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Proceedings OF THE Wesley Historical Society

Editor: REV. WESLEY F. SWIFT.

Volume XXXI

December 1957

EDITORIAL

THE publication of this issue coincides with the 250th anniversary of the birth of Charles Wesley on 18th December 1707, and we therefore offer these current pages to our readers as the Society's tribute to his memory. (Strangely enough, we allowed John Wesley's 250th anniversary to pass almost unnoticed, but John had a good innings in 1938 when we celebrated the 200th anniversary of his conversion.) Our contemporaries, such as the *London Quarterly Review* and the *Methodist Recorder*, are making their own contributions to this celebration along more or less familiar lines, but we have tried, both in this issue and in the last, to break more specialized ground. In particular, we have felt it right on this occasion to exceed our normal quota of illustrations, and we hope our readers will find special pleasure in the four portraits of Charles Wesley and not regard them as an unnecessary extravagance. Indeed, the cost of the "Spilsbury" engraving has been shared with our Irish Branch, who are using the portrait to illustrate their own commemorative brochure. Our Irish friends, with their keen historical sense, are always to the fore in seeking to exploit for the best purposes these occasions of commemoration and celebration.

A glance through the indexes of our thirty volumes reveals that Charles Wesley has received constant attention in our pages. Though here, as elsewhere, Charles has been overshadowed by John, we can justly claim that our Society has made a considerable contribution to our knowledge of Charles Wesley. Many of his letters were first published in the *Proceedings*; and in the earlier years we printed some informative and authoritative articles on his hymns, which have been widely quoted by the many later workers in this field. It may well be that the present celebrations throughout world Methodism, and the literature which they produce, will awaken fresh interest in Charles Wesley, and give to the worshipper in our pews the informed background which will enable him to use the hymns, as John hoped would be the case when he published the 1780 Hymn-Book, "as a means of raising or quickening the spirit of devotion; of confirming his faith; of enlivening his hope; and of kindling and increasing his love to God and man".

THE CHURCHMANSHIP OF CHARLES WESLEY

I die in the Holy Catholic Church and Apostolic Faith, professed by the whole Church before the division of East and West; more particularly I die in the Communion of the Church of England as it stands distinguished from all papal and puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross.

THESE words of the saintly non-juror Bishop Ken could well serve to define the churchmanship of Charles Wesley. Temperament and training alike went to the fashioning of that churchmanship. From Epworth Rectory, where sympathies were unashamedly with High Church principles, he went to spend his youthful years with his brother Samuel, who was a High Churchman of the strictest type. It is significant that father and brother, the two moulders of his youth, are mentioned together in a letter he wrote to his wife in 1785 when he was very distressed at the news that his brother John had ordained some of the preachers to administer in Scotland: "How would this disturb (if they were capable of being disturbed) my father and brother in Paradise."¹ The two Samuels, father and brother, stamped upon Charles a churchmanship which never left him.

Yet it was a churchmanship which was never regarded as being in any way inconsistent with fervent evangelism. He took to field-preaching with less reluctance than his brother did, and actually preceded John in administering the Lord's Supper in a Methodist preaching-house. Charles Wesley's churchmanship was neither the political High Churchmanship of the eighteenth-century Tories nor the Romanistic Churchmanship of twentieth-century Anglo-Catholics. It was thoroughly English in its impatience with either Roman or Genevan excesses. In fact, the perfect synthesis of High Churchman and Evangelical which we find in both the Wesley brothers is worth all the consideration that can be given to it at the present time.

It is impossible within the compass of this article to examine our subject in great detail. We shall have to pass over what is probably the richest and most relevant collection of hymns, *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, but these have been fully explored elsewhere.² We can, however, turn to some of Charles Wesley's other (and perhaps lesser-known) writings, beginning with the metrical letter which he wrote to his brother John in the critical year of 1755. Some of the most influential, or certainly the most vociferous, of the preachers were agitating for permission to administer the Lord's Supper. The very idea horrified Charles, and fearing lest the preachers might sway

¹ Frank Baker: *Charles Wesley as revealed by his Letters*, p. 138.

² See Rattenbury: *The Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley*, and the present writer's *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism*.

his brother, he wrote the "Epistle" in which he expressed his thoughts on the nature of the Church:³

And all my *fondness for the Church* I tell,
The Church whose cause I serve, whose faith approve,
Whose altars reverence, and whose name I love.

"The Church" for Charles Wesley is, of course, the Church of England:

The church of Christ *and England*—is but one!

Nor must Methodists imagine that, apart from the Church of England, they are the Church:

Yet still the Methodists *The Church* are not:
A single faculty is not the soul,
A limb the body, or a part the whole.

The true Church consists of:

All who have felt, deliver'd from above,
The holy faith that works by humble love;
All that in pure religious worship join,
Led by the Spirit, and the Word Divine,
Duly the Christian mysteries partake,
And bow to governors for conscience sake.

Charles Wesley has an eye for essentials, and will not contend for what is not essential:

Let others for the shape and colour fight
Of garments short or long, or black or white;
Far different care is mine; o'er earth to see
Diffused her true essential piety.

The "Epistle" ends with a sublime passage:

When first sent forth to minister the word,
Say, did we preach ourselves, or Christ the Lord?
Was it our aim disciples to collect,
To raise a party, or to found a sect?
No; but to spread the power of Jesus' name,
Repair the walls of our *Jerusalem*,
Revive the piety of ancient days,
And fill the earth with our Redeemer's praise.

The step which Charles feared in 1755 was taken in 1784 when his brother ordained his preachers, first for America and then for Scotland and England. It was a severe blow to him, a rigid son of the Church of England. He maintained to the end that "ordination is separation", and that no consideration of urgency or expediency justified it. He was still at heart a Churchman first and a Methodist after that; and he wrote to his wife: "My chief concern upon earth was the prosperity of the Church of England; my next that of the Methodists, my third that of the preachers."⁴

Charles Wesley's relationship with the preachers was not always of the happiest, but he was not against lay preaching; in fact, he was always anxious to maintain and improve the standard. But he

³ *Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley*, vi, pp. 55-64.

⁴ Frank Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

had a dread of the preachers assuming what he called "the sacerdotal office", and of Methodism becoming a sect with a Wesley as

... what my soul doth as hell reject,
A Pope—a *Count*—and leader of a sect.

He clearly distinguishes between the call to preach—i.e. the "prophetic office"—and the outward call or "sacerdotal office". He puts these words on the lips of a preacher :

None of the *sacred* order I,
Yet dare I not the grace deny
Thou hast on me bestow'd,
Constrained to *speak* in Jesu's name,
And show poor souls the atoning Lamb,
And point them to His blood.⁵

This is no mean conception of the preaching office, but it clearly marks a line over which, in Charles's mind at any rate, no unordained preacher must pass.

Yet however "high" we may rank Charles Wesley's churchmanship—and it was high judged by eighteenth-century standards—it was always without any leanings towards Rome; and this is perhaps the chief thing which distinguishes him from so many of those who bear the name of "High Churchman" today. Some of his strongest words are used against "the Antichrist of Rome". They would be considered grossly bad taste today, but one must bear in mind that until 1745 at least the battle for the Reformed Faith and the Protestant Succession was still undecided. Nor must we forget that colourful language was the vernacular of controversialists in the eighteenth century. Toleration was unheard-of! Nevertheless, if Wesley was anti-Roman, he was no less anti-Genevan. The truth is, he was catholic without being Roman, and evangelical without being Puritan. The Church was neither a political expedient nor a mutual improvement society (as it was to many of his contemporaries), but a society of divine origin; a "Church of pardoned sinners, exulting in their Saviour", a spiritual organism, Christ's "mystic body", whose most complete expression on earth was, or could be if she were true to her highest self, the Church of England.

Charles was a churchman first, and an evangelical within the framework of his churchmanship. He was able to reconcile his churchmanship with his evangelism because he believed that the Church of England embodied both in her true self. That is why he took no step, even for the sake of Methodism, which in any way violated his allegiance to the Church which he believed was in essence both Catholic and Evangelical. JOHN C. BOWMER.

⁵ *Poetical Works*, v, p. 103.

The story of 150 years of Methodism in Brighton and Hove has been told by Ernest W. Griffin in *The Pilgrim People* (pp. 70, 3s. from the author at 25, Sackville Gardens, Hove, 3, Sussex). This handsome booklet, with 33 illustrations and a pictorial cover, is one of the most attractive and praiseworthy "local histories" we have received for a long time.

CHARLES WESLEY'S "HYMNS FOR CHILDREN"

BOTH John and Charles Wesley loved children, and were deeply concerned for their spiritual welfare—oppressively so in the view of modern educationists. Richard Green's *Wesley Bibliography* lists ten separate works ending with the phrase "for Children", quite apart from the textbooks prepared for Kingswood School. They range from *Instructions for Children* in 1745 (Green, 62) to an abridged edition of *Hymns for Children* with a preface by John Wesley dated 27th March 1790 (Green, 414).

Perhaps the most interesting of all are the various volumes entitled *Hymns for Children*, all issued anonymously, with the partial exception of the preface to the 1790 collection. The best known is that of 1763 (Green, 223), which contains a hundred hymns, some of them quite lengthy. That this was actually the production of Charles Wesley himself seems proved by a sentence in a letter of 1760 to his wife: "I am going to print my Hymns for Children." Of the abridged version of this with John Wesley's 1790 preface I have not so far examined a copy, though there is one in the Victoria University, Toronto. At our British Methodist Book-Room, however, there are two copies of an earlier edition of the same abridgement without John Wesley's preface, one dated 1787, and the other without title-page.

