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Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

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

Volume XXXVII

October 1970

WILLIAM CLOWES IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND

THE year 1969 marked the 150th anniversary of that northward thrust by William Clowes which brought Primitive Methodism into the broad acres of Yorkshire, the mining-belt of Durham and Northumberland, and the hill-country of Cumberland and Westmorland. Leaving Hugh Bourne to take care of the work in the Potteries, Clowes set out from his home at Tunstall on 12th January 1819, and three days later crossed the Humber to enter Hull, where he was to reside until his death in 1851.

Hull was to be the headquarters of Clowes's northern mission. By 10th September 1819 he had erected in Hull the Mill Street chapel, capable of seating 800 people. By March 1826—only seven years after entering Hull, that is—he had created twenty-one new circuits in the north of England, with a total membership of around 12,000. He wrote in his journal:

From January 12th, 1819, the day when I began the Hull mission, a period of seven years and two months, the Hull circuit alone has raised up in the Primitive Methodist Connexion 11,996 souls. Hosannah! Hosannah!

How were such remarkable results achieved in so short a time? The Hull Circuit Accounts Book for the period from June 1822 to June 1827 has been made available for a careful examination. It shows that during these early years Clowes called on the services of a large body of paid preachers.

Although Clowes arrived in Hull in January 1819 as the sole missionary, he was in March given two colleagues, namely John Harrison and his wife (née Sarah Kirkland), and by June 1822 no fewer than thirty-six preachers were being paid by the Hull circuit. Their names are recorded as follows:

Wm. Clowes; Nathaniel West; Thos. Martindale; Wm. Havercroft; Jno. Lacey; Thos. Nelson; Geo. Herod; Peter Atherton; Jno. Armatage; Abm. Richardson; Jno. Hutchinson; Robt. Hancroft; Saml. Smith;

Jno. Hewson; Jno. Garner; Jonathan Clewer; Francis Jessey; Geo. Summers; Joshua Smith; Thos. Batty; Geo. Tindall; Jane Ansdell; Paul Sugden; Jno. Nelson; Joshua Peart; Jno. Flesher; Wm. Summersides; Joshua Sleightholme; Geo. Sellers; Wm. Brining; Joshua Buckle; Jno. Oxtoby; Jno. Harrison; Wm. Bowden; Joshua Thompson; Geo. Lazenby.

Yet these were by no means the only preachers on the pay-roll of the Hull circuit. The accounts show that in the five years between June 1822 and June 1827 as many as 139 preachers received payment for periods of service ranging from one or two quarters to five years.

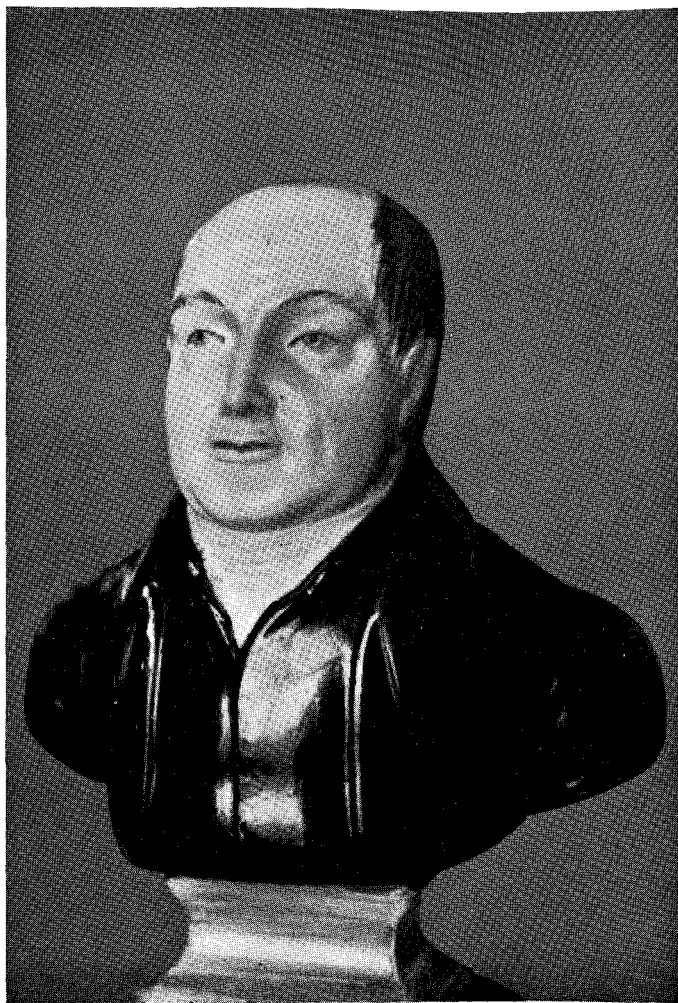
This mobile force of preachers encouraged Clowes to move swiftly and confidently into the northern counties of England. He knew that he could command paid assistance for his labours and have the work followed up by full-time preachers in every area of the North where he required it. The accounts show that preachers were moved from one area to another in the north of England under the direction of the Hull circuit, which met their travelling expenses. In March 1823, for example, the following movements took place, the amounts paid from Hull for travelling expenses being shown against each name:

