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Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

Editor : REV. WESLEY F. SWIFT

Volume XXVII

1949-50

EDITORIAL

WE confidently anticipate that the List of Members of our Society—printed as a supplement to this issue of the *Proceedings* by resolution of the Annual Meeting—will be perused with keen interest. Most of us have been working in the dark, without knowledge of the identity of our fellow-members; now at last we stand revealed to one another.

The last List of Members was issued in 1936. What changes have taken place in our ranks since then! Many honoured brethren whose contributions enriched the early volumes of the *Proceedings*, some of them founder-members of the Society in 1893, have passed away. In numbers our Society has increased out of all knowledge. And what an interesting cross-section of the religious community the membership list is: peers and parsons, Presidents of the Conference (nine out of a possible twelve) and probationers, supernumeraries and students, Anglican clergymen and Methodist laymen—all of them deeply interested in the purposes for which the Society exists. And to what distant places of the earth does the *Proceedings* go! In Australia, New Zealand, America, South Africa, New Guinea, Japan, Sweden, Germany—and many other places—our members are to be found, all sharing the same interest in the story of our Church in all its branches. What would John Wesley say could he know of this enduring and world-wide interest in his life and work, and in the history of that Methodism which, though known by various names, owed its origin to his evangelical experience and zeal?

* * *

It is fitting that we should acknowledge the kind and gracious references to the Society and its *Proceedings* in the *British Weekly* of 15th September last. The paragraph, penned by Mr. Sydney Walton, C.B.E., M.A., B.Litt., was most appreciative of the work of the Society. Says Mr. Walton: "To me the contents in each issue are rich in fascination as a hive is rich in honey, the essence of summer days stored there, the summer days of studiousness." We are grateful for this recognition in the pages of a newspaper so distinguished and influential.

A NEW WESLEY LETTER

IN the vestry of our Ardgowan Street church, Greenock, there is a letter of John Wesley to Walter Churchey which does not appear to have been published hitherto. It reads as follows:

JOHN WESLEY TO WALTER CHURCHEY

London.

Jan. 10, 1789.

My dear Brother,

There is no [po]ssible access for you or me to the Great man: He is kept quite safe, by a Guard of Physicians and Courtiers.

As to your Book, Mr. Raikes is quite in the right: It must be printed at London and it shall be printed at *my* press; I will likewise contract for the Paper. By this means you will have several Advantages. First, you are sure to have the Work well done; Secondly, It will be corrected by *my* Corrector; Thirdly, you will have only Journeyman's Wages to pay; Fourthly, you will have the Paper of my Merchants at the same price I have. So on the whole, I hope we shall save you at least half the Expense.

I am

Your affectionate Brother,

J. WESLEY.

But hold! I have another work for you to do. I believe you know old Henry Floyd, the Preacher. He lives in a little House, wch he wishes to have sold. He is told, it will bring forty Pounds. But can you tell him, How to sell it? Or sell it for him? I wou'd have it sold, for his own use.

Walter Churchey was a Brecon lawyer, a poetaster and a Methodist, with whom Wesley carried on a considerable correspondence, which is found in volumes v to viii of the *Standard Letters*.

This correspondence began in 1770 and continued until Wesley's death. Churchey was a friend of Joseph Benson, who stayed with him at the Hay after leaving Trevecka; a friend, too, as one may well imagine, of Thomas Coke, a native of Brecon; and Wesley wrote Churchey an interesting letter (*Letters*, vi, p. 267) on the subject of Coke joining the Methodists. With Churchey Wesley discussed in 1777 his plans for the *Arminian Magazine*, and criticized Cowper's "The Task": "I think Mr. Cowper has done as much as is possible to be done with his lamentable story. I can only wish he had a better subject." (*ibid.*, vii, p. 342.) To Cowper, as to Wesley, Churchey sent the MS. of his *Poems* for criticism; Cowper was less candid in his criticism than Wesley and advised him to publish if he could afford to lose on the venture. Wesley, on the other hand, gave a detailed criticism, and warned Churchey of the small public that would read his poems. Wesley himself had on his hands his brother's poems, which he seems to have felt, not unnaturally, had a prior claim to his attention and interest (*ibid.*, viii, p. 74). He felt that "the Methodists in general have

very little taste for any poems but those of a religious or a moral kind, and my brother has amply provided them with these" (*ibid.*, viii, p. 107).

So little encouragement did Wesley give that Churchey even wondered whether to burn the poems (*ibid.*, viii, p. 94); but though Wesley felt that his first duty was to his brother, and that Churchey's poems would find but few readers, he promised to render what practical aid he could. The letter printed above—which comes chronologically between the letter just quoted, dated 6th December 1788, and a later one dated 27th January 1789 which seems to complete the story of Wesley's help and interest in Churchey's project (*ibid.*, viii, p. 112)—shows how practical Wesley's aid was. Churchey was apparently gullible and easily persuaded that many would subscribe to his *Poems*. But Wesley, who had a long experience as a publisher, knew better: "Perhaps three hundred may *promise*! But we must never imagine that *all* who promise will perform"; and he urged him not to print more than five hundred copies, and to ask for part of the subscription at the time of enrolment. As Telford remarks (*Letters*, viii, p. 135): "Wesley's prudence and business sagacity contrast favourably with the lawyer's." Wesley even went to the extent of recommending the *Poems*, by endorsing Churchey's "Proposal": "Mr. Churchey is an honest attorney! Therefore he is poor, and has eight children. Give me a guinea for him, for his own sake, for God's sake, and for the sake of John Wesley." (*Letters*, viii, p. 122.) The *Poems* were finally printed in August 1789.

The "Great man" is William Cowper—see the letter of 6th December 1788 (*ibid.*, viii, p. 107)—who had just achieved fame with "The Task", and who was then at work on his "Iliad", finding that literary occupation helped to ward off his melancholy. "Mr. Raikes" is, of course, Robert Raikes, the Sunday school pioneer, who figures more than once in the *Letters*. Henry Floyd, mentioned in the postscript, was a Welsh preacher (cf. *Letters*, vi, p. 359); this scheme to help him came to nothing as apparently Floyd could not produce deeds to show that the house was his (*ibid.*, viii, p. 134).

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

As we go to press, there comes to hand a copy of *Early Methodism in Yarm*, by the Rev. John Wright (pp. 32, 2s. 6d.). The story of this old Octagon chapel (built in 1763/4) has long been overdue for telling, for it is the oldest Methodist octagon in the world and the second oldest chapel to be in continuous use for Methodist worship. At one time Wesley recommended it as a model of what an Octagon ought to be. Mr. Wright has told the story well and has tracked down many obscure details of considerable interest. This little book with its carefully-chosen illustrations will take its place as an authentic and accurate "local history". Copies may be obtained from the author, at Croft Villa, Eaglescliffe, Stockton-on-Tees.

JOHN WESLEY AND SARAH CROSBY

ILLUSTRATION: A Page from Sarah Crosby's Letter-book, facsimile size. The illustration shows the copy of a letter from Mrs. Crosby to John Wesley, transcribed in her own handwriting.

THERE seems little reasonable doubt that Mrs. Sarah Crosby was the first authorized woman preacher of Methodism, and she was certainly one of the main causes of John Wesley's wife leaving him in a fit of jealousy. It is not surprising, therefore, that no less than twenty-four letters from John Wesley to her have been preserved, ranging from 14th June 1757 to 4th June 1789. Of these, twenty-one have been published in John Wesley's *Standard Letters*, one in *Proceedings*, xix, pp. 173-4, and the other two have been preserved by Sarah Crosby herself, in her letter-book, in the possession of the present writer.

