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Proceedings OF THE Wesley Historical Society

Editor : REV. WESLEY F. SWIFT

Volume XXVII

1949-50

EDITORIAL

WITH this issue we close Volume XXVII, and the Title-Page and Index are presented with this Part. The bound set of the *Proceedings* makes an imposing array upon our shelves, and we trust that our readers, both present and future, will feel that this latest volume compares favourably with its predecessors.

The policy during the last two years has been two-fold. First, to provide in each issue something to suit all tastes. Our primary aim must be to serve the specialist and the student, and no serious worker can afford to neglect our twenty-seven volumes. Almost every modern writer on Wesley and Methodism gratefully acknowledges his debt to our *Proceedings*. But we have also kept constantly before us the general reader, who, as a result of the phenomenal growth in our membership, now enjoys a numerical superiority. The earlier volumes were more exclusively technical and specialized, but the interests of the ordinary member cannot now be ignored.

Secondly, we have tried to stimulate and encourage our younger members, and it is gratifying to record that in the present volume a number of our brethren "appear in print" for the first time. We must regret, however, that so few seem inclined to search into and "write up" the history of their local church or circuit. This was our own first love, and we believe it still to be the most profitable and satisfying form of research.

Those who peruse the Index with detached interest will note the galaxy of talent pressed into our service. Men of great pulpit and academic distinction have enriched our pages, and we gladly acknowledge that devotion to the pure love of learning which has inspired their labours without fee or reward.

Finally, we are grateful to the many friends, both old and new, who by their affection and encouragement have lightened the editorial labours during these two years. In anticipation the work seemed burdensome; in retrospect it has been all delight. Our fear that we might have nothing to print has been unfounded. There is a constant trickle of MSS. for publication, and the day seems happily far distant when for lack of material the editor will not only close a volume but write FINIS for ever.

JOHN WESLEY'S DICTIONARY

[Several requests have been made that this important article should be reprinted from the *London Quarterly and Holborn Review* of October 1932. This has now been made possible through the kind permission of the Connexional Editor, the Rev. Dr. Leslie F. Church, and of the author, Mr. Eric Partridge, M.A., B.Litt. Mr. Partridge, who is well-known for his popular books on etymology, modestly disclaims any right to the title of a "Wesley scholar", and says that the article "was the result of admiration for an admirable man".—EDITOR.]

JOHN WESLEY was a man of exceptional energy and endurance, of great personal charm, good humour, and not a little wit, kindly and thoughtful and upright. All these qualities appear even in his dictionary. The first edition came out late in 1753; it was published at Bristol, as was the second edition early in 1764. To "*The Complete English Dictionary: Explaining most of those Hard Words, Which are found in the Best British Writers. By a Lover of Good English and Common Sense,*" he added, on the title-page, these provocative words: "N.B. The author assures you, he thinks this is the best English Dictionary in the World."

Certain biographers and critics have quoted that apparently fatuous boast without giving Wesley's own comment, and without pointing out that, until Johnson's abridged dictionary appeared some years later, Wesley's was actually the best small dictionary in English. But his comment is as delightful as it is shrewd; indeed, the whole preface should find a place in any comprehensive anthology of English prose. Referring to the title-page challenge, Wesley remarks:

I have so often observed, the only way, according to the modern taste, for any author to procure commendation to his book is, vehemently to commend it himself. For want of this deference to the publick, several excellent tracts lately printed, but left to commend themselves by their intrinsic worth, are utterly unknown or forgotten. Whereas if a writer of tolerable sense will but bestow a few violent encomiums on his work, especially if they are skilfully ranged on the title-page, it will pass thro' six editions in a trice; the world being too complaisant to give a gentleman the Lie, and taking it for granted, he understands his own performance best. In compliance therefore with the taste of the age, I add, that this little dictionary is not only the shortest and the cheapest, but likewise, by many degrees, the most correct which is extant at this day. Many are the mistakes in all the other *English* dictionaries which I have yet seen. Whereas I can truly say, I know of none in this; and I conceive the reader will believe me: for if I had, I should not have left it there. Use then this help, till you find a better.

Much the same note of raillery informs the note to the second edition:

In this Edition I have added some hundreds of words, which were omitted in the former; chiefly from Mr. *Johnson's* dictionary, which

I carefully looked over for that purpose. And I will now venture to affirm, that, small as it is, this dictionary is quite sufficient, for enabling any one to understand the best Writings now extant, in the *English* tongue.

Wesley in many ways followed the older English lexicographers, who—and this holds till the eighteenth century—aimed not at completeness, but at explaining the more difficult words. In 1616, Dr. John Bullokar published his *English Expositour*; the next year saw Minsheu's remarkable *Guide into the Tongues* (the first English etymological dictionary); Cockeram's much more modest *Interpreter* appeared in 1623; Blount's *Glossographia* in 1656; in 1678 came what is often considered the first English dictionary in the modern sense, that compiled by Edward Phillips, the nephew of Milton—*New World of Words*, often re-edited by the industrious and by no means foolish John Kersey; but it was Nathaniel Bailey who in 1730 (the smaller edition of 1721 followed the selective principle) brought out a *complete* dictionary, i.e. one admitting *dog, cat, the, of*, and so forth. It was Bailey who held the field for thirty-five years—until, in fact, Johnson, drawing largely on his work, put an end to his supremacy.¹ Wesley's first edition came out just in time to avoid being annihilated by the Doctor's magistral dictionary, whose appearance nevertheless prevented Wesley's little book from winning the popularity it deserved; *Johnson* was to the eighteenth century what *Webster* became for the next and *Wylde* may become for our own.

Wesley's aim and method cannot be described better than in his own words. "As incredible as it may appear," he begins his preface, "I must avow, that this dictionary is not published to get money, but to assist persons of common sense and no learning, to understand the best *English* authors; and that, with as little expense of time or money, as the nature of the thing would allow." He continues thus:

To this end it contains, not a heap of *Greek* and *Latin* words, just tagged with *English* terminations (for no good *English* writer, none but vain or senseless pedants, give these any place in their writings): not a scroll of barbarous *law expressions*, which are neither *Greek*, *Latin*, nor good *English*: not a crowd of *technical* terms, the meaning whereof is to be sought in books expressly wrote on the subjects to which they belong: not such *English* words as *and, of, but*² . . . ; but "most of those hard words which are found in the best *English* writers."