	£	s.	d.
Charles Paul from Stockton to Hull	2	0	10½
Jno. Hutchinson from Whitby to Tadcaster	1	4	9
Francis Jessey from Silsden to Tadcaster			7½
Bentley Morris from Darlington to Burlington	1	10	7½
Jno. Hewson from Tadcaster to Darlington	1	13	3
Jno. Garner from Hull to Scarborough		10	7½
Thos. Batty from Hull to Barnard Castle		18	9
Aron Race from Burlington to Barnard Castle		9	4½
Peter Pedley from Kendal to Hexham		6	3
Geo. Tindall from Hull to Carlisle		19	9½
Willm. Suddard from Hexham to Stockton		11	3
Willm. Summersides from Darlington to Kendal		16	3

These movements were not simply due to annual changes in stationing, but were short-period movements. By the end of the year John Hutchinson had moved again from Tadcaster to Hull, Francis Jessey from Tadcaster to Brough, William Suddard from Stockton to Hexham, and William Summersides from Kendal to Carlisle.

In other words, the Hull circuit, with Clowes as superintendent, had a pool of full-time preachers available for deployment anywhere in the north of England. The highest number remunerated in any one quarter was 36, but the total for the five years was 139. All these names are recorded in the Hull account book between 1822 and 1827, with the quarterly allowance against each name. A variation in preachers' names from quarter to quarter suggests that some preachers might be no longer itinerating, but also that others would have been transferred to the various "branches" as these became independent of the Hull circuit. These transfers would then enable

1822	Debit Account Dr		1822	Howard Cr	
June 10	Wm Claves Quarter Salary	7 16 =	Hull	Members	7 00
	North West 7 weeks at 12/	4 =	Bedcaster	%	2 81
	Thos Martindale Quarter Salary	7 16 =	Wiffield	%	3 58
	Wm Hawcroft %	7 16 =	Burlington	%	4 00
	Geo Lacey %	7 16 =	Washington	%	2 38
	Thos Nelson %	3 15 =	Sladen	%	6 26
	Geo Herd 7 weeks at 12/	4 =	Little Minn %	%	3 6
	Peter Altherton Dr %	7 16 =	Boston	%	2 47
	Mr Armataje %	7 16 =	Barnardcastle	%	1 84
	Mr Richardson %	7 16 =	North Minn %	%	7 0
	Mr Hutchinson %	7 16 =	Stockton %	%	7 9
	Wm Hawcroft %	3 15 =	Watlington	%	2 19
	Sam Smith %	7 16 =	Scarbro & Waddy %	%	3 52
	Mr Hewson %	7 16 =	Sladen Extra	%	3 53
	Mr Garner %	3 15 =	at Richardsons fine for Electricity	Quintanovich	3 =
	Mr Clever %	7 16 =	Recd from Bank Howard		9
	Francis Jesse %	7 16 =			
	Geo Summers %	7 16 =			
	Wm Smith %	7 16 =			
	Thos Batty %	7 16 =			
	Geo Findall %	3 15 =			
	James Andell %	2 =			
	Paul Lyden %	7 16 =			
	Mr Nelson %	3 15 =			
	Geo & Thos 7 weeks 5/10	2 =			
		151 18 =			2 00
					5 82



WILLIAM CLOWES (1780-1851)

A Pottery Bust in the collection of Alderman Horace Hird, M.A., F.S.A.

Clowes to call fresh preachers into the circuit to be deployed throughout the North as need arose. In most cases the "branches" became independent after a year or two, although a few weaker areas such as Driffield, Burlington, Barnard Castle and Scarborough, remained dependent for at least five years. The account book shows all the following twenty-six areas in the North being served by paid preachers in the Hull circuit for some period between 1822 and 1827:

Tadcaster; Driffield; Burlington; Darlington; Silsden; Settle; Preston; Barnard Castle; Stockton; Patrington; Scarborough; Whitby; Kendal; Clithero; North Shields; South Shields; Carlisle; Hexham; Ulverston; Brough; Whitehaven; Penrith; Shotley Bridge; Westgate; Bridlington; Alston.

