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JOHN WESLEY'S WILL

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In writing
Firstly, I give to each of those ^{Prachers} who shall
remain in the connexion, viz. 75 or 100 after my decease, as a
little token of my love, the eight volumes of ^{sermons}

I appoint John Horton, George Wolfelt, ^{Wm. Warr}
afore said to be the Executors of my last Will and Testament.
For such trouble they shall receive no recompence till the Reformation
of the Church.

Witness my hand & seal this
John Wesley

20 Feb. 1789

Signed Sealed and delivered
by the said Testator as and for
his last Will and Testament in the
Presence of us - - - - -

Wm. Clulow
Eldred Clulow

Should there be any part of my Personal Estate
undisposed of by this my Will I give the same unto my
two Nieces Elizabeth, Ellison and Susannah Collet equally

Witness
Wm. Clulow
Eldred Clulow

John Wesley

JOHN WESLEY'S WILL.

Last December it occurred to Mr. Stanley Sowton that it might be interesting to look up John Wesley's Will at Somerset House, exercising the right possessed by any member of the public whereby, on payment of a small fee, the actual will of any testator, whose full name and date of death are known, can be seen there.

The following passages are adapted from the article Mr. Sowton contributed on the subject to the *Methodist Recorder*.

Imagine the thrill that was mine when I received from the officials of the Principal Probate Registry, and for a few minutes actually handled, the *Last Will and Testament of John Wesley, Clerk, sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford*. It consisted of two and a half double sheets of paper, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, closely and neatly written, edge to edge, on both side, all in John Wesley's writing with his well-known signature thrice repeated. There were numerous excisions and interlineations, none of them initialled. There was an impression in black sealing-wax of John Wesley's seal, bearing his monogram, and the words, Believe, Love, Obey. The caligraphy was particularly legible for that of an old man of eighty-six.

Mr. Sowton on a later occasion took Mr. Chester Barratt, solicitor, with him to inspect the will. Mr. Barratt called attention to the fact that the Codicil in which Wesley disposed of his residue is not in Wesley's writing but in that of William Clulow, the solicitor who, with Eliza Clulow, witnessed the document. This fact suggested to Mr. Barratt that Wesley had overlooked the necessity of making such a provision.

"I give all my manuscripts to Thomas Coke, Dr. Whitehead and Henry Moore." Originally, as appears in the photograph taken by Mr. Sowton, the second name of the three was that of Alexander Mather. That change of mind on Wesley's part had serious consequences, as those well know who are acquainted with the dispute that subsequently arose in connection with the use of Wesley's papers.

The will is printed in full in the eight volumes of the *Standard Journals*, where it is stated that the original at Somerset House was consulted to secure accuracy.

This last will was not the first. The duty of testamentary provision early impressed itself upon Wesley as his responsibilities in respect of Methodist property increased. In 1747 he rejoiced that his will was made and the "Houses" settled.

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On 27 April 1768 he made a detailed will which Tyerman (J. W. iii 15-17) compares point by point with the final document. About a dozen years ago a notice appeared in the press that this will of 1768 had been presented to the Wesleyan University, Middleton (Conn. U.S.A.) by Acting President Stephen H. Ollin. The notice concludes "while the will is not the final testament of Wesley, it is probably the only one written in the methodical handwriting of the testator." It would be interesting to know how such an erroneous idea arose.

Mr. James B. Thornley, of Nottingham, a native of Macclesfield, has interested himself in the personality of Wesley's legal adviser, William Clulow. It is strange, says he, with what slight references Methodist historians have passed him by. The following particulars, carefully verified by Mr. Thornley, will be of interest to our readers.

William Clulow was the elder son of John Clulow of Macclesfield, a master-baker, and Elizabeth his wife. The mother was one of John Wesley's earliest converts in Macclesfield about 1748, and was a pioneer in Methodist advance in that town, maintaining her devoted services till her death in 1793. When the Methodists ventured in 1764 to erect a new preaching-room, Mr. John Ryle, grandfather of Bishop Ryle of Liverpool, gave the ground and materials on condition that Elizabeth Clulow would pay the workmen their wages. She did so.

William Clulow practised as a solicitor from 1783 to 1811, removing from Macclesfield to London at a date which is not stated, but probably at the beginning of his legal career. He died in London in 1811. Wesley evidently had great confidence in him, arising no doubt out of his acquaintance with his parents. In addition to his services in connection with Wesley's Will he drafted the "Poll Deed" of 1784, and attested it. In 1787 he advised that all Methodist Chapels and Preachers should be licensed.

John Clulow, the younger brother, was also a solicitor and became Town Clerk of Macclesfield, residing in his native town till his death in 1830.

Mary, the only sister of these two brothers, lived and died in Macclesfield. The Macclesfield members of the family were interred, Mr. Thornley thinks, at the burial ground of Christ Church, where the Rev. David Simpson, one of Wesley's evangelical friends, was Vicar. William Clulow was interred in London.

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One interesting point remains to be dealt with. The Will is attested by William Clulow and a second witness whose signature appears as Eliza Clulow, reproduced in the *Standard Journal* as Elizabeth. Who was she? Mr. Sowton assumed that she was the wife of William Clulow, and proceeded to draw the inference that the document was signed in the solicitor's house. Rev. Benjamin Smith in *History of Methodism in Macclesfield* says, "we may reasonably suppose that she would be some near relative of the solicitor. Was the good old Macclesfield Methodist visiting her son in London at the time? If so, Mr. Wesley, who so well knew her, and highly esteemed her, would be pleased to have her as a witness to the signing." Mr. Smith, by the way, does not specifically speak of William Clulow as a Methodist, but designates him as a "God-fearing man."

Mr. Thornley has given special consideration to this matter of the lady signatory, and has come to the conclusion that no proof that William Clulow was married is at present forthcoming. This leads naturally to the further conclusion that Eliza Clulow, who signed the Will, was William Clulow's mother, Wesley's friend of forty years' standing, well-known to many of the leading preachers. Mr. Thornley thinks it is significant that Thomas Jackson in his edition of Wesley's Works describes the witness as Elizabeth, the name by which old Mrs. Clulow was always known, and not as Eliza in accordance with the signature.

