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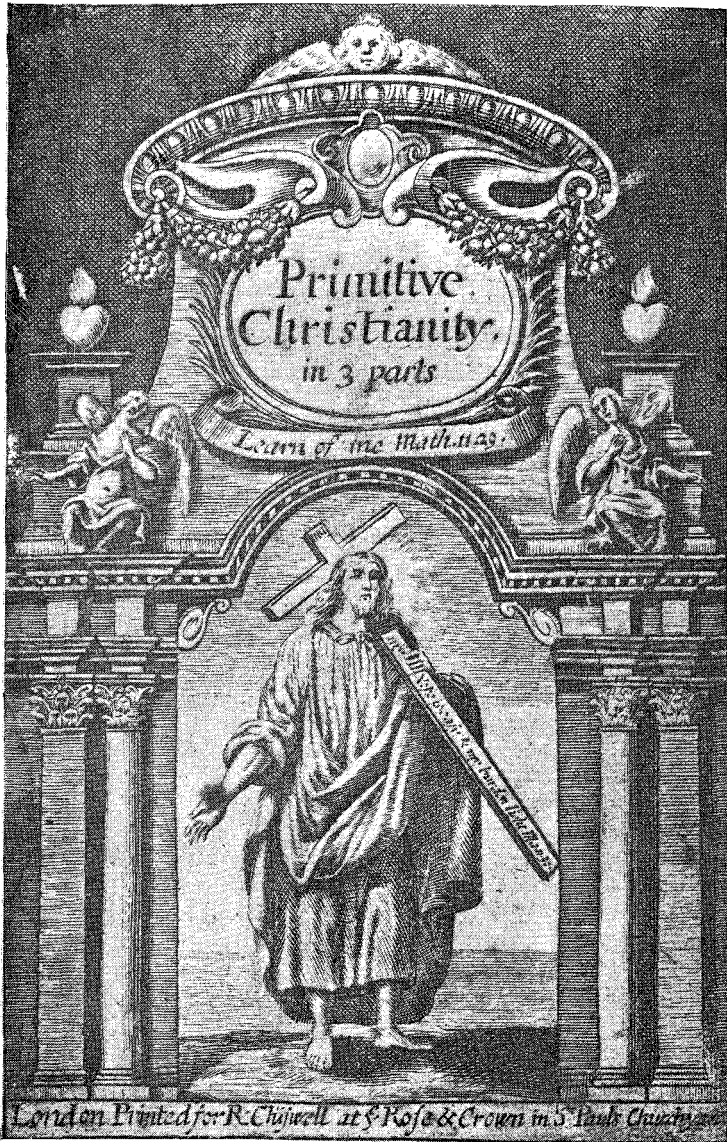
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Primitive
Christianity,
in 3 parts

Learn of me Math. 23.



London Printed for R. Chiswell at the Rose & Crown in S. Pauls Church-yard

Primitive Christianity :
OR, THE
RELIGION
OF THE
Ancient Christians
In the first Ages
OF THE
G O S P E L.

In Three Parts.

By WILLIAM CAVE, D. D.

** Οὐκ ἐν λόγοις, οὐκ ἐν ἔργοις τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας Σκοπεύουσιν
πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Just. Mart. Parænes. ad Græc. p. 33.*

Nos non habita Sapiantiam, sed mente præferimus :

Non eloquimur magna, sed vivimus.

Minuc. Fœl. Dial. p. 31.

The Third Edition.

LONDON,
Printed by J. G. for R. Chiswell at the Rose
and Crown in S. Paul's Church-yard.
MDCLXXVI.

FACSIMILES: *Cave's Primitive Christianity*. Frontispiece and Title-page from Mr. Bridgen's Copy, 1676. See Wesley's *Diary in Georgia*, 1736, and Dr. Simon's *Wesley and the Methodist Societies*, II, 105-6,

WESLEY'S READING IN GEORGIA.

In an article in the *Proceedings* for June, 1921, it was seen that Wesley's reading on the voyage to Georgia was largely in the literature of the Non-Jurors, and seemed to show the strong High Church tendency of his interests. He continued to read hard during his stay in the colony so far as his duties and anxieties permitted. We have no means of judging how many books he read other than those recorded in the *Journal* and *Diary*, but the notices of his reading are so regular that all the most important books must have been recorded. During the year and ten months he lived in Georgia we have a record of between 90 and 100 books on his list. Liturgical works still have their place, but they do not have the first place as in the books read on the voyage. Perhaps Church History and Christian Biography take that position, and throughout his life his interest in those subjects never seems to have waned. In some respects the dominant passion of his life seems to have been to try to find out what Primitive Christianity really was, and to put it into practice. There are no fewer than 17 or 18 books on Church History in this list, and 9 that may be regarded as Christian Biography. We are able to identify practically all the books he names, but there is a little doubt about three or four of them, where we are given either the name of the author or the title of a book merely. Fleury is the chief historian for Wesley at this time, and he seems to have made summaries of his *Manners of the Christians* and *Manners of the Israelites*, the former of which he published at a later date. He also read in the Abbé's *History of the Church*. He still continued to be very devoted to the early Fathers, and was not content with Wake's excellent edition, but used also the critical edition of Jean Baptiste Coutelier (Cotelierius) which had appeared at the end of the 17th Century. John Clayton had recommended this edition to him a few years before when he was at Oxford.¹

Of the Fathers he seems to have given special attention to Clement of Alexandria, Clement of Rome, Irenaeus, Polycarp

and Ephraem Syrus; he describes the last as "the most awakened writer of all the ancients. The *Homilies* of Macarius also seemed to have appealed to him, for they appear with other selections from his patristic reading in the first volume of his *Christian Library* when he began its publication in 1749.² The text-books that he read were of conventional Anglican type; Potter's *Discourse on Church Government* (1707) and Eachard's *Ecclesiastical History* to 313 A.D. (1702). John Potter (1674-1747) became successively Bishop of Oxford and Archbishop of Canterbury, and had been Wesley's own Bishop; Lawrence Eachard was Archdeacon of Stowe, and his book passed through several editions.

It is a new thing to find here a work by a minister of the Church of Scotland, but Millar's *History of the Propagation of Christianity* (1723), which covers the same period as Eachard's book has little that is distinctively Presbyterian about it. It was not until Wesley read Lord King's account of the Primitive Church in 1746,³ that the Presbyterian influence began to control his theory of the Church. His reading from Archbishop Usher, if it were his book on the Liturgy and Episcopal Government (1642), must have shewn him that there were moderate men in his own communion who were not entirely enamoured of the stiff Churchmanship represented by Potter.

In biography, the lives of Boehm, de Renty, Haliburton and Bernard Gilpin seem to have been specially influential, for three of them he reprinted in his cheap editions, and makes frequent references to the fourth. He also read a little in the mystics at this time, but mentions no names, though we find Tauler, Law and Scougal (*Life of God in the Soul of Man*) separately indicated. Samuel Clarke's *Lives of Ten Eminent Divines* (1662) was evidently a gold mine, for much of it re-appeared in Vol. XXVII of the *Christian Library* in 1763. This is memorable for the "eminent divines" are nearly all Puritans of the 17th Century, including such men as John Cotton, who had so much to do with the foundation of Boston U.S.A., and John Carter (1554-1634), whom Clarke describes as "always a Nonconformist, one of the good old Puritans of England." The reference to *Valdesso* which was read to Miss Sophy on November 1, 1736, probably means the lives of the Spanish brothers Alphonso and Juan de Valdès, who occupied important positions under the Emperor Charles V and the Pope Clement VII, at the time of the Reformation, and

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1. See Tyerman, *Oxford Methodists*, p. 33.
 2. See *Proceedings*, W.H.S., Vol. viii, p. 6.
 3. See *Proceedings*, W.H.S., March, 1925.

accepted evangelical doctrine in spite of their position and nationality.

