

Methodist and Moravian Relationships in the North East Caribbean 1789-1989

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Introduction

The paper looks at the establishment of Moravian and Methodist work in the Caribbean. Diverse routes led these two religious bodies to West Indian islands and different methods were used, but they shared a common motive for mission. Attention is given to Antigua and St Christophers (S Kitts) where both Moravian and Methodist chapels were established in the 18th and 19th centuries. Generally speaking, Moravians and Methodists worked side-by-side as brothers in Christ. However, in these islands there was early 19th century conflict over moral demands with the suggestion that Moravians were lax in their church discipline.

In the 18th century Dr Thomas Coke explored missionary opportunities in the Danish Virgin Islands, but the Wesleyan Church was not recognised until 1894. Most of the time there was co-operation between Moravians and Methodists in Fraternal and Christian Councils, in membership of the Bible Society and participation in the Temperance Movement. Particularly in the Virgin Island of St Thomas, Wesleyan Ministers preached in Moravian chapels and their clergy shared in the dedication of Methodist Chapels.

The Moravian Bishop broke off relations with the Methodist Church over 'un-ecumenical activities' in 1969. This related to the creation of Methodist Societies in the United States Virgin Islands of St Croix and St John.¹ There was no formal resolution to this dispute and thereafter peaceful co-existence continued.

The conflicts of European nations impacted on their various colonies in the Americas, especially the Napoleonic Wars. These prevented or frustrated attempts at church planting. Also, relationships between the Moravian and Methodist churches cannot be recounted without detailing the geographical features and climatic conditions.

When looking at the dates when missionary work began we note there are different interpretations. It can be when members assembled together informally or organised themselves into a Society, or it may be when a missionary was formally appointed and in some cases when a chapel was built. On pages 12 and 16, 'presence' and 'estb' means work started but no chapel; 'wood', 'stone' and 'new' refers to chapels.

The title suggests a two-hundred year period, although references end some ten years before 1989.

In September 1970 I was appointed to St Thomas in the U.S. Virgin Islands, just after the Moravian Bishop, Oliver Maynard, had broken off relations between the Eastern West Indies Province of the Moravian Church and the Methodist Church. Wanting to understand the history of Wesleyan Methodist presence in the former Danish Virgin Islands and what led up to this drastic action, I began research in the Methodist Missionary Archives housed in London. Forty years later, that simple beginning has led to this lengthy paper.

Significant contributions have been made to this paper by Dr Robert Glen (Professor Emeritus University of Newhaven, CT), Rev Trevor S. Bates (Methodist Minister), Rev Peter Gubi, Jr. (Moravian Minister) and Lorraine Parsons (Archivist, Moravian Church, British Province.)

¹ The Danish Virgin Islands comprising St Thomas, Santa Cruz (St Croix) and St John were bought by the United States of America in 1917.

Outline

Preliminary

The North East Caribbean map
 Diverse routes
 One motive
 Method of mission
 Parallel work and slow progress
 Moravian Synodal Agreement on Proselytising and Wesleyan catholic spirit.

Part I Eastern Caribbean islands with both Methodist and Moravian chapels

Antigua map
 Table of dates
 Comment
Aside: The first Wesleyan Methodist chapel in the West Indies

St Kitts map
 Mother Colony of Britain and France
 Table of dates
 Comment

Part II Tensions over morality and church discipline, early 19th century

Moral demands and church discipline
 Methodist expulsion books
 Methodist examination of candidates for membership
 Missionary correspondence 1821-22

Part III The Virgin Islands

Dr Coke and the Danish Virgin Islands, 1789
 Methodist Mission to D.V. I. frustrated in 19th century, 1805-1854

St Thomas map
 Establishment of Wesleyan Methodist Church
Aside: Jewish presence at laying of foundation stones
 A Cosmopolitan sea port

St Croix map
 Santa Cruz/St Croix time line
 Churches in St Croix
 Cultural and social barriers

St John map

Methodist identity and a place to feel at home

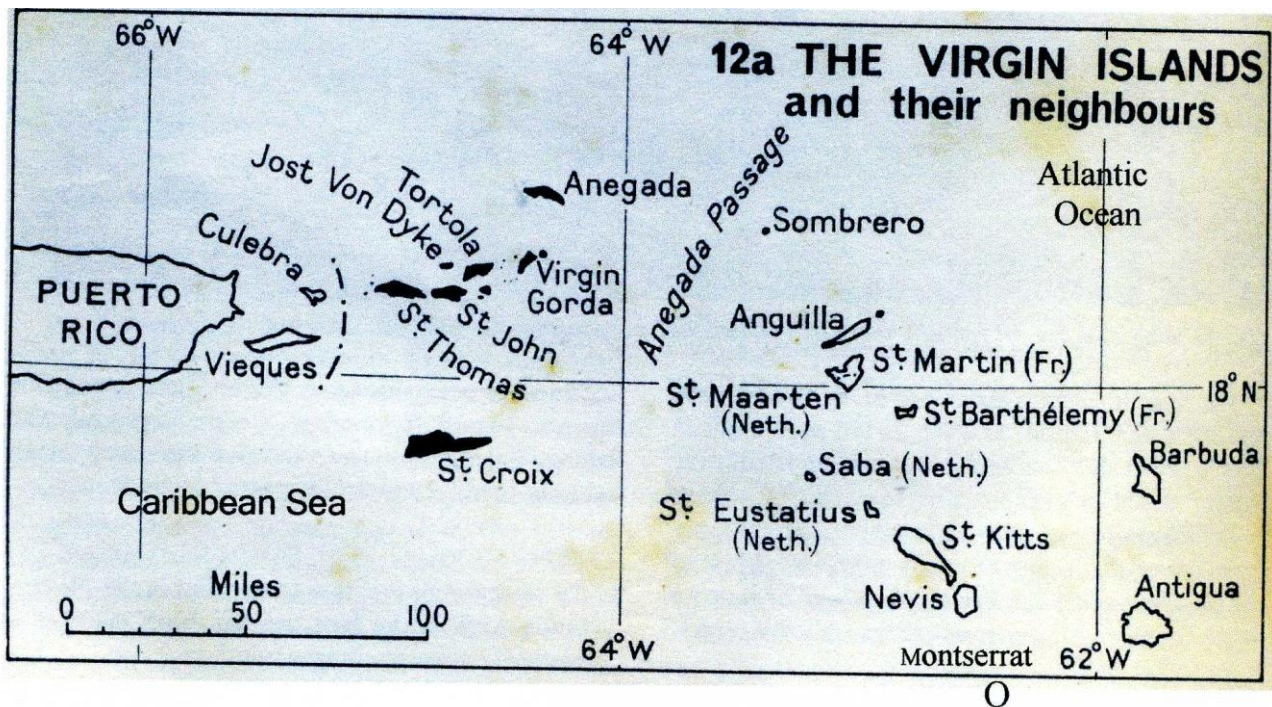
Part IV Eastern Caribbean Controversies, 1969

20th century migration to the Virgin Islands
 Conversations in St Croix with the Methodist Church, U.S.A.
 Discussions about Ecumenical Action in the Caribbean
 Breaking of relations, 1969
 Correspondence, Circuit Reports, Conference and Synod Minutes

An assessment of relationships
 M.C.C.A.
 Antigua
 St Kitts
 U.S. Virgin Islands

Conclusion - peaceful co-existence

Preliminary



The North East Caribbean

Lesser Antilles chain of islands lie on the outer edge of the Caribbean Plate and form the north-eastern boundary of the Caribbean sea. A tectonic fault line links the Virgin Islands with the Netherlands islands of Saba and Sint Eustatius (Statia), St Kitts, Nevis and Montserrat subjecting them to earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. Statia has an accessible dry crater whereas on St Kitts Mt. Liamuiga has fumerole activity (ground water heated by magma rising as steam), and the permanent smell of sulphur relates to a volcanic vent in the sea bed a short distance offshore from Sandy Point.² There are hot spring baths in Nevis. Montserrat's Soufrière Hills erupted in 1997, its pyroclastic flows destroying two-thirds of the island. In addition, seasonal hurricanes impact on church work in this area.

The North East Caribbean provided the arena for 18th century missionary enterprise to non-European peoples. Mission to African slaves in the New World of the Americas was organised by the *Unitas Fratrum* who sent Moravian Missionaries to the Danish Virgin Islands in 1732.³ A year before Moravian work began in Greenland, the Missionaries Leonhard Dober and David Nitschmann arrived on St Thomas. Wesleyan Methodism was planted in Antigua by the spontaneous witness of a Creole layman in 1759. Nathaniel Gilbert, as a third generation immigrant planter of Barbados ancestry, missioned in the island of his birth.⁴

This paper examines the reasons why Moravian and Methodist work overlapped in Antigua, St Kitts and the Virgin Islands of St Thomas, St Croix and St John.⁵ Because the Virgin Islands in particular provided the grounds for Bishop Maynard's drastic action in 1969, attention is first paid to Antigua and St Kitts and the early 19th century complaints about church discipline.

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- 2 Liamuiga was the Carib name for St Kitts meaning 'fertile island'. The volcanic peak was formerly known as Mount Misery.
 - 3 The Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine or *Unitas Fratrum* (United Brethren) were later known as Moravians.
 - 4 Beginning with a Nathaniel Gilbert from Barbados, the first sons of five generations of Gilberts in Antigua were named Nathaniel. To differentiate them they are designated I to V, Nathaniel III being the Methodist.
 - 5 Santa Cruz was renamed by the French as St Croix. With Americanisation, the modern pronunciation is 'St Croy'. St John was formerly St. Jan.

Diverse routes

Denmark was the first Protestant nation to send missionaries in 1705. The Lutheran King Christian IV sent Bartholemaüs Ziegenbaug and Henry Pleutschau to Tranquebar in Tamil Nadu, India.⁶ However, The Renewed Brethren's Church or Moravians were the first Protestant Christian Body to form itself into a Missionary Church and to wake up to the conviction that the conversion of the heathen was a foremost duty.⁷

Moravians and Methodists were led in different ways to enslaved Africans in the Eastern Caribbean, where the social realities of Plantation Society prevented the evangelisation of slaves, and the free movement of both slaves and missionaries.

A. The story of Moravian Missions begins in the Danish island of St Thomas with an African slave called Ulrich. Count Ferdinand Anton Danneskjold-Laurvig was a planter and Head of the West Indian Guinea Company. He attended the Coronation of King Christian VI in 1731, taking with him to Denmark a valet called Ulrich who was baptised on arrival in Copenhagen and given the name Anthony (or Anton.) Also in attendance was Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, who wrote a letter home to his fiancée, saying:

Yesterday Count Laurvig was most cordial toward me. He will visit Herrnhut, and immediately despatched his black valet Anton, a profoundly moved soul, to prepare the way for the conversion of the Negro people in Africa and America in places where they speak Dutch. I see before me a wide field. The Lord will send his blessing!⁸

Zinzendorf learned that Anton was sure his sister Anna and a brother Abraham in St Thomas would be converted if only there was someone to bring them the Gospel. We see that Zinzendorf's general concern with missionary activity among the heathen is turned into personal concern for individuals with names.

Returning to Herrnhut in July 1731, Zinzendorf shared his concern with the Moravian settlement. Four days before Anton arrived and addressed the community in Dutch, Leonhard Dober and Tobias Leupold independently felt a call to go among the Negroes and preach the Gospel. Through the process of drawing Lots, David Nitschmann (a Lutheran) replaced Leupold for this pioneer missionary work. They travelled 600 miles by foot from Herrnhut in Germany to Copenhagen. Unable to take a Danish ship, they embarked on a Dutch vessel destined for Sint Eustatius. 'The Queen of Denmark felt favourably disposed towards them, and her Royal Highness Princess Charlotte Amalia, unsolicited, sent them a sum of money towards their journey expenses, and a Dutch Bible.'⁹ The missionaries 'spoke German with a few Dutch words intermixed which they had learned on the (eight-week) voyage.'¹⁰ They dropped anchor off Tappus, the St Thomas roadstead,

6 Danish Lutheran pastors in the employ of the Danish West Indian and Guinea Company did some missionary work at slave embarkation points on the Gold Coast of Africa. Jens Larsen, *Virgin Islands Story* [History of Lutheran Church in Danish West India Islands] (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1950) p.74, n. 1, citing Holger Frederik Rørdam 'Kirkelige Forhøde paa St Croix 1741....' ['Church Conditions on St Croix 1741...'] *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, Ser. 4, V. II (Jøbenhavn, 1891) pp. 55-100.

7 J. E. Hutton, *A Short History of the Moravian Church* (London: Moravian Publishing Office, 1909) p. 151.

8 Because most of the planters in St Thomas were Dutch, the chief language was Dutch up to the beginning of the 19th century when it was replaced with English. A Negro-Dutch creole dialect was used for 200 years until the end of the second British occupation. There were two separate Lutheran churches, one speaking Danish and the other Dutch Creole.

9 Moravian Publishing, *Mission of the Church of the United Brethren in the Danish West Indian Islands, St Thomas, St Croix, St John. A Retrospective View...from August 21 1732 to August 21 1832* (London: United Brethren, 1832) pp. 7-8.

10 *Mission of Church...Retrospective view...* p. 10

on December 13 1732 and the following day found Anthony's sister, her husband and a young brother.¹¹

Having to find employment, these first missionaries struggled for several years before Frederick Martin arrived. There was no free land as the small island of St Thomas was entirely covered with plantations. To gain access to slaves, Martin bought a slave-operated plantation in 1737 and named it New Herrnhut. Patterned on the Herrnhut model of colonisation and industrious mission, this island plantation was intended to be a self-supporting community.¹² A second slave-operated estate was acquired at Niesky.

The Moravian route was first through the slave Anton from Africa to the Virgin Islands and then to Denmark. The Missionaries from Germany travelled overland to Denmark and sailed to the Danish Virgin Islands.

B. The Wesleyan Methodist story begins in the British Leeward Island of Antigua with Francis, the second son of Nathaniel Gilbert (II), born c.1725. Francis, through gaiety and misfortune [in Antigua] was reduced to poverty in the 1740s. He fled to Jamaica and then sought concealment in England.¹³ Consequently, he received no mention in his father's will.¹⁴ Francis' acquaintance with the Wesleys changed his life and he wrote (c.1755) to his brother Nathaniel in Antigua about his new found faith, enclosing some publications by John Wesley.

This oldest brother, Nathaniel Gilbert (III), had been articled at Gray's Inn in 1741 and Called to the Bar in 1747. Profoundly impressed with John Wesley's tracts, he travelled to London expressly to hear John Wesley preach.¹⁵ He met Wesley on three occasions, the second on November 19 1758 when two of his Negro servants, one identified as Bessie, were baptised. His fifth daughter, born in Wandsworth, was also baptised by Wesley. He returned to Antigua early in 1759 and immediately gathered family and friends in his town house for prayer and exhortation, later renting a house for public worship in St John's.¹⁶ Historians, beginning with Thomas Coke, say that he began preaching to slaves on his plantation and other estates that were open to him in 1760.¹⁷

Meanwhile, in 1758 Francis Gilbert had become one of Wesley's Travelling Preachers and served in Bristol from 1759. Francis wrote to Charles Wesley saying that for some years it had been impressed upon his mind to return to Antigua to preach the Gospel, hopefully with (Anglican) ordination. However, as a layman he went back to Antigua and supported and helped consolidate Methodist work early 1763 to May 1764 and 1773-1775. This latter visit coincided with the

11 The town Tappus was renamed in 1691 as Charlotte Amalia after the wife of King Christian V.

12 Bohemian refugees settled on Von Zinzendorf's estate at Herrnhut where they created a self-sufficient community in which every decision was decided by the Elders, with help from drawing Lots. They used this model of colonisation in North America, for example at Bethlehem PN and Salem NC.

13 Nehemiah Curnock, ed., *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, AM*. 8 vols. (London: Robert Culley, 1907-16) 5:10, n. 2.

14 Will of Nathaniel the Elder, 27 March 1761. Vere Langford Oliver, *History of the island of Antigua, one of the Leeward Caribbees in the West Indies, from the first settlement in 1635 to the present time* [1894] 3 vols. (London: Mitchell & Hughes, 1896) 2:13.

15 Mary Leadbetter (Gilbert), *An Extract of Mary Gilbert's Journal* (Chester: printed by J. Harvie, 1768) and 4th edn. (London: printed by J. Paramour at the Foundry, 1787) Methodist Missionary Society Archives [MMSA] Special Collections Reading Room, School of Oriental and African Studies [SOAS], London. docenquiry@soas.ac.uk MMSL AM-CR140, MMSL AM-CR80.

16 The correct spelling is St Johns' after the two Apostles, John the Divine and John the Baptist. Older records before 1900 and contemporary Official Government and Tourist Board websites spell St John's or do not use the apostrophe. For consistency, St John's is used in this paper.

17 Thomas Coke, *History of the West Indies...* 3 vols. (London: published for the author, 1811) Reprinted (Miami, FL: Mnemosyne Pub. Co., 1969) 2:427.

Moravian revivals and expansion.

The Methodist route started in Antigua with Francis Gilbert and used the round trip of Nathaniel Gilbert to London. From this Leeward Island it spread throughout the Caribbean and the Americas, initially through lay people, including slaves.

One Motive

German Pietism associated with Philipp Jakob Spener lay at the root of Moravian and Methodist missions. Zinzendorf's life was irreversibly changed by a visit to an Art Gallery at Düsseldorf where he saw Steinberg's collection. He contemplated the *Ecce Homo* of de Menico Teti, a picture of Christ crowned with thorns, over which were the pregnant words 'Hoc feci pro te, Quid facis pro me' ('This I have I done for thee: What doest thou for Me?')¹⁸ The realisation that Christ was crucified at such tremendous cost was a turning point in his life. 'It was the dying love of Christ mastering his life that fitted Zinzendorf for the work he had to do.'¹⁹ Spener described Zinzendorf as 'a man of ardently emotional temperament, with a simple childlike faith.'²⁰ 'Love, as a warm glow, lay at the heart of his religious life.'²¹ The Love of Christ became the constraining motive of his life and thereafter he had concern for the un-evangelised heathen.