"SOME ACCOUNT OF THE GRACIOUS DEALINGS OF A MERCIFUL GOD WITH A VILE SINNER."

Such is the title of an old manuscript diary which I have been reading with intense interest. I was in the hospitable home of Mr. and Mrs. J. Tucker of Shepton Mallett, when the lady of the house showed me this prized possession and allowed me to take it home. It is with her permission I send this account. The writer was a Methodist class leader and preacher who lived in the village of Ditchat, Somerset, being born in the year 1755. His account however, covers in detail only the years 1784 to 1788 and finishes in the middle of a sentence. But in those four years John Wesley visited the house of the writer four times. Wesley of course at that time was over eighty years old and venerated by all the people

of the land. So that it may not be an exaggeration when the writer says that a thousand people collected on his lawn to hear the aged preacher.

The handwriting and style of the diary show the writer to have been a man of good education and more than average intelligence. He tells us that he was brought up to be religious but fell into evil courses. But he had a lively fear of Hell. "Yea many times have thought I have felt the fire burn me ; till I have sweat abundantly and been ready to cry aloud for fear." It was with the Methodists that he found peace, and here is his description of his joining the Society :—

"I had not yet joined the Society or visited a Class-meeting, but having been often pressed by letter and otherwise, I now went and the Lord met me and blessed me there ; I continued to go and found it exceedingly profitable to my Soul. I found likewise that my soul was constantly in need of spiritual food and that for want of using this means, I had hitherto been ignorant of the devices of the Devil and easily drawn aside by temptation which I was after this more aware of and by looking to Jesus at the first approach of the enemy, I was kept from the snare and enabled to overcome ; Upon the whole I think this to be the most useful means (except preaching) that we (Methodists) enjoy ; it is instructive, it unites us together, it stirs us up to press forward ; the enemy's schemes are brought to light and defeated and our souls in general abundantly comforted and strengthened. Glory be to the Divine Wisdom who has provided such help for his poor needy creatures whilst in an enemy's country. I now resolved to cast in my lot with the poor despised people, lest I might weaken the hands of others by thus keeping at a distance. Accordingly on Wednesday the 1st of September (1784) I and my loving partner were admitted into the Society. O May the Blessed Jesus count us worthy to be numbered with His people"

The very next entry in his diary goes on as follows :—

"On Thursday the 16th of Sepr. The Revd. Mr Wesley came to my house and preached in the churchyard, (Mr. L——r having refused to let him have his Church to preach in) to about 900 people and again next morning to about 300 ; May the Lord increase the number of believers daily. I was much blessed at Castle Cary, Friday 17th under Mr Wesley's sermon and continued happy till Sunday Evening 19th when my peace was a little disturbed but I overcame it by prayer" ¹

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A little later the following entries occur :—

“Oct. 4th, At Class and very happy, seeming more determined to press forward than ever, O Lord assist me.
6th My happiness was of short duration, for I was this day sorely beset with Pride and tempted to hate the people of God and never more go among them, Satan telling me they showed me no respect etc. Also he would have me to believe that I should not be able to get through all the difficulties in my way; therefore I had better to give up at once and enjoy the world; The temptation was so strong for some time that I had no power or desire to call upon God nor bend my knees before Him: However at length I fled to the Lord for help, he heard and delivered me and my soul was again filled with love and peace. Thanks be to the God of my salvation, I now found more love to the people than I ever before had and a determined resolution never to leave or forsake them.”

We can of course only transcribe a few extracts from this interesting manuscript. The writer describes a variety of troubles; his creditors press him because he is a Methodist, he suffers from gout, he is afraid to pray in public, he is criticised by his friends, on one occasion an enemy of the Methodists comes into the meeting with a pair of butcher's phlemes and an open penknife swearing that he will bleed the Methodists. From this man however the Magistrate grants them protection.

We pass on to the next visit of Wesley :—

1785 “Aug. 15th Very happy under Mr. Wesley's sermon at Cary this day; from whence I went to Shepton with him where he again preached and administered the Sacrament, when the Lord gave me comfort and strength in my soul. O God spare thy aged servant for a few more years for the good of the church I beseech Thee.

Sept. 2nd The Dear Old Servant of God, Mr. Wesley came to my house and in the evening preached to a large congregation and afterwards met the Society which was a comfortable season indeed.

3rd. The Dear Man preached again at 5. in the morning when we had a solemn season, the Lord being very present in the assembly.”

Wesley's Journal under Sept. 2nd reads :

“Thence we went on to Ditcheat. The people here are all attentive; so that I had nothing to do but apply the promises. The Society is continually increasing and more and more of the hearers are convinced and justified.”

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Wesley evidently liked to visit Ditchat, for at the end of the month he is there again and the diarist writes:—

“Sept. 30th. Our aged Father in the Gospel once more visited us this day; He preached in the evening to a goodly company (though the wet hindered many), the word was attended with power, many wept and trembled under the sermon. But at the meeting of the Society the presence and power of the Lord was sensibly felt by all whilst the dear man prayed with uncommon fervency of spirit and strength of voice a long time. Help us to look for the answer at Thy hand, O Lord who alone canst satisfy our souls with good.”²

Oct. 1st At five in the morning Mr. Wesley was very fine and powerful in speaking from “Let us press on to perfection.” It was a blessed time and many rejoiced in the Lord. At parting he sung his farewell hymn which caused the tears to flow plentifully from many eyes. O God if we never shall be permitted to see him more in the flesh grant us a joyful meeting at Thy right hand where parting shall be no more for Jesus Christ’s sake.”³

This was by no means the last time that Wesley visited the place and there is one more description in our diary. The parents of the writer had been bitterly opposed to him as a Methodist although they gradually became reconciled and Wesley was able to visit the father a few days before he died:—

1787 Sept. 27th, “At half past five p.m. he (Wesley) preached to a large congregation (near a thousand) on the Lawn before my door from these words, “By grace are ye saved through faith.” The power of the Lord was present to apply the word spoken . . .