Very little is known about the domestic life of Sarah Crosby. We do not know (for certain) where she was born, her maiden name, when or where she was married, or what became of her husband. And only with some difficulty can the salient features of her religious experience and public service be disentangled. She was one of the many good Methodists of the eighteenth century who successfully set out to disguise personal details in favour of generalized piety—thus tantalizing the historian, though from thoroughly praiseworthy motives. She was born, apparently in the Leeds area, on 7th November 1729 (New Style),¹ and converted on 29th October 1749.² Soon afterwards she seems to have gone to London, where she heard George Whitefield, who was there from November 1749 to January 1750. In February 1750 she heard John Wesley at the Foundery, just before he left for Ireland,³ and on his return in October joined the Foundery Society, receiving her class-ticket from John Wesley himself. During his absence she had married the man who had introduced her to Wesley's writings, and had begun to seek entire sanctification, being especially helped by Charles Wesley's hymns and preaching. About 1752 she became assured that eventually she would be granted entire sanctification, and about the same time she became a class-leader. Her autobiography⁴ also contains hints

¹ *Methodist Magazine*, 1806, p. 611, correcting Ann Tripp's statements on p. 616.

² *ibid.*, pp. 420-1. Cf. p. 611, correcting p. 616 as to the date of her spiritual birthday.

³ *ibid.*, p. 422, where she says that she went to hear Wesley "about eight months after I had found peace with God. . . . Mr. W. was just then going to Ireland, and I heard him no more for eight months". There is obviously some mistake here, since Wesley left London for Ireland in February 1750 (rather more than three months after her conversion) and returned (eight months later, as she says) in October. The simplest explanation seems to be that her manuscript dated her first hearing of Wesley as "3 months" after her conversion, and that this was subsequently misread as "8 months" and printed as "eight months"—a not unnatural thing with her handwriting.

⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 418-23, 465-73, continued by extracts from her diary, 517-21, 563-8, 610-17.

of some estrangement from her husband, and on 2nd February 1757 he seems to have deserted her.⁵ In May of that year Mary Bosanquet came into her life,⁶ and in June her correspondence with Wesley recommenced.⁷ She seems to have moved about to various London lodgings during this year,⁸ but soon settled down in Christopher's Alley, Moorfields, where she lived with Mrs. Sarah Ryan, Mary Clark, and (from time to time) Mary Bosanquet.⁹ On 24th March 1763 Mrs. Crosby, Mrs. Ryan, and Mary Bosanquet removed to Leytonstone, where they started the well-known orphanage, removing to Leeds in 1768. Here Mrs. Ryan died soon after their arrival, but her place in the trio was taken by their governess, Ann Tripp.

Long before this, however, Sarah Crosby had taken her first steps as a Methodist preacher. Her spiritual experience was one of ecstatic ups and downs, and occasionally John Wesley had to chide her because she imagined that it was impossible to lose the heights she had gained. Experience joined with John Wesley to teach the foolishness of this notion. In 1757 she had apparently felt consciousness of receiving "the second blessing" of holiness, or perfect love. She described this experience in a letter to Wesley a short time afterwards:

The Lord shewed me . . . what a little thing it was for him to take the root of sin out of my heart. I feared to believe he had done it. . . . The next day I could not help believeing, God had taken full possession of my heart. . . . I felt my soul as a vessel emptied, but not filled. Day and night I was amazed at the blessed change my soul experienced; but I said nothing to any one, because I was not, as yet, sure what the Lord had done for me; though I had always promised, if the Lord would but fully save me, I would declare his goodness, although I believed it would expose me to various exercises, both from Ministers and people.¹⁰

This reads as if she had already experienced something of a call to preach, but had interpreted it as being conditional on her first achieving entire sanctification.

The convert's desire to tell others of her experience certainly was accentuated when she reached a more intimate knowledge of

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 564. The diary extract reads "Feb. 2, 1773. It is sixteen years this day, since my husband went from me, and from that time I have believed I should see him no more in this world. . . ." Previous writers all seem to have assumed that this implied the death of her husband, so that she became a widow on 2nd February 1757. It surely follows from her uncertainty about seeing him in this world, however, that he had in fact left her in the sense of deserting her, and one or two hints of previous misunderstandings support this.

⁶ H. Moore: *Life of Mrs. Mary Fletcher* (1817), i, p. 20.

⁷ No traces are left, so far as we know, of their previous correspondence, but it seems to be implied in Wesley's words: "I was concerned at not hearing from you for so long a time, whereas I would not willingly pass a fortnight without it." (*Standard Letters*, iii, p. 216.)

⁸ On 1st July Wesley addressed her "At Mr. Kent's, Bricklayer, In the Tenter Ground, Near Upper Moorfields, London."

⁹ Moore's *Life of Mrs. Mary Fletcher* (1817), i, p. 23.

¹⁰ *Methodist Magazine*, 1806, pp. 471-2.

salvation.¹¹ But there was to be at least one other landmark to be passed in her spiritual pilgrimage before she proceeded from testimony in her class-meeting and among her friends to the more public witness of preaching. In her letter-book, on a page all to itself, dated March 1760, she thus describes this fuller revelation:

O thou Lover of Truth & uprightness Instruct me: guide thou my Pen that in naked simplicity I may record Thy late dealings with my Soul. Who after many a Winters Night & Summers Day has brought me to a Period, even to make one hearty renunciation of *all! all! O!* what doth that imply? Words can't describe, but I am determined to be all the Lord's, yea and My God hath taken me for His own forever. . . .

Angels Praise My Lord, & ye His Saints adore Him: Who is the faithful, faithful God! the Everlasting Jehovah! My Husband, Brother, Friend, My Lord, My Life, My Love! . . . Words are to[o] Mean to Set forth Thy Praise; but to *Love*, suffices *Love*.
S.C.

She was now ripe for preaching, and the occasion for this was not long delayed. Leaving London for Derby in January 1761 with one of her converts, Mrs. Dobinson, they had a class-meeting in operation very quickly, twenty-seven people being present on Sunday evening, 1st February. The following Sunday, however, the number had increased to two hundred, her diary recording her embarrassment:

I found an awful, loving sense of the Lord's presence, and much love to the people: but was much affected both in body and mind. I was not sure whether it was right for me to exhort in so public a manner, and yet I saw it impracticable to meet all these people by way of speaking particularly to each individual. I therefore gave out an hymn, and prayed, and told them part of what the Lord had done for myself, persuading them to flee from all sin.¹²

Immediately she wrote asking John Wesley's ruling on this unorthodox procedure. He does not seem to have been unduly worried, for his answer was not despatched until three days after he had received her letter, on 14th February:

My dear Sister,

Miss Bosanquet gave me yours on Wednesday night. Hitherto, I think you have not gone too far. You could not well do less. I apprehend all you can do more is, when you meet again, to tell them simply, 'You lay me under a great difficulty. The Methodists do not allow of women preachers; neither do I take upon me any such character. But I will just nakedly tell you what is in my heart.' This will in great measure obviate the grand objection and prepare for J. Hampson's coming.¹³ I do not see that you have broken any law. Go on calmly and steadily. If you have time, you may read to them the *Notes* on any chapter before you speak a

¹¹ See her letter to John Wesley of 26th January 1773 (part of which is quoted below), in which she described how she laboured "to shew all with whom I convers'd, the way of Faith more perfectly".

¹² *Methodist Magazine*, 1806, pp. 517-18.

