spent his life making stronger the foundation on which our Government rests, and seeking to implant in the hearts of all men, however poor and unworthy they may have seemed, an increased ability to discharge the high duties of their citizenship. His opponents met with the pioneers, his missionaries visited the homes of the poor that all might be taught to a knowledge of the truth. Who shall say where his influence-writing on the immortal souls of men shall end? How many temples of worship did our landscape! How many institutions of learning, some of them rejoicing in the name of Wesleyan, all trace the promotion of their existence to the sacrifice and service of the late Circuit Rider! He is entitled to rank as one of the Builders of our Nation."

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of that word. He left England in 1771 at the age of twenty-six, and never returned. For forty-five years he lived and toiled for the American people, “serving his God with a heart ever young”, as might be said of him in words used of his leader, John Wesley. Why he never took up American citizenship none can say, but his love for America and his loyalty through the War of Independence and to the Republic are unquestioned. He said: “If I were to leave America I should break my heart,” but he went on to say also, “If I stay I shall perhaps break my constitution, but here I must die.”

He was, first of all, a preacher of the gospel, but he was thereby concerned with the true well-being of the community. He was indeed a social reformer, recognizing the degrading effects of poverty, the fundamental wrong of slavery, and the evils that arise from the traffic in alcoholic liquors. On two occasions Francis Asbury, with Dr. Coke, visited George Washington. The first was to offer felicitations to the victorious General and to invoke his aid in dealing with slavery. The second occasion, in 1789, was to visit the first President of the United States. Asbury took with him a message of congrats, loyalty and prayer on behalf of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as it was then known. This was the first religious community to present such a greeting to the new President of the United States, and it evoked from George Washington a gracious reply in which he spoke of seeking “the assistance of Divine Providence” in the great task which was laid upon him.

His churchmanship

The Methodist Church had its beginning some ten years before Asbury went to America. Emigrants from Ireland, principally, had brought together Methodist societies in New York and in Maryland. Thus he went out to join a little band of Methodist preachers who were already at work. Seven years later the Revolution began, and ultimately all the Methodist preachers from England returned home but Asbury. He remained, and through those years greatly did he serve. In 1784 he was elected the first Bishop of what was known for many years thereafter as the Methodist Episcopal Church. The story of his travels almost entirely by horseback and over country where there were no roads is the story of an endurance of constant hardship and intense loneliness. Time after time he crossed the Allegheny Mountains, penetrating much further west from the east line than most, if any, of his contemporaries in such work. During the forty-five years of his ministry he is said to have travelled 225,000 miles, an almost unbelievable figure when the conditions are remembered. When he arrived in America there were but ten authorized Methodist ministers and some five hundred members. When he died he left a Church with over six hundred ministers and nearly a quarter of a million enrolled members.

His greatest work was that of a preacher of the gospel, and so that end he schooled himself. With nothing more than an elementary
case consequence to them and the achievement of this than the services Church to which he for America, out of his very value he to help his parents, particularly his Ve do well to remember too that his er in connexion with the extending lI\Iethodist societies before he was chosen by John \Vesley for the great service to which his life was quite out of his 'teens, and when he was but twenty-one was an blacks1rnth at Forge Mill. His parents were associated with the parish church at Great Barr, but young of Francis Asbury. E.

education, he had studied Greek, Hebrew and Latin before he left England, and carried through those studies amid his arduous labours in America. His saddlebags were occupied mostly by books, and in founding a Book Concern and in the establishment of the Cokesbury College he sought to provide for preachers and people that education without which the best work could not possibly be done.

Through the greater part of his life Asbury never had a real home. He never married, but he retained vividly the memory of the home he had in his early years upon the area of the County Borough of West Bromwich. Soon after he was born, his parents moved into the little cottage with its four tiny rooms which was the home of Asbury throughout his boyhood and youth. His actual birthplace was about a mile away. near A\~bury cottage with its four tiny rooms was about a mile away. near St. Vincent de Paul said once: "God as a rule uses people of little consequence to effect great things." There could be no better illustration of this than the story of Francis Asbury; but the "people of little consequence" became great in the work to which God calls them and the achievement that He makes possible, so it was so the case of Francis Asbury.

STORMY SCENES IN ABERDEEN IN 1816

THE following statement occurs on page 23 of Mr. C. Diack's Sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen, 1749-1900, published in 1901:

M'Allum's successor, in 1815, was Rev. Joshua Bryan, who quarrelled with his members over certain matters of church government which were then in agitation, and did his best, though without success, to dissolve the Society. He collected all the class papers, which were then used instead of cast books and had to be renewed every quarter; and, on a Sunday evening, in the chapel in Queen Street, after denouncing in a sermon of fierce invective the doings of the members and their treatment of him, he tore the class papers to shreds and burnt them, exclaiming: "There is no more a Methodist Society in Aberdeen, and I shall start one on Connexional principles." A minor District Meeting was held in Aberdeen, when members of the church gave evidence, and Mr. Bryan stated his view that the Society was not based on Methodist principles. Mr. M'Allum was one of the meeting, and, in replying to Mr. Bryan, dismissed his arguments by saying, "I have been travelling up and down the country for forty-one years, but never was accused of being anti-Methodist till the great Joshua Bryan arose." The result was Mr. Bryan's suspension as a minister.

I do not know the source of Mr. Diack's information. He may have gathered it from contemporary local press reports, for it would certainly make what journalists call "good copy".

Joshua Bryan was received "on trial" in 1808. After a year in the Whitfield Mission, he spent eight years in Scotland, where he formed a close friendship with Robert Wesley. In 1813 he was appointed to Aberdeen and re-appointed the following year, becoming at the same time the Chairman of the Aberdeen District. Then occurred the events recorded by Diack.

The Sheffield Conference heard "with the highest displeasure" of Bryan's conduct, and ratified, in part, the findings and disciplinary action of the District Meeting. It declared, however, that "the District Meeting has pronounced (although from the best motives) a sentence more severe than the facts of the case could altogether justify." It was pointed out how seriously a suspension of nine months during which period the Connexion was responsible for the offender's maintenance, affects both the individual and the funds of the Connexion, and therefore should only be resorted to in extreme cases. One could understand the concern for Connexional funds in the light of the following figures, taken from the Minutes of 1817:

Joshua Bryan's journey to the Conference £s n n
Inc. Bryan's board, lodging, etc. 18.10.7
Additional board, postage etc. to Inc. Bryan 14.9.4
Total debt 15s. 1d.

See Proceedings, xxii, p. 222
William West (1770-1822). In 1813 he had been stationed at Arbroath, where he had succeeded J. Bryan in the chair of the Aberdeen District. The following year (1814) he moved to Perth, in the Edinburgh District. In 1815 he retired to London, and about 1821 removed to Aberdeen, where he died in September 1822.

Joseph Kitchen (1799-1818). He was at Dundee, where he remained for three years.

Joshua Bryan (1809-48). He was at Dunfermline, where he was ordained as one of the District. In 1820 he was called to the district, and he remained there for three years.

Joshua Bryan was a "difficult" brother. He was appointed to Brechin in 1809, and he remained there for three years. His denomination was the Society of Friends, and he was ordained as one of the District. He was at Dunfermline, where he was ordained as one of the District. In 1820 he was called to the district, and he remained there for three years.

WILLIAM BARTLETT (1812). He was at Edinburgh, where he was ordained as one of the District. In 1820 he was called to the district, and he remained there for three years.

James Black (1814). He was at Arbroath, where he was ordained as one of the District. In 1820 he was called to the district, and he remained there for three years.

James Black was a "difficult" brother. He was appointed to Brechin in 1809, and he remained there for three years. His denomination was the Society of Friends, and he was ordained as one of the District. He was at Dunfermline, where he was ordained as one of the District. In 1820 he was called to the district, and he remained there for three years.

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Dr. Ryan, poor thing, had it so much to heart, indeed that I thought it would have proved her death, but we have both got through for it pretty well. Now, sometimes, we have been rushed for want of money. I hope you will take some time and tell me if my case is known in your quarter and what are the sentiments of the people upon it.

I do not need to trouble you with Scottish Methodism. For my part, I never thought it would have proved her death, but we have both got thus far in your soul, in your family and in your circuit. The friends in Aberdeen, who considered me all along in the right would not offer to take me. Church which is so very disposed of, and proposed giving me a salary if I would consent to settle, but I declined accepting of their offer. As I am entirely moved by the Spirit, I intend to see that the Conference will say on the business, and if I die, I will die like a man.

I hope to see you at Sheffield and from the few hints I have given you and from what you know of me, I hope you will be able to deliver a long and pointed speech on the occasion.

West and West will not be so great in the Conference as they were in the District, for their presence overawes the others, so that they could say nothing.

I need not apologize for writing so much, for I know you would not be weary reading it much longer.

I therefore, with love to you and Mrs. Melson, remain

Yours affectionately,

JOSEPH BROW.

So, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, what is your verdict?

Bryan was appointed to Norwich, but seems never thereafter to have settled down to the normal life of a Methodist minister. At the Conference of 1828 he was returned for the publication of pamphlets which were said to contain "gross libels on several excellent characters."—probably members of the Conference—and was suspended for a year. A somewhat mysterious report was presented to the following Conference, but he remained quite obscure, and was excluded from the Connexions.

JAMES MILLER (1811-53) moved from Aberdeen to Inverary in 1814, having had one year as Bryan's colleague.

Valentine Ward (1810-53) was then at Edinburgh, where he was Chairman of the District. For an account of this minister, who figured so prominently in Scottish Methodism, see W. F. Smith's Wesley Historical Society Lecture, Methodism in Scotland, pp. 72 ff.

DUNCAN MACKINNON (1775-1834). Probably no minister has had more intimate associations with Scottich Methodism.1

1 See W. F. Smith, op. cit., p. 148.

THE FRANCIS ASBURY COTTAGE

The West Bromwich Council have for a long time appreciated the importance of this building, and have been concerned as to its preservation. Special statutory significance was given to buildings of architectural or historic interest with the passing of the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, by Section 3o of which the Minister was empowered to designate buildings which appeared to him to fall within these categories. When the first provisional list of buildings for West Bromwich was prepared and submitted for the observations of the Council early in 1949, representations were made to the then Ministry of Town and Country Planning for the inclusion of the Asbury Cottage. In June of that year the Ministry replied to the effect that the cot tage appeared to be of sufficient interest to justify inclusion in the statutory list, and the Ministry stated that in due course the listing of the building would be considered. The building was "listed" on 23rd September 1955.

While the matter was very fresh in the memory of the Town Planning Committee, a letter was received dated 20th January 1950, from the Secretary of the International Methodist Historical Society, drawing the attention of the Council to the fact that the cottage is without doubt the most important Methodist site in the Black Country area, and that it could be made one of the most attractive in England, particularly for American Methodist visitors. The letter suggested to the Council that if the cottage were to be for sale at any time it might be bought and restored and furnished.

The Town Planning Committee were able to pursue the matter very rapidly, and by February 1950 the Mayor at the time (Alderman Mrs. Grace Wilkes, J.P.) and the Town Clerk had interviewed the Joint Managing Directors of Darby's Brewery Limited, the owners of the building. They too had appreciated the importance of Asbury Cottage, and largely due to the efforts of their father, the late George Darby, the premium had been kept in presentable condition without constant to modern housing standards.

As a result of this first meeting, the Council decided to pursue negotiations for the acquisition of the Asbury Cottage and also for the adjoining premises known as Rowan Cottage, both cottages having been Purchase at one time to the adjoining Malt House (now demolished). Happily the Council had a number of points to pursue with the owner, and as a result of the outcome of discussions, the transfer of the two cottages to the Council was effected on 6th April 1955.

The Asbury Cottage was at that time occupied, and it was realized that no useful scheme of restoration could be undertaken until possession of the premises had been obtained. Naturally this took time, and it was not until towards the end of 1957 that arrangements had been concluded for the existing occupants to move to a house in the nearest vicinity. Mrs. Melson and her family deserve the highest
praise for the understanding way in which, over many years, they had been prepared to receive visitors into their home, often at times when it must have been quite inconvenient for viewing. Many tributes have been received by Mrs. Bandles from American visitors who had the opportunity of seeing this historic place.

Since the acquisition of the premises, the closest liaison has been maintained between the Council, through the Town Planning Committee, and the World Methodist Council, through the Secretary, the Rev. Dr. E. Benson Pedlow, at Birmingham. The Town Planning Committee were grateful to have the opportunity to study a report made upon the cottage by Mr. Thomas Rayson, an architect who had been specially chosen by the World Methodist Council to deal with the restoration of Epworth Old Rectory in Lincolnshire. The report was very valuable and made far-reaching suggestions, but it was felt that in the now a simpler scheme of restoration would be available in the circumstances, having regard to the numerous architectural changes which had taken place in more recent times. The Council were pleased to receive an intimation that financial assistance towards the restoration might be available from the World Methodist Council. A scheme was ultimately devised and agreed, to restore the basic features of the living-room in the cottage, and particularly the original inglenook fireplace which was known to exist behind a more modern kitchen range. Happily the complete restoration of this feature has been possible, and the whole scheme achieved as a result of the most sympathetic treatment by the Council’s Architect coupled with the competence of the Public Works Department of the Council.

At the same time, the Council have been able to effect alterations to the Malt Shovel Cottage adjoining, to bring it more nearly up to present-day housing standards, and it is hoped that a satisfactory arrangement will be made whereby the caretaking and cleaning duties can be undertaken by the tenant of Malt Shovel Cottage. The Council have commenced a scheme for the tidying-up of the gardens surrounding the buildings, and it is hoped that suitable joint arrangements will be made between the Parks Department and the occupier of Malt Shovel Cottage for the future upkeep of the gardens to give a setting in keeping with the importance of the premises.

The re-opening of the Cottage for public viewing marks a further milestone in the Asbury story, and it is to be hoped that the fullest possible opportunity will be taken, especially by American friends, to visit West Bromwich to recapture for a brief spell the atmosphere surrounding this great man.

West Bromwich is proud to number amongst its past citizens several local historians, and of these Mr. Joseph Heeves deserves a special mention. Fortunately for posterity, Mr. Heeves prepared notes on local families, and a manuscript dated 1844 reveals some details concerning Francis Asbury believed not to have been published previously. He writes that after leaving school "he was bound an apprentice
to John Griffin his trade was "shape-fitting." This trade had to do with the making of parts of the wooden framework (or hull) of a ship. In addition to the shipyard, Griffin was also involved in the manufacture of wooden parts for other industries. Griffin is credited with being the first to patent the "shape-fitting" technique, which allowed for the precise cutting of wood to fit together in complex structures like ship hulls. This technique was later adopted by other boatbuilders and shipbuilders, contributing to the development of the shipbuilding industry.

Reeves refers to Ashby's house as being about forty yards from the house where he was apprenticed, and, although no description is given, this house may well be the one where he was apprenticed in the early 18th century with its adjoining summer garden. It is known that his house dates back a long way. Reeves also records an interesting detail concerning the departure for America. He writes: 'Before going to America he [Ashby] practiced his shipwright's trade at his Father's House which is about forty yards from the house he was apprenticed. He bought a house near the old T. Hackbridge now living west a farm and cried home. He forever seemed at home and as his uncle [Mr. Hackbridge] was then aged 78 and the date of writing 1833 Reeves refers to letters which came from Bishop lithium, and states: 'I remember one expression. He expressed how the Church goes on at last and says: 'I should like to subscribe something amounting to keep the lamp burning.'

It is appropriate to link the restoration of this historic building with other examples of this nature which have been undertaken by the Council, and whose success is due to the Borough for the purpose of seeing the Ashby Cottage, the opportunity should also be taken to visit two other examples of restoration and preservation of old buildings. These are the Manor House, a thirteenth-century medieval hall of the greatest possible significance, being perhaps one of the most complete examples existing in the whole of Great Britain, and the Oak House, a fourteenth-century gentry's dwelling.

It is fitting to end this short note on the Ashby Cottage by a reproduction of the wording which appears on the brass plate provided by the World Methodist Council.

**The Francis Asbury Cottage**

NOW THE PROPERTY OF THE CURATE OF WEST BROUGHTON WAS THE REV. F. W. RUSBLACK...

FRANCIS ASBURY (1745-1816)

"THE PROJECT OF THE KING ROAD"

WHO WAS SENT TO AMERICA BY JOHN WESLEY IN 1771 AND RETURNS TO THE MOTHER CHURCH IN 1774.

AMERICAN METHODIST CHURCH

14 DECORATED BY PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE WORLD METHODIST COUNCIL

WORCESTER, 25TH NOVEMBER, 1900
DID LORD PETER KING RECANT?

The book which Wesley professed to have been led to a change of principle was so effectively refuted by a clergyman named Slaughter, in a modest publication called *An Original Draught of the Primitive Church*, that Lord King himself was not only convinced by its arguments, but is said to have offered its author a living, which he was unable to accept because he could not conscientiously take the oath of allegiance to a Sovereign of the House of Hanover.