This dominating motive of mission found expression in hymns. John Wesley translated a hymn of John Joseph Winkler, described as one of the standard hymns of Germany, with these words: 'The love of Christ doth me constrain to seek the wandering souls of men.'²²

For John and Charles Wesley the Moravians proved influential in their religious conversion. When John's heart was 'strangely warmed', evangelical zeal spread throughout a world parish. This theme recurs in the hymns of Charles Wesley, for example with the words 'O let thy love my heart constrain, thy love for every sinner free.' Twenty eight stanzas of this hymn were edited into three consecutive hymns, one surviving in *Hymns & Psalms* (1983).²³ With this same motive, Francis and Nathaniel Gilbert extended the Christian mission to African slaves.

Wesleyan Methodism's first District Missionary Society was established in England on October 6th 1813. Speaking to the Third Resolution, Rev. George Morley said, 'We have missionaries ... we know their motives ... We have no doubt that the love of Christ constrained them to expose themselves to the piercing colds of Newfoundland, or the burning sun of the torrid zone' (West Indies.)²⁴

The Autonomous Conference of the Methodist Church in the Caribbean and the Americas (MCCA) adopted for its motto 'The Love of Christ Constrains Us' (2 Cor. 5:14.) The MCCA Conference Hymn written by Hugh Sherlock in 1967 has the verse:

18 Augustus C. Thompson, *Moravian Missions, Twelve Lectures* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882) p. 46.

19 Andrew Murray, *The Key to the Missionary Problem* (London: James Nisbet, 1900) p. 45. The book is prefaced with 'The Love of Christ constraineth us.' (2 Cor. 5:14) p. iv.

20 Dale Bisnauth, *A History of Religions in the Caribbean* (Kingston, Jamaica: Kingston Publishers Ltd., 1989) pp. 105-6.

21 Gerald R. Cragg, *The Church in an Age of Reason 1648-1789* (London: Penguin, 1990) pp. 102-3.

22 Catherine Winkworth on the hymn 'Shall I for fear of feeble man...' translated by John Wesley in Georgia; first appeared in *Psalms and Hymns*, 1738. John George Stevenson, *Methodist Hymn Book Illustrated* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1898) p. 213.

23 *Hymns on God's everlasting love* (1741) no. 10. Stevenson, *Methodist Hymn Book...* p. 41. In *Hymns & Psalms*, 185 v.4, the word 'control' is substituted for 'constrain.' (Peterborough: Methodist Publishing House, 1983).

24 Leeds District Inaugural Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Meeting, 6 October 1813, *Methodist Magazine* [MM] Vol. xxxvii; vol. 11 in new series (London: Conference Office, 1814) p. 511ff. John Wesley's *Arminian Magazine* [AM] was renamed *Methodist Magazine* [MM] in 1798 and *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* [WMM] in 1822.

*Gone the days of cruel scourging
 Gone the slaver's blood-stained chains;
 Now for us the Spirit's urging,
 Now the love of Christ constrains.
 Shout we then in acclamation,
 Gladly now our chorus raise;
 Mainland join our celebration,
 Islands sing in loudest praise!²⁵*

John Wesley said to other Christians, 'If your heart is as my heart, give me your hand.'

The motto of the Moravian Church is:

'In essentials unity; In non-essentials liberty; In all things love'

Method of mission

The Moravian Brethren's zeal for mission was a calm, steady, persevering and humble 'brotherly love' and missionary wives looked after the spiritual well-being of female converts. Article V of their Constitution required of their missionaries a definite commitment to converting African slaves to Christianity and teaching the acceptance of the rule of both the temporal and spiritual Master. This led them to exclude creole white people such as John Gilbert who was denied Moravian membership. Married to a Mulatto woman, he was the son of Dr John Gilbert and nephew of the Methodist Nathaniel Gilbert.

The Moravians established overseas work in the Caribbean through ordained European missionaries who bought slave-operated plantations. They attempted to duplicate the Herrnhut ideal of Christian Community in which large groups of 'common men' (unlettered) were united in their way of living together. Each estate was a self-contained 'parish' surrounded by estates that not only kept slaves in but also functioned to keep people out, including missionaries. No salaries were received by their missionaries, they supported themselves. In 1792, 140 men and women pastored 15,000 members, but only £3,000 was drawn from their central funds for missionary work.²⁶

No vote of their General Synods was valid unless confirmed by the drawing of Lots. Subject to Lots were the appointment of missionaries (for example Nitschmann), new appointments, the planning of work and the selection of local Helpers. In some cases, this served as a handicap to the development of their work (see later.)

In contrast, there was vigorous examination of Methodist members, Class Leaders, Society Stewards and Lay Preachers who consolidated Methodist work. The method was spontaneous evangelism by creole laity in their home island. 'Kindled by a spark of grace' a great flame spread from Antigua to the surrounding islands, the wider Caribbean, and then to mainland territories of the Americas.

Parallel work and slow progress

The Moravian Samuel Isles had been ordained in 1749 in St Thomas. He arrived in Antigua in 1756 and found a temporary footing on Gambles estate, but he did not baptise his first convert, a female slave, until January 1757, a year after his arrival. The first Moravian chapel, a small hut at Spring

²⁵ MCCA, *Voices in Praise* (Antigua: MCCA, 2013) No. 363.

²⁶ Moravian Church, *Periodical Accounts*, 1 [1790-1796] pp. 16, 207. *Periodical Accounts* was the first Missionary Magazine produced in 1790 by the Moravian Church in London with Christian La Trobe as editor. (Moravian Church Archives, Muswell Hill, London.)

Gardens on the northern outskirts of St John's, was built in 1761. He extended his work on Samuel Martin's Green Castle plantation but lost his contact with slaves on Gambles estate. When Isles died in 1764, he left just thirty-six baptised converts and one communicant.²⁷ The second Moravian station was not established at Grace Hill until 1774. There were probably no more than a handful of converts at any time during the first fifteen years of the mission.²⁸

Peter Brown arrived in Antigua on May 1 1769 and found that the mission was in a very bad state with the number of converts having declined from thirty-six in 1764 to only fourteen. Born in Germany with the name Braun, he could not speak proper English, so Brown preached in Antiguan creole. This was used successfully in bringing a religious revival in the 1770s. The mission's revival effectively began on Samuel Martin's plantation where, by the spring of 1772, thirty slaves were already baptised. The destructive hurricane on August 27th of that year increased the spiritual fervour of the people, so that by 1775 Brown had over 2,500 names in his book and between ten and twenty were baptised every month. Up to 600 persons would gather for some meetings.²⁹ It was noted that the Moravian Mission was specifically to those of African pedigree, predominantly slaves.

In a similar way, Methodism had small beginnings and its progress was slow, despite the glamorous picture painted by many historians. In the first place, in 1759 Nathaniel Gilbert III exhorted to his own family, servants and friends of the white community in his own house in St John's, later renting a house to preach in. Thomas Coke tells us that 'It was sometime in the year 1760, that Nathaniel Gilbert, Esq. ... went forth boldly and preached the gospel to the negroes.'³⁰

In the spring of 1763 brother Francis visited Antigua where he found the spiritual life in the Gilbert family low and the work precariously weak. He wrote, 'My youngest sister... is the only one in the family, except *Boddily* and the two blacks, that has faith.'³¹ In addition to the white servants, Francis met the house-Negroes and a small Class of other Negroes.³² Francis therefore notes that there were virtually no slaves in the Methodist Society. He conducted a year-long evangelistic crusade, preaching at Gilbert's, St Johns and Parham, before returning to England.

Francis revisited Antigua in 1773, informing John Wesley that 'So great was our success, that at present almost the whole island seems to be stirred up to seek the Lord!'³³ There were very large congregations at Nathaniel's estate, but this did not match membership as defined by Methodists. This revival paralleled that of the Moravian Church as noted above.³⁴ Francis also noted the 1772 hurricane and severe drought that had lasted several years, ruining two thirds of the inhabitants of Antigua. In addition, there had been two devastating fires in 1769 that destroyed much of St John's.

27 Vernon Nelson, 'Samuel Isles, First Moravian Missionary in Antigua,' *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, 21/1 (1966) 3-27.

28 Brian Dyde, *A History of Antigua. The Unsuspected Isle* (London and Oxford: Macmillan Education Ltd., (2000) p. 92.

29 John Mason, 'Peter Brown of Bethlehem and the Revival of the Moravian Church in Antigua 1770-1780.' *Journal of Moravian History* 5 (2008) p. 56.

30 Thomas Coke, *History of the West Indies...* 3 Vols. (London: Published for the author, 1811) Reprinted (Miami, FL: Mnemosyne Pub. Co. Inc., 1969) 2:427.

31 These two were the domestic slaves baptised by John Wesley in 1758; one of these is identified by Nathaniel as Bessie, Nathaniel Gilbert to John Wesley, Antigua, July 22 1765, [AM 6 (1783) 329-30.

32 Francis Gilbert to John Wesley, June 18 1763, AM 5 (1782) 384-6. Donald S. Ching, *Forever Beginning. Two Hundred Years of Methodism in the Western Area* (Kingston, Jamaica: Literature Dept., Methodist Church, 1960) p. 14.

33 Francis Gilbert to John Wesley, August 25 1773, AM 9 (1786) 567-8.

34 Mary Gilbert to John Walsh, Antigua, August 6 1774, *Fletcher Tooth Collection*, Methodist Archives and Research Centre (MARC), John Rylands Library, Manchester. See Robert Glen, 'An Early Methodist Revival in the West Indies: Insights from a Neglected letter of 1774' (in preparation.)

Francis stated that the Methodist membership in St John's was comprised of twenty white and forty Black and Mulatto.³⁵ Nathaniel Gilbert wrote to Anthony Benezet saying, 'We have a small religious Society here, consisting of about twenty whites, exclusive of my own family, and of sixty-four Negroes and Mulattoes.'³⁶ On Sundays they had no less than eight hundred Negroes who came to hear the word.

Nathaniel Gilbert died in 1774, Francis conducting the funeral service before returning the England the following year. Most histories give the total Methodist membership at about two hundred when Nathaniel died in 1773 or when Francis left Antigua in 1775.³⁷ However, Elizabeth Gilbert (wife of Nathaniel) wrote to Francis Asbury asking him to come and help in Antigua, saying that they had 300 members: presumably this number was in the whole island.³⁸

After these small beginnings, three years passed before the arrival of the lay preacher John Baxter in 1778, after which there was rapid expansion. The Methodist Episcopal Church had reported in 1786 that one thousand of its 'coloured' members were in Antigua. Near 2,000 members were in Society when Dr Thomas Coke arrived on Christmas Day in 1786. With the arrival of ordained missionaries and the transfer of West Indian work to the British Methodist Conference, by 1789 there were 70 white members and 2,740 'black', of which a large number in St John's were free. By 1793 this number had increased to 6,570 including three dozen whites and about a hundred 'free coloured', that is those of mixed ancestry and black.

Moravian Synodal Agreement on proselytising and Wesleyan catholic spirit

The Moravians had always been in full sympathy with the Church Cooperation Ideal. They said 'for missions are the working not of some Society within the Church, such as the CMS, LMS, but of the Moravian Church as such.' In 1721, *The Brotherly Agreement of the Brethren from Bohemia and Moravia* stated 'Herrnhut, and its original old inhabitants must remain in a constant bond of love with all children of God belonging to the different religious persuasions.'³⁹

The Wesley brothers and Thomas Coke had many conversations with the English Moravians about unity. At one meeting between John Wesley and Count Zinzendorf 'there was no meeting of minds... each group recognised that the other had a destiny of its own to fulfil.'⁴⁰ Hutton indicates the year 1771 when referring to the 'Brotherly Agreement' in relation to the resolution expressly forbidding Moravian workers to proselytise. This may coincide with a final Provincial Synod held in London the same year.⁴¹ In 1773, 'It must have been a source of special gratification to (Peter

35 Racial classifications such a 'white', 'black', and 'coloured' are retained as in historical records.

36 Anthony Benezet to John Wesley, Philadelphia, 23d, fifth month, (May) 1774, quoting Nathaniel Gilbert; letter undated, but Glen gives February 1774. George S. Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937) p. 319.

37 Mrs Flannigan (published anonymously) *Antigua and the Antiguans*, 2 vols. (London: Saunders and Otley, 1844) vol.1 Elibron Classics, 2005, vol. 2 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010; G.G. Findlay & W.W. Holdsworth, *History of the Wesleyan Missionary Society* 5 vols. (London: Methodist Church Office, 1921-4); F. Deaville Walker, *The Call of the West Indies* (London: Cargate Press, 1933); Rupert Davies, Raymond George, Gordon Rupp, eds., *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, 4 vols. (London: Epworth Press, 1988) [HMCCGB]; Brian Dyde, *A History of Antigua* (London/Oxford: MacMillan Education Ltd., 2000).

38 Francis Asbury, *The Journals and Letters of Francis Asbury*, ed., Elmer T. Clark, J. Manning Potts & Jacob S. Payton, (London: Epworth Press, 1958) 1:149.

39 Appendix A. Statutes of the Congregation at Herrnhut, in the year 1727. Winston Salem Archives, <http://www.moravianarchives.org/images/pdfs/Memorial%20Days%20b.pdf>, accessed 19/10/2012. See Hutton, *Short History...* p. 12

40 J.T. & K.G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Fratrum, 1722-1957* Moravian Church in America (Bethlehem, PA: Interprovincial Board of Christian Education, 1967) 1993 edition,, p. 80 quoting from J.K. Hegner, 'Fortsetzung von David Cranzens Bruderhistorie' Part III, pp. 7f.

41 Personal communication from Lorraine Parsons, Archivist Moravian Church – British Province. 23.10.2012.

Bohler) to find the estrangement of the Brethren and the Methodists dying away. In its place had come a measure of the true fellowship to be expected in view of the community of interests shared by the two churches.⁴² During the Synod of Marienborn, May 12 to June 15 1774, Zinzendorf developed his Tropen concept of evangelical churches. 'There should properly be a Lutheran, a Reformed, and a Moravian "trope" - later even a Methodist - within the Unity of brethren, so that souls would be educated for eternity in conformity with the peculiar emphasis of each.'⁴³

The Moravians looked at themselves as leaven within other churches rather than a separate body. Benjamin La Trobe reported to his superiors in Germany saying he wished the *'Brethren might be of the use they were originally intended for, to nurse these souls who are truly awakened and who adhere to the Church of England.'*⁴⁴ Coke had been eager to press forward to definite proposals for union, while La Trobe felt that the time was not yet ripe for these. Nothing came from these discussions and Moravians and Methodists drifted apart. Cordial relations between the two men remained with Coke praising the Moravian West Indian missions.⁴⁵

At the outset, Zinzendorf had warned the Brethren that they must never quarrel with other Churches; and in every mission field the missionaries endeavoured to conform to those instructions. 'By the close of the (18th) century, Moravian Negroes on St. Kitts numbered more than two thousand. Moravians and Methodists co-operated to transform the character of the slaves.'⁴⁶

Dr Coke said

In the Island of Antigua, the United Brethren live in perfect harmony and inter-connexion, not only with the established clergy of the church of England, but more especially with our Missionaries. The arrival of a Missionary they considered as an acquisition to the cause in which they were engaged; they afforded them a kind reception, and treated them as fellow-labourers in the common vineyard of their Lord.⁴⁷

A General Synod in 1836 encouraged intercessions to cultivate good relations with other churches. The Moravian Brethren in England had an 1857 Synodal Resolution expressly forbidding any worker to proselytise from any other denomination. 'They showed the world a spirit of brotherly union, they were on good terms with other churches.'⁴⁸ Because they had no distinctive creed, other than the Apostles' Creed and the Augsburg Confession, they were on good terms with Anglicans, Methodist, Lutherans and other Protestants.⁴⁹ In St Thomas they joined with Anglicans, Wesleyans, Lutherans and other Danish/Dutch Reformed Churches to work among lepers and to form a Temperance League.⁵⁰

There was a 'gentleman's agreement' not to encroach on places where other churches existed.⁵¹ This was observed within the island of Antigua with the exception of the village of Liberta where the Methodist chapel was built in 1834 at the time of Emancipation, hence the name.⁵² In St Kitts there was a verbal agreement not to enter into each other's territory.⁵³ The duplication of chapels in St

42 JT & KG Hamilton, *History* p. 209.

43 JT & KG Hamilton, *History*, p. 101.

44 John A. Vickers, *Thomas Coke. Apostle of Methodism* (London: Epworth Press, 1969) pp. 108-11.

45 Thomas Coke, *History of the West Indies*, 2:131f, 424ff.

46 JT & KG Hamilton, *History*, p.250.

47 Thomas Coke, *History of the West Indies*, 2:424-5.

48 Hutton, *Short History...* pp. 120-1.

49 Hutton, *Short History...* p.501-2.

50 Hutton, *Short History...* p. 509.

51 No documentation has been found for the 'Gentlemen's Agreement' in Methodist or Moravian archives.

52 Liberta was renamed Barrett Memorial in 1962.

53 Peter Gubi, Jr., personal communication, September 22 2012.

Kitts and the Virgin Islands is discussed later.

Methodists based their *Instructions to Missionaries* on the Moravian blueprint. They included: iv) to cultivate a catholic spirit towards all your fellow labourers in the work of evangelising the heathen.⁵⁴ An insight into the Wesleyan Missionary Policy is seen in Thomas Hyde's Journal for 17 July 1820. When forming a Missionary Society in St Kitts, he said on behalf of Wesleyan missionaries, 'Our object in coming out to preach the Gospel is not to make parties but Christians, and as we are particularly exhorted to cultivate this catholic spirit by our most excellent Committee, we sought a union with the Church party and the Moravians. The former met our views, but the latter declined for the present until they wrote home.'⁵⁵ At the same time, Hyde shared great friendship and fellowship with Lewis Stobwasser, a Moravian missionary in Antigua, and noted on 23 June 1821 that he considered him to be a man of piety, simplicity, and candour.⁵⁶ (see Part II Missionary Controversies.)

54 'Instructions to the Wesleyan Missionaries'. Missionary Committee, December 18 1817, updated 1825, HMCGB, 4:382.

55 'Home' meaning the Moravian General Synod in Germany. Journal of Thomas K. Hyde, July 17 1820, vol. I, David U. Farquhar, *Caribbean Adventures* (Boston, MS: Mt. Prospect Press, 1999) p. 32.

