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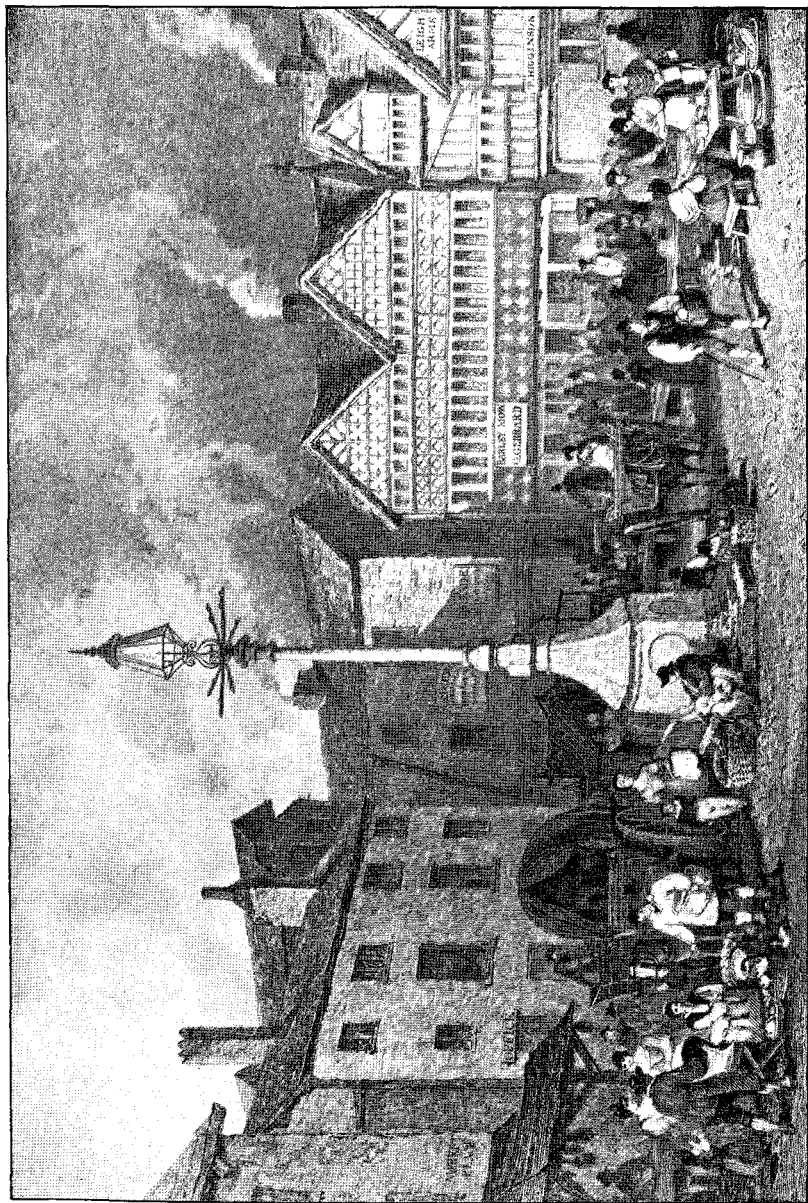
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THE OLD MARKET PLACE, WARRINGTON.

JOHN WESLEY'S VISITS TO WARRINGTON.

Continued from page 61.

Before quitting Back Dallam-Lane a few words must be said about the room which seems to have given temporary lodgings to the Methodists before they were able to build a chapel, and which in point of date stands earlier than the building we have just described. On the south side of the lane a small road gives access to Chapel Yard, in which stands an old roomy building with a varied history. Built and used for a time as a malt kiln it was rented by the Methodists as their first meeting-place. When they migrated across the way the Roman Catholics made it their temporary chapel, to be succeeded by the flock of Alexander Hay, of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. When the latter were able to build St. John's Church in 1806, the room was again unoccupied, but it afterwards became the home of a congregation of the Catholic Apostolic Church, then in 1850 of the Methodists who later built Buckley Street Chapel, and finally in 1887 it was the first home of the Warrington Ragged School.

The building is somewhat changed and has a modern entrance from Bewsey Street, but in approaching from Chapel Yard we see the stone steps and doorway of the original entrance. From these steps Wesley is said to have spoken to an open-air congregation after the indoor service was over, but of this there is no certain evidence.

The "New Chapel" referred to in Wesley's *Journal* is the building in Bank Street, now the Ragged School. Built in 1778, it served for 82 years as the Methodist Chapel, being purchased in 1862 for the purpose of a County Court, and finally passed into the hands of the Ragged School Trustees in 1897. We have not been able to unravel the mystery that lies behind Wesley's allusion to the "proprietor." The earliest deeds might have revealed his identity, but they are lost. The oldest document preserved is

dated September, 1803, and shows the local trustees to have been James Worrall, cabinet maker, James Gandy, cord-wainer, Richard Harrison, fustian manufacturer, and Thomas Cash, cord-wainer.

The building adjoining the chapel, which now rejoices in the title of the "Royal Arms," was built in 1802 as the minister's house. The front has just been rebuilt but the back remains unchanged, and it is worth while to inspect from the rear a house which has sheltered famous Methodists without number. This is one of the Warrington houses which should be richly and happily haunted, and if public-house chatter has not proved unendurable, the shades of Adam Clarke, Jabez Bunting, Billy Dawson, and the rest must surely linger in the chambers, in which they dined and prayed and slept a century ago.

In front of the chapel, by some arrangement we do not understand, a set of buildings described as a warehouse and offices were built about 1811. This latter erection completely blocks the front and leaves us no idea of what the chapel was like. In the deeds there is the mention of a belfry that stood near the minister's house, but no old print or picture survives to depict it for us.

The main walls of the chapel windows and ceiling remain almost intact, and notwithstanding many alterations it is still possible to form an accurate idea of what the chapel was like when Wesley's venerable form adorned the pulpit.

Coming again to the *Journal* we read :

"On Good-Friday (24 March, 1780), I preached, at seven, in Manchester; about one, in Oldham; and in Manchester, at six. Saturday, 25. I went on to Bolton, where the work of God is continually increasing. On Easter-day, I set out for Warrington. Mr. Harmer read prayers both morning and afternoon. We had a large congregation in the morning; as many as the church could well contain in the afternoon; and more than it could contain in the evening. At last there is reason to hope, that God will have a steady people even in this wilderness. The next evening, when a few of the society were met together, the power of God came mightily upon them. Some fell to the ground; some cried aloud for mercy; some rejoiced with joy unspeakable. Two or three found a clear sense of the love of God; one gay young woman in particular, who was lately much prejudiced against *this way*, but is now filled with joy unspeakable."