Slaughter gives no authority for his statement, but it is also found in the article on Slaughter in the Dictionary of National Biography, which refers to the *Graecaestern's Magazine* of 1753, where "W.A. writing to the editor, says:"

There is a circumstance, relating to that book of Lord King's and Mr. Slaughter's [sic] answer to it, very little known, but which to me comes

Before Mr. Slaughter's book was published, it was read in MS. by Lord King himself; having been taken, among other papers, in the presence of Mr. Newton's Spiritus,* a reading bishop and canon... Lord King then Chancellor, who very politely returned it, confessing that it was a very sufficient confutation of those parts of his book which it undertook to answer: that it was written with equal Christian temper and moderation and unanswerable strength in argument: and deeming or considering it might be published.

His intimation of his Lordship's thus candidly renouncing the fallacious arguments of his own book on this particular topic, was no less the modesty of the Dissenters of those days that they several times reprinted the book without his Lordship's consent or command and that without the least attempt to reply to Mr. Slaughter, or any notice taken of such a book existing, so far as I can learn.

I who wrote this, knew Mr. W. well ... But love of dominion was so prominent a feature in his character, that he would submit to no human authority.

A little later "Sentences" made the necessary correction: "The answer in Lord King's private church in Dublin by Anthony Grey in p. 60 of the *Review of State and History of the Presbyterians* and its author in called Slaughter and Slaughter. By this author Mr. W. very says: 'I am informed the Lord Chancellor King was himself fully convinced.' Anthony Grey's *Review* was published in 1740 and makes the above statement of passing with no attempt to indicate the nature of Slaughter's reply.

The story is also repeated by Charles Tillam in his *Eight Discourses* (1761), p. 47, where he merely remarks that Slaughter's work was "such as to bring over the Episcopacy [i.e. to that author's (Slaughter's) opinion]."


This book [Slaughter's] the author did not live to publish. It happened, however, that the author's manuscript, after his death, came into the hands of the Lord Chancellor, who was so perfectly satisfied by its

87 PROCEEDINGS A little later "Scrutator..."

...attempt the authority moderately politely returned it, in science, among those Non-juring...Lord King his book reads (page 24) that Lord King was himself fully convinced by it. The passage in Lord King's book reads (page 24): Lord King himself was not only convinced by his arguments, but is said to have offered its author a living, which he was unable to accept because he could not conscientiously take the oath of allegiance to a Sovereign of the House of Hanover.

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NON-WESLEYAN CLASS TICKETS

(Continued from page 87)

United Methodist Free Churches

September 1897 (A) to September 1901 (V)—The first ticket is approximately 9 by 24 ins., bearing within a symbolic border of printed ribbons the wording “United Methodist Free Churches. Founded by the Anni­gation of the Wesleyan Association and Wesleyan Reformers, in 1837, September Quarter 1837. Text and reference, A.”. The index letter is close to the bottom border, and the member’s name is often written either side of the letter. The first ticket around some collections among the non­propriating Reformers, cf. my United Methodist Free Churches, pp. 40-41, for the Annual Assembly had yet to confirm the name of the new denomination, and the reformers still held that they were true Wesleyan Methodists. As with the earliest tickets of some branches, the letter J was printed to the right of a plain rule. The date is printed in a different font from December 1898.

December 1892 (V) to September 1896 (R)—As last, but index letter printed below date and above text; dotted line for member’s name at bottom, J is now used. (Fig. 11 on the plate facing page 36 of the June 1903 Precedings.)

December 1886 (R) to September 1889 (Q)—As last, but a new border of bands and mimic scrolls. From December 1889 the dotted line gives way to a plain rule. Up to this date few tickets are initialled.

December 1889 (V) to September 1891 (Q)—As last, but new cuts to the earlier border. Date in a new font. From December 1891 the historical note is omitted.

December 1887 (G) to September 1894 (R)—As last, but a new border—a conventionalised chain, again symbolic of the “churches” held together by the conventional tie.

December 1884 to September 1897—Larger, 4 by 24 ins., perforated (sheets of six—certainly only two tickets wide). A new border of ornamental flowers and leaves. Wording as before, but no index letter.

December 1887 to September 1891—As last, but no longer perforated. From December 1892 onwards, a thin card rather than paper. Approximately 3½ by 3½ ins.

December 1883 to September 1886—Wording as last, but new fonts for all parts; more decorative border.

December 1886 to September 1891—Same wording, but again new fonts; simpler, geometrical border. There is, either side of the date, a small decoration which varies from time to time; dots between wavy lines.

December 1881 to September 1889—As last, but very slightly different border.

December 1886 to September 1901—Wording as last, but now, simply, dots to the border and new fonts. A different wavy line, which changes again in December 1893. The corner ornament changes in December 1900. (Fig. 13.)

December 1900 to September 1907—Again new fonts, throughout, and new border at conventionalised leaves.

Band Tickets. I have seen none.

On Trial Tickets. Issued at least as early as September 1887. Identified with the current class ticket, save that the index letter is misspelling and is replaced by “Probationer’s Ticket.” For that quarter at least, the name appears in two distinct fonts.

By June 1891, it is again identical with the current class ticket, with the addition of “Probationer” in capitals below the line for the member’s name.

I have two specimens; an ordinary June 1886 class ticket with, written on the back, “Admit the bearer, Susanna Taylor. J. W. F. to the 1886 June Quarter.” This covered admission to the class meeting rather than the Sacrament, I suspect, the Sacrament being available to “All who love the Lord Jesus,” the other in a June 1889 class ticket issued to Mrs. H. John, but with the word “Probation” written on the face.

Junior Tickets. I have seen none; and from the fact that I have two Probationer’s tickets issued to my father when a boy of ten, I suspect that those whom we should now class as junior members were then listed as “On Trial.”

United Methodist

December 1907 to September 1910—Thin card, 3½ by 4 ins., approximately, bearing within a border of conventionalised leaves: “The United Methodist Church. Founded 1866. December Quarter 1866. N.W. Text and reference. . . . (For purposes).” This thin ticket bears the appropriate text “Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.” Psalm xxi. 1. (Illustrated in New History of Methodism, iv. p. 566.)

December 1910 to September 1915—As last, but historical note omitted.

December 1915 to September 1928—Historical note restored. From December 1915 to September 1920 the thin card is replaced by an inferior grey stiffish paper.

December 1925 to June 1932—The historical note again disappears.

No Band or Junior Tickets.

On Trial Tickets. These were printed, in the early years of the church, I have two—circa June and September 1913. They are identical with the contemporary class ticket, save that “Probationer” is printed in the left-hand bottom corner outside the border. Did they continue until 1933?

Annual Tickets. These also were issued, presumably to circuits of the MNC tradition. A glossy card, 3½ by 4 ins., in very similar to the second MNC Annual Certificate (made 1894), with the same colours and similar border, but the wording is now “The United Methodist Church,” and the text at the foot: “Peter 1. 19.” Was this ticket uniform for the whole of the period 1907-8, or were these others?

Independent Methodist

Whilst this branch dates from 1846, the only tickets I have seen are the present ones. They have serial numbers instead of letters, that for June 1915 being 104. The tickets are large, the four-quarters being printed in one sheet and sent out.

Various

There are a number of tickets of local interest. In Leeds—so occasionally—one there was a union of Wesleyan Reformers and Wesleyan Methodist Association some time before 1857, and they issued their own tickets. Inside the usual decorative border, which apparently
90 PROCEEDINGS OF THE WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

discussed frequently, there is printed "United Methodist Societies of the Wesleyan Association and Wesleyana Reformers. Quarterly Ticket for March 1851. Text and reference. G." Clearly the first ticket was issued in September 1851 (Fig. 8).

When unions took place in September 1851, they continued for a time to have their own tickets; and their ticket for September 1851 reads: "United Methodist Free Church. Quarterly Ticket for September 1851. Text and reference. I", in sequence with their preceding index letters.

Most tables on in London, at the time of the Warrington controversy, a small group appeared, and ceased to use the name "Methodist" as part of their title. I have what is their first or second ticket. On a cardboard, stiff card is printed "The Christian Society. Established 1851 Dec. 1851. Quarterly Ticket for March, 1852. Text and reference (1 Chron. iv. 19)", with the name John MacDonald and the initials "A.A." (Fig. 8). Any further information about the offshoot would be included.

The United Methodist Church started in 1852 and perhaps issued their own tickets from that date, as they were independent that they did not join the new Societies. Certain it is that they continued to have their own tickets after their amalgamation with the UMFC in 1853, I have two of their tickets; they read: "Free Methodist Church. Long Circuit. Established A.D. 1852. Date. Index. Text and reference", with a space for name, all in an ornamental border. These two are for March 1853 (23 and December 1853).

Wesleyan Refuge Society

I have one ticket with this heading. The type and border in every respect are similar to those of the contemporary Wesleyan tickets, though the shape is square. After the title, "tickets" Established Jan. 1854. Quarterly ticket for June, 1854. Text and reference (1 Thess. iv. 17—20). U. Name. Even if tickets were not issued from 1854, the index letter shows that they were issued from at least 1854. Is anything else known of this branch? It will be noted that it appeared from the time of the Warrington controversy.

In conclusion, may I repeat what I said at the beginning—that I should be glad to hear of, and see, any other early tickets, and tickets of small local Methodist bodies. May I add my impression of the latter? I base this only on the Book of Discipline and the Rev. J. H. Vennery.

91 THE LECTURES OF F. LUKES WISEMAN

The first issue of the Society's Library is of interest. A helpful article by Dr. Lucas gives an excellent idea of the best way to read and appreciate the documents, which include an interesting introduction on "distinctive points" that seem to be prevalent among those who are trying to define the terms used by those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there. The Society's second issue has already taken a high place in the hearts of those persons whose names are printed there.

THE WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL LECTURES

THE eleventh and last item in the minutes of the Wesley Historical Society's annual meeting on 15th July 1853 reads thus:

Resolved, that Rev. Dr. T. Ferrier Hulme be given a lecture to the Wesley Historical Society at the next Conference.

In the event, Dr. Ferrier Hulme's lecture was postponed for a year, and the first Wesley Historical Society lecture was delivered by Dr. Henry Zetz—an important study of the character and learning of Wesley's day preachers. This lecture, revised and enlarged, was published the following year by the Epworth Press. At the Conference of 1854, it was found "not practicable to follow the precedent vaguely," but instead a series of brief horticultural papers was arranged by the Rev. D. Newcome. Issued, in connexion with the Wardens, Dr. Fedde's Platt. These talks were given by Dr. J. B. Harrison ("The Historical Setting of Methodism"), Mr. Platt ("The History of the New Society"), the Rev. P. Luke Wiseman ("Charles Wesley's Home and Hanover"), and the Rev. John Trelawny ("John Wesley the Evangelist, as Letter-Writer"). These talks were not published singly or collectively by the Society, but the material therein found its way into other publications of the lectures. For the 1856 Conference Dr. Lewis J. Church was invited to lecture on "The Rake and Hanger of the Early Methodists," a memorable lecture which was in later years greatly expanded to form the Fossey-Harvey lecture of 1869, published as The Early Methodist People (1869) and more about the Early Methodist People (1870).

From 1859 onwards the Society has arranged for an official lecture in connexion with each Methodist Conference, and with this exception these lectures have all been published by the Epworth Press. The subject matter has varied greatly, but the efforts have tried to ensure us as far as possible that a genuine contribution was made to Methodist scholarship, and that the work was attractive in the general scale. It is quite obvious that these papers are not always easy to come by, and as I am pleased that my papers are easy to come by on one or two subjects of historical excellence or popular appeal, it seems to me that they are all equal in length. This may claim, however, that the last quarter of a century we have produced a medium whereby the works of Methodist scholars have been illuminated. Now there are any back of suitable scholars and known (or the years ahead)

There follow a list of the first twenty six lectures:

1. Henry Birt, The Early Methodist Procure. (Leicester, 1861; published 1862.)
3. Leslie F. Cowley, 'The Birth and Rise of the Early Methodists'. (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1870; expanded for the Wesley Conference Lecture, 1870, published as The Early Methodist People and more about the Early Methodist People.
Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society

2. F. F. Bowerbank: The Countess of Huntingdon. (Sheffield, 1940)
3. Henry Piou: The Early Bible Christians. (Leeds, 1941)
4. Wilman Edwards: John Clarke. (Manchester, 1942)
5. John Bickerdyke: John Wesley: His Conferences and his Preachings. (London, 1943)
7. A. W. Harrison: The Spiritualism of Methodism from the Church of England. (Nottingham, 1945)
9. W. V. Scott: Methodism in Scotland: The First Hundred Years. (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1947)
10. Frank Fisher: Charles Wesley as revealed by his letters. (Bristol, 1948)
13. Griffith T. Roberts: Howell Harris. (Sheffield, 1951)
14. E. Simons Perkins: Methodist Preaching Hymns and the Law, the story of the Model Decalogue. (Durham, 1952)
15. R. Newton Flinn: The Hymn of Charles Wesley: a study of their structure. (Birmingham, 1953)
20. A. Wesley: John Wesley among the Physicians: a study of 18th-century medicine. (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1958)

The Lectures Method. * you may not at point.

Our sister Society, the Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of Wales, has the "Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church: 150 years completed the 19th century of its Journal, with an issue which contains two articles in English—"Evangelical Revival, a case for Daniel Rowland's portrait,

Our sister Society, the Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of Wales, has the "Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church: 150 years completed the 19th century of its Journal, with an issue which contains two articles in English—"Evangelical Revival, a case for Daniel Rowland's portrait," by R. Maenair Davies, and "Letters of Agreement between Dorothy and William Williams, Llancarvon," by S. D. David-Williams. The Society is in a health condition; its finances are sound, and it still has a balanced reserve on its books, and it still has a balanced reserve on its books. The third volume of which is due to appear in 1960. We congratulate our Welsh friends on their excellent work.

Book Notices


Simeon is emerging as one of the principal figures of the nineteenth-century Church. His formative influence during his fifty-four years as vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, is seen to have been much greater than was previously realized. Indeed, in the foreword to this collection of commemorative essays by members of the Evangelical Fellowship for Theological Literature, Canon M. A. C. Warren claims that the nineteenth-century contribution to the Church of today "contains the workmanship of Simeon," (page 3). Successive chapters relate Simeon to the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century and consider his doctrine of God, of Scripture, of the Church and of the personal relationship to God. A fitting tribute to an outstanding Christian leader is presented in this well-produced volume.

Methodism will be especially interested in Simeon's attitudes with respect to the "grand desideratum" of Christian perfection: "I love and honour Wesley," said Simeon, "yet the Wesleyan will make a disturbance as to perfection. The Scripture word perfect (beloved) is the idea of full growth, and not our view. I am bound to say in the presence of Wesley and others, I have known God for about thirty-six years; for twenty-eight years I have never known an evil thought, and I have loved the Lord with all my heart, and soul, and mind, and strength." Another man acknowledged himself "like a sinner," but Wesley and all the rest against the former man. I said it was delusion; but it was not my place to argue there with them" (page 99). However, much of what Simeon says regarding the possible abuses of this end had already been anticipated by Wesley himself. But so greatly did our founder rejoice in the testimony of God's people that he was sometimes ready to accept his teachings as the word of God.

Simeon wisely refused to be drawn into the Arminian-Calvinistic dispute. He believed that each party was right in what it allowed and wrong in what it denied. He pressed the interesting question that while Calvinistic to the essence of Arminianism as exclusive and unscriptural, in denying personal, though they wish to maintain salvation, they themselves are equally unscriptural and unscriptural in their doctrine of personal salvation, whilst they admit its reference to churches and nations. It is impossible to see the statements of Simeon's as not written for the instruction of human systems" (page 96). It is surely in this broad evangelical breadth that Simeon's real greatness lies, and because of it we will continue to hold the affection of Christian historians. A. Skelton Wood.
NOTES AND QUERIES

1023. GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION WANTED.

George Ogborn, father of Dr. George Ogborn (President of the Wesleyan Conference in 1833 and 1834), was born in 1759. His father (named and author) Sarah Hodgson were married on 30th November 1754; the place is not known, though it may well have been Royston. George Ogborn was born 31st February 1755. His parents were Francis Ogborn and Dorothy Ogborn. It is understood that he, and probably also his name was changed from Royston, but little further is definitely known about them, except that Dorothy was not (as had been supposed until recently) the daughter of Bishop Francis Ogborn of Rochester.

If any members can throw further light on the life of George Ogborn's grandfather, or his, or his wife, or children, I should be very grateful if they would let me know, at 14, St Mary Road, Gnosall, Staffordshire.

1024. EAST ANGLIAN MINISTER.

The brush held its second public meeting on Saturday, 17th October, at the Museum street church, 9th St. Attendance was disappointing, but the two-hours present were keenly appreciative of the detailed and lively account of Methodism in Norwich given by Mr. J. C. Warren. An interesting conversation on the origins of Methodism in Suffolk followed, and ten was served at the close of the meeting.

It was announced that the observance and growth steadily to forty, and that the second house of the Hall-O fret would appear shortly. We shall be pleased to send a copy to anyone interested, whether living in East Anglia or not, on receipt of the following fee by one of 1s., Bocconfield Road, Lowestoft.

We are glad to announce that the first meeting at Great Yarmouth on 21st May 1967, the Rev. Wesley, L. T. Will would appear on Wesley's Journal.

