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Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

Editor: REV. JOHN C. BOWMER, M.A., B.D.

Volume XXXIV

June 1963

A LARGE COLLECTION OF UNPUBLISHED WESLEY LETTERS

THE April issue of *Methodist History* (reviewed on page 33) prints the text of thirty-eight Wesley letters not hitherto published. The autographs are in the Upper Room Devotional Library and Museum, 1908, Grand Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A., and have been transcribed by Miss Annie L. Winstead. We notice that one of them has appeared in our Proceedings. This is a "last letter to America", written by Wesley to William Jessop on 1st February 1791. It was the subject of an article in Proceedings, xix, p. 10, by the late Rev. F. F. Bretherton. As Mr. Bretherton observes, as Wesley did not indicate the hour on which he wrote his letters, it is impossible to decide whether this one or another to Ezekiel Cooper (Standard Letters, viii, p. 259) written on the same day is really his "last letter to America". The transcript offered in Methodist History displays a few minor variations from that in the Proceedings, but from the sense required and our knowledge of Wesley's style, we venture to express the opinion that, with one exception, the version in the *Proceedings* is to be preferred.

We have not the space available to reprint the text of these thirty-eight letters, much as we should like to do so, so we offer the next best thing—to list them with a brief indication of their contents. The list is printed on pages 26 and 27.

At the same time, for the benefit of our many readers who possess a copy of Telford's Standard Letters, it would not be out of place for us to print the text of the letter numbered 33 in the list. This appears in an abbreviated form in Telford (v, p. 120). The version printed on page 28, from Dr. Elmer T. Clark's collection, is the full text of the letter. The sentences in italics are omitted by Telford.

¹ Proceedings, xix, p. 11, line 7: for "light" read "sight".

	Date	Written at	То	Remarks re Contents
1	1765—July 20	Dublin	Mr. John Knox, Londonderry	Methodism in Derry—need for a preaching-house—thanks for hospitality.
2	1766—June 15	Edinburgh	Mrs. Woodhouse, in Epworth, near Thorne, Yorkshire	Need for faith in temptations—spiritual directions.
3	1769—Nov. 11	London	?	Dealings with Bro. Collins-medical advice for ague.
4	1775—June 6	Londonderry	Mr. Alexander Knox	Advice on health and diet.
5	1776—Aug. 10	London	Mr. Alexander Knox	Financial supplies for Londonderry—advice on health.
6	Sept. 20	Bristol	Mr. Alexander Knox	Correspondence with a Mr. Hadfield—prescription for fits—"History of England".
7	Dec. 5	London	Mr. Alexander Knox	Medical advice—Mr. Hadfield and the Predestinarians—stations of preachers in Ireland.
8	1777—May 20	Near London	Mr. Alexander Knox, Londonderry	Wesley's desire to visit Ireland prevented—must be in London.
9	Dec. 2	London	Mr. Alexander Knox, Londonderry	Chiefly medical advice.
10	1778—Dec. 20	London	Mr. Alexander Knox, Londonderry	Medical advice — scurvy — reputation of a Mr. Abraham.
11	1779—Jan. 25		Mr. Alexander Knox, Londonderry	Mr. Abraham again—more medical advice.
12	June 4	Aberdeen	Mr. Alexander Knox, in Portpatrick, Londonderry	Mr. Abraham's fitness to be a preacher—death of Bro. Gaffory—reprinting Christian Library.
13	1781—Sept. 3	Taunton	Mr. Alexander Knox, in Gloster, Londonderry	Apologies for delay in writing—God's dealing with men.
14	1782—June 22	Newcastle	Miss Gretton, at Mr. Dewy's, Shoemaker's, in Grastham. Cross post.	Consolation in affliction.
15	July 30	London	Mr. Alexander Knox, Londonderry	Re Mr. Harvey of London—bodily disorders.
16	1782—Oct. 22	Near London	Mr. Alexander Knox, Londonderry	Distemper and the bark!
17	Dec. 2	St. Neots	Mr. Alexander Knox, in Portpatrick, Londonderry	Thanks for account of sister's death.
18	1783—Jan. 23	London	Mr. Rodda, at Mr. Wicker's, In Castle Street, Oxon	Local affairs at Oxford.
19	Feb. 10	London	Mr. Alexander Knox	Consent to sell old preaching-house and build new, but expect no help from London.

	Date	Written at	To	Remarks re Contents
20	1783—April 5	Nottingham	Mr. Alexander Knox, in Portpatrick, Londonderry	Conference in Dublin—details of new preaching-house
21	April 23	Dublin	Mr. Alexander Knox, in Londonderry	Intended visit to Holland—health.
22	May 3	Dublin	Mr. Aléxander Knox	Wesley reports on his own health at Dublin.
23	Dec. 7	London	Mr. Alexander Knox, in Londonderry	Nature of faith-instant salvation-sanctification.
24	1784—Mar. 18	Tewksbury[sic]	Mr. Alexander Knox	The preaching-house again. Wesley reports on his own health and his visit to Holland.
25	Sept. 26	Bristol	Mr. Alexander Knox, in Londonderry	Whether or not to sell the present house.
26	1785—Mar. 19	Bristol	Mr. Alexander Knox, in Londonderry	A dispute between Mr. Brown and Mr. Rogers—Wesley reports on his itinerary.
27	May 6	Cork	Mr. Alexander Knox	New itinerary—printing his N.T. without notes.
28	Dec. 8	London	Mr. Alexander Knox, in Londonderry	Curing a fistula—roofing a house—miscellaneous matters.
29	1787—April 23	Aghrim	Mr. Alexander Knox, in Londonderry	The house at Bishopsgate.
30	May 16	Limerick	Mr. Alexander Knox, in Londonderry	Asks Knox for an account of "Mr. Darson" affair.
31	1789—June 4	Colerain[e]	Mr. Alexander Knox, in Londonderry	Who is "sent of God to preach"?
32	1790—July 26	Bristol	Mr. Alexander Knox, in Londonderry	Knox's mother has troubles after death of son George —Wesley advises.
33	1768—Dec. 24	[London]	Miss (Hanna) Ball, at Mr. Ball's, Lace-man, in High Wycombe	Letters, v, p. 120. See below.
34	1791—Feb. 1	Near London	William Jessop	See Proceedings, xix, p. 10.
35	1771—Feb. 26	London	Matthew Lowes	Lowes not to become a preacher, but to stay at Orphan House.
36	1773—July 30	Lewisham	Matthew Lowes	Lowes to do what his health permits.
37	1783—Aug. 30	Congleton	Rachel ?	Wesley to see "that young woman myself".
38	1768—July 23	Epworth	Jenny Hilton	Spiritual directions.

JOHN WESLEY TO MISS HANNA BALL

My dear Sister,

Dec. 24, 1768

Nothing can be more certain, than that God is willing to give always whatever he gives once, and that therefore, whatever you experience now, you may enjoy to your life's end. Perhaps one thing designed by an All-wise Providence, in your intercourse with me, was to preserve you from that sin which otherwise might easily beset you. It need not prevail over you any more: watch and pray, and you will not enter into temptation.

Patty Chapman does well, in seeking the most excellent way. But I would not tell her "you must" but "you may" be all-holy. The way is open. Jesus is yours and therefore all the mind which was in Him.

Be the success more or less, never weary of well-doing. In due time you shall reap if you faint not. And press on, into the whole image of God.

I am, My dear Sister,

Your affectionate Brother,

J. WESLEY.

To Miss (Hanna) Ball At Mr. Ball's, Lace-man In High Wycombe.

Methodist students in all parts of the world are indebted to the editor of *Methodist History* for placing at their disposal this large and valuable collection of Wesley letters, and to Miss Winstead for transcribing them.

John C. Bowmer.

It is with great regret that we record the death of one of the foremost Methodist historians of our day and a member of our Society, the Rev. Dr. Robert F. Wearmouth. His life was a noble example of what dedication and industry can achieve. His works on Methodism and its relationship to working-class movements in England were landmarks in historical research, and it is a truism to say that those who study Methodism and its outworkings will be for ever in his debt. He was one of the first to be awarded a Fellowship in Methodist History, and none was more fully deserved. Dr. Wearmouth was 81 years of age.

The Methodist Conference Handbook this year has taken upon itself a new look, and, frankly, we are not impressed. The cover girl may be a good Methodist Lancashire lass, and the grimy background may be part, though surely not the most attractive part, of the Conference town; but we are not convinced that together they make a dignified cover for the official handbook of the Methodist Conference, Nor could we agree that the cartoons are either funny or in place in such a publication. We may be old fashioned, or even deficient in a sense of humour, but we do not see such a presentation of our Conference handbook as a successful essay in communication, even to our own people. Sadder still to us is it that those who hunger and thirst after history will go unsatisfied. Is there no one in North Lancashire who could record the story of the people called Methodists in his District? Let it be set down to the credit of the editors that they have served our Society well in the full page devoted to our Lecture, but apart from this and the usual biographies we find little in the Handbook to commend; but it may serve as an indication to Sheffield and Plymouth, and whoever may follow, that they go and do not likewise.