It was the large force of full-time preachers mustered in the Hull circuit for deployment throughout the north of England that helped Primitive Methodism to develop so swiftly in the northern counties.

But this large force of preachers was not easy to maintain. From 1823 the allowances were as low as £4 per quarter for a single man and £9 2s. for a married man, with children's allowances of 6d. per week for infants and 1s. per week for older children. Nevertheless, with so many preachers to maintain, the circuit could not make ends meet. The following figures show the position for the June quarter in the three years 1822, 1824 and 1826.

	<i>Income</i>			<i>Expenditure</i>			<i>Balance (Dr.)</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
June 1822 ...	220	10	11	230	5	3½	9	14	4½
June 1824 ...	244	11	7½	328	3	4½	83	11	9
June 1826 ...	255	16	1½	345	17	5¾	90	1	4½

The debit balances are shown in the account book as "Dr. to the Book Steward" or "Received from the Book Account". This means that Clowes's northern mission was being heavily subsidized from the book-room at Bemersley. Since this book-room was in the hands of Hugh Bourne and his brother James,¹ these figures go a long way towards explaining the strictures levelled by Hugh Bourne in 1830 against the way in which the Hull circuit had been administered.

In fact the policy of Clowes in mission work differed materially from that of Hugh Bourne. Whereas Bourne was content to set forward the work from the Potteries without any large-scale employment of paid preachers, Clowes made full use of such preachers from the outset of the Hull mission. The southward thrust of Primitive Methodism from the Potteries was not dependent on the services of 139 full-time preachers. It is understandable that Hugh Bourne was reluctant to expend the book-room resources on a policy for northern Primitive Methodism which he himself did not employ in the Potteries. The strained relations between Bourne and Clowes at this period may have had some origin in the more cautious policy

¹ For an account of James Bourne and the Bemersley Book-room, see Dr. Frank Baker's articles in *Proceedings*, xxx, pp. 138, 171.

of Bourne and the demands made upon the Bemersley Book-room by the more enterprising policy of Clowes.

Yet without this policy of employing so many paid preachers, it is difficult to see how Clowes could have achieved such striking results in so short a time. Arriving in Hull in 1819, he had made 12,000 members and twenty-one circuits by 1826. Thenceforward his time was chiefly spent in confirming the churches already created. It was in the seven years from 1819 to 1826 that Primitive Methodism was set alight from the Humber to the borders of Scotland.

How did Clowes manage to mobilize such a large force of preachers for such meagre allowances? In fact, the allowances were not much different from the wages of the labouring classes at the time. It was a period of very low wages generally, and a period of repression which hindered wages from rising. The year 1819 was the year of Peterloo.

Hence the low allowances would make little difference to the economic position of the preachers. With Clowes they would have freedom to travel over the north of England and give full vent to their religious experience. Such a position would open a door to release them from the repression of government and the frustration of poverty. They hated evil, they feared no one but God, they had the love of Christ in their hearts, and they stood ready to bring men to a new birth.

But they were building even greater than they knew. For as they dotted the towns and villages of the North with Primitive Methodist chapels, they created cells for the birth of rebels who, in due time, were to speak out not only against individual sin but against the social sin of poverty and all forms of repression. It was through the northern mission of Clowes and his band of preachers that the working classes of the North became articulate. At a time when it was perilous to speak openly against government, there was full freedom to preach and pray in Primitive Methodism. In the chapels the tongue of the dumb was made to speak and to sing, and it was from such chapels that the miners of County Durham and elsewhere found leaders in their struggle against penury.

These things were wrought through the work of William Clowes and his band of preachers in the northern mission between 1819 and 1826. We do well to remember them with lasting gratitude for beginning their labours in northern England 150 years ago.

LEONARD BROWN.

In connexion with the celebration next year of the centenary of Bramhall Methodist church, an illustrated history of Methodism in Bramhall is to be published in the spring of 1971.

It would be appreciated if any readers having material or information which may be of use in the compilation of this history would kindly get into touch with Mr. Andrew Corrie, 92, Kitts Moss Lane, Bramhall, Stockport, Cheshire (Tel. 061-439 4973).

JOHN WESLEY AND WILLIAM LAW

A Reconsideration

I HAVE great respect for my friend the Rev. Frederick Hunter and his views, but am just as anxious as he is to arrive at the truth about John Wesley, even though this entails entering a kindly dissent from the arguments of a good friend. Having carefully considered those arguments, I think I see a number of flaws, and in general remain unconvinced. My position remains basically the same—that Wesley may indeed have read William Law's *Christian Perfection* in 1727 or 1728, a year or two after its publication, and that he may have read the *Serious Call* almost immediately upon its publication in the dying months of 1728, but that it is much more probable that he first read the *Serious Call* in December 1730, followed by *Christian Perfection* in 1732. Although I shrink from anything approaching controversy, I believe that readers should be enabled to study both arguments and to make up their own minds on the value of the evidence and the cogency of the reasoning. Here I content myself with a few remarks—mainly generalizations—upon the difference between Mr. Hunter's approach to the subject and my own.