The rarest of all, however, is the earliest work with this title, which Green numbered 99, and of which he had not seen a copy when the first edition of his monumental work was compiled. An additional note to the second edition describes the publication, but adds, "I am compelled to think that this tract was not compiled by Wesley." This opinion seems to have been formed mainly because of distaste at the common evangelical eighteenth-century attitude towards children and death—certainly in those days a far larger proportion of children died in youth, and there was little attempt to keep from them "the facts of death". In particular, Green seems to have been disturbed by the closing lines of a verse to be used "At lying down in Bed", which may or may not have been written by the compiler, but was obviously approved by him. These same sentiments, however, can be multiplied and magnified by recourse to the 1763 *Hymns for Children*. It seems to the present writer almost certain that the tract was published by the Wesleys. It also seems probable that it was published by Charles Wesley.¹

¹ It does not appear to be mentioned in the advertisements of various Wesley publications which from time to time were appended to their books and tracts. Although these advertisements speak of "Books publish'd by Mr. John and Charles Wesley", one gets the impression that they were prepared by John Wesley, and there seem to be more omissions of ephemera written by Charles than by John. This is somewhat shaky evidence, however, and the lists vary considerably in their comprehensiveness.

It is very difficult to date this first *Hymns for Children*, which consists of 12 pages duodecimo. Not only does it seem to have escaped being listed, but it bears no name of compiler or printer, no name of place of printing, no date. One clue which has been of value in similarly undocumented publications has so far yielded only negative results. There is a distinctive ornamental rule over the title, but this does not coincide with scores of similar printer's devices which I have listed from Wesley's publications, though it is reminiscent of some. This might be construed as an argument against its publication by Wesley if my catalogue of printer's devices were anything like exhaustive, but I cannot pretend that it is. The type of device used, however, tends to confirm an early date for the pamphlet—probably somewhere in the middle 1740s.

Hymns for children first appeared in the *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* published by John Wesley in 1741; of this there was a new edition in 1743, with considerable alterations and with the addition of the name of Charles Wesley to the title-page. Like the 1737 Charleston volume with the same title, this was a composite work; the 1743 volume certainly, the 1741 volume almost certainly, contained several contributions by Charles Wesley. Both the 1741 and the 1743 editions included a "children's section"—three hymns for the orphans in Georgia, seven for "Charity-Children", one for "the opening of a Charity-School", and three "for any School". None of these fourteen hymns appeared in any of the three volumes entitled *Hymns for Children*.

In 1742 the two brothers issued their third joint publication under the title *Hymns and Sacred Poems*. It contained a group of seven "Hymns for Children". Six of these were reprinted in the 1763 *Hymns for Children*, forming the opening group of "Hymns for the Youngest", the first two hymns, "Gentle Jesus" and "Lamb of God, I fain would be", being in 1763 split into two parts. The hymn omitted from the 1763 collection was also inadvertently omitted by Dr. George Osborn from the Wesleys' *Poetical Works*: it is "Hymn V" in the *Hymns for Children* soon to be described in detail.

This first *Hymns for Children* is much more closely related, both in content and form, to the 1742 volume than to that of 1763. In all probability the 1742 group of hymns (even although in the event two were omitted) inspired the idea of a separate hymn-tract for children, incorporating some suitable hymns from previous publications. To these were added some brief guides to the devotional life. Although this cannot at present be proved, and may in fact eventually be disproved, I believe that Charles Wesley prepared and published this little devotional guide for young children somewhere in the middle 1740s; I believe also that it affords at least a clue to the family devotions both in his parents' home at Epworth and in his own later home in Bristol. After listing the hymns with which the tract commences, therefore, and which occupy the first nine pages, we propose to reprint the closing pages verbatim.

- p. (1) "HYMNS / for / CHILDREN.
[single rule]"
- pp. (1)-2 "HYMN I. / Gentle Jesus, meek and mild . . ."
[14 verses, 77-77., from *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1742, pp. 194-5.]
- pp. 3-4 "HYMN II. / Lamb of God, I fain would be . . ."
[13 verses, 77-77., from *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1742, pp. 195-7, omitting verse 11.]
- pp. 4-5 "HYMN III. / Come let us join the Hosts above . . ."
[6 verses, C.M., from *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1742, pp. 197-8.]
- pp. 5-6 "HYMN IV. / Lover of Little Children, Thee . . ."
[6 verses, C.M., from *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1742, pp. 201-2.]
- p. 6 "HYMN V. / All Thanks and Praise to God belong . . ."
[6 verses, C.M., from *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1742, pp. 199-200, omitting verses 2 and 3.]
- p. 7 "LIFE and ETERNITY. / Thee we adore, eternal Name . . ."
[7 verses, C.M., from *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, 1741, p. 15; by Isaac Watts, being Hymn 55 in Book II of his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*.]
- pp. 7-8 "Hymn for Sunday. / The Lord of Sabbath let us praise . . ."
[4 verses, C.M., from *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, 1741, p. 46; by Samuel Wesley, jun., published in his *Poems*, 1736, p. 241.]
- pp. 8-9 "A Morning Hymn. / Jesus the all-restoring Word . . ."
[6 verses, C.M., from *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1740, pp. 25-6.]
- p. 9 "An Evening Hymn. / Jesus, the all-atoning Lamb . . ."
[6 verses, C.M., from *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1740, pp. 26-7.]

These latter two hymns are included in the opening pages of a manuscript volume preserved at the Book-Room ("MS. 47") which seems to be the earliest of Charles Wesley's manuscript volumes; it seems likely that this volume was used in the compilation of the 1740 *Hymns and Sacred Poems*. In this detail, also, there seems to be confirmation of Charles Wesley's authorship of the early *Hymns for Children*.

The pamphlet concludes with :

- p. 10 "An Exhortation for a Child.

If you have any Regard, dear Child, to your own eternal Happiness, it ought to be your chiefest Care to serve and glorify God. 'Tis for this End, God both made and redeemed you: And two excellent Rules he

hath given you in Holy Scripture ; by the conscientious Observation of which you will be able, through his Grace, to dedicate your tender Years to his Glory.

The one teaches you what you have to do ; *Remember now thy Creator in the Days of thy Youth.*

The other teaches you what you are to avoid ; *Fly youthful Lusts* ; that is, all those Sins which are usually incident to young Persons.

You cannot imagine the unspeakable Advantages a pious Youth gains by the Practice of these two Rules ; and how many ghostly Dangers that Soul escapes, which is seasoned betimes with the Fear of God, before he be sullied with ill Company ; before he hath contracted vicious Habits, which will cost him infinite Pains to unlearn ; learn then, dear Child, to accustom yourself to bear Christ's Yoke from your Youth ; do but consider how welcome a young Convert is to God : To young *Samuel*, God revealed himself ; and it was *St. John*, the youngest of all the Disciples, who was permitted to lean on our Saviour's Bosom at the last Supper.

Directions for a Child.

As soon as ever you awake in the Morning, dear Child, strive as much as you can, to keep all worldly Thoughts out of your Mind, 'till you have presented the first Fruits of the Day to God, which will be an excellent Preparative to make you spend the Rest of it the better.

When your Clothes are on look on your Souls as still undress'd, 'till you have said your Prayers ; no matter what Places you pray in, for God will hear you any where, if you pray from your Heart. Never omit Prayer Morn-

p. 11

ing or Evening, for many have gone well to Bed over Night, who have been found dead the next Morning ; and therefore it highly concerns you to take Care to make your Peace with God before you go to sleep.

Towards Night examine how you have spent the Day ; what has been amiss in your Thoughts, Words, and Actions that Day. Consider what Idleness or Unchastity, what Lying and Stubbornness you have been guilty of, and get the Blood of Christ to blot it all out before you close your Eyes. And if you have had any Quarrel with any other Child, be sure to be Friends with them before you sleep.

Morning Prayer for a Child.

Glory be to to [sic] thee, O Lord God, for all the Blessings I daily receive from thee, and for thy particular Preservation and Refreshment of me this Night past.

O Lord, have Mercy upon me, and forgive whatsoever thou hast seen amiss in me this Night ; and for the Time to come, give me Grace to fly all youthful Lusts, and to remember thee, my Creator, in the Days of my Youth.

Show down thy Graces and Blessings on me, and on all my Relations, (*On my Father and Mother, on my Brethren and Sisters*) on all my Friends, on all my Governors ; and give thy Angels charge over us, to protect us all from Sin and Danger.

Lord, bless me in my Learning this Day, that I may every Day grow more fit for thy Service : O pardon my Failings and do more for me, than [sic, i.e. "than "] I can ask or think, for the Merits of Jesus, my Saviour,

in whose holy Words, I sum up all my Wants. *Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.*

Evening Prayer for a Child.

Glory be to thee, O Lord God, for all the Blessings I daily receive from thee, and for thy particular Preservation of me this Day.

p. 12

O Lord, have Mercy upon me, and forgive whatsoever thou hast seen amiss in me this Day past; and for the Time to come give me Grace to fly all youthful Lusts, and to remember thee, my Creator, in the Days of my Youth.

Lord receive me and all my Relations into thy gracious Protection this Night; and send me such seasonable Rest that I may rise the next Morning more fit for thy Service.

Lord, hear my Prayers, and pardon my Failings, for the Merit of my blessed Saviour, in whose holy Words I sum up all my Wants. *Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.*

At lying down in Bed.

I lay me down, hoping to sleep,
I pray to God, my Soul to keep;
But if I die before I wake,
I pray to God my Soul to take.

[Single rule]

A Grace before Meat.

Sanctify, O Lord, we beseech thee, these thy good Creatures to our Use, and us to thy Service, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Grace after Meat.

Blessed and praised be thy holy Name, O Lord, for these and all thy other Blessings bestowed upon us, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

FINIS."