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AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT: IS THE WRITER JOHN WESLEY? (See article on pp. 29-33).

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A WESLEY AUTOGRAPH?

A WESLEY AUTOGRAPH ON SINLESS PERFECTION?

THE manuscript of which our illustration is a photostat copy lies deposited in the Wesley Museum at Epworth. It has passed through the hands of the Rev. George Percival, who received it from Dr. Leslie Hunter not long before he retired as Bishop of Sheffield. The bishop recorded that it was formerly in the possession of his father, the Rev. John Hunter, celebrated as minister of Trinity Congregational church, Glasgow, from 1887 to 1901. The chain leads back to 1848, when John Hunter was born in Aberdeen. This leaves a big gap before we reach Wesley's day and the date of the manuscript in question. Perhaps it was held by John Hunter's ancestors. His father came of staunch Calvinist stock. His mother was a mild Episcopalian. Several of the questions in the MS. were burning issues between the Calvinists and those in connexion with Wesley. It may be that the Hunter family's possession of the MS, rests upon something more than antiquarian interest.

I

We set down first a transcript of the text, which runs thus:

- Do you Keep the Whole law, without Offending in one Point?
 I believe some would answer, we trust we do keep the whole Law of Love.
- 2. Do you know of any Other Rule, whereby to Judge, whether you are a Sinner?
 No.
- 3. Is not the Man, who does not fulfill all its demands, a Sinner?
 I believe, so long as all Man's thoughts, words and actions flow from Love, he does not sin, and Yet I would not scruple to call him a sinner, because he has sinned.
- 4. Do you Defy God himself to find any Sin in You?
 We humbly hope, God does not find Sin in Us.
- Do you love God as well as you Ought to love him [?]
 I love with all my heart.
- Do you Serve God as he Ought to be serv'd?
 I serve him with all My Strength.
- 7. If you are Defective herein, is not the Saying You are Sinlessly Perfect a most Wicked and Dangerous Delusion [?]

 I do not say "I am Sinlessly Perfect". I know none that dare say so. If any think they are Saved from all Sinfull Tempers, which they are not (whether they say it or not) it is a mistake, but I will not say, even this is a Wicked Delusion. For many have thought so when they were justified and, perhaps, Innocently.
- 8. What Difference is there between the Adamic Law, and the Law we are Under?

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30 PROCEEDINGS OF THE WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

God required of Adam, as the Condition of Everlasting Salvation, always to think, act and Speak precisely right.

- 9. What Do you mean, by saying, this Law is Repeald?
 I mean, this is not the Condition of our Salvation, the Law we are under is the Law of faith; faith Working by Love.
- 10. How do you distinguish between Temptation and Sin in the heart?
 In some Cases it is Difficult: but in general as easily as between a blow on my face, and a Desease in my bowels.
- 11. How do you know, You are saved from the Indwelling Sin? By the Spirit which he hath Given me.
- 12. Does a Person's not feeling Sin Prove he has none? No.
- 13. When Xt Pronounced his Disciples Clean, Did he mean, Sin was all Distroyed?
 No.
- 14. Is it not rank Antinomianism to say "I have nothing to do with the Law"?
 Yes.
 - Is it not the same to call Sins Infirmities? It is little better.

15.

- 16. Are You Perfect in Knowledge? If not, how dare you say You have no Sin in You?
 One may know this without knowing all things.
- 17. Do you Insinuate the Old Testament Saints could not be so holy as those of the New Testament?

I affirm it flat and Plain. For the Law made nothing Perfect but the bringing in of a better hope did. Yet we should Walk in the Steps of their faith, and follow the Example of their patience.

- 18. Does Xt say, Call no man Father upon Earth?
 Does this mean that your Children may not call You Father? or That Whitefield may not write himself (not to say Mr. Madan too) my Son in the Gospel?
- 19. Mr. Bell says "He shall never die". Do you believe him? No.
- 20. If men are Deluded in this, are they not likely to be so, in things of a more abstruse nature?

Certainly they are. Nor can they Ever be safe from Delusion, but by keeping Close to the Written Word.

John Wesley.

П

Naturally the question arises: Is the manuscript a genuine Wesley autograph? The writer of these notes is no expert on Wesley's handwriting, and cannot pronounce on the issue. He simply records these not very technical impressions. First, the signature, and the

caligraphy generally, is so similar to Wesley's as to raise no immediate doubts. But, on close scrutiny, one has the feeling of being not so certain. True, the ds have the distinctive backward flourish of the stroke like John's. The Cs also look very Wesleyan in their finish well below the line. On the other hand, the capital Ts and Fs with the two strokes meeting in an angular joint look more like Charles Wesley's than John's. Again, the small s run on in copperplate fashion is not characteristic of John's handwriting. Further, the great length of some of the letters, the f in particular, is unlike John's scripted style.

Doubts are also raised by items in the orthography, especially the inconsistencies. First, the use of initial capitals seems too liberal for Wesley. He generally restricted the practice to the nouns, which was common use in his day, in print as well as in manuscript. In this MS. some adjectives and verbs are given initial capitals with a degree of inconsistency unlike the Wesley we know. For instance, under question 1, we find the words "whole", "offering" and "point" so written. But would Wesley have done that and left the strong religious noun "law" which the word "Whole" qualifies, without initial capital? Note also the inconsistency here—for the word "Law" in the answer has the initial capital, and so it has in questions 8, 9 and 17.

Whilst the present writer is not prepared categorically to deny that this MS. is in John Wesley's handwriting, he feels that there is some weight of evidence against the prima facie case.

III

In the Yorkshire newspaper which reported the Bishop of Sheffield's gift to the Chairman of the Sheffield District, it was assumed that the MS. was a Wesley letter. The article stated "that the contents appear to be a series of answers to questions that were obviously put to Wesley by a correspondent to whom he was replying". If this were so, we should expect to find Wesley's address to his correspondent, and a personal introduction on the outer page of the folded sheet. Page one, however, is blank. Now there may be a simple explanation for that, but it does not seem characteristic of the economical Wesley. If it is a letter, strictly speaking, it is an unusual specimen, and, of course, incomplete.

There are other possibilities, of course, such as the following:

- (a) This MS. might be a transcript, by Wesley himself or by someone else, of an original Wesley letter, or part thereof. There would seem to be no published Wesley letter which, reasonably, could be considered as the original.
- (b) It might be the original record of a conversation which someone, say in the Hill or Madan or Maxfield camp, had had with Wesley. Or it might be a transcript of the original. In the latter case,

¹ cf. Dr. Frank Baker's notes on this subject in *Proceedings*, xxv, p. 98.

if the signature was added, it would be so not in the sense of forgery, but to attest the validity of the document as a doctrinal statement.

- (c) The MS., in spite of several personal notes, is not unlike the *Minutes* as Wesley published them. Perhaps the questions and answers are minutes of a little conference or conversation. They may even echo the formal Conference of 1763, the record of which, says Tyerman, has not survived. Certainly these topics were in the forefront of Wesley's mind that year, due to the fanaticisms of George Bell and his kind.
- (d) It is possible that this MS. is a kind of "stock" paper dealing with "stock" objections to Wesley's teaching regarding "Perfection". Preachers, leaders and others would find such a document useful in local controversy. Wesley may well have drawn it up, questions and all.

Whatever the doubts regarding the autograph, this composition is thoroughly Weslevan in matter. Much of the material is to be found, word for word, in the published Works. The questions are frequently dealt with as anticipated objections, and are sometimes put into the mouths of the dialogue figures which Wesley sets up in order to knock down. For example, the Plain Account of Christian Perfection (Works (1872 edn.), xi, pp. 414-26) contains just such a list of questions and answers as those we have in this MS. On page 418, for instance, we have the question of the expression "sinless perfection". On the next page Wesley deals with question 10 in the MS., viz. the distinction between temptation and sin. It is interesting to compare the two answers. In the Plain Account he says that in some cases "it is impossible to distinguish" sin (corruption) and temptation; the MS. states that "it is difficult" to do so. But both agree that in general it is possible to distinguish, and both make use of physical experience to illustrate the difference. The Plain Account speaks of feeling the difference between heat and cold. The reference to bowel disease in the MS, is just the sort of homely application Wesley would make when dealing with intimates -such as Charles, or Joseph Benson. Again, questions 8 and 9 of the MS. are dealt with in the *Plain Account* (pp. 414-15) in phraseology little different from that in the MS. Once more, the answer to question I in the MS. is to be found exactly in Works, x, p. 396, and elsewhere.

IV

Can we date the MS.? Wesley's habit of revising, transcribing and incorporating stock material at different times often makes dating difficult for students of his writings. For instance, in Standard Letters, iv, p. 187, v, pp. 38-9, and Works, xi, p. 446, we have three compositions almost identical, on the subject of "sinless perfection". Each begins with the remark "Some thoughts occurred to my mind this morning". The first was thought by Telford to be dated 1762.