Mr. Hunter in his article cites a further reference by Wesley to his introduction to Law's writings. This is in *The Principles of a Methodist* (1742), though here Wesley mentions neither work by name, so that no question of the order of reading is involved. It may well be that there are other references, for I did not conduct an extensive search for such. Even if ten additional references were adduced, however, it would not make the argument from numbers any stronger. I strongly dissent from Mr. Hunter's view that "the historian's task is to try to discover a consensus of the four statements". This is akin to the argument that if a sufficient number of secondary authorities repeat an error it must therefore become the truth; in such a case—which occurs frequently in Wesley studies, as in other academic work—the historian's task is rather to penetrate behind the secondary authorities to the primary authority. In the instance under consideration, where three passages repeat with variations the theme of an earlier statement upon which they may well be based, the truth is not to be reached by harmonizing all four, but by checking the original statement against other factors and other documents, more especially against contemporary documents unlikely to be influenced either by a faulty memory or by a changing perspective.

I fully agree that my argument from specific entries in Wesley's extant diaries cannot be conclusive because of the absence of earlier diaries, and indeed I went to some pains to state as much; the missing diaries covering 27th February 1727 to 29th April 1729 may indeed have contained a reference to Wesley's reading of one or of both books. I would still claim, however, that this is "barely

possible . . . but highly unlikely". I grant that Wesley did indeed read some books—especially books important to him—more than once. The diary entries undoubtedly referring to the reading of these two volumes, however, are in such a form as to imply—though certainly not to prove—that the books were then read for the first time. The daily entries are supplemented by references in Wesley's monthly summaries, which seem to have been reserved for especially important events; in the case of the *Serious Call* Wesley also makes an entry in his annual summary of important events. Both readings are followed after a brief interval by records of "collecting" the books. Nevertheless this presumed first reading may in fact have been preceded by a still earlier one, as in the case of Francke's *Nicodemus*, noted by Mr. Hunter. In the absence of the early diaries to prove or possibly disprove this, it would certainly be irresponsible to claim that Wesley could not have read them during those undocumented months; in the presence of the proof of later readings, however, it seems reasonable to suggest that this careful reading and collecting fits the pattern of a first reading, and therefore strongly reduces the likelihood of an earlier reading.

Although I am not impressed by a multitude of witnesses if there seems good reason to believe that they are false witnesses, or merely mistaken witnesses, yet I agree that Mr. Hunter's added reference from Wesley's *Principles of a Methodist* is both pertinent and important: "I had been eight years at Oxford before I read any of Mr. Law's writings." As Mr. Hunter points out, Wesley entered Oxford in June 1720. His apparent argument, however, that this could imply a reading in the summer of 1727 because January–March 1728 could under the Old Style correctly be described as "1727" has no force, because Wesley's "eight years" clearly begins in 1720, and therefore cannot end earlier than June 1728. I would plead, however, that Wesley scholars should not be unduly literalistic in founding arguments upon Wesley's later recollections of dates and periods. He was much too concerned about his primary evangelistic and pastoral work to spend the necessary time in the research by which alone such statements could be made reliably specific, and seems therefore to have been content with approximations, as I believe he was in this instance. Such a sentence as this might well prove a very shaky *foundation* for an argument, though it might serve usefully as *confirmation*. On this basis I personally would not dare to claim that Wesley *must* have read one or other of Law's books during the twelve months beginning June 1728 and ending June 1729, rather than earlier or later, even though the statement certainly creates a *probability*. The weight of this probability, however, must be measured against that of other probabilities.

Mr. Hunter rightly challenges the impression given him by my statement that Wesley claims to have read the two books "shortly after . . . March 1726". He apparently takes me to mean "within a few weeks", whereas my intention was "within a few months, or

a year or so". My language was not sufficiently precise. I agree with him that the word "now" in section 5 of Wesley's Conversion account might well imply that he met Law's writings not only immediately upon going to Lincoln College, but some months after this new setting had furnished the incentive to undertake new rigours in the use of his time. It is indeed barely possible that the "now" stretched as far in Wesley's mind as 1730, with which section 6 begins. It seems much more natural, however, to take Wesley's implication as earlier rather than later in this four-year period. That, surely, is what he himself did later in his letter to Newton, specifically dating the beginning of his acquaintance with Law as in 1727; similarly in the *Plain Account of Christian Perfection* he spoke of it as "a year or two after" 1726. Certainly Wesley's stricter economy of time began in 1726, and is epitomized by the well-known phrase contained in a letter of 5th December that year to his brother Samuel—"leisure and I have taken leave of one another."