This is surely not unworthy of either John or Charles Wesley. Albeit with something of the uncompromising piety of the early Methodists, as must be expected, it enshrines the straightforward simplicity of "Gentle Jesus", and is far less "namby-pambical" than that poem. It is certainly much more appropriate for younger children than John Wesley's *Prayers for Children* published in 1772 (Green, 281). One might do worse than recommend it (with some slight alterations) for use by the child of today. FRANK BAKER.

The Proceedings of the Ninth World Methodist Conference (Abingdon Press, U.S.A., pp. 520, 25s., obtainable from the Epworth Press) contains full transcripts of the addresses given at the 1956 Conference at Lake Junaluska. The addresses cover a variety of themes, expository, theological, sociological, hortatory, and historical. Amongst the latter we single out the contributions by Dr. Umphrey Lee on "The Formative Period of American Methodism", by Dr. Maldwyn Edwards on "The Wesley Family", and by Bishop Paul Garber on "Early Methodist Preaching in America". But why a couple of pages could not have been spared for a detailed list of contents is an unexplained mystery. This volume is like the famous curate's egg, but (to change the metaphor) there is much good grain amongst the chaff.

PORTRAITS AND BIOGRAPHIES OF CHARLES WESLEY

CHARLES WESLEY did not attract the attention of the artists to the same extent as did his brother John. A mere handful of portraits, some contemporary and others later, is all that we possess. The reasons for this are surely clear. Whereas John was a national figure whose features were known throughout the land, Charles's retirement from the itinerancy in middle life and the consequent restriction of his work to London and Bristol meant that he was known only to a few. The later Wesley "cult", which expressed itself in representations of John in pottery, medallions, and the like, was never extended to Charles. It was John's portrait, and John's alone, which for many years graced a hymn-book consisting almost exclusively of Charles's hymns. Even the *Methodist Magazine* in May 1792 (four years after his death) could do no better than print an anonymous and almost crude engraving quite unworthy of the man. These two phenomena—the neglect of Charles by a later generation which had emphatically turned away from his brand of churchmanship and remembered him only for his hymns, and his lack of appeal to the portrait painters—are therefore equally explicable and regrettable. To those few portraits of Charles which enable us to see the man as his friends and family knew him we now turn.

The Portraits

1. The "Russell" Portrait. We give this portrait pride of place because John Russell, R.A. was not only a minor "character" in the eighteenth-century scene but also a personal friend of Charles Wesley and his family, who frequently visited him at his home at Guildford.¹ Russell was converted under Martin Madan in 1764, and became a regular worshipper (when in London) at the City Road and West Street chapels.

At home or abroad, in season or out of season, he never ceased from preaching and disputation. He endeavoured to convert as well as paint his sitters. Lady Huntingdon tried in vain to persuade him to give up painting and go to her College at Trevecka. . . . He not only would not work on Sunday, but would allow no one to enter his painting room.²

His work was extensive, his portraits including John Wesley, George Whitefield, Henry Venn, and Charles Wesley, junr. He painted the Countess of Huntingdon for the Orphan House in Georgia, but the portrait was lost on the voyage. His second portrait of the Countess now hangs at Cheshunt College, Cambridge.

Russell painted his portrait of Charles Wesley in oils, size 30 by 25 ins., in 1771, and it was later exhibited at the Royal Academy. It now occupies an honoured place on the walls of the Mission

¹ Thomas Jackson: *The Life of Charles Wesley*, ii, pp. 313, 316, 334; Frank Baker: *Charles Wesley as revealed by his Letters*, p. 115.

² Article in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

House in London. Edgar W. Thompson in his catalogue of the Mission House pictures describes this painting as "probably a copy". With the assistance of Miss Joan M. Anderson, the Mission House archivist, I have gone into this matter with some care, and there seems to be little doubt that the painting is indeed the original. It was at one time in the possession of Charles Wesley's family, and there is no record of its transfer to the Missionary Society, but the references in the Committee Minutes from 1868 onwards (it was more than once loaned to art exhibitions) all assume that the portrait was the original. Engraved by T. A. Dean, it forms the frontispiece to Thomas Jackson's *Life of Charles Wesley* and to volume iii of the *Journal of John Wesley*. An engraving by T. W. Hunt of this portrait appeared in *Proceedings*, ix, facing page 1, but by a curious error it is described on page 4 as being the portrait by William Gush (see No. 3 below). It is undoubtedly Russell's portrait.

John Russell has been described as "one of the most fascinating portrait painters of the later portion of the eighteenth century", and his portraits as being only just below the artistic level of Reynolds, Gainsborough and Romney.³ If this judgement is correct, then we may confidently assume that Russell's "Charles Wesley" gives us a life-like representation of the man as he was at the age of sixty-four.

2. The "Spilsbury" Engraving. Jonathan Spilsbury (not to be confused with his brother John) was an engraver who exhibited at the Royal Academy during the years 1776 to 1807. His engraving of Charles Wesley has been described as "the finest portrait of the poet",⁴ and it is of special interest as being the only one published during Charles's lifetime. As our illustration clearly shows, it was published by the Book-Room on 20th March 1786, size 8½ by 11¼ ins. Whether it was drawn from life, it is now impossible to say. An engraving by J. Fittler (1758-1835), which forms the frontispiece to Whitehead's *Life of John Wesley*, appears to be a copy of Spilsbury's engraving, though only Fittler's name is given.

3. The "Gush" Portrait. This is the most frequently reproduced of all the Charles Wesley portraits. The location of the original painting is unknown, and my attempts to discover information about the artist have been practically without success. Although his paintings were exhibited at the Royal Academy and elsewhere from 1833 to 1874, and his portrait of John Curwen, the Independent minister, hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, William Gush is not mentioned in Bryan's five-volume *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* or in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Charles H. Kelly described him as "a successful limner of the human face",⁵ whilst F. W. Macdonald said that "he took pains with the head and face, was good at catching a likeness, and painted the hands in

³ Bryan: *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, iv, p. 305.

⁴ *Proceedings*, ix, p. 4.

⁵ *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1907, p. 737.

carefully".⁶ In 1834 William Gush succeeded John Jackson, R.A. as the chief portrait painter for the Wesleyan Connexion, and during the following thirty years some 270 of his portraits of leading preachers were reproduced as engravings in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*. It is therefore obvious from these dates that he could not have painted Charles Wesley from life. Various engravings from this portrait have been made, notably by J. Cochrane (reproduced in this issue), T. A. Dean, and G. Stodhardt.

4. The "Hudson" Portrait. This portrait (size 27 by 35 ins.), which shows Charles Wesley in early manhood (not, surely, in his Oxford days, as Telford suggests, for he is wearing bands), hangs at the Book-Room. Thomas Hudson (1701-79) was the son-in-law and pupil of Jonathan Richardson, the portrait painter. For several years he was the most fashionable portrait painter of his time, but though some of his pictures hang in the National Portrait Gallery and the Bodleian Library, he is chiefly remembered as being for two years the teacher of Sir Joshua Reynolds.⁷ Charles H. Kelly described this portrait as "an artistic gem", but expressed a doubt whether Hudson "could have painted hands so perfect, so exquisitely pretty. He was said to be far from great on hands."⁸ This portrait is reproduced as one of the illustrations in this issue.

Four other portraits remain to be noted, though they have less significance and value than those already enumerated.

5. The "Jobson" Portrait, by Dr. Frederick J. Jobson (1812-81), a man of many talents. Trained as an architect, he had great skill with brush and pencil; he wrote a standard work on "Chapel and School Architecture"; was the first author (but not the last) to become Book Steward, and was President of the Wesleyan Conference in 1869. His portrait of Wesley (reproduced in Telford's *Sayings and Portraits of Charles Wesley*, p. 143) is preserved at the Book-Room, and its interest lies chiefly in the personality of the artist.

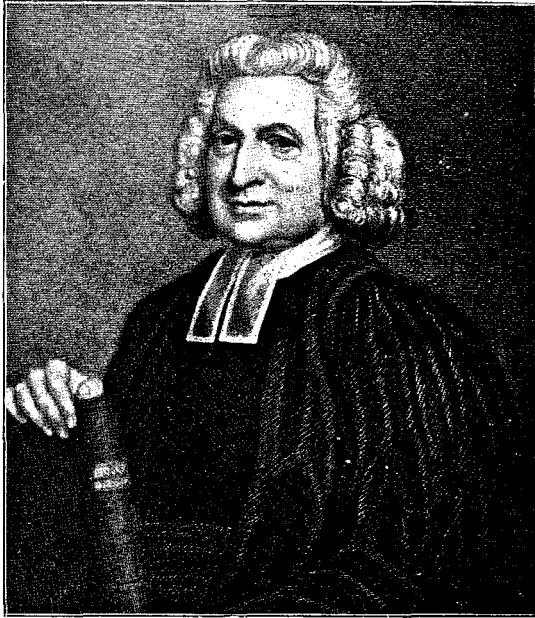
6. The "Forster" Portrait, which shows Charles Wesley in gown and bands, with a large open book before him, some sheets of manuscript in his left hand and a quill pen in his right. The canvas measures 54 by 84 ins., and the portrait is based on Russell (No. 1 above). The artist, J. W. L. Forster, was commissioned by the Social Union of the Methodist Church of Canada in 1900 to execute portraits of John, Charles, and Susanna Wesley, and he came specially to England to study existing portraits in order to follow "their lead into the intimate life of the originals".⁹ These three portraits now hang in Victoria University Chapel, Toronto. (Telford, op. cit., p. 147.)

⁶ F. W. Macdonald: *Some Pictures on my Walls*, p. 11.