² The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, ii, p. 474.

The second and third are dated 1767. Telford must have had evidence, presumably, that the second letter was distinct in its dating. (Both letters were addressed to Charles Wesley.) The third recension may be only the second with its head cut off for editorial purposes—but it may well have been born headless like the MS. under review.

The character of the questions does not settle the date of this MS., in spite of what we have said in section III. For the main issue, i.e. "Perfection", was troublesome for many years—always a difficulty when not a veritable bone of contention.

The three names mentioned in the MS. may be some guide. Presumably all three were alive when the MS. (or its original) was written. Whitefield died first, in 1770. Madan lived until 1790, and George Bell dragged out his benighted existence until 1807. Early in 1763 he separated from Wesley and looked for the end of the world, and, maybe, his own assumption in February that year. Question 19 seems to suggest that Bell is still associated with Wesley, or that the questioner thinks he is. The year 1763 was one of positive success and negative upheavals in London Methodism, and it is probable that this MS. belongs to that period.

The allusion to Madan in the MS. may mean that the recipient or inquirer was of his circle. His sister corresponded with Wesley on the subject of "sinless perfection" in 1763 (cf. Letters, iv, pp. 212-13). She acknowledged the family's indebtedness to Wesley, i.e. that her brother's life was radically changed under Wesley's preaching—that he was indeed his "son in the gospel". In the Whitefield, Maxfield and Madan circles, however, were those who quoted scripture to support their objections to Wesley's paternal authority over his preachers. Four times in as many pages of the "Large Minutes" the phrase "sons in the gospel" occurs (Works, viii, pp. 310-13). It was probably against this "official" defence of what they dubbed his "Popedom" that question 18 of the MS. was tilted.

GEORGE LAWTON.

The April 1963 issue of Methodist History, published in Lake Junaluska by the Association of Methodist Historical Societies, contains five articles. Three of them deal with Methodism in America, and a fourth, of interest to Methodists on both sides of the Atlantic, discusses "The Ordination of Francis Asbury". The fifth article is the most important of all. It consists of thirty-eight hitherto unpublished letters of John Wesley. By courtesy of Dr. Elmer T. Clark, the editor of Methodist History, we have listed these letters and reprinted one of them in this issue of the Proceedings (see pages 25-28). Once again we commend this "quarterly" to our members.

We acknowledge, with many thanks, the following periodicals: The Journal of the Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of Wales (March and June 1963); The Baptist Quarterly, incorporating the Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society (January and April 1963); The Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society (May 1963).

THE FIRST BIBLE CHRISTIAN HYMN-BOOK

N an interesting article in *Proceedings*, xxx, p. 179 ff., the late Rev. Morgan Slade wrote of the first Bible Christian hymn-book. He told how in spite of search he had never been able to locate a copy of that first book, and sought to reconstruct its outlines and style from a consideration of the 1838 Hymn-book.

Now, however, a copy of the 1824 book has come to light among the collection of hymn-books at the Book-Room; and it is interesting to see how far Mr. Slade's reconstruction was correct. It is a small volume measuring 2\frac{3}{2} by 5\frac{1}{2} ins., with "O'Bryan's Hymns" on the spine (in evident imitation of "Wesley's Hymns" found so often on the spine of contemporary Wesleyan hymn-books), and two clasps. And that imitation is apparent in other ways. The title page runs: "A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Arminian Bible Christians", but it continues: "by Wm. O'Bryan, Minister of the Gospel". Then follows the printer's and publisher's imprint, etc., and the date 1824. The two-page Preface, dated "Mill-pleasant, March 27, 1823", explains the appearance of the volume as due to the deficiency in the Wesleyan Hymn-book "in occasional hymns"; and O'Bryan states that while there are many volumes of suitable supplementary hymns, it would be both expensive and inconvenient to carry so many to the meetings. Consequently O'Bryan had printed his own small volume of supplementary hymns in 1820; but it was still inconvenient to have to cope with two books; hence the present volume.

A close examination of the two volumes (of 1824 and 1838), however, reveals that the latter is an almost exact reprint of the earlier, as far as the end of the Miscellaneous Hymns. Of the 611 hymns (up to the end of the Miscellaneous Hymns), only eight are different in the later volume, viz. hymns 137, 150, 214, 455, 510, 525, 563 and 584, which are replaced by other hymns, and the adjacent hymns adjusted where necessary by the addition or elision of a verse, so that the pages continue to be a reproduction of the corresponding pages in the 1824 volume. In addition, hymn 608 is considerably altered. But with these exceptions, the 1838 book is the same as the earlier book, with the addition of the 14 "Additional Hymns". The careful arrangement of the same verses on the same page shows that the two books were intended to be used together.

As Mr. Slade remarks, the hymn-book is based largely on the 1780 Hymn-book. This latter book contains 525 hymns, whilst the main part of the Bible Christian Hymn-book contains 575, followed by 37 "Miscellaneous Hymns". Contrary to Mr. Slade's expectation, the 1824 opens, as does the later book, with "Hymns for Ministers, Missionary Exertions, Collection for Missionaries, Laying the

Foundation of a Chapel, Opening a place of worship", and Before and After Sermon. These sub-sections run to 60 hymns, after which come the sections modelled closely on Wesley: "Exhorting Sinners to return to God", "Describing the Pleasantness of Religion", etc. But instead of beginning with "O for a thousand tongues to sing" (which O'Bryan inserts in the section "For Believers Rejoicing"), this section opens with "Come, ye sinners, poor and wretched". After Wesley's third sub-division, O'Bryan puts a group of hymns on the Christian Year, as expressive of the "Goodness of God". Then Wesley's order is followed again, beginning with "Praying for a Blessing"; Wesley's Part II on formal and inward religion is missing, O'Bryan going straight on to "Mourners convinced of Sin". After "Believers Rejoicing" comes a group of "Family Hymns" (e.g. Children, Baptism of Adults, etc.), then back to "Believers Fighting", and so on to the end, except that in the section for the Society O'Bryan includes groups for Lovefeasts and the Lord's Supper; and he closes the whole collection (apart from the Miscellaneous Hymns) with the sections on Death, Judgement, and Heaven, which he had previously omitted. The volume concludes with not only the usual index of first lines, but with indexes of subjects and texts also.

A closer examination shows also that he followed the body of the book and not only the table of contents. Whilst he interspersed freely with hymns of his own choosing, the Wesley 1780 Hymns which he uses appear very much in their original order, so that groups of hymns are a reproduction of the 1780 book. Those added and interspersed come from a variety of sources; some are no doubt original Bible Christian hymns, others from the Primitive Methodist collection, and so on; unfortunately he cites no authors' names.

The Miscellaneous Hymns are virtually the same in both 1824 and 1838 books—e.g. No. 594 of the 1838 book, which Mr. Slade mentions, is also 594 in the earlier book. The interesting feature of these Miscellaneous Hymns is that they show signs of the close connexion between the Bible Christian and the Primitive Methodist movements. The similarity of the two movements has often been noticed—not merely their similarity of style and appeal, but the fact that neither was a secession from Wesleyan Methodism, both movements arising through the irregular labours of Wesleyan local preachers in areas largely untouched by Methodism, and at about the same time. I have seen a Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs used by the Primitive Methodists, printed in 1820, and ten hymns found in that collection, and not in the 1780 Hymn-book, appear in O'Bryan's book, six of them in the Miscellaneous Hymns. These are:

O'Bryan 593 The Pilgrim's Hymn:
Come, O my brother travellers,
We're bound for Canaan's land.
The Lord into His garden came.

586 This is the field, the world below.

577 The voice of free grace cries, escape to the mountain.

584 We've found the Rock, the trav'llers cry'd.

610 I'm glad I ever saw the day, sing glory, glory, glory, We ever met to sing and pray, sing glory, etc.

Those appearing in the body of the book are:

61 Come, ye sinners, poor and wretched.

125 When I survey the wondrous cross.

478 From all that dwell below the skies.

524 Lord, dismiss us with thy blessing, Bid us now depart in peace.

It is noteworthy that these last four are still in common use, though the first, "Come, ye sinners", is a traditionally Primitive Methodist hymn. But the others are now largely forgotten; "This is the field" was retained as late as in the 1904 book, but has now disappeared; though in West Cornwall it is still often traditionally sung at harvest festivals (the congregation being given copies of the words) to a typically Cornish Methodist tune of similar vintage.

The book is thus typical of the beginnings of the Bible Christian movement. It betrays its strongly Methodist origins, its affiliations with the "Ranters", and of course its own characteristic admixture, in such hymns as that quoted by Mr. Slade, "For Union among Ministers", and the "Sailor's Hymn":

Ye sons of the main, that sail o'er the flood; Whose sins, big as mountains, have reached up to God: Remember the *Voyage of life* soon will end, Now come, brother sailors, make Jesus your Friend.