¹³ Actually Hampson did not go to Mrs. Crosby's relief, but an unknown preacher, Mr. G—h. *ibid.*, p. 519.

few words, or one of the most awakening sermons, as other women have done long ago.¹⁴

This seems to have been the beginning of Wesley's acceptance of women preachers, though for many years he shied from the title "preacher". In 1769 he told Mrs. Crosby:

Even in public you may properly enough intermix short *exhortations* with prayer; but keep as far from what is called preaching as you can: therefore never take a text; never speak in a continued discourse without some break, about four or five minutes. Tell the people, 'We shall have another *prayer meeting* at such a time and place.'¹⁵

In 1771 he was ready to give way a little in agreeing that her discourses should be based on Scripture:

Reading a chapter or part of one and making short observations may be as useful as any way of speaking.¹⁶

At last, in 1777, he became explicit on the subject of women preachers, even against what seemed to be a clear ruling of the Scriptures against women speaking in the church (1 Cor. xiv. 34-35):

The difference between us and the Quakers in this respect is manifest. They flatly deny the rule itself, although it stands clear in the Bible. We allow the rule; only we believe it admits of some exception.¹⁷

Not that Sarah Crosby's widespread public labours had been held up in the interval. Indeed, in that same year of 1777 her diary gives us our one clear glimpse of her manifold preaching activities:

Wednesday, Dec. 31, 1777. . . . Thou hast enabled me, from the first of last January to the fourth of this month, to ride 960 miles, to keep 220 public meetings, at many of which some hundreds of precious souls were present, about 600 private meetings, and to write 116 letters, many of them long ones: besides many, many conversations with souls in private. . . . Since the 4th I have employed myself chiefly in retirement, and in assisting the little flock at Whitby.¹⁸

Although Wesley inevitably discussed the important issue of women preachers with Sarah Crosby, most of his letters to her were on matters of Christian experience rather than ecclesiastical polity. This is true also of all the letters preserved by Mrs. Crosby in the neat little duodecimo volume, calf-bound, gilt-tooled, and clasped, into which she copied her most important correspondence. From this we now transcribe two unpublished letters of John Wesley to her, together with extracts from one of her own to him:

JOHN WESLEY TO MRS. SARAH CROSBY

My dear Sister,

Yours I rec.^d an hour ago, at my return from B[edford]. I am glad you was at W[hitb]y and Scar[borough], and that you spoke to Mr. B——n.¹⁹

¹⁴ *Standard Letters*, iv, p. 133.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, v, p. 130.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, v, p. 257.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, vi, pp. 290-1.

¹⁸ *Methodist Magazine*, 1806, p. 567.

¹⁹ "Mr. B——n", might have been John Bredin, one of Wesley's preachers then stationed in the Yarm Circuit, though probably some other Methodist of standing is intended. The effective disguise is the work of Sarah Crosby—even in her private letter-book!

Do you see Christian Perfection now in the same light you did Twenty or Ten Years ago? In the same that it is describ'd in the Th[ough]ts upon Perfection, or in the Plain Account? And do you experience *now* what you did *then*?

I am, My Dear Sister,

Yr Affect[iona]te Brother

L[ondo]n

J. W[ESLE]Y.

Oct. 18, 1772.

This was asking for the floodgates to be opened. Sarah Crosby replied at great length, with another summary of her spiritual history, in a letter commencing:

Cross Hall, Jany. 26, 1773.

Very Dear & Hon.^d Sir,

I own I have been long silent to yr Important Questions; tho' not for want of regard, but Travelling, and many engagements, Prevented my having the Quiet, undisturb'd Time for Reading over the Plain Acct. of Perfection, &c., which I thought was quite needful, in order to answer you justly, & particularly.

Courageously she pointed out that Wesley should not have written that even the most perfect needed the help of Christ in their "Actual Transgressions", but rather in "their Transgressions through Ignorance". She then went on to describe how for years she herself had sought for that "perfection, that would save me from every natural Infirmity, & every Deviation (tho' thro' Ignorance) from the Perfect Love of God", until at length:

Jesus shew'd me, that as He had answered for my Actual transgressions, in His own body on the Tree; So he had answered for my Original Sin; & for every *Deviation* from His perfect Law. He then gave my Heart a power to believe Him thus my whole Saviour; which I never co[ul]d do before: & now I felt a peace come into my soul superior to *all* I had ever known: & which I co[ul]d not tell how to explain, till it came as tho' some one had spoke: It is the Peace that rul'd the Heart of Christ, in the Days of His flesh.

Her experience, of course, had not remained at that high level, and she did not try to disguise the fact. In spite of fluctuations, however, she was able to end her letter with the claim that her Saviour was still all in all to her:

I have no persuits, nor wishes, but to please Him, & no fears but to offend Him. I wou'd Live to do his *will*, or I w'd Dye to see *Him*. He knows I love Him, with a measure of the same Love wherewith He *has*, & *does* love me. . . .

As one intirely unworthy your notice, Dear Sir, I commend myself to your Prayers; wishing you all the blessings of the New Covenant, with Long Life, & Life everlasting.

I remain with all Due Respect, in Divine Bonds,

Yr Aff[ectionate]ly Obedient Child & Servant,

S. CROSBY.

a copy of a letter to Mr. W.

I thank you Dear Sir for another proof of yr. care for my soul in the many inquiries you make de. grs: I bless the Lord His grace is sufficient to make me answer with out hesitation every question you propose. I have for some months past injoid such a continu^{ed} of the Presence of my beloved as makes me feel I am less than the least of His mercies the Sights of Xt. crucified the beholding Him by faith who is fiercer than the Sons of Man prevents the touch of Aids, & makes me hate even the garments spotted by the flesh I find this approbation never makes me high-minded rather I rejoice unto himth. reverence & whomen GOD is not immediately concerned I receive not testimony any from man I am learning to live in the will of GOD He teaches me to delight my self in Him and at present I feel I cannot be displeas'd with his choice nor desire ought but His doing He deals tenderly with my soul indeed Sir Jesus is unspeakably Precious. words are to mean to speak His worth to mean to let the doer out forth. He daily makes new Discoveries of his grace & Power & every fresh Manifestation more effectually unites my heart to Himself. Glory be to GOD Most High! J.C.

Wesley's answer is characteristic in its brevity. Mrs. Crosby's objection to the phrase in his *Plain Account of Christian Perfection* was accepted as just—though it was not corrected in future editions.²⁰ Best of all, however, is the concise definition which he gave her of that same perfection:

JOHN WESLEY TO MRS. SARAH CROSBY

Feb. 3, 1773.

My Dear Sister,

You judge right. I mean 'Transgressions thro' Ignorance, Now intail'd upon every Child of Man'. I see more & more the Absolute Necessity of always thinking & speaking of Perfection in the most *Simple Manner* possible: otherwise crafty opposers will puzzle us without end. It is nothing more, nothing less, than Pure Love, Humble, Gentle, Patient Love filling the Heart & ruling the Life. Keep to this at all Times, and with all Persons, and let it possess your whole Soul. Then neither Devils nor Men can get any advantage over you.

I am,

J. W[ESLEY].

Such a definition was entrusted to the right person. Sarah Crosby had been preaching for twelve years, and was to preach for another thirty, as one of the most popular and far-ranging Methodist evangelists. And always her main emphasis was upon the Christian's experience of God, so that John Wesley could pay her the tribute: "She is useful wheresoever she goes, particularly in exciting believers to go on to perfection."²¹

Most of that time (from 1768 onwards) her headquarters was in the Leeds area. After five years at Leytonstone, Mary Bosanquet and her family of thirty (including helpers like Sarah Crosby, Sarah Ryan, and Ann Tripp, dependants, and orphans) had made the arduous journey north, where after some weeks or months they finally settled at Cross Hall, near Morley, a farm-house which Mary Bosanquet had bought and enlarged.²² In 1781, when Miss Bosanquet married John Fletcher, Cross Hall was sold, and the family scattered—though all were happily settled.²³ Mrs. Crosby and Ann Tripp seem to have gone to live in a small house adjoining the Boggard House, the parent Methodist chapel of Leeds, where they headed the group of women preachers named (apparently with unconscious humour) "The Female Brethren".²⁴

On Monday, 29th October 1804, Mrs. Crosby died at the age of seventy-five, Ann Tripp writing the full account of her death for the *Methodist Magazine*. She herself was spared for nearly nineteen more years, when she joined her former comrades in the grave in

²⁰ See Wesley's *Works* (ed. Thomas Jackson), xi, p. 395.

²¹ *Standard Letters*, vi, p. 329.

²² Moore's *Life of Mrs. Mary Fletcher* (1817), i, pp. 79-86.

²³ *ibid.*, i, pp. 172-4.

²⁴ *Methodist Recorder Winter Number*, 1894, p. 64.

St. Peter's churchyard, Leeds, where the inscription on their tombstone read:²⁵

Here lies the body of
Mrs. SARAH RYAN,
Who departed this life August, 1768; aged 41.
Also of Mrs. SARAH CROSBY,
Who entered with perfect peace into the joy of her Lord,
October 29, 1804; aged 75.
A mother in Israel hath she been, and her works
shall praise her in the gate.
Beneath this stone is interred the
Body of ANN TRIPP; aged 78 years,
Who departed this life
Sept. 16, 1823.