We find also about a dozen volumes of sermons and devotional books mentioned, and once again it is noteworthy that it is the Puritan Owen who gets special mention with the brief comment, "Excellent!" It is interesting to find one of the Cambridge Platonists, John Worthington, with his sermons on *The Great Duty of Self Resignation to the Divine Will*, on the list; this was another of Wesley's re-publications. Of pure theology there is only one volume,—Waterland's famous *Work on the Trinity*. Of Apologetics we find John Entick on the *Evidences of Christianity* (1729). This is a curious book from a curious man, who was to distinguish himself in other spheres later. He wrote it when he was a "student in Divinity," and modestly describes himself in his preface as "a little Attom." He was refuting the Deist Woolston, and also giving a wonderful list of Old Testament prophecies fulfilled in the New Testament. Other books defending the Liturgy of the English Church and its general position are Rogers, *On the 39 Articles*, and Charles Wheatley's *Church of England Man's Companion* (1714). The latter was also a very useful book for a practical pastor, and should be grouped with the pastoral books that specially concerned the work in Georgia. Heylyn's *Tracts* (1681) he had probably read before, but they are important not only as defending the High Church view of the Anglican Church, but also as giving an account of the Synod of Dort in which the position of the Arminians was strongly sustained.

Another section of this little Georgian library concerns his environment and work there. He was a missionary of the S.P.G. and we are not surprised to find here David Humphreys' book on that Society which had been written in 1728. The most important volume we find here, however, is Dr. Bray's account of his investigation of the work of the Church in Maryland in 1700. Thomas Bray (1656-1730) was not a brilliant man but there was no more efficient servant of the English Church at the beginning of the 18th Century than he. He was largely responsible for founding both the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. He established parochial libraries both in England and the Colonies, and was the chief means of saving his Church from the discredit of completely neglecting the evangelization of the British Colonies. It was because General Oglethorpe had become one of Bray's Associates that Wesley found himself in Georgia. All the American Colonies were at that time in the diocese of the Bishop of London, and Bray had been the Bishop's Commissary to Maryland. It was as

the result of his official visitation to Annapolis, in May, 1700, that new churches were built, more clergy were sent out to America, and attempts at evangelising the negroes and Indians began. Bray's *Circular Letters* not only describe the state of religion in the American Colonies, but give practical counsel to the clergy. In 1700 he advised them to use the new version of the Psalms (Tate and Brady). The Maryland clergy resolved that "His Reverence be desired to write to the Stewards of the Religious Societies in London to provide them with such servants capable to sing Psalms after the New Version and the best tunes to officiate as Clerks of the Parishes and such as can write." Perhaps our Constitutional experts will tell us what the connection is between the "Stewards of the Religious Societies," and Methodist Stewards of our own day.⁴ Wesley read Cave's *Primitive Christianity* in 1736.

The whole report of this visitation is interesting from the point of view of the Religious Societies, for their connection with the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. was very close. Bray recommended the Vestries to act as Religious Societies "in suppressing Prophaneness and Immorality within our respective Parishes, by whose means also we hope as well to be informed in Necessities of Particular persons as to be supported in the roughest parts of our Duty. Careful catechising of various classes are recommended and therefore we find that Wesley read at this time both the Assembly's Catechism and that of J. F. Ostervalde of Neufchatel. Both these were from Presbyterian sources, but the latter was published in French (1704), and actually dedicated to the S.P.G., as being specially suited to their work. It is concerned more with Church practice than with theology. Bray's letter also enclosed a copy of the *Short View of the Religious Societies in and about London* and gave high commendation to their rules. Other books that shew the influence of Wesley's environment on his reading are *The Account of the Church at Herrnhut* and 'Calveto' which is probably a reference to Urbain Chauveton's account of a massacre of French settlers in Florida by the Spanish in 1565.

Another practical occupation was the preparation of his first hymnbook, and for this purpose, and also for his own profit we find him reading in Watts, Freylinghausen, George Herbert, Young, Pope and Milton during these years. There is, however, singularly little interest shewn in general literature. Even the Classics seem to have been put on one side. The only Greek or

⁴ See Dr. J. S. Simon's new volumes, I on *Wesley and the Religious Societies*, pp. 23-27., II *Wesley and the Methodist Societies*, 105-6. T.E.B.

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Latin author read (apart from Ecclesiastical History) is Plato in the *Phaedo*. One book on philosophy we find in the *Account of Hutcheson's Works*. Bedford on *Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology* (1730) was a recent publication. There is some work on Spanish, German, Italian and French Grammar. A little logic, though we have no conception what *Lurid Logic* can be; possibly a forecast of the work of Bertrand Russell. Aldrich was the book he generally used. It is a singular fact that after the point at which he despaired of Frederika and apparently of his work in Georgia altogether, he suddenly began to read the *Life of Mahomet* and the works of Macchiavelli. We may well pause to imagine what Wesley might have become if he had accepted Georgia as final defeat.

The only other section that requires mention marks a new interest, but one which remained with Wesley throughout his life. A missionary in such rough pioneer lands needed to be useful for bodily as well as spiritual sickness. We therefore find on the list, mixed up with Church History and devotional literature, Drake on *Anatomy*, *The Art of Surgery*, and, finally, *The Negro's Advocate*.

A. W. HARRISON.

WESLEY'S "REVISED VERSION."

I.

In the *London Quarterly Review* for January, 1925, appeared an article by the Rev. T. F. Lockyer on John Wesley's *Revised Version*. It contained a very interesting list of Wesley's new translations in many of which he anticipated the Revised Version or Weymouth or Moffatt. Mr. Lockyer however, overlooked one fact. Not only was Wesley happy in many of his translations of the Received Text of the N.T., but he also ventured to follow Bengel not only by adopting the *Gnomon* but also by accepting many of Bengel's findings in his work on the revision of the Greek text. I pointed this out in an article in the *Proceedings* in March, 1914, by a comparison of Bengel and Wesley. I have since verified this surmise by discovering Wesley's copy of Bengel's book on the Greek text of the N.T. which is preserved at Richmond College. It was dedicated to the Duke of Wurtemberg and published in 1734. Indeed, Wesley himself refers to the book in his *Notes on the N.T.* on 1 John, v., 7-8.

"What Bengelius has advanced, both concerning the transposition of these two verses, and the authority of the contraverted verse, partly in his 'Gnomon' and partly in his 'Apparatus Criticus, will abundantly satisfy any impartial person."

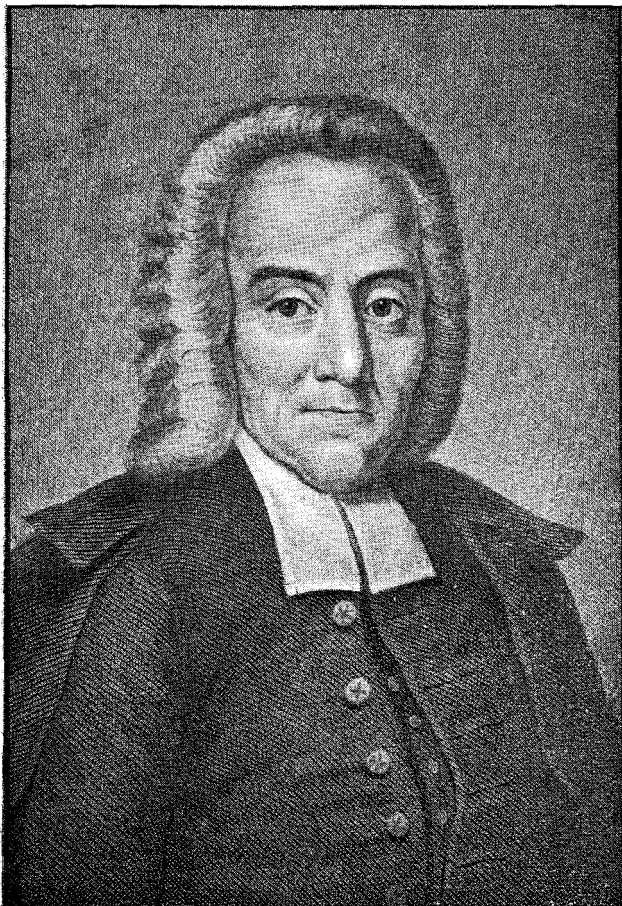
A. W. HARRISON.

II.

In the article referred to, Mr. Lockyer says "it would be interesting to trace Wesley's anticipations of the Revised Version of 1881; but the instances are far too numerous for examination in detail. As a sample, however, we may take a few chapters at the beginning of Matthew.