This entry is of decided interest. That Wesley rode from Bolton on Easter Sunday, shows that he had got far beyond his ecclesiastical fastidiousness, and the fact that at the age of 76 he, as a normal day's work, could ride from Bolton and then preach three times, leaves something to be reflected upon.

The reference to "Mr. Harmer" brings us into the company of an interesting man. John Harmer was a clergyman of the Established Church, who joined Wesley as one of his preachers in 1766, leaving him again to re-enter the Anglican ministry in 1772. He appears to have come to St. James', Warrington, in 1777, as assistant to its broadminded and evangelical vicar, James Glazebrook. When St. James' Church was built in Knutsford Road, it was John Harmer who preached at the opening services. We have in our possession two sermons printed at Eyres Press and issued by John Harmer. One is described as "preached in Lichfield Cathedral," and the other as "preached at the Magdalen Chapel, London, on June 15th, 1777, when Dr. Dodd, late preacher there, was under sentence of death." Both are dated Warrington, 1778.

Another glimpse is afforded in the entry in the Family Bible of the Phillips family. "Peter Phillips was christened at St. James' Church, on Sunday, February 1st, 1778, by the Rev. John Harmer."²

It is possible that the three Easter-day services were held in Bank Street Chapel, but the presence of an Anglican clergyman who reads prayers, and Wesley's reference to "the Church," leaves us wondering whether or not the services may have been held elsewhere. Remembering that Mr. Harmer was then in charge of St. James' Church, it seems most probable that the services were held there, but there is the possibility that the Parish Church is meant. A strong reason for supposing that Old St. James'—now long demolished—was the scene of Wesley's Easter-day services, is that its vicar was an evangelical, and held "Methodist" meetings in his own home.

A few days later Wesley paid a flying visit to Warrington, and preached in Bank Street Chapel. He was seventy-six years of age, and modern wisdom would have had him superannuated long before; but he rode from Chester in the morning, and after preaching rode hastily to Chester to be in time for an evening service there. This is his note:

"Saturday, 1 April, 1780.—I returned to Chester and found many alive to God, but scarce one that retained his pure love. Sunday, 2. I reached Warrington about ten. The chapel was well filled with serious hearers; and I believe God confirmed the word of His grace. Hastening back to Chester, I found a numerous congregation waiting."

Twelve months later Wesley wrote one of those delightful notes that make the *Journal* so good to read.

2. For an article on Rev. John Harmer, see *Proc.*, VI, p. 121.

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“Saturday, 7 April, 1781.—At noon, I preached at Preston-on-the-Hill ; and in the evening at Warrington. Sunday, 8. The service was at the usual hour. I came just in time to put a stop to a bad custom, which was creeping in here: A few men, who had fine voices, sang a Psalm which no one knew, in a tune fit for an opera, wherein three, four, or five persons, sung different words at the same time! What an insult upon common sense! What a burlesque upon public worship! No custom can excuse such a mixture of profaneness and absurdity.”

The Choir had evidently plotted to give Wesley a treat ; it would be terrible to be lashed so unmercifully in return. Those who would form an idea of what it would be like must read the *Journal* to see how this master of language spoke his mind. If plain speaking be a virtue, that virtue surely reached its zenith in John Wesley.

Records of later visits are disappointingly brief.

“Monday, 21 May, 1781.—I went over to Warrington and preached in the evening. Fearing many of the congregation rested in a false peace, I endeavoured to undeceive them, by closely applying those words “Ye shall know them by their fruits.”

“Tuesday, 22.—About eleven, I preached at Chowtham, and in the evening at Bolton ; where the people seemed to be on the wing, just ready to take their flight to heaven.”

“Monday, 12 May, 1783.—About eight I preached at Preston-on-the-Hill ; about twelve in Warrington ; and in the evening, at Liverpool.”

“On Good Friday, 9 April, 1784, I went to Warrington. In the morning I read Prayers, preached, and administered the Lord’s Supper to a serious congregation. I preached at five again, and believe few were present who did not feel that God was there of a truth.”

“Wednesday, 6 April, 1785.—I preached at Liverpool ; but I found no ship there ready to sail. So Thursday, 7 (after preaching at Warrington in the way), I hastened to Chester.”

“16 April 1786.—(Being Easter-day). I crossed over to Warrington ; where, having read Prayers, preached, and administered the Lord’s Supper, I hastened back to Bolton.”

“Wednesday, 16 April, 1788.—I preached about eleven at Warrington—and in the evening at Liverpool.”

At the close of one of the services thus briefly recorded Wesley preached in the Market Place. A large crowd followed him as he walked to the house of John Gandy with whom he was to spend the night. Unwilling to lose sight of him the people lingered in the square, and Wesley returning to the doorway, preached another sermon standing upon the steps.

Wesley’s last note concerning Warrington is equally brief. He had almost reached his eighty-seventh birthday and was failing under the weight of toil. Passing from Chester to Liverpool he called at Warrington and preached once more in the chapel.

“Wednesday, 7 May, 1790.—About eleven I preached at Warrington. The chapel was filled with serious hearers.”

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Very touching is the picture presented for us of John Wesley in the closing part of his life. "He stood in the pulpit, and on each side of him stood a friend, and the two held him up, having their arms under his arm-pits. His feeble voice was barely audible, and his revered countenance, and especially his long white locks form a picture never to be forgotten."

Wesley left the chapel by the side door leaning upon the arms of willing helpers. The door and stone stairway remain to us, and we can picture him passing to his carriage (for his days of horseback travelling were past) to fill the last chapter of his great record.

Ten months more and the toils of his world-parish were over.

ARCHAISMS IN WESLEY'S HYMNS.

The style of Wesley's hymns is distinctly the most modern poetical style of the eighteenth century. There are, however, a few archaisms, all of which are dealt with, we believe, in the following notes. In the examples from the hymns, the numbers given are those of the "Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists." (1780).

I. WORDS USED WITH AN OBSOLETE PRONUNCIATION :

ACCEPTABLE.

"Thou our sacrifice receive,

Acceptable through Thy Son."