FRANK BAKER.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 65. The Rev. Wesley F. Swift has pointed out the discrepancy between Ann Tripp's account of Mrs. Crosby's death as given in the *Methodist Magazine* for 1806, and the inscription on her tombstone, as recorded in the *Methodist Recorder Winter Number* for 1894. The latter states that she died on 29th October, the former gives "October 24, 1804, on the eve of her spiritual birth-day", the context implying that it took place on a Monday evening. But 24th October 1804 was a Wednesday, while 29th October was a Monday, so that the "24" in the *Methodist Magazine* should be construed as a misprint which has unfortunately led to many incorrect statements. Other details confirm the date as 29th October.

It is a pleasure to give unstinted praise to two histories of local Methodism which have come our way in recent weeks. The first, *Buxton Wesley Chapel: The Story of a Hundred Years, 1849-1949*, by D. W. Woodhead (Buxton Printing Company, pp. 76, 5s.), is a model of what such a history should be. Despite its title, it ranges (inevitably) back to Wesley's first visit to Buxton in 1783, and the building of the first chapel in 1797. Indeed, this is the most valuable part of the book. These beautifully printed pages are packed with information about Buxton Methodism, and are illustrated with all kinds of drawings, photographs, facsimiles, portraits, and graphs. From the first page to the last it holds the reader's attention, whether he knows Buxton or not. Dr. Donald Woodhead, who is the society steward at Wesley Chapel, Buxton, has made this work a labour of love, and is to be heartily congratulated on a very fine achievement.

Equally worthy of commendation is *Methodism in East Leeds: Richmond Hill, 1849-1949*, by William E. Treen (privately published, no price indicated). Though conceived on different lines, its execution is in no way inferior to that of the first-mentioned booklet. Its pages are larger, its margins wider, and its covers stiffer; beyond that, we would hesitate to make comparisons. The first few pages are devoted to the inception of Leeds Methodism, with the great names of John Nelson and William Shent; the building of the Boggard House, with extracts from its Deeds; and extracts from the early account books going back to 1768. The later pages are not without their historical interest, also, for Richmond Hill was and still is one of the great chapels of the West Riding—and have not the very timbers of the Old Boggard House been built into its fabric? The familiar picture of the Boggard House is reproduced, but on a larger scale than we have seen hitherto. (Incidentally, should it be spelt "Boggard" or "Boggart"?) We are glad for many reasons to add this local history to our collection.

CHARTERHOUSE NOTES

IV. Petition of Jonathan Agutter to be Nominated a Poor Brother at Charterhouse, 1733

DURING the period immediately before his conversion on 24th May 1738 Wesley often went to the room of one of the Brothers at the Charterhouse, Jonathan Agutter. He had been apprenticed as a currier at Newport Pagnell, came to London, and in 1733 was admitted to the Charterhouse as a Poor Brother at the age of forty-four on the nomination of the Bishop of London. Agutter was a member of the Fetter Lane society.

The petition of Agutter, addressed to the Earl of Wilmington, a Governor of Charterhouse, is preserved at the school. It reads thus:

To the Right Honourable
the Lord Wilmington.

The Petition of
Jonathan Agutter of
Woollaston Northamptonshire

Humbly Sheweth

That your Lordships Petitioner is become
a poor decay'd Tradesman thro' many losses, long
sickness, and Lameness, is now reduc'd to very low
Circumstances, and is an object of your Lordships
Favour

Wherefore your Lordships
Petitioner most humbly prays that your
Lordship will be pleased, to Grant your
poor Petitioner, the Favour to be a
Pensioner in the Charter House
And your Lordships Petitioner
as in Duty bound, Shall ever pray etc.
If your Lordship is Engaged for
your next Nomination your poor
Petitioner most humbly begs the
Favour of your Lordships second.

The petition is endorsed at the foot in Wilmington's hand: "June 25th, 1733. Admitted". On the back is written: "Person's recomd. to be poor Brothers in the Charter-House" and "Charter-House — Jonathan Agutter — Poor Brother — Admitted June 25th 1733".

ROBERT BIRLEY.

[Further details of Jonathan Agutter, with an extract from the records of the Fetter Lane Moravian society, are given in *Proceedings*, xvi, pp. 38-9. He was born on 3rd February 1689, and died at the Charterhouse on 27th November, 1762. He was buried at "Sharon", the Moravian burial ground in Chelsea.—EDITOR.]

¹ E. W. Thompson, *Wesley at Charterhouse*, pp. 12-13; *Journal of John Wesley*, ii, p. 137.

SOME METHODIST NEW CONNEXION EARLY PUBLICATIONS

THE Methodist New Connexion was formed in 1797. That same year it established its Book Room in Leeds, "to supply Hymn Books, Magazines, Rules, Tickets, Minutes of Conference, and such other works as might be found needful to promote the prosperity of the Connexion". In 1807 it was removed to Manchester, and the following year to Hanley, where it remained until transferred back to Manchester in 1832. It was removed to London in 1844, and remained there, at various addresses, until the Union of 1907.

The Conference of 1798 resolved "That fifteen, or more, men of property, whose hearts are in the cause, engage as Trustees for the Book-Room"; and at the same time it was proposed that the profits should be applied "to support Superannuated Preachers and Widows; and if there be a surplus remaining, it shall be applied towards carrying on the work at large". The Book Room was placed on a Trust Deed in 1849, with thirty-six preachers and laymen as trustees. Operations at first were restricted for want of capital, but by 1821 signs of increase were seen and a balance sheet appeared. Mr. Thomas Hannam, of Leeds, was the Book Steward up to 1801, the Rev. G. Beaumont in 1802, the Rev. W. Thom from 1803 to 1811, Mr. J. Ridgway from 1812 to 1816, Mr. Thomas Allbut from 1816 to 1826, and the Rev. W. Shuttleworth from 1827 to 1843. The first mention of a Connexional Editor, as distinct from the Book Steward, is in 1841, the Rev. John Bakewell being appointed. He was succeeded by the Rev. William (later Dr.) Cooke in 1847, himself remaining as Book Steward for the next year. Dr. Cooke held the combined offices until 1869.

A perusal of the early Methodist New Connexion *Minutes of Conference* gives some idea of the publications of the Book Room at that period, for the *Minutes* began to bear advertising matter in 1800. The first advertisement appropriately announces that there is just published, "A New Hymn Book", price 1s. plain, or 1s. 2d. neat, being "A Collection of Hymns, from various authors, arranged under proper heads, intended as an Appendix to the Large Hymn Book." "In this small volume", we are told, "will be found a variety of Hymns, immediately adapted to the different parts of Public Worship—a deficiency in the Large Hymn Book which has been often lamented. Several of the most popular Hymns are also inserted."

The volume for 1801 announces the monthly publication, at sixpence, of volume iv of the *Methodist Magazine, or Evangelical Repository*. Its contents were varied and interesting:

1. A concise Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, from the days of our Lord to the present Time.
2. A Selection of the best Sermons on the most interesting Subjects of Christianity.
3. The Lives and happy Deaths of those who have died in the Lord.
4. Select pieces of Philosophy and Natural History.
5. Miscellaneous Pieces

on practical and experimental Religion.—Extracts from History, Voyages, Anecdotes, &c. 6. Letters, chiefly on Moral and Religious Subjects. 7. Select pieces of Poetry. Sold by T. Hannam, the Preachers in the New Itinerancy, and the Booksellers. Any Person who wishes to have this Work from the Beginning, may be accommodated, by applying as above.

An indication of the size of the pages is given in the note at the end of the *Minutes* for 1803: "We have printed our *Minutes* Octavo size this year, in order that our readers may, if they be so disposed, bind them up with the Magazines, and so preserve them."

The earliest issue which I possess of the *Minutes* bound in a paper cover is that for 1831. There are no advertisements after 1803, so far as I can trace, until 1833, when the back page of the cover contains a list of publications "Sold at the Book Room, Manchester, and by the Preachers of the Methodist New Connexion". They include:

"The General Rules of the Methodists of the New Connexion," in 2 parts. Price 6d. in stiff covers. 12 mo.