In the harbour of glory for ever you'll ride, Free from quicksands, and danger, and sin's rapid tide; Waves of death cease to roll, and tempests are o'er; Those violent winds will dismast you no more.

Your tarpauling jacket no longer you'll wear, But robes of bright glory all shining and fair: A crown on your head that would dazzle the sun, And from glory to glory eternally run.

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

We have received two publications designed for tourists, and both put Methodism well on the map. Coming Events in Britain for July 1963 contains an article, well written and beautifully illustrated, entitled "A Methodist Pilgrimage". Our American contemporary Together has produced an 8-page folder bearing the impressive title "Methodist Europa". This covers places of Methodist interest not only in Britain, but throughout Europe. In their efforts, largely successful, to include every place of interest, the producers of the map have mentioned places as small as Newbiggin-in-Teesdale, but, strange it seems to us, they have omitted Newcastle upon Tyne, Wesley's northern metropolis.

BISHOP LAVINGTON AND THE METHODISTS

MONG the hundreds of printed attacks on Methodism during the lifetime of John Wesley, the largest was the three-pronged fork of Bishop Lavington's Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compar'd, whose instalments grew progressively longer—92 pages for part one (1749), 228 for part two (1749), and 421 for part three (1751). Collected into two volumes in 1754, the work was reprinted as late as 1833 by Richard Polwhele in an octavo volume of over eight hundred pages including introduction, notes, and appendix. Paraphrasing Charles Wesley, we may exclaim:

See how great a flame aspires, Kindled by a spark of hate!

The attack itself is well known to students of Methodist history. The story behind its appearance is too little known, and is well worth documenting.¹

Persecution of the Methodists, which had flared up during the '45 rebellion, died down after the battle of Culloden on 16th April 1746, though even in July 1747 John Wesley could write from Cornwall that some of the gentlemen there were still noisily insisting that the Methodists were agents of the Pretender. In February 1747 George Lavington was consecrated Bishop of Exeter. A notorious pluralist before his consecration, he was hardly the model evangelical cleric, and one suspects that his primary visitation charge to the clergy of his diocese contained some caustic remarks about the Methodists proliferating so rapidly in Cornwall, if not in Devon. This charge does not appear to have been printed, but someone with a mischievous sense of humour—and probably no more than that—circulated in manuscript a supposed extract from the discourse which absurdly made out that the new bishop favoured the Methodists.

This extract reached London, where some people who might have known better took it seriously. Not George Whitefield, however, who had just returned from nearly four years in America. London friends sent him a copy to Bristol at the end of July 1748, and his immediate reaction was that it could not possibly be "his Lordship's production". When he returned to London early in August and discovered that an "officious printer" had set the matter up as a tiny handbill, Whitefield "blamed him very much". Apparently

¹ Luke Tyerman gives a brief account in his Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley (1870), ii, pp. 23-5, and in his Life of the Rev. George Whitefield, 2nd edn. (1890), ii, pp. 201-2, but the details were not sufficiently full to prevent misunderstanding by Richard Green in his Anti-Methodist Publications, No. 207. A useful summary appears in the article on Lavington in the Dictionary of National Biography.

² Letters, ii, p. 107. ³ Whitefield's Works (1771), ii, p. 190. Whitefield landed at Deal on 5th July, and after nearly three weeks in London went to Bristol for a week, on to Wales, back to London, and then north to Scotland. He wrote from Glasgow on 5th

he tried to suppress the leaflet, but was not quite successful. At least one copy survived, which is now treasured in the library of the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois, where it is bound up with other items illustrating the history of Lavington's famous work. Grateful acknowledgement is hereby made to the Librarian, Mr. Raymond Sutup. The fictitious extract, as put out by the "officious printer", reads thus:

My Brethren, I Beg you will rise up with me against moral preaching. We have been long attempting the reformation of the nation by discourses of this kind. With what success? Why none at all. On the contrary, we have very dexterously preached the people into downright infidelity.—We must change our voice—we must preach Christ and him crucified.—Nothing but gospel is; nothing will be found to be the power of God unto salvation besides.—Let me therefore again and again request, may I not add, Let me CHARGE you to preach Jesus and salvation thro' his name—preach the Lord who bought us—preach redemption through his blood—preach the saying of the great high-priest, "He Who believeth shall be saved."—Preach repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

There are some who are gone out from us, refusing to be under political government, and therefore no friends to the Hierarchy; of whom, yet it must be said, their preaching is right and good in the main; though the persons are † immethodical in their practice.

To this were added in italics the following footnotes, apparently the editor's own:

* However moral preaching may be admired by some people, it is clearly evident to all intelligent persons, that it is too weak to work a reformation; whereas the preaching of Christ and his Righteousness, will not only beat down Satan under our feet, but establish morality in God's own way.

† The reason of this seems to be, because the regular clergy among them were turned out of the parish churches for preaching the very doctrine that the clergy are above CHARGED to preach: And people of all denominations adhering to them, seems to be the cause that they so little regard Hierarchy.—But, according to their Prayers and their whole behaviour, they are heartily attached to the civil Government.

As it stands, this document is relatively innocuous. Neither the bishop nor the Methodists are named, though both are hinted at in the capitalized "charge" and the adjective "immethodical". Nothing here for a slander suit, but plenty for drawing-room gossip! Clearly it was a trumpet-blast in favour of evangelical preaching, and its second paragraph a thinly-veiled endorsement of the Methodists, in spite of their unconventional practices. On the heels of this leaflet, possibly encouraged by seeing the material already in print, came further support for this supposed episcopal pronouncement, in the shape of a 24-page pamphlet by an anonymous and disinterested clergyman, who claimed that he knew neither the Wesleys nor

October about this document "sent to me in manuscript from London to Bristol", about the leaflet, and then about the pamphlet. This letter was printed in full in *Proceedings*, xxxiii, p. 106.

Whitefield. Again it was printed in London, and entitled A Letter to the Right Reverend Father in God George, Lord Bishop of Exeter, occasioned by his Lordship's late Charge to the Clergy of his Diocess [sic]: in Defence of those Principles of the Methodists, objected to in his Lordship's Charge. The author congratulates the bishop on his stand against "moral preaching", but points out that he misrepresents the Methodists in describing them as "gone out from among us" when in fact they have been driven out. He suggests that this can be corrected by once more opening church pulpits to them. The pamphlet was signed and dated at the end: 'A Clergyman. Aug. 12, 1748". At least two editions were published, one reprinting the supposed extract. From the fact that both in the extract and in the text the author introduces the word "among" into the phrase given in the leaflet as "gone out from us", it seems that his work is based on the original manuscript version.

The Letter was advertised in the Gentleman's Magazine and the Scots Magazine for August. Whitefield was still more distressed, and on several occasions he publicly "urged the injustice as well as imprudence thereof, and said it would produce what it did, ... a declaration from his Lordship, that he was no Methodist." Sure enough, at the beginning of September the bishop published an advertisement in the Daily Advertiser and other papers, running thus: Exeter, Sept. 5, 1748.

A Written Paper, call'd "An Extract from Dr. Lavington the Bishop of Exeter's Charge to his Clergy, 1748," having been dispersed about London, &c. and afterwards printed (tho' without a Title,) I think myself obliged to declare, that it was no Part of my Charge, but the Product of mere Fiction.

Upon this pretended Extract has been grounded a printed Pamphlet, call'd "A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Exeter, occasion'd by his late Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese, &c."; which, being only fighting with a shadow, needs no other answer than his own words, p. 15. Oh! Sir, how have you been imposed upon?

But because I would not have the Methodists be imposed upon themselves, or any more impose upon the Public, as if I were any way a Favourer of their Sect; I freely declare my Sentiments, "that there are several well meaning ignorant People among them,—that the Sect in general is actuated by a Spirit of Enthusiasm and Delusion,—and that as to some of them, especially of their Leaders and Teachers, I have reason to believe something worse." G. Exon.

This rebuttal was also printed as a news item in the August issue of the monthly Scots Magazine, but not in its English counterpart the Gentleman's Magazine.6

⁴ The Garrett volume contains the 24-page pamphlet; my own collection has both this and the 12-page edition which reprints the extract, with the title "The Bishop of Exeter's Charge to his Clergy ", but with no footnotes.

Whitefield's Works, ii, p. 190.
 p. 456, the editor stating that "The following advertisement is published in several papers''. A copy of the original advertisement is included in the volume at Garrett.

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Thereupon the stewards of Wesley's Foundery preaching-house, London, entered the fray. (John Wesley himself was in London, but his hands were full, and the following week he was to open the newly-enlarged preaching-house at Bristol; Charles Wesley was in Ireland.) They also used the columns of the Daily Advertiser, publishing a document which refuted the bishop's criticisms point by point. A copy of this also is in the volume at Evanston, and it merits quotation in full:

London, Foundery, September 8, 1748.