56 Journal of Hyde, July 7 1821, Farquhar, *Caribbean Adventures*, p. 43.

Part I Eastern Caribbean islands with both Moravian and Methodist chapels

Antigua

Antigua is a Leeward Island consisting of 108 sq.m. The south western region consists of remnants of old volcanic mountains, rising to Boggy Peak at 1,319 feet. A central clay plain about 10 x 3 miles is flat undulating land, rarely rising above 50 ft above sea level. The north eastern limestone uplands rise steeply to 300 ft. The island is surrounded by coral reefs.

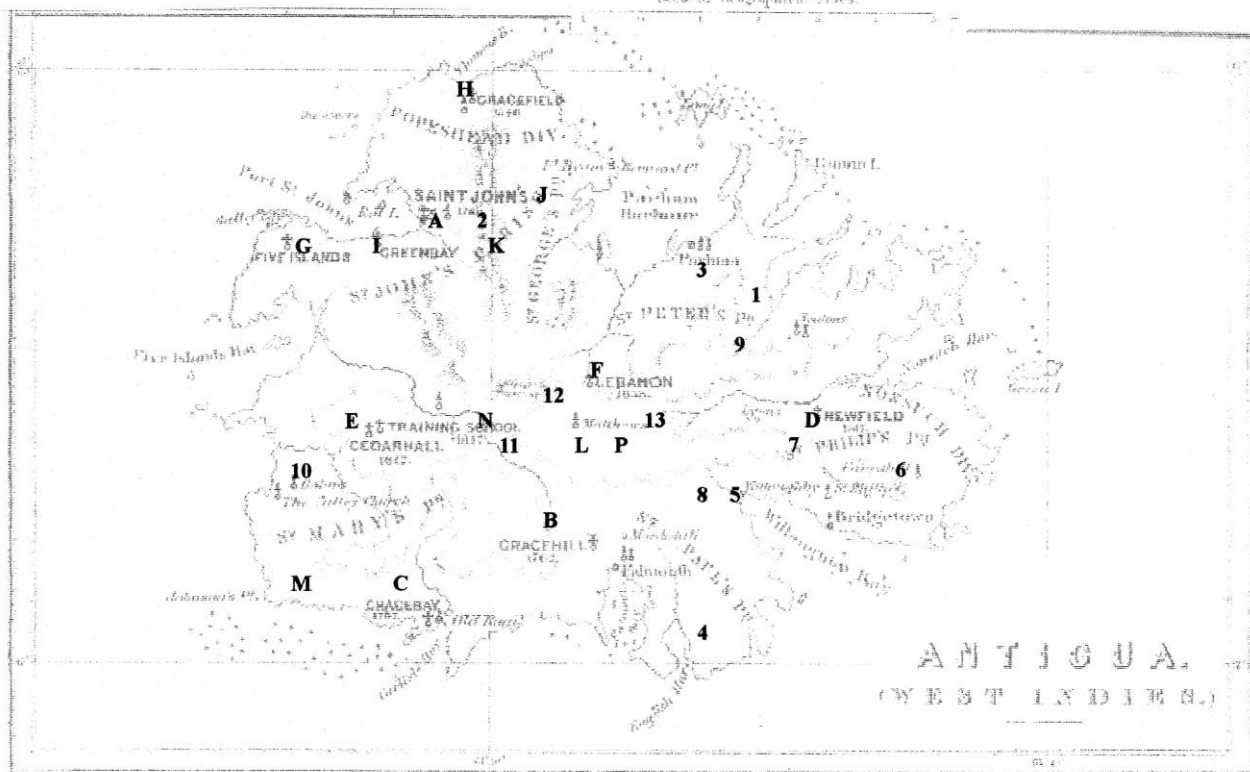
The physical terrain did not present difficult barriers to travel and the coastline is said to have as many white sand beaches as days in the year. However, slaves were not permitted to go beyond their own estates and missionaries were often forbidden to enter them.⁵⁷ Antigua enjoyed political stability; from 1667 it remained a British possession throughout its history, until independence in 1981.

Moravian Brethren arrived in Antigua in April 1756 with Samuel Isles who found a footing on Gambles Estate, just east of St John's. When Nathaniel Gilbert started Methodist work and preached in his house in the town of St Johns' (1759) there was one Moravian station and two missionaries.⁵⁸ In 1761 the Moravians started work in Spring Gardens, St John's, and bought land for a stone chapel in 1773. John Baxter erected the first purpose-built Wesleyan chapel in St Johns in 1783.

Location of Moravian and Methodist Churches superimposed on map
c.1870, Moravian Church Archives

§ MORAVIAN STATIONS: (The figures attached denote the year of foundation)
 ¶ Wesleyan Stations.
 ⚡ Church of England.
 ⚡ Church of Scotland.
 Scale of Geographical Miles.

St Johns environment
 O Cashew Hill
 14 Cassada Gardens
 15 Grays Farm



57 Kathleen B. Smith & Fernando C. Smith, *To Shoot Hard Labour: The Life and Times of Samuel Smith an Antiguan Working Man (1877-1982)* (Scarborough, Ont., Canada: Edan's Publishers, 1986).

58 Hutton, *Short History* p.520.

ANTIGUA 108 square miles

| <u>Moravian</u> | | | <u>Methodist</u> | | |
|------------------------|------|----------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Gambles Estate | 1756 | presence | 1. Gilberts | 1759 | house ⁵⁹ |
| A. Spring Gardens+ | 1761 | estb | (Mercers Creek) | 1769 | converted stores |
| St John's | 1761 | wood | | | |
| | 1773 | stone | 2. St John's (Ebenezer) | 1759 | rented house |
| | | | | 1783 | wood |
| | | | | 1839 | stone |
| B. Bailey Hill+ | 1774 | estb | | | |
| Grace Hill | 1782 | | 3. Parham | pre 1763 | estb |
| | 1791 | wood | | 1802 | new |
| C. Grace Bay + | 1791 | estb | | | |
| | 1797 | wood | 4. English Harbour | pre c.1779 | preaching |
| | | | [renamed Baxter Memorial] | | chapel? |
| D. Newfield (Enon) + | 1817 | | | | |
| | | | 5. Willoughby Bay | 1802 | estb |
| E. Cedar Hall + | 1822 | | (Bridgetown) | 1843 | earthquake -relocated |
| Boys Training School + | 1847 | | | | |
| F. <u>Lebanon</u> + | 1838 | | 6. Freetown | 1803 | estb ? |
| (Bell View Heights) | | | (Friars Hill) | 1843 | from Willoughby Bay |
| | | | | | |
| G. Five Islands + | 1838 | | 7. Lyons | 1813 | private chapel relocated to Bethesda |
| | | | | | |
| H. Grace Field + | 1840 | | 8. Bethesda | c.1805 | on 1822 Plan |
| | | | | | |
| I. Green Bay + | 1845 | | 9. Zion Hill | pre 1803 | |
| | | | [renamed Gilbert Memorial] | | |
| J. Bethany | 1870 | | | | |
| (Piggotts) | | | 10. Bolans | pre 1834 | [large Moravian presence] |
| | | | (Mount Zion) | | |
| K. Potters (Zion) | 1881 | | | | |
| | | | 11. Sawcolts | pre 1803 | |
| L. Cana (Swetes) | 1883 | | | | |
| | | | 12. <u>Liberta</u> | 1834 | |
| | | | [renamed Barrett Memorial 1962] | | |
| M. Grace (Urlings) | 1987 | | | | |
| | | | 13. Freemans Village | 1834 | |
| N. Judges Hill | 1992 | | (Freemansville) | | |
| (Cedar Valley) | | | | | |
| O. Cashew Hill | 1993 | | | | |
| (St John's) | | | 14. Cassada Gardens | late 20 th C. | |
| P. Tyrells | | | (St John's) | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | 15. Grays Farm | late 20 th C. | |
| | | | (St John's) | | |

+ Date of foundation shown on above map by courtesy of Moravian Church Archives.⁶⁰

Methodist services were held on those plantations that were open to them, likewise with the Moravians.

⁵⁹ Nathaniel Gilbert I bought Mercers Creek in 1699. Nathaniel Gilbert II inherited the estate in 1702 and lived at Mercer's Creek. The Gilbert Great House is now the Ecumenical Agricultural Centre in Mercer's Creek. The Gilberts gave their name to the neighbouring estate and bought Old North Sound (now called Crabs Peninsular) in 1716. The Gilberts leased Gambles, Matthews and Murrays plantations south of St John's. Through marriage they also had 1/3 share in Willoughby Bay, 2/3 Monks Hill and 2/3 Round Hill. Oliver, *History Antigua*.

⁶⁰ Lith: by A. Petermann, 9 Charing Cross, No.8.

Dr Coke recorded that within two years of the arrival of the first Wesleyan Missionary the Methodists numbered 2,800 compared with the Moravians with not less than 2,000 out of a population of 7,000 whites and 30,000 blacks.⁶¹

Speaking of the Moravians, we read, "This gentle and humble people, who lived in harmony with both Anglican clergy and Methodist Missionaries, left abundant room for other messengers of the Gospel: Moravians and Methodists worked side-by-side in Antigua as brothers in Christ."⁶² Apart from the capital St John's, it was noted above that within the island of Antigua Liberta was the only village where both Moravian and Methodist chapels were planted. Apart from occasional personal frictions, there does not appear to have been a conflict of interest between the local Moravian and Methodist churches. The 1821-2 complaints concerned church discipline rather than the location of the chapels.

61 Journal entry February 3 1789. John A. Vickers, *The Journals of Dr Thomas Coke* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2005) p. 108.

62 Findlay & Holdsworth, 2:32.

Aside: the first Methodist 'chapel' in the West Indies

William Warrenner told how Nathaniel Gilbert 'relinquished his situation as Speaker of the House of Assembly' on July 29 1769 'and immediately fitted up a large room, above the place where his plantation stores were kept. He placed a pulpit in it, and seats for the negroes.'⁶³

Deaville Walker wrote that this Upper Room 'was in regular use so late as 1841' and that the foundation walls were traceable beside the windmill in 1933. 'A small stone building nearby is said to be a school he erected for the children of his plantations.'⁶⁴ Without corroborating evidence from primary sources, doubt has been cast on the existence of the 1769 store room chapel.

A fifth generation Gilbert in Antigua was a grandson of the Methodist. Nathaniel V became an Anglican priest like his father, returning to Antigua after completing his education. He was Rector of St Mary's for three years and was opposed to the Methodism of his ancestors, even encouraging the Moravians. His attitude changed for the better when he returned to Antigua in May or June 1822 after a three-year absence. He then built his own chapel for the convenience of his slaves.⁶⁵ Oliver noted that in 1825 Nathaniel V officiated in St Peter's parish on his own estate and that Gilbert's chapel had 350 sittings.⁶⁶ There are no archaeological indications where this chapel was located. At his request, Benjamin Luckock was sent out by the *Conversion Society* to oversee the instruction of his slaves at Gilberts.⁶⁷

Robert Glen discovered a letter in the *Conversion Society* archives: 'Nathaniel Gilbert to Thomas Porteus, Gilberts, Antigua, 14 Oct, 1822.'⁶⁸ In this letter, Gilbert states that 'the chapel was formerly a store room, that it is seventy feet long, and that it can hold five or six hundred persons.' The letter continued: 'About fifty years ago it was used as a place of worship by my grandfather; and it may not be uninteresting to you to be informed, that this is the first known room ever set apart in this island, or probably in the West Indies for the religious instruction of the Negroes.'⁶⁹

Walker noted that 1841 was the year when the use of this chapel was discontinued during the lifetime of Nathaniel V. His assumption is most likely correct, although he mistakenly presumed that the upper floor of the 1769 'chapel' was in continued use for church purposes until that date. This first chapel fell into disuse after the death of Nathaniel III because his son, The Rev Nathaniel Gilbert IV, was an absentee proprietor, working in English parishes and Sierra Leone. The school referred to by Walker is more likely to have been erected by Nathaniel V and used by Luckock for the instruction of Negro slaves.

63 'July 29 1769, Thomas Warner was chosen as Speaker *vice* Nathaniel Gilbert resigned.' Oliver, *History Antigua*, 1:cxx. Letter of Resignation, Edgar W. Thompson, *Nathaniel Gilbert: Lawyer and Evangelist* (London: Epworth Press, 1960) p. 24.

64 Walker, *Call of West Indies*, footnote to p. 33.

65 Farquhar, *Caribbean Adventures*, p. 230, n. 70.

66 Oliver, *History Antigua*, 3:380.

67 Farquhar, *Caribbean Adventures*, p.231, n. 84.

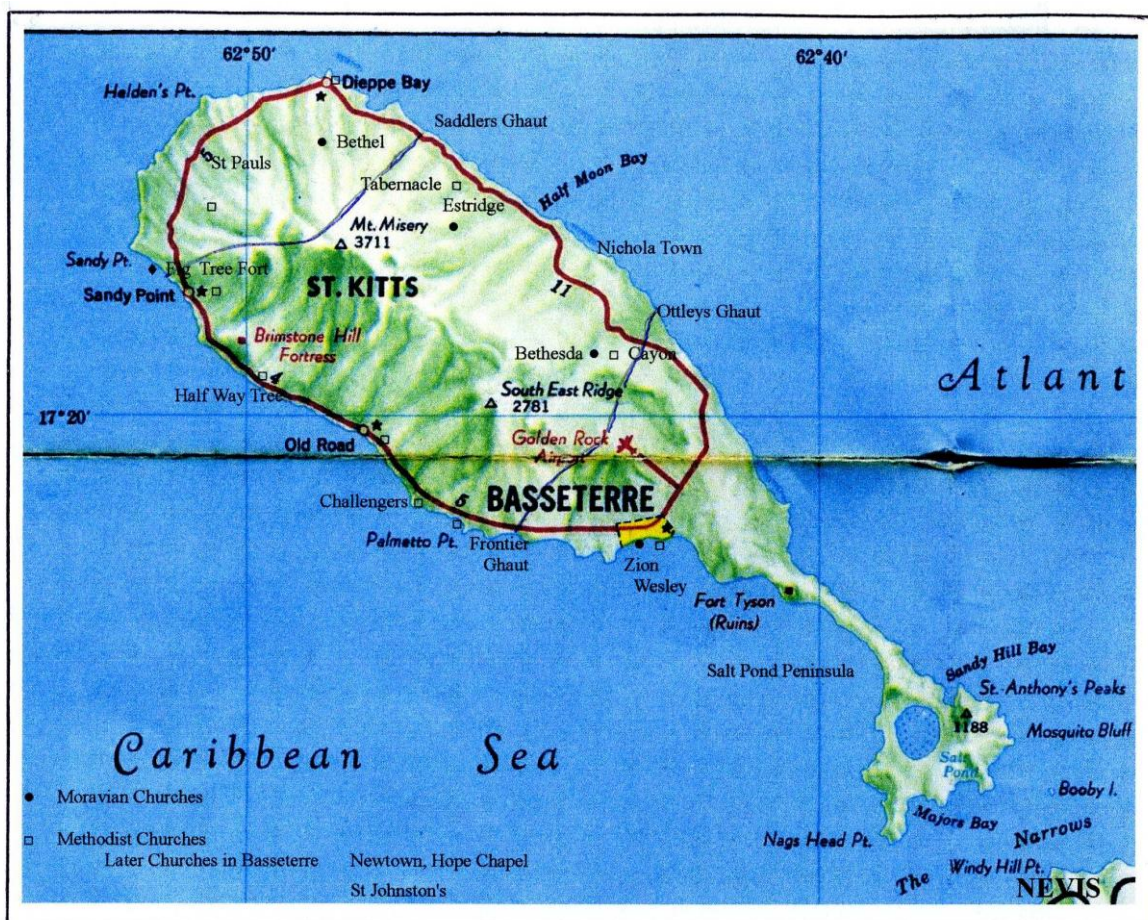
68 *Society for the Conversion and the Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West Indies*, CFS Letter Book, 1822-32, Nathaniel Gilbert to Thomas Porteus, Antigua, Oct. 14 1822. Papers, D.1, Minutes (1794-1832) pp. 253-4 (entry for Dec. 3 1822) Library, Lambeth Palace, London.

69 *Conversion Society*, F.1, Letter Book (1822-32) p. 15.

St Kitts

Officially named St Christopher, St Kitts is a Leeward Island of 68 sq.m (176 km²) with a maximum width of 5 miles for the 18 miles of its length, except at the southern peninsular where it narrows to between two miles or one half mile.⁷⁰ The peaks of St Kitts central mountain range rise to the 3,792 feet (1,156m) of Mt. Liamuiga and 2,953 feet (900m) in the South East Range.⁷¹ Legend said that Brimstone Hill on St Kitts was spat out of Mount Liamuiga (called Mt. Misery until 1983), but it is an up-thrust of igneous rock consisting of grey stone (andesite) with a covering of coral limestone.

Historically, there was only one track over the central mountains and in the 21st century there are two tourist trails over the mountains and one modern road round the periphery of the island. Cultivated land below 1,000 feet extends to the forested area, about one mile inland on the Leeward or south west coast and two miles on the Windward or north east coast, with about nine square miles of cultivated land north of Basseterre in the direction of Cayon. There were thirty sugar estates on the Windward side side of the island, about twenty on the Leeward and two on the pan-handle.



From the Mount Liamuiga Range there were six *ghauts*, or ravines (from French word meaning

⁷⁰ Leeward Islands were so named by the British in 1671 from the Trade Winds blowing from the north east. They were Leeward of Barbados. The Dutch followed the Spaniards in viewing the trade winds from the coast of the American continent and called them Windward Islands.

⁷¹ Distances taken from Probyn Inness *Historic Basseterre* (St John's, Antigua: published by author, Antigua Printing and Publishing Ltd., 1985). Heights from Directorate of Overseas Surveys DOS (London: Edward Stanford Ltd., 1963).

'violent rush') that were impassable after heavy rain. From the South East Range there was one ghaut to Windward and one to Leeward but none to the south east which meant the town of Basseterre was liable to flooding. There were three rivers to the Leeward coast: *Pelhams* to Challengers village; *English* to Palmetto Point; and *Wingfield* to Old Road that was the only one to flow year-round.