1025. DR. THOMAS COKE.

I am engaged in collecting material for a study of Thomas Coke, and would be glad to hear from any members who either possess or know of the whereabouts of his manuscript correspondence. For bibliographical purposes, I should like full details of the titles, prices of any of Coke's manuscript publications. Any material handed to me will be carefully and promptly returned, by registered post if desired. I am a Vicar.

1026. DEWINTON WESLEY LATTER.

Mr. Dewinton (Proceedings xix. 2 p. 207) has sent the letter to Adam Clarke Letters, vol. ii. and I am sure it is correctly fully confirmed by the facts that the Rev. J. Raymond, who was on the original at Headingley College, Leeds, for Proceedings xxiv. p. 109, notes the authenticity: "To Dr. Adam Clarke in the New Booth to Bristol.

THOMAS SMITH.

1027. DORCHESTER WESLEY LETTER.

May I suggest a possible solution to the problem of the duplicate Wesley Letters dated 28th March 1770 (31) from Birmingham to Dr. Wesley, and 26th March 1751 from London to the same lady, as Mrs. Warburton. (See Proceedings xxiv. p. 21.)

I think the clue to the mystery is to be found in the note to the Journal under the March date: "He wrote from Birmingham to Mrs. Warburton.

Notes and Queries

1028. THE "NEW ED. WESLEY LETTERS".

The "New Ed. Wesley Letters" must be the Standard Edition, for which material was accumulating but which of course had not been published when various notes in the Journal came out. This Journal note suggests that Curnock had a copy of a letter addressed to Mrs. Warburton under the March date. But, as xerox appreciated, the writer is impossible because the copy was addressed to Mrs. Warburton under the March date. But, as xerox appreciated, that was impossible because she was born in August. Tailford therefore (I suggest) "corrects" the name and added the note at the head of the "blanks" letter explaining his correction. This reconstruction suggests that (a) the March date is the original; (b) Tailford subsequently saw the original letter and published it under its correct name and date; (c) the error submitting "blanks" for "November" occurred in copying for the projected "New Ed." (Perhaps the only had badly formed Roman numerals for the initial, etc. thanks, etc. 111.)

These remain the mystery of the divergent place names. Perhaps the copy omitted the place and it was presented by Curnock from Wesley's letters at the date in question. Tailford then followed Curnock without realizing that both of them were using the same defective copy.

VICTOR E. SMITH.

1029. ROBERT HOPKINS'S GRAVE IN NORTHAMPTON PARISH CHURCH.

Robert Hopkins was born at Daventry in 1758, and twenty-three years later, when Wesley was in the town, he was invited into the ranks of the travelling preachers. For forty-five years he served Methodism in circuits ranging from Cornwall Down to Whiteby, and in the earlier years he received several letters from Wesley—letters which he must have wanted in some tribulation, for the writer was in the habit of dealing kindly with his correspondents. At Whiteby in 1784 he suffered much from illness and was unable to hinder the local clime. Wesley wrote to him from London Letters, vol. 6, p. 207: "You cannot infer that the air of this or that place does not agree with you because you have a fever there. But if there is a necessity, Charles Townsend will change places with you.

When Hopkins came to Rothamsted in 1826 he leased a small circuit. In the line of which was the large square-floored Telford Hall. Every member of the party there recognized the original Ogborn—Dr. Ogborn had preached, and which pleased him so much. Many would remember the occasion when Robert Hopkins set a fresh fashion in the pulpit there; he came wearing trousers instead of the usual wide breeches!

Hopkins was delighted to find that the newly-induced Vicar of Rothamsted, the Rev. Thomas Blackley, was an old friend of his. Blackley was a former Methodist preacher, and had been induced to the plan some years previously by Robert Hopkins, then his superintendent minister.

Hopkins died at Rothamsted six months later, and the curate offered the usual place in the church for his burial. S. J. Reade's Historical Notes on Wensley Methohtics in the Brotherton Circuit 1853 states the 'place to be 'in the close, at the entrance to the Church', but the present vestry of the graveyard is at the north-east corner of the churchyard, in front of the main entrance. It begins the inscription: "In the name of the Father..." He was born April 20th, 1758, and died April 21st, 1827."
The Tenth Lane society stewards, F. Slack and R. Rhee, made a record in their minute book of their appreciation of the year's business. Blackley’s gravestone may be seen at the north-east corner of the church. This was of Wesley’s presence was in death divided.

Thomas Shaw.

1839. A Wesley Letter completed.

Volume vii., pp. 185-230 of the Standard Edition of Wesley’s Letters records a fragment of a letter to Mr. —, dated 31st Army 1926. The complete letter may be found in a rare volume in the Library of Garvess, History of the Episcopacy in Free Parks, written in support of the O’Kelly scheme. The Wesley letter in question is addressed to Beverly Allen, one of the elders elected at the Cornwall Conference. Allen was expelled from the Connexion in 1799 on a “flagrant crime.” He was later estranged for slander, but escaped to end his days as an independent preacher in Kentucky. Ashley moved in his Journal concerning him, 29th January 1741.

Poor Beverly Allen, who had been going from bad to worse these seven or eight years—making allegations to preachers and friends, and running to Mr. C. Coke, and thereby being the author of some of the mistakes that has followed.

The letter as given by Surrey reads:

JOHN WESLEY TO BEVERLY ALLEN.

Dear Brother,

The point on which you desire my thoughts upon is dolefulness of my own sentiments: and I will give you my settled thoughts concerning it, without the least disguise of propriety: and indeed this has always been my manner of teaching. When I spoke of the things of God; I should be so near in particular, as they may possibly be the last words you will receive from me. It pleased God, sixty years ago, by me to awaken and join together, a little company of people at Oxford. And a few years after, a small company in London, whom she spread through the land. Since then, I have much continued to some some of my children in America; in which I cheerfully continued, God approved their labours. But they and their children still esteemed themselves as the family, towards which the Methodists on this side of the Thames, are divided from the other. I was therefore a little surprised when I received some letters from Mr. Ashley, offering that no person in St. George knew how to direct those in America. Some time after he daily refused to receive Mr. Whatcoat in the character I sent him. He told George Shadford, Mr. Wesley and I are the Cares and Sufferings, he will have no part, and I will be no longer; and according, he said, as I may, by my friends; but my conscience, voted my house out of the American society. —Thus complete the matter, and shows he has no connection with me.

This serves to throw more light on the unhappy relationship of Wesley to Ashley from 1787 on. One notes a storage of terms in Telford’s fragments from the present to the past — changes which have tended the force of Wesley’s words.

J. H. C. R.

96 PROCEEDINGS OF THE WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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J. H. C. R.
New Epworth Books

PASSION FOR SOULS
The Life of Charles Hulbert
By K. F. HULBERT 8s. 6d. net

The Forward Movement was the last great attack made on Pagan England by Methodism, and out of it came the Central Halls at the heart of our great centres of population. Among the noble band of men who were called to serve these great missions, none was more successful than the subject of this study.

THE GLORIOUS COMPANY
Lives of great Christians for daily devotion
By FREDERICK C. GILL, M.A. Vol. I—Jan.-June. 10s. 6d. net

The men and women whose stories are told in these pages are among the noblest the world has known. Some had supreme genius; others were less distinguished; but all possessed the authentic qualities of sanctity.

THE LIFE OF ROWLAND TAYLOR, LL.D.
By W. J. BROWN (Rector of Hadleigh and Dean of Bocking)
Illustrated. 21s. net

Dr. Gordon Rupp says of this book: "The last years have witnessed a number of "Fourth Centenaries" of events and persons connected with the Protestant Reformation, and a pleasing result has been a number of mod­ern studies of some of the outstanding Christians of the sixteenth century. I am glad that Dr. Rowland Taylor takes his place among these modern commentaries."

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By DOUGLAS P. BLATHERWICK 6s. net

With forewords by the Bishop of Chelmsford and the President of the Methodist Conference. A challenging book on the part of the layman in the Church, a subject which is increasingly important in all denominations.

THE ASTONISHING YOUTH
A Study of John Wesley as man and man
By DR. MALDWYN L. EDWARDS 10s. 6d. net

This is not one more life of John Wesley but a portrait of the man himself. So often he has been misrepresented as austere, despotic and un­lovable. In this book the real man emerges as possessing both strength and attractiveness, one whose easy natural charm was felt by friend and critic alike.

THE POLITICS OF ENGLISH DISSERT
By RAYMOND G. COWHERD 12s. 6d.

The three decades from the end of the Napoleonic Wars to the European revolutions of 1848 comprised the greatest age of social and political reform in England since the Reformation. Mr. Cowherd shows how the different political parties were influenced in their religious attitudes, the Dissenters.

POSTAGE EXTRA

THE EPWORTH PRESS
25-35, CITY ROAD, LONDON, E.C.1
the Journal and Letters of
BISHOP FRANCIS ASBURY
The Journal and Letters of Bishop Francis Asbury

Asbury's Journal was edited by Francis Hollingsworth and first published in 1821. It was later reprinted, the last printing being in 1852. There were no notes and no attempt was made to identify the hundreds of persons who were mentioned by initials or to locate the places visited by Asbury, and there were chronological and other errors. The manuscript, along with that of Jesse Lee, was destroyed by the fire which consumed the publishing house in New York in 1836.

For more than a hundred years the Journal has been entirely neglected and the Letters were never collected. These basic documents of American Methodism are now unknown to practically all Methodists.

In May, 1951, the National Historical Publications Commission included Asbury in its list of sixty-six great Americans whose works the Commission recommended for publication. This recommendation was accepted by President Truman on behalf of the American Government.

In September, 1951, the World Methodist Council at Oxford, acting unanimously on a report of its affiliated International Methodist Historical Society, recommended the publication of a Standard Annotated Edition of the Journal and Letters of Bishop Asbury. The work was turned over to the Association of Methodist Historical Societies in the United States.

The editorial work on the Asbury documents is directed by Dr. Elmer T. Clark as Editor-in-Chief and Editor for the Southern States. Dr. Jacob S. Payne, Editor for the States between Virginia and New England, and Dr. J. Manning Flott, Editor for Virginia and West Virginia and collector of the Letters. These are assisted by Historical Consultants.

General Consultants are Dr. William Warren Sweeter, American Methodist historian and author. Dr. William Warren Sweeter, American Methodist historian and author. Dr. Philip M. Hamer of Washington, Executive Director of the National Historical Publications Commission, and Dr. Frank Baker, British Methodist historian and Executive Secretary of the Wesley Historical Society.

The following local Methodist historians are Consultants for various states and areas: Rev. A. B. Moor (New York), Dr. Vernon B. Hampton (New Jersey), Dr. W. O. Snelson (Pennsylvania), Rev. William O. Hackett (Delaware), Dr. Lewis A. Waller (Maryland), Rev. Wallace H. Harris (Pennsylvania), Rev. Louis D. Palmey (Pennsylvania), Rev. Lawrence Sher-
Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury

Part I

August 7, 1771—February 27, 1772

On the 7th of August, 1771, the Conference began at Bristol, in England. Before this, I had left for half a year strong intimations in my mind that I should visit America; which I laid before the Lord, being unwilling to do my own will, or to run before I was sent. During this time my trials were very great, which the Lord, I believe, permitted to prove and try me, in order to prepare me for future usefulness. At the Conference it was proposed that some preachers should go over to the American continent. I spoke my mind, and made an offer of myself. It was accepted by Mr. Wesley and others, who judged I had a call.

From Bristol I went home to acquaint my parents with my great undertaking, which I opened in as gentle a manner as possible.
PHILADELPHIA—November, 1771

can retire and pour out my soul to God, and feel some melting of heart. My spirit mourns, and hungers, and thirsts, after entire devotion.

October 13. Though it was very windy, I fixed my back against the mizzen-mast, and preached freely on those well-known words, 2 Cor. v. 26: "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." I felt the power of truth on my own soul, but still, alas! saw no visible fruit: but my witness is in heaven, that I have not shunned to declare to them all the counsel of God. Many have been my trials in the course of this voyage; from the want of a proper bed, and proper provisions, from sickness, and from being surrounded with men and women ignorant of God, and very wicked. But all this is nothing. If I cannot bear this, what have I learned? O, I have reason to be much ashamed of many things, which I speak and do before God and man. Lord, pardon my manifold defects and failures in duty.

PHILADELPHIA

October 27. This day we landed in Philadelphia, where we were directed to the house of one Mr. Francis Harris, who kindly entertained us in the evening, and brought us to a large capital of the Society.

October 28. This day we landed in Philadelphia at this time was the largest American city, having a population of 28,000. It was the Proprietary Capital of the Province until 1718. Carpenter's Hall, then meeting place of the Proprietary, was purchased from a German Reformed congregation on November 25, 1769. Its congregation was composed mainly of members of the society organized by Captain Thomas Webb in 1767.

November 3. I find my mind drawn heavenward. The Lord hath helped me by his power, and my soul is in a paradise. May God Almighty keep me as the apple of his eye, till all the storms of life are past! Whatever I do, wherever I go, may I never sin against God, but always do those things that please him!

Philadelphia, November 4. We held a watch-night. It began at nine o'clock. Brother Pilmore preached, and the people attended with great seriousness. Very few left the solemn place till the conclusion. Towards the end, a plain man spoke, who came out of the country, and his words went with great power to the souls of the people; so that we may say, "Who hath despised the day of small things?" Not the Lord our God: then why should self-important man?

November 5. I was sent for to visit two persons who were under conviction for sin. I spoke a word of consolation to them, and have hopes that God will set their souls at liberty. My own mind is fixed on God: he hath helped me. Glory be to him that loves and abideth forever!

Tuesday, November 6. I preached at Philadelphia my last sermon, before I set out for New-York, on Romans viii, 35. "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him freely give us all things?" This also was a night of power to my own and many other souls.

NEW JERSEY AND STATEN ISLAND

November 7. I went to Burlington on my way to New-York, and preached in the court-house to a large, serious congregation. Have also I felt my heart much opened. In the way from thence to New-York I met with one Peter Van Pelt, who had heard me preach at Philadelphia. After some conversation, he invited me to his house on Staten Island; and as I was not engaged to beat (New) York on any particular day, I went with him and preached in his house. Still I believe God hath sent me to this country. All seek to be more spiritual, and given up entirely to God—to be wholly devoted to him whom I love.

On the Lord's day, in the morning, November 11, I preached again to a large company of people, with some enlargement of mind, at the
house of my worthy friend Mr. P. (Van Pelt); in the afternoon preached to a still larger congregation; and was invited to preach in the evening at the house of Justice (Hezekiah) Wright, where I had a large company to hear me. Still, evidence grows upon me, and I trust I am in the order of God, and that there will be a willing people here. My heart and mouth are open; only I am still sensible of my deep insufficiency, and that mostly with regard to holiness. It is true, God has given me some gifts; but what are they to holiness? It is for holiness my spirit urgings. I want to walk constantly before God without reproof.

NEW YORK

On Monday I set out for New-York, and found Richard Boardman there in peace, but weak in body. Now must I apply myself to my old work—to watch, and fight, and pray. Lord, help!

Tuesday, 13. I preached at (New) York to a large congregation on 1 Cor. v. 2: "I determined not to have anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified," with some degree of freedom in the order of God, and that there will be a willing people here. My soul has been much affected with them. My heart and mouth are open; only I remain in (New) York, though unsatisfied with our order of worship. I remain in (New) York.

NEW YORK

mind. I approved much of the spirit of the people: they were loving and serious, there appeared also, in some, a love of discipline. Though I was unwilling to go to (New) York so soon, I believe it is well, and I still hope I am in the order of God. My friend Richard Boardman is a kind, loving, worthy man, truly amiable and entertaining, and of a child-like temper. I purpose to be given up to God more and more, day by day. But O! I come short.

Wednesday, 14. I preached again at (New) York. My heart is truly enlarged, and I know the life and power of religion is here. O how I wish to spend all my time and talents for him who spilt his blood for me!

Thursday, 22. At present I am dissatisfied. I judge we are to be shut up in the cities this winter. My brethren seem unwilling to leave the cities, but I think I shall show them the way I am in trouble, and more trouble is at hand, for I am determined to make a stand against all partiality. I have nothing to seek but the glory of God; nothing to fear, but his displeasure. I am come over with an upright intention, and I must needs stand against all opposition, as an iron pillar strong, and steadfast as a wall of brass: but through Christ I can do all things.

NEW YORK—November, 1771

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NEW YORK December, 1771

Lord’s day I preached at New Rochelle in the church. My text was, “All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God.” I felt an opening, and was satisfied. I published myself to preach again in the afternoon, and those who had most opposed me before, came to hear and behaved well. In the evening I preached in the house of my friend Mr. Deveau. The next day I preached again at Mr. Deveau’s, and on Tuesday went to Rye, where I had many to hear, and felt some freedom of spirit. The next day I preached at Maimock (Mannaronek), to a company of people who at first took but little notice of the worship of God; but I trust some of them felt the power of truth in their hearts. On Thursday I returned to (New) York, and found my friends in peace.