He adds that he likewise omits "all, the meaning of which may be easily gathered from those of the same derivation"; the whole with a view to convenience of size and cheapness.

Wesley's dictionary was, within its self-imposed limits, a very able piece of work. On account of its omission of the small coin of

¹ I owe these facts (the list, I may add, is not complete) to the fascinating essay "On Dictionaries" in Professor Ernest Weekley's suggestive and entertaining volume, *Adjectives and Other Words* (1st edition, 1930).

² Nor the *cat* and *dog*, *door* and *bed*, *ah* and *oh*, *run* and *see* varieties.

speech, it was useless to foreigners—unless they happened to possess the rudiments. Nor was it meant for scholars, as the absence of etymologies, illustrative phrases and illustrative passages (these last were to be introduced by Johnson), and of references to lexicographers, will show. But for the ordinary “man of sense”, whom he rightly assumed to be indifferent to erudition and encyclopædizing, Wesley succeeded in producing a very serviceable dictionary.

His spelling is occasionally irregular, as in *burser*, *diphthong*, and the differentiation of *accessary* and *accessory*. There are also, of course, spellings that were current in the eighteenth century but now obsolete, such as *asphaltus* and *achieve*. The eighteenth-century note appears further in some of the definitions. *Abscess* is “an imposthume”; *behemoth*, “the river-horse” (hippopotamus); *buxom* is “pliant, wanton, merry”, and it reminds us that it is extremely unwise in the United States to describe a woman as “buxom”; *campaign* is “a summer’s war”, for fighting was not carried on in the winter months; *decimate* is “to take tithe”; *epicure* means “a glutton, a sensual man”; “one skilled in Hebrew” is not a *Hebraist*, as now, but a *Hebrican*; *meretricious* is bluntly “whorish”, without any modern frills; *philology* is “the study of polite literature: criticism”; *romantic* is “such as is described in romances: wild”; *vapid* is “dead (spoken of drink)”.

Wesley, though rarely vague, is often reticent, sex being for the most part eschewed, though there are several words for a homosexual. He is brief and to the point: a dictionary is “a book explaining the words of a language”, a glossary “a dictionary to shew the sense of words in several languages”; and usually he is much briefer than that. Although he aims not at wit, nor at originality, some of his definitions, either intrinsically or with reference to his life and work, call for quotation. An *enthusiast* is “a religious madman, one that fancies himself inspired” (Wesley knew that he was often described thus), while a *visionary* is “one that sees, or pretends to, visions” (he was aware that he numbered a few among his followers); if a *Latitudinarian* means “one that fancies all religions are saving”, a *Methodist* denotes “one that lives according to the method laid down in the Bible”. *Anecdotes* are “secret histories (biography à la *Maurois*); *memoirs*, “a plain history” (annals, in short); *grammar* is “the art of speaking and writing properly”; *figure*, “an elegantly-uncommon way of speaking”; and *rhapsody* signifies “a confused collection of words”. *Alchemy* is narrowed down to “the art of changing one metal into another”; *astrology* is “the (supposed) art of foretelling things by the stars”. *Bastile* is “the state-prison in Paris”; *Olympus*, “a poetical name of heaven”. A *coquet* is “a woman affectedly airy, seeking to make conquests”. A *tarantula* is “a venomous spider, whose bite can be cured only by music” (especially that of the *tarantella*), which links up with *tarantism*, the modern name for dancing mania—not confined to *Taranto*.

Ventilator is "an engine to bring fresh air into any place", and *refrigerate* means nothing more chilly than "to cool".

The scope of Wesley's dictionary can best be gauged, however, by a comparison with some modern work; for this purpose the *Pocket Oxford Dictionary*³ will serve admirably. The number of words treated by Wesley is about 5,200, that by the *Pocket Oxford* about 19,000⁴; but if we bear in mind the express omissions in the earlier work, we notice that the two dictionaries are (dates remembered) practically equivalent. At *Q* we find only thirty words in Wesley, just four times that number in the *Pocket Oxford*; *X* in Wesley supplies only two entries (*xenodochium* and *xystus*); in the modern work, six (*x*, *Xanthippe*, *xebec*, *xi*, *xylonite*, *xylophone*); *Y* in Wesley yields three words, in the other sixty; *Z* seven and thirty-eight respectively. (The learned and technical element is noticeable in the last two letters of the modern dictionary.)

The manner of definition can likewise be seen best from a few brief examples, in which, again, we must be careful to remember the difference in aim between these two dictionaries. *Debilitate*, says Wesley, is "to weaken"; the Fowler brothers are equally terse with "to cause debility in", but then they have previously defined *debility*. In Wesley, *fabric* means only "a building"; in the Fowlers a "thing put together; building; structure; (also *textile fabric*) woven material". The former defines *professor* as "a public reader of lectures", the latter as a "person making profession (of a religion, &c.), holder of university chair or other teacher of high rank". *Student* in the earlier is "a scholar, studious man"; in the later—well, the entry is rather too long to be given here.

Wesley has this in common with the Fowlers, as with such other notable dictionary-makers as Minsheu, Johnson, Weekley: he imprints on a book that the unthinking expect to be dry-as-dust and tedious a character at once unmistakable, personal, and enjoyable; for only the superhumanly conscientious or perhaps, rather, the portentously solemn among lexicographers can resist being personal now and again. It is certainly to our advantage that personality, humour, and wit do thus break the bounds of erudition in Wesley and those others.

ERIC PARTRIDGE.

³ I use the 1st edition (1924), edited by F. G. and H. W. Fowler.

⁴ By headings; cognates and derivatives listed under a main word are ignored in this estimate.

Through Fifty Years is the title of the Jubilee souvenir handbook of the Joseph Cook Memorial Methodist Church, North Biddick, Co. Durham. It contains some interesting facts concerning a society which has been in existence for almost a century. The information would have been more extensive had the compilers made use of the manuscript diary of John Wright, one of the early members of the society, which is now in the hands of one of our members, Mr. Ralph Pluse, of Leeds, and from which we hope to print some extracts in a future issue.

THE REYNOLDS PORTRAIT OF WESLEY

ILLUSTRATIONS: Engravings by John Downes and John Tinney of the "Williams" Portrait of John Wesley.

PREVIOUS attempts to identify this portrait give ample warning, by their failure, against too confident surmise at this late hour. Nearly half a century ago Mr. Joseph G. Wright¹ had to speak about the many alleged discoveries, of whose genuineness their exponents were "ready to accept very slight proof, or no proof at all". Yet the difficult quest is still attractive. Can anything fresh be done in its pursuit?