St Kitts suffered from natural disasters: in addition to the regular hurricanes, there were earthquakes (1836 & 1843) and flood (1880); cholera killed 1,514 or one sixth of Basseterre people (1845); there were also poverty (1880-90) and riots (1896). Emigration was a constant factor, both before and after Emancipation. Freed slaves in St Kitts were landless; Tabernacle village was created on land purchased by the Methodist Church who leased house lots.

Mother Colony of Britain and France

Sir Thomas Warner arrived in St Kitts on January 28 1624, landing at Old Road. King Charles I created the island as England's 'Mother Colony' on September 13 1625. The French privateer Belain d'Esnambuc sailed from the fishing village of Dieppe and arrived in St Kitts in October. He named his first settlement Dieppe Bay. St Kitts was therefore also the 'Mother Colony' of France. Warner and d'Esnambuc signed a treaty in 1627 partitioning the island, the English retaining the middle portion with its plentiful water supply.⁷² The north-west demarcation was from the lateral rooting of a fig tree at Sandy Point headland with cactus hedges to the mountain. An approximation of boundaries is show on the map.

In 1666 the French took over St Kitts and deported 8,000 Englishmen to Jamaica and Virginia and the old men, women and children to Nevis. It was retaken in July 1690 and in 1702 the majority of the French were transported to San Domingo. The Treaty of Utrecht forced the French to leave St Kitts permanently in 1713. France aligned with the Revolutionary Government of the American colonies in 1778 and invaded St Kitts with 8,000 troops in 1782. The following year, the Treaty of Versailles returned St Kitts to Britain.

Until 1639 tobacco was grown, but when plantations were laid out from the 1640s indigo, cotton and sugar took its place. Transportation of people and goods round the island was normally by sea. Thomas Hyde wrote on 10 July 1829, 'To avoid the sickening journey we went overland. The road from Basseterre to Sandy Point is an excellent one for the West Indies.... We passed three churches and three Wesleyan chapels.'⁷³

Dieppe Bay Capisterre was an old French port and designated a town, although in the 20th century Dieppe Bay had only the main road with two short streets, Chapel (Methodist) Street and Station (Police) Street. Basseterre was the French capital and Sandy Point the English capital from 1623 to 1727, after which Basseterre became the main town for the whole island. Nic(h)ola Town was a centre of British activity on the Windward coast.

72 For detailed history see Kathleen D. Manchester, *Historic Heritage of St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla* (Port of Spain, Trinidad: Syncreator, 1971).

73 Thomas K. Hyde, Journal II from Farquhar, *Caribbean Adventures*, p. 155. 'Excellent Road' meant hard dust road in dry weather but mud after rains.

ST KITTS 65 square miles

| <u>Methodist</u> | | | | | <u>Moravian</u> |
|------------------|---------------------------------|--|---|---------|--------------------------------------|
| | pre 1786 | presence | < <u>Basseterre</u> > | 1777 | estb |
| | 1787 | estb | | 1778 | house 1785 land |
| Wesley | 1788 | wood | | 1789 | Zion wood |
| | 1795 | | | 1842 | stone |
| | 1825 | stone 75x55 | | | |
| Hope Chapel | 1879 | wood | <u>New Town</u> | | |
| (gifted) | 1985 | mod | | | |
| St Johnston | 1939 | mod | <u>Irish Town</u> | | |
| Palmetto Point | ...? [sea port & fort] | | | | <u>Palmetto Point first base</u> |
| | c1828 | stone | | | <u>but work estb in Basseterre</u> |
| | 1838 ff | enlarged | | | |
| | | [closed 1950 moved to Stone Fort Estate West of Challengers] | | | |
| Trinity | 1961 | mod | | | |
| Old Road | pre 1790 | | | | |
| | 1790 | rent ho | | | |
| | c1792-3 | wood | | | |
| Ebenezer | 1838 | stone | | | <u>Middle Island: land offered</u> |
| Half Way Tree | pre 1820s | | | | <u>staff and money not available</u> |
| | | 10 acres land given | | | |
| | 1837 | stone | | | |
| Sandy Point | 1787 | estb/rent ho | | | |
| | c1796 | wood chapel from Dieppe Bay | | | |
| | 1803 | extended | | | |
| | 1830 | stone + 3 galleries | | | |
| St Pauls | pre 1800 | estb | | | |
| | 1841 | stone | Helden's Estate near Brotherson/Belmont | | |
| | | | Estate equidistant from St Paul's and | | |
| | 1954 rebuilt | stone | Leigh's Village/Newton Ground | | |
| Dieppe Bay | c1787-8 | estb | | | |
| sea port | c1788 ? | wood | | | |
| | c1796 | 1 st wood chapel moved to Sandy Point | | | |
| | 1834 | stone, enlgd 1838/1840/1843 | | 1832 | estb Profit Est. Bethel |
| relocated | 1922 | stone | | | |
| Tabernacle | c.1830s | 'tent' ff by 'thatch and wattling' | | | |
| | 1838 | stone | | | |
| Nichola Town | centre for Methodist activities | | | 1839 | estb Estridge (15) |
| | | | | 1845 | stone – first minister |
| Cayon | pre 1800 | Classes wood | | | |
| | 1822 | Society | | 1819/20 | Cayon Bethesda |
| | 1827, 1841 | wood Hermitage Estate | | 1845 | stone |

Lack of missionaries and funds curtailed any plans to establish Moravian work on the Leeward side of St Kitts, but by 1848 they had 4,293 members on the island. Methodist and Moravian chapels were only duplicated in the Cayon area.

Benjamin La Trobe, whose nephew Charles La Trobe was to be involved in the early 19th century correspondence, was instrumental in the appointment of the first Moravian missionaries to St Kitts in 1774. They arrived in St Kitts and alternated Sunday and weekday services between John Gardiner's estate at Palmetto Point and Basseterre. Dr Coke noted that in 1792 the Brethren had been invited to a plantation ten miles from Basseterre, where they have generally 70-78 attentive hearers.⁷⁴ He also said that the Moravian Mission was much inferior to the Methodist.

The St Mary Cayon Parish in St Kitts held ten of the larger sugar estates and included a cotton ginnery at Spooners. There were Methodist Classes and a wooden building before 1800. The Moravian's Bethesda was establishment c.1819/20. Although a stone building was erected for Bethesda in 1845, Methodists continued to use wooden chapels at Hermitage estate until the late 20th century. The existence of both churches, in addition to the Parish Church, did not appear to affect the 20th century complaints of competition. After emancipation, Cayon became a main industrial area.

74 Coke, *History West Indies*, 3:49ff.

Part II Tensions over morality and church discipline, early 19th century

In the early years, denominationalism in St Kitts was not a problem.⁷⁵ An example of early cooperation between Methodists and Moravians was occasioned by the death from yellow fever of the Methodist minister, Philip Debell. At his funeral on 25 January 1803, Messrs Schneller and Hoffman, the Moravian missionaries, were amongst the pall bearers.⁷⁶

The first Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was formed in England in 1813. Within a few years, Auxiliary Missionary Societies had been established, for example in 1817 in Demerara. The Rev Thomas Hyde visited St Kitts where he preached missionary sermons and on Friday July 14 1820 he assisted in the attempt to form an ecumenical Missionary Society. 'Our object in coming out to preach the gospel is not to make parties but Christians, and as we are particularly exhorted to cultivate this catholic spirit by our most excellent Committee, we sought a union with the Church party and the Moravians. The former met our views, but the latter declined for the present until they wrote home', that is to say to Germany.⁷⁷

An example of good relations between Moravians and Methodists in Antigua took place on September 20 1821. The Moravian missionary, Lewis Stobwasser, was present when the line was marked out for a new Methodist chapel at Willoughby Bay. On December 1st, thirty white persons and two thousand slaves were estimated to be present at the stone laying. Everyone brought a stone including Moravians.⁷⁸

Up to the 1820s 'The Moravians pure and peaceable spirit helps to create an atmosphere of goodwill permeating St Kitts Society.'⁷⁹ Here, the numerical membership of the Methodist Church would have been even greater had it not been for the rigid enforcement of discipline which led to expulsion of members and the exclusion of applicants.

The firm discipline and rigid morality of the Wesleyan Church, especially on the question of marriage, had in 1821 caused many to withdraw themselves from that body in St Kitts, and kept many more from joining the Society there, as in other islands.⁸⁰

Methodist books of expulsion

Because of the 'lack of discipline' and 'even of common morality' which John Wesley found on a northern tour of England, he and his brother Charles issued *The Nature, Design and General Rules of the United Societies*.⁸¹ This was spelt out in the social context of 18th century Britain. What this meant in the world of plantation slavery is seen in Books of Expulsion that were kept in various Circuits. For example, in Antigua (St John's), St Kitts (Basseterre), and Nevis the membership number and name with the date of expulsion were given, and amongst the reasons for expulsion were:

Overcome by persecution
...for going astray
...leaving her husband

Expelled for lying
Contempt of Court
Contempt of Leader

75 Probyn Inniss, *Methodism in St Kitts. 1786-2006* (Basseterre, St Kitts: published by the author, printed by East Caribbean Printers, 2006) p. 38.

76 John Brownell, Journal, 25 January 1803, cited from Farquhar, *Caribbean Adventures*, p. 11.

77 Farquhar, *Caribbean Adventures*, p.32.

78 Farquhar, *Caribbean Adventures*, pp. 54, 58.

79 Findlay and Holdsworth, 2:143.

80 Probyn Inniss, *Methodism in St Kitts*, p.46, citing J. A. Horsford, *A Voice from the West Indies* (London: Alexander Heylin, 1856).

81 John and Charles Wesley, May 11 1743. Davies, George & Rupp, *A History of the Methodist Church...* 4:60-61.

| | |
|--|-------------------------|
| ...running away from her owners | Obeah |
| ...wrangling spirit with her family | Dancing |
| ...going to Noah (a fanatical sect) | Neglect |
| ...stealing 3/- worth of bread | Disobedience to parents |
| ...shamefully abusing the (slave) driver | Encouraging rebellion |
| ...stealing the goods of the preacher which were wrecked | |
| ...fornication and refusing to attend the Leaders Meeting | |
| ...going to Law after being advised not to do so by the Minister | |
| "Gone after loaves and fishes" (to another church) ⁸² | |

It is noted that of the eighteen persons selected only four are men, a possible indicator of the ratio of members. Members were expelled for three main reasons – ‘dancing, fornication and concubinage.’ The Methodist practice also excluded members for neglect of the means of grace. ‘The majority of the slaves had confirmed indifference to their spiritual interests under the pressure of poverty, nakedness, incessant and unrequited trial, and a thousand nameless evils which slavery inflicts.’⁸³

In Statia there was no other church for recalcitrant Methodists. After Admiral Rodney's destruction in 1781, the former Dutch, Lutheran and Anglican churches had gone and the first resident Catholic priest did not arrive until 1841. In St Kitts, apart from Basseterre and Cayon, restricted mobility and distance precluded former Methodists from going to the Moravians. However, because of the proximity of Methodist and Moravian chapels in Antigua, it was easy for expelled Methodists to be welcomed by the Moravians. This generated a copious exchange of letters between Wesleyan Missionaries and lay people and their Missionary Committee, and with Moravian Missionaries and the Secretary of the Moravian Mission in London.⁸⁴ The context in which this took place follows.

| | | | |
|--|-----------|--|-----------------------------------|
| <u>Population in Antigua, 1821</u> | | | |
| White | male | 1,140 | |
| | female | <u>840</u> | 1,980 |
| Free coloured and black | male | 1,549 | |
| | female | <u>2,346</u> | 3,895 |
| Slaves | male | 14,531 | |
| | female | <u>16,533</u> | <u>31,064</u> |
| | | | total 36,939 |
| <u>Religion in Antigua, 1821</u> | | | |
| Established Church | 16,750 | *The Moravian community included communicant members, baptised members and candidates for baptism. | |
| Moravians | 12,688 | *Methodists were active members meeting in Class. | |
| Wesleyans | 6,563 | | |
| Church of Scotland | 183 | | |
| Roman Catholic | <u>25</u> | total | 36,209 |
| Presumably, 730 registered as having no religion | | <u>730</u> | total 36,939 ⁸⁵ |

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| <u>Occupation</u> | | | |
| Official and professional men | | 163 | |
| Commerce | | 217 | |
| Agriculture | 338 | | |
| labourers | <u>13,202</u> | 13,540 | |
| Mechanics | | 2,531 | |
| Domestic servants | | <u>2,017</u> | total employed 18,468 |

⁸² Reports from the Antigua, St Kitts and Nevis Circuits to the Missionary Committee, MMSA, SOAS.

⁸³ Sint Eustatius Methodist Report, 1835, where slavery was to last for another 30 years.

⁸⁴ A summary of letters is appended.

⁸⁵ Census, Oliver, Vol. 1, p. cl. Statistics for religion taken from Antigua Almanac for 1852.

The contentious issues were whether Moravians condoned two important aspects of behaviour on which the Wesleyans were uncompromising: the toleration of the Sunday market, and concubinage.⁸⁶ However, the Moravian missionary, Lewis Stobwasser, had complained as early as 1814 that 'The Sunday Market was a nuisance.'⁸⁷ Sunday labour, swearing and polygamy were also mentioned. Wesleyan Missionaries were reporting that many Methodists did not care if they were expelled due to immorality because it was so easy to become a Moravian member.⁸⁸ In contrast, there was extensive examination of candidates for membership of Wesleyan Societies.

Methodist examination of candidates for membership

Support of the Methodist views on lax Moravian church practice and discipline is evidenced in the Danish Virgin Islands. In the mid 18th century, before admission into the congregation, The Danish Lutheran Church gave slaves an oral examination in reading, writing, arithmetic and religion. Teaching was in the Danish language, unknown by the slaves, whereas the Lutheran Pastors did not know Dutch Creole spoken by the slaves.

Since a Negro could only with great difficulty pass an examination, it was no wonder that they turned their backs on this form of mission work. The Moravians never had such burden placed on the already heavily burdened shoulders of the slaves, but provided meeting places for them and simply said to them: "Come, for all things are now ready."⁸⁹

A Missionary to the Lutheran Dutch Creole congregation, Johannes Christian Kingo (1757-1782) complained that some of his Negroes had been lured to the Moravian Church because 'he required them to know Luther's Small Catechism well, while the Brethren were satisfied with much less.'⁹⁰

Preparation for membership in the West Indian Methodist Church entailed learning the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and a Catechism that gave the rudiments of religion. Arising from the 1820s controversies about morality and church membership, in February 1826 the Antigua District Meeting ruled that before reception, the candidates should be questioned with the following, enumerated as 21 questions; the **highlighted** ones are the focus of the complaints:

Are you Baptised By whom
Have you been united in marriage By whom
Are you living with your husband or wife
Were you ever in Society before
What was the cause of your exclusion
Is that cause or obstacle removed
Do you keep the Sabbath day holy
Do you labour at all on that Day
Are you oblig'd to sell, or buy at all, on that Day
 Why do you wish to join the Society, and how long have you had this wish
 By what means was this wish produced
 How often do you attend prayers
 Where do you live
 Are you free
 Have you read or heard our rules, and will you keep those rules

⁸⁶ David U. Farquhar, *Missions and Society in the Leeward Islands, 1810-1850* (Boston, MS: Mt Prospect Press, 1999) p. 30.

⁸⁷ Lewis Stobwasser to Latrobe, Gracehill, Antigua, 22 June 1814. Farquhar, *Caribbean Adventures*, p. 175, n. 171.

⁸⁸ James Whitworth to the Missionary Secretaries, Ramsgate, 7 June 1822. [Fiche 160] Fiche references are to West Indian Correspondence [WIC, MMSA].

⁸⁹ Larsen, p.79, n. 8, citing Emile Valdemar Lose, 'Kort Udsigt ober den Danske Lutherske Missions Historie paa St Croix, St Thomas og St Jan.' in *Nordiske Missions Tidende*, vol. 1 (Kopenhagen, 1890) 1-37.

⁹⁰ Larsen, p.86.

Have you any children and do they go to chapel or School.⁹¹

An additional reason for many Methodist members transferring was because of ministers 'neglect of visiting the sick, the aged, and the infirm, and the burial of the dead' leading to feelings of disgust.⁹² Whereas the Moravians had seven missionaries for four chapels in Antigua up to 1822 with long-term residence. That year the Methodists had three ministers for nine stations subject to the itinerant system. These were Abraham Whitehouse (St John's), Samuel Broom (English Harbour), Thomas Pennock (Thomas White after Synod) and Thomas Hyde near Parham, with John Gilbert as Lay Preacher in Parham. In addition to three chapels, the Parham section had a school, groups on 37 estates and on a nearby island where preaching took pace.⁹³ Charles Latrobe wrote to Taylor and Watson on April 13 1822 noting that in one or two years, Wesleyan ministers subject to the itinerant system hardly knew their own members, let alone Moravians.⁹⁴

Missionary correspondence, 1821-22⁹⁵

The Moravian missionary Lewis Stobwasser told Elizabeth Thwaites that choosing helpers by Lot had resulted in the choice of some 'ignorant ungodly men'.⁹⁶ Also, he had told Anne Gilbert that he and fellow missionary Newby had complained about Sabbath-breakers and polygamists.⁹⁷

John Raby came to believe that the lax discipline of the Moravians 'is the means by which they insure the approbation and support of the colonial governments'.⁹⁸ Whitehouse reported the rebuff of a young female slave of Mr O. whose response was to give the Moravians lands for a chapel, for which the 1817 Antigua Assembly gave £300. The construction and opening of the new chapel in December 1818 are discussed in *Periodical Accounts*, 7 (1818-20), 19-21, 67-70.⁹⁹ Robert Glen suggests that this was taken as a slap in the face by Methodists and laid the foundations for the outbursts some three years later.

Anne Gilbert told of a conversation with a Moravian Missionary in 1817 who said 'I admire the purity of the Methodist discipline... I cannot conceive how our brethren at home can view it in the light which they do as it respects the West Indies... In Germany they shew their abhorrence of this sin (concubinage) above all others, so that it is very difficult to get an illegitimate child placed out as an apprentice.'¹⁰⁰ Closer to the prevailing opinion was James Whitworth's view that Moravianism was 'the enemy of pure religion and the "nursery of vice"'.¹⁰¹ William Dawes, agent of the Church Missionary Society, endorsed Whitworth's complaint saying that he had heard the authorities in Germany told the missionaries in Antigua to continue to operate as before.