Lord’s day, December 29, I preached to a large company in the evening, and felt much power. I know that God was with us indeed, yea, was nigh to bless the people. On Christmas day, we had a very comfortable time. On Friday the 27th, I set off with two of my friends for Staten Island. On the 28th we arrived at Justice W[right]’s, where we were entertained with the best his house afforded. From thence I went to my old friend V[an] P[el]l[te], who received me with his former kindness, and collected a congregation for the evening, to whom I preached, but had a violent pain in my head. After service I went to bed, and was very ill. However, the next day, being the Lord’s day, I preached in the morning and also in the afternoon, with some freedom of mind. In the evening I returned and preached at Justice W[right]’s. Having received an invitation to preach at the house of one Mr. W[right] 3d at the east end of the Island, I visited that place on my return to New-York, where I had a comfortable time.

On Tuesday we arrived in New York. We have been favoured here with a very solemn watch-night. Many felt the power of God.

NEW YORK—December, 1771

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On Tuesday we arrived in New York. We have been favoured here with a very solemn watch-night. Many felt the power of God.

The Anglican Church at New Rochelle was a plain structure, 40 x 30 feet in size, built in 1701 on the Post Road near the center of the community. It had been continuously served by ministers of French descent ordained by the Bishop of London. The Rev. Michael Houdon was minister at this time. After his death in 1718 there was no resident minister during the Revolution. The Rev. Theodosius Bartow took the parish in 1780.

The firm of Pilmore visited New Rochelle in 1771, and the Rev. Ichabod Lewis, Presbyterian minister in “Pilcrooke” gave him a warm introduction. The Rev. Frederick Deveau, Pilmore preached, however, and Mrs. Deveau was converted.

On New Year’s Eve 1771 the Rev. Ichabod Lewis, Presbyterian minister in “Pilcrooke” gave him a warm introduction. The Rev. Frederick Deveau, Pilmore preached, however, and Mrs. Deveau was converted.

The Pilmoor had been founded on the Post Road half way between Rye and New Rochelle in 1601 by John Richell, an Englishman who secured the land from the Indians. Asbury had passed through the village three times but had not previously preached there. William Sutton was supervisor (1771-1775) and Gilbert Budd was clerk (1771-1806). The descendants of the colonel, James de Lanse lived there. (Scharf, op. cit., 846.)

Three friends were probably not Stone and White, who were involved with Pilmore in the tense situation relative to the appointment of preachers at Wesley’s Chapel. One of them may have been Samuel Selby, who later cared for Asbury in illness and accompanied him to Staten Island in February. Perhaps Asbury abstained himself from New York in order to leave Pilmore free to adjust the situation there.

Scharf, op. cit., 76.
NEW YORK—January, 1772

January 1, 1772. I find that the preachers have their friends in the cities, and care not to leave them. There is a strange party-spirit. For my part I desire to be faithful to God and man. On Thursday evening, I preached my last sermon for a time, on I Thess. v. 6: "Let us not sleep as do others, but let us watch and be sober."

On Friday, brother [unr] and myself set out for West-Farms, and I preached in the evening. On the Lord's day I preached at brother Mollo[y]'s at half-past nine, in Westchester at three, and at West-East Farms at six in the evening. A person showed me much kindness at West-Farms, favouring me with a man and horse all the time I was there, acknowledging the word came home to his heart, and that he was affected. My friend Hunt, who was a Quaker, said he never was so affected. The next day I went to Westchester, but had only a few to hear me. On Wednesday I preached at H[unt]'s, and I feel much Divine power in my soul, and an overcoming amongst the people. I have found many trials in my own mind, but feel determined to rest. I see trials set for my feet.

Thursday, I preached at D[eveau]'s, and had an attentive people to hear, and felt myself warm and zealous. On Friday I went to Mairnock (Mamaronock) had a large congregation, and felt the divine presence. Many of the people also felt the power of truth, and sunk under the trials in my own mind, but feel determined to resist. I see trials set for my feet.

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Saturday 11 (12) I preached at one friend B[urling]'s, where many attended to the truth, and showed a willingness to hear. On the Lord's day, I preached at D[eveau]'s at seven in the morning, at three in the afternoon, and at six in the evening. Many attended, but I fear few felt such deep concern as would induce them to leave their sins, and flee from the wrath to come. At brother H[unt]'s on Monday evening, the house would not hold the congregation: there I felt liberty and power. I hope God will visit them. I have had many trials from Satan, but hitherto the Lord hath helped me against them all. I stand a miracle of mercy! O that I may always be found faithful in doing his will!

On Tuesday the 14th I went to Rye: but the people here are insensible. They cry, "The Church! the Church!" There are a few Presbyterians.

"Ashby was probably at the home of Frederick Deveau.

"The Rye Presbyterian Church had been erected on the north side of the Post Road about 1690 and was served infrequently by the Rev. Ichabod Lewis of White Plains. The building was destroyed by fire during the Revolution.

"New City was a village on an island of the same name near the east shore of Eastchester Bay. It was connected with the mainland by a wooden toll bridge and was a part of Pelham Manor. It is now a part of the Borough of the Bronx and called City Island.

"There is a typographical error in the text at this point. It should read "my appointment required me to set off for Eastchester, but I preached, and rode near eight miles in the evening to New-Rochelle. On the 15th, the Lord's day, I preached three times, though very ill." Many attended, and I could not think of disappointing them.

Monday the 20th, I rode to P[elham]'s Manor, 16 and preached there at noon, and at six in the evening at P[lair]'s (Binette's) in (New) Rochelle. The next day I rode to D[eveau]'s, but the day was extremely cold. In the night I had a sore throat, but through the help of God I go on, and cannot think of sparing myself.

"No cross, no sufferings I decline. Only let my heart be thine!"

"Deveau was probably at the home of Frederick Deveau.

"Ashby was probably at the home of Frederick Deveau.

"In the early 1600's Thomas Pell purchased from the Indians a tract of about ten thousand acres east of the Hutchinson River. This was called Pelham and the Pell family became prominent in Westchester County. About 6500 acres were conveyed to Huguenot settlers and renamed New Rochelle. The southern half of the remaining land is now in the Bronx and called Pelham Bay Park, and the northern half is in Westchester County between Mount Vernon and New Rochelle. It is known as Pelham Manor and North Pelham. Lednum and Tipple identified this place as Philip's Manor, but Philippe was near the present Yonkers and beyond the territory where Ashby was now residing. (Scharff, no. cit., I, 418 f.)

"Pete Bennett (1736-1823), of Huguenot descent, was a close friend of Frederick Deveau. After the Revolution he became a local preacher in the society at New Rochelle. (Lednum, no. cit., II, 165-166.)}
NEW YORK—February, 1772

Tuesday the 21st I preached at my friend [D]evenau's for the last time, on, "Those things that ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me do." The people seemed deeply affected under the word. In the morning of the 22d, I set out for the New-City, and preached there in much weakness and pain of body, and in the evening went to my friend [P]hill's. That night I had no rest: and when I arose in the morning, the pain in my throat was worse. On the 23d I came to a covered sleigh to my friend [B]artow's, where I took up my lodging, being unable to go any farther. I then applied to a physician,18 who made applications to my ears, throat, and palate, which were all swelled and inflamed exceedingly. For six or seven days I could neither eat nor drink without great pain. The physician feared I should be strangled, before a discharge took place: but my God ordered all things well. I am raised up again; and cannot help remarking the kindness with which my friends treated me, as if I had been their own brother. The parents and children attended me day and night with the greatest attention. Thus, though a stranger in a strange land, God has taken care of me. May the Lord remember them that have remembered me, and grant to this family life forever more!

February 5. Still I feel myself weak. It is near a fortnight since I came to my friend [B]artow's. Dr. W[hite] has attended me in all my illness, and did all he could for me gratis. Yesterday was the first day of my going out. I went to Westchester to hear a friend preach. My kind friends [St]ephenson and W[hite] brought up a sleigh from (New) York on Monday last, but my friends at this place would not suffer me to go with them. In the course of my recovery, I have read much in my Bible, and Hammond's Notes on the New-Testament. I have also met with a spirited piece against predestination. I did not expect to find such an advocate for general redemption in America. This day I ventured to preach to Mr. A.[r]i[l]ing's to his family and a few other people. In the evening returned home, and found Mr. D. L. [De Lancey], the former governor's son, there: who lives in the near Salem, and invited me to his house. We spent the evening comfortably together.

On Thursday, February 7 (6).19 I preached as I had appointed, the man of the house being in a consumption. Though I had not many people to hear me, yet I have reason to hope that my sermon did good to the poor invalid. I felt affected for my friends in this place, who had been in such inaccuracies and inaccuracies in the printed Journal. In such cases the correct dates are inserted in parentheses.

STaten Island—February, 1772

some measure moved by the word on my former visits, but are now returned to their old ways and company. I found myself weak and unfit to preach, but believe there were some who felt the word come close to their hearts. May God help them to profit by it! On Friday, the 8th (7th) I set out for (New) York in a sleigh,20 and my friends seemed glad to see me. I want to be less concerned about anything except my own work—the salvation of souls. At present I seem determined to consecrate my all to God—body, soul, time, and talents.

On the Lord's day found myself weak, but brother [P]ilmoor being ill, I preached in the morning, and found life. Stayed at home on Monday, and read in Mr. Wesley's Notes on the Old Testament. On Monday, the 11th (10th) I went to the jail, and visited a condemned criminal, and preached to him21 and others with some tender feelings of mind, on those words, "Joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth."

Tuesday, the 12th (11th). This day I have visited many of my friends from house to house, and did not find much evil or much good stirring among them. Now I retire to hold communion with God, and to feel his power. In the evening my strength increased, and I preached with some freedom.

On Wednesday I walked out, but caught cold, and returned home chilled and very ill. In the evening when I went into the pulpit, my every limb shook, and afterward went to bed with violent pains in my bones. The sickness continued for three days, and kept me at home for above a week. On Thursday, the 21st, I gave an exhortation in public.

STATEN ISLAND—February, 1772

Having a desire to visit my friends on Staten Island, I set off in the afternoon of the 21st, contrary to the permission of my friends in (New) York. [Samuel] [St]ephenson who was tender towards me in my illness, and took care of me as if I had been his father, accompanied me. Justice [W]right22 received us and entertained us kindly; and though weak and uneasy, I preached at [P]eter's, [V]an [P]hilmore's to a few persons, with much satisfaction. Mr. [D]ouway23 invited me to preach in his house, to which I consented; and Justice [W]right sent us there on...

18 A. B. was probably Thomas Pell, who had married Margaret Bartow and lived at the Pell homestead in Pelham. (Schmal, op. cit., 2.)
19 Dr. Thomas White of Westchester.
20 Stephen De Lancey (1727-1786), second son of the former Governor James De Lancey, inherited a tract of land in the town of Saugus in the northern part of Westchester County, where he developed a community and erected a fine residence. He married Hannah, daughter of Rev. Joseph Sackett. (Schmal, op. cit., 1, 163-192, 285.)
21 There are several chronological inaccuracies in the printed Journal. In such cases the correct dates are inserted in parentheses.
22 A. B. was probably Thomas Pell, who had married Margaret Bartow and lived at the Pell homestead in Pelham. (Schmal, op. cit., 2.)
23 Dr. Thomas White of Westchester.
24 The former governor's son, there; who lives in the near Salem, and invited me to his house. We spent the evening comfortably together.
25 On Thursday, February 7 (6). I preached as I had appointed, the man of the house being in a consumption. Though I had not many people to hear me, yet I have reason to hope that my sermon did good to the poor invalid. I felt affected for my friends in this place, who had been in such inaccuracies and inaccuracies in the printed Journal. In such cases the correct dates are inserted in parentheses.
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27 Staten Island—February, 1772

some measure moved by the word on my former visits, but are now returned to their old ways and company. I found myself weak and unfit to preach, but believe there were some who felt the word come close to their hearts. May God help them to profit by it! On Friday, the 8th (7th) I set out for (New) York in a sleigh, and my friends seemed glad to see me. I want to be less concerned about anything except my own work—the salvation of souls. At present I seem determined to consecrate my all to God—body, soul, time, and talents.

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the Lord's day, with several of his family. I preached twice at that gentleman's house to a large company. Some, it appeared, had not heard a sermon for half a year; such a famine there is of the word in these parts, and a still greater one of the pure word. I returned in the evening to Justice Wight's, and preached to a numerous congregation with comfort. Surely God sent me to these people at the first, and he will continue to bless them, and pour out his Spirit upon them, and receive them at last to himself!

February 23 (24). I preached again at Justice Wight's to many people, and the Lord was with me. My labours increase, and my strength is renewed. Though I came here weak, yet after preaching three times I felt myself strong. Thanks be to God, who hath raised me up from so low a state! On the 24th (25th) I preached at A. [abraham] W oglom's, and at two in the afternoon, to a large company, and had an invitation to go to the south part of the Island. In the evening also I preached at the same place. On the 25th, I preached at the ferry, on my way to New-York, to a few people, though some came two miles on foot. After preaching brother, Israel Disosway (d. 1810), seems to have been Asbury's pre­ach­er at Van Pelt's and he became the leader of the first Methodist class on the island; the first quarterly meeting was held in his barn and the first meeting house was built of lumber cut from his trees. Woodrow Methodist Church is the descendant of that chapel. Little or nothing is known of the father, but because of age considerations it has been conjectured that it was "Father Disosway" and not Israel who invited Asbury to preach in his house in 1772. Israel was not known to be married at the time and his bride-to-be, Ann Deity (or Doughly 1799-1818), attended his first class at the age of eight years. Israel and Ann Disosway had four sons and later moved to New York to educate them in Columbia College. All were prominent in the city and executors. William Disosway, became a wealthy merchant and one of the managers of the Methodist Missionary Society. He pledged his fortune to the support of Melville Cox, the first missionary to Liberia in 1833, and was one of the supporters of the Oregon Mission to the Indians. (Long and Davis: op. cit., 1: 186, Woglom: op. cit., 224, 225; Lednum: op. cit., 423, 622; Hubbell: History of Methodism on Staten Island, 27-31; Barclay: op. cit., 1: 20, North: "Reminiscences" in Christians Advocate, March 2, 1901, p. 264; Laverlee: op. cit., 5: 7; Mass. Francis Asbury's First Circuit" in World Outlook, November, 1894, p. 17.)

The history of Abraham Woglom was in the Rossville waterfront area about a mile from the Blazing Star Ferry to Perth Amboy, New Jersey. Several members of the Woglom family aided in establishing the Woodrow Church in 1787. (Lednum: 75, 77; Hampton: Historical Address, 1858; Assemblies of Asbury Church, Staten Island, 1892; Hubbell: Methodism on Staten Island, Ch. III.)

"The invitation probably came from Gilbert Totten an extensive landowner whose family were active Methodists. Joseph Totten, his brother, became a prominent preacher and a writer. Gilbert Totten was a pastor whose name appeared on numerous early Methodist papers and tracts. The Tottens were among the founders of the Woodrow Church on Staten Island in 1772 and some of them are buried in its cemetery along with Ernest Mathes, one of the first Methodists on the island. The Tottens were also active in the early Methodist movement on Staten Island. Taylor and Skinner: Revolutionary Map of Staten Island, 1781.)

NEW YORK—March, 1772

ing, I visited a young man who seemed to be at the point of death: he was full of unbelief, and I fear he is through his Calvinistic notions.

Thursday, the 25th, we arrived in (New) York. I found brother [il­

If I was employed in writing to England; and after preaching in the evening with power, I went to rest in sweet peace, and awoke in the morning in the same frame of spirit. May this day be spent to the glory of God! and may my soul yet praise him more and more!

On Wednesday, after spending a part of the day in visiting, I preached in the evening from these words: "So we see that they could not enter in because of unbelief; and hitherto hope it was not labour in vain, while unbelief, that destructive root of all other sin, was exposed to the people.

On Thursday there was an appointment for me to preach at New­town. [Brother] S[-ause] and myself crossed the East River; but it was with difficulty that we obtained horses. We then attempted to proceed on our way; but it was a severe morning, with much snow and wind. The snow came full in our faces, so that, after riding a few miles, we were lost in the storm, and imperceptibly turned our course back towards New-York; which we never discovered till we overtook some people on the road. We then crossed the river back to the city, where I continued till Monday.

Friday, I preached at [New] York on these words: "The Lord is good, a strong hold in the day of trouble, and felt life and power in dispensing the word. On Saturday I visited the sick, and gave an exhortation to the people.

24

20 This section of the Journal through March 17, 1772, has been trans­ 
posed from this position to a point immediately following April 14, 1772, in all previous editions and printings there has been a hiatus of approximately a month. February 27-March 26, 1772, was, with no statement as to Asbury's travel or activities during the period. Similarly there was a blank entry for April 14-15, 1772, which was interpolated by an insertion of the section of the Journal in the wrong place. This was doubtless due to an error on the part of the printer or printer, and the confusion has been noted by historians and biographers. Study of this material and compare documents, especially the manuscript Journal of Joseph Plimpton and the Records of John Street Church, shows that the interpolation of April 14-15, 1772, is in reality the record of the hiatus period, Feb­

uary 27-March 26, 1772. This section has therefore been placed in proper sequence.