Times and seasons matter in the discussion. Only two references by John Wesley to Sir Joshua have—so far as I know—been made public. The one is the *Journal* entry (5th January 1789) that Romney "did more in one hour than Sir Joshua did in ten". The other is in a letter (15th October 1771) written to Henry Brooke,² himself an artist: "Mr. Williams, a man unknown, is a far greater genius than Sir Joshua. He took a better likeness of me in ten minutes than the other did in twenty hours."

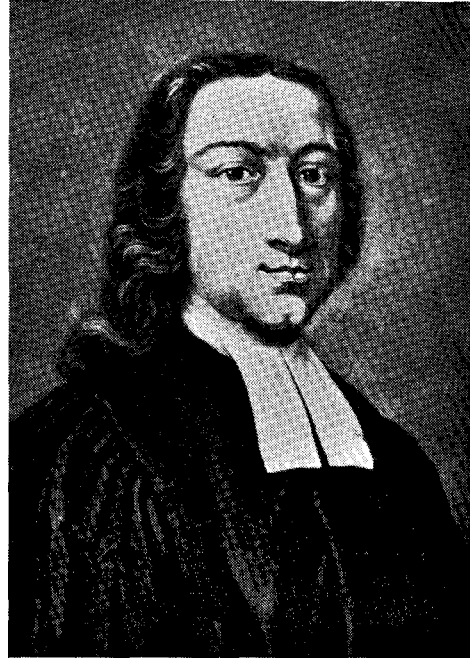
Thus, in trying to date the portrait, we have a *terminus ad quem*: Wesley was no more than sixty-eight years old when he sat for Sir Joshua. From the Russell portrait we know what Wesley looked like in 1773. The Hone portrait helps us to imagine him about 1765. The Williams portrait shews him in 1743. These three portraits between them give us the best impression we can get of Wesley's appearance during the relevant period of his life. If a portrait, put forward as the missing Reynolds, depicts Wesley as a very old man with white hair and wrinkled skin, we need have no hesitation in rejecting its authenticity.

For the *terminus a quo* we turn to the life of Reynolds. In theory it is not impossible that Reynolds, before he sailed from England in 1749, had already painted Wesley, but it is unlikely. The Reynolds who settled in London in 1753, after his Italian visit, was only thirty. So the probable period for our search is reduced to the eighteen years between 1753 and 1771. The Reynolds diaries that are available start from 1755. Very fortunately we have an entry that in the March of that year Reynolds had "Mr. Westley" as a client. There is no sufficient cause to doubt this information, even though we cannot confirm it from Wesley's writings. The only help that Wesley gives us comes from his Sermon Register, which tells us³ that he was in London from 1st to 16th March. On 20th March we find Wesley in Bristol, nor did he return to London until towards the end of June. But, accepting the entry in the Reynolds diary, we note that Reynolds

¹ *Proceedings*, iii, p. 192.

² *Proceedings*, xx, p. 51.

³ *Journal*, viii, p. 211.



ENGRAVINGS BY JOHN DOWNES (*left*) AND JOHN TINNEY (*right*) OF THE "WILLIAMS" PORTRAIT
OF JOHN WESLEY

(Blocks kindly lent by the Epworth Press)

had to portray a Wesley who was a dozen years older than the "Williams" Wesley, and ten years younger than the "Hone" Wesley. Mr. C. H. Collins Baker⁴ includes 1755 in what he calls Reynolds' adolescent period—the period which "uncomplicated by shopwork, is therefore the most straightforward and in some ways the most exciting".

Now I come to my guess. There are extant some engravings of Wesley, for which as yet we have not been able to provide originals in oils. Let us suppose that one of these engravings was copied from the Reynolds canvas. A forlorn hope, perhaps. But, looking through the list of possibles, I find myself returning once and again to Tinney's mezzotint.⁵ It is much easier, of course, to put forward a theory than to establish it. May I make the following points, admitting in advance that they come far short of demonstration.

1. We cannot date Tinney's engraving precisely. But the accepted probability is between 1750 and Tinney's death in 1761. It will be seen that 1755, the date in the Reynolds diary, is about half-way between those limits.

2. Mr. Wright⁶ has suggested that the Tinney engraving "has a family likeness to the Williams type of portrait, and was probably executed after that artist". The opinion of so good a judge must be treated with respect; and he is cautious enough to say "probably" rather than "certainly". But there are a few differences between the Williams and the Tinney pictures that seem to me significant. (a) The Williams is more nearly full-face than the Tinney. (b) In the Williams some of the hair is allowed to hang in front of the shoulders, but in the Tinney it is all brushed back behind the shoulders. (c) The clerical collar (as distinct from the Geneva bands) is practically invisible in the Williams, but about a quarter of it is visible in the Tinney. I take these details of the Williams portrait from the Faber and Downes engravings. I have not been able to consult the work of the other engravers of the Williams, but I hope they differentiate themselves from the Tinney in the same way. If so, the Tinney stands quite apart, I suggest, from the Williams type. What resemblance there is (compare, for example, the shape of the forehead, the eyebrows, and the eyes) is due merely to the fact that both Williams and Tinney represent Wesley as he was in the prime of life.

3. Tinney, in engraving Wesley (and also, as I infer, in engraving Thomas Parker) has not included the name of the painter. This fact, for my present surmise, is at once hopeful and troublesome. We know that Tinney engraved some of his contemporaries from portraits that already existed. It is customary to think of him as a gifted copyist of other men's work. But it is theoretically possible that Tinney himself drew Wesley from life, and I wish I could dispose

⁴ *British Painting* (1933), p. 101.

⁵ A convenient photograph is in Telford's *Sayings and Portraits of John Wesley*, p. 82.

⁶ *Proceedings*, iv, p. 1.

of that possibility. It is natural to say: surely Tinney, if he had made a mezzotint after Reynolds, would have been glad to inscribe on his plate a name so distinguished. But this ought not to be overstressed. Whatever the explanation, in fact the Reynolds portrait either was not engraved at all, or else was engraved without due acknowledgement. The difficulty is eased, though not removed, by recalling a few dates. The diaries of Reynolds show that he was quite busy between 1755 and 1761. But he had not then reached the height of his renown. The Presidency of the Royal Academy came in 1768. The knighthood followed in 1769. But even as late as 1761 (to say nothing of 1755) the name of Reynolds may not have been able to bestow very much prestige on his engravers for business purposes. On the other hand, I hope it is not too cynical to inquire: why was Tinney so modest as to suppress his own name, if he was entitled as both artist and engraver to write it? Does our knowledge of human nature lead us to expect such self-effacement?