In Matt. ii. 4, Wesley renders 'where the Christ was to be born,' inserting the article with the R.V., besides anticipating the rendering of several more modern versions in the latter part of the sentence. In ii. 8, 'concerning the young child' (A.V. 'for'); ii. 22, 'and being warned' (A.V. 'notwithstanding'); iii. 4, 'food' (A.V. 'meat'); iii. 7, 'coming to his baptism' (A.V. 'come'); iii. 12, 'cleanse his floor' (A.V. 'purge'); iii. 15, 'Suffer it now' (A.V. 'to be so'); iii. 17, 'out of the heavens' (A.V. 'from heaven'); iv. 19, 'Come after me' A.V. 'Follow me'; v. 1, 'the mountain,' (A.V. 'a'); v. 20, 'in no wise' (A.V. 'in no case'); v. 21, 'to them of old' (A.V. 'by them'); v. 26, 'the last farthing' (A.V. 'utmost'); v. 37, 'is of the evil one' (A.V. 'cometh of evil'); v. 39, 'that ye resist not the evil man' (A.V. 'evil'; R.V. however, 'him that is evil'); vi. 1, 'your righteousness' (A.V. 'alms'); vi. 19, 'consume' (A.V. 'corrupt'); vi. 22, 'lamp' (A.V. 'light'); vii. 9, 'who, if his son ask bread' (A.V. 'whom'); vii. 24, 'upon the rock' (A.V. 'a'); vii. 28, 'his teaching' (A.V. 'doctrine'). From these instances, found in the space of *a few pages*, it may be inferred how great is the total number of Wesley's emendations, as anticipating the Revised Version.

Mr. Lockyer passes on to consider some further improved renderings, not adopted by the Revisers of 1881, but endorsed by modern scholarship. He gives upward of seventy other instances, themselves merely a selection, of Wesley's careful emendations, in which he is followed by modern translators, though not by the Revised Version (excepting now and then in the margin). In about fifty of these Wesley anticipates Moffatt.



JOHN ALBERT BENDEL.

From an engraving by G. Stodart.

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Lastly, Mr. Lockyer submits for careful consideration some of Wesley's renderings which are not adopted identically—though not seldom practically—by recent authorities. "With regard to these our judgments may vary; but in any case we should weigh well any suggestions on the part of one who was recognised as a leader in Greek scholarship at Oxford, and who all his life was an indefatigable student of the Greek Testament." (Then follows 2½ pages of instances).

"Our investigation is complete enough to show that Wesley's translation deserves to be studied for its own sake, and not merely 'taken as read' by those whose 'concern with the 'Notes' is chiefly to fulfil—often, it is to be feared, only too perfunctorily—an ecclesiastical obligation. Far from being a mere text for comments, it was a very real Revised Version, undertaken much more than a hundred years before that which is usually so styled. It lacked, indeed, the advantage of much material for textual criticism that was used by the later Revisers; but of that which was then available Wesley made good use. When we remember, moreover, that he accomplished his work at snatches during a brief interval of the busy years, while he was supposed to be resting for the recovery of health, but was oftener than not flying hither and thither on protracted evangelistic tours, the marvel becomes the greater that he did so difficult a work, and did it so supremely well."

It is to be hoped that some day we shall have a re-issue of the 'Wesley's New Testament' of 1790 (the beautiful little pocket volume, without the 'Notes'), edited in the light of recent textual criticism to such an extent as to remove acknowledged errors.

[The *London Quarterly Review*, January 1925, containing Mr. Lockyer's valuable article may be obtained from The Epworth Press, 25-35 City Road, London, E.C.

This 'beautiful little pocket volume of 1790,' without the 'Notes,' is probably very scarce. I only know of two copies, one of which is in my library, and the other at the 'Book Room' City Road.

T. E. B.]

EXTRACTS
FROM THE TREVECKA M.SS.
AN ACCOUNT OF AN ASSOCIATION HELD AT
BRISTOL, JANUARY 22, 1746/7.
At which John Westley and Howell Harris were present.

Present : John Westley, H Harris, Edward Godwin, Tobias Smith, Wm. Hogg, Wm. Humphries, Wm. Vines, T. Scott, P. Adams, John Stevens, James Ingram, James Relly, Herbert Jenkins ; and four of Wesley's assistants, viz., Thos. Hardwick, Thos. Westale, Jn. Trembath, Jno. Haughton.

Absent : James Beaumont, Starkey Middleton, John Edwards, Gabriel Harris, Obadiah Satchell.

After prayer it was enquired

- (1) How we may remove any hindrances of brotherly love which have been.
- (2) How we may prevent the same from arising in time to come.

And it was agreed—

To go as far on each of these heads as every person can do with a clear conscience.

- (1) Thos. Prosser, an exhorter in Wales in Connexion with Mr. Westley suspected of error ; let Bro. Haughton desire him to explain his principles and ask him if he will be in subordination to Mr. Wesley and us.
- (2) Henry Floyd, another exhorter in Wales who went among our Societies without consulting with us. Let him attend the Glamorganshire Association in April. Let him take no step in Breconshire but with the joint agreement of Mr. Phillips and Thomas James.
- (3) Wales in general.

It was fear'd that the consequence of Mr. Westley's preaching at Neath would be a separation in the Society. Mr. Westley answered that he did not design to erect a Society at Neath or in any town in Wales where there was a Society already, but to do all that in him lies to prevent separations. We all agreed that wheresoever we might occasionally preach among each other's people,

PROCEEDINGS.

we would endeavour to strengthen rather than weaken each other's hands, and particularly to labour to prevent separations in the Societies.

- (4) Plymouth: that inasmuch as a separation has been made in the West, we agreed that a brother from Mr. Westley should now go to the West with Mr Harris and endeavour to heal the breach there, insisting upon the spirit of Love with its fruits among the people.
- (5) We agreed that on each side we should be careful to defend each other's characters. When any of the contrary judgment is called to a Society, he should first consult with the Brethren of the other side, before he goes.

At 3 o'clock Mr. Westley and his helpmeets went away; and the Association proceeded to deal with its own particular questions relating to the Whitefieldian aspects of the Methodist Movement, such as "The Weekly History" printed by John Lewis, the restrictions which John Cennick and the Moravians place upon the exhorters of Whitefield when they seek the use of the Kingswood School, the settling of preachers on trial, and the itinerancies of all the exhorters and superintendents between this and the date of the next Association.

(Transcribed by REV. M. H. JONES, B.A.,
Penllwyn, nr. Aberystwth).

In Vol. III (S. Edn.) of Wesley's *Journal*, p. 232, the Bristol Association of January 22, 1746, is placed among the unnumbered ones in Wesley's list of Official Conferences. His *Journal* contains no reference to it, there being a gap from January 21 till February 3. A footnote copied from Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, p. 511, refers to Wesley's presence at the Bristol Association, and assumes that he probably presided at the Session in which both branches of the Methodist Movement met to discuss their joint problems.—

M. RIGGALL.

On Howell Harris, his Societies, and their place in the *Evangelical Revival*, valuable paragraphs appear in Dr. J. S. Simon's recent three volumes on I. *John Wesley and the religious Societies*. II. *J. W. and the Methodist Societies*, III. *J. W. and the advance of Methodism*. In the last volume Dr. Simon, referring to Wesley's visit to Trevecka in 1756, skilfully gathers up historical threads relating to Harris's work and says 'The visit to Trevecka must have reminded Wesley of the old days in Georgia, when he formed a 'Christian family in the parsonage in the woods.' p.p. 318-320. See also our *Proceedings* for the eight painstaking transcripts and lists of Trevecka letters contributed by the Rev. M. H. Jones. The last list of letters, with notes, appeared in our vol. xv, 35-41. It has been a sincere pleasure to cooperate with the *Calvinistic Methodist Historical Society*, and we hope to continue our fellowship.

T. E. B.

RICHARD VINEY'S DIARY, 1744.

XIII.

[Our extract XII. (Sept. *Proc.* p. 78) concluded with Viney's imputation of pride against both Zindendorf and Wesley. He was not the first to bring this charge. In one of the letters which Wesley addressed to "a member of the Society," dated thirty years after Viney's diary reflections, he wrote: "When I was formerly removed from one College to another [from Christchurch to Lincoln], I fixed my resolution, not to be hastily acquainted with any one; indeed, not to return any visit, unless I had a reasonable hope of receiving or doing good therein. This my new neighbours generally imputed to pride; and I was willing to suffer the imputation." *Wes. Works* xii. 297. We may safely leave Viney's imputation without explicit answer, as Wesley did.]