⁷ Bryan, op. cit., iii, p. 82.

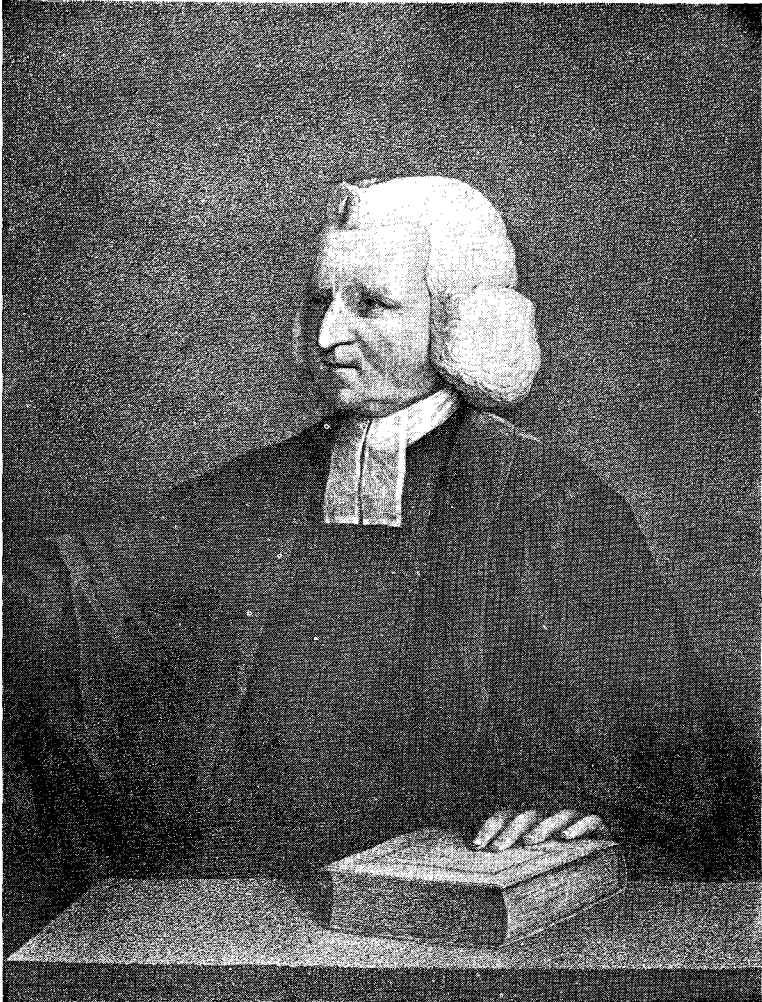
⁸ *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1907, p. 735.

⁹ J. W. L. Forster: *Under the Studio Light*, pp. 135-7, 208 f. I am indebted to the Archivist-Historian of Victoria University, Toronto, for extensive quotations from this book.



THE "RUSSELL" PORTRAIT OF CHARLES WESLEY
Engraved by T. A. Dean from the portrait by John Russell, R.A.

(Block kindly lent by The Epworth Press.)



Engraving taken and revised at Glasgow.

CHARLES WESLEY, AM.

Presbyter of the Church of England, and late Student of Christ Church.

Published 26th March 1766, by John Johnson, at the New Chapel, City Road.

THE "SPILSBURY" PORTRAIT OF CHARLES WESLEY
Engraved by Jonathan Spilsbury

7. "Charles Wesley preaching to the Indians". This imaginative picture was the work of Robert Ronald McLan (1803-56), who at the age of thirty-six abandoned the stage and devoted himself to art. His work consisted mainly of scenes of Highland life and history, and we may therefore appreciate the dramatic appeal which the subject of this painting made to him, though it must be admitted that the Red Indians are less ferocious than one imagined them to be.¹⁰ The engraving in Telford, *op. cit.*, p. 111, is by William Bromley, whose four sons, like himself, were engravers of considerable skill.

8. "Charles Wesley in Old Age", by an unknown artist, shows Wesley, hat in hand, with silver-buckled shoes, leaning on a stick. (Telford, *op. cit.*, p. 155.)

What of the subject of these portraits? I possess none of the qualifications of the art critic, but it would appear that if we accept the portrait by John Russell, R.A., painted from life, as a true likeness (though even that is uncertain: witness Graham Sutherland's "Winston Churchill"!), then at least Spilsbury and Gush must be regarded as in the true succession. These portraits show that Charles, like John, possessed the aquiline nose of the Annesleys, and that Charles, probably owing to his more sedentary life, was fuller in the face and stouter than his brother. More than that I would not like to say; perhaps some of our members, more qualified than I, may care to compare our illustrations with portraits of other members of the Wesley family, and give their opinion as to where the family likeness lies.

The Biographies

Charles Wesley has suffered at the hands of his biographers, or rather, by the lack of them. It has been his fate to be overshadowed by his more famous brother. There are obvious reasons for this. Charles's part in the evangelical revival and the rise of Methodism was secondary to that of John, whilst his early withdrawal from the itinerancy tends to obscure his later work and worth. The lack of material is a deterrent to the would-be biographer, for apart from his hymns Charles's published works are few. His *Journal* extends only from 1736 to 1756, and though often more vivid than John's, it contains unfortunate gaps of weeks and even months. His private correspondence has never been adequately available to the historian; apart from such letters as are printed as an appendix to the *Journal* and used by Thomas Jackson in his *Life of Charles Wesley*, none are available except a selection used by Dr. Frank Baker in his *Charles Wesley as revealed by his Letters*. For the rest we must await in patience the eventual publication of more than six hundred letters which Dr. Baker has painstakingly located and transcribed. Add to these hindrances the further difficulty that in the absence of additional primary sources it is almost impossible to write a biography

¹⁰ It may be noted that the reproduction of this picture in Elmer T. Clark's *Album of Methodist History* is reversed, showing the "braves" on the left of the picture instead of the right as in Telford—a minor curiosity in a byway of Methodist research!

of Charles without making it at the same time even more a biography of John, and we need not wonder that few have attempted the task. This section simply enumerates with comments the few biographies of Charles Wesley which we possess. Charles's enormous output of hymns and poetry has occasioned numerous monographs on various aspects of this side of his work (e.g. by Rattenbury, Manning, Bett, Findlay, and Flew), and we do not propose to detail them here; nor is there any need to indicate those biographies of John in which Charles has a particularly prominent place. It is with the "straight" biography of Charles that we are here concerned.

1. The Journal of Charles Wesley, edited in two volumes, with a lengthy introduction, by Thomas Jackson, 1849. This invaluable source-book, which covers Charles's life from 1736 to 1756,

was transcribed, with great neatness and accuracy, by the venerable author himself, carefully paged, and was bound in a thick octavo volume. This precious relic he bequeathed to his widow, with a request that she would retain it in her own exclusive possession. . . . It was purchased some years ago of the writer's heir, the late Charles Wesley, Esq., of musical celebrity; having, however, undergone some mutilations. . . . A little while before it was purchased, it was in great danger of being irrecoverably lost. It was found among some loose straw on the floor of a public warehouse in London, where the furniture of the owner was for a time deposited; several leaves in the volume being cut from the binding, and yet not removed.¹¹

Good wine needs no bush, and it would be presumptuous at this late hour to praise the merits of Charles's own vivid account of his itinerant life in Georgia and England. Unfortunately, these two volumes have never been reprinted, though in 1910 John Telford published the first of three projected volumes of the *Journal*, giving the standard text and using some of Nehemiah Curnock's transcriptions of shorthand passages. The two remaining volumes have never appeared.

2. Dr. John Whitehead, one of John Wesley's literary executors, published in 1793 his "**Life of John Wesley**" in two volumes. The sub-title included the following: "To which is prefixed, Some Account of his Ancestors and Relations: with the Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A. Collected from his Private Journal, and never before published." In point of fact, the section on Charles occupies more than half of the first volume—pages 97 to 374; but as it makes extensive use of the *Journal*, which has since been made available in full, its present value is almost negligible.

[A second edition in two volumes was published in 1805-6. There was also a London edition (1793) of Charles's Life separately (pp. 276), and a similar Dublin edition (1805, pp. iv. 267) described as "second edition, improved". Dr. Frank Baker supplies the information that there was an abridged edition of the full work in one volume (pp. ii. 416), printed by John Barr of Leeds in 1825, in which, however, Whitehead is not named.]

¹¹ *The Journal of Charles Wesley*, ed. Thomas Jackson. Editor's introduction, i, p. v.

3. **Thomas Jackson's "Life of Charles Wesley"**, in two volumes, 1841. Like Dr. Whitehead before him, Jackson used the *Journal* and other private papers to good effect, and largely on this account the first volume is better than the second. This biography contains little criticism and much adulation, but despite its many defects it remains (for want of a better) the standard biography of Charles Wesley to this present day. Our Society published in 1899, as its fourth (and last) *Publication*, an exhaustive Index to the *Life*, compiled by Mr. Francis M. Jackson. Jackson's *Life* has never been reprinted, largely because of the next item in our list.

4. **Thomas Jackson's "Memoirs of the Rev. Charles Wesley"**, an abridgement of his two-volume *Life*, published in 1848. This was the popular and cheaper version of the larger work, and undoubtedly commanded a wide and steady sale.

[2nd edn. ? ; 3rd edn. 1862 ; 4th edn. 1875.]

5. **John Telford's "Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley"** (published by the Religious Tract Society, pp. 224, in 1886). This was one of Telford's earliest publications, and it remains the best popular biography of Charles Wesley—"realistic and discerning", as one reviewer described it.

[Revised and enlarged edn. 1900, contains additional chapter on "Ancestry and Parentage", and also appendixes with list of Charles Wesley's "Works", chronological arrangement of his letters, etc.]