28th Some hundreds attended the preaching at 5 this morning when we had a solemn season together and many were melted into tears. We had a still more solemn season afterwards whilst the dear man was praying with and committing the soul of my dear dying parent into the hands of a merciful and gracious God. Many were in tears around his bed and my Father (then quite sensible) looked up with earnest expectation toward Heaven for mercy whilst Mr. W— in the most solemn manner with uplifted hands and eyes besought the Lord for him, and God in a most gracious manner condescended to hear his servant and my Father expressed himself comforted under his prayers and that he should be received into the arms of mercy thro the merits of his dear

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Lord and Saviour. Amen, Amen saith my poor soul. Many people being gathered round my house when Mr. W— returned from my Father's, he knelt down and prayed with them and left many weeping when he departed.

Under 28 July, 1786, there is the following extract :—

“Mrs G. and myself this morning set out for Bristol Conference and were in Town by 12 at Noon; we waited on Mr. Wesley who ordered Mr. Bradburn to provide us a place among some of our friends, he sends us to Mrs H—s but as the poor woman had nothing we could eat we left her house again and wandered from place to place till half past 3 before we could get any refreshment by which time Mrs G. was so fatigued that she could take nothing. At length we found out Mr W. at Mr Bullins⁴ where we were kindly received and entertained with great hospitality during our stay. Sund. 30th was a comfortable day after a troublesome one. The service began at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 at the chapel in Broadmead; Mr Wesley preached from Rom. 6. 23 a most excellent sermon. Mr Wesley (assisted by Dr. Coke and Mr Creighton) administered the Sacrament to upwards of a thousand persons. In the evening Mr Wesley again preached from Heb. 2. 3. The whole day was solemn and my soul was much comforted in the use of the means.”

The diarist is troubled by the coming of Calvinistic preachers to Ditcheat who interfered with the work of the Methodists Our last extract refers to this.

On Oct. 24th 1786 he writes :—“there was a large congregation at the church in the evening when Mr B——ph preached an alarming sermon on the 5 wise and 5 foolish virgins, I pray God it may be applied to the heart. One thing however I could not but remark; when he came to the end of the 2nd lesson, 1 Cor. 9 last verse he read thus “Lest that by any means when I have preached to others I myself should be *reproveable*,” following the old translation, the New being so contrary to his favourite doctrine that he could not read it in the face of the congregation.”

GEORGE SPOONER

1. *Wesley's Journal* 1784, 16th September

I went to Ditcheat, a village near Castle Cary, where I found a friendly, hospitable family. I preached in the evening to a numerous and earnest congregation. 17th The house would not contain half the people.

In *Proceedings v, 14* the late Rev. J. E. Winter said that inquiries on the spot led him to think that Mr. and Mrs. William Dawe, the parents of Mrs.

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Susannah Hawley Clarke, were the persons referred to. This suggestion seems to be forbidden by the record in Mr. Goodfellow's diary. But Mr. and Mrs. Dawe may have been concerned in the incident of 1789. Mrs. Clarke is often referred to by Goodfellow, and in the account of Wesley's later visits printed below.

Mr. Spooner says that the clergyman referred to in the diary as L - - r was one of a family of Lears which held the living for 270 years continuously.

2. *Wesley's Journal* 1785, 30 September.

About five [p.m.] I began at Ditcheat, where it rained almost all the time I preached; but this did not much lessen the congregation. Indeed all of this town, hardly one excepted, seem to have a liking to the truth.

3. In his *Journal* Wesley does not mention this morning service, but in the *Diary* he inserts, Heb. vi, 1, at five in the morning. This is a good illustration of the fact that marvellous as the *Journal* account of Wesley's activity is, the whole story is by no means contained there.

4. The name Bullins is plainly written in the manuscript, but reference to the *Journal* leads to the conclusion that it should be Bulgin.

Later visits of Wesley to Ditcheat are here given to complete the record.

1789. September 3. Being obliged to take post-horses at Taunton, we went on to Castle Cary. Here we found a little company of lively Christians. We found such another, Friday the fourth, at Ditcheat; but the rain drove us into the house, where as many as could squeeze in seemed to be much affected.

1790 30 Aug.

About noon I preached at Castle Cary. Since I was here God has taken to Himself that amiable woman, Mrs. Clarke, who, to a fine person and a good understanding, joined a very uncommon degree of deep religion. . . . In the evening I preached in the new house at Ditcheat. It would not hold the congregation, but many could hear at the windows, which they seemed right willing to do. A flame appears to be kindled here already. God grant it may continue and increase.

31 Aug. William Kingston, the man born without arms, came to see me of his own accord.

On this occasion Wesley apparently travelled from Castle Cary to Ditcheat in the company of Mrs. Goodfellow, presumably the wife of the writer of the manuscript. John Valton wrote an account of William Kingston in the *Arminian Magazine* 1789, p 189. He says that he breakfasted with him at Mr. Goodfellow's.

Strangely enough the diarist at no point reveals his name, but he indicates that it began with G. As he states that he was born on the 27th January 1755, there seems every reason to identify him with John Goodfellow (son of Henry Goodfellow) born on that date, the record of whose baptism Mr. Spooner found in the register at Ditcheat. The references in Wesley's *Journal* as given above go to confirm this.

EARLY METHODISTS AND THE LAW.

(FROM MR. GOODFELLOW'S DIARY, SEE ABOVE)

1785, 23rd February. We were again interrupted (by the person before-mentioned) in the meeting, so that Mr. W—ns could not proceed in his sermon; the man came in with a pair of Butchers

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Phlemes, and a penknife open, swearing he would bleed the Methodists. Finding there was many more who put this man upon doing this, we resolved to put the Law in force against him, or we found we should not be able to meet any longer in peace; for as I threatened them (being this year High Constable) with the Stocks, they said they would stab the first person that touched them on that account. Accordingly the next day we waited on a Justice, who granted us a warrant to summon the person to appear before him: He appeared on the Saturday following, when we clearly proved his having the Knife and Phlemes in his hand, by the persons who saw it, that were not of the society; as we thought them more proper evidence than our own people on this Occasion. The Magistrate severely reprimanded him and ordered him to prison, but Mr W. told the Justice we only wanted peace, therefore if the man would give a bond not to molest or disturb us again, and pay the expenses incurr'd; we would proceed no farther against him. The Justice was pleased with the Lenity we had shown the offender, and immediately ordered him to sign the Bond, and pay the Expences; at the same time telling us to come immediately to him, if any other person disturbed us; and gave me orders before all then present, to remove the Stocks, and set them opposite the preaching-house door, for the greater convenience of putting any therein, who might hereafter cause any riot, or disturbance, in our assembly: assuring me he would stand by me in the execution of my office, as far as lay in his power. Thus the Gracious God whom we serve, delivered us out of the hands of our enemies, and gave us peace, and freedom from our fears on this quarter, so that we went on uninterrupted. If the Lord is on our side (I plainly see) we need not fear what man can do unto us. I bless God, I felt nothing contrary to love and pity, for our enemies, during the whole of this transaction.