Our knowledge of Tinney being limited, these thoughts are necessarily tentative. I pass them on in the hope that more detailed and accurate information may be forthcoming. He would be a bold critic who, merely looking at a Tinney engraving, would offer technical considerations for ascribing an alleged original to the brush of Reynolds. But even if my conjecture should be strengthened, and not destroyed, a sobering truth remains. A translation, however well done, is not an original. If the Tinney mezzotint is indeed what I half suspect it to be, it only leads to the conclusion that Reynolds "provided some better thing for us", without which our gallery of the Wesley portraits is not made perfect.

R. ERNEST KER.

The reading of the Standard *Letters* has led Mr. E. Pointon to write an article on "The Letters of John Wesley" in the August, 1950, issue of the *Local Preachers' Magazine*. The following short extract may be of interest:

"... An ex-Post-office official could scarcely be expected to read through 2,700 letters without exercising some professional curiosity. So it was that one noted the solitary reference to postage charges. 'My postage bill today was 18/-.' When allowance is made for the higher value of money, that is indeed a heavy bill. It occurred while Wesley was on one of his provincial tours, and could not, in the circumstances, have covered many letters.

"Where it was feasible to apply a test the result suggested that the service was reasonably expeditious, and maybe the phrase 'post-haste' had a factual origin. Only in Ireland was there justification for some complaint of delay, and we imagine there must have been a merry twinkle in Wesley's eye when he wrote: 'The post boys of Ireland do not ride Pegasus!' A tribute must also be paid to the general safety and reliability of the eighteenth century postal arrangements, for, despite the voluminous correspondence, one found only a single reference to letters having gone astray. . . ."

A LETTER OF THOMAS OLIVERS

I HAVE recently seen and copied the following letter written by Thomas Olivers. Unfortunately, it has neither date nor address, but is of interest because of its reference to John Wesley.

THOMAS OLIVERS TO ROBERT GILLESPIE

Dear Bro.

I am sorry you do not get your money. If you desired Mr. Wesley, and sent proper directions, I think he would do something to help you. If he did not, I would do my best for your sake. Send up to London a true state of the case, and send it as soon as you can; and who knows what will be done for you.

You have long known that the way of transgressors is hard. May our Lord at last cause you to feel (and to feel it forever too!) that his yoke is easy and his burthen is light! Pray hard, and watch continually, and you shall be more than conqueror through Him that hath loved you. With love to your dear family I remain,

Your friend and brother,

T. OLIVERS.

Mr. Robert Gillespie,
Hemington,
Near Loughborough,
Leicestershire.

Robert Gillespie is probably the R. Gillespy whom Myles includes in his First Race of Methodist Preachers, and who, having served from 1756 to 1764, withdrew. During this period, Thomas Olivers, who began to travel in 1753, was doing the routine work of a Methodist preacher in Ireland and England.

There are no *Minutes* of these years to throw further light on Robert Gillespie. It would appear that three years before Gillespie commenced his ministry Wesley addressed a letter to him at Newport, Isle of Wight, where he was then residing. (See *Letters*, iii, p. 114.) He refers to financial helps which he (Wesley) had given to William Prior, one of the preachers. Apparently Gillespie was beginning to preach, for Wesley says: "If Brother Williams sees good, you might preach sometimes at the *Common*." The letter of Olivers implies that Gillespie was also in financial embarrassment, and Wesley might be relied upon to come to his rescue.

W. L. DOUGHTY.

Hymns in Christian Worship, by H. A. L. Jefferson (Rockliff Publishing Corporation, pp. 282, 17s. 6d.), contains a chapter on Methodist hymnody, as we should naturally expect, as well as many references to the Wesleys and the *Methodist Hymn-book*, and a not-so-good portrait of Charles Wesley. The author writes with sympathetic understanding and appreciation of our Methodist contribution to Christian song, and the whole book, with its sixteen illustrations, can be warmly commended from the devotional as well as the literary point of view.

THE TREVECKA MANUSCRIPTS

THE Editor informs me that our readers would welcome a short introduction to the Trevecka Manuscripts, indicating what kind of information they contain concerning the history of "Wesleyan" Methodism. The manuscripts can be described as a collection of the diaries and correspondence of Howell Harris together with other miscellaneous papers dealing with the history of eighteenth-century Methodism and the life of Harris. Until comparatively recently they were housed at Trevecka in Brecknockshire—hence their name, but they have now been deposited at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. The late Dr. M. H. Jones gave a general description of them in the first chapter of his book, *The Trevecka Letters* (Caernarvon, 1932), whilst a valuable article on "The Archives of the Calvinistic Methodist or Presbyterian Church of Wales", by Mr. Gildas Tibbott and Miss K. Monica Davies, appeared in *The National Library of Wales Journal*, v, pp. 13-49.

1. **The Diaries of Howell Harris**, consisting of nearly three hundred closely written notebooks, covering the years 1735 to 1773. On one occasion John Wesley wrote to Harris in the following terms: "When you write, have Patience. For sometimes you write so hastily that I can't read it"; the handwriting in the diaries is similar, only worse! The matter is often very tedious, owing to Harris' excessively introspective habits. The main interest, of course, lies in the light they throw on the character of Harris himself; his diaries are very much more personal than the *Journal* of Wesley. They are also invaluable for the historian of Welsh (and English) Calvinistic Methodism. They also contain many new facts concerning the early history of the "Wesleyan" movement in Wales, some of which have been incorporated in recent articles by the present writer in the *Proceedings*, whilst the Rev. Tom Beynon has published extracts from them covering the dates 18th to 20th November, 1740, which considerably supplement the *Journal* of Charles Wesley for the same period (see *Bathafarn*, iv, pp. 54-58). In his accounts of his frequent visits to London and Bristol, Harris furnishes us with many new and interesting details concerning the Wesleys and their societies, whilst the historian of early Methodism at places like Plymouth and Birmingham might profitably consult the diaries. He also attended a number of our early Conferences (1747, 1748, 1759, 1760, 1763, 1766 and 1767), and the portions of his diaries covering their dates cannot fail to be of interest. For many years he also endeavoured to bring about a union between the followers of Wesley and of Whitefield and the Moravians, and the fullest account of those long-drawn-out negotiations appears in the diaries.