Hy. 415-1.

The older pronunciation, as in Milton—

"_____ Thy perfect gift, so good,

So fit, so *acceptable*, so divine."

(*Paradise Lost*, X., 139).

CEMENTED.

"*Cemented* by love divine,

Seal our souls for ever Thine !"

498-1.

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The older pronunciation, as in Shakespere—

“ _____ The fear of us
May cement their divisions, and bind up
The petty difference.”

(*Antony & Cleopatra*, ii, 1.48).

But this pronunciation was already giving way before Wesley's time. Witness the lines of Swift, in the “City Shower” (1710)—

“ Sole coat ! where dust cemented by the rain,
Erects the nap, and leaves a cloudy stain ! ”

CONFESSOR.

“ His friends and confessors to own,
And seat us on our glorious throne.”

471-5

This is the historical pronunciation, which did not give way until the beginning of the nineteenth century. After this, for a while, both pronunciations were current, and there was an attempt to distinguish the two senses of the word by the differing accents—confessor, one who witnesses for religion in the face of danger—the meaning of the word in the hymn—confessor, one who makes or receives confession of a fault.

But Wesley's pronunciation was universal up to his time, and for years after. So in Dryden (using the word in the second sense),—

“ For sundry years before did he complain,
And told his ghostly confessor his pain.”
(“ *Hind and Panther*. 3.210.”)

OBDURATE.

“ Give the sweet relenting grace,
Softens this obdurate stone ! ”

98.1.

The older pronunciation, as always in Shakespere and Milton—

“ His baleful eyes,
That witnessed huge affliction and dismay,
Mixed with obdurate pride and steadfast hate.”
(*Paradise Lost*. 1.58.)

SUCCESSOR.

“ Where shall I wander now to find,
The successors they left behind ? ”

16-5

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The older pronunciation, as in Dryden—

“ I here declare you rightful ¹*successor*,
And heir immediate to my crown.”

(“ *Secret Love*,” 5-1.)

2. WORDS USED IN AN OBSOLETE SENSE :

PREVENT.

“ He *prevents* His creatures call,
Kind and merciful to all.”

228-1.

This, of course, is the old and primary sense of the word, as in the collect—

“ Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings with Thy most
gracious favour.”

And in Izaak Walton, who records that he rose early to go fishing, “*preventing* the sunrise.”

PROPRIETY.

“ Whate’er I have was freely given ;
Nothing but sin I call my own :
Other *propriety* disclaim.
Thou only art the great I AM.”

323-4.

This is the Latin sense of the word—what we mean now by “property, proprietorship.” So, in Milton—

“ Hail, wedded Love, mysterious law, true source
Of human offspring, sole *propriety*
In Paradise of all things common else !”

(*Paradise Lost*, IV., 750).

RESENT.

“ My inmost bowels shall *resent*
The yearnings of Thy dying love.”

24-14.

When the word was first introduced into the language, in the seventeenth century, it simply meant, as the French *ressentir* still does, to feel—“to have a sense or feeling of that which had been done to us, but whether a sense of gratitude for the good, or of enmity for the evil, the word said nothing.” (Trench “*Select Glossary*,” p. 186) It was only gradually that the sense of the word was narrowed to express angry feeling alone.

The earlier and wider significance of the word (as in the hymn) is seen in these examples—

“ It was mighty well *resented* and approved of.”

(Pepys’ *Diary*, 13th February, 1669).

“ ’Tis by my touch alone that you *resent*
What objects yield delight, what discontent.”

(Beaumont, “*Psyche*” IV., 156).

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UNITARIAN.

“The *Unitarian* fiend expel,
And chase his doctrine back to Hell.” 431-3.

Remarks have often been ignorantly made on the bitter intolerance of these lines, which many have understood as referring to the teaching of those whom we now call Unitarians. The fact is, of course, that they refer solely to Mahometanism. The hymn is headed, in the Collection of 1780, “For the Mahometans,” (in the pamphlet in which it was originally published, “For the Turks,”) and it is full of specific allusions to Mahomet, “That Arab-thief, as Satan bold, Who quite destroyed Thine Asian fold.” The use of “Unitarian” in reference to Moslem doctrine is quite correct, and, in the eighteenth century, was quite common. Gibbon, in describing the rise of Islam, refers again and again to the march of the *Unitarian* armies, the advance of the *Unitarian* banners. Those Christians who deny the Divinity of Christ were always called Socinians in Wesley’s time; it was only at the end of the eighteenth century that they began to be called Unitarians.* Indeed the next hymn but one to this in the “Hymns of Intercession for all Mankind” (1758) is entitled “For the Arians, Socinians, Deists, Pelagians, etc.”

3. OBSOLETE GRAMMATICAL USAGE.

There is one grammatical archaism which frequently recurs in the hymns—the use of the preterite for the passive participle, as in—

“The Son of Righteousness on me
Hath *rose* with healing in his wings.” 135-10.

“Holiness unto the Lord,
Still be *wrote* upon our heart.” 415-2.

and innumerable other examples.

Wesley, in his “Short English Grammar,” published in 1748, gives “*rose*” and “*strove*” as being both the Imperfect and the Passive Participle of “rise” and “strive.” He gives “*writ*” or “*wrote*” as the Imperfect, and “*written*” as the Participle of “write.”

In the “Gentleman’s Magazine” of 1758 there is a witty poem by Dr. Byrom, “The Passive Participle’s Petition” :—

“Till just of late, good English has thought fit
To call me *written*, or to call me *writ*;
But what is writ or written, by the vote

* See succeeding note by Mr. Brigden.

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Of writers now, hereafter must be *wrote*,
And what is spoken, too, hereafter *spoke*,
And measures never to be *broken, broke*.
I never could be *driven*, but in spite
Of Grammar, they have *drove* me from my right.
None could have *risen*, to become my foes ;
But what a world of enemies have *rose* !
Who have not *gone*, but they have *went* about,
And, *torn* as I have been, have *tore* me out."

The poem, which was probably suggested by "The Humble Petition of Who and Which," in the "Spectator," ends with the appeal—

"Let all the learned take some better heed,
And leave the vulgar to confound the due
Of preter sense, and participle too."