"An Abridgement of the Rules and Doctrines . . . with suitable directions for the maintenance of discipline, and for the advancement of practical religion among its members." Price 1d.

"Tables, showing the State and Progress of the Methodist New Connexion, up to the year 1831." In Boards, Price 8d.

"An Apology for the Methodists of the New Connexion, illustrating the Origin of the Division in 1797, its Commencement, Progress, Present State, Influence, and Prospects, with Answers to certain Inquiries." Price 6d., or 4s. 6d. per dozen to give away.

"A Form of a General Deed." Price 1s.

The Hymn Books, both Wesley's and the Appendix, used by the New Connexion, of various sizes and prices.

The Note is added: "There are no other Hymn Books in circulation which exactly correspond with those printed at the Book Room."

William Shuttleworth was Book Steward at this time, and the Book Room was at 9, Hanging Ditch, Manchester; later at No. 17, and, later still, at No. 16.

In 1834 there was advertised as shortly to be published: *A New and Cheap Edition of the Rev. Thomas Allin's Expositions of the Principles of Church Government, adopted by the Methodists of the New Connexion*; with the comment: "As this excellent little work is proposed to be sold at *one penny*, it is hoped that friends will order it freely, that its circulation may be extensive."

A Catechism of the Methodist New Connexion was in the Book Room advertisement for 1835. It also contained, *inter alia*, "a view of its Doctrines, Privileges, Discipline, Institutions, and peculiar Advantages, as compared with other Methodist Communities", and cost sixpence. There was also a three-halfpenny Catechism for the instruction of children in the first principles of religion.

These illustrations help to show that the New Connexion, from its earliest days, was fully alive to the necessity of educating its people in the rudiments of their doctrines and polity.

J. D. CROSLAND.

EARLY METHODISM IN FURNESS

(Continued from page 55).

II. Development at Ulverston, Dalton and Barrow

ILLUSTRATION: Map of part of Lancashire, reproduced from *Paterson's Roads* (17th edn., 1824).

THE cause at Cartmel seems to have been one of the earliest outposts of the circuit. Meetings were held in a house built by a zealous Methodist, the lower part of which was let to a Mr. John Briggs for a day school. The arrangement was that instead of paying rent he should provide the Methodist preachers who held services in the room with what is quaintly described as "hebdomadal refreshment and lodging", although he must have found it irksome, as he had no love for Methodists. However, the experiment did not last long, as he soon gave up school-mastering and entered journalism.¹

William Huddleston tells in his diary of his last visit to Cartmel on 28th August 1830, and of his perilous crossing of the sands on his return home to Ulverston. He writes:

Saw the guide [on the outward journey] and he promised to wait my return. Walked over, preached, returned at the time, no guide. Made my way a mile lower down, found a man under a boat. "Who is there?" asked the individual. "The Methodist preacher," I replied. "What will you give me as your guide?" asked the man. "One shilling and sixpence." "All's well, I will be with you in a few minutes." After struggling with the boat we crossed the channel. "Now, what do you see to the right?" asked the guide. "Sparkbridge lights" [reflection from the iron-works there]. "What to the left?" "Ulverston lighthouse." "Now do not follow your own whims, or you will never see home, but my advice is to go right in the middle of the lights, deep or shallow, knee or neck deep, right in the middle. Good night!"

Thus did this devoted and heroic minister battle homewards in the dark across the sands and channels, for the last time. No wonder he won the esteem and affection of the people by his self-sacrificing labours, his saintliness of character and deep piety.

He gives in his diary an account of his last week-end in the circuit in August 1830. He writes:

The Lord was with me in the morning at Dalton, and in the evening at Ulverston. In token of affection, Independents and Baptists closed their chapels and our own was crowded. We experienced what will not soon be forgotten. The chapel was the House of God and the Gate of Heaven.

On the following Monday he adds:

We had indeed open house, people of all classes, places, churches, to bid us good-bye. We were up the whole night, and left the place on Tuesday morning amid the prayers and tears of the whole place.

Huddleston was the father of the American novelist, Mrs. Amelia

¹ W. G. Atkinson in *Barrow News*, 16th January 1926.

E. Barr, who was born in the manse, which was next door to the Ulverston chapel and still exists as the caretaker's house.

The year 1828 saw the second chapel built in the growing circuit. This was at Dalton, at the top of Skelgate. Its erection was necessary through the growth of the cause, and the influx of people from Cornwall and the Isle of Man to the newly-opened iron mines in the district. Dalton became the centre of the new industry. A very live and hearty Methodism developed in the town, and soon led to the enlargement of the chapel. A vigorous Sunday school was soon established. The society at Dalton became one of the most fruitful recruiting grounds for local preachers. One of the foremost of these was George Ashburner. Others were John Allison of Ulpha, and John Gorrell Bigg of Ulverston, father of John Stanyan Bigg, editor of the *Ulverston Advertiser* and a man of literary tastes. In one of his novels, *Alfred Staunton*, he gives a vivid picture of a service conducted by his father. William Simpson, also of Ulverston, walked thousands of miles in his long life, preaching the gospel and singing the songs of Zion. He was very musical, and became choirmaster and leader of the orchestra at the Ulverston chapel.

Renewed prosperity came to the circuit with the appointment of the Rev. Robert Morton in 1844. He was a powerful evangelist. A great revival broke out at Ulverston, whereby seventy members were added to the society. Among these was Eliza Kirkman, who later founded a charity (which still exists) for the joint benefit of poor old women in the town, and of overseas missions.

Ulverston was, at this time, a busy seaport and a thriving manufacturing town. In 1844 no less than 944 small vessels entered or left the ship-canal connecting the port with the open sea. The imports were coal and general merchandise; the exports were iron ore from the Furness mines, copper ore from Coniston, slate from the Kirby quarries, and iron from Backbarrow smelting furnaces. Its industries included nail-making, soap manufacture, tanning, weaving, shipbuilding and its necessary trades such as sail- and rope-making and anchor-casting. The whole district was prospering commercially and industrially from all these activities.

It was therefore proposed in 1847 on the arrival of the Rev. William Parkinson that a second minister should be appointed. This step took place in a curious manner. The first suggestion was that it would be a great help to the Ulverston minister to have a horse and trap to enable him the better to travel round the growing circuit, to ease his long and often difficult journeys on the very bad roads and across the dangerous sands, especially as the new minister was a man of small stature and slender physique. A subscription list was therefore opened and met with a most successful response from the people. The "little minister", however, with commendable selflessness, suggested that the subscriptions should be continued and used instead for securing a second minister, for, said he, "sometimes I shall have no use for the horse and trap,

and then it would be standing idle; whereas if we had a second minister he might be engaged in Christian work". Additional help was thus obtained, and this gave great impetus to the work.