21 Newport was located about six miles east of colonial Brooklyn. A grant on Long Island opposite the present 23rd Street in New York is still known as Newport Creek, and the village was two or three miles beyond the head of this stream. Cas­

The location is now a section of Queen's County, and the Middle Village Church is the descendant of the Newport clow.

22 Livesey hesitated to set horses in unfavorable weather. On August 9, 1772, Plimpton was denied a horse in the heat of mid-summer. (Atkinson: op. cit., 274.)
NEW YORK—March, 1772

Sunday, March 8. After preaching in the morning on Heb. xii, 10, I went in the afternoon to church, and heard Mr. [English] preach a useful sermon: "In the evening I preached with much freedom on Eccles. xi, 9. "Repent, O young man, in thy youth." And The young people appeared deeply serious. May the blessing of the Lord attend it, and great fruit appear in time to come! The next day I rode to Bloomingdale, and preached with satisfaction; and then returned home, and found it a blessing to labour in the vineyard of the Lord, both in season and out of season.

On Tuesday morning my mind was clear, my heart was fixed on God, and Christ was precious. Bless the Lord, O my soul! New-York is a large city, and well situated for trade; but the streets and buildings are very irregular. The inhabitants are of various denominations, but nevertheless of a courteous and sociable disposition. There are several places of Divine worship: the Episcopalians have three: the High Dutch, one; the Low Dutch, two; the Lutherans, two; the French Protestants, one; the Presbyterians, two; the Seceders, one; the Baptists, one; the Moravians, one; the Methodists, one; and the Jews one. The city abounds with inhabitants; but the exact number I could not ascertain.

Wednesday, 11. My soul enjoyed great peace, and the day was partly spent in religious visits. The next day my mind was in the same comfortable frame; and holy thoughts of God, with strong desires to do all things with a single eye to his glory, as well as to follow his Divine precepts, possessed my peaceful heart.

**The church attended by Asbury was Trinity Church, at present Broadway and Wall Street, or St. Paul's Chapel, at Broadway and Fulton Street; it the latter, as seems probable, the same building remains in this day. Mr. E. was the Rev. Charles Ewing, assistant pastor, whose name frequently appears as English. He was among the subscribers to the erection of Wesley's Chapel in 1768. He was a Tory and after the Revolution went to Nova Scotia where he was consecrated Bishop in 1781. (Graham, op. cit., 448; John Street Church Records, Book 1, Tippin, op. cit., 43, identifies "Mr. E." as "the Rev. William Ewing of the Protessant Episcopal Church," but gives no authenticating data: the records of the church show that no person named Ewing or whose name begins with E was ever there.)**

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- Asbury's list of churches is complete. The locations in present day terms were determined as follows:

  - Episcopalians (Anglican or Church of England)
    1. Trinity—west side of Broadway at Wall Street
    2. St. Paul’s—east side of Broadway at Fulton Street
    3. St. George—Fleet Street, several streets east of Broadway, close to East River
  - Dutch (Holland and Collegiate)
    1. Grace Church—north of Wall, east of Broadway
    2. Nassau and Cedar Streets
    3. Reformed Church, near John Street
    4. Fulton and William Streets
  - Lutheran (German)
    1. Broad Street, just north of Wall Street
    2. North of Beekman Street, close to Bowery and East Ward
    3. Broadway, north of Wall Street
    4. North of Beekman Street, close to Bowery and Ward
    5. Trinity Chapels—King Street east of Nassau, a short distance north of Wall Street

STATEN ISLAND—March, 1772

Friday, 13. This day was, as yesterday, a day of peace; and it was with great satisfaction I preached in the evening, though cold, to a considerable number of people, on the unhurried duty of self-denial.

Lord's day, 15. I went through my morning exercises as usual, and in the afternoon heard Mr. C. preach a good sermon, but a more gay and undevout congregation I have seldom seen—they were talking, laughing, bowing, and trifling both with God and their minister, as well as with their own unawakened souls.

On Tuesday I took my leave of New-York, after preaching from Philippians i, 9, with an intention to spend some time on Staten Island, on my way to Philadelphia. During my stay on the island I preached several times, with power and satisfaction; but was sometimes greatly assaulted by Satan. Hitherto the Lord hath helped me. Glory to his name!

He preserveth and blesses my soul; he supplies me with all things necessary for the preservation and health of my body. May I be ever careful to please him, and devote all the powers of body and soul to his service.

**Presbyterian**

1. Wall and New Streets
2. East of the Commons, north of Beekman Street
3. Seabury (Quakers)—east of Nassau Street on a line due south of Maiden Lane
4. Baptist—Golden Hill (John Street) at Cliff Street, close to Wesley Chapel
5. Presbyterian—Fulton and Duane Streets
6. Methodists—Wesley Chapel, John Street between Nassau and William Streets
7. Jews—Synagogue on Mill Street east of Broad Street

*Asbury preached his farewell sermon on this visit at 5 A.M., an hour frequently observed on Tuesdays at Wesley Chapel.*

26
LETTER TO THOMAS HASKIN

Thomas Haskin was a travelling preacher from 1782 through 1785 and a member of the Christmas Conference in 1785. His manuscript Journal is in the Library of Congress. He was one of the editors of Asbury's Journal, with Ezekiel Cooper and Francis Hollingsworth. This letter was written in Philadelphia, where Haskin had a book and stationery business, and referred to Haskin's work on Asbury's manuscript. Asbury was in the city for two months suffering with an infected foot. The original of this letter is at St. George's Church, Philadelphia.

MY VERY DEAR SIR,

The probability is that I shall be in town another week to gain some strength and part of a new foot, and as I am through the selection and file of letters I have sent through the numbers of my Journal, back in haste, not expecting that I could attend an examination of them upon your first correction. I am now inclined upon second thought, more attentively to review them upon your first going through them; and to judge more perfectly which I shall choose, whether to have them transcribed as you have begun, or take them upon your first correction, or lay them by altogether, or let them be till some way may open in my future life or after my death. I am at present under some doubt and difficulty what to do. By reading them carefully I shall judge according to my imperfect judgment, whether I can submit them to the press in the present dress or not. Please to send the numbers by the Phila—

I am with great respect to you and yours.

Saturday morning
July 11th, 1801.

FRANCIS ASBURY

FACSIMILE OF ASBURY LETTER

This letter, from the collection of the Baltimore Conference Historical Society, was written from Philadelphia on June 6, 1801, to George Roberts, pastor of Light Street Church in Baltimore. Asbury was suffering from a foot infection. "Old Father" refers to Bishop Whatcoat. "The Malcontents" were members of the General Conference of 1800 who had presented several resolutions to restrict the power of appointment. Note the fact, hitherto undisclosed, that Asbury wore light blue clothing.
INTRODUCTION

Francis Asbury (1745-1816), the prophet of the long road, more nearly than any other person can be called the founder of The Methodist Church in America even though there were other Methodist preachers who preceded him to the New World. He took the experimental religion, the "rational scriptural, and preachable theology," and most of the policy of John Wesley and made them practical in the wilderness of America. He was a dynamic faith, and he preached a personal gospel with all its implications. He denounced slavery, drinking, gambling, war, and other social evils. He taught the three R's and did much to stamp out illiteracy. He built schools and colleges. He founded Sunday schools. He preached to the people in jails, and had an interest in men wherever he found them.

Asbury went up and down the land for 45 years in an ever-widening circle of travels, often on horseback, frequently in a chaise, a fly cart, a sally, or, in his old age, sometimes in a closed carriage, winning converts and emphasizing that his purpose was to "reform the continent and spread scriptural holiness" over this land.

It has been said that the early circuit riders made as great a contribution to the development of America as did the great statesmen. There were many of these in several denominations, but Francis Asbury stands out in
front of these early pioneers. He rode farther than any, preached more sermons, visited more homes, touched more people, organized more churches, and lived longer. When he died, he left churches and the express of his personality from Ontario to Georgia, from Virginia to Ohio, and upon all the states within that circuit. He sent out other preachers. They carried the Gospel to new states and territories, and the preachers soon established a reputation for following the pioneers wherever they went. Asbury was truly the prophet of the long road, though often beset with sickness. In spite of his ills he traveled.

In this booklet the materials, arranged in chronological order, has been taken from Asbury's Journal, Hollingsworth's 1821 edition. The prayers are from the pen of the editor of the booklet.

To Dr. J. Minton Batten, Professor of Church History, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, the editor is deeply indebted. He is also indebted to staff members for their help in the compilation, especially to the Reverend Brooks B. Little, Miss Clarice Vinestead, Mr. Russell Q. Chilcote, and Mr. Harold L. Herrmann.

—J. MANNING POTTS
Editor, The Upper Room
Nashville, Tennessee

His Conversion Experience

[New York, July 1774.] Lord's day, 24. I remember when I was a small boy and went to school, I had serious thoughts, and a particular sense of the being of a God, and greatly feared both an oath and a lie. At twelve years of age the Spirit of God dwelt frequently and powerfully with me: but being deprived of proper means and exposed to bad company, no actual impressions were left on my mind. And, though fond of what some call innocent diversions, I abhorred fighting and quarrelling; when anything of this sort happened, I always went home displeased. But I have been much grieved to think that so many Sabbaths were idly spent, which might have been better improved. However, wicked as my companions were, and fond as I was of play, I never imbibed their vices.

When between thirteen and fourteen years of age, the Lord graciously visited my soul again. I then found myself more inclined to obey; and carefully attended preaching in West-Bromwick; so that I heard Stillingfleet, Bagster, Ryland, Anderson, Mansfield, and Talbot, men who preached the truth. I then began to watch over my inward and outward conduct; and having a desire to hear the Methodists, I went to Wednesbury, and heard Mr. Pitcher [and Mr. Hargrave], but did not understand them, though one of their subjects is fresh in my memory to this day. This was the first of my hearing the Methodists. After that, another person went with me to hear
them again: the text was, "The time will come, when they will receive sound doctrine." My companion was cut to the heart, but I was unmoved. The next year Mr. M[athew] came two thirds pure. I was then about fifteen, and, young as I was, the word of God soon made deep impressions on my heart, which brought me to Jesus Christ, who graciously justified my guilty soul through faith in his precious blood; and soon showed me the excellency and necessity of holiness. About sixteen I experienced a marvellous display of the grace of God, which some might think was full sanctification, and was indeed very happy, though in an ungodly family. At about seventeen I began to hold some public meetings; and between seventeen and eighteen began to exhort and preach. When about twenty-one I went through Staffordshire and Gloucestershire, in the place of a travelling preacher; and the next year through Bedfordshire, Sussex, &c. . . . In 1769 I was appointed assistant in Northamptonshire; and the next year travelled in Wiltshire. September 3, 1771, I embarked for America, and for my own private satisfaction, began to keep an imperfect journal.*

1. Early Years

(September, 1771 [At Sea].) Thursday, 12th. I will set down a few things that lie on my mind. Whither am I going? To the New World. What for? To gain honor? No, if I know my own heart. To get money? No, I am going to live to God, and to bring others to him. . . .

(September, 1771 [At Sea].) On the Lord's day, September 25, I preached to the ship's company on John iii, 23; but that they were insensible creatures. My heart has been much painsed on their account. I spent my time chiefly in retirement, in prayer, and in reading the Appeals, Mr. De Sour's life, part of Mr. Norris's Works, Mr. Edwards on the Work of God in New-England, the Pilgrim's Progress, the Bible, and Mr. Wesley's Sermons. I feel a strong desire to be given up to God—body, soul, time, and talents; far more than heretofore. . . .

(Philadelphia, 1771.) October 27. This day we landed in Philadelphia, where we were directed to the house of one Mr. Francis Harris, who kindly entertained us in the evening, and brought us to a large church, where we met with a considerable congregation. Brother Filmore preached. The people looked on us with pleasure, hardly knowing how to show their love sufficiently, bidding us welcome with fervent affection, and receiving us as angels of God. O that we may always walk worthy of the vocation wherewith we are called! When I came near the American shore, my very heart melted within me, to think from whence I came, where I was going, and what I was going about. But I felt my . . .
mind open to the people, and my tongue loosed to speak. I felt that God is here, and that glory of all we need.

[New York, November, 1771.] Thursday, 22. At present I am dissatisfied. I judge we are to be shut up in the cities this winter. My brethren seem unwilling to leave the cities, but I think I will show them the way. I am in trouble, and more trouble is at hand, but I am determined to make a stand against all partiality. I have nothing to seek but the glory of God; nothing to fear, but his displeasure.

[New York, September, 1772.] Wednesday, 23. In the evening I preached, and felt a measure of peace, and stronger confidence in my soul towards God.

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[New York, November, 1772.] Tuesday, 24. Preached at Winchester [now Westminster], in an unfinished house, and while the rain beat in upon me, many people looked and wondered at the stranger. However, I delivered my message with some energy, and then rode three miles to Richard Owing’s, where the Lord enabled me to preach with much freedom to a great number of people.

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is the portion of my soul. He favours me with sweet peace, and sanctifies all my afflictions. Lord, evermore keep me, and conduct me in safety to thy blessed presence above!

[New York, May, 1774.] Lord's day, 29. I visited Mr. Wirt's house, who is going to Ireland; but found he had no taste for spiritual subjects. Lord, keep me from all superfluity of dress, and from preaching empty stuff to please the ear, instead of changing the heart! Thus has he fulfilled as a hireling his day.

[New York, July, 1774.] Thursday, 14. My mind is in peace. I have now been sick near ten months, and many days closely confined; yet I have preached about three hundred times, and rode near two thousand miles in that time; though very frequently in a high fever. Here is no ease, worldly profit, or honour. What, then, but the desire of pleasing God and serving souls, could stimulate to such laborious and painful duties?

[New York, August, 1774.] August 1. I have great discoveries of my defects and weaknesses. My soul is not so steadily and warmly devoted to the Lord as it might be. Lord, help me, and supply me with grace always! In preaching from Ephesians ii, 12, 13, I had great freedom. It seems strange, that sometimes, after much premeditation and devotion, I cannot express my thoughts with readiness and perspicuity; whereas at other times, proper sentences of Scripture and apt expressions occur without care or much thought. Surely this is of the Lord, to convince us that it is not by power or might, but by his Spirit...
the work must be done. Nevertheless, it is

[New York, September, 1774.] Wednesday, 18.

Lord's day.

Losing some of my ideas in preaching, I was ashamed of myself, and pained to see the people waiting to hear what the blunderer had to say. May these things humble me, and show me where my great strength lieth! In meeting the society I urged the necessity of private devotion, and of properly digest·
ing what they hear. Set off the next morning for New Rochelle, and found E. D. in distress of soul. This is an agreeable family, and the children are both affectionate and obedient to their parents. I hope she and the rest of them will become true Christians, and be

[Virginia, May, 1775.] Monday, 29. With a thankful heart I landed at Norfolk, after having been much tossed about by contrary winds in the bay. My accommodations on board the vessel were also very indifferent, so that it was a disagreeable and fatiguing passage ....

Here I found about thirty persons in society after their manner; but they had no regular class-meetings. However, here are a few who are willing to observe all the rules of our society. Their present preaching-house is an old, shattered building, which was formerly been a play-house. Surely the Lord will not always suffer his honour to be trampled in the dust. No; I entertain a hope that we shall have a house and a people in this town. My heart is filled with holy thoughts, and deeply engaged in the work of God. On Tuesday evening about one hundred and fifty souls attended to hear the word, and about fifty at five o'clock on Wednesday morning, which, by the presence of the Lord was found to be a good time. I then went over to Portsmouth, and found my spirit in liberty in preaching to a number of souls there.

[Virginia, 1775.] Friday, June 2. The Lord is pleased to show me the danger which a preacher is in of being lifted up by pride, and falling into the condemnation of the devil. How great is the danger of this! A consid·

erable degree of ballast is highly necessary to bear frequent and sudden puffs of applause. Lord, fill me with genuine humility, that the strongest gusts from Satan or the world may never move me!

[New Jersey, April, 1776.] Monday, 22. I found Christ in me the hope of glory: but felt a pleasing, painful sensation of spiritual hunger and thirst for more of God. On Tuesday I rode to Burlington, and on the way tooul was filled with holy peace, and employed in heavenly contemplations; but found, to my grief, that many had so intoxicated a mortal spirit that they had lost the spirit of pure and undefiled religion. I preached from
Rom. xiii, 11, but found it was a dry and barren time. And some who once ran well now walk irresolutely. On Wednesday I rode to Trenton; and found very little liberty in preaching among them; thus has the Lord humbled me amongst my people. But I hope, through grace, to save myself, and, at least, some that hear me.

Maryland, June, 1776. Thursday, 27. This was a day of trials. Satan drew my thoughts into a train of reasoning on subjects which were out of my reach; for secret things are known to God, but things which are revealed belong to us and our children. Thus, while I was soaring out of the region of my duty, I became inattentive to what immediately concerned me, and oversetting my chaise, broke it very much. Though, blessed be God, my body was preserved.