To the PUBLICK.

We the Stewards of the Society under the Inspection of the Rev. Mess. John and Charles Wesley, do hereby, in behalf of ourselves and Brethren, testify to the sober and unprejudiced Part of the Nation, that it was with great Satisfaction we read what was call'd "An Extract of the Charge deliver'd by his Lordship of Exeter;" although we were under some discouraging Apprehensions least that Extract should not be genuine. In this Uncertainty we were much surpriz'd and grieved to find a Pamphlet publish'd in Answer to it; which Answer met with our Disapprobation, as we judged it ill-tim'd, and not likely to promote the Cause of Christ, though it contain'd many great and serious truths.

In this Day's Daily Advertiser his Lordship of Exeter declares, "that the said Extract was no Part of his Charge:" which we are heartily sorry to hear. And we are likewise sorry that his Lordship should use so severe Expressions concerning a whole Body of People, who are known to be well attached to Church and State.

What his Lordship declares to be his Sentiments concerning us, "that there are several well-meaning ignorant People among us", intimates a settled Contempt, unbecoming any one that believes himself mere Dust and Ashes with ourselves. His Lordship may (as others do) know, that amongst us are Men, who, if not Methodists, might be esteemed Men of Learning and Good Sense; yea, and those too well-meaning People. His Lordship must know, a general Charge is nothing but the Effect of—not knowing the real Case, in the Judgment of wise and candid People; therefore his calling us "a Sect actuated by a Spirit of Enthusiasm and Delusion", is only a Flourish, such as many of the Heathen Writers used to blacken the Primitive Christians.

But the last Article is what we never could have expected from a Bishop in the Church of Christ. We acknowledge ourselves Leaders in this Society of Men; yet we trust that we are not actuated by a Spirit of Enthusiasm or Delusion, nor do we know of any sinister Ends we have in being Members of this Society; and we seriously desire any sober Person to convince us of any, if they know more than we do. And as for our worthy Ministers and Teachers, we have as great Reason to believe that they are free from Enthusiasm or Delusion, or something worse, as we have to believe the Lord Bishop of Exeter is no Friend to or Favourer of them.

This we thought proper to declare; and rest the Friends of all Mankind.

The Countess of Huntingdon also sprang to the defence of the maligned Methodists, urging the bishop to acknowledge that his criticism had gone too far on the mistaken assumption that the supposed Extract had been issued with their connivance. Her letter enclosed "an acknowledgment on the part of the printer, that the publication of the charge was solely his deed—that he had got the manuscript from one entirely unconnected with the Methodists—and that he was ready to verify this statement on oath when required." Her letter was ignored. She then threatened to disgrace Lavington publicly, whereupon he sent her an apology for her to transmit to the chief sufferers. One of them, George Whitefield, had some converse with the bishop himself, being in his diocese, and his letter to the countess reveals with what bad grace the apology had been given: "I hear how your ladyship has been, by the B—p. Alas! how does the enmity of the heart sometimes make persons to forget good manners!" The bishop's letter ran thus:

The Bishop of Exeter having received the most positive assurance from the Countess of Huntingdon, and other respectable persons, that neither Mr. Whitefield nor Mr. Wesley, nor any one in connexion with, or authorised by them, had any concern in the fabrication and publication of a Charge said to be delivered by him to the Clergy of his Diocese takes this opportunity of apologising to her Ladyship, and Messrs. Whitefield and Wesley, for the harsh and unjust censures which he was led to pass on them, from the supposition that they were in some measure concerned in, or had countenanced the late imposition on the public.

The Bishop of Exeter feels that it is imperative on him to make this concession to the Countess of Huntingdon; and requests her Ladyship and Messrs. Whitefield and Wesley will accept his unfeigned regret at having unjustly wounded their feelings, and exposed them to the odium of the world.⁸

Probably the bishop did not intend the countess to publish this recantation. If so, she disappointed him. Small wonder that Lavington fumed inwardly, and prepared for a massive onslaught on those who had made him a laughing-stock of polite society. The first part of The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compar'd appeared anonymously in March 1749, though from the outset he was reputed to be the author.9 Answers appeared speedily: by Whitefield in April and by Vincent Perronet in May, both entitled Some Remarks. A year later John Wesley published A Letter to the Author of the Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compar'd. By that time Lavington had issued his larger second part, to be followed in 1751 by the third, still with no acknowledgement of authorship. Whitefield's words were so easily twisted against him that he wisely refrained from further reply, but Perronet answered each part as it appeared. Wesley published A Second Letter to the Author of the Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compar'd, with a prefatory letter addressed "To the Right Reverend the Lord

Whitefield's Works (1771), ii, pp. 233-4. The letter is dated "Plymouth, Feb. 21, 1740".

Feb. 21, 1749 ''.

8 (A. C. H. Seymour): Life and Times of Selina Countess of Huntingdon (1840), i, 95-6.

9 Tyerman's Whitefield, ii, p. 219.

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Bishop of Exeter". This successfully drew Lavington out into the open with The Bishop of Exeter's Answer to Mr. Wesley's late Letter to his Lordship (1752), to which Wesley replied the same year with another Second Letter, this one being to the bishop whilst the former one had been to the anonymous author—a nice distinction. In 1754 Lavington issued the three parts of his Enthusiasm in two volumes. He seemed determined to have the last word, and apparently succeeded.

It was high time that someone said the last word. For this constant attack needing constant defence apparently sprang not from any serious theological or ecclesiastical convictions on the part of Bishop Lavington, but from pique over a practical joke that was taken too seriously.

FRANK BAKER.

NEWS FROM OUR BRANCHES

The East Anglian Branch

With a view to obtaining rather more publicity than is normally possible in the widespread and thinly-populated East Anglia District, the branch departed from its customary procedure, and incorporated its spring meeting with the Synod service of public worship in the St. James's church, King's Lynn, on Wednesday, 8th May. It was a welcome and worthwhile change, and three new members were enrolled, bringing the total to 89. The Chairman of the District, the Rev. Hubert J. Martin (who is also President of the branch) told the large congregation that many members were present, and the Rev. John J. Perry, the branch's chairman, gave a brief survey of its aims and activities.

The Rev. A. Kingsley Lloyd, the guest preacher (himself a member of the Wesley Historical Society) expressed his great pleasure at the branch's participation in the service. After paying tribute to the late Rev. Wesley F. Swift and his great contribution to Wesley studies, Mr. Lloyd observed that although everything said and written by John and Charles Wesley was of interest to students of Methodist history, some parts of their huge legacy were obviously of greater value than others. It was in that respect that the Wesley Historical Society did good service; it was not an antiquarian body, but sought also to relate the best in Methodist history to modern life.

Mr. Lloyd then preached from the text "We have an altar" (Heb. xiii. 10), with special reference to John Wesley's oft-recurring sentence: "I offered Christ". That, he said, was the essential theme and substance of the mighty Methodist movement in the eighteenth century. In that vital matter both ministry and laity were involved, and should be so now: but neither must ever forget that they had nothing to offer save what had already been divinely bestowed on them.

The next meeting will be at Ipswich (Museum Street church) at 3 p.m. on Saturday, 9th November, when the Rev. G. Osborn Gregory will speak on "Henry Pearce's Eighteenth-century Class-Papers".

W. A. GREEN.

The North-East Branch

The spring meeting was held at the Durham Road Methodist church,

Sunderland, on Saturday, 18th May 1963, the Rev. W. V. Harper presiding. Almost fifty were present to hear the Rev. Dr. John H. S. Kent (Church History tutor at Hartley Victoria College, Manchester) speak about "The Separation of Methodism from the Church of England".

Maintaining that "John Wesley's ordinations were the recognition of a separation which already existed, not the cause of the separation", the speaker traced the origin of the separation to the emergence, quite early in the Revival, of a Methodist self-consciousness, based on distinctive doctrine and on "the failure of an Anglicanism socially identified with the small ruling class". He then showed the social, political and religious factors which from 1790 to 1830 increased the separation, with the appearance of Methodist Dissent, whilst Wesleyan Methodism was still officially non-Dissenting; from 1836 to 1870, the decline of the non-Dissenting tradition, hastened by the Methodist Disruption of 1849 and the increase of Anglo-Catholicism; and since 1870, the re-birth of the idea that Methodists are not Dissenters—a view which led many Wesleyans to oppose the Methodist Union of 1932, and which today makes possible the present Conversations.

The full text of Dr. Kent's paper may be read in the Branch Bulletin No. 3, available from the Registrar, Miss C. M. Bretherton, 6, The Craiglands, Tunstall Road, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

The tea which preceded the meeting, and a display of local Wesleyana, were greatly appreciated.

The summer outing is on Saturday, 20th July. The rendezvous at 2 p.m. is at Newbiggin-in-Teesdale, where the chapel, opened in 1760, has been in continuous use. After seeing what is of interest, we go on to Arkengarthdale, in Swaledale, where tea will be arranged for 5 o'clock. Full details may be obtained from the Secretary, the Rev. Harold R. Bowes, 42, Essex Gardens, Gateshead, 9, Co. Durham.