LETTERS BY DR. ADAM CLARKE.

Mr. H. F. Fallaw, of Gateshead, has kindly sent us several original letters of the great commentator. They were sent to him by the Rev. W. R. Rudd, of New South Wales. The addressee was an ancestor of Mrs. Rudd. His name was Bowen, a watch-maker, in business at various places successively in Central London. The letters relate to a troublesome watch and other business matters, but there are touches revealing Dr. Clarke's pastoral concern for one who is evidently a friend.

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Bristol, March 30, 1799.

My very dear Sir,

I thank you for your kind information, but feel sadly disappointed at finding the *motion* will cost so much—but, as you say, it must be all of a piece, or be spoil'd. For lack of such an instrument, I have lost many hours of sleep which has contributed much to cover my head with grey hairs. Could I manage to get such a machine now it might be a comfort to me as long as I live, but I really fear seriously about being able to get the money. Some of my brethren have thrown such hindrances in my way that I am afraid I shall not be able to get my Testam^t to the Press this year. It is true, I could easily borrow what money may be wanted, but I cannot bear the thought of being in Debt, it being a maxim with me, to *eat, drink and wear* just as I am able to purchase, and to take nothing on Trust.

However as I may be able to dispose of the *Copy-right* of my work (which is the poor author's last shift) I wish you to go on as well as you can. . . . The work of God goes on gloriously in several parts of this Circuit. Near Kingswood, there is almost a *whole country* converted to God, of the most profligate people you ever heard of. How great is God's mercy and goodness. My dear Sir, Cleave to Him, and give Him your *whole heart*, He will fill you with His fulness, and save you to the uttermost, for His own name sake. Give my love to good brother March,

I am,

My dear Sir,

Your's aff.ly in Xt

A. CLARKE.

Bristol, Octr 30, 1800.

My dear Brother,

May God Almighty bless you and your wife and child for ever and ever!

The seal that I left with you, I wish you to get cut according to the enclosed Pattern, only you may omit the A.C. The Device is, a lighted candle burning out. The motto *Alteri Serviens consumor. In serving others, I myself destroy.* I hope you will get it well executed.

Well, what word of the watch? Is it done, or nearly so, or is it a doing? I dare say you have had a great deal of trouble with it. Had I foreseen all, I should never have had

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it done. Take heed that you do not straighten your self for money. Mr. Buttress will provide you with what is wanting. You should not use your own cash in a business that is not likely to produce you any profit. With Love to your wife and relatives, I am, my dear Brother,
Your's affy,

A. CLARKE.

One of the letters is written to Mr. Buttress, of Spitalfields.
Manchester, April 16, 1805.

My very dear Brother,

I have once more sent you this watch—it has not gone regularly one month since I got it. Be so good as to take it to Mr. Bowen, and let him set it properly agoing, and *sell it if possible*. The half-guinea I left in your hands was for him repairing it at Conference. I sincerely hope he will be able to dispose of it. I could have sold it to a friend here, but I could not in conscience and honour put it into his hand. It stops frequently, and sometimes 5 or 6 times in the day.

I wrote to you some time ago, but received no answer. I trust in God you are well.

With heartiest love to Mrs. B. and the children,

I am,

My very dear Sir,

Yours affy. in Christ,

A. CLARKE.

TWO JOHNS.

JOHN GLAS,

1695—1773.

JOHN WESLEY,

1703—1791.

These two men were contemporaries for seventy years, and there are remarkable points of similarity and of contrast in their work as religious leaders.

John Glas was a minister of the Church of Scotland, in which his ancestors had been ministers from the era of the Reformation. John Wesley was a clergyman of the Church of England, his grandfather was one of the ejected ministers in 1662, and his father was rector of Epworth. Both were University graduates,—Glas of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, Wesley of Oxford. Both

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sought closer fellowship than that which they found in the national churches. In 1725 Glas was leader in a society of about a hundred persons, most of whom were parishioners in his parish of Tealing; others belonged to neighbouring parishes. John Wesley associated with the Holy Club in Oxford, and later with Religious Societies in London

Wesley was excluded from many of the churches because of his evangelical fervour, but he remained a clergyman of the Church until the end of his life. Glas was suspended in 1728, and deposed from the ministry in 1730. Nine years later he was restored by the General Assembly without application on his own part, to the office of a minister of the Gospel, but not to that of a minister of the Church of Scotland, because of his Congregational principles. Both Glas and Wesley sought to revive primitive Christianity, and observed the agape or lovefeast. Among the Glasites it was an ordinary dinner; with the Methodists it was more simple. The Glasites added the oriental and apostolic forms of salutation—the holy kiss, also the washing of feet, not on fixed occasions, but only when it could be of service to a brother.

The Scottish people were accustomed to an educated ministry. In 1730 Glas was convinced that a knowledge of scripture, faith in Christ, abilities for the office, and the call of the Church, after fasting and prayer, were all the qualifications necessary for the office of elder or bishop of the Church. A plurality of elders was required for a full presbytery.

On being married a second time an elder became disqualified. Prejudice and opposition were aroused when his first elder began to preach, and to administer the ordinances. Nine years before Wesley sanctioned a local preacher, Glas had gone further and placed an uneducated layman in the highest position in the Church.

The Psalms of David were sung in the churches of Scotland; no hymns were permitted; only a few paraphrases were allowed. The first hymn-book printed in Scotland was a book of Christian songs issued by Glas. They were written by himself and members of his communion. Their use was confined to the lovefeast, as the Psalms were sung in the public services. As literary compositions they are far inferior to the hymns of the evangelical churches. The lovefeast was observed every Sunday; the members took their seats by lot, and each person saluted his neighbour on his right and left hand. Absence from the lovefeast, without sufficient reason, entailed ex-communication.