Viney's diary proceeds: Sun. June 10.—Went to Bankhouse at 8, and heard Kendrick (who I suppose is lately returned from London) preach. *Occur.*—This being y^e Brethren's Prayer day, they kept it at Hillas's. Mr. Ingham & his Lady came to it in y^e forenoon. He preached at Hillas's at 5 o'clock. Mrs. Moor from Beeston I hear was at y^e Prayer day, dined with Mrs. Loyd & in y^e evening both went to Beeston together in Moor's shaise.

Note.—*William Kendrick*; Benham says he was a peruke-maker. In July 1743 we find him in London with James Hutton visiting such as had been received or applied for admission into Moravian bands during Hutton's absence in Germany. In April 1744, after his troubles in Yorkshire, he went to London and Basingstoke. He forsook the Moravians *circa* 1745, and next year published a book of Hymns chiefly those of the Brethren but much altered by omission of everything pertaining to heart worship. He afterwards joined William Cudworth. For Kendrick see *Proc.* xiv. 86, and for Cudworth, *Wes. Works*, index.

June 11.—This being the day for y^e General Meeting of y^e Societys, it was kept at Falneck in y^e Barn. This is y^e first at Falneck. After y^e meeting was a Love-feast for y^e members of y^e Church. I was not at y^e meeting, but staid at home that Nelly might go. Heard that Mr. Hutchings & wife were coming to live at Pudsey and were to move next Thursday, therefore resolved on going tomorrow to Smithouse to agree with Mr. Holms for a place to live in if I could.

Note.—'Mr' Holmes was probably a slip of Viney's quill. Mr. John Holmes died March 13, 1742, aged 34 years. Mrs. Elizabeth Holmes, his widow died February 25, 1785, aged 73.

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Next morning at 6-30 our diarist walks to Smith House, Lightcliffe, where he finds Mr. and Mrs. Lyon, of Dukinfield. He proceeds: With them & my sister Gussenbauer I breakfasted. Mrs. Holms not being very well, kept her chamber. After breakfast I walk'd in y^e Garden with sister, had some talk with her as also with Mr. Hutchings who came into y^e garden to us; then with my sister I went to Mrs. Holms, staid with her till about 11, then went to Mr. Hutchings's, dined with them and sat a while; at 2 return'd to Mrs. Holms's, walk'd in y^e Hall with sister, went up to Mrs. Holms, staid till near 4 o'clock, then set out & Mr. Lyon went about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile with me. I went to Bradford, bought some things at Mr. Fountain's, from thence went to Dr. Walker's to buy some manna.

Sister Gussenbauer I observe is in a confusion. I *think* she is not content to be so long at Mrs. Holms's. . . . She told me her husband set off for Germany yesterday 7 night, I suppose from London.

Mr. Hutchings I found otherwise than I have known him in his behaviour towards me: civil, but exceeding formal and strange. He who used to call Bro^r at every sentence, now calls me Sir or Mr. as often. . . . I find his moving to Pudsey is not so certain as I heard yesterday. He has off'r'd Rent for y^e new house where Teltchig lives, but the landlord & he are not agreed, besides Mr. Hutchings is going first to his wife's estate in Glostershire to settle some affairs with y^e Tenants. But notwithstanding his affected strangeness towards me, I perceive plainly he is not fully satisfied with y^e Brethren's goings on neither.

Mrs. Holms is likewise in a confusion. When I came to speak with her about taking a part of new-house, tho before she was verry willing and pretended she was free from any bondage to y^e Breⁿ about it, yet now she is scrupolous and sais she is fearfull if I should begin a Society at new house for Mr. Westley and y^e Breⁿ should bring y^e Girls School to Smithouse (which she partly expects, tho seems confus'd about it) that this would make a great confusion and give occassion for reflections on her. As to my joining *with* or beginning any thing for Mr. Westley I told her how my mind stands at present, but added that I would not swear nor bind myself to any thing by promise what I would do hereafter, but at present I had no thought of any such thing no more than of joining with y^e Brethren, both which look'd now verry improbable.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Notes.—1. *Mr. and Mrs. John Lyon* of Dukinfield. The earliest fragment of John Bennet's MS diary relates the circumstances which led him to commence preaching. He rode from Chinley on horseback to Soundhill to meet Rev. Benjamin Ingham and David Taylor, who were on an evangelistic tour. From Soundhill they went to John Handford's at Bottom's Hall for the night where Robert Chetham of Woodley invited them to his village, At Woodley Mr. Ingham preached to "several Hundred Souls." Next day, 1st May, 1742, Bennet says "We went to John Lyon's in Duckinfield and were kindly entertained. Mr. Ingham spoke to about a thousand people upon John 7, 17. He had a great power of the Lord." They stayed the night at Mr. Lyon's. On May 12th Ingham returned home to Aberford. On the 21st Bennet writes; "I called of John Lyon of Duckenfeid who was much out of order, and then came home. We were to have a meeting the same night at Chapel-Milntown about regulating a Society. I drew some Articles, and they were consented to freely and upwards of 40 serious persons engaged in meeting once a Month. When we had agreed, we came to Wm. Goddard's at Hull-end and had a publick Meeting." The latter part of this quotation from Bennet's diary seems to shew the genesis of his famous "Round." Chapel-Milntown (Rev. W. Jessop Winter informs me) was a hamlet close to Bennet's ancestral home and to the grave of Grace, his wife. It is now called Chapel Milton. As to John Lyon, we note that there was a scholar of that name at the old Kingswood school *circa* 1765-9, also William Lyon who left the school in 1765 and is described in the register as "a layman's son from Chester." For John Lyon, the boy, see *Wes. Journ.* v, 259 Was he a son of Viney's and Bennet's friend?

June 13.—Read some in y^e Anatomy of Melancholy.
 What I met with yesterday at Smithouse was a disapointment to me, for y^e abiding here is verry Inconvenient: to live work, write, read, have y^e cries of y^e Child, my Wife often ill, and people coming to see her or about business, Nelly's wanting to be gone

With Dr. Walker yesterday I fell into discourse about Jacob Behmen's works &c and at last found that he had y^e book which I saw at Durham and had enquired so much for at York, The Anatomy of Melancholy, and he was so kind to lend it me for a fortnight.¹

I sent yesterday by John Hutchison to Shent at Leeds to send me several of Mr. Westley's Books which I had not (as he had told me to do before I left Newcastle) in order to read over and take Notice of y^e things I did not approve of. I sent word

1. By Robert Burton, the recluse student of Christ Church, Oxford, (1576-1640). A grave dyspeptic man, eccentric and original, picking out of various authors an enormous mass of quotations suiting his peculiar moods. His enumeration of the acts characteristic of different forms of melancholy is wide enough to include every son of Adam in the category of gloom. Sterne and many others have used the *Anatomy of Melancholy* as a quarry Viney lacked entirely Burton's learning, but found a curious fascination in the very title of his curious book. T.E.E.

(as Mr. Westley had appointed to set out of Newcastle yesterday morning), calling at Mr. Ingham's today, preaching at Leeds and Birstal *Wednesday* (this) night that I thought of meeting him at Birstal tomorrow. M. RIGGALL.

In the *Literary Supplement of the Times* of to-day (Jan. 21, 1926) we find a review of the very last edition of the *Anatomy* published by the Nonsuch Press, £5 5s. net., and also a volume on *Burlton the Anatomist: Being Extracts from the Anatomy . . . chosen to interest the Psychologist in every man . . .* (Methuen, 5s.). The courteous Librarian of Durham Cathedral Library tells us that the 6th edn. of 1652 (on which the above 'elegant' two volumes are based, with illustrations by E. McKnight Kaufner), is among his treasures. (*Proc.* xv. p. 73.) T.E.B.

DR. JOSEPH PILMORE, PHILADELPHIA, TO ROBERT SPENCE, YORK, 1790.

EVANGELICALS: REV. T. VIVIAN, (CORNWOOD,
DEVON), AND HENRY THORNTON, M.P.