Obviously I agree with Mr. Hunter that Wesley would have served his own controversial purposes better, and would have saved future historians an immense amount of trouble, if he had carefully undertaken his own research in documents available to him but denied to us, and then issued the results in a detailed factual statement. It is quite true that Wesley could have strengthened his case if he had referred to his diaries and shown that (on my theory) he did not meet Law's writings until 1730; it is similarly true that he could have strengthened Mr. Hunter's case by referring to his earlier diaries and pin-pointing the possible earlier date when he studied the *Serious Call*, and at the same time have preserved himself from the printed error of claiming to have read it a year before it was published. However lamentable the fact, however, this does not seem to have been Wesley's method. The more I study him, the more convinced I become that during the major part of his active ministry he rarely carried out any close research into the documents which he himself had accumulated—documents such as his notebooks and diaries and the early editions of his own writings. Indeed, I am proposing at some future date to write an article giving details of some of the many instances when Wesley's memory, unfortified by research into primary documents, undoubtedly played him tricks. One of these instances is concerned with another refinement of the careful economy of time upon which he embarked at this period. In later years Wesley claimed that he began his habit of early rising by means of a few days of experiments, and never forsook that habit. The evidence of his own diary, however, proves that these experiments were spread over many months, with a number of failures and fresh starts; it was only after fifteen months that the set pattern of later years was established. It was this general background of approximation that I had in mind even more than the specific case of his reading of Law when I wrote that his statements in this particular instance furnished

additional evidence that in Wesley's memory past events, even important events, changed dates, and even relative positions, with kaleidoscopic ease.

Perhaps I should move from generalizations to two or three specific points. In introducing his own statement of my argument, Mr. Hunter on occasion shifts the emphasis. It is quite incorrect, for instance, to claim that the readings set by Wesley for his Oxford pupils in 1730-1

aroused [my] suspicions of Wesley's subsequent apparent claims that he had read these two books at least two years, at most four years, before this.

For many years I have been troubled by the glaring discrepancy of Wesley's apparent implication that within a year or so of his becoming a Fellow of Lincoln in March 1726 he had read a book which is dated 1729, even though it may have been published as early as November 1728. Study of Wesley's diaries in connexion with work on my forthcoming Wesley bibliography unearthed diary proof of his actual reading of Law's works at later dates, thus giving more substance to my long-standing disquiet. The research into his reading-lists was an afterthought, though it apparently confirmed the other findings. I would not wish to place too much emphasis upon the absence of Law's writings from these lists, though the evidence has more value than Mr. Hunter believes. He argues that the terms of Wesley's teaching office "reduced his ability to set devotional books". The lists themselves effectively disprove this: far more devotional works are set than any others.

Mr. Hunter seems to contest my statement that the Conversion account as it relates to William Law was "heavily charged with remembered emotion", stressing instead that Wesley was "much offended" with Law. I find no difficulty in accepting Wesley's own account of both points, that "although" he was offended by many parts, yet they did exercise a profound impression upon him. Indeed, the following sentence reads like a classic conversion experience: "The light flowed in so mightily upon my soul, that everything appeared in a new view." Mr. Hunter promises to show that these words in fact extol not Law's writings, but the Bible. I find quite unconvincing, however, his argument that that particular enlightenment must have come from the scriptures because some years later Wesley used the phrase "the light" in a context which in part referred to the Bible. Although assistance in interpreting unusual phrases may well be sought in other passages, fairly common expressions such as "the light" must surely be assessed almost solely within their particular context. The argument would have been stronger had Mr. Hunter pointed out that in the Conversion account Wesley's sentence had been preceded by the claim that Law's writings convinced him more than ever of "the exceeding height and breadth and depth of the law of God"—again rapturous Pauline language, where "the law of God" might conceivably refer to the

Bible, though in its context I have taken it to refer to God's plan of saving man by obedience to His will. Again, although I do indeed believe that Wesley was enthusiastic about Law's writings, it is hardly correct to state that I "based my argument" on this enthusiasm. My argument was based upon discrepancies in Wesley's later statements which seem largely to be resolved by the documentary evidence of his diaries.