In all matters relating to the Church unanimity was required.

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Nothing was decided by majority. Sometimes the lot was used ; it was held sacred, so that all games of chance, cards, etc., were forbidden. Those of the minority, if they failed to agree, were ejected. Until restored, after submission, an ejected member was regarded as a heathen man and a publican ; therefore he was forbidden the hospitality of the members of the Church. Professor Michael Faraday was cut off for dining with Queen Victoria on a Sunday, to the neglect of his duties as an elder and absence from the lovefeast. For some years he attended regularly the public service while under these disabilities, after which he was restored to membership and office.

Wesley's societies were a Connexion, a chain of churches linked together in Circuits, subject to authority, at first exercised by himself and later by the Conference. Glas's churches were Independent, "subject to no jurisdiction under heaven," yet an elder in one church was qualified to officiate in another.

Both Glas and Wesley taught their people the use of money. Wesley said, "Give all you can," Glas said, "Give all you have." He regarded thrift as covetousness. His churches maintained their own poor, for whom a collection was made at the Lord's Supper, which was observed every Lord's Day. When the collection was insufficient, a call was made upon the wealthier members for further gifts. They were not Communists, but their possessions were subject to the claims of the church. It would appear that many members conformed to Glas's high ideals ; perhaps not all. Faraday dispensed his income in charity, and in his old age occupied apartments in Hampton Court Palace.

The points of resemblance are easily recognised, but there were contrasts which cannot be disregarded. Wesley's Arminianism is prominent in his preaching, and the hymns on universal redemption have popularised the doctrine. The Glasites have no creed. They accept the Scriptures literally, wherever they can be so interpreted. The tone of their prayers and teaching indicate the doctrine of election, but not that of final perseverance.

They have no active propaganda, as they believe that the command to preach the Gospel to every creature was confined to the apostles. They believe that Christianity is to be spread by the example and influence of Christians. Therefore they refrain from religious conversation in mixed companies, but to anyone who asks them they will give a reason for the hope that is in them with meekness and fear. They have no missions, home or foreign, and no Sunday Schools, as they contend that parents ought to teach their own children. To preach out of doors would be out-

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rageous ; to use illustrations from nature, history or science would not be "comparing spiritual things with spiritual."

What may be regarded as their leading doctrine I have deferred to the close,—the doctrine of saving faith,—which consists in the simple assent of the understanding to the facts of the Gospel, just as we believe the facts of history or of daily life. This is expressed on the tombstone of Robert Sandeman at Danbury, America,—“That the bare work of Christ without a thought or deed on the part of man is sufficient to present the chief of sinners guiltless before God.” Nothing here about the trust of the heart, or recumbering of the soul on Christ. Wesley was sarcastic as he spoke of the insufficiency of a faith like this.

The writer, in childhood, attended the public services at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and later a few times in Dundee. He has before him the statistics of 26 churches in Scotland and England for the year 1768, in which it is shown that in Dundee the membership numbered 149 : Perth 100 ; London 48 ; Newcastle 17 ; Kirkby Stephen 45 ; and others, showing a total of 886. Visiting the Dundee meeting in 1922, he found 14 present, all women excepting the two men,—Messrs. Sandeman and Moir,—the first conducting the service, and the other preaching the sermon. A few small churches are not included in the above list. Adherents are not noted, but the total membership is probably the highest reached.

Robert Sandeman was John Glas's son-in-law, who adopted Glas's views, and propagated his doctrines in England and America. Hence his name has become interchangeable with that of Glas.

We cannot wonder that a sect so exclusive should decline and perish. Wesley's followers are now computed to number about forty millions,—members and adherents,—and the Glasites are reduced to two small churches, one each in Edinburgh and London.

H. F. FALLAW.

The writer of the foregoing is now in the eighty-seventh year of his age, and the sixty-eighth year of his service as a local preacher. I had the privilege of spending a few hours with him recently in his delightful study, with its orderly array of books and papers. The books can in most cases be found elsewhere by those who know how to seek them, but shelves of scrap-books and note books, compiled throughout long years, are unique. Mr. Fallaw will allow me to say, I am sure, that it is a source of joy to his

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fellow members to know that he is still able to interest himself in the researches he loves, and much other work besides.

The following notes may serve to link up Mr. Fallaw's article with Wesley's *Journal* and *Letters*. I may say that throughout these volumes, and in such other Methodist references as I have seen, the name of the Scotch minister is given as Glass. Mr. Fallaw says he possesses many Glasite books and letters, and the name is invariably spelt with one 's.'

Wesley's *Journal*, 8 March, 1741, entry in Diary: "Read Glass." John Glass or Robert Sandeman is supposed to have written an anonymous book of 500 pages against Hervey's *Theron and Aspasia*. Wesley wrote a pamphlet attacking this work with more sarcasm than logic. (Editorial note).

29 October, 1745. A young gentleman called upon one whose father is an eminent minister in Scotland, and was in union with Mr. Glass till Mr. Glass renounced him because they did not agree as to the eating of blood. (Although I wonder any should disagree about this who have read the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, and considered that no Christian in the universe did eat it till the Pope repealed the law which had remained at least ever since Noah's flood). Are not these things in Scotland also for our instruction? How often are we warned not to fall out by the way?

John Glass, born at Dundee, 1698, died in 1773. In 1727 he published a book to prove that the civil establishment of religion is inconsistent with the Gospel, for which he was deposed by the General Assembly. He gathered followers who were called by his name in Scotland, but in England were denominated "Sandemanians" from another leader. (Editorial note).

Mr. Fallaw says that Glas was born at Auchtermuchty, in 1695, and not as stated above.

Letters, iii, 231. 1 November, 1757. Here is printed a long letter, called by Tyerman a tract, really a defence of his friend, Hervey, on the subject of saving faith, in opposite to the Glassite or Sandemanian notions, that faith is a mere assent to the truthfulness of the Gospel history. Wesley's answer was short, apposite, indignant, almost savage. Mr. Green, referring to the same tract, says that Wesley held strong views of the teaching of both Glass and Sandeman.