6. **"Charles Wesley: A Study"**, by **Dora M. Jones** (Skeffingtons, 1919, pp. 284). Another popular and very readable biography.

7. **"Charles Wesley: Evangelist and Poet"**, by **F. Luke Wiseman** (pp. 228). These chapters were the Drew Lectures in Biography in 1931, first published in America in 1932, and in England in 1933. Probably no one in modern times possessed the power to convey to large audiences the spiritual quality of Charles Wesley's hymns as did Dr. Wiseman, and these lectures, ostensibly a biography, are in reality a delightful and at times moving commentary on the hymns.

8. **Frank Baker's "Charles Wesley as revealed by his Letters"** (the Wesley Historical Society Lecture for 1948, pp. vi. 152). The title is self-explanatory, and the book (the first really original work on Charles Wesley since Jackson) is a kind of *hors d'œuvre*, albeit a satisfying meal in itself, to the coming feast which we are promised when Dr. Baker's transcription and collation of Wesley's letters is ready for the press.

9. **"The Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley"**, edited by **George Osborn**, in thirteen volumes, 1868-72. We include this invaluable work under the heading of biography because so many of the hymns were reflections of Charles's personal life, though, as Dr. Baker has pointed out, "their biographical value was very limited because only in a few cases could they be accurately dated". These

volumes have long been out of print, and, unfortunately, second-hand sets are very difficult to obtain.

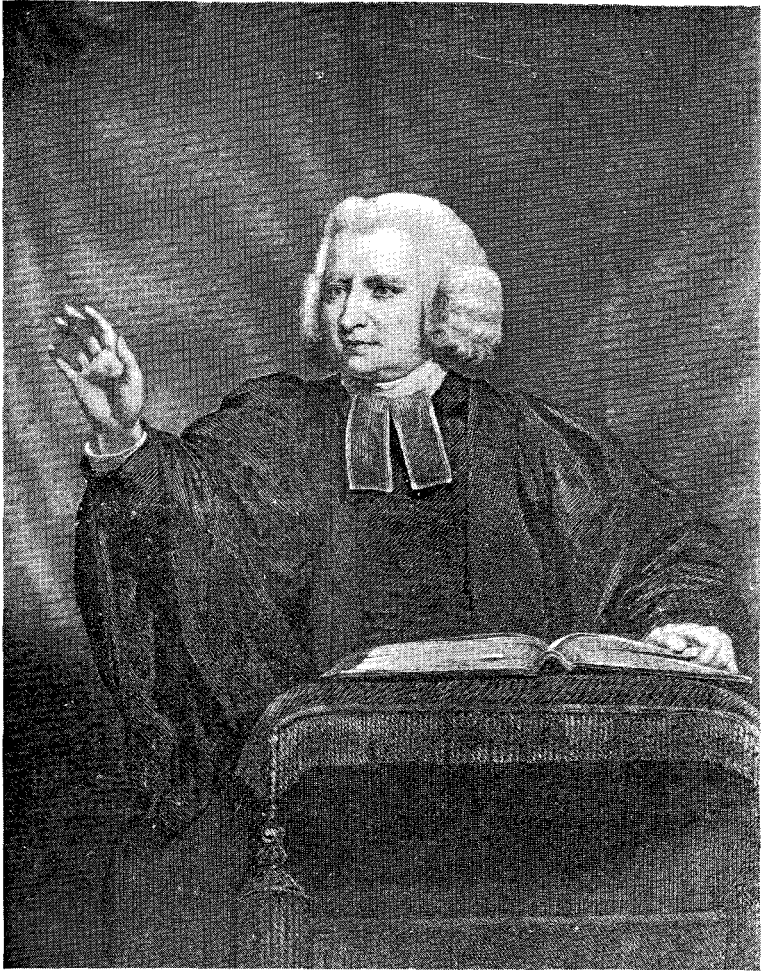
The following are a few of the smaller and less-important studies of Charles Wesley :

10. A memoir, possibly by his widow, in *Sermons by the late Rev. Charles Wesley* (London: 1816, pp. iii-xxxiv).
11. W. C. Larrabee: *Wesley and his Coadjutors* (Cincinnati: 1851). A section is devoted to Charles in volume two.
12. John Kirk: *The Poet of Methodism* (London: 1860, pp. 72; two reprints in the same year).
13. Charles Adams: *The Poet Preacher: a brief memorial of C. Wesley* (New York: 1859, pp. 234).
14. Charles Atmore: *Methodist Memorial* (1871 edn., pp. 257-64).
15. Benjamin Gregory: *Charles Wesley* (R.T.S., n.d., pp. 16).
16. Frank Colquhoun: *Charles Wesley, 1707-88. The Poet of the Evangelical Revival* (No. 8 in "Great Churchmen" series, pub. by Church Book Room Press, 1947, pp. 35).
17. Charles Wesley Flint: *Charles Wesley and his Colleagues* (Washington, D.C.: 1957; reviewed in this issue of *Proceedings*).
18. John Telford: *Sayings and Portraits of Charles Wesley* (London: 1927, pp. 267).
19. *Jesu, Lover of my soul*, with illustrations by Charles Stanton, S.A. Memorial Sketch by H.L.L. (1885.)
20. Alexander Gordon: article in *Dictionary of National Biography*.

It only remains to echo Dr. Frank Baker's statement that "a satisfactory full-length biography of Charles Wesley cannot yet be written, though it is well worth the writing". That it will be written some day we have no doubt, and the only man who is qualified to write it is one whose name has already appeared several times in these pages. When in the fullness of time it is written, with a wealth of material never before available, full justice will for the first time be done to a man who for so long has played "second fiddle" to a brother no more and no less famous than himself.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

Mr. H. J. Channon's *History of Queen's College, Taunton* (pp. 215, 218., obtainable from the school) is the fruit of the author's love for the school as pupil and master for fifty years, and it will interest a much wider public than the school's alumni. The College was founded in 1843 as the "West of England Wesleyan Proprietary Grammar School", with thirty-four boys, and the now-legendary Thomas Sibly as the first headmaster, and it has a distinguished place in the sphere of Methodist education. Many famous Methodist personalities figure in these pages; amongst them is the late President of our Society, the Rev. F. F. Bretherton, who entered the school in 1879. His contribution to this book in a racy and anecdotal chapter entitled "An Old Man's Memories" is, alas! his only autobiographical relic, but it will be greatly treasured by all who knew him.



THE "GUSH" PORTRAIT OF CHARLES WESLEY
Engraved by J. Cochrane from the portrait by William Gush



THE "HUDSON" PORTRAIT OF CHARLES WESLEY
Reproduction of the original portrait by Thomas Hudson

(Block kindly lent by The Epworth Press.)

EIGHTEENTH - CENTURY OPPOSITION TO METHODISM

[The essay which follows is the work of a research student at the University of Leeds, and is largely based on a careful examination of all the available pamphlets which are listed in Richard Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications*, and the analysis made by A. P. Whitney in 1951 of the Tyerman collection of pamphlets at Drew University.—EDITOR.]

THE Methodist revival took place in a troubled century. Just how troubled it was many scholars have been at pains to show. Books illustrating the fears and tensions of the times in the political sphere have been rivalled in number only by those dealing with poverty and other social problems. Methodism, accidentally in the first case and purposely in the second, was caught up in these affairs, and attracted all manner of opposition as a result. This essay attempts to relate this opposition to some of the social and political currents of the time, and elucidates the bases which gave rise to it; it also deliberately covers literature of national rather than local importance, since it is meant to serve as a means whereby local opposition can be fitted into a framework which will reveal its full significance.

It may be observed here that the stiffest written opposition to Methodism occurred between 1739 and 1746, and then a general decline can be observed, with only a slight stiffening in the 1760s. By 1800 the pamphlet war was virtually over.

Many of the pamphlets written in opposition to Methodism have their root in a common fear. This fear seems to have been that dissent and nonconformity would ring a note of doom for the Establishment and the peace of the realm. There were very good reasons for clerics and laymen alike fearing anything unorthodox in religion. The eighteenth-century organic unity of church and state promised security and orderliness at a time when fears for the succession, public immorality, the power of the mob and alarm about a French Revolution were unsettling the life of the whole nation. It is understandable therefore why any unorthodoxy or schism was immediately regarded with suspicion. In order to safeguard this essential unity of church and state which had had mystical significance since Hooker, Parliament had passed the Toleration Act, the Test and Corporation Acts, and the Act of Uniformity, and anything which seemed to be at variance with their spirit aroused high feeling.

The fear of unorthodoxy seems to have manifested itself in three distinct ways: Papists were always under suspicion and viewed with alarm; Dissenters, although they were tolerated, were to be held suspect and therefore must be readily identified; and loyalty to the state was computed by regularity of attendance at the means of worship of the Church of England.

For the present purpose the latter two are the important ones, but

the first may be touched on, especially since at one stage Methodists and Papists were closely linked in the popular mind. There are many reasons why the Papists were suspect, but these are the three main ones: the Roman Catholic hierarchy was thought to challenge the supremacy of England's sovereignty; the Pretenders had support among the Roman Catholic nations of the continent; finally, Roman Catholics were thought to be "sneaks" and "schemers". Dissenters were suspect because the national memory had retained lurid pictures of the Puritan ascendancy in the Commonwealth period.

How did Methodism fit into the three categories which fear sought to impose upon newly-emergent religious groups? The answer to this seems to be that Methodism eluded ready classification, and this very difficulty drew the fire upon the movement. It is clear that the Church of England felt that Methodists were not of the fold and were therefore to be condemned. The Dissenters, too, made it quite clear in their writings that the Methodists were in no true sense their fellows. Methodism in addition seemed to cause justices of the peace many headaches in administering the Toleration Act. Each of these will now be examined in turn.