In all my arguments, however, I cannot for a moment accept that Wesley was guilty of any deliberate attempt to mislead his readers, and it would surely be the farthest thing from his mind that he was twisting the facts of his life for his own controversial or even evangelical purposes, however worthy. Therefore I must refute the pejorative implications of Mr. Hunter's statement :

Dr. Baker claims that Wesley deliberately altered the order of his reading the books (1730-2, which, presumably, he remembered !) in order to put the books into the order in which they were published, which he had also remembered !

I believe that it mattered little to Wesley in what order the books had been either published or read, and that he would never dream of issuing false statements about such matters. I agree that, on the face of things, it does appear strange that Wesley should forget the order in which he read such important books, and also (perhaps) of their publication, especially in his middle years, when he was surely less liable to errors of memory than he was later on. Something is wrong with his accounts, however, and I still believe my suggestion about what actually happened is the more likely of the alternatives.

FRANK BAKER.

[Mr. Hunter, who has read Dr. Baker's *Reconsideration*, writes to say that he still finds "the consensus of Wesley's four accounts more credible in face of all evidence". With this we must close the discussion, and leave our readers to make their own judgements.—EDITOR.]

We gratefully acknowledge the following periodicals, which have come to hand since the publication of the list in our last issue. Some of these are received on a reciprocal basis with our own *Proceedings*, and we are glad to take part in this mutual exchange of historical information.

The Baptist Quarterly, July and October 1970.

Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society, May and October 1970.

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, 1969.

The Local Historian, Nos. 2 and 3, 1970.

The Journal of the Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of Wales, September 1970.

The Journal of the South Australian Methodist Historical Society, October 1969.

The Bulletin of the Wesleyan Theological Society (USA).

Methodist History, July and October 1970.

Cirplan, Michaelmas 1970.

We have also been interested to receive a copy of Bulletin No. 5 (1970) of the Japan Wesley Association, bearing the title *Wesley and Mission*.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD AFTER TWO HUNDRED YEARS

[The bicentenary of Whitefield's death on 30th September 1770 has called forth this article from the pen of our President.—EDITOR.]

IT is a proof of any man's greatness that two hundred years after his death his name still lives and his influence is still assessed. In the case of Whitefield there is the complication that he shared with the Wesleys in that great religious revival which spread across England like a prairie-fire and reddened the sky with its glow. The danger is that the towering figure of John Wesley may cause his biographers by lack of perspective to underrate the importance of Whitefield, and likewise that those who write about Whitefield may consciously or unconsciously attempt to restore the balance and, like Shakespeare's lady, "protest too much".

The two volumes of Luke Tyerman on George Whitefield still remain the quarry where others come to dig. Declaring that Whitefield was a Calvinist and he himself an Arminian, he could yet speak of Whitefield as

the most popular evangelist of the age who with unequalled eloquence and power spent over thirty years in testifying to enormous crowds in Great Britain and America the gospel of the grace of God.

This summary is important not only by what is affirmed but by what is left unsaid. No one could write a book on Whitefield using George Eayrs's word for Wesley as "church-builder". He was not an ecclesiastical statesman, the architect of an organized church. His gifts lay elsewhere. Nevertheless he must be counted one of the mightiest forces in that evangelical revival, Calvinist rather than Arminian in tone, which quickened the Church of England during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. Despite doctrinal differences, his friendship with Wesley accelerated—as Tyerman justly acknowledges—the spread of Methodism in northern counties. The mutual regard and admiration held for each other by George Whitefield and the Countess of Huntingdon meant that he had immense influence in the chapels she built and the connexion which bore her name. His friendship with Howell Harris and his direct association with the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists meant that in 1743 at the Watford Association Whitefield was chosen Moderator. During 1743-4 he attended and presided over at least five of the eight quarterly associations held in Wales, and in those early formative years he had his own distinctive place in the spread of the revival in Wales.

It was in America, however, that he exercised, as the earliest great pioneer, an immense influence over the Congregational churches of New England and the Presbyterians and Baptists in the middle States. In his book on the history of American Methodism, Dr. Abel Stevens speaks of the great awakening under Jonathan Edwards

being re-quickened by Whitefield. He makes the interesting and tenable suggestion that although Whitefield did not organize the results of his own preaching, he did prepare the way for Wesley's itinerants. Before he died they were already in the country, and in the very next year after his death Francis Asbury came as the next great apostle to develop and organize a work to which Whitefield had made so notable a contribution.

It remains to say that because John Wesley and he were so completely dedicated to God and so unmindful of their own reputations, a friendship with the Wesleys which had begun at the Holy Club, Oxford, was maintained throughout Whitefield's life. Of their first meeting, Charles Wesley in his memorable *Elegy on the Death of the late Rev. George Whitefield* wrote :

An Israelite without disguise or art
I saw, I loved, and clasped him to my heart ;
A stranger as my bosom friend caress'd,
And unawares received an angel guest.