Extracts from these diaries have been printed in the *Journal of the Historical Society of the Presbyterian (Calvinistic Methodist) Church of Wales*, whilst the "Itinerary" of Howell Harris, based on them and published in three special supplements to the same *Journal*

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BOOK NOTICES

by

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(1923, 1925 and 1927), serves as a useful guide to their contents. Students desiring to consult the diaries *must* obtain the permission of their owners, and are advised to write to the Rev. Tom Beynon, Gosen, Rhyd-y-felin, Aberystwyth, for further details on this matter.

2. **The Trevecka Letters** consist of about three thousand or more letters, the majority of which were written to, or are copies of letters written by, Howell Harris. Amongst his correspondents were prominent Methodists like John and Charles Wesley, George Whitefield, the Countess of Huntingdon, Thomas Adams, John Cennick, Marmaduke Gwynne, Joseph Humphreys, John Lewis (the printer), and William Seward, to mention only a few. Many other less famous Methodists, in London and elsewhere, corresponded with him, and, although many of them were often morbidly pre-occupied with the state of their own souls, they conveyed to him a great deal of information of more general interest to the historian. These letters, for instance, supplement our meagre information concerning men whose names appear in Wesley's *Journal*, such as John Acourt (of London) and Thomas Prosser (of Cardiff). Then there is among the collection a letter and a bill (long overdue!) from Dr. Coke's father to Howell Harris; it has no direct connexion with Methodist history, it is true, but it is interesting as the only extant piece of correspondence between the two men.

An Inventory of the Letters has been published by M. H. Jones in *The Trevecka Letters*. Since the publication of that book a number of letters which had gone astray have been recovered and added to the collection, and references to them have been inserted in an interleaved copy of the Inventory at Aberystwyth.

3. **Miscellaneous Manuscripts.** Many of these papers are of interest mainly to historians of Welsh Calvinistic Methodism (e.g. the accounts of the state of Methodist societies in Wales), but others are of more general interest. MS. 2946, for instance, contains the records of English Calvinistic Methodist Associations (corresponding to "Wesleyan" Methodist Conferences). Of these Associations, the most important, perhaps, from our point of view, was that of January 1747, for which see *Proceedings*, xv, pp. 120-1. Other papers in this collection, as well as amongst the Letters, deal with the erection of the Countess of Huntingdon's College at Trevecka, whilst MS. 3265 is part of an unnamed preacher's diary, from which the following sentences have been taken:

SUNDAY 11th. [Preached on part of Lam. iii. Breakfasted with Mr. Skelton. Went to Quaker's Meeting.] Compos'd a hymn & at 5 went to ye Meeting Place in Broad Street & there preach'd on Isaia xli . . . [Met the society.]

On Monday evening he expounded at home to about twenty people, and on the following evening went to hear Nelson at the Foundery. On Wednesday he read Wesley's edition of Baxter's *Aphorisms* (Green's *Wesley Bibliography*, p. 37) " & apprehend it will be the Least serviceable to ye People of anything he has Yet Extracted", and on the same day he preached at his own chapel on John i. 36.

THURSDAY 15. [He considered the divisions of Methodism, and concluded they were due to Satan's policy of "divide and rule".] I once wrote a small Vindication of the Methodists. . . . For my own Part I am at Present neither Servant nor Master to None. . . . This Evening Went to the foundery & heard Mr. Maxfield on the topick of forgiveness of sins which he handled in such a Blundering manner that I was asham'd for him.

So far the writer has not been identified, but, short as the extract is, it is not devoid of interest to Methodist historians.

This is a very incomplete account of the vast collection of documents known as "The Trevecka Manuscripts", but I hope it has in a small measure helped to indicate their value to the student of early Methodism. Howell Harris in particular had very close links with the Wesleys and their work, and the manuscripts preserved by him often supplement very considerably the information to be found in more purely "Wesleyan" sources.

GRIFFITH T. ROBERTS.

Since we last mentioned the subject in *Proceedings*, xxvii, p. 91, the following articles of Methodist historical interest have appeared in the pages of the *London Quarterly and Holborn Review*:

OCTOBER 1949—"Jeremy Taylor and John Wesley", by H. Trevor Hughes, M.A. An attempt "to show Taylor's contribution to the spiritual life of the founder of Methodism".

JANUARY 1950—"The Methodist Marseillaise", by F. Brompton Harvey. A penetrative study of the hymn "A charge to keep I have".

APRIL 1950—"Methodism, 1750-1950", by T. B. Shepherd, M.A., Ph.D. An essay on the "adaptability" of Methodism.

APRIL and JULY 1950—"The Relations between the Society of Friends and Early Methodism", by John C. Bowmer, M.A., B.D. This essay was awarded the second prize in the Eayrs Essay Competition, 1947-8.

JULY 1950—"An Early Nineteenth-Century Journal", by Bernard Crosby. Extracts from the Journal of a Somerset rector with many interesting sidelights on the relations between the Anglican church and the Methodist chapel.

OCTOBER 1950—"The Spiritual Legacy of William Williams of Pantycelyn", by William J. Roberts, B.A. A study of the hymns of one of the founders of Welsh Calvinistic Methodism.

OCTOBER 1950—"The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism", by John C. Bowmer, M.A., B.D. A pre-view of the book of the same title shortly to be published by the Dacre Press.

OCTOBER 1950—"The Influence of Puritanism and Dissent on Methodism", by Duncan Coomer, M.A., LL.D. Deals with, *inter alia*, the Covenant service, sabbatarianism, and the influence of Methodism on Dissent.

During the same period there have also appeared, under the general heading of "Ecumenical Survey", articles on Methodism in Scandinavia, Germany, Ireland, South Africa, and Australia, most of which contain valuable historical data.