One is left with no doubts about the Anglican attitude to Methodism by the very spate of pamphlets from the hostile pens of members of the Established Church. Only a few quotations can be given, and these are as representative as possible. The Rector of Colne in 1748 preached a sermon¹ against the Methodists in which he described the movement as "a schismatical rebellion against the best of churches, a defiance of all laws civil and ecclesiastical . . . a visible ruin of trade and manufacture". In 1794² Clapham declared: "I am led to observe that the Methodists even ostentatiously profess to be real and true members of the Church of England but they actually represent a notorious and dangerous division made in the Established Church." Finally, one may sum up the difficulty which the Anglicans had in classifying the Methodists in the words of one who defended the movement:³ "[The Methodists] do not depart as far [from the Church of England] as is allowed by the Act of Toleration, nor so far as all the Dissenters do . . . nor farther from her rights and ceremonies than they can with prudence avoid". The impression which emerges from the pamphlets studied is that the Methodists were violently attacked by the Establishment because they did not easily fall into any of the categories into which unorthodoxy was placed.

From the Methodist side much can be said. It is well known how John Wesley saw that it was in no wise "expedient" to separate from the Church of England, and indeed some of his strongest writings

¹ White: *A Sermon against the Methodists*, preached at Colne, 24th July 1748, replied to by Grimshaw of Haworth.

² Clapham: *How far Methodism conduces to the Interests of Christianity and the Welfare of Society*, a sermon at Boroughbridge, 2nd September 1794.

³ Thomas Olivers: *A Defence of the Methodists* (1785).

were in favour of continued unity with the Anglicans. "I live and die a member of the Church of England, and none who regard my . . . advice will ever separate from it".⁴ Charles Wesley had even stronger views. In a letter to John Nelson on 27th March 1760 he said: "Rather than see thee a Dissenting minister, I wish to see thee smiling in thy coffin."

While the Wesleys were alive it is clear that there were many attempts to substantiate their claims of loyalty by their deeds. Benson as late as 1793⁵ was able to claim that Methodist services were allowed in church hours only under very special circumstances, namely: "(1) in some places where parishes are very wide; (2) in some places where the church ministers are notoriously wicked or strenuously inculcate doctrines which we judge of dangerous tendency; (3) in large towns such as Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester and Liverpool, where the lower classes are very numerous, very ignorant and very wicked, and where the churches and other places of worship will by no means contain all the inhabitants, and where there are many thousands who have never been accustomed to go to church, having been brought up Dissenters."

The relations between Methodism and Anglicanism would fill a book, but the above quotations will suffice to indicate that the Wesleys never inculcated separation, and sought both in theory and practice to remain within the fold. Unfortunately, intention was often belied by result, and Jackson was able to write in his *Life of Charles Wesley*: "The attempt to force the Methodists to an attendance upon the services of the church by refusing to them the sacraments from their own preachers, and by closing their chapels during the sabbath . . . drove many of them into a state of actual separation both from the church and their own societies, and placed them in the hands of Dissenters. At Leeds, Mr. Edwards had assumed the character of an Independent minister as Charles Skelton had done in London, and had drawn away the greater part of the society with him." (This was written concerning the year 1756.) The tension between the wishes of the Wesleys and the spiritual movement let loose by their pioneer work was further accentuated by Anglican pressure towards dissent which had long been brought to bear on Methodism. As early as 1739 the *Scots Magazine* voiced an Anglican view which persisted for decades by urging:

Let the Methodists go over to their proper companies, their favourites, the Dissenters, and utter their extemporary effusions in a conventicle, but not be suffered in our churches hypocritically to use our forms which they despise. . . . Let not such bold movers of sedition . . . be admitted to pulpits.⁶

It seems quite clear that eighteenth-century England was greatly troubled about the exact position of the Methodists—whether in fact

⁴ *Arminian Magazine*, 1790, p. 216.

⁵ J. Benson: *Defence of the Methodists, in Five Letters to Dr. Tatham* (1793), p. 64.

⁶ *Scots Magazine*, 1739, p. 237.

they were Anglicans as they claimed or whether dissent actually represented their true spirit. The whole business was greatly complicated by what appeared to Anglicans an arrogant attitude. The Methodists claimed to preach a purer doctrine than the Anglicans; they boldly attacked mediocre Anglican clergy from their pulpits; they sometimes held meetings in church hours (though this practice was not universal enough to incur a charge of dissent); and many other features aggravated the opposition. Any arrogance of attitude or semblance of trespass on Anglican privilege served only to bewilder an already disordered country.

One of the bases, then, of opposition to Methodism was its indeterminate position with respect to the Church of England organization, so conveniently summarized by Trapp:⁷ "The Methodists are half Dissenters in the Church and more dangerous to it than those who are total dissenters from it."

Now we must examine the relation of Methodism to Dissent. That the people of the eighteenth century regarded the Methodists as distinct from Dissenters, or at least "a new species of Dissenter", is beyond all reasonable doubt. The pamphlet war which raged round the Methodist movement contains abundant phrases which distinguish between Methodism and Dissent. Even in 1818 Whitaker in his history of Whalley⁸ talks of Anglican ministers who "by their preaching fill Methodist and Dissenting congregations". Even Trapp, cited above, referred to the Methodists as only "half Dissenters"; while an anonymous writer in 1739 describes Whitefield⁹ as "a wavering wandering preacher of no establishment, but nearly attached to the dissenting communion and blending his sermons with a spice both of Papist and Mohammedan". Bowman¹⁰ declined to determine whether "these modern visionaries like the Quakers are a sect hatched and fashioned in a seminary of Jesuits, or whether like the German Anabaptists they are a set of crazy distempered fanatics". Usually, however, opponents differentiate more clearly between the two, and there are many instances which could be cited, but of which only two will now be given. The periodicals of the eighteenth century gave great attention to Methodism, and in the *Christian Observer* for 1805¹¹ there is a humorous letter from one "who wishes to be a Christian and not a Methodist", in which he declares that since he observed the sabbath he "was suspected of being not only a Methodist but a Dissenter". An Anglican clergyman in 1784¹² was quite clear about the difference between the two, and wrote: "It is in their

⁷ Trapp: *The Nature, Folly, Sin and Danger of being Righteous Overmuch* (1739).

⁸ Whitaker: *Parish of Whalley*. Note on p. 389.

⁹ *Observations and Remarks on Mr. Seagrave's Conduct and Writing* (1739).

¹⁰ Bowman: *The Imposture of Methodism Displayed*. (Letter to Parish of Dewsbury, 1740.)

¹¹ Page 92.

¹² D. Simpson: *Sermon . . . with an Apology for the Methodists* (1784).

warm attachment to the established church that the Methodists differ from every denomination of Dissenter whatever."

The Methodists of the eighteenth century did not regard themselves as dissenters. The Conference *Minutes* declare more than once that "we are not Dissenters in the only sense which our law acknowledges". The claim was that the law acknowledged as dissenters only one group, to wit "persons who renounce the services of the church. We do not renounce it and therefore strictly speaking we are not Dissenters."¹³ Benson too was quite clear on the issue:

The Methodists in general, sir, whatever they may hereafter become in consequence of the reproach, insults and injuries they receive from some of the clergy of the established church, are not at present dissenters. . . . They would not even licence their preaching houses, nor would their preachers take licences under the Toleration Act were they not compelled to it for their security.¹⁴

It would appear, therefore, that legally at any rate the Methodist movement considered itself as distinct from the Dissenting bodies.

That the Dissenters, on the other hand, considered Methodists alien from themselves is made quite clear in many pamphlets. For instance, from the large collection of pamphlets held at Wesley College, Leeds, one may be singled out.¹⁵ It reads:

I observed the generality of my neighbours to be in my way of thinking and those of all professions, as well Presbyterians, Baptists and Quakers, as Churchmen, however different in other matters were all agreed in the same maleconceptions of the Methodists.

There are many reasons why Dissent was unfriendly to Methodism. One may mention the rivalry between the two, and the Arminianism of Wesley which clashed with the Calvinism of many other denominations. There is also the fear largely propagated by the Anglicans that the Methodists were in alliance with the Papists. However, as Whitney¹⁶ points out, there is one primary reason for the trouble between the two groups. The reason is that Dissenters saw the Anglican Church as the dispenser of "toleration" throughout the realm by giving ease to "scrupulous consciences" and by supporting the legislation of the Toleration Act. Methodism on the other hand was considered to attack toleration as it was being worked out because it openly scoffed at the idea of one religious body tolerating another. So important was this attitude of the Methodists that even in the middle of the eighteenth century there was a strong attempt to change the toleration laws. Whitefield in replying to a strong pamphlet has this to say:

And if the Title page is so bad, I fear the Design and scope of the Pamphlet itself is much worse—For is it not to represent the Proceedings of the

¹³ J. Riles: *A Concise Account of the Rise, Doctrine and Discipline of the People called Methodists* (1810), p. 43.

¹⁴ J. Benson: *A Further Defence of Methodism* (1793), p. 95.

¹⁵ *An Impartial Examination of N. Fletcher's Pamphlet entitled "The Methodist dissected by a Friend"* (1749), p. vi. (Anon.)

¹⁶ A. P. Whitney: *Basis of Opposition to Methodism in England in the Eighteenth Century* (1951).

Methodists as dangerous to the Church and State, in order to procure an Act of Parliament against them, or oblige them to secure themselves by turning Dissenters.¹⁷

It would appear then that the Methodists posed an insoluble problem of classification for the eighteenth century, and were outcasts from both Anglican and Dissenting camps.