The autumn meeting will be held in Durham on Saturday, 26th October, and the spring 1964 meeting at North Shields on Saturday, 23rd May, when the Rev. John C. Bowmer will be the speaker.

HAROLD R. BOWES.

[We have now received Bulletins Nos. 2 and 3 of the North-East Branch. The April issue summarizes the addresses given at the autumn meeting of 1962—"John Wesley and Newcastle" by the Rev. John Wall, and "Bible Christians of the North-East" by the Rev. R. Walters Dunstan. The summer number, as reported above, prints in full Dr. John Kent's address at the spring meeting on "The Separation of Methodism from the Church of England". We congratulate the branch on its lively and excellently-produced Bulletins.—EDITOR.]

The Yorkshire Branch

The summer meeting was held at Haworth on Saturday, 25th May, in conjunction with local celebrations to commemorate the bicentenary of William Grimshaw's death. The score or so of branch-members were matched by an equal number from nearby circuits, for whom Haworth was once the mother church. The Rev. Archie Bradford spoke on "The Haworth Round", when Grimshaw employed preachers on his farm in between sending them out on tours of Cumberland, Lancashire and Yorkshire. The lecture skilfully gave flesh to the skeleton of exhibits which

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Mr. Bradford had gathered from many places. They included a Grimshaw diary from Hartley Victoria College, and the communion-table and flagons from the parish church, with the willing co-operation of the present rector of Haworth, who was present with us throughout. Most of the items were from the safe at Temple Street, Keighley, which became the circuit chapel after Grimshaw's death, They included the original minute-book for the first-ever Quarterly Meeting and those following, kept in Grimshaw's own copperplate hand.

After tea, we went to Sowdens, which was the parsonage in Grimshaw's day, but is now a smallholder's farmhouse. Guide-books usually contain no reference to this, and the house was unmarked. This position has now been rectified, for Professor A. Victor Murray unveiled a stone let into the wall, bearing the following inscription:

Sowdens Parsonage William Grimshaw 1742 - 1763

HERE STAYED
JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY
GEORGE WHITEFIELD
JOHN NEWTON
HENRY VENN
1063

At the business meeting the Secretary was able to report 61 branchmembers, who had paid enough half-crowns to cover the expenses and Bulletin. Future meetings were planned for Saturday, 5th October, at Birstall, amongst the Nelson relics, and Saturday, 3oth May 1964, at Heptonstall (i.e. during the bicentenary year of this octagonal chapel).

W. STANLEY ROSE.

Lincolnshire

Several of the Lincolnshire members of the Wesley Historical Society, together with a few other interested friends, met recently to form a local branch—the fifth of its kind in Great Britain. This venture is long overdue, but at last a Lincolnshire Methodist History Society is in existence, under the chairmanship of the Rev. W. Le Cato Edwards (warden of the Epworth Old Rectory), and with Mr. William Leary, of Woodlands, Riseholme, Lincoln, as secretary. The Society plans to meet once or twice a year, and aims at collecting and preserving records and all valuable material relating to Methodism in the county. There will be from time to time a Bulletin.

Two worthy productions have been issued by our Cornish branch. Their Publication No. 5 is a pamphlet of 30 pages entitled "Samuel Drew", by the Rev. John T. Wilkinson. The price is 2s. 6d. Journal No. 7 of this vigorous branch contains the following articles: "The New Connexion at Breage" (Michael S. Edwards), "The Camborne Conference of 1874—a Debate on Liturgical Revision" (Herbert W. White). "Chapel Arrangement and Architecture" (John C. C. Probert) and "A Sidelight on the Great Revival of 1814" (Thomas Shaw).

BOOK NOTICES

Methodism, by Rupert E. Davies. (Epworth Press, pp. vii. 184, 21s.; Penguin Books, pp. 224, 3s. 6d.)

Rupert Davies's Methodism is a remarkable achievement. Published in the opening stages of a great controversy, it avoids being unduly controversial, and yet, by all its implications, comes down quite firmly and unreluctantly on one side of the debate. This is very important, because many perplexed Anglicans will undoubtedly buy Mr. Davies's book in search of enlightenment: what they find will certainly give them a better opinion of us. This is partly because Mr. Davies has rejected the myth-making approach to history which devours so many Methodists when they begin to write about their own denomination. When he describes John Wesley's teaching on Christian Holiness, for example, he says quite frankly that "unfortunately Wesley sets out on the wrong foot when he begins to expound his doctrine". Similarly, when writing about Wesley's ordination of some of his itinerants. he agrees with Charles Wesley that this amounted to separation from the Church of England, and adds: "John, with an obtuseness that was not characteristic of him, refused to acknowledge this, and continued to argue against separation for the rest of his life." More of this kind of clarity would have done Methodist publicity a world of good in recent years.

This doesn't mean that there are no slips. The first Conference is dated as 1745. Something has gone wrong with the account of the Leeds Organ Case: the famous Special District Meeting is mentioned, but the author seems unaware of its peculiar nature and role. His account of the succeeding troubles of Wesleyan Methodism puts James Everett in his proper place—there is not much point in still claiming him as a martyr for Methodist Reform—but in the process the Wesleyan Association and Robert Eckett go unmentioned, and we are told that Everett "formed the 'Church of the Wesleyan Reformers' and united this in 1857 with the 'Protestant Methodists' to form the 'United Methodist Free Churches' ". In fact, the Leeds Methodists had merged with the much larger Association long before 1849, and it was the Association which entered the union of 1857. Mr. Davies is quite right to mention Joseph Arch, the self-styled Moses of the agricultural workers, but he should also have referred to Sir George Edwards, the Primitive Methodist who actually succeeded where Arch failed.

Mr. Davies's account of later nineteenth-century Methodism is likely to remain the most dispassionate we have for years to come. Only occasionally does he lapse into the style of an earlier generation. His description of Dr. J. Scott Lidgett as "the Methodist William Temple" is an instance. Dr. Lidgett, with all respect to his memory, didn't start the Settlement movement, an honour which is unquestionably due to Canon Barnett; nor would an historian of the London County Council regard him as a major figure in a period which was dominated by Ernest Benn, Sidney Webb (the LCC's real educational éminence grise in the 1900s) and then Herbert Morrison. As a Methodist, moreover, his understanding of Methodism depended upon the work of Jabez Bunting and his generation: he stood out precisely because as a Methodist he remained uncorrupted, as Hugh Price Hughes for instance was corrupted, by the political decadence of late nineteenth-century Nonconformity. And if even that is an exaggeration (for Dr. Lidgett's later political career would be difficult to defend on Wesleyan standards) it might be said that he stood out because he preserved, and in the end handed on, something of J. H. Rigg's awareness

that the Wesleyan tradition was much richer than what we now call "Free Church".

Perhaps the best test of Mr. Davies's work is to put it side-by-side with Dr. J. H. Plumb's famous attack on Methodism in his Penguin volume on eighteenth-century England. Anyone who wants to know what Methodism looks like to an outsider should read Dr. Plumb-and remember that he has forgotten more about the eighteenth century than most of us will ever know. Nevertheless, one doesn't doubt that Mr. Davies brings it off; that the pace, the wit, the knowledge of his writing stand up to such formidable comparison; that above all the tone in which he writes justifies our claim to catholicity, our conviction that Methodism has been more than a sect, however numerically successful: that Methodism has been, in the proper sense of the words, part of the esse of the Church of Christ. Dare one hope that some of those Anglican bishops who seem to know nothing about Methodism beyond the fact that John Wesley "died a member of the Church of England", etc., will read Mr. Davies's book and learn how to woo us properly? JOHN H. S. KENT.

MR. JOHN A. VICKERS writes:

On page 167 (Pelican edition), Mr. Davies confuses Coke's first two missionary publications, his *Plan of the Society for the Establishment of Missions* (1784) and his *Address to the Pious and Benevolent* (1786). And on page 168 he perpetuates the myth that Coke and Baxter were strangers when they met in Antigua on Christmas Day 1786.

Methodists and Unity, by Rupert E. Davies. (Mowbray, pp. ix. 101, 5s. 6d.)

This is one of a series ("Star Books on Reunion") under the general editorship of the Bishop of Bristol, designed to introduce the denominations to one another by exploring both their common ground and their differences. After his introductory chapter on how Methodism became separate, Mr. Davies's concern is more theological than historical. He surveys the doctrinal heritage of Methodism in terms that should be intelligible even to the proverbial "non-theological layman" for whom one presumes the series is chiefly designed; and his description of the ethos of Methodism should help to remove many prejudices and misconceptions from non-Methodist minds. He makes tentative suggestions concerning the way forward towards reunion with the Church of England along the lines of the recently-published recommendations of the joint committee.