Journal. 2 June, 1779. We went on to Arbroath. . . . The poor Glassites here, pleading for a merely notional faith, greatly hinder either the beginning or the progress of any real work of God.

F.F.B.

A LETTER FROM THE REV. BENJAMIN LA TROBE TO MISS MARY BOSANQUET.

“He had a Moravian with him much of his time,”—thus Johnson wrote to Boswell on June 28th, 1777, of the Rev. Dr. William Dodd,¹ who had been executed at Tyburn on June 27th, and imprisoned in Newgate during the preceding weeks. That this Moravian was the Rev. Benjamin La Trobe is suggested by a letter of La Trobe that in 1856, Daniel Benham² rescued from oblivion. It is dated “London, 1st. July, 1777,” and addressed to “dearest Br. Loretz, Barby.” Benham is no doubt correct in saying that it “contains information which is, probably, nowhere else recorded.” One may therefore be allowed to quote the opening sentences:—

“I herewith send you a very short account of my visits to, and the death of Dr. Dodd; and yet it has, as most of my things do, turned out much longer than I intended. However, you and the Brethren will see that my attendance upon him, has been blessed by our Saviour. My attention to him was almost too much for me. It seized upon my mind, and I actually lost strength and grew thin; but on the day of his death I became easy. The Ordinary of Newgate (Mr. Vilette), a good-natured, superficial man, has behaved very kindly and thankfully to me. He has begged my assistance to draw up an account of Dr. Dodd’s behaviour in prison, and to his end. I have been employed with him on this work, and have given way to him in some respects, that he might give way to me in others. If he make no alteration in it, but leave it as we finished it yesterday, it may be useful. I expect it will be out in a few days, when I will send you a couple of copies. On the morning of his death I wrote a short and fervent account of his happiness to Hutton, who went the next day to Kew; shewed it to the King and Queen, who were struck and pleased; and shewed it also to the Bishop of Lichfield and others; and preached upon it.

1. Some details of his career will be found, among other sources, in Tyerman’s *Life and Times* III 237-40; Jackson’s *Charles Wesley*, II 309-13; *Arm. Mag.* 1783, p. 358; Boswell’s *Johnson*, passim; the *Wesley Journals*, passim; *Encycl. Brit.* ad loc.

2. *Memoirs of James Hutton*, pp. 508-10, London 1856.

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This affair has made me more public, though I have absolutely protested against my name being inserted in the Ordinary's account, wherein I think he calls me a pious minister, or something of that sort. Several want to see me, and his (the Dr.'s) friends wish to be acquainted with me. I am persuaded that his death will preach . . . "

Some impression of the "very short account" that La Trobe enclosed may be obtained from a MS. that is in Mrs. Rainsford's possession. It is written on the four sides of a double quarto sheet; it has neither signature, nor date, nor any address; and it bears the caption "Mr. L. to Miss B." This last and the lengthy subject matter, when compared with the letter just quoted, indicate La Trobe as the author; and when compared with a letter written by Dodd and preserved in Jackson's *Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley*, II 311, indicate Mary Bosanquet as the recipient.

As yet unfortunately it has not been possible to compare the MS. with any of La Trobe's handwriting later than 1746. Meanwhile two theories occur from which it is difficult to choose. The one is to regard the MS. as La Trobe's autograph, hastily written and enclosed in a covering letter to some person other than Miss Bosanquet. The other is to regard it as a transcription made from La Trobe's autograph by someone else. Mr. Telford inclines to the former view, and Mr. Libby to the latter. But both agree that, until more decisive evidence is found, the wisest verdict is "not proven." Since there is little likelihood of the MS. having been hitherto published, it will now be quoted in full, with an occasional attempt to modernize the punctuation.

The very agreeable letter I received from you, D^r Mad^m, demanded a more speedy answer than it has been in my power to give you; & indeed I had no freedom to write much more about the Doctor, until I saw the Issue. For I had many an anxious thought about him, though I never spent an hour with him without perceiving evident traces of the work of the Holy Ghost in his heart. He was very thankful for and pleased with your last kind and Christian letter, & shew'd it to me with much Satisfaction. On the Wed. evening before his Death, as he had written to most of his friends, he said he had written to you & told you he would be among the Imortals soon. He beg'd me to give his love to you when I wrote. I spent by earnest request two or three hours with him after the order of Council for his execution. Except Sunday and one other evening, I was often pained at

spending the time in Obviating one & another difficulty, which started in his mind from the jarring letters of the day. I often reminded him of the Uselessness of entering upon speculation points, & sought to bring him to that which alone could be of use to him; and it was not hard to bring him to it. For he was broken and felt that he wanted a Saviour. By his desire I wrote him a plain and yet a very tender Letter of sundry questions, 1st. as to the state of his soul, 2nd. as to the Facts. The latter he answer'd in writing the same evening, the Former was answer'd in Conversation. He was always sorry if I came a quarter of an hour too late, as our Saviour gave him such confidence towards me that he desired no one else to attend him. He bore my Loving plainness and was glad of it, for he Said that he wanted to be search'd to the bottom. He to the end declared that he had tasted of the Saviour's Love, & that was his Sin—that he had forsaken His Love and pursued the World. He look'd justly upon this as the source of all his other sins & deviations. I could write a volume about him, but I will come to the close. I went to him as usual with M^r. Villette on tuesday evening about half after five. M^{rs}. Dodd was gone & had taken the the final leave about twenty minutes. As soon as I came in he cry'd out, "Now, my dear Friend, the bitterness of Death is past; I am now ready. The last scene is over, & thank God, happily. I have taken leave of my Friends, my dearest Friend. She behaved remarkably well; we parted as friends who were to meet again." We spent an hour together in conversation, and our Lord was present with us. He said a beam of light had broke in upon his soul; he was clear he should go to our Savior, and all his words were full of truth and Grace. Among other things he said, "My D^r. Friend, you will think of me to-morrow evening?" I said, "I shall." "You will think of me more happily than now?" "I shall think of you as one of the redeem'd Sinners, who praised the Lamb who loved them & wash'd them from their Sins in His own Blood." He added, with a smiling countenance, "and brought me home."