Dr. Lowth also protested against this usage, and declared :—
"This abuse has been long growing upon us, and is continually making further encroachments." On the other hand, Horne Tooke, in the "Diversions of Purley" (1786) maintained that it was not a growing usage, but one which had greatly decreased ; that it was not an innovation, but "the idiom of the language" ; and that examples of it might be given "from every writer in the English tongue." The pioneer of English philology was right. Byrom was mistaken in thinking the usage of recent introduction. It occurs more or less in all English writers until the middle of the eighteenth century. So Shakespere, where Queen Katherine says in "Henry VIII." (ii, 4.30)—

"————— Or which of your friends
Have I not *strove* to love, although I knew
He were mine enemy ?"

—and where Edmund says in "King Lear" (i, 2.93).

"I dare pawn down my life for him, that he hath *wrote* this
to feel my affection to your honour."

And often in Dryden—

"I made a sacred and solemn vow
To offer up the prisoners that were *took*."

(*Indian Queen*, 2.1).

Nevertheless, we have a strong impression that the practice of using the preterite instead of the participle was commoner in the early eighteenth century than it had ever been before, and we would suggest that this was because the age had become sensitive to the confusion, and was endeavouring to reach a consistent usage—either by making the preterite regularly serve instead of the participle, as the Wesleys did, or by distinguishing regularly

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between them—the usage which finally prevailed. Lowth and Byrom felt that the use of the preterite for the participle was becoming more common, as in some writers it probably was, through an effort after consistency, and they concluded that it was a new abuse, which it was not.

And, finally, there is the use of “rent” for “rend”—

“My stony heart Thy voice shall *rent*,
Thou wilt, I trust, the veil remove.” 24. 14.

John Wesley, in his “Short English Grammar,” gives “rend” as the Present Tense, and “rent” as the Imperfect, but Charles Wesley, in the hymns, consistently used “rent” as the Present Tense of the verb. There is warrant for it in earlier writers, as in Shakespere—

“And will you *rent* our ancient love asunder
To join with men in scorning your poor friend?”
(*Midsummer Night's Dream*, iii., 2.215).

And in George Herbert—

“Better by worms be all once spent,
Than to have hellish moths still gnaw and fret
Thy name in books, which may not *rent*.”
(*Content*, 43.)

“Rend” and “Rent” would appear to have been used indifferently for the present tense—as they are in Shakespere—until nearly Wesley’s time.

HENRY BETT.

“UNITARIANS” in Wesley’s day. In his valuable article Mr. Bett says these were “always called Socinians in Wesley’s time.”

Would it not be more exact to say that Anti-Trinitarians were generally called *Socinians* in Wesley’s time, and that their organised congregations gradually assumed the term *Unitarian* after Theophilus Lindsey opened Essex Street Chapel, Strand, in 1774, and the Unitarians became severed from other Dissenters as a distinct religious body? The application of the term to Socinians in England appears in Thomas Firmin’s *Brief History of the Unitarians, called also Socinians*, published in 1687. Firmin was the philanthropic friend of John Biddle, the ‘Father of the Unitarians,’ whose tractate repelled Samuel Wesley from the Dissent of his day. The first English preacher to call himself a Unitarian (1704) is said by R. B. Drummond to have been, ‘apparently,’ Thomas Emlyn, a Presbyterian with Arian views,

who was fined and imprisoned. He wrote *A Vindication of the Worship of the Lord Jesus Christ on Unitarian Principles* (1706). Charles Leslie wrote his *Short and Easy Method with the Deists*, in 1694, and has a paragraph on "The Socinians or Unitarians as they now call themselves." This was abridged and reprinted by John Wesley in his *Preservative against unsettled notions in Religion*, in 1758. The term is used freely by Mosheim, as applied to Socinians; as might be expected from a continental historian. It appears in John Wesley's *Concise Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iii, chap. iv., based on Maclaine's translation of Mosheim's work. In a Unitarian sermon of a later date we find a note: "This extensive application of the term Unitarian seems to be agreeable to its use among those of the continental Reformers to whom it was originally given. It was employed as a general term, including various subordinate sects; Farnovians, Arians, Socinians, Budneans and others."

T.E.B.

THE WESLEYS AND ISLAM.

Charles Wesley was only echoing the orthodox sentiment of the eighteenth and earlier centuries, when, in his hymn of 1758 on the Mohammedans (or "Turks," of the Litany), he used the strong language quoted by Mr. Bett:

"That Arab-Thief, as Satan bold,
Who quite destroy'd thine Asian fold.

The Unitarian Fiend expel,
And chase his doctrine back to hell."

In one of the special prayers of the Elizabethan Prayer Book we read, "The Turke goeth about to set up to extoll, and to magnifie that wicked monster and damned soule Mahumet, above Jesus Christ."

John Wesley maintained a charitable reserve concerning the followers of Mahomet in his sermon of 1790, when he said: "I have no authority from the word of God to judge those that are

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without, nor do I conceive that any man living has a right to sentence all the heathen and Mahometan world to damnation. It is far better to leave them to Him that made them, and who is the 'Father of the spirits of all flesh'; who is the God of the Heathens as well as the Christians, and who hateth nothing that he hath made." (Sermon cxxv). John Wesley is here following the third Collect for Good Friday, "O merciful God, who hast made all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, nor wouldest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live; have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels and Hereticks." We can only hope that Charles Wesley was praying for the expulsion of the demon who was supposed to possess the Moslem, rather than for the perdition of the "Unitarian" himself, and it is but just to observe his words of intercession.

Sun of unclouded righteousness,
With healing in thy wings arise,
A sad, benighted world to bless,
Which now in sin and error lies,
Wrapped in Egyptian night profound,
With chains of hellish darkness bound.

The smoke of the infernal cave,
Which half the Christian world o'erspread,
Disperse, Thou heavenly Light, and save
The souls by that Impostor led.

Resume thine own for ages lost,
Finish the dire apostasy,
Thine universal claim maintain,
And Lord of the creation reign.

John Wesley appears to have read nearly every accessible book on Mohammedanism. In his sermon on Faith (cvi), writing on "the faith of the Mahometans," he names one, who, "being taught of God, by His inward voice, all the essentials of true religion," excited his charitable hope. He refers to "That Mahometan and Arabian who a century or two ago, wrote the Life of Hai Ebn Yokdan." Wesley, apparently, had read the translation by Simon Ockley, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge in 1708, of *The Improvement of Human Reason, exhibited in the Life of Hai Ebn Yokdan, written above 500 years ago by Abn Iaafar Ebn Tophail*. The design of the author, a Mohammedan philosopher, was to show how human reason may, by observation and experience, arrive at the knowledge of natural things, and thence, of supernatural, and particularly of the knowledge of God and a future state.¹ Wesley's opinion is that "the story seems to be

1. Ockley's *History of the Saracens*. Pref., p. VIII, Bohn's Edn.

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feigned, but it contains all the principles of pure religion and undefiled."