91 *Methodist Archivist*, The Wesley Historical Society in the Western Area (Kingston, Jamaica, Jamaica Methodist Church) 4 (5 July 1960) 2, preserved in Sint Eustatius Marriage Register by Patrick French, W.M.M, cited in George E. Lawrence, *The Netherlands and Methodism with particular reference to the Dutch West Indian Methodism* (Unpub. mscr., written 1943-52, SOAS) pp. 580-1. French was in Statia 1819-21 and 1826-27 and most likely in Antigua, St Kitts or Nevis in the years between.

92 David Barnes, John Gilbert, James Howell (Church Stewards) to the Missionary Committee, Antigua, 31 March 1821. [fiche 132]

93 Robert Glen, 'The Antigua Circuit Plan of 1822,' offprint, Society of Cirplanologists, *Cirplan*, 93 (2001) 130-42.

94 C. Latrobe to Taylor and Watson, London, 13 April 1822. [fiche 159]

95 Digest of correspondence prepared by Robert Glen for John Neal, 28 June 2012. Personal communication.

96 The continuing use of the Lot proved contentious until it was struck off the Regulations in 1889.

97 Anonymous journal extracts (possibly by Abraham Whitehouse) 21 July 1821. [fiche 138] pp. 4-5.

98 John Raby to Joseph Taylor, Sandhurst, Kent, 7 June 1822. [fiche 160]

99 Whitehouse to [Missionary Committee], St John's, 12 December 1822. [fiche 177]. Presumably this was Newfield (dated 1817) in proximity to the Methodist Lyons and Zion.

100 Anne Gilbert to Mrs Luckock, English Harbour, 24 Aug. 1824. Church Missionary Society Archive, CW 04/1/10.

101 James Whitworth to Joseph Taylor, 1821, footnoted by Farquhar, *Missions and Society*; 174.0, p. 175. William Dawes to Josiah Pratt, Antigua, 23 April 1822. Church Missionary Society Archive, CW 031/20.

The Moravians objected that many Methodist complaints were casual observation and hearsay. In London, Latrobe stated that the charges of condoned polygamy, that chapel yards were turned into bazaars on Sundays and that Moravian chapels were built on Sundays were a misrepresentation of the facts.¹⁰² He wrote letters to Taylor and Watson stating that the accusations against the Moravians were whispered about calumny and misrepresentation.¹⁰³ He also added that the two Missionary Societies were not answerable to each other.¹⁰⁴

Hyde noted on 2 August 1822 that 'The Moravians, in this island (Antigua), put themselves under no constraint at all, but are foremost in the dancing' of which Methodists strongly disapproved.¹⁰⁵ In 1827, Matthew Banks said that at Bolans 'we have little prospect of good in that neighbourhood. Moravianism has locked up most of the people in carnal security, whilst they are as ignorant concerning the things of God as wild Africans.'¹⁰⁶ The Bolans failure was not due to the long-standing tradition of Moravian work in the area but to the more flexible practices of the Brethren.¹⁰⁷

The letter of Latrobe of 26 September 1822 appears to end the official skirmishes, but consequently the Antigua Methodist District Meeting meeting in February 1826 unanimously determined to set their faces against everything to do with concubinage.¹⁰⁸ The excessive rigourism of church discipline is seen:

We... resolve, in future, that no Mother who is supported by a daughter who is a conc(ubine) shall be continued in the Society; and no mother who receives presents or (in any) way countenances after proper warning such daughter shall not hold an (office) in the church; and as an additional step towards the promotion of this desire(able) object we solemnly engage to warn our members against visiting such per(sons or) living on terms of intimacy with them.¹⁰⁹

At local level, some animosities lingered. In 1843, the minister in Cayon, St Kitts, reported difficulties with the Moravians:

Moravianism is widely spread in this quarter – and the influence of a drunken and dancing clergyman is employed to keep the people from us, and contented with a form of godliness in the church, 'priest and people err and stumble through wine and strong drink'; it is not the residence of a preacher, or of any influential person among the leaders of intelligence or talent – and we cannot advance here at present. Our decrease however is small.

Robert Glen is of the opinion that while some of what Methodists said was exaggerated, much of it was true, but raised the question of whether the Moravians were more 'lax' or more forgiving? Farquhar sums up the situation, 'Wesleyans and Moravians mutually respected each other and frequently cooperated, despite minor differences.'¹¹⁰

102 Latrobe to Taylor and Watson, London, 29 Sept, 1821. [fiche 87]

103 Latrobe to Taylor and Watson, London, 8 Oct. 1821. [fiche 87]

104 Latrobe to Taylor and Watson, London, 26 Sep. 1822. [fiche 104]

105 Farquhar, *Caribbean Adventures*, p. 68.

106 Journal of Matthew Banks, 9 September 1827, Farquhar, *Caribbean Adventures*, p.19.

107 Farquhar, *Missions and Society*, p.30.

108 *Methodist Archivist*, 4 (5 July 1960) p. 2.

109 Preserved in the fly leaf of the Sint Eustatius Marriage Register by the Rev Patrick French. Cited by Lawrence, *Netherlands and Methodism*, p. 577.

110 Farquhar, *Caribbean Adventures*, p. xxi.

Part III The Virgin Islands

Dr Coke and the Danish Virgin Islands, 1789

The Danish West India Company acquired St Thomas and St John in 1694 and Santa Cruz/St Croix from France in 1733. Most of the planters in St Thomas were Dutch, whereas in St Croix they were English. This accounts for the different languages used in these two islands. There was a prosperous Jewish community controlling trade and commerce in St Thomas.¹¹¹ The islands became Danish Crown Colonies in 1754.

On his second tour, Dr Thomas Coke found mission opportunities in the Virgin Islands. The British island of Tortola was completely un-churched which made it difficult to get a foothold. Coke Journalised that they landed at *Tortola* on the 17th January 1789. 'This island which contains about 1,000 whites and 8,000 blacks, is indeed ripe for the Gospel. It seems to be the general cry of the negroes throughout the island, "Let us have, if possible, a Methodist Minister."¹¹²

Coke sailed to the Danish island of Santa Cruz. He said that this island was highly cultivated and was supposed to contain about 30,000 inhabitants, who in general spoke the *English* language. In the town of *Basse-End*, 'The Governor-general... received us with great courtesy, and promised us all the protection and encouragement in his power.'¹¹³ Coke preached in the house of an old Quaker-lady.

By this time, The Moravian Brethren had established missions in St Croix: 1754 at Friedensthal (Valley of Peace) and 1771 at Friedensberg (Town of Peace). Considering that the Brethren were on two particular estates where they formed religious communities, and that there were 100 estates on the 84 square miles of island, their pastor welcomed a Methodist presence in the town. It was intended that William Hammett would take charge of the work in Tortola and Santa Cruz, but the Government in Denmark intervened.

Wesleyan Ministers in Tortola regarded the Danish Islands of St Thomas and St John as just as much a part of their parish as Jost van Dyke and Spanish Town (Virgin Gorda.) During British occupations in 1801-2 and 1807-15, Wesleyan Ministers had easier access to St Thomas. Twenty years after his first visit, in 1809 Coke seized this new opportunity eagerly. In a letter to the Missionary Committee he wrote 'it is necessary for a Missionary to be sent to the Danish island of Santa Cruz.'¹¹⁴ In the January following he again wrote 'Santa Cruz, the largest of the Virgin Islands, a most important island, is now open to us: but it would be costly to us unless we had an establishment there, if peace were to take place.'¹¹⁵ However, with Danish Law prevailing and Danish Civil Officers retained under the British occupation it was not possible for a Wesleyan minister to reside in the islands.

It has been suggested that the main reason for the Danish authorities banning Methodist organisation was the presence of Moravians in the Virgin Islands. In December 1830, Governor Peter von Scholten decreed that Negro converts from heathenism join only the Moravian or Lutheran Churches.¹¹⁶ Dr Charles Turnbull states, 'Even the legendary Governor-General Peter Carl

111 Address by Isidor Paiewonsky, marking 300 years of Jewish culture in St Thomas, March 23rd 1973. Reprinted in *Daily News*, April 11th 1973.

112 Vickers, *Journals of Coke*, p. 114.

113 Vickers, *Journals of Coke*, p. 114. *Basse-End* was sometimes known as *Bassin*, but was normally referred to as *Christiansted*. The second principal town was Frederiksted.

114 Thomas Coke, *Letter to the Missionary Committee*, 28th July 1809 (New Room, Bristol).

115 Thomas Coke, *Letter to the Committee*, 1st January 1810 [MMSA]. Also noted in J. W. Etheridge, *The Life of Rev Thomas Coke, D.C.L.* (London: John Mason, 1860) p. 445.

116 Larsen, p. 171.

Frederik Von Scholten, undoubtedly the most liberal governor in the Danish West Indies during the age of slavery but a gradualist on the issue of emancipation, was a bitter opponent of the introduction of Methodism in the Danish islands.¹¹⁷

The political context underlying ecclesiastical affairs was hostility toward Britain generated by the Napoleonic Wars. Early in 1801, a coalition master-minded by France was comprised of Russia, Denmark/Sweden and Prussia who combined in hostile neutrality to Britain. Sir Hyde Parker, with Admiral Lord Nelson second in command, took a fleet to the gateway of the Baltic. On April 2nd the Fortress of Cronenburg (Copenhagen) was assaulted. This battle and the murder of the Tsar of Russia brought about the collapse of the Northern Confederation and caused great resentment against Britain in Denmark. The Danish 'Gunboat Wars' (1807-14) between Denmark-Norway and the British Navy ended with the Treaty of Kiel on 15 January 1814. These States ceded Heligoland to Britain and all of Norway to the King of Sweden and Denmark got back the island of Anholt. The British occupation of the Danish Virgin Islands ended.

During the British occupation the commerce of St Thomas was blocked, but locally there were friendly relationships. After this second occupation by Britain, English planters became the most numerous and by 1837 Dutch families had almost entirely disappeared. During the first half of the 19th century, St Thomas enjoyed its golden age becoming the emporium of the Antilles.¹¹⁸ A cosmopolitan population emerged with a babel of tongues. 'Gradually English replaced Dutch Creole as the dominant language ... and eventually eliminated this confusion of tongues.'¹¹⁹

Methodist Mission to DVI frustrated in 19th century, 1805-1854

- 1805 Report of the Missionary Committee: 'There are ... opportunities in the Danish Virgin Islands.' Conference Stations took this into account:
- 1809 The stations included St Thomas. John Dace preaches in Moravian chapel Sept. 24th.
- 1811 'Tortola and all the Virgin Islands (including St Thomas)'
- 1812 'St Thomas supplied from St Kitts'
- 1813 'Tortola and the Virgin Islands (including St. Thomas)'
- 1816 'Tortola and other Virgin Islands' included St. Thomas.

Abraham Whitehouse wrote on 31st July 1815:

Thursday last, I obtained permission to preach in the Danish islands of St Croix, St Thomas and St John, but not to build, this restriction will be a grave limitation to us. On Friday I waited upon the Moravian Missionaries to ask them for their chapel in town which is not occupied by them on Sundays, which was refused until they should hear the pleasure of their Conference in Saxony. Should we call upon our brethren in London?

Circuit and District Reports continued:

- 1823 'The Ministers in Tortola visited St John's and St Thomas occasionally.'
- 1824 BVI Circuit Report: 'For time would fail me to tell of Joes van Dykes, St Thomas, St John, Peter's Island, Salt Island, Spanish Town and Anegada in all which places there are some who through faith have obtained mercy and wrought righteousness.'
- 1825 Synod Minutes re Danish Government: 'The Danish Islands cannot be visited for reasons already know to the Committee.'

117 Charles Wesley Turnbull, 'A Brief History of Christchurch Methodist Church.' *Christchurch Methodist Centenary Brochure*, December 2012. No page numbers in draft copy. Turnbull does not cite his sources.

118 St Thomas assumed the commercial importance once enjoyed by Sint Eustatius before the destruction and sacking by Admiral Rodney in 1781. The majority of the deported Jews went to St Thomas, others to New Amsterdam (New York) where they became foremost in banking and trade.

119 Larsen, p. 156.

- 1830 Governor-General Peter von Scholten had ambitions to emancipate slaves. In preparation, there was compulsory education with Moravian missionaries favoured to effect this; they were given free travel between the islands.¹²⁰
 Von Scholten decreed that 'Negro converts from heathenism must join only the Moravian or Lutheran Churches.'
- 1831 The Moravians formally adopted the English language.
- 1833 'The Brethren of Tortola are willing to visit and preach (in) the Danish Islands of St Thomas and St John, and request the Committee, if possible, to obtain permission from the Danish Government to enable them to effect that desirable and very necessary purpose.'
- 1840 All Moravian slaves freed.
- 1841 Denmark gave permission to substitute English for Dutch Creole.
- 1843 Synod Report:

We beg to bring before the Committee the cause of the Danish Colonies. There are no fewer than one hundred persons living in St Thomas who are members of our churches in these islands, and who still deem themselves to be in communion with us. For the sake of their souls, and of the hundreds who would gladly receive the Gospel at their hands, both in St Thomas and Santa Cruz, we earnestly implore the Committee to use the most strenuous exertions in order to obtain a footing in the Danish Colonies. We would also refer you to the statement of John Joseph Gurney, Esq., and Mrs Fry made to you on this subject some time since.

- 1844 The Minutes repeat above sentiment, stating, 'We have had no definite intelligence of the opening of these colonies to the Wesleyan Missionaries ... on the contrary we have reason to believe that the local restrictions against their admission are as stringent as ever.'
- 1846 Danish Emancipation Act. In St Croix, where the population was 20,000, the former slaves worked for wages, therefore plantations flourished.
- 1847 Minutes:

The brethren still feel strongly in favour of a mission to the Danish islands. The impression is very general in Santa Cruz that no obstacle now exists to the introduction of Methodism in that island. A letter to Brother Cheeseborough from a pious lady residing in Santa Cruz says that we are even expected there, and, if so, we venture to submit whether our Committee be not under a solemn obligation to avail itself of such a providential opening, and thus commence a mission which would confer incalculable benefits upon thousands, and create a still deeper interest at home in our West Indian proceedings.

In event that the Missionary Committee resolving in a Mission to the Danish islands, we recommend that Santa Cruz is the proper place for a beginning, and some brother of experience already in the Antigua District as the Missionary. There are not fewer than one hundred Wesleyans already in the Danish Islands.

- 1850 The membership of churches on St Thomas was:

| | | |
|------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| Roman Catholics | 5,340 | |
| Moravians | 2,537 | |
| Lutherans Danish | 331 | |
| English | <u>1950</u> | 2,281 |
| Episcopal | | 1,365 |
| Reformed Church | | 711 |
| Others | | 824 (including Methodists) |
| Jews | <u>372</u> | total 13,430 ¹²¹ |

120 Larsen, p. 171.

121 Larsen, p. 196.

1854 St Kitts reported, '... continued emigration to Trinidad, Demerara, and St Thomas.'
The number of Methodists in the Virgin Islands continued to increase.

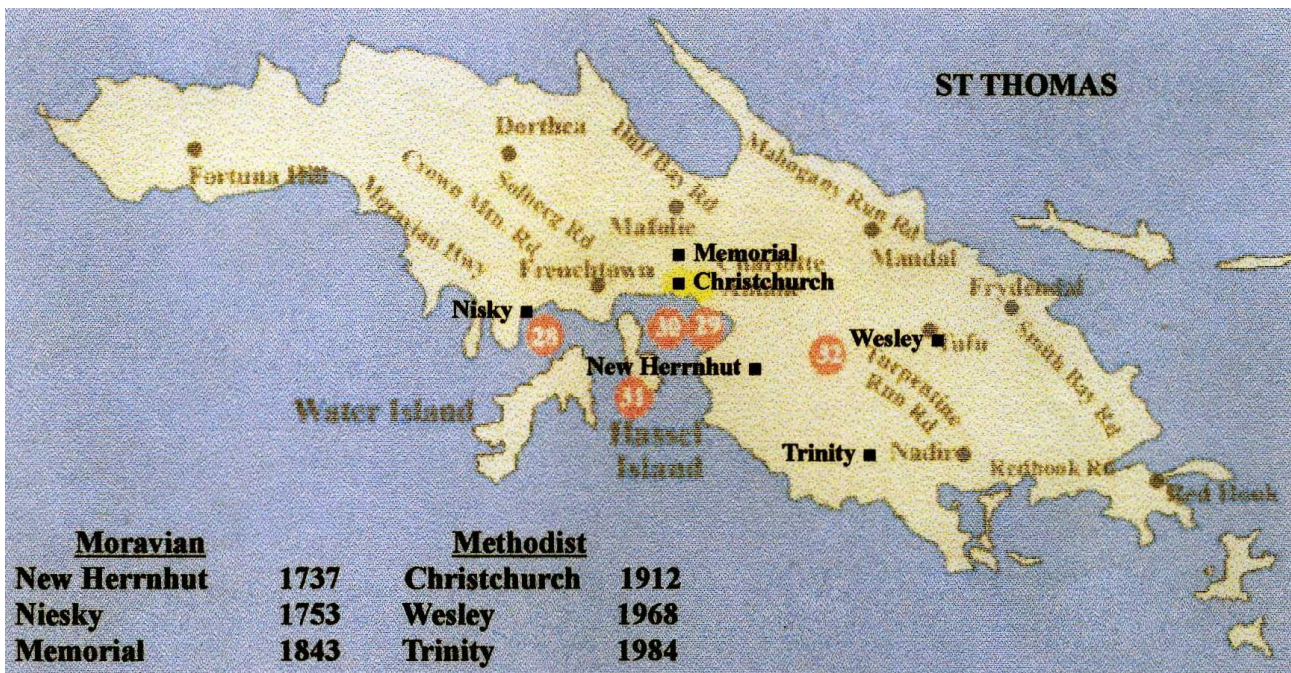
District Correspondence said, 'Since the Committee in their communication to the Chairman of the District have expressed their inability to enter into the Danish Islands, we have no other stations to recommend.'