In an old scrap-book, from a street stall, I have found two letters by Joseph Pilmore, one of the two first preachers appointed by Wesley to labour in America. I find that in 1876 Mr. R. H. Burdekin, of 97, Upper Street, Islington, had possession of some of Pilmore's letters addressed to Robert Spence, the well-known bookseller of York. Mr. Burdekin says that his own late father was for some years in partnership with Mr. Spence. One of the letters, written from *New York*, September 18, 1797, appeared in Lockwood's *Western Pioneers*, in 1881, with an omission: "P.S.—W. Green, Esq., who brings this letter is a good man, and will be glad to be acquainted with the people of God in England To Mr. Robert Spence, High Ousegate, York." The following letter is not quoted by Mr. Lockwood.

"Philadelphia, 24th May, 1790.

"My dear Brother.—Your truly kind and Christian behaviour to me in York most justly entitles you to the warmest affections of friendship, and every expression that gratitude can make. Often, very often, do I think of Ousegate, and wish once more to be there! Yes, my friend, it is even so. I should most heartily rejoice to see my dear Yorkshire again. But whether Providence will indulge my wish I cannot determine. I must leave myself and all my concerns in his hands who judgeth righteously. Could you have thought that your name would have reached me in this distant land? I have lately received a parcel of books to distribute amongst the poor which were printed in York. Vivian's Dialogues and the First Principles of Christianity are both truly excellent in their kind, but Stillingfleet's

Catechism is a masterpiece ; I never thought the Church Catechism half as excellent as it really appears in his exposition. These books are excellently calculated to teach the way of salvation, and bring poor wandering sinners home to the fold of our God. The great, the good Mr. Thornton, like the sun, extends his friendly influence to mankind both far and near. O may the heavenly Master crown him with smiling approbation, and finally place him on a throne of light in heaven, that the thousands he has been the happy instrument of saving may see him exalted and sing the louder in glory !

“ My heart is sufficiently towards you to make me fill a volume, but duty obliges me to conclude. The Church has so many calls that her wants can hardly be supplied. Do help me with your prayers, and be sure to write me a folio on three sides. Salute me to your dearer self and the blessed lambs of the flock. Give my love to everybody about Peasholme-green, and all around your ancient city, and believe me most affectionately and inviolably,

JOSEPH PILMORE.”

“ P.S.—Please to forward your letter to Friend Scollick, and he will put it in the letter-box of a Philadelphia ship.

“ To Mr. Robert Spence, High Ousegate, York.”

Five years before he wrote this characteristic letter, Pilmore left the Wesleyan itinerancy, and was admitted to deacon's orders, and two days later to priests orders, by Bishop Seabury. In the letter we note his attachment to the 'Evangelicals' in the Church of England. T. Vivian (Cornwood, Devon) to whose *Dialogues* he refers, was one of the West Country group of Evangelicals who were leaders of the revival in Cornwall and Devon. Pilmore's regard for the 'Church Catechism' is evident. His glowing tribute to Henry Thornton, 'the good, the great,' who probably sent the books named, must have startled the benevolent man of business, if it ever came under his ken, but it suggests the 'eloquent strains' which characterised the style of Pilmore's fervent sermons. He had a genuine love of Methodism to the last, and to the end of his life subscribed to 'The Old Preachers' Fund.' Of this, Mr. Lockwood tells a well-known and good story of 1804. He was a sensitive, benevolent man. He was an active member of the conventions which reorganised the constitution of the American Protestant Episcopal Church, and assisted in the revision of the Prayer Book, but of this I have failed to find information

in the Bishop of Oxford's *History of the Protestant Church in America*. (Second edition, 1846). He received his degree of D.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1807. One paragraph in his will should interest all Englishmen:—"I direct the residue of my estate to be divided into two parts: one half to the support of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, and the other half to the Sons of St. George, for the relief of all Englishmen in distress." He died July 21, 1825, in his eighty-seventh year.

Since writing the above I have found the following record in one of the letters of the Rev. Richard Reece who visited Philadelphia in 1824.

"My friend MR. SAM CHUBBS conducted me to the house of the REV. JOS. PILMOOR, late Rector of St. Paul's, and one of the Preachers who offered themselves to the service of Methodism, in America, at the Leeds Conference, 1769.—(Wesley's Works, Vol. iv. p. 414.) He is a stout, handsome man, aged eighty-seven, retaining a vigour and activity not commonly found at his years.—Many circumstances which took place while he travelled in England, especially in London, Dublin, Norwich, &c., were recollected with pleasure, and he spoke of them with much animation. When he and MR. BOARDMAN landed at Gloucester, a few miles below this city, they were received as messengers of mercy. MR. B. proceeded to New-York, but MR. P. remained here, preached in the open air to multitudes of people, who received the word with great gladness of heart; and many of them brought forth fruit to the glory of GOD. He afterwards changed with MR. B., and they supplied the Societies in these two cities. In 1771, F. ASBURY, and R. WRIGHT came over, who extended the sphere of labour, by visiting many other places. In 1776, we find MR. P. had returned to England, and was stationed in London. After having remained in this country till 1785, he returned to America, and was episcopally ordained, as Minister of Christ's church, in New York. Some years afterwards he removed to Philadelphia. He has now resigned his church, and lives retired. I was told, that the leaven of Methodism has spread among the people who sat under his ministry; and it is commonly admitted, that there is more experimental religion in the congregation of St. Paul's, than in any other of the episcopal churches. I found him frank, and affectionate; but he appeared to think, that he had not one living friend in England left."

T.E.B.

“JOHN WESLEY AND THE ADVANCE OF METHODISM.”

JOHN S. SIMON, D.D. (THE EPWORTH PRESS, 18/- NETT).

The following notes on Dr. Simon's third volume were left unfinished by the late Rev. J. Conder Natrass. (See p. 93 of our December *Proceedings*).

Very truly does the note on the cover of this work say that “Dr. Simon's third volume is as rich in interest as its two predecessors.” A more graphic and readable story it would scarcely be possible to conceive,—the reader is led on from page to page by the clear style of a narrative in which incidents at once engage the mind by their importance, and warm the heart by the sympathy with which they are told.

This volume covers the ten years, 1747-1756, a period which saw much advance made in Methodism, and laid down the broad foundations, both constitutional and institutional, upon which further progress in the future could be safely based. The records of the Conferences held during this period are mostly brief, but the ten eventful years, 1747-1756, are fully dealt with.

Nothing escapes the notice of Dr. Simon: he seems to have his eye upon all the literature touching his subject, and with un-failing good judgment chooses just the material suited to his purpose. He is a master of words and sentences; a literary artist who paints his scenes with great fulness and accuracy, and suffuses them with warmth of emotion. He has put into his work the study of a life-time and the love of his soul.

J. CONDER NATRASS.

JOHN WESLEY, THE “PIKES” AND EARLY METHODISM IN ROBERTSBRIDGE, EAST SUSSEX.

Wesley, in his *Journal*, records five visits to the little town of Robertsbridge. He made his home on these occasions with Mr. and Mrs. George Pike, at the “Old Grange House” Academy. The house was pulled down many years ago. It formerly stood nearly opposite the entrance of the “George Hotel” yard.

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Wesley's first visit was on October 31, 1771, on his way from Rye to London. He writes:—

"I preached at Robertsbridge. As yet, the whole town is willing to hear: and we may hope, after the stony and the thorny ground hearers are deducted, some will bring forth fruit with patience." (*Journal*, 1879 ed vol. iii, p. 422).

Four years later, on November 20, 1775, Wesley records:—

"I went on to Robertsbridge, and preached to a deeply attentive congregation." (*Journal* vol. iv, p. 56).

The year 1778 saw Wesley twice at Robertsbridge, on January 20, and again on December 2.

In reference to the January visit he remarks (after leaving Tunbridge Wells):—

"I went on, through miserable roads, to Robertsbridge, where an unusually large congregation was waiting." (*Journal* vol. iv, p. 108).

The December visit is remarkable by Wesley's reference to the large number of children present at the evening service. He says:—

"I . . . spoke with all possible plainness, both for the sake of three score children, and of a large congregation of serious attentive people." (*Journal* vol. iv, p. 134).

After an absence of five years, we come to Wesley's fifth and last visit to Robertsbridge, on December 7, 1784. This grand old man was now in his 82nd year, but his energy and zeal remained unabated. In a few characteristic and graphic touches he gave a glimpse of this last journey:—

"We set out (from Tunbridge Wells) in a lovely morning; but in about an hour, just as a pack of hounds came on in full cry, a furious storm of hail met them in the teeth, and utterly silenced them. It soon turned to snow; which so covered the road, that we could scarce get on, though we walked good part of the way; so that we could not get to Robertsbridge till after the time appointed."