Virginia, June, 1776. Sunday, 30. I was consoled by the sight of my dear brother [Hassford]. But I was weak in body, though riding so far in extreme heat, and much exercised in mind, and did not know how I should be able to go through the labour of the day. We went to the chapel at ten, where I had liberty of mind, and strength of body beyond my expectation. After preaching I gave the society, and was more extroverted, both in body and mind. At four in the afternoon I preached again, from 'I set before thee an open door, and none can shut it.' I had gone through about two-thirds of my discourse, and was bringing the words home to the present—Now, when such power descended, that hearts fell on the ground, and the house seemed so shaken with the presence of God. The chapel was full of white and black, and many were without that could not get in. Look wherever we would, we saw nothing but screaming eyes, and faces bathed in tears; and heard nothing but groans and strong cries after God and the Lord Jesus Christ. My voice was drowned amidst the graces and prayers of the congregation. I then sat down in the pulpit, and both Mr. [Hassford] and I were so filled with the divine presence, that we could only say, This is none other than the house of God! This is the gate of heaven! Husbands were inviting their wives to go to heaven, wives their husbands: parents their children, and children their parents; brothers their sisters, and sisters their brothers. In short, those who were happy in God themselves were for bringing all their friends to him in their arms. This mighty effusion of the Spirit continued for above an hour in which time many were awakened, some found peace with God, and others, his pure love.

We attempted to speak or sing again and again; but no sooner we began than our voices were drowned. It was with much difficulty that we at last prevailed on the people, at night drew on, to retire to their own homes.
Monday, 1. We set off for the springs. Mr. D[allam] overtook us in the evening; and that no opportunity might be lost, I preached at night in the tavern where we lodged. And both the tavern-keeper and his wife appeared to have some thoughts about their souls. On Tuesday, we reached Frederick, and collecting as many people as we could by a short notice, I preached from 2 Corinthians vi, 2, and found my spirit at liberty. My body complains of so much travelling, for which it is almost incompetent; but the Spirit of the Lord is the support and comfort of my soul. I was thrown out of my chaise the next day, but was providentially kept from being much hurt.

[Maryland, July, 1776.] Monday, 13. We applied ourselves to the Greek and Latin Testament; but this is not to me like preaching the Gospel. However, when a man cannot do what he would, he tries to do what he can.

[Maryland, March, 1778.] Monday, 16. I felt myself as nothing, and Christ to me is all in all.

[Delaware, March, 1779.] Lord's day, 28. My mind was much drawn out in prayer, and I believe I have not spent more time in this exercise for many years past, if ever, than I do now. But my mind has been much perplexed about wandering thoughts in prayer, though Mr. Wesley's deep and judicious discourse on that subject has afforded me no small satisfaction. He hath both shown the causes of those thoughts, which are not sinful, and incontestably proves that they contract no guilt. Yet a devout and tender mind must be grieved, to find any kind of temptation in that sublime exercise wherein the whole soul desires to be employed.
It, and find it of more consequence to a preacher to know his Bible well, than all the languages or books in the world—for he is not to preach these, but the word of God.

[Delaware, November, 1779.] Wednesday, 17. I have read through the Book of Genesis, and again have read the Confession of Faith, the Assembly's Catechism, Directory of Church Government, and Form for the Public Worship; now I understand it better than I like it. I proposed to rise at four o'clock, as often as I can, and spend two hours in prayer and meditation, two hours in reading, and one in reciting and conversation; and in the evening, to take my room at eight, pray and meditate an hour, and go to bed at nine o'clock; all this I purpose to do, when not travelling; but to rise at four o'clock every morning.

[Delaware, January, 1780.] Friday, 28. A fine day for travelling; yesterday was so cold, it was hardly possible to travel without getting one's limbs frozen. I rose soon after four o'clock, prayed four times before I left my room, and twice in the family. I then set out for Isaac Moore's below Broad-creek, met with some difficulty in the way from the ice, but came there safe. Was variously exercised with thoughts, and had hard fightings. After riding twenty-five miles I took a little food, this being a day of abstinence and prayer with me.
thing more than human learning, unwieldy titles, or clerical titles of D.D., or even bishop. The eyes of all—both preachers and people will be opened in time.

Prayer
Dear Father in heaven, we thank Thee for Francis Asbury and others like him, that great body of circuit riders who helped to make American history, both secular and religious. They had their past in founding a nation. Their works do follow them; Help me today to be true to the Christ who challenged them to short paths through the wilderness in order that men and women and boys and girls might know Christ as their Savior. Give me this kind of love and this kind of passion to bring others to Thee. In His Name. Amen.

II. MIDDLE LIFE

Rode to [blank] our friends had procured the Presbyterian church for me. I felt a spirit of life on these words, "Be ready to receive an answer to every man that asks you a reason of the hope that is in you." I called to see my old friend and assistant, James Glaisbrook, who was the first preacher I travelled with upon a regular appointment in England. He is now a Presbyterian minister, much changed in his outward man, but I believe his sentiments are much the same as when I first knew him. The Lord be with and bless him!
to know how rough it is may tread in our path. While I was looking to see what was become of our guide, I was carried off with full force against a tree that lay across the road some distance from the ground, and my head received a very great jar, which, however, was lessened by my having on a hat that was strong in the crown. We came on to the dismal place called Roan's Creek, which was pretty full. Here we took a good breakfast on our tea, bacon, and bread. 

[Kentucky, May, 1790.] Tuesday, 11. Crossed Kentucky River. I was strangely done for want of sleep, having been greatly deprived of it in my journey through the wilderness; which is like being at sea, in some respects, and in others worse. Our way is over mountains, steep hills, deep rivers, and muddy creeks; a thick growth of reeds for miles together; and no inhabitant but wild beasts and savage men. Sometimes, before I am aware, my ideas would be leading me to be looking out ahead for a fence; and I would, without reflection, try to recollect the houses we should have lodged at in the wilderness. I slept about an hour the first night, and about two the last; our bread grew short, and I was much spent.

I saw the graves of the slain—twenty-four in one camp. I learnt that they had set no guard, and that they were up late, playing at cards. A poor woman of the company had dreamed three times that the Indians had surprised them all; she urged her husband to prevent the people to set a guard, but they only abused him, and cursed him for his pains. As the poor woman was relating her last dream the Indians came upon the camp; she and her husband sprang away, one east, the other west, and escaped. She afterwards came back and witnessed the carnage. . . .

[South Carolina, March, 1791.] Saturday, 26. We had white and red Indians at Catawba; the Doctor [Coker] and myself both preached. I had some conversation with the chiefs of the Indians about keeping up the school we have been endeavoring to establish amongst them.

[Virginia, April, 1791.] Friday, 29. The solemn news reached our ears that the public papers had announced the death of that dear man of God, John Wesley. He died in his own house in London, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, after preaching the Gospel sixty-four years. When we consider his calm and serious writings; his uncommon talent for sermonizing and journalizing; that he had such a steady flow of animal spirits; so much of the spirit of government in him; his knowledge as an observer; his attainments as a scholar; his experience as a Christian; I conclude, his equal is not to be found among all the sons he hath brought up, nor his superior among all the sons of Adam he may have left behind.

[Connecticut, June, 1791.] Saturday, 4. In the evening I went on to Reading. Surely
God will work powerfully amongst these people, and save thousands of them. We have travelled about twenty-four miles this day over very rough roads; the weather is cold for the season; my horse is very small, and my carriage is inconvenient in such rocky, uneven, jolting ways. This country is very hilly and open—not unlike that about the Peak of Derbyshire. I feel faith to believe that this visit to New-England will be blessed to my own soul, and the souls of others.

[Rhode Island, June, 1791.] Sunday, 19.
Came to Providence. I attended the ministry of Mr. M——, a Baptist, in the forenoon; and Mr. S——, a New Light, in the afternoon. In the evening I preached with some life, on 1st. cor. i, 3. There are Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Independents or Congregationalists here: but the Baptists appear to be the leading people. I found a few gracious souls, and some seeking...

I visited some serious families that truly love and fear God. The afternoon I spent very agreeably with the old prophet Mr. Snow, aged about seventy years: he was awakened by the instrumentality of Gilbert Tennant, whose memory I revere. He told me much about Mr. Whitefield, and old times, and of the ministers of old times—and of his awakening, and conversion to God—of his riding thirty miles to Newport, in howling cold weather, to bring Mr. Tennant to Providence.

[Maryland, 1791.] Monday, December 7.
I went from house to house through the snow and cold, begging money for the support of the poor orphans at Cokesbury [College].

[Virginia, 1791.] Wednesday, December 9.
A day to be remembered. We stopped once in forty-three miles: when we reached Great Hill Ferry, opposite to Alexandria, I was nearly frozen, being hardly able to walk or sit. We crossed the Potomac in an open boat, on whose icy bottom the horses with difficulty kept their feet; and still worse it would have been, had I not thoughtfully called for some straw to strew beneath them; we had five of them on board and the waves were huge.

[Virginia, January, 1792.] Thursday, 5.
Rode to W. B.—'s: there were but few people. On our way brother M—— would stop to feed; I believe the Lord sent me to speak a word to a broken-hearted, forsaken, distressed woman. My soul enjoys peace; but excessive labour, and bodily suffering from the cold, prevent that deep communion with God I wish for: I do little except reading a few chapters in my Hebrew Bible.

[South Carolina, February, 1792.] Monday, 27.
We rode thirty miles to White Oak meetinghouse—a painful journey; the weather was cold, and the house open; the people, however, were attentive. It is not pleasing to the soul to take only a little rest at seven o'clock in the morning and then go until six.
at eight before we have a table spread; and
all how few Christian houses! I had my
trials in the evening.

[Kentucky, April, 1792.] Monday, 23. I
rode to Bethel. I found it necessary to change
the plan of the house, to make it more com-
fortable to the scholars in cold weather.
I am too much in company, and hear so much about
Indians, convention, treaty, killing, and scalp-
ing, that my attention is drawn more to these
things than I could wish. I found it good to
get alone in the woods and converse with
God.

[Pennsylvania, June, 1792.] Sunday, 10.
We have founded a seminary of learning
called Union School: brother C. Conway is
manager, who also has charge of the district:
this establishment is designed for instruction
in grammar, languages, and the sciences.
I have had some awful thoughts lest my
lameless should grow upon me, and render
me useless. I sometimes have
fears that
I
am
too slack in speaking in public, at conferences;
I also feel that want of time and places to
pursue my practice of solitary prayer, being
frequently obliged to ride all the day and
late at night, that
I
may
in
time reach
the
appointed places to preach.

[Kentucky, May, 1793.] Tuesday, 7. We
rode down to the Crab Orchard, where we
found company enough, some of whom were
very wild; we had a company of our own, and
refused to go with them. Some of them gave
us very abusive language; and one man went
upon a hill above us, and fired a pistol to-
wards our company. We resolved to travel in
our order, and bound ourselves by honor and
conscience to support and defend each other,
and to see every man through the wilderness.
But we could not depend upon wicked and
unprincipled men, who would leave us and neg-
lect us, and even curse us to our faces. Nor
were we at liberty to mix with swearers, liars,
drunks; and, for ought we know, this may
not be the worst with these. We were about
fourteen of them in company; and had
diverse guns and pistols. We rode on near the
defaced camp, and rested till three o'clock
under great suspicion of Indians: we pushed
forward, and by riding forty-five miles on
Thursday, we came safe to Robinson's station,
about eight o'clock.

I came to Boston in good health, and with a
heavy heart. I passed the road and bridge
from the University to Boston. A noble road
and grand bridge. We have very agreeable
lodging in this town: but have to
reach,
as
did our Lord, in an upper room. We
had a
prayer-meeting, and the Lord was present to
bless us.

[South Carolina, February, 1796.] Friday,
5. I spent in reading and writing, and ob-
served it as a day of fasting and prayer. I
felt myself under dejection of spirit. Ah!
what a dreary world is this! My mind is un-
der solemn impressions—the result of my re-
lections on God and souls. I will endeavour not to distress myself above measure. If sinners are lost, I cannot save them, neither shall I be damned for them. I was happy last evening with the poor slaves in brother Wells's sacramental love feast in the front parlour upstairs. [Maryland, June, 1797.] June 25. I met the male members of the society Sabbath morning, as I had met the sisters and the official members in the preceding week. I obtained the liberty of the managers of the African academy to congregate the fathers as well as to teach the children. We had nearly five hundred coloured people. Brother Willis preached on Acts vii, 7, and I added a few words. In the afternoon I gave a short exhortation at Mr. Otterbine's church. [Delaware, June, 1799.] Sabbath day, 2. After meeting, I rode to Duck Creek Cross Roads, and called at Dr. Cook's to see Thomas White's children. Doctor Anderson, Dr. Ridgely, and Dr. Neadham considered my case; they advised a total suspension from preaching, fearing a consumption or a dropsy in the breast. [Delaware, June, 1799.] Monday, 3. I ordained one person at the Cross Roads, and another at Dickinson's meeting-house. I dined with Mr. Moore near the Appoquinimink bridge, and then rode on to Wilmington; we have made forty miles this day. What with labour and fevers my rest is greatly interrupted.

Prayer

Our Father, we realize our dependence on Thee. When we are weak, then we are strong. Afflictions may be our crosses, but they can become crowns if we will sanctify them as is our privilege. Help us to take the sickness, the burdens, the losses, the calamities and use them as means of grace to center our affections on our Saviour. Give me this kind of courage, this kind of faith. In Jesus' name. Amen.

III. Late Years

[North Carolina, February, 1801.] We have ridden at least five hundred and fifty, if not six hundred, miles, over the hills, barrens, swamps, savannahs, rivers, and creeks, of South Carolina.
At Gause's Manor, or more properly town, we were pleasantly situated. I had a most solemn visit to the sea-beach, which to me was a most instructive sight: the sea reminded me of its great Maker. "Who spread the peopled waves starred?" its innumerable productions; the diversified features of its shores—the sand-hills, the marsh, the pines, tall and slender, the sheep and goats frisking in the shade or browsing in the sun; its innumerable productions; the sea-gulls lifting and letting fall from high the clam, which breaking, furnishes them with food; the eagles with hovering wings watching for their prey; the white sail of the solitary vessel tossed upon the distant wave—how interesting a picture do all these objects make!

[Georgia, November, 1801.]

Thursday, 19. We started, hungry and cold, crossing at Malone's mill a branch of Oconee, and came to Henry Pope's in Oglethorpe. We have ridden about eighty miles this week of short and cold days. Why should a living man complain?—but to be three months together upon the frontiers, where, generally, you have but one room and fire-place, and half a dozen folks about you, strangers perhaps, and their family certainly, (and they are not usually small in these plentiful new countries,) making a crowd—and this is all; for here you may meditate if you can and here you must preach, read, write, pray, talk, eat, drink, and sleep—or fly onto the woods. Well! I have pains in my body, particularly my hip, which are very afflicting when I ride; but I cheer myself as well as I may with songs in the night—with Wesley's, Watts's, and Stennett's sight of Canaan, in four hymns.

[Maryland, April, 1802.]

Monday, 5. While in Baltimore, I received an account of the death of my mother, which I fear is true. And here I may speak safely concerning my very dear mother: her character to me is well known. Her paternal descent was Welsh, from a family ancient and respectable, of the name of Rogers. She lived a woman of the world until the death of her first and only daughter, Sarah Asbury: how would the bereaved mother weep and tell of the beauties and excellencies of her lost and lovely child! pondering on the past in the silent suffering of hopeless grief. This afflicting providence graciously terminated in the mother's conversion. When she saw herself a lost and wretched sinner, she sought religious people, but "in the times of this ignorance" few were "sound in the faith," or "faithful to the grace given;" many were the days she spent chiefly in reading and prayer; at length she found justifying grace, and pardoning mercy. So was the light of truth around her, from the assurance she found, she was at times inclined to believe in the final perseverance of the saints. For fifty years her hands, her house, her heart, were open to receive the people of God and missionaries of Christ; and thus a lamp was lighted up in a dark place.
called Great Barre, in Great Britain. She was an afflicted, yet most active woman, of quick bodily powers, and masculine understanding; nevertheless, "so kindly all the elements were mixed in her," her strong mind quickly felt the subduing influences of that Christian sympathy which "weeps with those who weep;" and " rejoices with those who do rejoice." As a woman and a wife she was chaste, modest, blameless; as a mother (above all the women in the world would I claim her for my own) ardently affectionate; as a "mother in Israel" few of her sex have done more by a holy walk to live, and by personal labour to support the Gospel, and to wash the saints' feet; as a friend, she was generous, true, and constant.

Elizabeth Asbury died January 6th, 1802; aged eighty-seven or eighty-eight years. There is now, after fifty years, a chapel within two or three hundred yards of her dwelling.

I am now often drawn out in thankfulness to God, who hath saved a mother of mine, and, I trust, a father also, who are already in glory, where I hope to meet them both, after time, and cares, and sorrows shall have ceased with me; and where glory shall not only beam, but open on my soul forever. Amen.