Dutch Emancipation in July 1864 prompted further migration to the Danish Virgin Islands. Many Circuit Reports from the Leeward Islands reported the loss of members to the Danish Colonies, for example Sint Eustatius, 1864. Nothing further was reported up to 1868, and the following twenty-year period has not been researched. Autonomous West Indian Conferences were established in 1884. The historical resources for this period are held in the Caribbean and not in the British Missionary Archives until 1904, when the West Indian work was adopted again by the British Conference.

Summary

The problem of stationing a Minister in the Danish islands was political rather than religious. The affairs of the Lutheran State Church and of the Moravians were controlled by Royal Resolutions signed by the Danish Kings. However, throughout the years there had always been co-operation with the Moravians in facing the challenge of preaching the Gospel to all and in giving pastoral care to church members.

St Thomas



St Thomas is an island of 28 sq. m., 13 miles long and 4 miles wide. A central ridge runs through the island with smaller ridges branching off. Crown Mountain rises to 1,556 feet. There are relatively no flat areas of St Thomas. In the 1970s there was a one mile stretch of road where one could drive at 30 mph. The Veterans Highway through Charlotte Amalie is built on land claimed from the sea.¹²² The map shows the placement of Methodist and Moravian churches.¹²³

122 With Americanisation, the spelling of Amalia is Amalie, pronounced 'Amarlee' or 'Amelee'. In the 21st century, some people have reverted to Amalia.

123 The map shows 1984 as the date for Trinity Methodist Church. Methodists in Bovoni were formed into a Society 1982 and on July 21 1985 a first building was dedicated. The first part of a new building phase began and

It was noted that the language spoken in St Thomas was Dutch and the first Moravian Missionaries began to learn this language on their voyage in 1732. They then discovered that slaves spoke Dutch creole. Dober and Nitschmann had to find work and struggled for several years with religious activities in the village of Tappus (renamed Charlotte Amalia in 1691 after the wife of King Christian V.) Frederick Martin purchased a slave operated plantation in 1737 at 'Trombone Hill' with the intention of making it a self-contained community modelled on Herrnhut. He called this New Herrnhut. Work on Estate Niesky, a mile west of the town, began in 1753 and because of destruction by fire or hurricanes chapels were built on the same foundation in 1771, 1819, 1867, 1871 and 1971.

In 1803 there was a small Moravian presence in Charlotte Amalia, meeting in a small chapel and consisting mainly of the poor, aged and sick. The Rev John Dace in Tortola paid several visits to St Thomas in 1809; he preached in the Moravian chapel on September 24, chiefly to 'people of colour.'¹²⁴ Memorial Moravian Church in Charlotte Amalia began in 1843. In 1848 there were 2,290 Moravian members in St Thomas.

As a busy port, St Thomas was subject to tropical epidemics. In 1853 death claimed 1,865 through cholera and 100 from malaria and in 1866 a further 1,200-1,300 died from cholera. Immigration continued and by 1864, 1,700 from had come from Barbados and St Eustatius. In 1870 many French came from the Swedish island of St Barthélemy (St Barts) a few years before the island was sold back to France in 1878.

Establishment of Wesleyan Methodist Church

In 1891 a Wesleyan Minister was granted permission to reside in St Thomas. The Eastern West Indian Wesleyan Conference (1884-1904) sent the Rev James Barnett Foster who had spent three years in Barbados. Some West Indian Methodists had worshipped with the Moravians and others associated with the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) who came from Canada in 1871. This church was not recognised by the Danish Government. The AME Minister, the Rev Herbert F. Miller, was dismissed on March 14 1891 and Larsen suggests that Foster continued to use the AME building until there was the threat of legal proceedings over its use.¹²⁵

Moravian premises were rented and evening meetings held in the Dutch Reformed Church. After this, cordial relationship with the Moravians was seen when the Moravian Brethren joined with Anglicans, Wesleyans, Lutherans and Danish/Dutch Reformed Churches to found a Temperance League.¹²⁶ King Christian IX gave recognition to the Wesleyan Methodist Church by Royal Resolution in 1894. Further evidence of good relationships was seen in the Ministers Association in St Thomas formed from 1908; 'It has served the cause of unity among the churches through the Annual Week of Prayer.'¹²⁷

Land was bought in Charlotte Amalie in February 1908 and foundation stones laid on October 5 1910. Present were Bishop Greider, K.D. and The Rev A. B. Romig (Moravians), Anglican and Lutheran clergy, and The Rev David Cardoze (Jewish Reader.)

was dedicated on May 23 2004.

124 John Dace, letters dated March 7 and September 14 1809. MM 33 (1810) 43, 207.

125 Larsen, pp. 216-17. Based on information supplied by the Rev. Clifford E. Hardy, Minister in St Thomas 1945-50.

126 Hutton, undated reference in *History of Moravian Missions*. p. 509.

127 The monthly *St Thomas Messenger*, issued by the Ministers Association, undated.

At the dedication of 'Christchurch' on Christmas Day in 1912, 'The Right Rev. Bishop Greider of the Moravian Church delivered, with deep and measured expressiveness, an address most suitable to the occasion.'¹²⁸

Aside: Jewish presence at laying of foundation stones

The Jewish Reader and Mr & Mrs George Levi were present at the stone laying. Mr Cyril Smith and his wife Regina, the only surviving white people in the Christchurch congregation told Trevor Bates (1963-69) that the Methodists were only able to buy the church site because of the mediation of Jewish friends and contacts.¹²⁹ David Cardoze was born in Curaçao in 1824 and came to St Thomas aged 16 where he went into business. He was recognised by the Danish King as the Synagogue's permanent Reader in 1864 and was known as Rabbi Nathan until his death in 1914.¹³⁰ He was 87 years old at the Foundation Stonelaying.

Four house lots were acquired. Lot 10 Strandgade was exchanged between a Nip Colquhoun and heirs of George Nunes on May 12 1892. A Lucien Nunes was attributed with Jewish status in 1874. Number 10 Strandgade was sold to George Levi on February 8 1908 who sold on to the Rev F. W. Coward and his successors for WMMTA on February 12th; together with Lots 12 & 13. Lot 11 was purchased from Ida L. Cardoge (or Cardoze) of New Jersey, USA, with the pastor of the Lutheran Church acting as Attorney.¹³¹ We note the appearance of Portuguese Jewish names in these transactions: There is evidence that there were liaisons between Jewish men and Methodist non-white women producing double heritage children thus creating symbiotic relationship between Jewish folk and Methodists.¹³² The Rev Frederick Coward identified the wife of George Levi as a Methodist girl from St. Martin. The Levis were still in St Thomas during Mr. Sunter's ministry there in 1924-26, and Mrs Levi was probably sister to Mrs C. McI. Darrell.¹³³

A cosmopolitan sea port

Because of its location, St Thomas was always an important sea port with commerce passing through. Consequently, it attracted many new migrant groups and individuals, creating a cosmopolitan population.

At the time of the building of Christchurch Methodist, the 1911 census showed that 8% of the population were white, 12% mixed race and 80% Negroes. Of the white, 373 were born in Denmark and 82 in the United States. Larsen records that Virgin Island Lutherans numbered 3,206, Anglicans 9,050, Roman Catholics 7,359 and Moravians 5,543. He does not mention Methodists.¹³⁴

It is noted that many national groups sojourned in St Thomas before moving on, for example the Dutch plantocracy. In the 18th and 19th centuries, large numbers of the Jewish community went to the United States mainland, as did former Danish citizens after being granted American citizenship in 1927. In the 20th century, many who had been given Permanent Resident Alien status, including clergy, used this as a stepping stone for further migration to America.

The development of tourism in the 1960s and 1970s increased the number of British West Indians

128 Orders of Service and Newspapers.

129 Personal communication from Trevor S. Bates, October 2012.

130 Communication from Rabbi Stephen F. Moch, October 30 2012.

131 Property Deeds, St Thomas, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Trust Association (WMMTA).

132 Suggestion of Trevor Bates based on readings in Judah M. Cohen, *Through the Sands of Time—A History of the Jewish Community of St. Thomas, U.S. Virgin Islands* (University Press of New England, 2004).

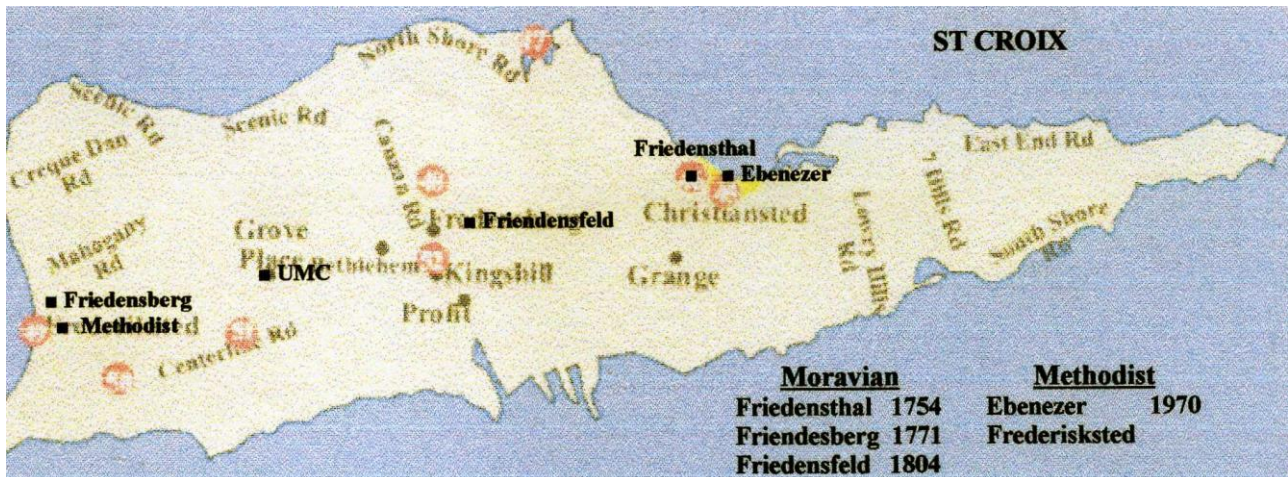
133 *Methodist Archivist*, 12 (April 29 1963) 2, editorial by William Sunter, George E. Lawrence, Donald S. Ching. The Rev Charles McI, Darrell, a West Indian Minister, was in the St Kitts/Leeward Islands District. He entered the Ministry in 1901 and died in 1956.

134 Larsen, p. 231.

and continental Americans. Hundreds of newly arrived Methodists nurtured in the British tradition of spirituality settled and remained in the Virgin Islands (see later.)

St Croix

St Croix lies 40 miles south of the other Virgin Islands. The island is 22 miles long and its widest points are between six and seven miles; it comprises 84 sq. m. The east is arid, the middle has pastures and the West is lush. The highest point is Mount Eagle at 1,088 ft. Unlike other Caribbean Islands, the main town and port of Christiansted is on the north coast; the other main town is Fredericksted at the western end. Location of churches and dates of foundation are seen on the map.



St Croix has been under seven flags in its political development (presuming that the native American Caribs and Arawaks did not fly national flags.) These were the flags of Spain, the Netherlands, France, Great Britain, Denmark, the Knights of Malta and the United States of America.

Santa Cruz/St Croix time line

- 1493 Carib and Arawak occupation on island of *Ayay*: Columbus named it *Santa Cruz*
- 1587 British presence but from 1596 no inhabitants
- 1626 Dutch and English settlers
- 1642 Dutch possession
- 1646 British
- 1650 Spanish briefly and first colonization attempt by Frenchman Sieur de Poincy
- 1653 Knights of Malta (religious group Order of St John of Jerusalem)
Passed to French Crown, 'but the French had no talent for agriculture.'
- 1665 French West India Company
- 1674 French Crown
- 1695 Officially abandoned and unoccupied
- 1733 French Government sold St Croix to Danish West India and Guinea Company for \$150,000.¹³⁵
- 1754 Danish Crown
- 1787 Population of Santa Cruz 30,000
- 1801 British occupation
- 1802 Danish
- 1807 December 26th capitulation and British occupation
- 1815 Danish
- 1917 Denmark sold the three Virgin Islands to the United State of America for US \$25 million

135 Spanish dollars = 750,000 French livres = 141,926 rdl.

Churches in St Croix

| Church | date | origin | language | composition |
|---|-------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| A. Colonial implantations | | | | |
| Dutch Reformed | 1660 | Dutch | Dutch | Dutch |
| Lutheran Danish | 1665 | Danish | Danish | Danish + |
| Dutch Creole | | Slaves | Dutch Creole | African |
| Moravian | 1754 | European | Dutch Creole | African |
| Roman Catholic, Holy Cross | 1755 | French | French | French + |
| Protestant Episcopal, Anglican | 1761 | British Caribbean | English | Brits/African + became multi-ethnic |
| B. American Missions immediately before or after the United States acquisition | | | | |
| Burning Bush Mission | 1913 | Continental U.S.A. | English language from this time on | |
| A. M. E. Zion | 1917 | “ “ | | |
| World Mission & Society | 1919 | “ “ | | |
| Assemblies of God | 1920 | “ “ | | |
| A. M. E. St Lukes | 1920 | “ “ | | |
| A. M. E. Bethel | 1920 | “ “ | | |
| Pilgrim (Wesleyan) Holiness | 1920 | “ “ | | |
| Church of God of Prophecy | 1926 | “ “ | | |
| C. Migrant workers with tourism boom | | | | |
| M.E.C. ¹³⁶ Community Church | 1950s | Puerto Rico islands | Spanish language | |
| M.E.C. White expatriates | 1960s | Continental U.S.A. | English | |
| Methodist Church (MCCA.) ¹³⁷ | 1960s | British/Dutch Caribbean | English | |
| Church of God (Holiness) | 1963 | Afro-American | English | |
| Bethany Fellowship | 1966 | “ | “ | |
| Church of God World Missions | 1966 | “ | “ | |

Churches established after 1966 not given.

Having been in St Croix since 1750, The Moravian Brethren had established three stations: Friedensthal (West of Christiansted) in 1754, Friedensberg (Frederiksted) in 1771, and Friedensfeld (near Bonne Esperance) in 1804. In 1846 the population of St Croix was 20,000.

Beginning in January 1789 attempts were made to commence Wesleyan Missionary work in St Croix, the Danish Government refusing all requests. In 1962, the number of immigrant Methodists in the island warranted a church and minister.¹³⁸ The following year regular visits were made and a list of seventy members drawn up. Monthly services began and a first baptism conducted. The first minister was appointed in 1966, one hundred and nineteen years after the District Meeting first recommended the stationing of a minister in the island. Membership having grow to more than 200, St Croix Methodists were given Society status in 1967. Ebenezer church-hall at Richmond in Christiansted was dedicated in December 1970.

Frederiksted Methodists held their first service in the UMC Community Church on January 11 1976. Bethel was opened on June 4 1989 in Frederiksted. With the closure of the Aluminum Plant

¹³⁶ The Methodist Episcopal Church [MEC] was established in the U.S.A. in 1784. After merging with the Methodist Protestant Church in 1939 it became known as The Methodist Church. After it joined with the Evangelical United Brethren Church in 1968 the title became The United Methodist Church [UMC] from 1972.

¹³⁷ The Methodist Church in the West Indies became autonomous in May 1967 as The Methodist Church in the Caribbean and the Americas [MCCA].

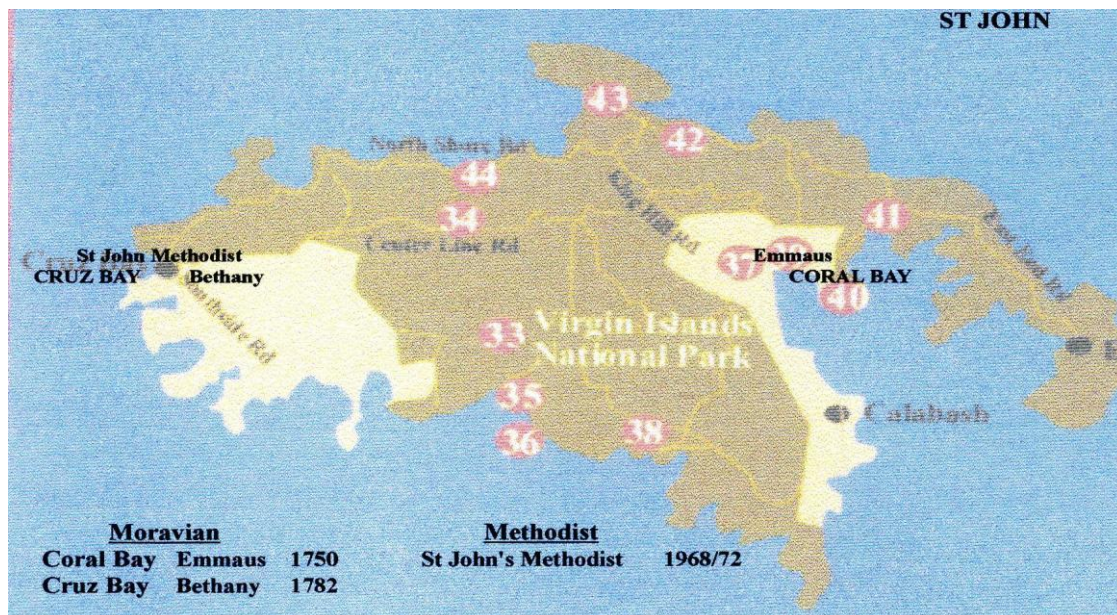
¹³⁸ Leonard Crichton, 'Report on Visits to St Croix, Virgin Islands, December 4 1962.

and the Hess Oil Refinery, Stateside Americans left St Croix. The MCCA began negotiations with the UMC in 2004 with a view to taking over the Community Church. This was approved by the MCCA Conference in 2004 and the Deeds were eventually transferred in March 2011.

Cultural and social barriers

St Croix had a chequered history and a multiplication of Christian churches catering to different ethnic groups and languages. The Methodist Church arrived with two North American Churches: white English speaking continentals and Spanish speaking Puerto Ricans. The African Methodist Episcopal and African Methodist Episcopal (Zion) were also American importations. If you count the Pilgrim Holiness Church (renamed Wesleyan Holiness in 1968) as a Wesleyan branch, The Methodist Church in the Caribbean and the Americas represented a sixth variety of Methodist spirituality and practice.