There were occasions on which the friendship was tested. More especially, as writers have pointed out, the sermon of John Wesley on "Free Grace" gave Whitefield the Calvinist much distress of mind, and only the mutual regard of the two great men held them together despite John's insistent stress on universal grace and Whitefield's unwavering delight in "the excellency of the doctrine of election and of the saints' final perseverance". Each knew that greater than all differences was the common task of evangelism to which they were called. It is significant that within a year of Whitefield's death there came the grievous and bitter breach between Methodists and the Calvinists begun by the attack of the latter on the Conference *Minutes* of 1770, followed by Fletcher's *First Check to Antinomianism*. Throughout the greater part of the decade (1770-80) Wesley had to suffer the scurrilous attacks of such controversialists as Augustus Toplady and Richard and Rowland Hill.

While George Whitefield was alive, however, such attacks were not possible. His affection and respect for John Wesley, coupled with his authority among the Calvinists, restrained the hot-heads. So truly knit were the two men that John Wesley was chosen to deliver the funeral sermon at the chapel in Tottenham Court Road, London, on 18th November 1770. He was glad, as he recorded in his *Journal*, "to shew all possible respect to the memory of that great and good man". So much could be said by all the churches as they pay a bicentenary tribute to one who, in Tyerman's words, "belonged practically to no denomination of Christians but was the friend of all".

MALDWYN L. EDWARDS.

Among publications reaching the Editor's desk recently is an off-print of pages 264-71 of volume xvi of the *Journal of the National Library of Wales*, which carry an article, in English, on "Theophilus Evans, Chaplain", by Mr. A. H. Williams of Cardiff (editor of the Welsh Methodist historical journal *Bathafarn*).

THE ANNUAL MEETING AND LECTURE

LEVENSHULME Methodist church, Manchester, was the place of assembly for this year's meetings. Twenty-four members were present, including Dr. Frank Baker, whose periodic visits to this country we look forward to with pleasure. We offered him our congratulations upon the publication of his monumental study of *John Wesley and the Church of England*. Along with Dr. Baker we welcomed Dr. Ole E. Borgen of the World Methodist Council. Once again Mrs. Gertrude Ibberson was our invisible hostess.

Business Meeting

Devotions were led by our President (Dr. Maldwyn Edwards), and the meeting sent its greetings to the President of the Conference (the Rev. Rupert E. Davies), who, like an increasing number of his predecessors, is a member of our Society. Tribute was paid to the lives and service of sixteen members who had died during the year.

The Rev. Kenneth B. Garlick reported that we now have 937 members, of whom 52 have been enrolled during the year. After allowing for the sixteen who have died, and nine others retired or lapsed, the net increase on the year is 27. The treasurer's report showed that the total assets of the Society amount to £1,176 6s. 9d., of which £700 9s. 3d. represents advance subscriptions. The editor and the publishing manager were thanked for the continued excellence of the *Proceedings*, and it was reported that forthcoming publications would include a "Jackdaw" and a Guide for Schools which would be of assistance to schoolchildren and teachers in their Wesley and Methodism studies.

Three exhibitions of Methodist history were open in Manchester during the Conference period: one—extending from room to room—at the University library, one at the John Rylands Library, and one in Chetham's Library. The meeting expressed its thanks to Mr. E. A. Rose, the secretary of the Lancashire and Cheshire branch, for the excellence of the three exhibitions.

Once again the meeting spent a large proportion of its time hearing and reading the reports sent in from our local branches. We were sorry to learn of the death of the secretary of the Plymouth and Exeter branch, Mr. William R. West, and of the forthcoming retirement from office of Mr. W. A. Green, the secretary of the East Anglia branch. The Lincolnshire and West Midlands branches had held a joint meeting at Epworth during the year, and the North-East branch had held an ecumenical—historical pilgrimage to the Roman Catholic Seminary at Ushaw College, near to the city of Durham.

All the officers of the Society were thanked and re-elected.

The Annual Lecture

Local history was the warp and woof of this year's lecture on "John Wesley and the Wednesbury Riots". The Rev. J. Leonard Waddy has made a close study of every aspect of his subject, extending in detail into the lives of the persecutors and the persecuted, some of them turning out to be relatives at a remove to each other and, after a further six generations, to the lecturer himself. We are most grateful to Mr. Waddy for his valuable study and fascinating lecture, our only regret being that, under the new conditions obtaining at the Book-Room, it will not receive automatic publication.