M^r. Villette was then some time with us. He declared his readiness to die, beg'd the King & his counsellors might not be charged with cruelty. The King was humane, but Justice & love to the nation prevented his extending mercy to him. He pray'd for the King and Counsellors most fervently. His heart was fired with the love of his Saviour,

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& he pray'd for still more. At the close of our conversation we went to prayer. He shed tender tears as did M^r. Villette & I, & before we rose from our knees he said, "Lord Jesus Christ, I also am a poor Sinner who speak unto Thee, tho' unworthy. Strengthen & preserve me, have mercy upon me, & forgive me all my sins for Thy precious Blood sake, amen, amen." We wept with Sobbing. I then told him, as the lock up time was come, I would now take my leave of him—fearing I could not come in the morning, as I knew not whether I could stand it. He said he could not ask me, tho' the sight of me would be a comfort to him. Our parting was affecting. He pray'd God to bless me & mine, and desired me to give his love to his Friends, and to all who pray'd for him. The parting was too much for my Spirits. I thought of and pray'd for him much in the night, and could not refrain going to him in the Morning. He was Just coming out of the door into the yard on his way to the Chapel, between M^r. Villette & another Clergyman in their Robes. As I enter'd the yard he stept speedily to me, and Said that was kind. Another Clergyman Join'd us in the Chapel & Harris, his fellow sufferer—a Youth of nineteen years old, who had attempted to murder himself the night before. The Doctor ask'd him how he did. He was stupid & hard. They went together into the vestry & the Doctor was Gospel Minister to him, and I hope not without effect; for the young man during the two hours we were together became a new man. The Doctor many times folded his hands & pray'd, "Lord Jesus, give me my Brother who is to die with me, that as we die together, we may go to heaven together." His words to this poor youth were Concise, but powerful. At prayer and Communion he was truly Contrite, warm & devout. After Sacrament he inquired if they were ready, & said he long'd to be at home with his Lord, through whose merit alone he should be saved. He went—when called into the yard—with humble steadiness, & spoke closely & encouragingly to Harris, & to a couple of Prisoners who were at the window of the enclosure where we were; and they wept bitterly. As I saw the men coming in who were to Halter him, I told him there was one solemnity more. "What is that?" "You are to be bound." He look'd bright and said, "Yet am I free." He look'd up & said, "My Freedom is there." He said to M^r. Villette, "I am to-day a spectacle to men; I shall soon be a spectacle to Angels." He bore the

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Haltering very well & thanked the men for their kindness, as they and we around him wept. When he went into the Prison yard many genteel people were there. As he passed, they and all the Prisoners in the windows wept. He lifted up his hands & Eyes, and pray'd to God to bless them, desired them to pray for him & to take warning by him. At the door I took a final leave of him (for I could not go to Tyburn) & saw him in the Coach, and there ended our Interview here below. Mr. Villette told me he spoke most blessedly of our Saviour's sufferings & the efficacy of His Death. When he came to Tyburn, he went into the Cart directly, spake yet to his fellow sufferer, pray'd, put on his Cap, & and with a contrite assurance of our Saviour's Love, launch'd into Eternity.

Thus ended the mortal & began the never ceasing life of your old & my new friend. And I bless God for this new proof of saving grace and the power of his precious Blood. The time is elapsed. I have written more than I intended & yet not a tenth part of what I could. You may be comforted as I have been richly. Your and my fears are over & ended. May the God of all Grace keep your & my heart in the knowledge of Him. Yea, cause us to grow rich in grace & love. This is the earnest prayer of

Your affec^e. Friend & willing
Servant in Christ.

Mr. Villette's pamphlet, mentioned in La Trobe's letter to Loretz, was duly published:—"A Genuine Account of the Behaviour and Dying Words of William Dodd, LL.D. By the Rev. John Villette, London 1777."

A careful comparison establishes between the two accounts a close resemblance of both subject matter and vocabulary. Since Villette's account was written by June 30th.—two days after the execution—probably it preceded by a short time La Trobe's letter to Miss Bosanquet. And from La Trobe's letter to Loretz it seems likely that Villette, while assuming himself the responsibilities of authorship, in most particulars of the composition was dominated and overshadowed by La Trobe's wishes.

May one close with two sentences of personal gratitude? Anything of interest in this paper comes from Mr. Telford. His patience and kindness to a wearisome pupil, and not only on this occasion, are beyond sufficient acknowledgement.

R. E. KER.

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On page 51 above, there ought to be no numeral before "Mary Street." I wish to correct a mis-statement which occurs in my article printed in our June issue. See page 33 of this volume The Rev. William Brooke seems to have had three sons, of whom Robert was the youngest, Henry the second, Digby the eldest. For this information we are indebted to Mr. E. A. Baker's splendid edition of *The Fool of Quality*, p. vi. Facing p. xxxvii of the same edition is a family tree, which dates Robert Brooke's birth in 1710 and his death in 1784.

R.E.K.

WESLEY AND MISS WHATELEY'S POEMS.

In the London Quarterly Review for July, 1935, is an article by the Rev. Dr. George Jackson, which gathers together in a manner most interesting to all students of Wesley, his judgments upon books scattered up and down the *Journals*. "John Wesley as a Bookman" is an attractive title, and probably many who are fairly well acquainted with Wesley's writings will be surprised at the amount and variety of the material Dr. Jackson finds at his disposal.

Incidentally, the essayist calls attention to the fact that "occasionally, too, like smaller men, Wesley lost his critical balance and over-praised the second-rate. . . . And what shall we make of this?"

I read over a small book, "*Poems*," by Miss Whateley, a farmer's daughter.—She had little advantage from education, but an astonishing genius. Some of her elegies I think quite equal to Mr. Gray's. If she had had proper help for a few years I question whether she would not have excelled any female poet that has ever yet appeared in England. (*Journal*, 22 March 1768).

Who was this 'Miss Whateley,' and where are her poems to-day? Even Nehemiah Curnock, the learned editor of the *Standard Edition*, can tell us nothing of either." So asks Dr. Jackson. Particulars are available for a reply.