He also read Dean Prideaux's *The True Nature of Imposture displayed in the Life of Mahomet*,² and Boulainvillier's *Vie de Mahomet*.³ In a lively passage in the *Journal*, 23rd December, 1767, he vigorously contrasts the two books. He says of the Count, "whoever the author is, he is a very pert, self-conceited coxcomb, remarkable for nothing but his immense assurance and thorough contempt of Christianity. And the book is a dull, undigested romance, supported by no authorities at all; whereas Dean Prideaux (a writer of ten times his sense) cites his authorities for everything he advances." It might be supposed that Wesley's judgment was warped, but he is confirmed by Ockley, who says, "Boulainvilliers has thought to fill up the chasm with inventions of his own,"⁴ and Jean Gagnier, Professor of Oriental Languages at Oxford (d. 1740), says he "could find no historians that verify the account given by Boulainvilliers."⁵

Wesley also read Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Letters on Turkish Life and Society*, 1717-18,⁶ and in his sermon, LXIII, on *The General Spread of the Gospel*, says, that with the finest flow of words, in the most elegant language, she labours to wash the Aethiop white." But he "cannot rely upon her authority."

Wesley's sermon is an interesting presentation of his view of the mission field in his own century. He considers that the "grand stumbling block" to the conversion of the Mahometans is "the lives of the Christians." The Christians in the Turkish dominions, he affirms, are little, if at all better than the Turks. "The more numerous bodies of Georgian, Circassian, Mengrelian Christians are a proverb of reproach to the Turks themselves, not only for their deplorable ignorance, but for their total, stupid, barbarous religion."

2. This may have been the *Life of Mahomet*, which he read "at night" in Frederica, according to his diary, 22 January, 1737, and on which he "meditated" on the 24th. (*Standard Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 311, 312.) The next day he was reading Machiavelli's works, and the day after, "Machiavelli and Patrick alternately." Surely a varied intellectual diet!

3. Published 1730, and in an English translation, 8 vo., 1731.

4. *History of the Saracens*, p. 9.

5. For an interesting account of the eighteenth century estimates of Mohammedanism, see Bosworth Smith's *Lectures at the Royal Institution*, 1874: Lect. II, p. 56. There is a good *Bibliography* in A. S. Farrar's Bampton Lecture, *A Critical History of Free Thought*, Appx. 1862, and a recent one in Gairdner's *Reproach of Islam*, 1909. On Dean Prideaux's theory, see Stobart's *Islam and its Founder*, p. 63.

6. Published 1763-1767.

Wesley was, of course, well acquainted with the use made by the Deistical writers of the elements of truth found in the Koran. He read and criticised Toland's "disingenuous book," as he calls it, *Nazarenus: or Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity*, 1718. In 1758 Wesley published *A Preservative against unsettled notions in Religion*, in which he gives the substance of Leslie's famous *Short and easy method with the Deists*, containing many references to Mahomet.

George Sale's translation of the Koran, with its notes and discourse, was published in 1734, but, so far, I have found no reference to it by Wesley. There is a reference to some translation, which I have not been able to identify, in the article on the *Gentoo* religion in the Works (vol. xiii., page 365), but this can hardly refer to Sale's Koran.

Wesley prophesies that when "Christians" live their religion "the Mahometans will look upon them with other eyes Observing the *Christian dogs*, as they used to term them, to have changed their nature, to be sober, temperate, just, benevolent; and that in spite of all provocations to the contrary; from admiring their lives, they will surely be led to consider and embrace their doctrine. And then the Saviour of sinners will say, "The hour is come; I will glorify my Father; I will seek and save the sheep that were wandering on the dark mountains. Now will I avenge myself of my enemy, and pluck the prey out of the lion's teeth. I will resume my own, for ages lost: I will claim the purchase of my blood! So will he go forth in the greatness of his strength, and all his enemies shall flee before Him. All the prophets of lies shall vanish away, and all the nations that followed them shall acknowledge the great Prophet of the Lord, "mighty in word and deed," and "shall honour the Son, even as they honour the Father." (Sermon LXIII).

Among the multitudinous sermons of the eighteenth century it is difficult to find another so broad in outlook and powerful in appeal as this discourse of Wesley's.

The "Turk" often appears in the controversial publications of Wesley's day as a typical representative of either fatalism or of fanaticism. Wesley observes the common tendency of Calvinism and Mohammedanism, *logically*, towards fatalism. Arguing with Hervey that the impartation of holiness and happiness to His creatures is the grand end of God in all His dispensations, he says, "Barely to demonstrate his *Sovereignty* is a principle of action, fit for the Great Turk, not the Most High God." (1765). Walter Sellon, in his pamphlet on the same controversy, affirms

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that the English Church declares the *godly consideration* of predestination and our election in Christ to be a comforting doctrine, but not the ungodly, unscriptural, *Turkish*, Heathenish consideration of *absolute predestination*." (1767). On the other hand, some pamphleteering opponents of Methodism whether Arminians or Calvinists regard the Moslems and the Methodists as equally feverish "enthusiasts," and the Rev. Thomas Green, M.A., Vicar of Wymeswold, Leicestershire, in his *Dissertation on Enthusiasm* (1755), proves to his own complete satisfaction that Methodists were fanatics like "Mohammedans." He had already proved that they were, practically, "Papists."

This use of bitter epithets in controversy is, happily, passing away. And in relation to Mahomet, as Freeman says, "It is no longer thought any part of the duty of a Christian writer to see nothing but wickedness and imposture in the author of the great antagonistic creed."⁷ Perhaps the danger lies rather in a tendency to indiscriminate laudation. Among recent writers Sir William Muir steers wisely between the rocks on either hand. Even in regard to absolute predestination as an article in the creed of Islam, opinion has modified since Wesley's day. "Although Predestination pervades the Coran, and is expressed sometimes in a painfully pronounced way, yet elsewhere there are deliverances of an opposite character, from which some schools have deduced the dogma of Free-will, and taught the same in its most absolute form."⁸ In spite of the panoply of fatalism which, on the whole, covers the Moslem mind, so alien to Arminian Methodism, may we not mark here a joint in its armour?