The relation between Methodism and the Toleration Act is a complex one, but there are a few pointers which may be indicated. First, the Toleration Act had as its object anything but tolerance as we should understand it today. As Landsdown put it in Parliament (19th December 1718): "I always understood that the Toleration Act was meant as an Ease to tender consciences and not an Indulgence to hardened ones." This Act seemed to have three things in view, namely, to allow some disagreement with the Thirty-Nine Articles, the recognition of nonconformists, and the waiving of some of the penalties which could be imposed under the Test and Corporation Acts, etc., to anyone who would take the oath of allegiance and sign the declaration against transubstantiation. Toleration as such was fundamentally alien to its spirit.

Secondly, we may mention that as Benson said above, the Methodists were driven to shelter under this Act by the pressure of Church opinion. Persecution would cease if the Methodists sheltered under the Act, but if they persisted in declaring their loyalty to the Church of England while suspicious minds declared their practice to be disloyal they were unprotected and liable to all manner of abuse.

Thirdly, a lack of uniformity in application resulted from the wide powers of discretion which the Act gave. It is clear, for instance, that some magistrates would not license houses for meetings unless there was evidence that there was a congregation established. It is also clear that many magistrates either incited or condoned the mob attacks on the Methodists, and by so doing virtually compelled the unwilling societies to shelter under the Act.

It may safely be said therefore that there was great confusion during the eighteenth century over the exact status of the new Methodist societies. They were spurned by both Anglican and Dissenter, while the Toleration Act was tested and found deficient by the Methodists themselves.

BRIAN GREAVES.

(To be continued)

¹⁷ G. Whitefield: *Answer to Bishop of London's Pamphlet* (1744), p. 7.

Mr. C. E. Hicks has written a brief centenary account of Wesley Church, Tavistock (pp. 11, 1s. 6d. post free from Mr. Hicks, Wild Flowers, Galmp-ton, Brixham, Devon). This interesting booklet is another example of diligent research and excellent presentation. . . . Brampton, Cumberland, has just celebrated its third jubilee, and the souvenir brochure by the Rev. B. L. Simpson (pp. 16, from the author at Wesley Manse, Brampton) is a well-illustrated account of those 150 years. The Linnell family had interesting connexions with the Wesley brothers. The present chapel is the third, and it was opened in 1900.

BOOK NOTICES

Charles Wesley and his Colleagues, by Bishop Charles Wesley Flint. (Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., pp. ix. 221, \$3.75.)

Some will think it only just that a book should be written putting John Wesley in his place as a colleague of his younger brother. Others, who may look askance at the title, can take comfort from the fact that in the hard core of the book John appears still to be very much the senior partner. Of the other "colleagues" only Whitefield is treated in any detail. Indeed, a more general title involving "with special reference to Charles Wesley" would more aptly describe the substance of the book. That granted, there is much of value in a treatment of the familiar theme which pays more than passing reference to Charles, but treats him as a person in his own right and not just as the hymn-writer who clashed with his brother on matters ecclesiastical and matrimonial. The author has used many of the standard works and most of the secondary authorities. He has amassed a wealth of detail which, while at times embarrassing (as, for example, in a rather scrappy account of contemporary England), contributes all in all to a gracious and convincing study. He does not shrink from painting his hero "warts and all", and the total impression is to enhance the greatness and attractiveness of the man who in many respects was the pioneer, and without whom, as is clearly shown, John's work would have been so much the poorer.

Bishop Flint has ordered his material well, setting Charles in the context of the rise and development of Methodism, and finding due place for his work as preacher and pastor as well as hymn-writer. The references to personal and family relationships are admirable and revealing, but undue space and stress seem to have been given to the relations of all three colleagues with women. All in all, this book, both in its strength and its weakness, underlines the need for a full, balanced and definitive biography. Meanwhile we can be grateful for the production of a study of Charles Wesley, in 1957, which may not satisfy the specialist, but can be surely commended to the many as a means to sing the hymns of Charles Wesley with ever greater understanding.

A. MARCUS WARD.

My Wondering Soul: Scenes from the Life of Charles Wesley, a play by Frank Cumbers. (Epworth Press, pp. 39, 2s.)

In this play Dr. Cumbers gives a good deal of information about Charles Wesley, his family, and his circle. The four scenes show us Charles at Oxford in April 1738, sick in body and soul; then, a month later, in John Bray's house in Little Britain pouring his "wondering soul" into the famous hymn. There follows a very effective evocation of "fightings without and fears within" as Charles and his friends watch the mob besieging the house at Devizes, and the play closes with a pleasant glimpse of Charles in the quiet evening of his life, at Marylebone. To do so much in so short a play implies fairly drastic compression, and this allows the author little scope for filling in the outlines of the twenty-two characters who appear in it. Not all who see the play will be able to sort out Keziah, Patty, Sarah, Charles junior, Samuel, and Sally, nor will they be aware of the identity of Daines Barrington or Lord Mornington—nor even, I fear, Peter Böhler. But they will certainly have a clearer picture of the kind of man Charles Wesley was, and the play will be of real value in helping to celebrate the 250th anniversary of his birth this year.

F. H. EVERSON.

The Wesleys and the English Language, by G. H. Vallins. (Epworth Press, pp. 88, 8s. 6d.)

This interesting and scholarly little book reveals and partially meets the need for criticism of the actual Wesley texts. Four Wesley publications—John's *English Grammar*, *Dictionary*, and *Journal*, and Charles's *Hymns* (1780)—are studied comparatively in the light of the contemporary theory and practice of English style. The *Grammar*, an unfrequented by-way, is shown to be quaint, intriguing, and yet typical of Wesley's literary journeys. Selected entries from the *Dictionary* are illuminated, with the result that whether the dictionary-mender was "blear-eyed" or not, the modern traveller on this road may run and not be weary. Concerning the *Journal* and the *Hymns*, the essays indicate that the great trunk roads of Methodist study lead through grammatical and literary features easily missed by him who reads as he runs. These four studies will make clear to anyone interested in the Wesleys' communication of experience and truth the fact that beneath the "why and the wherefore" is a "how" of writing which to know is to appreciate the effect more intensely.

The author is usually excellent when dealing with facts of grammar, etymology, syntax, metre, and rhyme; he is not so convincing when he generalizes about "style". For instance, a mass of instances must be examined before one could dogmatize that Wesley used "wrote" and "writ" indifferently (p. 21). Vallins's predilection for etymology leads him occasionally to miss the irony of Wesley usages, e.g. "admire" (p. 57) and "exquisite" (p. 58). Concerning the term "enthusiasm" (p. 32), he has complicated Wesley's stark simplicity: John is *absolutely* agreed with his fellow-lexicographers, and thus roundly asserts "I am not that." More seriously—if Wesley wrote in a literary idiom (p. 61), how could this have been in the style of the people's English? The net is not thrown wide enough: in spite of Vallins there is much "homespun" in Wesley. There is in fact everything—from slang (but not "low" slang) to Augustan dignity. This is why it is hard to say what Wesley's "idiom" is. GEORGE LAWTON.

Fifty Hymns by Charles Wesley [with tunes], selected by J. Alan Kay. (Epworth Press, pp. 72, 7s. 6d.)

No two lovers of Charles Wesley's hymns, if choosing a representative fifty, would make the same selection, though there are perhaps half that number which all would include. As Dr. Kay says in his preface, it would have been easier to select five hundred; and if we make any critical comment at all on his choice, it can only be to wish that it could have included say a half-dozen of those hymns which we no longer have opportunity to sing. Considerations of expense no doubt precluded this, the hymns and tunes appearing—in all cases save two—as reproductions of "pasted-up" sections of pages from the 1933 *Methodist Hymn Book*. The exceptions are that "O Thou who camest from above" has the tune *Hereford*, and that "God of all power, and truth, and grace" has *Ombersley* in the key of D flat—half a step at any rate towards restoring the original pitch!

In addition to the preface, the hymns are preceded by a short life of their author by Dr. E. Benson Perkins, the well-known preface and table of contents to the 1780 *Collection of Hymns*, and John Wesley's classic instructions on singing. Of particular interest are Charles Wesley's own headings to the hymns, reminding the reader of the circumstances in which many of them were written. Though great part of its contents can be read elsewhere, this little volume will be valued as a unique souvenir of the 250th birthday celebrations.

ALFRED A. TABERER.

'Twxixt the Mount and Multitude, by Irwonwy Morgan. (Epworth Press, pp. 63, 6s.)

Our more knowledgeable readers will not find much in Dr. Morgan's book that is new to them, but for those who require an introduction to what Wesley taught and the eighteenth-century background against which he taught it, we could think of nothing better. The book is a reprint of lectures delivered at Western Maryland College in 1954, with a somewhat loosely-appended chapter from another source. The first three chapters deal with the rise, teaching and tools of Methodism, and these adequately substantiate the sub-title, "The Relevance of John Wesley to his Age". The last chapter discusses what some would regard as even more important: the relevance of John Wesley to *our* age. There is very little that we would call in question, and altogether it is a commendable introduction to Wesley.

We have detected a few printer's errors, but these are neither numerous nor serious.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, edited by F. L. Cross. (Oxford University Press, pp. xix. 1492, 70s.)

This handsome volume has already received well-deserved praise in the theological and religious press. It contains over 6,000 articles on every conceivable subject from Aaron to Zwingli, with brief bibliographies which facilitate further research. Two Methodist scholars appear in the impressive list of contributors, whose names are a sufficient guarantee of the quality of a work which will not be superseded in our lifetime.