WESLEY LETTERS AT WESLEY COLLEGE, HEADINGLEY

THE list of Wesley letters at Wesley College, Headingley, begun in *Proceedings* xxvi, pp. 83-5, and continued in xxvii, pp. 157-60, is here concluded; and reference should be made to the preliminary remarks to those articles. The most interesting of these letters is the rough draft of the letter to his brother Samuel. The passage which describes the change wrought on 24th May 1738 was clearly the cause of much reflection; none of the expressions which were eventually rejected makes much difference to the sense, though the final version is perhaps a shade less emphatic than those rejected. But the care which Wesley took not to exaggerate but to restrict himself to what he could sincerely say is surely greatly to his credit and enhances the value of what he did actually say, both here and, by implication, elsewhere. One wonders how many of the other discrepancies between the draft and the Standard Edition are due to genuine alterations of the draft which were made in the copy actually sent, and how many are errors in the transcription of that copy. (Where is it?) For instance, it seems unlikely that, having rightly written *με* in the draft, he would alter it to *μοι*: and the Standard Edition is probably in error. Moreover, the Standard Edition itself differs somewhat from the text in *Works*, (3rd ed.), xii, pp. 32-4, which, like the rough draft, omits the third paragraph in the first numbered series, commencing "Of gross irrecollection". It would seem likely that the final copy also omitted this, and that the Standard Edition inserted it from *Journal*, i, p. 415, in order to balance the third paragraph in the second numbered series, though still omitting the fourth paragraph in the first series, which there was no incentive to insert, as the fourth paragraph in the second series was undoubtedly omitted.

It only remains to make a correction to the first list, in *Proceedings*, xxvi, pp. 83-5. It was not there made quite clear that the letters dated 29th March 1788, 2nd April 1789, and 3rd August 1789, were addressed to Miss Harriet Lewis, and the letter of 19th January 1790 to Mr. Daniel Jackson.

A. RAYMOND GEORGE.

II. Rough Draft of letter to his brother, Samuel Wesley

Vol. i, pp. 262-5.

30th October 1738

Page 262, lines 5 and 6 Read: *both you and she were more guilty than (I think) any two persons . . .*

line 11 For *hath* read *has*.

line 15 For *surely* read *since*.

lines 13-15 This passage caused Wesley much concern, which is reflected in the many deletions. It reads: *For till then sin had the dominion over me, although I fought with it (daily crossed out) continually, (but had not the victory crossed out; and since then*

- Page 263, line 6 crossed out; *but from that time* crossed out; *I have had the victory through Christ who strengtheneth me* crossed out); *but since then . . .*
 line 7 For *sort or degree* read *degree or sort*.
 line 9 Read: *My want of this faith not My desire . . .*
 line 13 Read: *I wrote down a few lines . . .*
 After *convinced* are the words *this day* in different ink.
 line 15 Read: *prevent my heart from being troubled*.
 lines 18-20 Lines 19 and 20 (paragraph 3) are omitted, and line 18 is linked with line 21 by a "dash".
 line 27 Read: *By such a recollection as may cry to Thee . . .*
 line 31 The Greek quotation from Luke xviii. 39, reads: *ὡς Δαβὶδ ἐλέησόν με.*

At this point the rough draft ends, though it is possible that there were other sheets, now lost.

III. Nineteen Letters to Henry Moore

(The first six letters are addressed: *To Mr. Moore, At the New Room in Dublin*; the remainder: *To Mr. Moore, At the New Chappell, Near Moorfields, London*, or some variant form.)

Vol. viii, p. 10.

18th September 1787

There is a note on the back of the letter, in Henry Moore's writing, which reads: *Mr. Wesley's answer to my letter informing him of Mr. Hill's arrival, and of the Society formed to bring over "gospel ministers"*.

Vol. viii, pp. 37f.

19th February 1788

Page 38, line 6 For *am inclined* read *incline*.

A note in Henry Moore's handwriting reads: *In February I asked Mr. Wesley if Dr. Coke would officiate at NOON when he came to Dublin. He answered as in the opposite page.*

Vol. viii, p. 51f.

6th April 1788

The postscript and superscription are now lacking.

Vol. viii, p. 63.

7th June 1788

line 2 Delete *that*.
 line 7 For *and* read *or*.

Vol. viii, p. 66.

16th June 1788

lines 1 and 2 For *se'nnight* read *sevensnight*.

Vol. viii, p. 70.

16th July 1788

line 7 Before *I am* insert *Meantime*.
 line 7 After *God* two and a half lines of text and a postscript have been suppressed, apparently by a later hand. They are now indecipherable.

Vol. viii, p. 91f.

20th September 1788

Vol. viii, p. 106.

2nd December 1788

line 1 *Mr. A. G———'s* is most probably *Mr. Asbury's*.
 line 4 *he* and *I* are underlined.
 line 6 Delete second *in*.

To the superscription there are added the words: *Double Letter in his absence to Mr. Whitfield*.

- Vol. viii, p. 131. 17th April 1789
 line 1 For *Dear Henry* read *Dear Harry*.
 line 9 For *as much* read *so much*.
 line 11 After *Nancy* read *Dear Harry*.
- Vol. viii, p. 151. 1st July 1789
 line 7 Delete brackets round *now*. The word is quite plain.
 line 9 For *letters* read *invective*.
 line 12 For *Your affectionate* read *The affectionate*. [sic].
- Vol. viii, p. 152f. 14th July 1789
 Page 152, line 6 For *has said* read *has either said*.
 line 9 Delete *of*.
 line 10 For *we now fear* read *we are in for*.
 Page 153, line 5 Read *I am, with kind to my Nancy*. [sic].
- Vol. viii, p. 154f. 17th July 1789
 Page 155, line 5 For *to* read *too*.
- Vol. viii, p. 170f. 5th September 1789
 The date is *September 5* not *September 15*.
 The letter is headed *To H. Moore*, and the superscription reads : *To the Rev^d. Dr. Coke, New Chappel, London*.
- Vol. viii, p. 171. 20th September 1789
- Vol. viii, p. 171f. 22nd September 1789
- Vol. viii, p. 207. 10th March 1790
 The date is *March 10* not *March 14*.
 line 3 For *I would do anything that* read *I would do every that*. [sic].
 line 11 Add *Dear Henry*.
- Vol. viii, p. 215f. 25 April 1790
 Page 216, line 9 For *removing* read *renouncing*.
- Vol. viii, p. 219. 12th May 1790
 line 8 Underline *after*.
 line 10 For *which he may do, especially* read *which he may do effectually*.
 line 12 For *where* read *when*.
- Vol. viii, p. 220f. 1st June 1790
 Page 220, line 1 For *Dear Henry* read *My Dear Henry*.
 line 1 Read : *So I am again upon the borders*.
 Page 221, line 5 After *people* insert the following omitted paragraph :
John Broadbent not be appointed to take your place or unless we could put him out of the way at once. If I live to see Nottingham I shall be able to determine whether I can call at London or no.
 lines 7 and 8 Read . . . *as there is now. If all our preachers here would be Methodists indeed !*

IV. Ten Letters to Miss Mary Cooke (Mrs. Adam Clarke)

The first eight letters are addressed : *To Miss Mary Cook, In Duke Street, Trowbridge, Wilts*, or some variant form. The last two are addressed to *Mrs. Clarke, At the New Room in Bristol* and *Mrs. Clarke, At the New Room in Dublin* respectively.