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

LETTERS CONCERNING EARLY IRISH METHODISM.

CHIEFLY FROM MR. WESLEY TO ARTHUR KEENE.

Concluded from page 48.

In Wesley's *Works*, Vol. XIII., p. 234, ed. 1831, a letter is inserted "To certain persons in Dublin," dated 31 March,

7. Freeman, *History of the Saracens*, p. 38.

8. Muir, *Mahomet and Islam*. Appx. p. 244.

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1789. This was one of Wesley's replies to *Remonstrances* addressed to him in letters signed by Mr. Keene and others. A copy of these is in the hands of the editors of the W.H.S. They are of extreme length, and no good purpose would be served by their publication. They refer to the painful disputes concerning "separation," then distracting the Society at Dublin. A complete copy of Wesley's letter, referred to above, is among these documents. It inserts the names of Arthur Keene, Mr. Deaves, and Mr. Boswell, instead of their initials. Some Wesley letters, relating to the dispute, were published in the *Proceedings*, vol. II., p. 212, by the late Rev. R. Green. We find a fragment of another, probably addressed to Mr. Keene, and three others, as follows:—

- (1). Fragment.
- (2). April 23, 1789.
- (3). June 25, 1789.
- (4). July 6, 1789.

[Fragment of a Letter without address.]

"better world, you will suffer me to tell you, I love you dearly, and shall do so, till our earthly course is run. And permit me to give you one advice more—(you once valued my advice)—leave off disputing. Call off your thoughts as far as possible from all controverted points. You have one only point to attend to, Immanuel, God with us. To secure that single point, Christ in us, the hope of glory! What is all besides in comparison of that? O let it engage your whole soul. Yet a little while and all the rest will pass away like a shadow! It is* , you are likely to spend a few more days upon earth, when I am no more seen. But those days in comparison will vanish away like a dream when one awaketh. The wisdom from above meantime be the portion of you and yours!

So prays your ever affectionate brother,

* Word illegible.

J. WESLEY.

Letter addressed Arthur Keen, Esq., near Dublin.

Endorsed Rev^d. Jn^o. Wesley, Portarlington. Answer to our Remonstrance No. 4.

Portarlington, April 23, 1789.

My Dear Arthur,

I will not, I dare not, draw the saw of controversy any

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longer : especially wth James Deaves who will dispute thro a stone wall.

In the name of God, have done ! You can do no good by Disputing. But you do much harm. You hurt your own Spirit. You hurt others. You blow up a flame. You damp and hinder y^e work of God. By talebearing you separate chief Friends. You prejudice my intimate Friends against *me*. I have not deserved it of you. Let me alone. I act according to the best of my judgment. In speaking once you did well. But it is not well to worry me thus. James Deaver sh^d mind his own affairs. If he has a mind to renounce me, let him do it quietly. If you personally have anything to say to me, well ! But I have no more to say to Six, that is James Deaves behind their [signatures]¹ None but he could tear you from

Your old, Affectionate Brother,
J. WESLEY.

Addressed Mr. Keen.

Dublin, June 25, 1789.

Alas Arthur is this possible ? Can a few well-meaning but ill-judging men still throw dust into your eyes, and tear you away from an old, tried friend ? And while they cry out Conscience ! Conscience ! will they deny Liberty of Conscience to

Your Affectionate Brother,
JOHN WESLEY.

I am ready to talk wth you alone at any time and place. Suppose Mr. D'Oliviers.²

Letter addressed Mr. Arthur Keen.

Dublin, July 6th, 1789.

I acknowledge the hand of James Deaves in your Letter. I cannot dispute with him, for he has ten words to my one.

You have made away from me, and I from you. I stand where I have stood these fifty years. I no more leave the Church than I leave the body.

But I have done. The Lord God judge between him and you, and

Your much injured Friend,
JOHN WESLEY.

1. This word is not certain.
2. Mr. D'Olier's.

A LETTER BY WESLEY TO MR. JAMES FREEMAN.

Mr. James Freeman, to whom Wesley wrote the following letter, is described in the Rev. C. H. Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland* (vol. i, p. 239) as a leader and local preacher of much zeal and energy. He was one of the founders of the Chapel in Gravel Walk (now Blackall Place), Dublin. Thomas Garrett, who finds a prominent place in Mr. Crookshank's History, was one of the Trustees. Mr. Freeman preached one of the opening sermons of the new chapel about a month before the date of Wesley's letter, 1770. Mr. R. R. Belshaw, in a booklet printed for private circulation in 1902, states that he was "a well-known citizen and churchwarden of the largely Huguenot Parish of St. Luke. He was active in every form of benevolence, parochial or otherwise, especially in visiting the sick." In November, 1771, when visiting a member of his class, he caught a malignant fever, and after a few days' illness, died, in his thirty-second year. His wife was Jane Esther Lee, whom he married in October, 1763, at St. Peter's Church, Dublin. Mr. Belshaw says that she met the Wesleys while on a visit at her grandmother's, in Limerick. On her return home, she introduced Methodism into Larne, and was afterwards a correspondent of John Wesley for about twenty-five years. Mr. Crookshank refers to Wesley's visit to her father's house, and Mr. Belshaw adds an interesting detail. This first sermon was preached "on a table under the window of an invalid sister, and nearly all the town, rich and poor, were present." In 1762, she, with her parents and an unmarried sister who died shortly after, removed to Dublin, whither her brother, John Lee, had preceded them. This John Lee wrote a copy of Wesley's hymns in Byrom's shorthand, some pages of which are reproduced in Mr. Belshaw's interesting pamphlet.

Although the letter by Wesley was intended for her husband, it is addressed, on the back,

*To Mrs. Jane Freeman,
Near the Linen Hall,
In Lisburn,
Ireland.*

Bristol,

Aug. 19, 1770.

Dear Jemmy,

It is lost labour. It will not do. It is vain for any man to

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attempt it, to make me think any ill of James Freeman or Tho. Garrett, I know them too well. I did hear reports of that kind, but I regard them not. I would fain hope that Mr. Townsend will behave better in Dublin than he did in Edinburgh. However, he will do little hurt, if you stand fast in one mind, striving together for the hope of the Gospel.