The same day, Wesley went on to Rye and preached there.

The next day the snow was so heavy that it took five hours to travel fifteen miles with a pair of good horses. (*Journal*), Vol. iv, p. 281).¹

1. Wesley's *Diary* records: Tues. 7th, 4 a.m. Prayed, sermon; Heb. x, 19, tea, prayer; 7-45 chaise; 1 Robertsbridge, dinner, conversed, prayer; 2 chaise; 5 Rye, tea, within; 6 Luke xv, 7! Society! 7-30 at Sister Barnes, supper, conversed, prayer; 9-30.

Wednesday, 8th. 4 prayed, tea, prayer; 5-30 chaise; 10 Robertsbridge, tea, conversed, prayer; 11 chaise; 4 Woodgate, dinner, chaise; 6.30 Seven-oaks; 7, 1 Pet. i, 18, Mag.; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9-45. Standard *Journal*, vol. vii, 36-37. T.E.B.

The record of this last visit gives some idea of the travelling difficulties of those times. Wesley frequently makes reference to the Sussex roads. Their badness in the Eighteenth Century was a bye-word, even in an age of bad roads, and Robertsbridge was no exception.

Horace Walpole,—who visited this place not long before,—writes :—

“ If you love good roads, be so kind as never to go into Sussex.” He goes on to say, “ The roads at Robertsbridge grew bad beyond all badness and the night dark beyond all darkness, and our guide frightened beyond all frightfulness.”

From a MS. in my possession (written by the late Mr. Edward Piper, a prominent local preacher, of Robertsbridge), I can authoritatively state that Wesley conducted his preaching services in a large schoolroom attached to the house of Mr. Pike, which would accommodate a congregation of 150 persons. Mr. Piper's grandmother was present at these services.

For many years Mr. Piper was proprietor of a high-class boarding school. We have evidence that he was a gifted teacher, and exercised a splendid influence over his scholars.

We can well imagine some of Mr. Pike's boys were partly responsible for the large number of 60 children mentioned by Wesley in his visit in December, 1779. (N.B. The Kingswood boys were frequently designated “ children ” by Wesley).

One of Mr. Pike's “ old boys ” was the late Mr. Thomas Ayerst, of Newenden, who, early in life, devoted his wealth and talents to the service of God. For sixty years he was a tower of strength to Methodism in this neighbourhood, both as a leader and a local preacher. He died in 1855, aged 81. (From a memoir by his son, S. Ayerst, in my possession).

We find from the old “ Sussex Circuit ” Book (commencing in 1774) that Mr. Pike was leader of the Methodist Society Class at Robertsbridge from 1774 until within a short time of his death in 1792. He was probably a member prior to this, but the earlier records have been lost. Amongst other members of his class, during the same period, are the names of his wife, Mary Pike, and John Mitchell, an usher in his school.

Mr. Pike was possessed of considerable property at his death, all of which he bequeathed “ to his loving wife, Mary,” the sole executrix. His Will was proved 2 October, 1792. It was witnessed by two members of his Society Class, viz., John Mitchell,

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the usher, and by Richard Hicks, probably a man-servant in his employ.

As no children are mentioned, we may presume Mr. and Mrs. Pike had no family.

We believe that Mr. and Mrs. Pike were buried in the church yard at Salehurst, the parish in which Robertsbridge is situated,—but Mr. Leonard J. Hodson, LL.B., of Robertsbridge, who kindly searched the Registers for me, cannot find the entries.

As he remarks, it does not necessarily follow that they were not buried there, as it is obvious from frequent interpolations and alterations in this particular volume of Registers, that entries were not always made immediately after the ceremony as they should have been, and it is quite possible that not a few burials escaped registration altogether.

The death of Mr. Pike, and the consequent removal of the remaining members associated with the "Old Grange House," was a blow so serious that it culminated in the complete collapse of the little Methodist Society at Robertsbridge for some years.

The schoolroom was probably no longer available for public worship.

Eventually the congregation built a small chapel in Barker's Lane. (Piper MS.). It was not until 1812 that the Society Class Meetings were revived under the leadership of Thomas Hilder, with eleven members.

This was followed a year later (1813) by the purchase of a larger chapel from Mr. David Fenner, a Calvinist minister, who had built it more as a speculation than use: it was situated in Fair Lane. The price paid for the chapel and house adjoining was £350. The present chapel stands on the same site.

With regard to the name "ROBERTSBRIDGE" or "Rotherbridge." In the "Sussex Circuit-Book" of members it is spelt "Rothersbridge" in 1774, and "Robartbridge" in 1777.

It is now generally conceded that "Robertsbridge" is the original designation, being derived from the *bridge* over the Rother, built by *Robert de St. Martin* (the founder of the Abbey in 1176).

The words "Pons Roberti," with the representation of a bridge with three arches, occurs on the earliest seal of the Abbey, and is constantly found, not only in the Abbey Charters, but in other records such as the Patent Rolls (Edward I), Close Rolls (Henry III), and in other ancient Charters.

The *Parish* records also make it clear that it has never been generally known by any other name than it bears at the present day.

"Rothersbridge" only occurs twice in the Parish Registers. The "Tithe Book" covering the years 1648-1690 has numerous references to "Robertsbridge," but none to "Rothersbridge" or "Rotherbridge."

EDMUND AUSTEN.

John Wesley was not the only "itinerant" who visited Robertsbridge. Five centuries before, Giraldus Cambrensis, the Welshman of Pembrokeshire, recorded how John of Dover, Abbot of Battle (1200-1213), visited the Cistercian house of Robertsbridge, and in spite of efforts to keep him out of it he was guided by his nose into the refectory. Steaming joints were on the dining-tables of those who professed to be rigid vegetarians. Scandalised by the laxity of what was supposed to be a stricter form of the Benedictine Rule, he asked with a sneer of what saints he perceived the relics, and unceremoniously left the place. Things were presumably much better at Battle! Times were not yet ripe for a Wiclif, but Giraldus, the chronicler, was the writer of a satire on the monks and the Papal authority with the title, "Speculum Ecclesie." Half a millenium later, satires on "the religious" abounded in England, but did little for reform. Unconsciously probably, Wesley followed some of the methods of Wiclif in his use of the pen, itinerancy, and 'Bible Men.' Historical parallels are sometimes perilous, but Sussex County is rich in them for meditative rambles on the tramp or at the desk. (Abbot Gasquet's *English Monastic Life*. Dr. H. F. Heath: *From the Conquest to the Charter*. Literature. Trail: Vol. I).

T. E. B.

MISSIONS IN FRANCE, AND THE EUROPEAN WARS OF THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY.

The article on Hymnology (Charles Wesley's *Hymns in War Time*, by the late Reverend Richard Butterworth,) in *W.H.S. Proc.*, xiv, p. 186, recalls an apposite record as to Wesleyan Missions and Prisoners of War in the early nineteenth century.

The record concerned was preserved by the late Mr. A. M. Broadley, who was a working member of the W.H.S., and who presented me with some of his books and pamphlets. He was for many years engrossed in authorship, and possessed a vast library, which comprised sections exclusively Napoleonic, Biographical, Historical, etc. On his compilation of work on *Autograph Letters* it was my privilege to collaborate with him as to the earliest known records of sales by auction of such writings, and the British Museum was the source of my gleanings thereupon. However, he rushed the book through the press, and it was published without the inclusion of the matter on the early market prices of Autograph Letters, which I still retain.

At the dispersal of Broadley's library in an auction sale at Hodgson's, in London, on December 7 and 8, 1916, there was one lot in his Napoleonic Collection of which I kept a careful note, and it is as follows:—

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"*Lot 324. Prisoners of War*,—Toase (W. Missionary on board the Prison-Ships in the Medway). The Wesleyan Mission in France, with Account of the French Prisoners during the late War. 84pp., 12mo, 1835. Extra-illustrated with 20 Portraits of Wesley, and other Ministers.

"A.L. from Wesley to Adam Clarke referring to his intended visit to Jersey, 1p. 4to. Manchester, July 28th, 1787."