From a cutting taken by the late Rev. M. F. Ryle from *The Walsall Chronicle*, 2 June, 1923, I have gathered the following facts. The article containing them was written by the Rev. D. W. Darwall, B.A., Vicar of Walton, Warrington.

Mary Whateley was born at Beoley Hall, Worcestershire, in 1737, and in her twenty-ninth year married the Reverend John

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Darwall, M.A., Vicar of Walsall. He was much interested in music and composed a good deal, one of his hymn-tunes having attained almost world-wide fame. This tune may be found in the new *Methodist Hymn-book* under the name Darwall's 148th, the words to which it is set being, "Lord of the Worlds above." The Rev. D. W. Darwall says that it is an old tradition in the family that the author composed the tune while running up and down the steps of his old church, the fine old tune certainly suggesting active movement up and down the scale. Mr. J. T. Lightwood in *Hymn Tunes and their Story* gives some particulars relating to its earliest use.

Mary Whateley wrote at least three volumes of poetry, *Original Poems on Several Occasions*, published by R. and J. Dodsley, at Tulley's Head, Pall Mall, 1764. This book is dedicated by the author to the Hon. Lady Wrottesley, of Perton, and consists of thirty-one poems on different subjects. The names of several hundred subscribers are printed. Two later volumes with the same title appeared in 1794.

The late Rev. R. Butterworth wrote on Mary Whateley's poems in *Proceedings* xiii, 105. He quotes from one of the index volumes of the British Museum the following entries: "Whateley, afterwards Darwall (Mary). *Original Poems on several occasions*. London 1764, 8vo. Second edition, 1764. Another edition, 2 vols, Walsall, 1794 8vo. But the particulars of their contents given by Mr. Darwall seem to establish the fact that the later volumes were not merely a reprint of the former.

Mr. Butterworth quotes from the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1778 an ode entitled, "On reading Poems by Miss Whateley, now Mrs. Darwall of Walsall, Staffordshire." It is evident that Wesley was not alone in his admiration of this lady's genius.

Not on the Isis or the Thames
The Muse's walks are now confined,
Since other urns produce their gems
Invalued as the pearls of Ind,
Rich as the ruby in its raging blaze
When garish day concentrates all its rays,
E'en where tann'd labour ceaselessly ply'd
And but the Cyclops din was heard,
The Muse could their concerns divide,
Mild as the love-lamenting bird ;
When tuneful Whateley with her Lesbian strain,
Charmed every ear on Wrottesley's flowery plain . .

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Mr. Butterworth points out that Langhorne (translator of Plutarch's Lives), and Collins (author of the "Ode to the Passions") joined to weave "a garland gay" for her who could sing so sweetly. He considers Wesley's tribute to her genius well-deserved, except the comparison between her elegies and those of Gray. Perhaps, says he, her confessed disadvantages led Wesley to speak of Miss Whateley's astonishing genius "more than of the actual merit of her lays"; but that her powers were fully recognised may be gathered from the large number of Oxford scholars whose names appear in her long list of subscribers. Smooth, pleasing, and rhythmical are the adjectives Mr. Butterworth would use to describe the poems.

F. F. BRETHERTON.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

751. "AFTER WESLEY." This is the title of a study of the social and political influence of Methodism in the middle period, 1791—1849, by Dr. Maldwyn Edwards. It follows his studies of Wesley against the background of the Eighteenth Century. The book is one that will be greatly valued by students, who will find in it an unusually full bibliography on which further researches may be based. In addition to what may be called the more technical side of the book, dealing with political and constitutional matters, there is given a picture of the Methodist of the period in his social environment which no one interested in Methodist life and witness can read without interest.

In the concluding paragraphs of a very favourable review of "After Wesley," *The Expository Times* (December 1935) makes an interesting remark. "Without questioning the value and importance of such studies, we cannot help wondering why young Methodist scholars are so much absorbed in the social aspects of their history. When shall we be in a position to welcome a study of the doctrinal contribution of Methodism to the Church Catholic?"

We venture to suggest that the ground has not been left altogether untilled. For the *New History of Methodism*, 1909, Dr. H. B. Workman wrote an introduction on "The Place of Methodism in the Catholic Church." This was republished as a book in 1921.

Dr. Maximin Piette published in 1925, a volume entitled

La Réaction Wesleyenne dans l'Évolution Protestante. Etude d'Histoire Religieuse. This important volume was very useful to Dr. J. E. Rattenbury when he wrote his book, *Wesley's Legacy to the World*. Also bearing on the subject are Eayrs: *Wesley, Christian Philosopher and Church Founder*. Lockyer: *Paul, Luther, Wesley*.

Dr. James Hope Moulton in *A Neglected Sacrament*, 1919, has a chapter on "Methodism in the Catholic Unity." 754. RIDGWAY GATES SUNDAY SCHOOL. The opening, in 1932, of new Sunday School premises at Victoria Hall in the Bolton Mission, in memory of the late Colonel W. E. Walker, naturally aroused interest in the history of the old building the demolition of which was involved in the scheme. The Rev. C. Deane Little has bestowed thorough-going pains upon research into the subject, and has produced a booklet of seventy-six pages which is not only full of vivid interest to the reader, but also satisfactory to the serious historian. The skill with which so much information, with many appropriate illustrations, has been compressed into such a comparatively small space, is admirable.

The first chapter is entitled, "The Dawn of Methodism in Bolton." In this section, and indeed throughout, we have many hints, tantalizing, or may we say, promising, that there is a great deal of material at hand for a fuller history. Much has been written on the subject at various times, but there seems to be room for a volume which should gather up in authoritative and permanent form all that is known of the early days of Methodism in a place visited by Wesley at fairly frequent intervals throughout a long period of years.

Ridgway Gates Chapel was built in 1776, and the Sunday School opened there in 1785 was one of the earliest in the country. The first superintendent was George Eskrick, an outstanding figure for more than fifty years. Mr. Little's book is called *The History and Romance of our Mother Sunday School*, and how fully the title "Mother" is deserved is clearly shown.

The late Mr. William Barlow published a useful little book of *Recollections of Ridgway Gates Sunday School*. As the title indicates he draws rather upon his own life-long connection with the work than upon the printed records investigated by Mr. Little.