[South Carolina, December, 1802.] Wednesday, 20. I sent word to James Douchac to explain to the elders of Georgia and South Carolina my situation. I also dispatched John Watson to meet brother Snethen, and give him my plan to fulfill the appointments in Georgia—but behold, brother Snethen had had a fall from his horse, and was left lame upon the road! I have been sick for twenty-three days, and the sale of wool I might raise. My dear M'Kendree had so lilt me up and down from my horse, like a helpless child. But my sickness and sufferings, I conceive I am indebted to sleeping uncovered in the wilderness...

Tennesse, October, 1802.] Wednesday, 20. I sent word to James Douchac to explain to the elders of Georgia and South Carolina my situation. I also dispatched John Watson to meet brother Snethen, and give him my plan to fulfill the appointments in Georgia—but behold, brother Snethen had had a fall from his horse, and was left lame upon the road! I have been sick for twenty-three days, and the sale of wool I might raise. My dear M'Kendree had so lilt me up and down from my horse, like a helpless child. But my sickness and sufferings, I conceive I am indebted to sleeping uncovered in the wilderness...
teen; at twenty-one I travelled; at twenty-six I came to America: thus far I had reasons enough for a single life. It had been my intention of returning to Europe at thirty years of age; but the war continued, and it was ten years before we had a settled, lasting peace: this was no time to marry or be given in marriage. At forty-nine I was ordained superintendent bishop in America. Amongst the duties imposed upon me by my office was that of travelling extensively, and I could hardly expect to find a woman with grace enough to enable her to live but one week out of the live: two with her husband: besides, what right has any man to take advantage of the affections of a woman, make her his wife, and by a voluntary absence subvert the whole order and economy of the marriage state, by separating those whom neither God, nature, nor the requirements of civil society permit long to be put together? It is neither just nor generous. I may add to this, that I had little money, and with this little administered to the necessities of a beloved mother until I was fifty-seven: if I have done wrong, I hope God and the sex will forgive me: it is my duty now to bestow the pittance I may have to spare upon the widows and fatherless girls, and poor married men.  

[New York, May, 1805.] Friday, 31. I read the latter part of Mr. Wesley's Journal. How great and unceasing were his labours; how various, comprehensive, and just are his observations on men, women, modes, manners, doctrines, opinions, authors, and things! I have felt myself strongly urged to pray after every meal, where the families are in the habit of prayer; but I believe there are Methodist households that sometimes fall in my way, who never pray in this way: and is this our poor success, after eighteen years of faithful labours? God be gracious to us, and to such families and unfaithful souls!  

[Pennsylvania, July, 1809.] Friday, 21. We were comfortable while resting at Doctor Hopkin's. Arrived at the ferry bank, no boat appeared, so I came back and called a meeting. Since we left Baltimore in April, we have made, we compute, two thousand miles. Such roads, such rains, and such lodgings! Why should I wish to stay in this land? I have no possessions or babes to bind me to the soil; what are called the comforts of life I rarely enjoy; the wish to live an hour such a life as this would be strange to so suffering, so toil-worn a wretch. But God is with me, and souls are my reward: I may yet rejoice, and will rejoice. I might fill pages with this last week's wonders.
Tuesday, I preached, and again on Wednesday; we rode along the banks of the river; they are nearly and pleasantly improved. We dined with Sperens Roilvo, and went from hence with brother Glassford, in his calash. I asked him how we were to get out if we upset; his answer was actual experiment: the saplings on the side of the path broke the fall, so that we escaped unhurt. ... Friday, I preached at the German settlement: I was weak in body, yet greatly helped in speaking. Here is a decent, loving people; my soul is much united to them. I called upon father Dulmage, and on brother Hicks—a branch of an old Irish stock of Methodists in New York. I lodged at David Brcackridge's, above Johnston. Saturday, we rode twelve miles for our breakfast. Reached Richmond. Our ride has brought us through one of the finest countries I have ever seen: the timber is of a noble size; the cattle are well-shaped and well-looking: the crops are abundant, on a most fruitful soil: surely this is a land char God the Lord hath blessed.

South Carolina, 1812.] Wednesday, January 5, 1812. A steady ride of thirty-eight miles brought us into Charleston. The high-ways were little occupied by travelers of any kind, which was the more beneficial to me, for my lumbers and my light carriage would have made a shock of the slightest kind dis-advantage. I was anxious also to pass the first day of the new year in undisturbed prayer.

Thursday, Friday, Saturday, is reading, meditation, writing, and prayer. I do not reject visitors.

[New York, July, 1812.] Tuesday, 26. I will leave New York this morning. There must be a great change here. We came away, after looking, so Elijah Griswold: my heart is a brand plucked from the burning—among drunkards I had soared him forty years. He had a pious son who watched over, and prayed for him; and he himself never closed his doors against the pious. The Lord heard prayers on his behalf, and has entirely delivered him from the love of whisky. I hear of another wonderful emancipation from the slavery of drunkenness.

[New Hampshire, June, 28.] Sunday, 6. I preached in the morning and afternoon with little freedom. May we not expect increasing days of distress? Methodism in the east is as likely to be anything else as that which it ought to be; without any displays of the powers of God, and a strict discipline. We have a gracious rain in mercy, if not in answer to prayer. Knowing the uncertainty of the tenure of life, I have made my will, appointing Bishop McKendree, Daniel Hitt, and Henry Boehm, my executors. If I do not in the meantime spend it, I shall leave, when I die an estate of two thousand dollars, I believe; I gave it all to the Book Concern. This money, and somewhat more, I have inherited from dear departed Methodist friends, in the
State of Maryland, who died childless; besides some legacies which I have never taken. Let it all return, and continue to aid the cause of piety.

[New Jersey, 1814. Tuesday, July 19. I would not be loved to death, and so came down from my sick room and took to the road, weak enough. Attributions constant, and kindness unceasing, have pursued me to this place, and my strength increases daily. I look back upon a martyr's life of toil, and privation, and pain; and I am ready for a martyr's death. The purity of my intentions; my diligence in the labours to which God has been pleased to call me; the unknown sufferings I have endured; what are all these?—the merit, atonement, and righteousness of Christ alone make my plea. My friends in Philadelphia gave me a light, little four-wheeled carriage; but God and the Baltimore Conference made me a richer present—they gave me John Wesley Bond for a travelling companion; has he his equal on the earth for excellencies of every kind as an aid? I groan one minute with pain, and shout glory the next!

[Ohio, August, 1814. Saturday, 23. I ordained the deacons, and preached a sermon, in which Doctor Coke was remembered. My eyes fail. I will resign the offices to Bishop McKendree—I will take away my feet. It is my fifty-fifth year of ministry, and forty-fifth year of labour in America. My mind enjoys great peace and divine consolation. My health is better, which may in part be because of my being less deeply interested in the business of the conference. But whether health, life, or death, good is the will of the Lord: I will trust him; yea, and will praise him: he is the strength of my heart and my portion forever—glory! glory! glory! Conference was eight days and a half in session—hard labour. Bishop McKendree called upon me to preach at the ordination of elders.

Prayer
Dear Father, how great a thing it is to read the intimate glimpses of men who have walked with Thee and thereby have gained an insight into Thy goodness, Thy mercy, and Thy love. We are thankful for Thy presence who have
finished their courses in faith and now live within the celestial city. We thank Thee for Thy redemption which comes through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. May He be mine today and may my life be a witness to His grace. In the Saviour's name. Amen.

IV. A SHORT ACCOUNT OF HIS DEATH AND BURIAL

Traveling with John W. Bond in a closed carriage they came to Richmond, Virginia, where he preached his last sermon March 24, 1816, in the old Methodist Church. He was almost too weak to deliver his sermon. He had to be carried to the pulpit from the carriage in which he rode and they seated him on a table prepared for that purpose. He spoke nearly an hour from the text, Romans ix: 28, "For he will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness; because a short work will the Lord make upon the earth." After his sermon he was carried from the pulpit to his carriage and on Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday he journeyed and finally came to the house of his old friend, Mr. George Arnold, in Spotsylvania County, Virginia. Here on Sunday, the 31st of March, 1816, he died in the 71st year of his age, having devoted about 55 years to the ministry, 45 of which were spent in America. He was buried at the home of Mr. Arnold. His body was moved a month later to Furrow Place Church, Baltimore, where it remained for 40 years. It was then moved to Mount Olivet Cemetery, Baltimore, for its final interment.
THE ASBURY TRAIL AWARD

The Asbury Trail Award is offered to Explorers and their Dads under the joint sponsorship of the Boy Scouts of America and the Western North Carolina Historical Association. The Award consists of a Medal and a Certificate and will be conferred on those who fulfill the following conditions:

1. Hiking the old Cataloochee trail over which Bishop Francis Asbury crossed the mountains in 1810.
2. Reading one of the recommended books on the life of Asbury.
3. Submitting an essay of not less than one thousand words on Asbury and his contribution to America.

The official hike covers approximately twenty-three miles between Cove Creek Gap, North Carolina, and Davenport Gap, Tennessee, as indicated on the map in this folder. Other nearby points historically related to Asbury are also indicated on the map, but visits to them are optional.

Francis Asbury was the first Bishop elected and consecrated in America by any denomination. He was the virtual creator of the largest Protestant body in the United States.

The Asbury Trail Award, however, is not denominational. As the religious pioneer on the early frontier, Asbury’s contribution to the country is recognized by all historians, and a bronze equestrian statue has been erected in Washington and was dedicated by the President of the United States. The Award may be earned by any Scout without regard to his affiliation.

Preparation for Hiking the Trail

Hikers on the Asbury Trail should remember that it is a twenty-three mile long, rugged mountain trail, not a one-day hike. Not less than two days will be required. All persons should be well prepared with equipment.

Most important in personal gear is a pair of sturdy leather hiking boots, preferably at least six inches high. Other equipment may be carried as desired.

There are ample campsites along the Trail. The key is the Cataloochee Camp indicated on the map. Water is available at three or four spots, but canteens should be carried also. Note the location of the Ranger Sta-
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For further information and enrollment address:

DANIEL BOONE COUNCIL
Boy Scouts of America
New Medical Building
P.O. Box 7274
Asheville, North Carolina

THE TRAIL

The old Catawba Trail ran from Cove Creek, North Carolina, to the area around Cosby, Tennessee. The trail parallels Highway 281, and coincides with this road at several points. It skirts the border of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park for 10 miles or more, and is inside and outside of the Park at various points.

The best description of the Trail is a report submitted to the National Park Service in 1940 by Mr. H. C. Williams, entitled The Catawba Indian Trail and its Use and Development by White People. This report may be seen at the Park Headquarters in Gatlinburg, Tennessee, and in Washington, D.C.

It is still possible to identify parts of the Trail which do not coincide with the highways. There are indications, "dug out" stretches, Indian "sites" or sites of settlements or resting places, a stone cairn or "Indian grave" and similar evidences, which are described and located in Mr. Williams' report.

The origin of the important Trail along which the Cherokee traversed the mountains is lost in antiquity. It was mentioned in literature as early as 1769, when it was called a "turnpike." The Indians had by that time abandoned their settlements along the Trail, although the area was in their hunting grounds and protected by law.

Francis Asbury crossed the Appalachian mountains around sixty times, using different routes. He frequently went from the Knoxville area by way of the present Marshall and Hot Springs to Asheville, or Rennfale Court House, South Carolina. Sometimes he went from the present Morganton, North Carolina, through the gap east of Roan Mountain near Elk Park to the present Elkmont and Bristol in Tennessee.

In 1801, however, he took "the new route" and followed the old Catawba Trail.

Asbury was accompanied on this trip by Bishop William McKendree, the Rev. Henry Betham of Pennsylvania, a German-speaking preacher who often traveled with Asbury, and whose latter, Martin Betham, was a Methodist bishop and one of the founders of the United Brethren Church, and the Rev. John McGee, one of the leaders of the Camp Meeting movement.

Asbury traveled through Kentucky to the McKendree homestead near Nashville and to the hills of eastern Tennessee. His party reached the home of Mitchell Porter, three miles south of Scottville at the present Highway 71, between Sevierville and Gatlinburg. Porter's Chapel was built at the present Zion's Cemetery, then the party started up the mountain. The story is told in Asbury's famous Journal.
ASBURY'S JOURNAL

Thursday, November 29, 1810. We were in doubt whether we should take the old or the new route: we took Mahon's road, and got along pretty well, thirty miles, to the gate; the woman was sick, but the girls of the house were attentive and polite at Mr. Mahon's.

Friday, our troubles began at the crossing, roaring stream, which hid the rocks. At Catahouche I walked over a log. But O, the mountain—height after height, and five miles over! After crossing other streams, and losing ourselves in the woods, we came in, about nine o'clock at night to Vater Shuck's. What an awful day!

1 The "new route" was the original Catahouche Trail.
2 Mahon's road was from Pigeon Forge on Highway 71 to the head of Cowee Creek in Haywood County, Tennessee, where it intersected present Highway 32 from Newport to the present Great Smoky Mountains National Park.
3 The Mahon home was at a toll gate near Caddy, Tenn.
4 This stream was Catahouche Creek, which had various spellings. On the bank of the river they fed the horses and asked a blessing on a meal of bread. John McGee drove the horses through the stream while Asbury, McKendree, and Boehm crossed on the log. (Boehm: Reminiscences, 328.)
5 At the eastern foot of the mountain they came to Cowee Creek, passed through a gate, and reached the settlements on Richland Creek and Pigeon River. They probably went up Junction Creek through Dollywood Gap and along Richland Creek where it now forms Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, since it is the better known trail that way. Or they could have followed Pigeon River to the mouth of Richland Creek, a few miles away. (Edney, op. cit., 338; Allen: History of Haywood County, 217f.)
6 "Vater Shuck" was "Father" Jacob Shuck (or Shuck), son of a Dutch immigrant, and a Revolutionary soldier, who settled on Pigeon River at the present Clyde, North Carolina, in 1780, and is said to have built the first frame house in Haywood County. It is still standing, the home of Mrs. Mary Morgan, and the attic room which was used for preaching has been preserved with its pulpit and chair. Here was the first society in the county, probably formed by the Rev. Samuel Edney, the pioneer circuit rider of Western North Carolina. Shuck frequented a tract of land for a camp meeting and the church was long known as Camp Ground. It is now Louise Chapel. It stands on the original property and bears the date 1798. (Allen, op. cit., 217-227, 393-396.)
7 Saturday, December 1. Last night I was strenuously afflicted with pain. We rode, twenty-five miles, to Buncombe.

8 Sabboth, December 2, Bishop McKendree and John McGee rose at five o'clock and left us to fill an appointment about twenty-five miles off. Myself and Henry Boehm went to Newton's academy, where I preached. Brother Boehm spoke after me; and Mr. Newton, in explanation, confirmed what was said. Had I known and studied my congregation for a year, I could not have spoken more appropriately to their particular cases; this I learn from those who know them well. We dined with Mr. Newton; he is almost a Methodist, and remembers me of dear Whatcoat—the same placidity and solemnity. We visited James Patton; this is, perhaps, the last visit to Buncombe.

9 At Buncombe Court House or Asheville the party probably stayed at the home of Daniel Killian. Asbury's favorite stopping place. The place still stands in the northern edge of Asheville and is inhabited by one of Killian's descendants. A marker has been erected there. Nearly is the Asbury Church, which grew out at the society in Killian's house and in which some Asbury relics are preserved.

10 These men doubtless preached in the home of the Rev. Samuel Edney at the present Edneyville, near Hendersonville. The Edney society is still active.

11 The Rev. George Newton, a Presbyterian and Asbury's friend, conducted a well-known school at Asheville.

12 Richard Whatcoat (1726-1806) came from England in 1784 and became a Bishop in 1800.

13 James Patton and his sons, James W. and John E., were large property owners in Asheville and ran the Eagle Hotel. Patton Avenue is named for them. Among others who entertained Asbury at various times in the Asheville area were Senator Thomas Foster, George Swain, whose son was the Hon. Governor and President of the University of North Carolina, Colonel James Lowry, half-brother of Governor Swain, William Mills, father-in-law of Samuel Edney, and many others both prominent and otherwise.

14 This was not Asbury's last visit to Buncombe County. He visited the area each autumn until his death in the spring of 1816.
FRANCIS ASBURY
1745-1816

In Washington, D. C., there stands a great equestrian statue of Francis Asbury. It was unveiled by the President of the United States, who presented it to the nation in an address which extolled the preacher on horseback as one of the greatest figures in the pioneer period of American history. More recently the Historical Publications Commission of the United States Government placed the name of Asbury on the list of sixty great Americans whose works should be collected and published, along with such notables as Washington, Jefferson, Adams and Lincoln.

Who was this minister of the Gospel who holds such a secure place in our history?

Boyhood

Francis Asbury was born on August 20, 1745, about four miles from Birmingham, England. His boyhood home, but not his birthplace, still stands on Newton Road in West Bromwich and is by the city preserved as an historic site.

He was the only son of Joseph (1715-1798) and Elizabeth Rogers (1718-1801) Asbury. He received little formal education and at the age of thirteen became an apprentice at a nearby forge. Soon thereafter he became a convert of the Evangelical Revival sweeping England under the leadership of John Wesley. He became a local preacher, and in 1768 he was admitted to the Conference.

America

The Revival had been brought to America by immigrants from Ireland. It arose almost simultaneously in Maryland and New York and a meeting house had been erected in each place, and an unfinished building had been bought in Philadelphia.