"An interesting Letter signed by over 80 French Prisoners of War confined "depuis neufans" in H.M.S. 'Canada,' addressed to William Toase and another Methodist Missionary, 10th April 1812; and an A.L.s from L. Noupean. "A bord de la prison flottantê le 'Glorry,'" Chatham ce 16 April 1812, 2pp. 4to.⁴ Also two portraits of Napoleon including an old Mezzotint Portrait. The text mounted throughout on hand-made paper, 4to, half morocco extra, t.e.g."

W. WILLS CLINTON, F.R.S.A.

"A.L.s" is an abbreviation signifying "Autograph Letter" signed by the writer of it."

See *Memorials of the Rev. William Toase*, with introduction by Rev. Wm. Arthur, M.A. Conf. Off., 1874. He was an intimate friend of the Osborn family of Rochester.—F.F.B.

For Wesley's visit to the Channel Islands, see *Journal*, vii, pp. 311-324, with the important notes and references to W.H.S. *Proc.*

For full account of Methodist work among these prisoners of war, see ARMAND DE KERPREZDON, *Gentilhomme Breton Missionnaire Methodiste*, parmi les prisonniers francais sur les pontons Anglais, par MATTHEW LELIEVRE. (Paris, 1913)..—J.C.N.

When I was assisting the late Rev. R. Green in collating Wesley's letters for the forthcoming new edition, he sent me his interleaved copy of Wesley's *Journal*. I find the letter to Adam Clarke, from "Manchester, July 28th, 1787," is in Mr. Green's list of transcripts. It will appear in the new edition. See note in *Standard Journal*, vii, 306.—T.E.B.

WESLEY AND POLITICS.

OXFORD, EXETER, ST. IVES, BRISTOL.

John Wesley was one of the men described by Rufus M. Jones, "who lived more dynamic lives because of the mystical experiences which rise within them." One page of his *Journal* suffices to show that he saw no inconsistency in blending records of worship, humane enterprise, and the exercise of his political rights. He fearlessly used his vote, voice, and pen for what he conceived to be the good of the nation.

On the last Sunday in January, 1751, he preached a sermon on behalf of needy children in a crowded church in Spitalfields. The next entry in his Journal tells how he set out early for Oxford to give his vote for a member of Parliament. "There was a severe frost, with the north-west wind full in my face. The roads were so slippery that it was scarcely possible for our horses to keep their feet; indeed one of them could not, but fell upon his head and cut it terribly. Nevertheless, about seven in the evening God brought us safe to Oxford." A congregation was waiting for him there. He preached on "What is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul." Next morning was the election, and Wesley entered the Divinity School and passed through the western door into the Convocation House to record his vote. He writes: "The gentleman for whom I came was not elected; yet I did not repent my coming." The next day he is back again at the old Foundery, conducting a "Watchnight," and says, "We continued praying and praising God as usual."

From our collection of Wesley's pamphlets and leaflets on "The State of the Nation," "The Present Scarcity of Provisions," "Advice to an Englishman," and others, we select one entitled "A Word to a Freeholder." A part of it appeared also as an election poster, of which the Rev. Walter Seed has a copy. In his Journal, June 24, 1747, Wesley writes: "We reached Calstock dripping wet, before seven. The rain ceased while we were in the house and attended us all the way to Exeter. While we stayed here to dry our clothes I took the opportunity of writing "A Word to a Freeholder." It was on the eve of an election, and there are references in the four pages to the party cries. Some were for "The County Interest," some shouted for "The King," others were for "Mother Church." It begins:—

"What are you going to do? To vote for a Parliament man? I hope, then, you have taken no money. For doubtless you know the strictness of the oath—that you have received 'no gift or reward, directly or indirectly nor any promise of any, on account of your vote' in the coming election. Surely you start at perjury! At calm, forethought, deliberate, wilful perjury! If you are guilty already, Stop! Go no further. It is at the peril of your soul. Will you sell your country? Will you sell your own soul? Will you sell your God—your Saviour? Nay, God forbid; rather cast down just now the thirty pieces of silver or gold, and say, 'Sir, I will not sell Heaven, for neither you nor all the world is able to pay the purchase.'

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"I hope you have received nothing else, neither will receive, no entertainment, no meat, no drink. If it is given you on account of your vote, you are perjured still. How can you make oath you have received no gift?" This was a gift, if you did not buy it. What! Will you sell your soul to the devil for a draught of drink or for a morsel of bread? O, consider well what you do! Act as if the whole election depended on your single vote, and as if the whole Parliament depended (and therein the whole nation) on that single person whom you now choose to be a member of it."

The vigorous appeal ends:—

"Let others do as they will, what is that to you? Act you as an honest man, a loyal subject, a true Englishman, a lover of the country. . . ."

At his Conference of 1767, Wesley urged his preachers to circulate this appeal "with both hands."

A week after writing this Wesley reached St. Ives. He spoke to all the Methodists who had votes. Not one would even eat or drink at the expense of him for whom he voted. Five guineas had been given to "W.C.," but he returned them immediately. "T.M." (possibly Thomas Matthews, Warden of the Market House) positively refused to receive anything, and three guineas sent to his mother was instantly returned. Wesley was satisfied. On the day of the election he had a large congregation in the evening, followed by a stirring meeting of the Society.

Wesley was at the Bristol election of 1756, and threw his influence into the scale for the Hon. John Spencer, who was elected. "I found Bristol all in a flame," says the Journal, "voters and non-voters being ready to tear each other to pieces." We find him at Bristol again in the midst of a more famous election in 1774, on the eve of the War of American Independence. Henry Cruger and Edmund Burke were elected. Wesley met the voters of the Society, "advised them: 1. To vote, without fee or reward, for the person they judged most worthy. 2. To speak no ill of the person they voted against; and 3. To take care that their spirits were not sharpened against those who voted on the other side."

Wesley says of himself that politics were beyond his province, but he uses "the privilege of an Englishman to speak his naked thoughts." "I have no bias one way or other. I have no interest depending. I want no man's favour, having no hopes, no fears from any man." We question if Wesley was always unbiassed, but of his disinterestedness there can be no doubt. Political terms

have changed their meaning since his day, especially as they related to Protestant succession. Wesley's friend Dr. Byrom, a Jacobite Tory, wrote:—

“God bless the King—I mean our faith's defender;
 God bless—no harm in blessing the Pretender :”
 But who Pretender is, and who is King,
 God bless us all, that's quite another thing.”

Certainly, Wesley was not a Jacobite. One Wesleyan Methodist writer has labelled him “Christian Socialist,” and compares him with Charles Kingsley! We prefer to chase some of his “naked thoughts,” and label him “Englishman.” But we must not forget that his brother Charles was also deeply interested in the national events of the century, and those who prefer thoughts robed in the diaphanous drapery of poetry may find them in the curious booklets used by early Methodists when earthquakes, invasions, wars and victories called them to intercession or praise.

We select from our bundle of original pamphlets by John Wesley one entitled, “Thoughts on the present scarcity of Provisions. Printed by R. Hawes in Lamb Street, facing Crispin Street, near the Market in Spitalfields. 1773.” The pamphlet was written at Lewisham.

“1. Why are thousands of people starving, perishing for want in every part of the nation? The fact I know: I have seen it with my eyes, in every corner of the land. I have known those who could only afford to eat a little coarse food once every other day. . . . Now why is this? Why have all these nothing to eat? Because they have nothing to do. 2. But why have they no work? Why are so many thousands in London, Bristol, Norwich, and in every county utterly destitute of employment? Because the persons that used to employ them cannot afford to do it longer. Many that employed fifty now scarce employ ten. 3. But why is food so dear? . . . The grand cause is, because such immense quantities of corn are continually consumed by distilling. Indeed, an eminent distiller near London, hearing this, warmly replied, ‘Nay, my partner and I generally distil but a thousand quarters a week. Perhaps so. And suppose five and twenty distillers in and near the town consume each only the same quantity—here are 1,250 a year consumed in and about London! Add the distillers throughout England, little less than half the wheat produced is every year consumed, not by so harmless a way as throwing it into the sea, but by converting it into a deadly poison that destroys not only the strength and life, but also the morals of our countrymen. . . . ‘However, what is

paid brings in a large revenue to the King.' Is this an equivalent for the lives of his subject? Would His Majesty sell a hundred thousand of his subjects to Algiers for four hundred thousand pounds? Surely no. Will he then sell them for that sum to be butchered by their own countrymen? 'But otherwise the swine for the Navy cannot be fed.' Not unless they are fed with human flesh! Not unless they are fatted with human blood! O tell it not in Constantinople, that the English raise the Royal revenue by selling the flesh and blood of their countrymen."