- Vol. vii, p. 288. 10th September 1785
 line 5 For *made* read *wrote*.
- Vol. vii, p. 292f. 24th September 1785
 Page 292, line 13 *your* is underlined.
 line 18 For *who* read *that*.
 Page 293, line 6 For *the image* read *and the image*.
 line 9 Delete *fast*.
 line 16 Read : *why may not you receive it NOW ?*
 second line of couplet reads : *Seize her for Thy own*.
- Vol. vii, p. 298. 30th October 1785
 line 7 For *If this be so* read *If this is so*.
 line 10 *You* is underlined.
 line 12 For *variability* read *variety*.
 line 18 For *times* read *time*.
 second line of couplet, read : *Sweet, refreshing, as the secret dews*.
 line 25 *you* is underlined.
 line 28 For *Thy passive clay* read *the passive clay*.
- Vol. vii, p. 318. 23rd February 1786
- Vol. vii, p. 357. 12th December 1786
 line 19 *Mrs. Bailward* is almost certainly *Mrs. Ballard*, as in *Journal*,
 vol. vii, p. 434 footnote.
- Vol. vii, p. 377f. 31st March 1787
 Page 377, line 8 For *reasonings* read *reasoning*.
 Page 378, line 2 *see* is underlined.
 line 7 *Him, because* and *us* are underlined.
 line 11 *Obedience* is underlined.
 line 14 For *last met* read *met last*.
- Vol. viii, p. 8. 15th September 1787
- Vol. viii, p. 28. 21st December 1787
 line 6 Delete *a*.
- Vol. viii, p. 220. 1st June 1790
 line 2 For *Now, will you save his life ?* read *How will you save his life ?*
 line 15 For *pleases* read *pleaseth*.
- Vol. viii, pp. 255f. 18th January 1791
 Page 256, line 2 Delete comma, and read : *has lately been cured by dried
 foxglove, [of which] Dr. [Wuthering] gives a grain a day for
 five or six days, when the patient grows sick, then vomiting
 and purging come on and continue till he is well.*
 line 3 For *proofs* read *proof*.
 line 4 For *whence* read *wherein*.
 line 7 For *Mr. V* read *Mr. Vicars*.
 line 8 For *when I see his performances* read *when I have seen his
 performance*.

We have received *There is Holy Ground* (pp. 32, 1s. 6d.), a history of Methodism in Middleton, near Manchester, from 1760 to 1950. It has been compiled by the ministers of the circuits uniting to form the Middleton circuit at the recent Conference, and is a concise but complete account of the history of Methodism in that area and its many chapels. The booklet has been compiled with loving care, and tastefully produced, and is a very fitting souvenir of an historic occasion which was graced by the presence of the President of the Conference.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY (New Zealand Branch)

THE New Zealand Branch of the Society was founded by the direction of the Conference in 1931, with the Rev. C. H. Laws, B.A., D.D., as President, and the Rev. George Frost as Secretary-Treasurer. The present Executive officers are:

President: Rev. E. W. Hames, M.A., Trinity College, Grafton Road, Auckland, C.3.

Secretary-Treasurer: Rev. L. R. M. Gilmore, B.A., 1, Tennyson Avenue, Takapuna, Auckland, N.2.

Membership consisted at first of about thirty senior ministers and laymen. Seven years were to pass before the first lady joined. Her advent was hailed with delight in the Minutes, as she was a direct descendant of early missionaries. The membership now stands at just under two hundred, including some quite youthful ladies and gentlemen.

For some years copies of the British *Proceedings* were bought in bulk and distributed to members with a brief New Zealand supplement. Since 1941, however, our *Proceedings* have been concerned only with local Methodist history. Our present aim is to issue four numbers of *Proceedings* each year, but these vary greatly in size and value. Some of them are specially written for publication by the Society, and some are bought in bulk from churches publishing anniversary brochures, etc.

We find ourselves in the position of having an abundance of material to publish and very inadequate financial resources to do it with. A determined attempt is to be made to double the membership, when it may become possible to publish a quarterly journal.

For the Annual Meeting at the 1949 Conference at Napier the Society joined with the Ecumenical Committee in a public meeting addressed by Mrs. A. B. Cochran, a delegate to the Amsterdam Conference. A resolution was passed by our Conference urging that churches preparing historical publications should submit their manuscripts to the Society for checking before they go to press. At the 1950 Conference at Dunedin Mr. A. H. Harman spoke on "Primitive Methodism in Otago".

With the aim of spreading interest in the Society's activities, it is hoped eventually to arrange a rally of members at each annual District Synod. This would have the double purpose of attracting new members, and of affording members opportunity to compare notes on subjects in which they are specially interested. More than a dozen of our members are engaged in research into many aspects of our New Zealand church history.

Copies of our *Proceedings* are regularly sent to a number of overseas Libraries, including the Royal Empire Society, London, and the Public Library of New York. We used to send these gratis, and still do to some, but more recent additions to our list have become financial members.

At the present time, our chief function in New Zealand Methodist life is to act as a clearing-house for historical information, and we have been able to assist a number of churches preparing anniversary celebrations, and students engaged in writing research theses.

In conclusion, we send warm Christian greetings from "down under" to the brethren and sisters of the parent Society.

L. R. M. GILMORE

(Secretary of the New Zealand Branch).

BOOK NOTICES

Grace Murray, a Play in three Acts, by T. H. Baker. (Epworth Press, pp. 51, 1s. 6d.)

The relations between those concerned in the story of John Wesley's ill-starred love for Grace Murray offer ample scope for dramatic treatment, and while within so brief a study it would be unfair to expect a too-careful analysis of character, Mr. Baker certainly succeeds in giving a lively and colourful picture.