I am, Dear Jemmy,

Your Affectionate Brother,

J. WESLEY.

The clergyman referred to was the Rev. Joseph Townsend, fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and Rector of Pewsey in Wiltshire, who had been sent by Lady Huntingdon to Scotland, and for a time had preached alternately with Wesley's preachers, in Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, Edinburgh. Tyerman (*L.W.*, vol. ii, p. 604) gives a long letter addressed to him by Wesley in August, 1767, which sufficiently explains this reference to him in the letter to James Freeman. "Mr. Freeman left a son, also named James, (b. 1766, d. 1832), and a memoir of this good man by his son, also named James, states that his father had conscientious convictions against any separation from the church, and that he was one of the first to cast in his lot amongst those who adhered to the old plan laid down by John Wesley." *

T.E.B.

A WESLEY LETTER.

Copy of a letter written by Jno. Wesley to Miss Lewis after his return from Ireland on 25 July, 1775.

Addressed: "Miss Lewis, at Mr. Flowers,
on the Key, Bristol. Near Leeds, July 28, 1775.
My dear Sister.

By the blessing of God, I am at least as well as I was before my late Illness, and I have now recovered my strength, w^{ch} returned by slow degree from the time I got into the open air.

Your being fully employed has been a means of preserving you from a thousand snares. Young persons who have little to do are in y^e greatest danger of all others. But in all y^r business you can hold fast that point, "This one thing I do," I love God: I serve God: I work out my own Salvation. What else upon earth is worth a thought? All beside passes away like a dream!

* Mr. R. R. Belshaw's Pamphlet, 1902.

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As many of our Brethren have desired that Mr. Murlin may spend another year at Bristol, Mr. Saunderson cannot be there next year, were it only on this account: Two preachers never stay two years together in one place, unless one of them be a Supernumerary. But I doubt his late Behaviour is another objection. For I am afraid the observations you make concerning it are but too well founded. Your letters are never too long. I have more letters to write than you; therefore mine are shorter.

Keep close to him that loves you, and He will soon make you partaker of your hope. All things are ready!

I am, my dear Molly,¹ Yours affectionately,

J. WESLEY.

[Communicated by Mr. M. CRANSWICK.]

EXCERPTS FROM
JOHN VALTON'S MS. JOURNAL.

Continued from page 69.

17 MARCH, 1788. This morning that miracle among men, the Father of the Methodists, left us. May the Lord bless him, and accompany him wherever he goes!

31 MARCH. I preached both at our new place in George St., as also at the Room in the evening. Just before preaching word was brought me that that man of God, Mr. Charles Wesley, was dead. I mentioned this awful circumstance to the Society. Tears and cries took place through the Room, and if I had not given out a hymn, I do not know what would have happened. It is a sore stroke to the Church. Blessed be God he died truly happy, as appears from a letter in which are these words: "London, Saturday, 29 March, 1788. At half-past ten o'clock this morning, our dear minister, the truly Rev. Mr. Charles Wesley, sweetly fell asleep in Jesus without the least pain or struggle. So easy was his translation that it was difficult to know the exact time of his departure. A few days before his death, he said 'I want to see Jesus: not that I want His salvation, for I have that, but I want to behold Him as He is.'"

6 April. This day I preached with much power and liberty a funeral sermon on account of Mr. Charles Wesley, at Kingswood and Guinea-street Chapel. The places would not contain

1. Miss Lewis. See Wesley's *Works*, Vol. XII, pp. 244.

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the congregations. Guinea-street Chapel was hung with mourning, both pulpit and galleries.

2 May. This evening we held a watch-night. Captain Webb preached a useful sermon, and I believe we had the presence of the Lord. I had intended praying for rain, but the Lord answered before we called ; while the Captain preached it both lightened and rained.

12 June. This morning I went to see George Lukins, a man possessed with seven devils, according to his account and appearance.

13 June. This morning the Rev. Mr. Easterbrook, Mr. Broadbent, B. Rhodes, Brettell, two or three local preachers, and as many friends, with myself, met the demoniac in Temple Church vestry. We prayed and sung for near two hours, when it pleased God to release, in a moment, the poor distressed man, after eighteen years of affliction.¹

22 JULY. I arrived safe at the New Chapel, London, about seven in the morning, and breakfasted with Mr. Atlay. This evening I came safe to my sister's.

26 JULY. This evening I came to my quarters at Mr. Willan's, No. 24, Artillery Lane : this is to be my home during the Conference. In the morning Mr. Wesley met a few of us to consult about the steps to be taken concerning Dewsbury House. We came to a unanimous conclusion : may it be for good !

28 JULY. This morning our Conference begun. Our chief business this day is to transact the temporal concerns of the Circuits.

6 AUGUST. This day our Conference ended. I thought we moved very slowly in our work, but what made full amends for this was the love and gentleness that seemed to prevail through the whole. We observed the day as a day of fasting and prayer, and Mr. Wesley and three more clergymen administered the Sacrament to us. The whole was concluded with a good Watchnight.

7 September. I had a good time this evening at Shipton [Shepton Mallet]. We had a large congregation of attentive hearers.

9 September. This evening we had the largest congregation of all. Mr. Wesley preached, and I believe the people found it a better time than me.

10 September. This morning Mr. Wesley preached an ex-

1. Further particulars of this remarkable case are given in the *Life of Valton*, E.M.P. vi., 127.

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cellent sermon to a large morning congregation, and I believe many found it good to be there.

29 September. I preached last night at Guinea St. Chapel, and I trust the people found it a solemn time. In the morning I had the pleasure to hear Mr. Wesley, and received the Sacrament from him. It may be the last time that he may dispense those sacred elements at Bristol. O, my God, prolong his days!

9 November. I had a good time indeed at Winterbourn. I was glad that the Sunday School was begun and increasing that I formed about a month ago.

24 February, 1789. This evening Squire Brackenbury and I kept a Watch-night at Shipton.

8 March. Most of last week I have been employed in the long Round preaching and giving out tickets. This day, being Sunday, we had the servant of the Lord, Mr. Wesley. He preached, and gave us the Sacrament, and I believe much good was done.

13 March. I have attended Mr. Wesley this week in visiting the classes. We found that much good had been done during his stay. The numbers of our Society increase. I wish they may also increase in piety. That blessed servant of God seems stronger than usual in his preaching. May his bow still abide in strength!