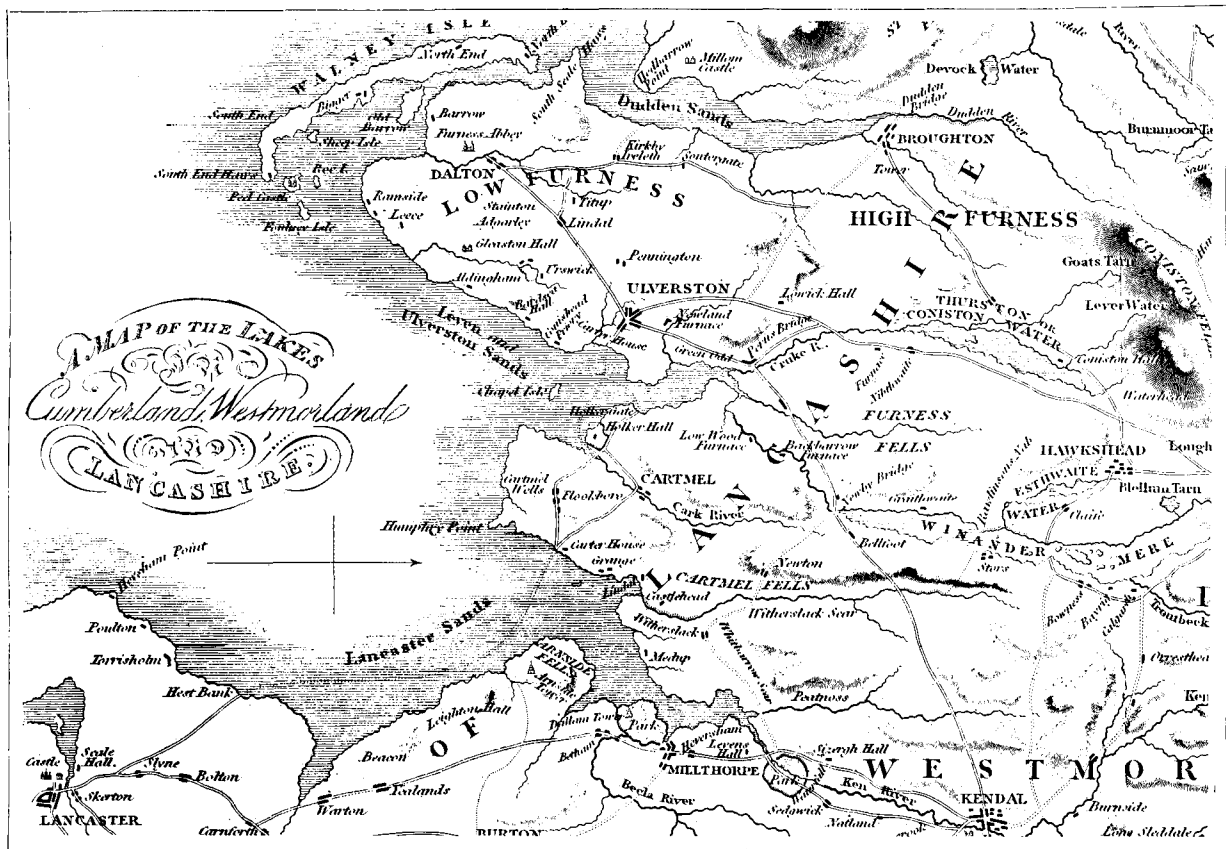
The Revs. C. Currelly and John Baker were therefore appointed to the circuit in 1850. The latter was a young, eloquent and popular preacher, full of evangelistic zeal. He soon won the ear of the people and when he preached at Ulverston the chapel was full to overflowing. These were stirring times and great extensions of the work took place, especially at Ulverston and Backbarrow.

The necessity for enlarging the town chapel and building premises for both Sunday- and day-school purposes became urgent. A scheme was therefore launched and carried through for the lengthening of the chapel and the erection of side galleries. A schoolroom was also built in the garden of the adjoining manse. Amidst great rejoicing the chapel was reopened on Friday, 21st November 1851 with special services conducted by the Rev. Dr. James Dixon. The schoolroom was opened a month later, on 19th December, by the Rev. John Lomas. The Sunday school thereafter greatly increased, and by 1853 there were 113 scholars in the morning and 134 in the afternoon, with a staff of twenty teachers under the superintendency of Mr. R. Masheter, with Mr. Thomas Barrow as secretary, both devoted workers in the cause for many years.

Meanwhile, at Backbarrow, which had been thriving as a growing industrial village for some years and contained a cotton mill and iron works, Methodism had taken deep root. A cause had been established here in earlier days and a small chapel built. This now proved inadequate, and in 1850 a new and larger chapel was built which has since housed the Methodist society in the village. Associated with the cause, and devoted workers in it at this time, were the Gunson family, of whom three brothers became local preachers. They lived at Ayside, but each Sunday spent practically the whole day at the chapel and Sunday school, bringing their meals with them. One of the sisters, Mary Gunson, became a missionary in China.

During this period several attempts were made to start work in other villages, though in some cases success was only temporary. Pennington, for instance, appears on the plan of 1852, but the society was later transferred to Lindal, close by, and still exists. In 1852 services were held at Grizebeck, but it was displaced by Marshside in 1855; but Kirby, which appeared on the plan in 1823 and was later given up, now reappears. The work at the two former places became consolidated and continues to this day.

Again, Baycliffe, on the coast, one of the earliest preaching places and found on the plan of 1823, has disappeared by 1856. It was later tried again, but without permanent success. The society at Lowick Green, which in its early days owed much to Joseph Oxley, schoolmaster, was later transferred to Sparkbridge, close by, on his removal there. It became the centre of Methodism in this area about the middle of the century, and one of the most



MAP OF PART OF LANCASHIRE (reproduced from *Paterson's Roads*, 17th edn., 1824) to illustrate "Early Methodism in Furness"

vigorous causes in the circuit. It later absorbed the smaller causes at Bouth and Nibthwaite, where preaching was carried on for some time, and also Greenodd, which from 1823 to 1854 had been on the plan. Sparkbridge has served this area of Furness ever since. Other places tried during this period were Salthouse, Piel, Gleaston, Urswick, Lindale-in-Cartmel, and Ireleth. They continued for a time, or were later superseded by developments elsewhere, or were given up through lack of support. In some cases the cause had to be abandoned through the death of local leaders who could not be replaced, as at Sawrey, where the mainstay of this distant outpost for many years had been a devoted local preacher, John Atkinson. A small chapel existed here for a time, built at Ees Wyke, near at hand, by a well-to-do Methodist, Mr. John Eccles.

The Quarterly Meeting minutes of 1856 show the following returns of membership:

Ulverston 112; Backbarrow 70; Ulpha 7;
 Urswick 2; Dalton 32; Sparkbridge 19;
 Marshside 5; Barrow 2;
 Total: 249, with 42 "on trial".

It will thus be seen that Coniston and Cartmel, two of the oldest preaching places in the circuit, have disappeared. This was only for a time and was probably due to the difficulty of supplying these outlying posts with preachers, or through lack of accommodation. Later they reappear, and good chapels were built in each place.

There must have existed a cause at Broughton-in-Furness for some years and a small chapel built, or a cottage adapted for worship, as we find in the Quarterly Meeting minutes for 1854 a resolution that "the Broughton chapel be closed and sold". This was evidently not carried out, for it was reopened in 1859, since when the cause has continued with many fluctuations.

It will be noticed that in 1856 Barrow-in-Furness returns a membership of two. "This place was a mere fishing-village in 1804, consisting of 17 houses and a population of 97, and by 1846 it had only increased to 237."² The building of the Furness railway along the coast from Carnforth in the middle of the nineteenth century brought a great increase of population and prosperity to Barrow. It became the main seaport for the export of iron ore from Furness, and an important naval construction works was erected in the town. Its rise was very rapid, and before long its population and commercial eminence outstripped all other places in Furness.

Services were started in Barrow in 1855, largely through the endeavours of the Ulverston and Dalton local preachers; they were held once a month at first, and later every Sunday in a farmer's barn near the site of the present municipal buildings. The ministers in the circuit, the Revs. Joseph Kipling (grandfather of Rudyard Kipling) and H. Cave, came over from Ulverston once a fortnight on the weekday to preach. The name of Mr. John Treen is closely associated with these early days; the first society may have met in

² See West's *History and Antiquities of Furness*.

his house in Mount Pleasant. Later, as the cause grew, a move was made to the Free Trade Hall at the corner of Dalton Road. Subsequently a large room above a shop at the foot of Mount Pleasant was used for services and meetings.

Soon the need for a chapel arose, and at the June Quarterly Meeting in 1856 it was proposed to build at Barrow. The minute states that Mr. John Treen promised 3,000 bricks, Mr. John Gunson the slates required, and an unnamed joiner promised to give his labour to the extent of £5. Nothing, however, seems to have been done to carry out the project. There may have been some opposition to the scheme, as there was when it was again brought before the Quarterly Meeting.

The Ulverston circuit was anxious at this time to be transferred from the Carlisle to the Liverpool District. A memorial to this effect was sent to the Carlisle District Meeting but it was not granted. The agitation continued for some years and the Conference itself was petitioned on the ground that Furness was in Lancashire, and that Ulverston had more business and other links with Liverpool than with Carlisle, but nothing was done.