St John



An island comprising 20 sq. m. St John lies 4 miles east of St Thomas. Cruz Bay to East End is about 9 miles and north to south it is approximately 4 miles at its widest. Bordeaux is 1,227 feet above sea level. Coral Bay has a natural harbour but Cruz Bay became the main 'town' and harbour because of its proximity to St Thomas, a twenty minutes ferry journey from Red Hook. Two-thirds of the island is National Park.

St John remained virtually untouched by tourism until the late 1970s, apart from the exclusive Rockefeller resort within the National Park. This catered for American Presidents and Evangelists such as Billy Graham.

Methodist identity and a place to feel at home

In the early years, newly arrived Methodists were advised to join other churches in St Thomas. This was a simplistic solution, as in the Danish Virgin Islands there were national, linguistic and theological barriers. The Lutheran Church had served the Danish authorities as evidenced with the first 'Christchurch' (Christi Kerke) inside the walls of Fort Christian in St Thomas. The Reformed

Church served Dutch traders and planters but was Calvinist in its theology. Note has been made of the Moravian Church.

Methodists from the British and Dutch Caribbean came in such numbers that they were not assimilated in an alien environment. Although American citizenship was not granted until 1927, United States citizens did not always welcome migrating Christians, a factor continuing through the 20th century in St John and St Croix, even between Methodists. When the population in St John doubled in the decade 1960-70, native Virgin Islanders felt threatened. Moravian church members were not immune from this resentment against aliens. Resentment was extended to white continentals.¹³⁹

Wesleyans and Moravians had much in common in terms of spirituality, although in common with other migrant groups the new arrivals wanted to keep their identity. Some had associated with the A.M.E. in Thomas, however, the majority of members did not feel at home among the varied practices of this North American Church.

In the 1960s, the reason for Methodists being unhappy in other churches' worship was that they missed the 'sweetness' of their own church. This included the Liturgy of Morning Prayer so familiar and loved by them, the preaching and hymns. Not least, many wanted to maintain the Methodist experience of practical Christianity and the fellowship of the Class Meeting in which they had been nurtured.¹⁴⁰

139 An example was seen c.1973 when a young continental man expressed opinions in a local development enquiry. In an angry response, the Chairman of the meeting told him that he should go back home!

140 H. Leonard Crichton, St Thomas Report, December 4, 1962.

Part IV Eastern Caribbean Controversies, 1969¹⁴¹

20th century migration to Virgin Islands

From the earliest years of Methodist presence in the Eastern Caribbean there was continual migration from British, Dutch and French Colonies to the Danish Virgin Islands. The above overview for the 19th century showed a significant number of Methodist members residing, especially in St Thomas. At the same time there was continual migration to the sugar plantations of St Croix. During the war years (1939-46) Spanish-speaking people from the off-shore islands of Puerto-Rico – Jicques and Cubelva – came to work in the sugar industry and settled.

After Fidel Castro assumed power, Cuba aligned itself with the Soviet Union on December 19 1960. The Soviet missile crisis caused an American blockade thus preventing tourism to Cuba. The industry transferred to the American island of Puerto Rico and after this reached saturation point the overspill came to the American Virgin Islands (USVI). This tourism was mainly to St Thomas and later to the other American islands. At the same time, St Croix was seeing industrial development with the Harvey Aluminum Plant in 1966 (Martin Marietta Plant extended 1972-3) and the Hess Oil Refinery.

As a consequence, thousands of immigrants received permanent resident alien visas or bonded worker status.¹⁴² More arrived and worked illegally in hotel construction and services. In addition, Charlotte Amalie with its natural harbour entertained on average three to six of the large tourist ships several days a week. Hundreds of taxi drivers catered for the visitors and duty-free stores employed many staff members.

| | <u>1911 Denmark</u> | | <u>1917 USA</u> ¹⁴³ | |
|-----------|---------------------|------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| St Croix | | 15,467 | | 14,901 |
| St Thomas | | 10,678 | | 10,191 |
| St John | | <u>941</u> | | <u>959</u> |
| total | | 27,086 | | 26,051 |

| | <u>1930</u> | <u>1940</u> | <u>1950</u> | <u>1960</u> | <u>1970</u> | <u>1980</u> | <u>1990</u> | <u>2000</u> | <u>2010</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| St Croix | 11,413 | 12,902 | 12,103 | 14,973 | 31,892 | 49,013 | 50,139 | 53,234 | 50,601 |
| St Thomas | 9,834 | 11,265 | 13,813 | 16,201 | 29,565 | 44,218 | 48,166 | 51,181 | 51,634 |
| St John | 765 | 722 | 749 | 925 | 1,743 | 2,360 | 3,504 | 4,197 | 4,170 |
| Total USVI | 22,012 | 24,889 | 26,665 | 32,099 | 63,200 ¹⁴⁴ | 95,591 | 101,809 | 108,612 | 106,405 |
| increase | | 3% | 6% | 17% | 97% | 51.5% | 6.5% | 6.5% | minus 2% |

[percentages rounded to nearest tenth percent]

It was always assumed that the majority of Methodist immigrants were from the neighbouring British Virgin Islands with smaller numbers from the Eastern and Southern Caribbean and (British) Guyana, even from Jamaica and Honduras. This may have been true of earlier generations, but the

141 The writer of this paper was in a rural area of St Kitts 1967-69 and the United States Virgin Islands 1970-74. He was in pastoral charge of the St John Methodists when they were given Society status in 1973. He was also an Associate Pastor of the St Croix congregation in 1970 when its first chapel was dedicated in Christiansted.

142 'Aliens' is the American term for non-citizens. The much sought after 'Green Card' was the Alien's 'Permanent Residence Visa'. With Bonded workers the spouse and children could not work and were deported on the death of the Bonded worker.

143 Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918).

144 Official census figures released by Government House in 1970 gave the population total as 62,468. The figures for the three islands were considered by well-informed observers to be highly inaccurate (due to illegal immigrant workers.)

following statistics indicate the possibility that many more were from other Caribbean territories where the Methodist Church was long established (with the exception of Guadeloupe from 1973.) The Moravian Church also benefited from large numbers of members from Antigua and St Kitts.

Non Resident Aliens eligible for indefinite employment 1973¹⁴⁵

| <u>Island of origin</u> | <u>numbers</u> | <u>percentage</u> | <u>sub total</u> |
|---------------------------|----------------|-------------------|---|
| St Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla | 4,320 | 38.6 | |
| Antigua | 2,575 | 23. | |
| St Lucia | 1,540 | 13.8 | |
| Dominica | 1,045 | 9.3 |84.7% from these four island territories |
| Trinidad and Tobago | 380 | 3.4 | |
| Grenada | 320 | 2.9 | |
| St Vincent | 230 | 2.1 | |
| B.V.I | 215 | 1.9 | |
| Montserrat | 210 | 1.9 | |
| Netherlands Antilles | 145 | 1.3 | |
| Guadeloupe | 120 | 1.1 | |
| Barbados | 30 | 0.3 | |
| Jamaica | 30 |0.3 |14.9% from other Caribbean islands |
| all other | 40 | 0.4 | 0.4% all other places |
| | ----- | | ----- |
| | 11,200 | ** | 100.0% |

** percentage figures rounded to nearest tenth percent

note: Three Methodist Ministers would be included in the 0.4% 'all other'.

A comparison is made with census figures for the year 2000. This shows that out of a population of 108,612, 7.4% were born in the B.V.I. and, for example, 19.5% in St Kitts-Nevis.

Darwin Creque said that the social stratification of the American Virgin Islands in 1968 was made up of five identifiable ethnic groups:

1. Whites, consisting of native whites, French-Americans residing in St Thomas, aliens of European or other origin, members of the Jewish community, and 'Continental' (émigrés from the United States).

Economic leadership is dominated by this group.

2. Native Non-Whites, consisting of the indigenous population;

3. Puerto Ricans, the Spanish speaking element who are émigrés from Culebra, Vieques, and the mainland of Puerto Rico, mainly in St Croix.

These are engaged in business, agriculture, the trades and professions.

4. Émigrés from the British Virgin Islands. A high degree of inter-relationship exists between American Virgin Islanders and their British counterparts;

5. The 'Aliens', non-white émigrés from the French, Dutch, and what were formerly the British West Indies. *They constitute the largest minority group and pose a real threat to future dominance by the native population.*¹⁴⁶

In addition there were illegal immigrants. Early in 1972 there was one of several mass deportations of illegal immigrants when it was estimated that 4,000 of the 7,000 deported were living in St Croix. This severely impacted on the Methodist Church and those legally remaining in St Croix were afraid to go to church for some time. There was also a criminal presence: passengers arriving from the United States did not have to pass through immigration controls upon arrival in the Virgin Islands.

145 *The Weekly Journal*, April 12 1973, p. 19, cited in the *St Thomas Daily News*, April 19 1973.

146 Darwin D. Creque, *The U.S. Virgins and the Eastern Caribbean* (Philadelphia: Whitmore Publishing Co., 1968) Ch. VI. My emphasis in the last sentence.

In St Thomas the majority of the population was Afro-Virgin Islanders, of which some 50% had British Virgin Island ancestry. Historically, St Croix was demographically different with Danes, Afro-Virgin Islanders, USA continentals and Afro-Caribbeans whereas St John was almost entirely Afro-Virgin Islanders and USA Caucasians.

In 1963 the St Thomas population was 25,000, of which 19,300 were Citizens and Permanent Residents. The 1970 population of the USVI included more than 4,000 residents from the continental United States and 20,000 aliens. However, Catholic social workers in St Croix registered the same number of aliens in that island alone.

Within this expanding population, the Methodist community was growing with about half of the 7,500 bonded persons being Methodists. In total, it was estimated that there were 5,000 Methodists in St Thomas (including bonded workers) of which 1,138 were in Full Membership.¹⁴⁷ In the church year 1962-3 almost one third of Baptisms were Methodist (77/223) and one quarter of the total marriage licences (63) were issued to Methodist pastors.

The number of English-speaking Methodists in St Croix was calculated to be about 2,000, a thousand of these connected with the A.M.E. Churches. The A.M.E. had a large congregation whose pastor had been there since the 1940s. A second congregation was pastored by a son of St Croix who was trained at Drew, USA. Both he and his wife taught at the Christiansted High School, as did the newly appointed pastor of the A.M.E. (Zion). The latter was a small mission. Some West Indian Methodists associated with these churches, but being part-time their ministers did not have time for outreach and pastoral care. Not many Methodists had associated with the Moravian, Anglican and Lutheran churches.

Conversations in St Croix with the Methodist Church, U.S.A.

The former Methodist Church, USA. (UMC from 1972) established the St Croix Methodist Church to serve two different people groups. The first formed in 1951 was to serve Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans from the offshore islands. The second served white North American expatriates (not necessarily Methodists.) The Methodist Leeward Islands District began negotiations in 1964 with the Puerto Rican Sub Conference of the Methodist Church to declare St Croix an Area of Joint Christian Activity catering for American citizens, both English-speaking and Spanish-speaking Methodists.¹⁴⁸ In the latter part of the 19th century, the first American Lutheran minister 'from the States' who supplied in the Reformed Church, wrote 'The Americans perhaps, more than any other, are clannish'. Dr Charles Krauth added that the reason then was 'they are republicans, and all the rest are monarchists.'¹⁴⁹ In the 1960s, Trevor Bates noted (especially in St Thomas, but also in St Croix) that 'So many of the "continental" Methodists refused to get interested with this community.'¹⁵⁰

The American chapel for speakers of English in St Croix was in a rural area, four miles from Frederiksted and eleven from Christiansted, towns where most MCCA Methodists lived. Good relationships existed between the American and Caribbean Churches at an executive level, but there was not much concern for the 'alien'. The matter of the British Caribbean ethos in an American

147 Special Report on The Virgin Islands and the Methodist Church appended to Circuit Report for 1964.

148 LID Synod Minutes, 1965, Representative Session, Cap. H, Q1.

149 Larsen, p. 198 citing A. Spaeth, *Charles Porterfield Krauth*, Vol. I, (New York, 1898) pp. 214-60.

150 Trevor S. Bates, 'Report on Methodism in the U.S. Virgin Islands.' July 1966. Comparison may be made to Curaçao where expatriates who had been active church members did not become involved with churches unless they made contact within the first two weeks. Peter Harwood, 1973.

setting was discussed. Although joint venture with the American Methodists was negotiated, it was decided in 1965 for the work to be complimentary and go ahead with separate developments. A Methodist Society for West Indians was formed in Christiansted in 1964 with a membership of 140 and 240 on the community roll. The first Methodist groups met alternative months at the Frederiksted church and at the Christiansted Moravian chapel.

St Thomas was a Circuit with one church where Leaders seriously suggested 'we send the Methodists (in St Croix) to other churches... our minister has enough to do here' at Christchurch.¹⁵¹ The number of MCCA Methodist members multiplied in St Croix and the need for pastoral care became increasingly demanding. Meanwhile, the relationships between MCCA Methodists and the Moravian Brethren continued to be good and use of their building in Christiansted continued.¹⁵²

In summary, none of the other churches had shown any constructive concern for the 'alien' and in St Croix some very bitter attitudes had been produced.¹⁵³ Upon his appointment in September 1966, the Rev Jennings Martin found 264 members, the number rising to 291 the following year. It is within this context that we look at the problems highlighted by Bishop Oliver Maynard.

Discussions about Ecumenical Action in the Caribbean

The January 1967 LID Synod had proposed Methodist-Moravian Conversations. 'Synod requests Conference to consider ways to initiate conversations with the Moravian Church; this would be in line with the recommendations from Anglican-Methodist Conversations that we should be free to enter into negotiations with other churches.'¹⁵⁴

In May 1967, the inaugural Conference of the Methodist Church in the Caribbean and the Americas received a letter with application from Oliver Maynard seeking to discover if conversations could be initiated between the Methodist Church and the Moravian Church Eastern Province. The Conference requested Dr Maynard to see if this could be done throughout the whole area and gave authority to the Synods of the Guyana, South Caribbean and Jamaica Districts to set up Committees to explore this question.¹⁵⁵

The 1968 Conference welcomed the Rt. Revd. Donald R. Knowles, Anglican Bishop of Antigua, and Revd. Dr. Oliver Maynard, Chairman of the Provincial Elders Conference of the Eastern West Indies Province of the Moravian Church. Dr Maynard spoke to the Representative Session of Conference, stating:

1. Moravians and Methodists have been, and are, so close yet no one has done anything about uniting them.
2. The similar work done by Moravians and Methodists in close proximity is a regrettable fact.
3. The way ahead may be united action, perhaps in education, perhaps in worship, and the avoidance of duplication where at present it does not exist.
4. The purpose of the ecumenical movement should not be to impress the world with our unity.

Conference requested its Secretary to write to the Anglicans and Moravians inviting them to consider using our Conference Headquarters land and facilities (Belmont in Antigua) in any future

151 St Thomas Circuit Meeting (names and date withheld.)

152 St Thomas Circuit Report, 1966.

153 Bates, 1966 Report.

154 LID Synod, 1967, Representative Session Minutes, Miscellaneous 7 (b).

155 MCCA Conference, 1967, Representative Session Minutes, Cap G, 2 (c) 2.

development of their own Conference Centres.¹⁵⁶

Breaking of relations, 1969

Bishop Oliver Maynard wrote to the Rev Donald C. Henry, Chairman of the Leeward Islands District, who forwarded an extract to the Rev. Trevor Bates, Superintendent of the St Thomas Circuit, dated **24 March 1969**.

... I write particularly about Methodism in the Virgin Islands. The Situation at Christiansted [St Croix] is developing into a division, whereas we anticipated Methodist Moravian Joint Christian Action. Now my Superintendent in St Thomas informed me yesterday that Wilfred Hodge is now holding services in St John in the home of an ex-Methodist who recently joined the Moravian Church. We consider this ridiculous. St John is a small island with scarcely 1100 inhabitants and already we have Moravian, Lutheran, Anglican, Baptists and other churches on St. John. Why can't the Moravians and Methodists cooperate? This running into each other's territory is poor stewardship of time, energy and money. We are very disappointed and would like to know what can be done to establish definite measures for Methodist-Moravian Joint Christ Action. You know how strongly I feel on this matter and I have discussed it with you and with Mr. Sherlock. I also opened up the whole subject at your Methodist Conference. I have been making all the overtures from the days of Leonard Crichton in St Thomas, with Errol Wiltshire and George Marshall in Tobago, with Trevor Bates in St. Thomas, with Jennings Martin in St. Croix, with Mr. Ching in St. Kitts, with David Mitchell and Vivian Commissiong in Trinidad. We are getting tired of talk, talk, talk. When are we going to establish some definite policy of cooperation?

The Moravians, ever since Methodists came to the West Indies, set up a gentleman's agreement that we would not go into Methodist areas. We feel that you are a sister-church and if you are serving in any given area, we will not go there...¹⁵⁷

In reply, Trevor Bates commented:

1. From the opening of the Wesley Church I have made it clear that Wilfred Hodge would be responsible for our work in the eastern end of St. Thomas and St. John. We have known for years that there are Methodists in St. John, but no plan was possible for their pastoral care and oversight until now.
2. We are holding meetings and services for interested Methodists at the home of Mr. & Mrs. Reginald Callwood, at their invitation. Reg. Callwood is a baptised Methodist from Tortola, and has become a member of the Moravian Church in St. John. Mrs Callwood is a received Methodist of Tortola and followed her husband. However, she is very keen to see Methodists gathered together in St. John.
3. Wilfred Hodge's first visit to St. John was due to the fact that the first applicant for reception at Wesley was a person from St. John. On visiting the Cruz Bay area he discovered some interest among Methodists to come together for a Fellowship Meeting, which he started. At the moment he visits on Tuesdays, holds a Reception Class for five people in the evening, followed by a Fellowship meeting – both at the home of the Callwoods. He stays with them overnight, and returns to St. Thomas on Wednesday. We also have a Worship Service Sunday afternoons at 3.30 pm. at the Callwoods.
4. We have a list of 22 Received Methodists, mostly from the B.V.I. Circuit, and all volunteered their names as being interested in some form of organised Methodist work in St. John. At the

¹⁵⁶ MCCA Conference, 1968, Representative Session Minutes, Cap G, 2 (b) pp. 74-76.