16 July. This evening I heard Mr. Wesley preach at Manchester. I perceived with pain of mind that he is almost too weak to preach so as to be heard.

5 August. This day our Conference at Leeds ended. We all received the Sacrament at nine o'clock, and then broke up. We had a very loving Conference, and seemed to be perfectly united one with another. Our dear Father in the gospel seemed stronger than for many years past.

24 September. These last few days I was engaged in assisting to give out tickets in Bristol. Mr. Wesley and Bro. Clark [Adam Clarke] the Assistant, and myself were happily employed in this service.

27 September. Dr. Coke performed the Church Service this day at Bath. At half-past two I preached. Lady Mary Fitzgerald and Lady Douglas were present. In the evening Dr. Coke made a wonderful sermon. Lady Douglas bespoke a seat in the front gallery.

5 October. Yesterday (Sunday) I attended service at the Room, Mr. Wesley made an excellent sermon, and then administered the Lord's Supper.

NOTES ON WESLEY'S JOURNAL.

Continued from Vol. III, page 245.

- 15 Jan., 1767. London ; letter to Miss A —, Works xii. 358.
- 12 Feb. London ; letter to Charles Wesley, xii. 132.
- 23 Feb. Norwich ; letter to Lady Maxwell, xii. 342.
- 5 March. "Dr. D." ; Dr. William Dodd, see Tyerman ii. 231-233, 597-598.
- 7 March. London ; Address to the readers of Alliene's Letters, xiv. 254.
- 8 March. "The Bishop of Londonderry" ; Dr. Wm. Barnard, died in 1768.
- 31 March. See my *History*, I. 202.
- 4 April. Newry ; date of Sermon on "The Witness of the Spirit."
- 15 April. "McGough" ; McGeough.
- 20 April. Londonderry ; letter to Miss A., xii. 359.
- 29 April. "Swadlingbar" ; Swanlinbar. Amongst those present were Nehemiah and John Price of Tonymoman, who subsequently entered the itinerancy, see my *History* i. 204.
- 1 May. At Sligo Wesley was the guest of Mr. Andrew Maiben, see my *History* i. 206.
- 2 May. Letter to Mrs. Crosby, xii. 354. The letter is dated "May 2, 1766," but it should be "May 2, 1767."
- 6 May. Letter to Peard Dickinson, xii. 458 The date of this letter is evidently wrong: Wesley was in Newport and Castlebar on 6 May and in Cork on 6 June..
- 4 June. Cork ; letter to Lady Maxwell, xii. 243.
- 11 June. "Mr. Morgan" ; James Morgan.
- 15 June. "Mrs. M" ; see C. Wesley's *Journal*, 11 Oct., 1747. "Mr. S" ; Mr. Samuel Simpson, J.P., see note 8 May, 1748. *Proc.* ii. 34. "Lady M." Lady Mount Sandford. "C —" ; probably Castlereau.
- 18 June. Athlone ; letter to Christopher Hopper, xii. 309. 21 June ; letter to C. Wesley, xii. 133.
- 29 June. Letter to "A member of the Society," xii. 282.
- 22 July. The seventh Irish Conference.
- 25 July. Dublin ; letter to Mrs. Elizabeth Bennis, xii. 387.
- August. Edinburgh ; letter to the Rev. Joseph Townsend. *W. M. Mag.* 1861, p. 985, Tyerman ii. 604-606.
- 8 August. Newcastle ; the first Missionary collection, Tyerman ii. 606-607. Letter to Miss A. xii. 359.

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- 11 August. "Mr. L."; Mr. Lewen, Tyerman ii. 588-589.
- 15 August. London; letter to John Whitehead, afterwards Dr. Whitehead, xiii. 67. 16 Aug.; letter to Miss Bosanquet.
- 18 August. The 24th Conference, Tyerman ii. 608-614.
- 1 Sept. Pembroke; "the house" was a building in which the society meetings were held. It was built at the rear of the York Tavern, which fronts into the main street. The house is still standing. 2 Sept. "Mr. Davies"; Rev. Howell Davies. 3 Sept. "Lamphey"; Lamphey, a village rich in antiquarian remains. 6 Sept. "A little church"; now disused except as a mortuary chapel. See *Methodist Recorder*. 30 May, 1901.
- 11 Sept. Llanbraddoch; Llanbradach. Mr. Thomas, Wesley's host at this place, was married to the eldest daughter of Mr. Jones of Formon Castle, *Proc.* iii. 83.
- 26 Sept. "Mrs. B."; Mrs. Blackwell, Tyerman ii. 614.
- 6 Oct. Bristol; letter to Mr. Merryweather of Yarm. *Meth. Rec.* Winter Number 1894, p. 94.
- 14 Oct. Letter to Miss A., xii. 360.
- 1 Nov. "Mr. B."; Mr. Blackwell.
- 2 Nov. Norwich; letter to Miss A., xii. 360. This letter is wrongly dated: it should be 2 Dec.
- 7 Nov. "Mr. P."; Rev. Vincent Perronet. "His youngest son": John Perronet, *W. M. Mag.* 1902, p. 663.
- 12 Nov. "A book . . . entitled 'Thoughts on God and Nature'" See *Proc.* iii. 56.
- 20 Nov. London; letter to Miss A. xii. 361.
- 24 Nov. London; letter to Assistants, *W. M. Mag.* 1860, p. 316. Letter to Mr. Costerdine, *W. M. Mag.*, 1845, p. 576.
- 26 Nov. Canterbury; another letter to Mr. Costerdine, *ibid.*, p. 577.
- 28 Nov. Wesley dined by invitation with Mr. Belcher of Brompton, a shipwright connected with Whitefield's congregation, and preached at the Barracks in Sergeant Cole's quarters, *W. M. Mag.* 1880, page 447.
- 2 Dec. Norwich; Letter to Mr. Costerdine, *W. M. Mag.* 1845, p. 577.
- 6 Dec. Norwich; letter to Mrs. Moon of Yarm, xii. 272.
- 7 Dec. Yarmouth; "B. W.'s Society." Benjamin Worthip, Tyerman ii. 555, 615.
- 16 Dec. Sheerness; Story of a bull, *Meth. Rec.* 22 Nov., 1878.
- 28 Dec. London; letter to Mr. Merryweather of Yarm, Tyerman ii. 612.

C. H. CROOKSHANK.