A great period of chapel-building began in 1860. The Barrow scheme was revived. "A meeting was held there in the house of a Captain Porter, at which William Ashburner, John Davies, William Bowker, John Treen and James Moody were present. This resulted in the building of Hindpool Road Chapel in 1862."³ This historic chapel, built in spite of the recorded disapproval of the superintendent minister, was opened by Dr. Morley Punshon, and became the mother of many daughter churches in the town later in the century. Sunday- and day-schools were built in 1867.

Meanwhile, the work at Dalton had prospered so greatly that a new chapel was built in Wellington Street. The cause here became one of the most vigorous in the circuit, and owed much of its spiritual life and evangelistic zeal to the influx of Methodists from Cornwall and elsewhere to work in the iron ore mines.

The rapid growth of Methodism in the whole district of Furness made it necessary to appoint a third minister in 1868. How greatly the circuit had developed is shown by the fact that while the plan of 1823 had only nine preaching places, seven local preachers, and four exhorters, the plan of 1869 shows twenty-four preaching places, with twenty-eight local preachers and five "on trial". The villages were not behind the towns in building chapels. Sparkbridge had for long been a thriving cause but meeting in a hired room, but in 1864 the present chapel was built to house the growing congregations. There was also brought before the Quarterly Meeting in 1861 a proposal "to build a chapel at Kirby", and in 1866 a resolution "to build a chapel at Marton" is passed. Here the society had met for some years in a little room at the back of the village inn. Newton, also, had become a preaching place in 1868-9, and the members worshipped in a building

³ W. G. Atkinson in *Barrow News*, 6th February 1926.

with an iron roof. Services were commenced in Hawcoat on the outskirts of Barrow in 1865. The cause at Cartmel was revived in 1861, and appears at Gateside, the name of the farmhouse occupied by Mr. Clarke, where the services were held.

These and other extensions necessitated the division of the circuit in 1871, when the Barrow-in-Furness circuit was formed as a "single station" and included Roose, Piel and Hawcoat. Ulverston remained a strong circuit with three ministers and 537 members distributed amongst the following societies:

Ulverston 129; Dalton 158; Millom 89;
Backbarrow 12; Askham 44; Broughton 12;
Sparkbridge 20; Lindal 30; Cartmel 10;
Coniston 8; Urswick 8; Ulpha 2;
Newton 7; Arnside 2; Bouth 2; Grange 4.

There were also thirty-five local preachers with three "on trial" and one exhorter.

The division of the circuit and the passing of the early and splendid pioneers (of whom we specially name George and John Ashburner, William Stones, James Ormanby, and John Allison) mark the end of a great and heroic age in the history of the rise and progress of Methodism in Furness. These faithful, courageous and devoted laymen, with a succession of circuit ministers, gave themselves to the work of building up and extending Methodism throughout the district. They met with much opposition and persecution, and many difficulties, but in spite of everything they laid well and truly the foundations of Methodism in this corner of Lancashire.

G. H. BANCROFT JUDGE.

Two years have passed since we last mentioned the excellent articles of Methodist interest which occasionally enrich the pages of the *London Quarterly and Holborn Review*. In the meantime the following articles have appeared:

JULY 1947—"The Significance of Thomas Coke", by Cyril J. Davey. This is a biographical bi-centenary article by the author of *The Man who Wanted the World*.

OCTOBER 1947—"Methodism and the '45 Rebellion", by Frank Baker, B.A., B.D., "a study of Wesley's reactions in a most trying period of British history".

JULY 1948—"The Shetland Isles (1822-4)—Three Unpublished Letters and a Diary", by Leslie F. Church, B.A., Ph.D. These MSS. of John Raby, who pioneered with Samuel Dunn in the Shetlands, shed light on the establishment of Methodism in this northern outpost.

OCTOBER 1948 and JULY 1949—"The Relations between the Society of Friends and Early Methodism", by Frank Baker, B.A., B.D., a valuable investigation of an important subject.

JANUARY 1949—"The Origin of the Methodist Quarterly Meeting", by Frederick Hunter, M.A., B.D., and Frank Baker, B.A., B.D. This article appeared somewhat belatedly as a contribution to the Quarterly Meeting bi-centenary celebrations and brings new light to bear upon the subject.

BOOK NOTICES

More about the Early Methodist People, by Leslie F. Church.
(Epworth Press, pp. xviii, 324, 12s. 6d.)

The last hundred years have seen the substitution of politics for religion as the matrix of popular thought, with the inevitable result that we have a civilization at once sentimental and pitiless, rich and selfish, arrogant and despairing. Perhaps that is why so many are turning to history, and especially to that "interpretative history" of which Mr. Arthur Bryant and, we may well add, Dr. Church are such skilled exponents. Both write with a warmth and vitality which confirm our faith in spiritual values; both do something to restore our pride and self-respect. And just as it is a relief to turn from the Colossal State to times when life was so much simpler, so many a Methodist will turn from rueful contemplation of the latest General Assessment to this admirable picture of a Methodism not half so respectable, but twice as exhilarating.

There is, of course, much in this book which will not be new to anyone with an ordinarily competent knowledge of Methodist origins. Yet we may well be grateful to one who writes so attractively that we are compelled to go on reading even when once again we are in the familiar and pleasant company of John Nelson, Thomas Lee, Sammy Hick, and the rest of that band of brothers. But whether we know much or little of early Methodism we could wish for no more delightful mentor than Dr. Church.

What a rare and varied company were those early Methodist people! Doctors and blacksmiths, an Old Etonian and plain countryfolk, innkeepers (shades of the T. & S. W. Department!), weavers, craftsmen, Irish soldiers—and how Dr. Church loves Irish soldiers!—rich and poor, the wise and simple—all found a place in the fellowship, and all enriched it. And how refreshing it is to watch that new commonwealth of God taking shape untouched by the acrid class consciousness and political partisanship which today bedevils so much of our community life! Dr. Wearmouth and Dr. Bready, among others, have demonstrated how deeply the Revival affected the subsequent political and social life of England, but Dr. Church's analysis of the basic principles upon which the early Methodists developed a social witness is very much to the point. It might even lead some of those rather smug critics of the Methodist movement to wonder whether it is either fair or sensible to condemn the spring for not being the river.

One aspect of early Methodism with which Dr. Church deals most helpfully is the evolution of Methodist worship. Much of that worship was, as he reminds us, derivative, e.g. the Love-feast, Covenant Service, and Watchnights; but it was part of the genius of those early Methodists both in theology and worship to remind

old coin into a new currency. And they rejoiced equally in the dignity of liturgical use and the free expression of individual religious experience. Is it too hard a judgement that modern Methodism has lost much of both, and that our worship tends more and more to a vague Free Churchism?

There can surely be few periods of English history more fully documented than that covered by the rise of Methodism. Upon what a wealth of diaries, biographies, memoirs, and journals is Dr. Church able to draw—and with what industry and skill he has done it! There are in this book no fewer than 604 annotated references to such sources! Much valuable material he found in that long series of sketches of the early Methodist preachers in the *Methodist Magazine* of those days.

This particular treatment of early Methodist history has, I think, never been attempted before. It need never be done again—for none could do it better, and few could do it half so well.

F. H. EVERSON.

Some Working-Class Movements of the Nineteenth Century, by Robert F. Wearmouth. (Epworth Press, pp. xii. 338, 21s.)

Much of the material in his book *Methodism and the Working-Class Movements of England 1800-1850* Dr. Wearmouth has found useful in his further researches into the working-class movements of the nineteenth century. Once more his interest is directed chiefly to the first half of the century and more particularly the Luddite Riots, the Radical Societies of 1816-23, the Political Unions of 1831-5, and the Chartist Movement of 1836-50. The account of the Trade Union Movement in three main sections occupies the last third of the book but is necessarily not so full in treatment.