Presumably by a slip of the typewriter, William O'Bryan is saddled with the responsibility for the formation of the Methodist New Connexion. I doubt whether many "ex-PMs" would accept as it stands the statement (p. 73 f.) that their forebears "broke away, or were excluded" from the parent body. Mr. Davies calls attention to a possible defect in the Anglican ministry, in "the absence of the 'consent of the people' in the appointment and consecration of a bishop". It is worth noting that Wesley's own settingapart of Coke for the American superintendency was immediately condemned as "less than Presbyterian" on these very grounds, although the American preachers proceeded to make good the deficiency, rather to Wesley's annoyance, by electing both Coke and Asbury to the superintendency before Asbury was ordained and consecrated.

This book, with the author's other volume [Methodism, reviewed above—ED.] published simultaneously by the Epworth Press and Penguin Books, should introduce Methodism to many who belong to other traditions. Is it

too ungracious a conclusion to say that Methodists should read the other volumes in this series, but ought not to need this one? JOHN A. VICKERS.

A Sketch of Church History, by H. Morley Rattenbury. (Epworth Press, pp. 109, 9s. 6d.)

We are increasingly realizing in these ecumenical times that ecclesiastical history is, in Bishop Creighton's words, "a most important part of all history". Indeed, it is, as Professor Gwatkin described it, "the spiritual side of universal history". As such it claims the attention of every serious Christian, and this useful outline by Mr. Rattenbury should provide the uninitiate with the very thing they need.

Couched in language which will appeal to the layman and yet containing a conspectus from which the student will benefit, this reader's digest of church history covers almost two thousand years in five chapters. Our only major criticism is that it tends to underestimate the significance of the Reformation and, perhaps as a consequence, fails to trace the continuity of the Holy Spirit's action through history—exercised sometimes through the organism of the institutional Church and sometimes despite it. This basic Protestant conception of the ecclesia invisibilis is not prominent in Mr. Rattenbury's treatment. Had it been, he might have viewed modern ecumenicalism rather more critically.

A. Skevington Wood.

THE ANNUAL LECTURE

in connexion with the Preston Conference, 1963,

Central Methodist Church, Lune Street, Preston, On Wednesday, 10th July, at 7-30 p.m.,

BV THE

Rev. GEORGE W. DOLBEY, M.A., B.D., A.R.I.B.A.

Subject: "The Development of Architecture in Methodism from 1738 to 1840."

The chair will be taken by Dr. Marjorie Lonsdale, M.A., B.D.

The Annual Meeting of the Society will be held at the same Church at 5-30 p.m.

Mrs. Herbert Ibberson kindly invites members of the Society to **Tea** in the Lune Street schoolroom at **4-30 p.m.** It is essential that all those who desire to accept this invitation should send their names to the Rev. T. R. Jenkinson, 38, Highgate, Penwortham, Preston, Lancs, not later than Monday, July 8th.

Lune Street church is a few yards from the Conference Hall, and may be entered either from Lune Street or by the rear entrance in Fox Street.

A small **Exhibition** illustrating "The Beginnings of Methodism in Lancashire" will be on view at the Harris Museum and Art Gallery, Market Square, Preston, during the sessions of the Conference.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1104. A NEW BUST OF CHARLES WESLEY.

Whilst busts of John Wesley are plentiful, one of Charles is a rarity. In fact, we doubt whether there is one in existence (if any member knows of a bust of Charles Wesley, we should be glad to hear of it). We are very pleased to report, however, that this want has now been supplied. The World Methodist Council commissioned a Charles Wesley bust to match one of Francis Asbury from Mr. G. H. Paulin, Fellow of the Royal Society of British Sculptors. Mr. Paulin, however, died before he was able to execute his commission, and Miss Erica Lee of St. John's Wood, London, a pupil of the late Sir William Reid Dick, R.A., has made the required bust. By courtesy of the editor of the Methodist Recorder we are able to publish a photograph. We congratulate Miss Lee on her work and thank her for supplying World Methodism with this likeness of brother Charles.

EDITOR.

1105. "WESLEY" OR "WEZLEY"?

There has recently been some correspondence in the Radio Times relating to the correct pronunciation of the name "Wesley". One correspondent quotes from a book entitled John Wesley and his Circle (1888) by Dr. James Handley-Walters, M.A., to the effect that Wesley said that those "who should call my name as if made with two esses" were "boorish oafs without wit". We can trace neither the book nor the saying. On present evidence we are inclined to think that the saying is apocryphal. Can any member of our Society throw any light on this question?

Editor.

1106. CHARLES WESLEY'S LATIN SERMON.

If a PPS may be allowed to what has already been written about John Wesley's correspondence with his brother Samuel, it seems possible that Charles Wesley also got as far in his exercises for the B.D. as to prepare a Latin sermon, as his brother did in June 1741. Whether it has survived I do not know, but there is a reference to a Latin sermon of Charles Wesley among those which William Pine of Bristol was preparing for a collected edition of Charles Wesley's sermons after his death. See a letter of Pine to Mrs. Charles Wesley, dated 31st October 1791, in the Methodist Archives Centre.

[Ohn A. Vickers.]

1107. JOHN WESLEY'S BELL.

The Rev. Kenneth Tibbetts in his most interesting contribution on "Methodism in Berwick-upon-Tweed" (Proceedings, xxxiii, pp. 161-9) did not mention one point linking the district with Wesley. In Ancroft parish church, six miles from Berwick, there is a bell that is reputed to have belonged to one of Wesley's preaching-places in London. We presume it is the bell from the Foundery which John Telford (Wesley's Chapel and Wesley's House) speaks of as "being bought by Mr. William Marriott, for the Sunday School which he built at Friar's Mount, Shoreditch. It belonged to Mr. Davis, of Whitechapel, in 1881".

Can anyone throw light on how it came from London to this isolated country church? The local schoolmaster, now retired, confirms the tradition that it is Wesley's bell.

D. W. LAMBERT

(Lebanon College, Berwick-on-Tweed).



A NEW BUST OF CHARLES WESLEY. (See Notes and Queries 1104)



A "Wesley" Chair in Tilty Parish Church, Essex

Photo by Mr. E. H. Law

1108. A WESLEY CHAIR IN ESSEX.

We have pleasure in including in this issue a picture, taken by one of our photographer-members, Mr. E. H. Law of Great Easton, of a "John Wesley chair" which is at present in the parish church of Tilty, Essex. We have nothing new to add to what is already known about this chair, namely that it was bought by a former rector of Tilty from an antique dealer in Diss, Norfolk. On the chair are carved the words "My Lord and my God. John Wesley, 1776". A label which was on the chair when it was bought mentioned "Berkhampstead, 1814", but nothing further is known of the history of this chair. Can any reader help?

Editor.

1109. THE WIVES OF CAPTAIN THOMAS WEBB AND THEIR KIN.

Professor Marvin E. Harvey¹ asks for further information about the Gilberts of Antigua. There is a detailed account of this family, with a pedigree, to be found in V. L. Oliver's *History of the island of Antigua*, vol. II (1896), pp. 12-16; but Oliver did not know of the marriage of Grace Gilbert to Thomas Webb, though he mentions her as unmarried in 1761. As only 150 copies of Oliver's *Antigua* were printed, I will show briefly the relationship of those members of the Gilbert family referred to in Professor Harvey's article.

Nathaniel (1) Gilbert, of Antigua and Barbados, married Jane Duer, by whom he had five children, including Nathaniel (2) Gilbert. After the death of Nathaniel (1) Gilbert in 1702, his widow Jane married Captain John Lightfoot, by whom she had eight children. Jane Lightfoot died in 1753.

Nathaniel (2) Gilbert, of Gilberts, Antigua, was Colonel of Militia, and Master of the Council from 1750 until his death in April 1761. By his first wife (name unknown) he had six children, including Nathaniel (3) Gilbert; Grace Gilbert, who married Thomas Webb in 1773, at Whitchurch, Shropshire; and Mary Gilbert, who became the second wife of Edward Horne, Attorney-General of Grenada, by whom she had five children, including the Rev. Melville Horne, who became vicar of Madeley, Shropshire. Melville Horne was described by Wesley as "a sound Methodist", in recommending him as a curate for Madeley in 1785 under John Fletcher.² By his second wife, Mary Lynch, widow of Peter Gaynor, of Gaynors, Antigua, Nathaniel (2) Gilbert had three more children, including Francis Gilbert, who died on 1st July 1779.³ Francis Gilbert married on 17th November 1767, at Chester, Mrs. Mary Leadbetter, whose story is to be found in the Memoirs of the late Mrs. Mary Gilbert, by her niece Henrietta F. Gilbert.⁴ This relates how she

was born at St. Albans, in the county of Hertford, on the 24th of February, 1773. She sprang from an ancient family of the name of Walsh; the death of her father when she was but three years of age materially affected the fortunes of his children; and in 1750, at seventeen, the subject of this account launched on the ocean of life, with a husband who, though twice her age, was without compass or chart, and therefore could not steer a beloved wife into the haven of peace.