¹⁵⁷ Oliver G. Maynard did not include bibliographical references in *A History of the Eastern Province of the Moravian Church in the West Indies* (Port of Spain: Yuille's Printery, 1968).

moment it is considered part of the work of Wesley parish, and we have made it quite clear that it is not our intention to attract anyone from other congregations or Church commitments, but to gather together those Methodists who are interested to meet according to the pattern they are used to.

5. Our meetings gather up to 40/50 people from week to week, and most are keen to see this work continue.

6. The main reason why this work has been so encouraging so far, is that those Methodists who have associated themselves with the Moravian congregation are given the real impression that they are 'foreigners' intruding. Reg Callwood himself, carrying a large responsibility in the congregation of the Cruz Bay Moravian Church feels that he is being 'used' by them, but is not treated as an equal. Now all this is subjective I know, and possibly there is another side to the story, but we are getting an encouraging response. And the situation seems identical to the St. Croix situation i.e. Methodists are NOT being ministered to in a positive and constructive way.

7. It is definitely NOT TRUE to say that Oliver Maynard made overtures either to myself here in St. Thomas, or Jennings Martin in St. Croix about Methodist/Moravian Joint Action.

8. What we are doing in St. John cannot be considered 'new' work, but part of the pastoral outreach of the Wesley Society.

9. The population in St. John will certainly grow in the coming years, and there will be an increasing number of Methodist people living there.

10. Methodists come from St. John to have their children baptised, and for Marriage ceremonies. This has been happening throughout my time.

11. The best way Methodist/Moravian Joint Action can come about is for Oliver Maynard to see that the initial steps are made by his own people in the congregations. When the interest is there then he can channel it. But it cannot be imposed from executive level.

Trevor Bates, Superintendent St. Thomas Circuit, April 11th 1969.

Correspondence, Circuit Reports, Conference and Synod Minutes

MCCA Conference Representative Session Minutes, 1969. Cap G. 2 (b)

Proposal in Jamaica for consultation between Methodist, Moravian, United Church, Disciples of Christ: Discussions about unity without committing the whole Conference area.

The basis of union (to be) referred to the Denominations concerned throughout the Conference area.

Correspondence

In this series of communications, the pivotal letter was dated September 2nd 1969, from The Moravian Church, Eastern West Indies Province, Frederiksted, St Croix. This was addressed to The Rt. [sic] Revd. Hugh Sherlock, President of the MCCA and the Revd. Donald Henry, Chairman of the Leeward Islands District of the Methodist Church. The letter requested that copies be forwarded to all the Superintendents in the Leeward Islands District and all the Chairmen and Superintendents of the Methodist Church in other Districts of the Caribbean.¹⁵⁸

Dear Brethren,

It is my painful duty to write this letter, but I have no other choice.

158 The Leeward Islands District included 12 Circuits in British, Dutch, French and American islands. The Methodist South Caribbean District was within the Moravian Eastern Province. The MCCA Conference also included Districts in Guyana, Jamaica, Haiti, The Bahamas, Panama/Costa Rica, & Belize/Honduras.

I have spoken officially as Chairman of the Moravian Church to your Conference inviting your Church to closer cooperation with the Moravian Church.

I specifically pointed out that we, as Moravians, are very unhappy about the very un-ecumenical activities of some of the Methodist brethren in the Virgin Islands and elsewhere. I invited you to a team ministry in St. John, in St. Thomas, in St. Croix and in St. Kitts. I also pointed out that it was very poor stewardship of man-power and finances to continue in the way in which you are going in setting up separate church groups and buildings while we are mouthing a lot of ecumenical talk. I gave you specific examples of your un-ecumenical activities as a Methodist Church in St Thomas, in St. John and in St. Croix. You promised to look into the matter and assured the Moravians that you would take appropriate action. Two years have passed by and we have not heard another single word; yet the un-ecumenical behaviour continues, particularly in the U.S. Virgin Islands.

The Directing board of the Moravian Church met in Antigua on July 14th, 1969, with the Superintendents of all of the Conferences of the Moravian Church. Every brother, without equivocation or mental reservation, expressed dissatisfaction with the Methodist attitude and practice and decided unanimously, as a mark of protest, to break off all relationships with the Methodist Church throughout the Eastern West Indies Province until some positive and concrete action is taken by the Methodist Church to remedy the situation and to show good faith in this matter of Joint Christian Action and Ecumenical Relationships.

We are very grieved to take this step, but we feel that the time has come for us to take a firm stand.

The Methodists have used our buildings at Christiansted in St. Croix for several years, and each year you ask for more facilities. I, as Chairman of the Provincial Board, offered you at your Conference to join with us in a team ministry, but you still insist on building your own CHURCH. In St. John and in St Thomas, we have made you the same offer, but you are going your own way, as far as we can see. In St Kitts, we are still awaiting word from the Methodists since 1966 with respect to the Joint Christian Action in Newtown, Basseterre.

The Moravians are engaged in a joint work in Trinidad with the Methodists and Presbyterians. The Moravians and the Presbyterians have put in \$10,000.00 each and all we have from the Methodists is a promise to contribute later, which stand-point is not satisfactory.

You may consider me to be very blunt, but I want to present the facts as we see them clearly, and we want you to see them clearly also.

We do not and cannot understand your silence, your delay in taking appropriate action over the past two years, and we, regretfully, have come to the point where we have decided to sever all connections with the Methodist Church throughout this Province.

Sometimes, one has to be cruel in order to be kind, as well as truthful.

It hurts me very deeply to write this kind of letter, as you are all my personal friends, for whom I have a deep respect; but facts are facts, and as I told the Methodist Conference very clearly two years ago, I do not intend to go on talking of Zinzendorf and Wesley, paying compliments to one another, thanking God for our fellowship in the Gospel and praying for a closer union, while at the same time we are behaving in the most un-ecumenical fashion.

I deeply regret the stand which we have to take, but I have a responsibility to the Moravian Church.

In spite of all that has had to be written above, I assure you of our prayers and of our continuing love.

Yours sincerely and fraternally,
 G. Oliver Maynard.
 Chairman of the Provincial Board.
 Bishop of the Unitas Fratrum,

U.S. Virgin Islands Circuit Report 1968-69 to the 1970 LID Synod

The Circuit deeply regrets the decision of the Moravian Church to break off relationships with the Methodist Church[.] due to what they describe as the un-ecumenical activities of the Methodists. This Circuit bears part of the responsibility as such activities were carried on here. We feel though that such a decision could do little to destroy the happy relationships which the churches on a whole have been enjoying.

The Moravian Church in Christiansted, following the decision to break relations with the Methodist Church, gave us one day's notice to vacate their premises after which the A.M.E. Zion chapel was used for worship.

The **LID 1971 Synod** noted 'Conference agreed that Moravian/Methodist relations..... by the President and Bishop Maynard.'¹⁵⁹

Assessment of relationships

MCCA

Before 1967, Methodist Circuits reported to and were accountable to the Methodist Missionary Society in London. The British Methodist Conference was responsible for all matters relating to ecumenical relations, but there was a certain measure of freedom at the local level when it came to inter-church activities. With the establishment of the MCCA, the autonomous Conference had good intentions for ecumenical working. However, the fledgling Conference was establishing its identity between 1967-9. It was one thing for executives to make decisions, another for these to filter down the lines of communication to Synods and Circuits.

In the years following 1971, there is no mention of Moravian and Methodist relationships in the MCCA Conference Minutes. The Connexional agenda included annual reports of ecumenical cooperation with The World Council of Churches (WCC) The Caribbean Conference of Churches (CCC) The Council of Evangelical Methodist Churches in Latin America (CIEMAL) and The Council of Latin American Churches (CLAI). Conversations about inter-communion were with the Roman Catholic Church!

Antigua

Antigua does not enter into the later 1969 complaints about lack of Joint Christian Action. In 1965, united Communion Services were reported between Methodists and Moravians. When the American Moravian pastor was on furlough, the Methodist Minister conducted communion services in the Moravian church at Liberta. As in the Virgin Islands, Pastors from the U.S.A. were appointed to Moravian churches in Antigua in this period.

St Kitts

In his letter of September 1969, Bishop Maynard had complained that for three years he was waiting for Methodist replies concerning Joint Christian Action in Newtown, an eastern suburb of Basseterre in St Kitts. At the end of the 18th century, Newtown was populated in poor, dense housing. Hope Chapel was built and presented to the Methodist Church in 1879 and used for

159 LID Representative Minutes, 1971, Cap G, 3 b (I). The sentence is incomplete.

Sunday worship and Day and Sunday schools. In the 1960s, there was a New Town Moravian Fellowship meeting in the home of Sister Clarice Richardson.¹⁶⁰ The writer of this paper was in a rural area of St Kitts 1965-67 and was given to understand that it was the Moravians who wanted to extend their work where the Methodists had had a chapel for eighty six years. In this period the Methodist Superintendent in Basseterre had two lengthy periods of hospitalisation and incapacity and was repatriated to England on health grounds in May 1967. This explains his lack of communication with Maynard. There is no mention of this matter in the St Kitts Circuit Reports to the Synod. The Hope building was demolished and a new chapel with educational unit was opened in George Street on September 1 1985. Also, preaching took place in the Irish Town district of the main town. In a village just west of Basseterre, St Johnston's Methodist chapel was built in 1939.

The US Virgin Islands.

One difficulty facing new arrivals was the Virgin Island ethos oriented to the Continental United States. First and second generation American citizens (citizenship was granted in 1927) only looked one way and sat loose to the needs of the West Indian islanders. In the years 1972-3, the Virgin Island Church was influenced by the Black Separatist philosophy in the U.S.A. Nationalistic resentment to new Permanent Residents and Bonded workers was interpreted as unwelcoming fellowship in the churches. The location of Moravian churches was a determining factor in St Croix where language was also a barrier with Spanish-speakers. The sheer number of Methodists made it impossible for the Moravian Church to cater for their needs. Furthermore, in 1970 the traditional churches, Dutch Reformed, Lutheran, Moravian and Catholic, still had white pastors from the U.S. mainland. In contrast, Methodist ministers appointed to the Danish/American Virgin Islands were West Indians or Guyanese who had experience in the Caribbean territories, the first indigenous Superintendent arriving in 1958. The West Indian identity and a sense of belonging has been noted, and West Indian Methodists longed for their familiar liturgies and hymns. In St Thomas, language was not a barrier, although the University of the Virgin Islands campaigned (unsuccessfully) for an Americanised 'Calypso English' to be recognised as an official language.

Conclusion: peaceful co-existence

From 1965 to 1973, children baptised at Christchurch Methodist whose parents lived west of Nisky Moravian Church averaged sixteen per year. A Committee was appointed by the USVI Circuit Meeting in 1974 to look at ecumenical outreach with Anglicans in the West of St Thomas. A report was received by the June Quarterly Meeting that decided, 'In view of the small number of Methodists in the Western Area of St Thomas, the committee does not recommend that we are justified in capital investment in the ecumenical project at the present time. If, in the future, the situation changes, we would like to think that there would be opportunity of joining the venture.'

The writer, who had pastoral charge of the St John Methodists 1970-74, during which time a Methodist Society was formally established, was not aware of problems during this period. The Moravian Pastor in St John (1969-75) recalls that at grass-roots level relations between Moravians and Methodists continued to be normal.¹⁶¹ The Rev Carlisle Sampson attended services at the St John Methodist Society and preached at Wesley Church in St Thomas during this period. Bishop Kingsley Lewis concurs with the view that it was Oliver Maynard's personal frustration at lack of cooperation between the two churches that led him to take the action that he did.¹⁶²

160 Personal communication, Peter Gubi, pastor in St Kitts until 1964.

161 Conversations with Carlisle O. Sampson, currently Pastor of Nazareth Lutheran Evangelical Church, St John, October 2 2012 and January 6 2013.

162 Bishop Kingsley Lewis, communicated through Rev George Mulrain, Connexional President MCCA, October 2012.

In September 1968, no Moravian Minister was present at the Dedication of Wesley Chapel in St Thomas, but it must be noted that this was on a Sunday when clergy of other churches had commitments in their own churches. At the Dedication of Ebenezer Chapel in Christiansted, St Croix, visiting Clergy gave greetings on Sunday 27th December 1970, but they are not named in the order of service. Moravians were present at the dedication of St John's Methodist Chapel on October 1st in 1978.

It must be presumed that there was peaceful co-existence between Methodists and Moravians with local participation in Christian Councils and Fraternal. For example, both Moravian Ministers were members of the St Thomas Fraternal in 1970 and the following years. Bishop John Knight of the Moravian Church welcomed the 1977 MCCA Conference to Antigua. Whilst attending the LID Synod in January 1978, the writer preached in Nisky Moravian Church. Also in 1978 'On the level of the local church, our people have accepted and been given invites to other church groups, thereby enhancing the spirit of ecumenism at the grass roots level. The Moravian Ministers preached in our pulpits, shared in the administration of the Sacrament of Holy Communion, and participated in our 1978 Aldersgate program.'¹⁶³

For the sake of tidiness, the paper is entitled 1789-1989, a period of two hundred years. However, the above material ceases in 1978, some ten years earlier.

Post script

In the ongoing saga of mission, the Moravian Church engaged in outreach to Tortola in the British Virgin Islands beginning in 1994. The first Wesleyan Missionary was stationed there in 1789 when there was no established church, and in ensuing years catered for 70% of the population. The Moravians plan outreach to Grenada where Methodist work also began in 1789 and to Sint Maarten where the Anguillan Methodist John Hodge began witness in 1817.¹⁶⁴

163 St Thomas/St John Circuit Report, 1977-78.

164 Website for the Moravian Church East West Indies Province, [moravians.net/joomla/index.php/about us](http://moravians.net/joomla/index.php/about_us), accessed August 13 2013.

Appendix**Correspondence and Minutes referring to the 1821-22 dispute between Moravians and Methodists**

Prepared and summarised by Robert Glen, 28 June 2012.

WMMS refers to boxes, and [fiche] to West Indian Correspondence housed in the Methodist Missionary Society Archives, Special Collections Library, SOAS, London.

WMMS 116 (1821), 63, David Barnes, John Gilbert and James Howell (lay stewards at St John's, English Harbour, Parham) [to Missionary Committee], 31 March 1821. [fiche 132]

WMMS 117 (1818-20), 17, anonymous journal extracts [by William Whitehouse?] pp. 4-5 (21 July 1821), [fiche 138]

WMMS 546, Minute Book (1819-22), p. 325 (5 Sept. 1821). [fiche 27]

WMMS 3 (1821 July-Dec.), 43, C. Latrobe to Taylor and Watson, London, 29 Sept. 1821. [fiche 87]

WMMS 3 (1821-July-Dec.), 53, C. Latrobe to Taylor and Watson, London, 8 Oct. 1821. [fiche 87]

WMMS 117 (1822), 7 [two letters], Whitehouse to the Moravian Brethren, St John's, 15 Jan. 1822 [fiche 157]; enclosed in Whitehouse to Richard Watson, St John's, 17 Jan. 1822. [fiche 158]

WMMS 117 (1822), 12-13 [two letters], Christian F. Richter to Whitehouse, St John's, 14 Feb. 1822; and Whitehouse to Richard Watson, St. John's, 5 March 1812. [fiche 157]

WMMS 546, Minute Book (1819-22), p. 379 (13 March 1822). [fiche 28]

WMMS 117 (1822), 31, C. Latrobe to Taylor and Watson, London, 13 April 1822. [fiche 159]

WMMS 117 (1822), 46, Sarah Whitworth to Joseph Taylor, Ramsgate, 7 June 1822. [fiche 160]

WMMS 117 (1822), 47, James Whitworth to the missionary secretaries, Ramsgate, 7 June 1822. [fiche 160]

WMMS 117 (1822), 48, John Raby to Joseph Taylor, Sandhurst, Kent, 7 June 1822. [fiche 160]

WMMS 4 (1822 May-Dec.), 52, C. Latrobe to Taylor and Watson, London, 26 Sept. 1822. [fiche 104]

WMMS 118 (1822-3), 162, Whitehouse to [Missionary Committee], St Johns', 12 Dec. 1822. [fiche 177]

Church Missionary Society Archive, CW 031/20, William Dawes to Josiah Pratt, Antigua, 23 April 1822.

Church Missionary Society Archive, CW 04/1/10, Anne Gilbert to Mrs Luckock, English Harbour, 2 Aug. 1824.

Methodist Conference and Synod Minutes, Reports and correspondence, re Moravian action in 1969

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|-------------------|---|
| 1967, January | LID Synod Representative Session Minutes: Misc. 7 (b). |
| 1967, May | MCCA Conference Representative Minutes: G 2 c 2. |
| 1968, May | MCCA Conference Representative Minutes: G 2 (b) pp. 74-76. |
| 1969, March 24 | Bishop Oliver Maynard to Rev Donald Henry |
| 1969, April 11 | Rev Trevor S. Bates to Donald Henry |
| 1969, May | MCCA Representative Minutes: G 2 (b) |
| 1969, September 2 | Oliver Maynard to Rev Hugh Sherlock, President MCCA, Donald Henry, Chairman LID, copied to all Superintendents LID, and all Superintendents and Chairmen of the Methodist Church in other District of the Caribbean. Covering letter Donald Henry to Oliver Maynard copied to Superintendents LID. |
| 1970, August | USVI Circuit Report for 1968-69 to 1970 LID Synod. |
| 1971, January | LID Synod Representative Minutes: G 3 b (I). |
| 1978, August | St Thomas/St John Circuit Report. for 1977-78 to 1979 LID Synod. |

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| MCCA Minutes | MMCA Conference, Belmont, PO Box 9, St John's, Antigua. |
| LID Minutes | Methodist Resource Centre, PO Box 19, Phillipsburg, Sint Maarten, Dutch Caribbean. |
| Reports: | St Thomas/USVI/St Thomas-St John Circuit: Methodist District Office, PO Box 1045, St Thomas, 00804, US Virgin Islands. St Croix Circuit Methodist Church, PO Box 5974, Christiansted, St Croix, 00823, US Virgin Islands. |

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