Other writers have discussed the influence of the Methodist class meeting on similar forms of working-class organization, but no one has illustrated the similarities and connexions more closely than Dr. Wearmouth. In this volume he shows that the class meeting technique was adopted by radicals as early as 1818. He breaks some new ground in an interesting discussion of Chartist camp meetings which had a rough correspondence with the field preaching of Wesley and Whitefield and the Primitive Methodist camp meetings. In his treatment of "politico-religious Chartism", Dr. Wearmouth is content to deal with personalities (mainly local preachers) and with Chartist churches, rather than to assess their strength and influence and distinctive message and their contribution to the whole movement.

The author does not fully estimate the Methodist share in the Miners and Industrial Trade Unions. He does, however, devote a special chapter to "Religious Trade Unionism" and shows the heroism of certain local preachers in their trade union advocacy.

Dr. Wearmouth is a painstaking scholar who is never content to rely on secondary authorities. One could wish that his story was

more closely integrated with the whole life of the period. Prevailing political thought and practice, not only in England but in summary across the Channel, is necessary if the workers' movements of the century are to be fully understood. Nevertheless, this book is the fruit of devoted and patient study, and students in this field will find authoritative guidance in its pages.

MALDWYN EDWARDS.

The Liberal Awakening. Volume Two of *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*, by Elie Halévy. (Ernest Benn. pp. xvi. 325, 18s.)

The second volume of the reprint of M. Halévy's *History of the English People* follows hard upon the first, and, though slimmer, reproduces all the excellent technical qualities of its predecessor. The period of the book, 1815-30, was dominated by the great figures of Castlereagh and Canning, of whom there are excellent portraits; it covers the years of the agitation for the emancipation of the slaves; and in the sphere of religion it deals with the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act. With all these important matters M. Halévy faithfully deals, not *in vacuo*, but in relation to the affairs of the times.

Again we marvel at M. Halévy's clear grasp of the intricacies of denominational domestic affairs. He seems to be at home as much with Methodism as with Anglicanism and Dissent. In these pages he discusses the Methodist attitude to Queen Caroline, to slavery, and to Catholic emancipation, and each theme is handled with the authority of the expert. There is also an interesting section in which he deals with Major Cartwright's use of the methods of Methodism in his campaign for the reform of the franchise.

There are times when we realize that the author lacked many of the fruits of recent specialized research, and in one instance at least we question his judgement. Discussing the relatively small increase in membership of 2,743 in Wesleyan Methodism in 1829, M. Halévy quotes the *Minutes* of that year as ascribing the small increase to "the distress of the times . . . and to various other causes which have been in active and injurious operation". M. Halévy assumes (wrongly, we feel) that this "guarded language" refers to the disputes occasioned by the question of Catholic emancipation, despite the complete absence of any reference in the *Minutes of Conference* to that matter. We feel that such domestic disputes as the Leeds Organ case provide a much simpler explanation of a phenomenon which did occasion considerable concern in the Conference of that year.

However that may be, we welcome this second volume of the series, and look forward with increasing pleasure to the four volumes which remain to be published.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

NOTES AND QUERIES

884. A NOTE ON WESLEY'S "NOTES".

One of our members, Mr. Owen Rattenbury, J.P., has pointed out an error in Wesley's *Explanatory Notes on the New Testament* which has eluded many generations of Methodists. In the incident of the healing of the deaf and dumb man, Mark vii. 31-37, verse 36 tells how our Lord "charged them to tell no man", to which Wesley adds the note: "v. 36. *Them*—the blind man and those that brought him". It should read, of course, "the deaf and dumb man and those that brought him". The error itself is a simple one to make; it occurs in the first edition of 1755. The strange thing, however, is the manner in which it has been perpetuated, so that it still occurs in editions of Wesley's *Notes* issued during this present century. One wonders whether this is a commentary on the care with which Methodists consult one of their doctrinal standards!

FRANK BAKER.

885. "TREVECCA" OR "TREVECKA".

A minor editorial problem in connexion with the *Proceedings* is the necessity of achieving uniformity in the spelling of such names as have alternative forms. "Trevecka" is one instance of this difficulty. The name of this Breconshire hamlet, so important in Methodist history in relation to Howell Harris and the Countess of Huntingdon, is oft-recurring in our pages, and the alternative forms appear to have been adopted indiscriminately.

The Rev. Griffith T. Roberts, M.A., B.D., of Bangor, has come to my aid. The modern Welsh spelling, he says, is "Trefeca", but it would not be advisable to adopt this in English. "Welsh 'F' is always pronounced as English 'V', and I find that Englishmen insist on giving it the wrong sound in Welsh place-names." As the letter "C" is never doubled in Welsh orthography, Mr. Roberts thinks we should be wise to adopt the "K" form, and thus be in harmony with the usage of the *Journal* of the Calvinistic Methodist Historical Society and with the published Catalogue of the Trevecka Letters.

So, with apologies to Curnock, Telford, Simon, and many another, we shall henceforth in our *Proceedings* use "Trevecka" and not "Trevecca".

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

886. FIRST EDITIONS OF "THE SUNDAY SERVICE".

In my recent article on "Methodism and the Book of Common Prayer" (*Proceedings*, xxvii, p. 33), I stated that "the only known copy" of the first edition of *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America* is in the Library of Drew University, U.S.A. The words "the only known copy" applied, of course, to myself and those experts whom I had consulted. I now have a letter from Dr. Francis H. Tees, Librarian of the Historical Society of the Philadelphia Conference of the American Methodist Church, informing me that his Society also possesses a copy of the first edition of 1784. The Society possesses other interesting relics, including the cane of Richard Boardman and that of Parson Greenwood. Greenwood's cane has a silver top with his name and "1770" inscribed on it.

Dr. Tees is Pastor Emeritus of the famous Old St. George's Church in Philadelphia, in which the first American Conference of 1773 was held. He has kindly sent me a copy of his recently-published volume *Methodist Origins*. This book describes the origin of the various Methodist institutions, e.g. the itinerancy, the Conference, schools, and Bookrooms, both in England and America. It is informative and interesting, and its carefully chosen illustrations help to make the work a fitting crown to many years of devotion to historical research.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

887. A CONTEMPORARY APPRECIATION OF JOHN WESLEY.

I have received from Mr. W. Biggs, of Brighthouse, a member of our Society, a newspaper cutting of 1891 which reprints *in extenso* an appreciation of John Wesley which was first published in the *Leeds Mercury* on 22nd March 1791. The article is too long to reproduce here in full, but the following lines are worthy of preservation in our pages as being a provincial appreciation of Wesley at the time of his death.

. . . His natural and acquired abilities were both of the highest rank. His apprehension was quick and clear. His learning great and extensive. His judgement, though not infallible, was in most cases excellent, both in regard of subjects of the understanding, and of matters of prudence. His mind was steadfast and resolved. His elocution was ready and clear, graceful and easy, accurate and unaffected. As a writer, his style, though unstudied, and flowing with natural ease, yet for accuracy, perspicuity, force, and elegance, it was such as may be compared with the very best writers in the English language. Though his temper might be naturally warm, his manners were gentle, simple, and uniform; never were such happy talents better seconded by an unremitting application and perseverance in these courses, which his singular endowments and his zealous love to the true interests of mankind chalked out to him.

. . . The transactions of his life could never have been performed without the utmost exertion of two qualities, which depended not upon his capacity, but on the uniform steadfastness of his resolution; those were inflexible temperance, and an unexampled economy of his time; in these he was a pattern to the age he lived in. . . . His friends and followers have no reason to be ashamed of the name of Methodist, which he has entailed upon them; as for an uninterrupted course of years he has given the world an instance of the possibility of living without wasting an hour of their time, and the advantages of adhering to a regular distribution of it in discharging the important duties and purposes of life.

. . . As a minister his labours were unparalleled. . . . He was gentle, yet vigilant and faithful, towards all. He possessed himself in patience, and preserved himself unprovoked—nay, even unruffled, in the midst of persecution and reproach. . . . Examine the whole tenor and plan of his life, and it will be found self-evidently inconsistent with the imputation of his being a slave to any one passion or pursuit that can leave a blemish upon his character.

. . . To conclude—free from the partiality of any party or denomination, the author of this sketch pays, with a friendly tear, this tribute of due praise to the memory of so great and good a man.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.