However, Mr. Leadbetter was carried off by a consumption in October 1758. Mary Gilbert lived on until 21st April 1816.

¹ Proceedings, xxxiii, p. 159.

² Journal, vii, pp. 118, 253-4; Letters, vii, p. 295.

³ Journal, iv, pp. 247-8; v, p. 110; Proceedings, xxvii, p. 148.

⁴ London, 1817.

50 PROCEEDINGS OF THE WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Nathaniel (3) Gilbert, of Gilberts, Speaker of Antigua, and the founder of Methodism in Antigua, died on 22nd April 1774.⁵ He was twice married. Amongst his many children were Mary Gilbert, who died on 21st January 1768, aged 17, and was buried in St. John's churchyard, Chester; her Journal was corrected and published⁶ by Wesley, who described it as "a masterpiece in its kind. What a prodigy of a child! Soon ripe, and soon gone!" Also Alice Gilbert, whose biography has been ascribed to Wesley; and Euphemia Gilbert, from whom the Gilbert Scott family, the well-known architects, were descended.

CHARLES EVANS.

1110. JOHN WESLEY'S LETTERS: A CLARIFICATION.

In Telford's Standard Letters of John Wesley, vi, p. 347, two letters are printed—one to Samuel Bardsley and another to Samuel Bradburn. Taken together, the notes of Tyerman and Telford point to some confusion as to who was the recipient of these letters, which in themselves are so similar as to have actual sentences in common.

Now an autograph copy has turned up in the Lamplough Collection in the City Road Archives which appears to settle the issue. Here is the full text:

Dear Sammy,

Edinburgh June 19, 1779.

I suppose John Atlay has paid the Money. He is cautious to an Extreme. I hear what angry men say or write: But I do not often regard it. I think S. Ward & Malenoir counsel you well: I love you the better, for your loving Them. Lemonade will cure any Disorder in the bowels (whether it be with or without Purging) in a day or two. You do well to spread the Prayer Meetings up & down: They seldom are in vain. Honest And. Dunlop writes me word That ye Bookmony is stollen. Pray desire him to take care that ye Knave does not steal his teeth! I am with kind Love to my Dear Betsy, Dear Sammy.

Yr Affectionate Friend & Brother

J. WESLEY.

Unfortunately, the sheet which would have contained the address is missing from this autograph. Had it been there, it would have settled once and for all whether "Dear Sammy" was Bradburn or Bardsley. But the final greeting "my Dear Betsy" indicates without any doubt that the recipient was Samuel Bradburn. We do not know, of course, whether Telford had before him two letters or one, but the present evidence seems to point to his having two incomplete copies of the original which is printed above.

EDITOR.

1111. SITE OF THE MOST SOUTHERLY METHODIST CHURCH IN IRELAND.

In the townsland of Ballydevlin, approximately eight miles west of Schull and eighty miles west of Cork, are the Ballydevlin cross-roads, a half-mile or so east of Goleen on the Mizen Head road. Travelling west, there is a sharp left-hand bend on the road about one hundred and fifty yards past a smithy with a road branching off to the right. Facing the

6 Chester, 1768.

8 Bibliography, No. 292.

⁵ There is an account of him by E. W. Thompson: Nathaniel Gilbert, Lawyer and Evangelist (Epworth Press, 1960).

⁷ Journal, v, p. 253; Green's Bibliography, No. 250.

traveller as he rounds the corner is the farmhouse of the Downey family, and on the left side of the road just round the corner is a neat house that once belonged to a well-known Methodist in these parts, William Connell. It was probable that it was under William Connell's leadership that the Ballydevlin church was built, for it is but a stone's throw from the back-yard of his house. It was in William Connell's house that Methodist meetings took place over the greater part of the nineteenth century. So vague are local memories (the result of newspaper-reading?) that fairly exhaustive inquiries among men who actually helped in the construction of the church failed to arrive at the exact date of its building. But if it is fixed at 1899 it will not be far out.

The exact site is on top of a rock on which stands an electricity supply pole about a hundred yards from the corner on the Schull side, on the left-hand side of the road going west. Only the most careful examination of the fence (called a "ditch" in these parts) will reveal the site of the gate. Once inside the fence, the remains of the stone steps leading up to the church (about twenty-five in all) can be found easily enough with the help of a stick, for it is all overgrown with bracken, brambles and gorse. Similarly, the foundations of the church on the rock can be discovered after a search under the bracken and moss. It was a perfect site for a church, with the Hill-of-the-Fairies (Knocknaphuca) to the north and the Atlantic ocean to the south. But it was found impracticable to maintain it after the decline in the Protestant population in the 1920s, and so it was abandoned in the 1930s, and sold to a local builder, who demolished it, presumably for its stone and slate, etc.

Services were held there every Sunday afternoon, ministers from the nearby circuits and local preachers occupying the pulpit. Seven or eight families from the district and regular visitors from a little further afield made a congregation on most Sundays of upwards of thirty souls. Sankey's hymns were used, and the services were bright as well as devotional. Before "tackling" the horses (stabled in a lean-to on the right-hand side of the gate), and departing for tea, the little congregation would exchange news and greetings, having strengthened each other's hands in worship.

Perched on top of the ruins of Dunmanus Castle, some five or six miles to the north-west on the shores of Dunmanus Bay, stands the bust of a man. Inaccessible to anyone in his senses, it had to be observed through a pair of field glasses. The features were not those of any notable patriot, and inquiries revealed that it was the bust of William Connell of Ballydevlin, taken from outside the house that once was his by some local youths, and placed where it is likely to remain for some time. It is interesting to reflect that the bust of a great Methodist layman of the nineteenth century now surmounts the ancient castle of the O'Mahony.

Thomas E. Warner.

1112. Information wanted about Emily M. Bryant.

I recently purchased a book called *The North Sea Lassie*, and *Other Stories*, by Emily M. Bryant (London: C. H. Kelly, 1900). The three stories are set in Lincolnshire, and the characters are Methodists. The author also wrote *Kitty Lonsdale and Some Rumsby Folk*, *Jack*, *Norma*, and at least six stories for children, all published by C. H. Kelly. I believe Emily M. Bryant to have been a Horncastle lady, but would be very grateful if any member could provide further information.

Terence R. Leach.

1113. ACADEMIC THESES ON METHODIST HISTORY.

At the Annual Meeting of our Society it was pointed out that year by year at universities and teacher training colleges theses are presented on various aspects of Methodist history, and that it would be of value if they could be listed in the *Proceedings*. It was readily acknowledged that the initial difficulty would be that of locating these works. However, according to such information as we receive, we shall be pleased to compile and publish periodical lists of these academic exercises. It may be opportune at this time to say that if any student has a copy of his thesis to spare and is seeking a permanent home for it, we at the Methodist Archives and Research Centre would be pleased to find a place for it on our shelves.

We therefore present the following initial list:

- "Eschatological Doctrines in the writings of John and Charles Wesley"
 —Rev. J. Cyril T. Downes (Edinburgh University Ph.D., 1960).
- "John Wesley and the Christian Ministry. The Sources and Development of his Opinions and Practice"—Rev. Altert B. Lawson (Durham University M.Litt., 1960).
- "Cornish Methodism: A study in Division, 1814-1857"—Rev. Michael S. Edwards (Birmingham University M.A., 1962).
- "The Development of Methodist Architecture in England"—Mr. Alfred J. Rowe (R.I.B.A. Final Examination, 1962).
- "The Architectural Expression of Methodism in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries"—Rev. George W. Dolbey (Manchester University M.A., 1962).

We would welcome details of any successful thesis accepted either for a university degree or as an exercise in a teacher training college, for inclusion in future lists.

EDITOR.

We are always pleased to receive brochures of local church celebrations, for generally a good deal of patient research goes to the making of these productions. They frequently record facts and figures of local history which otherwise might suffer undeserved oblivion. We have four such handbooks to mention, and are glad to commend them with price and vendor:

Higham Ferrers (Diamond Jubilee)—Mr. G. Williams, 18, Bryant Way, Higham Ferrers, Northants, 2s. 6d.

Chilwell (Church Opening)—Mr. Wyn Davies, 2, Norman Close, Chilwell, Beeston, Notts, 2s. 6d.

South Shields, Baring Street (Diamond Jubilee)—Mr. P. P. Currie, 31, High Meadow, South Shields, Co. Durham, no price stated.

Bristol, Clifton Victoria (Centenary Souvenir)—Mr. Howard B. Roberts, 21, Ormerod Road, Stoke Bishop, Bristol, 9, 3s.

One of the articles in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* for April 1963 is entitled "The Beginnings of Puritan Covenant Theology", by Jens G. Moller, and may be of use to those who are interested in the origins of the Covenant Service. . . . We also have received copies of *The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* for May 1963. *The Amateur Historian* (Spring 1963), and the Lady Day issue of *Archives* (The Journal of the British Records Association).