Then Wesley discusses oats, beef, and mutton, pork, poultry, and eggs. He gives details concerning farms. "The land which was some years ago divided between ten or twenty little farmers, and enabled them comfortably to provide for their families is now engrossed by one great farmer." Then Wesley writes on markets, on waste, on the high price of land, excessive taxes, and the national debt. He deals with eight remedies and the last is the revision of the Civil List, and the abolishment of useless pensions—a scandal in his day—especially those "ridiculous ones given to some hundreds of idle men as governors of certain forts which have answered no end for above these hundred years unless to shelter jackdaws and crows. Might not a good part of a million more be saved in this very article?"

Such are some of Wesley's "naked thoughts" during a period of stormy politics and foggy economics.

T. E. BRIGDEN.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

659. DETROIT, MICHIGAN, U.S.A.—The *British Weekly* states that Dr. Lynn Harold Hough, U.S.A., has written the story of the Central Methodist Episcopal Church in that city. Dr. James M. Buckley, was the founder of the present building, but the records of Methodism in Detroit go back to the dawn of the nineteenth century, and to the little log church on the River Rouge.—*F. F. Bretherton.*

(See Nathan Bang's *Hist. M.E.C.* vol. ii. 170, and Hurst's *Hist. M. (America) ii, 553.* "A local preacher named Freeman was leader in Detroit in 1803." Bangs was there in 1804 and gives an interesting foot note on his first three visits. After the 1812 war Joseph Hickox was appointed to Detroit. He was then the only Protestant preacher in the Territory. He found seven Methodists in the city of the straits, where William Mitchell an Irish local preacher had gathered a class.

T. E. B.

660. "*The Romance of Early Methodism in and around WEST BROMWICH AND WEDNESBURY, by H. H. Prince.* (3, Bagnall Street, West Bromwich). 3/6.—This is one of the most attractive of local histories, excellently printed, and rich in illustrations, including the site of Crabb's Mill, birthplace of S. Staffs. Methodism; the original Horseblock of Wednesbury; the scene of Asbury's birthplace and work; the Iron Cage used at one time at Spring Head Sunday School. The riots in Darleston, Wednesbury and West Bromwich are well described, and the writer succeeds well in his aim stated in his preface, to "preserve the story of the Church of my fathers and my own."

661. A BINGLEY NOTE.—

See *Journal, Index* (viii. 401). "Hartley, Mr. of Bingley, viii. 3d." Insert "Vicar" Add references; vi. 103 note, 274 note.

From monuments in the Parish Church we gather that the Rev. Richard Hartley, A.B., 48 years vicar of Bingley, died April 20, 1789, aged 75. He was twice married. His first wife was Ann, daughter of John Perkins, M.D., of Netherton, near Wakefield. She died August 10, 1745, aged 24 years, and was buried here. His second wife was Martha, daughter of Rev. Thomas Hudson, A.B., Master of the Grammar School at Bingley. She died September 1, 1764, aged 40, and was also buried here. Each wife bore two children; and the youngest of the four became the Rev. Richard Hartley, D.D., and was Master of the Grammar School at Bingley for 45 years, and Vicar of the Parish for 39 years.—*M. F. Ryle.*

662. WESLEY'S CHAPEL AND HOUSE, CITY ROAD.—In reply to enquiries from *The Times*, Dr. J. A. Sharp was able to state on January 26, 1926, "not only that the condition of John Wesley's Chapel, house, and tomb and graveyard in which it stands is such that no Methodist need feel ashamed, but that their continuance in substantial repair is assured for the future. No less than £12,000 have been spent recently on the renovation, and £6,000 more on the clearing off of debts, and the increase of the special endowment fund for the upkeep of the City Road property.

Every part of the historic building is now in perfect condition, inside and without. The interior decoration of Wesley's Chapel is harmonious, sober, and restrained. The cleaning process has taken off the accumulation of years of grime, deposited by the City atmosphere, and the pillars

of red marble that now support the gallery, having replaced some years ago the masts of ships of the line given to John Wesley by King George III, when the chapel was erected in 1777, set the general tone with a recovered richness, happily not over-emphasized by the gilt ornamentation of the gallery.

The graveyard was sown last year with fresh grass-seed, in the spaces uncovered by tombstones. The tomb of John Wesley looks, as it is, well cared for, and has weathered very little since its last surface cleansing. Wesley's house, to which the public are admitted daily to see a most interesting collection of Wesleyana, has been completely renewed within."

663 THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF METHODISM (18th Century).—Mr. G. Macaulay Trevelyan, in his *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, writes: "The new fact of religious life in the eighteenth century was Methodism. The Mission of John Wesley, by its astonishing success, goes far to upset all generalisations about the subdued and rational spirit of the eighteenth century, for the very essence of Wesley's movement was 'enthusiasm,' and it swept the country. The upper classes, however, remained hostile to Methodism, and the Established Church thrust it out to join its potent young force to that of the old Dissenting bodies. The ultimate consequence was that the Nonconformists rose from about a twentieth of the Church-goers to something near a half. Wesley's Methodism became the religion of the neglected poor. Eventually, too, Methodism reacted on the gentry in the polite and orthodox form of an Evangelical movement inside the Church of England." . . . "In every town, besides the prosperous masters, journeymen and apprentices, lived a mass of beings, physically and morally corrupt . . . for whose souls only the Methodists had a thought to spare."

"In the vacant misery of such a life, two rival sources of consolation, drink and religion, strove for the souls of men. The annals of drink are much the same in all ages. . . . But the particular form that religion then took among the workmen influenced the course of political and social history . . . Many of the more self respecting of the new proletariat found in the Chapel the opportunity for the development of talents and the gratification of instincts that were denied expression elsewhere. The close and enthusiastic study of the Bible educated the imagination more nobly than it is educated in our age of magazines, novelettes and newspapers.

And in the Chapel-life working-men first learnt to speak and organise, to persuade and trust their fellows. . . . It was in Little Bethel that many of the working-class leaders were trained. In a world made almost intolerable by avarice and oppression, here was a refuge where men and things were taken up aloft and judged by spiritual and moral standards that forbade either revenge or despair. . . . Wesley's religion worked against violence, and helped to develop many of the moral qualities and sober aspirations which have often distinguished the labour movement of England from that of the Continent."

664. DR. ADAM CLARKE'S MOTHER.—Five of the biographers of Dr. Clarke give an account of the notable ancestors of Mrs. Clarke (the McLeans, of Mull, in the Hebrides), but do not give her *Christian* name. Will any reader who knows it kindly inform *Mr. E. Austen, Brede, Sussex?*

Mrs. Adam Clarke died at Bristol, in 1811, so some Bristol correspondent may be able to answer the question. After her son left the city she had found a home with her daughter, Mrs. Exley.

THE LATE MR. GEORGE SEVERS, OF BINGLEY.

Mr. Bretherton, with deep regret, reports the death of Mr. Severs, (at the age of 86), one of our earliest members who contributed notes to our *Proceedings*. He was a keen student of early systems of short-hand and was consulted by the staff of our Church Bookroom in connection with the transcript of Wesley's diary. He compiled notes of value adding to the information given in Wards' *Bingley Methodism*. He found time for this in the midst of duties on the Keighley Board of Guardians and his thirty years work in one of the largest elementary schools in Bingley. He introduced science subjects into Mechanics' Institutes of Bingley, Saltaire and Bradford; and was an active Church worker. His study of old shorthand systems was applied to the decipherment of an inscription, attributed to Wesley on a window at Toils Farm, High Eldwick, and we preserve a facsimile of this as a memento of a revered follower of Wesley's ideals and methods.

LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

John Wesley's admission to his Fellowship, 28th March, 1726. The Bi-centenary celebration of this important event in the career of Wesley has been fully reported in the newspapers as we revise the March *Proceedings* of our W.H.S. We hope to give space in our *June* issue for articles and notes on the Wesleys at Oxford, and we shall be glad to receive copy for this during April and May.

T.E.B.