Help was needed and the people appealed to John Wesley for regular preachers. He responded by sending Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor late in 1769.

In 1771 Mr. Wesley called again for volunteers for America, and Francis Asbury and Richard Wright were chosen. They sailed in September and landed at Philadelphia on October 27, 1771.

On shipboard Francis Asbury began his famous Journal, later to be carefully edited and published in three volumes in 1821. Among other things he wrote these well-known words:

"Whither am I going? to the New World, What to do? To gain money? No, if I knew my own heart, To get money? No, I am going to live to God and to bring others so to do."

Ashbury in America

On Monday, October 28, 1771, Asbury preached his first sermon in America at St. George's Church in Philadelphia, the oldest church house of the denomination in the United States, now in a National Park by act of Congress. Immediately thereafter he went to New York, where he encountered a problem in the administration of the infant society.

It related to the famous system of itinerancy, or a "circulation of preachers," under which the ministers are changed at intervals. Asbury had been trained under Wesley's rule of frequent changes, but Boardman and Pilmoor preferred longer tenures.

On November 27, 1771, Asbury wrote in his Journal:

"At present I am dissatisfied. I judge we are to be shut up in the cities this winter. My brethren seem unwilling to leave the cities, but I think I shall show them the way."

Show them the way he did. He became the first and greatest of the Circuit Riders, who carried religion, morals, education and general culture along the advancing frontier of this continent. He established the itinerant system which enabled the preachers to keep up with the migrating multitudes and to outstrip all others in growth.

At the Conference in 1774, after Boardman and Pilmoor had returned to England, it was officially determined that the preachers should exchange each six months and that those in New York and Philadelphia should move quarterly.

The first Conference met in 1773, stationed ten preachers, and reported 1600 "numbers in Society." Year by year Asbury, along with the ever-increasing number of preachers, rode circuits in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and as far south as North and South Carolina.

During the Revolutionary War the other British preachers left the country, but Asbury remained. For several months he was forced to go into seclusion in Delaware because his nationality brought him under suspicion. New York was cut off from the Conference. But by 1784 the number of preachers had increased to 83 and the "numbers in Society" to 14,988.

Organizing a Church

These people were not members of any Church. The preachers were all laymen: not one had been ordained and they were forbidden to give the Holy Communion to their flocks. After the ties with England and the Church of England were broken they were in an anomalous situation with reference to the ordination, which the people were demanding from the hands of
their own preachers, but which both Wesley and Asbury opposed. The societies in the South broke away from those in the North in the controversy. It was clear that something had to be done. It is then that John Wesley made one of the important decisions of ecclesiastical history. The British Church authorities refused to ordain one of his preachers for America, and he took the momentous step of ordaining one with his own hands, though he was not a Bishop.

Wesley did this because his studies of the early Church convinced him, as he had convinced others, that Bishops were not a “third order” of the clergy. There were only two “orders,” namely, deacons and elders or presbyters. But Wesley, being an ordained elder or presbyter of the Church of England, had a right to set apart persons for this office or work in the Church.

It followed, therefore, that Wesley, being an ordained elder or presbyter, was called together at Baltimore in December, 1784. There were only two other presbyters. Asbury and Coke, accompanied by the Rev. Major Thomas Morrell, another Revolutionary soldier, were called together at Baltimore in December, 1784. The Bishop was an elder, and the other presbyter, an “superintendents” for America, and sent him to the office of Bishop. They were called together as Baltimore in December, 1784, and at this famous Christmas Conference the first independent denomination in America was formally organized and Francis Asbury was unanimously elected to the office of Bishop. This was the first ordination to the episcopate in America, and it was in 1784 until 1790 that he rode a horse and in later years he used a chaise. In spite of almost superhuman sufferings, he rode on, though on his last journey he could not stand and had to be carried bodily from the coach to his preaching places.

The New Bishop

Asbury was the superintendent of societies scattered along the Atlantic seaboard from New England to Charleston, South Carolina, and as far westward as the Holston country of East Tennessee across the Appalachian Mountains.

The Minutes showed that John Wesley and Thomas Coke were also superintendents, but Wesley did not visit the new Church. Dr. Coke came only at intervals. When Coke was here Asbury attended all the conferences, and since he alone knew the country and the preachers, he necessarily discharged nearly the whole responsibility.

Immediately after the adjournment of the Christmas Conference he started on his first episcopal round. It led him through Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, east to Charleston. Then he turned southward and on April 20, 1785, he and Coke convened the first Conference of the new Church at the home of the Rev. Major Gowen Hill, a local preacher and Revolutionary soldier, whose house still stands near Louisburg, North Carolina.

The operations of the new Church were now in full swing. There were ordained elders and deacons, the sacraments were administered, the people were satisfied since they had the status of members in a recognized Church. Asbury and Coke, accompanied by the Rev. Major Thomas Morrell, another Revolutionary soldier among the preachers, and John Dickinson, who became the first Publishing Agent, visited President George Washington immediately after his inauguration and presented him a congratulatory address on behalf of the Church.

In the meantime the Circuit Riders followed the pioneers as they streamed westward along the Wilderness Road and the other early routes. It was said that the first sound in the wilderness was the ring of the settler’s axe as he cleared a space for his cabin, and the second was the “hello” of the Circuit Rider at the settler’s door.

The Church spread ever westward as they rode. When Asbury died in 1816 it had reached the Father of Waters.

The Great Circuit Rider

Asbury was “The Prophet of the Long Road.” From 1784 until 1800 he was alone in the episcopacy and visited each annual conference. Richard Whatcoat was elected in 1800 and travelled with him. Whatcoat died in 1806, and William McKendree was elected two years later, and the practice continued. Year by year until his death Asbury rode his circuit from New England to Charleston and over the mountains. As long as he was able to do so he rode a horse, and in later years he used a chaise. In spite of almost superhuman sufferings, he rode on, though on his last journey he could not stand and had to be carried bodily from the coach to his preaching places.

In forty-five years Francis Asbury travelled 275,000 miles over the pioneer trails of the continent. He preached more than 10,000 times, an average of a sermon a day. More than sixty times he crossed the uncharted Appalachians. When he came there were only a dozen preachers of his faith in the land; when he died there were 700, and he had ordained 6,600 with his own hands. Under his supervision the members increased from under twelve
hundred to nearly a quarter of a million, a ratio of
growth greater by far than that of the population.

Asbury never had a home. He did not even have a
rented room. He lived literally on the road and slept
wherever night overtook him. His only address was
"America," and letters so addressed always reached
him.

On his last journey in 1816 he was unable to reach
the Conference at Charleston, although he was within
thirty miles of the city where he was forced to stop. He
turned back northward and went a few miles a day
when he could travel at all, intent on reaching the
General Conference at Baltimore. But he could not go
on. His travelling companion, the Rev. John Wesley
Bond, carried him into the cabin of George Arnold in
Spottsylvania County, Virginia, where he died on
March 31, 1816.

He was buried at Arnold's house, but a month later
his body was taken to the General Conference and
buried under the pulpit of the First Street Church in
Baltimore. Forty years later it was moved again, and
now rests in Mount Olivet Cemetery with many other
notable men of his Church.

Asbury's Place in History

Asbury was the virtual creator of a great Church. His
genius shaped its policy and his iron control guided it
during the perilous formative days. He made it, by his
insistence on itinerancy, into one of the most effectively
functioning bodies in the world. Whatever it has meant
to America is due in no small degree to the organizing
and administrative genius of Francis Asbury.

As the bearer of a moral culture to the rude frontier
settlement, he probably has no peer in our history. He
and his Circuit Riders went into every new community
and into nearly every log cabin in the wilderness.
In their saddle bags they carried the Bible, the hymnal,
books, and religious literature of every kind. They
brought the news of the outside world. They fought
impiensurance and every form of wrong doing, and they
made law-respecting citizens out of people who might
have been ruffians.

Asbury was the educational pioneer of his day. He
has long been credited with establishing the first Sun-
day school in America. His preachers, who had little
formal education, were required to preach annually on
education. Furthermore, they dictated their wide circuits
with schools. As early as 1780 a plan was drawn and
money was raised for a school in North Carolina,
though it was not actually opened for several years. In
Virginia, Georgia, Kentucky, and both the Carolinas
they established schools, and they opened a degree-
confering college in Maryland.

Their successors established hundreds of schools and
colleges in practically every state. Many of these were
opened for a time only, but the progress of public education rendered
them unnecessary, but more than 150 are in operation
today, and some of them are among the greatest in the
land.

In 1789 Asbury was instrumental in starting a Pub-
lishing House, which is now the largest of its kind in
America or in the world. In the same year he started
The Arminian Magazine, a monthly periodical which,
under different names and with some lapses, has con-
tinued until this day. Books and periodicals poured
from the presses in a stream which has been increasing
in volume for more than 150 years and is now greater
than it has ever been. Asbury may almost be said to
deserve the title of American Publisher Number One.

It is small wonder that President Calvin Coolidge, in
dedicating the Asbury monument, exclaimed, "Who
shall say where his influence, written upon the im-
 mortal souls of men, shall end?"

REFERENCES

The following books are recommended for reading in
connection with the Asbury Trail Award. One of them
should be found in your public library, or they can be
read in the Historical Library at Lake Junaluska, North
Carolina. They cannot be borrowed from the library but
may be used in the reading room:

1. Asbury: The Journal of Francis Asbury, 3 vol-
umes
2. Tiptle: The Prophet of the Long Road
3. Tiptle: The Heart of Asbury's Journal
4. Strickland: The Pioneer Bishop—Life and Times
   of Francis Asbury
5. Smith: Life of Francis Asbury
6. Briggs: Bishop Asbury, a Biographical Study
7. Du Bose: Francis Asbury, a Biographical Study
8. Durou: Francis Asbury
9. Mais: Francis Asbury
Missionary Society
of
Methodist Episcopal Church
Board of Managers
Vol. 4
June 14, 1841
Sept. 16, 1846
Page 328
Feb. 21, 1844
"A Chevalier of God"

On Thursday afternoon of last week in the sunshine of a perfect summer day, a noted equesrian named as Premier, a chevalier, was invited to the occasion of the "Blessing of the Fleet" at the Manhattan Yacht Club. He was the guest of honor at the ceremony.

The ceremony was held as a tribute to the late King Louis XVI of France, who was a member of the club. The club's members gathered to pay their respects to the memory of their fallen king.

"Premier" was renowned for his horsemanship and was a frequent visitor to the club. The ceremony included a parade of the club's ships, with "Premier" riding in a carriage and being greeted by the club's members.

"Premier" was a member of the club for many years and was known for his generosity and philanthropy. He was a beloved member of the club and was missed by many.

The ceremony ended with a toast to "Premier" and a moment of silence to remember his contributions to the club.

The sun set over the Hudson River, casting a warm glow over the Manhattan skyline.

The members of the club thanked "Premier" for his dedication to the club and his contributions to the community.

"Premier" was a true chevalier of God, and his legacy will live on for generations to come.

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From out the stern, brave mast, bold sail
Rises the sight of God, a landmark in the sky.
No hope as sure and shadowless
That fell upon his course was ever thrown by sail
Its false sail swung tall

From the nation's restless goal
He marked the faults which lead to trend
Secure and unfound;
The challenge which one may give
The sinking heart, the path, the road
Still left him unbounded;

They matched him with a stern, a proud
The water path, the quiet path
And in his hand, the book
Then was within his path, a step.
The goal, along of his Lord,
The fate, immaterial book.

Our path, the nearest way, has form,
God, indelibly, and in our war.
A chevalier of God,
In man's heart, an eminence strong
He rules, a mighty leader here,
The prophet of the road.

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The water, the barrier, the path?
A world, world, come from above!
Set faith and hope, a goal!
Command us earth, O earth, earth!
With forever heart, deathless love.
A More Worshipful Service

OF AMERICA'S well-known writers is penning a novel on the church. As are not striking for this position for which he has esteemed himself. We are surprised, however, in one of his previous publications. The writer has let us know that he regards that average worshipper's service of worship as worthily asking in what he would call "a spiritual thrill." He believes that our public worship, in the main, has degenerated into a perfectly innocuous thing, spiritually. His criticism is that the average church service is not enough unlike the average meeting of social reformers and anti-racism crusaders in order to merit any further status upon the public.

Worthy Temples Needed

What this author is saying is that we have not completely for the area of being mystical in our service of worship, but the word "soul" is not very meaningful in the service of the Heavenly Father. Somehow, we feel that there is more than a word in that general observation. If we are not true to our own soul's temple but a more worshipful voice as well? We believe that both are needed, and that the one will have a greater influence of benefit upon the other.

Music Simply a "Filler?"

We have never been impressed by music in relation to religion and have considered the matter of public worship. Music is regarded by many people as a primary gesture in the progressive development of the service. It is still thought of as "filler." That is because we do not understand the art of music in terms of its religious and spiritual dimensions. We are sometimes superficial in our service of worship. More music-filled churches have been so far in their departure from a reliable focus of worship. The musical service is too informal. It lacks those qualities of reverence, elevation, and intensity which are indispensable to the nurture of the soul.

Pulpit Architecture

Could it not be well in this connection to see a need for a little different type of pulpit architecture? There should be places of public worship in every church which is necessary evolution in the form of the pulpit. In this liberal age it is important that the preacher should command his pulpit in all respects. It must be likely that in such a place a person could have a "voice" and people would listen to his message a better way should be strengthened.

The Place of the Sermon

A word in behalf of the sermon as it is to be crowded in at this point in the consideration of a more worshipful service. It does not follow that simply because the service is to be made around the sermon, there is to be a sermon for the sermon. Many have thought that the sermon was about to come to grief, and an eternal interest in them could be far more fruitful than to have the voice of the prophet be silenced.

There is a place for the sermon, and this place is in the pulpit, which mentions one of the most described, of course, that the sermon seems to carry more emphasis than any other part of the service. This may be true in some cases, but not in all. It is important that the sermon should be held on a basis of its own merit and not as an appendage to the service.
Missionary Society
of the
Baptist Episcopal Church
Board of Managers
Vol. 4
June 16, 1841 -
Sept. 16, 1846
Page 320
Dec. 28, 1543
Resolved, that Mr. Moore be, and is hereby authorized to draw on the Treasurer for such sums as he may deem absolutely necessary for the support of Domestic Mission, within the bounds of the Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina Conferences, for one year, not to exceed the sum of eight thousand dollars.

Mr. Moore stated to the Board that the Widow of the late John Parkeke (sic) had a portrait of the late Bishop Ashley, which she was anxious to dispose of. He remarked that he thought it desirable that the Missionary Board should purchase it, and for that purpose, he proposed that each member subscribe ten dollars. After some delay, it was referred to a Committee to ascertain whether the portrait was an original, or a Copy, & to report to this Board.

Mr. Moore was appointed said Committee.

Adjourned, in pursuance of the Chairman's order.

F. Niggl
Revised
Geo. Peck
ABBIJRY

b. Hanworth, Staffordshire, England, about four miles from
Birmingham, August 20 or 21 (his own statement). His parents
were of the Church of England, but were members of the Methodist
Society. At fourteen he heard Methodists at Wednesbury "pray
without reading and preach without writing." He was "awakened"
while praying with another lad in his father's barn. His
conversion at sixteen was much influenced by Alexander Mather's
"non" sermons. He joined the Wesleyan Conference 1767 and was
a striking "boy preacher." He "offered for America," 1771 and
"initiated the first regular circuit work in America." He
alone of Wesley's missionaries allied himself with the cause
of the Colonies and was protected by Judge White. He refused
episcopacy unless elected, which was done at the Christmas
Conference, 1781. He traveled widely, hazardously and de-
votedly until his health was shattered. His last sermon was
preached at Richmond, March 21, when he was "unable to either
walk or stand." He died at the home of George Arnold, 20 mi.
south of Fredericksburg, Virginia, March 21. His burial was
first in the Arnold plot, then at Futer St. Church, and finally
in Mt. Olivet, Baltimore. Of Methodist bishops Asbury was
"the first ordained in America," (Simpson) Coke having been
ordained by Mr. Wesley in England.

From Leete, Methodist Bishops
A conference was convened in Baltimore on Christmas, 1784, to organize a church by the unanimous consent of the preachers present, called the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury were elected superintendents or bishops. Mr. Asbury was ordained by Dr. Coke, with the assistance of Revs. Bostwick and Vosler, who had been ordained clergymen by Mrs. Hanley and also by Rev. Mr. Otterhude, of the German Reformed Church.

At that time there were eighty-three Methodist ministers and about fourteen thousand church members. The superintendence of the church devolved almost entirely upon Bishop Asbury. Dr. Coke, in the following spring, returned to England, and thereafter only visited, for a few months at a time, the churches in the United States.
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It was Christmas Eve, 1784: To Baltimore journeyed 60 enthusiastic young men from Wesley's 'societies' to organize Methodism as a church in this new land.
Methodism Span the Mississippi

It was 1830, Sunday blocked
at the new meetinghouse near Cape Girardeau, Mo.
Photographs from this file have not been included but are available upon request. For more information please contact research@gcah.org