Methodist historians will confess to a slight disappointment when they turn to those entries of special interest to themselves. Methodism has fared badly in comparison with other Churches. The article on Missions, for example, mentions the Baptist and the London Missionary Societies, but not our own. The Church Historical Society is given a dozen lines, and the Baptist and Congregational Historical Societies each an honourable mention, but the Wesley Historical Society not so much as a word. The *Church Times* appears, but not the *Methodist Recorder*; whilst Methodist and other Free Church leaders (with the notable exception of Hugh Price Hughes) are virtually ignored. The section on Methodist Churches is adequate in its account of our history and usages, though there are some slight slips; and the Methodist secessions receive separate and perhaps unnecessary additional treatment. John and Charles Wesley, Asbury, Whitefield, Howell Harris, and Jabez Bunting are each the subject of a brief but satisfying biography, though it is unfortunate that John Wesley, and not Charles, is credited with the formation of the Holy Club, and that the 1744 Conference is described as being composed of lay preachers. It is also curious to find Macclesfield linked with the Foundery, Bristol and Newcastle as among Wesley's "chief centres", to the complete exclusion of Leeds. There are some small inaccuracies in the bibliographies.

Perfection in a massive and comprehensive *Dictionary* of this kind could not be expected, and though the small criticisms we have made are not unimportant, they are but specialized pinpricks which do not destroy our confidence in the general accuracy and reliability of the work. Any of our readers who can afford this book will have gained a prize which will prove to be the gateway to all the theological and historical richness of our inheritance; for, after all, the stage on which Methodism plays its small but not insignificant part is the great Christian Church itself, in all ages and in all lands.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

NOTES AND QUERIES

986. WESLEY, KING AND COKE: THE INCONSISTENCY OF WESLEY.

May I make one brief comment on the article which appeared in the last issue. Has Mr. Vine sufficiently considered what is the nature of the inconsistency with which Wesley is charged?

1. It is not an inconsistency of Wesley with his own beliefs and convictions. He believed with Peter King that a presbyter had an inherent right to ordain; that in the Church of Alexandria for two centuries presbyters did actually consecrate their bishop; that, as Stillingfleet maintained, though the right of the individual presbyter to ordain was extinguished in the early Church for the good of the Church, yet it might be exercised again in *a case of necessity*; and that North America was such a case of necessity. Further and chiefly, Wesley believed that—without his desire or seeking it—God had laid on him the duty of government in the Methodist Society, and that this care and rule of the Methodist people was a true New Testament bishopric. Wesley's consecration of Coke was quite consistent with each and all of these his beliefs.

2. The inconsistency with which Wesley is charged in consecrating Coke and ordaining others is an inconsistency with the office and obligations which he had accepted in being ordained as a priest in the Church of England. When Bishop Potter laid hands on him, Wesley solemnly pledged himself "to give diligence always to administer . . . the Discipline of Christ, as this Church and Realm hath received the same". In the order of the Established National Church of England the right to ordain was denied to the presbyter or priest and given only to the bishop. Nothing short of an Act of Convocation and of Parliament, altering the Ordinal, could have made Wesley's action in consecrating Coke consistent with the conduct required of an Anglican priest by the Laws and Constitution of the Church of England. Wesley's beliefs about church government had changed since his own ordination, but the Anglican Ordinal was not and has not been changed.

It is relevant to remember that in 1783, the year before Wesley consecrated Coke, the Connexion of the Countess of Huntingdon was under the necessity of finding more ministers for their chapels. Two clergymen in Anglican orders, Wills and Taylor, consented to ordain others for this service; but before so doing, they wrote to the archbishops and bishops, and left the Church of England, recognizing that they could not remain in it and perform this office without "knowingly and wilfully opposing its laws".

I understand Mr. Vine to argue that Wesley's right to ordain came from his "extraordinary call"—that dispensation to evangelize and rule which was given to him immediately of God. I agree, and have tried to prove the truth of this view in my *Wesley: Apostolic Man*. If we believe that God commanded and approved Wesley in his ordaining, at the same time we are bound to admit that the Church of England forbade and disallowed. An ordaining Anglican priest is a contradiction in terms.

Thus Wesley had to choose between obeying God or man: his error was that he seems to have imagined that he could obey both and serve two masters. Many lovers of John Wesley have regretted that he did not candidly face and clearly resolve the antinomy which confronted him. What Tyerman wrote of Wesley's ordinations still stands:

"With great *inconsistency* [*italics mine*], he still persisted in calling

himself a member of the Church of England; . . . but to reconcile Wesley's practice and profession, in this matter, during the last seven years of his eventful life, is simply impossible." (Tyerman: *Life and Times of John Wesley*, iii, p. 449.)
EDGAR W. THOMPSON.

987. TESTAMENTARY RECORDS.

To the list of Ecclesiastical Records, printed in *Proceedings*, xxix, pp. 106-8, may be added Testamentary Records. Before 1858 wills were normally proved in the Archdeaconry, Diocesan or "Peculiar" Court of the area in which the testator died or held property. If he held property in two archdeaconries, the will normally went to the Diocesan Court. If his property was in two dioceses, his will normally went to the Prerogative Court of Canterbury or York.

The original wills, or certified copies, may be inspected usually without payment, or for a nominal payment, at the District Probate Registries or (where they have been transferred) at the County Record Office.

Wills are useful to the Methodist historian partly for the light they throw on the social standing and character of many of the early trustees, leaders and class-members where their names are already known, and also for their occasional direct references to Methodism. A recent search through the wills at the Cornwall Record Office (about forty in the period 1760-80 were examined almost at random) produced the two following examples:

1. The Will of Joseph Hosken, of Carines, Cubert, dated 1779 and proved in 1780, stipulates that "the house which was sometime since built by me in Cubert Churchtown . . . and which has been since used as a Meeting-House for the exercise of Religious Worship therein shall after my death be set apart and kept for the same use". Hosken was Wesley's "venerable old man at Cubert" about whom there are footnotes in the *Journal* (vi, pp. 77, 208). The will adds the further information quoted above, and also confirms, what was previously a conjecture, that Hosken was the "rich relation" of the wife of Richard Treffry, sen.

2. The Will of Edward Burrell, of Tuckingmill, Tynner, dated and proved 1779. There is an old tradition at Tuckingmill that the first centre of Methodism there was at the house of Paul Burrell, where it is claimed Wesley stayed and slept. The site of this cottage, since demolished, is identifiable. Paul Burrell left a MS. Journal in which he refers to "Mr. Ranking" and going "to preaching with Father", but says nothing about the cottage or Mr. Wesley. That was the extent of our information until I turned up the will in which Edward Burrell (who names his son Paul) writes: "Also my will is that the Methodist Preachers shall be entertained at my house as usual during my right in said house". A year later his widow, Susanna, died, and her will (proved 1780) repeats this same clause. Thus the original tradition is both confirmed and amplified.

THOMAS SHAW.

988. AN ERROR IN THE STANDARD "LETTERS".

A letter from John Wesley to his brother Charles, dated 17th March 1785 (*Letters*, vii, p. 261 f.), is identically the same as a letter dated 17th March 1788 (*Letters*, viii, p. 45 f.). It is, of course, impossible that the same letter can have been sent at both these dates, and internal evidence suggests that 1788 is correct. Moreover, the same letter is printed in the Standard *Journal* under the 1788 date. It was the last letter which John wrote to his brother. It should be deleted from volume seven of the *Letters*.

T. FRANCIS GLASSON.

989. A LOCAL PREACHER'S ADMISSION CARD.

There has come into my possession a card measuring 6 by 4 ins., printed as follows:

"Christ is the Head of the Church"—Eph. v. 23
WESLEYAN METHODIST SOCIETY
Established 1739

Houghton-le-Spring Circuit
June 11th, 1854
CUTHBERT WALKER
Admitted on Trial

J. H. FAULL, Minister

It certified, of course, the admission on trial as a local preacher of this brother Walker. Has anyone seen any similar cards? Or is this just a local or even an individual creation?—for obviously the printing on this card could not be duplicated. There is no evidence that it was printed with a general heading and spaces for local matter. JOHN C. BOWMER.

990. EAYRS ESSAY PRIZES.

The subjects of the essays, and the prize-winners, for the last two years, are as follows:

21. 1955-6. "Methodism in Canada from its beginning to the Union of 1884".

First prize not awarded this year.

Second prize shared equally between the Rev. William Leary and the Rev. William H. Weller.

22. 1956-7. "The urge to Overseas Missions in Methodism up to 1841".

First prize—Rev. William Leary.

Second prize—Rev. William H. Weller.

Details of the essays and prize-winners in earlier years were given in *Proceedings*, xxiii, p. 22; xxv, p. 13; xxvi, p. 62; xxvii, p. 188; and xxx, p. 95. WESLEY F. SWIFT.

Dr. Elmer T. Clark has recently published *Charles Wesley: The Singer of the Evangelical Revival* (The Upper Room, Nashville, U.S.A., pp. 32). This little booklet will undoubtedly help to familiarize American Methodists with Charles Wesley in this commemoration year, but it is not without factual errors, the chief of which is the statement that John Wesley was born at South Ormsby! . . . From the versatile pen of Mrs. E. V. Chapman comes the ter-jubilee historical survey of the King Cross church at Halifax. This book of twenty-four pages, though cyclostyled, has some excellent illustrations, and its contents display both Mrs. Chapman's competence as an historian and her journalistic flair. . . . The September issue of *The Epworth Witness* is up to its usual racy standard, and the Rev. W. Le Cato Edwards has obviously enjoyed his first few weeks in residence as the first Warden of the Old Rectory. The booklet costs 8d. post free from Mr. Edwards.

ERRATA

Volume xxxi, page 67, lines 1 and 18; and page 69, second line from bottom: in each case for *ordine* read *ordo*