At the same time, I have a feeling that John Bennet might have been sketched a little more solidly. I have never liked Bennet—rest his soul!—but his character intrigues one. He was an able man but had (as I think) a streak of moral weakness and indiscipline. His deliberate pursuit of Grace while knowing that she was pledged to Wesley, and his too-easy surrender to Charles's plans, were inexcusable, and I think he knew it. If I were a psychologist I think I could find a connexion between his sense of guilt in the matter and the fact that within three years of marriage he was bitterly attacking Wesley—the one man who had an unquestionable claim upon his loyalty and respect. Mr. Baker lets him off too lightly!

Just before the final curtain Grace tells Wesley: "We shall spend a happy Eternity together." What happens in Eternity is a matter for conjecture, but Mr. Baker should have remembered, perhaps, that Sophy also would be waiting "in Eternity", and that, in due time, Mrs. Vazeille would make it a foursome! (An imp within me suggests that there's scope for another play there!)

The last two scenes are a shade short for their full dramatic possibilities to be exploited, and isn't there a slip at the end of the second Act? Could Grace both forget and (seven lines later) "never forget" the affair at Roughlee? But this is certainly a very good little play, with a scholarly respect for historical accuracy and some very well drawn subsidiary characters. The Orphan House scenes are excellently done. F. H. EVERSON.

Sons of Freemen, by R. G. Martin. (Religious Education Press, pp. 128, 4s. 6d.)

Professor T. W. Manson recently told his students that the ministry of Jesus which began more than nineteen centuries ago would be continued in their church or Sunday-school the following Sunday. Mr. Martin's book provides excellent illustrations of the manner in which that ministry has been exercised during the intervening centuries. It tells in a most interesting and reliably informative manner the story of the Free Churches, and is an attempt to answer certain questions about Nonconformity which adolescents in our churches (for whom the book is primarily intended) sometimes ask.

The book opens with a fine description of the experience that

befel the apostles at Pentecost, resulting in the creation of the Christian Church. In the following chapter the author deals with the Roman Church of a thousand years, and thereafter tells the story of Luther, Calvin, the earliest Nonconformists in this country, George Fox, John Bunyan, the Wesleys and Whitefield, and continues the story to the present day. In each case Mr. Martin has seized with unerring instinct upon the salient factor in every phase of the history of the Free Churches. To choose (as an illustration of this assertion) the movement which is most intimately known to our Society's readers: it would not be easy to find a more apposite summary of the aim which inspired the Wesley brothers and their preachers than that selected by Mr. Martin:

I would the precious time redeem,
And longer live for this alone,
To spend, and to be spent, for them
Who have not yet my Saviour known.

The book is one which may be confidently recommended to those for whose sake it was written.

CHARLES TAYLOR.

The Triumph of Reform. Volume Three of *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*, by Elie Halévy. (Ernest Benn, pp. viii. 364, 21s.)

The third volume of the reprint of M. Halévy's *History of the English People* covers the years 1830 to 1841, the period of the Chartist Rising and of the agitation for the disestablishment of the Church of England, and in Methodism of the Warrenite controversy. M. Halévy deals faithfully, as always, with religious questions, and shows quite clearly how Wesleyan Methodism "ostentatiously" adopted a position of neutrality as between the Church and the Dissenting sects. In 1829 the majority of Wesleyans were opposed to Catholic emancipation; shortly afterwards the Wesleyan Conference refused to concern itself with the question of Parliamentary reform and had forbidden Methodists to join the trade unions; and on the issue of disestablishment it adopted the same attitude of "unfriendly neutrality".

We see something of the "Toryism" of Wesleyanism in those difficult years and of the overtures made by the Conservatives to "so unsectarian a sect"; whilst at the same time it is clear that neither the political colour of Wesleyanism nor its affinities with Anglicanism did it any material harm, for in the period covered by this volume the membership of Wesleyan Methodism increased by approximately one-third. On the other hand, the other Methodist bodies supported the Dissenters in their demand for a democratic and secular State, and helped to form "the main body of the host arrayed against Anglicanism".

We have nothing but praise for these reprints. Their literary quality was established long ago, whilst a few minor errors in the Index are but a small blemish on what we regard as a major publishing achievement.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

NOTES AND QUERIES

897. DATE OF "FENOWILLET" COMMUNION CUPS.

My attention has been drawn to the interpretation of the Roman numerals, MDCIIIC, on the Fenowillet Communion Cups (see *Proceedings*, xxvii, p. 105). As it happens, while revising the inscription and its translation, I accepted uncritically the interpretation of the numerals as given in *Proceedings*, xvi, p. 137, but I think the correct reading ought to be 1697 and not 1703.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

898. "A WORD TO A SAILOR".

In *Proceedings*, xii, pp. 136-8, there is an informative article by the Rev. A. F. Hall, entitled: "John Wesley's Tract Society", in which the writer mentions "A Word to a Soldier" and "A Word to a Sailor", each being offered at 1s. 6d. per hundred. Does any member possess a copy of either of these tracts? Wesley's "Advice to a Soldier" in *Works* (3rd ed.), xi, pp. 198-202, is known to most students, but there seems to be no available record of his special advice to sailors.

JIM CURRY.

899. EAYRS ESSAY PRIZES.

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

13. 1947-8. "The Relations between the Society of Friends and early Methodism".

First prize—Rev. Frank Baker, B.A., B.D.

Second prize—Rev. John C. Bowmer, B.D.

14. 1948-9. "John Wesley and Ireland".

First prize—Rev. John C. Bowmer, B.D.

Second prize—Rev. George Artingstall.

15. 1949-50. "Fletcher of Madeley".

First prize not awarded this year.

Second prize—Rev. George Artingstall.

Details of the essays and prize-winners in earlier years were given in *Proceedings*, xxiii, p. 22; xxv, p. 13; and xxvi, p. 62.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

The Manuscript Journal has been revived under the general supervision of the Rev. John C. Bowmer, and is now circulating in two sections amongst those members who signified their willingness to participate in the scheme. Its success depends upon two factors: (1) the degree to which members co-operate by making contributions to the Journal, either on subjects of their own choice or by commenting on papers inserted by other members; (2) the speed with which the Journal is kept circulating. Members are urged to send the file, carefully packed, to the next member on the rota with the least possible delay, and at the same time to forward one of the addressed postcards to the Journal Secretary so that he may know the whereabouts of the files at any given time. When the two files have gone round both sections, any suitable material will be extracted for publication.