THE WESLEYS IN THE "ORANGE STREET HYMNAL"

(Continued from page 142)

III. Charles Wesley

Toplady the singing Calvinist and Charles Wesley the lyrical Arminian join hands in one hundred and ninety hymns in the "Orange Street Hymnal". In the case of a good many of these, Toplady had anticipated the imprimatur of John Wesley in his standard *Collection of Hymns* four years later. All the same, some of the greatest Methodist favourites are missing, for example "A charge to keep I have", "Captain of Israel's host, and guide", "Let Him to whom we now belong", and "O Thou who camest from above".

Very commendable in Toplady (and rarely mentioned) is his anticipation of numerous Wesley hymns which later became popular in Methodism. The "New Supplement" added to the original *Collection* in 1875, massively Wesleyan, contains no fewer than forty items which Toplady had included a hundred years earlier. Amongst these are "Away with our fears", "Christ, whose glory fills the skies", "Jesus, lover of my soul", "Omnipotent Redeemer", "Rejoice, the Lord is King", and "Ye servants of God, your Master proclaim".

On the other hand, Toplady moves alone over large tracts of Wesley poetry. About eighty of the Wesley hymns in this hymn-book have never been sung either in Methodism or in the main non-conformist bodies. Perhaps the hymn beginning "Charg'd with the complicated load" should not be included among these, inasmuch as it had a place in Spurgeon's *Our Own Hymn Book* of 1866, but there is little doubt that Spurgeon took it from Toplady.

It would not be strictly accurate to say that there are one hundred and ninety Charles Wesley hymns in Toplady's hymn-book: there are that many centos, certainly, but to call them "hymns" would be to lay oneself open to attack from all sides. There may be as many as four hundred Wesley originals represented in those centos. However, technical analysis on that scale is not our concern. We shall simply turn over Toplady's pages, stopping here and there to look at typical instances, covering as wide a field as possible, in order to illustrate what happened to Charles Wesley when Toplady took him in hand.

Hymn No. LXX—We know, by faith we know

(*Poetical Works*, vi, p. 207, etc.)

Methodists would be astounded and bewildered by this cento. It starts off with the first eight lines of a well-known funeral hymn, and then makes four jumps into two very different spheres. All the same, ethics apart, the resultant cento is as much a literary and devotional unity as are the original hymns from which Toplady draws. It is, in fact, a testimony to his editorial skill that its composite character has received no comment in standard hymnological works.

- | TOPLADY | WESLEY ORIGIN |
|--|--|
| 1. We know, by faith we know
If this vile house of clay
This tabernacle sink below
In ruinous decay
We have a house above
Not made with mortal hands;
And firm as our Redeemer's love
The [That] heav'nly fabric stands. | <i>Funeral Hymn</i> No. XIII
(<i>Poetical Works</i> , vi,
p. 207), stanza 1 |
| 2. O happy, happy place
Where saints and angels meet!
There we shall see each other's face
And all our brethren greet.
The church of the first-born
We shall with them be blest;
And crown'd with endless joy, return
To our eternal rest. | <i>Hymns for Christian
Friends</i> , No. 43 (<i>Poet-
ical Works</i> , v, p. 462)

Stanza 4 |
| 3. Awhile in flesh disjoin'd
Our friends that went before
We soon in paradise shall find,
And meet to part no more.
The saints of antient days
We shall with them sit down
Who fought the fight, and ran [run] the race
And then receiv'd the crown. | <i>Hymns for Christian
Friends</i> , No. 42 (<i>Poet-
ical Works</i> , v, p. 460),
stanza 8, ll. 1-4

ibid., stanza 5, ll. 1-4 |
| 4. There all our griefs are spent
There all our suff'rings end;
We shall no more the loss lament
[We cannot there the fall lament]
Of a departed friend.
No [Nor] slightest touch of pain
Nor sorrow's least alloy
Can violate our rest, or stain
Our purity of joy. | ibid., stanza 10, ll. 1-4

ibid., stanza 11, ll. 1-4 |
| 5. There we shall see our GOD
[Shall soon behold our God]
But not as crucify'd.
The Lamb his vesture dipp'd in blood
At last hath laid aside.
As GOD'S eternal SON
He now appears above,
And sits upon his dazzling throne
Of everlasting love. | Hymn 43, Part II (<i>Poet-
ical Works</i> , v, p. 464),
stanza 2 |
| 6. There ev'ry saint of his
Shall lean upon his breast;
The wicked there from troubling cease,
And there the weary rest:
The glorious weight of bliss
[The weight of glorious bliss]
That to our share shall fall,
Not angel tongues can half express;
But we shall have it all. | Not Wesley. ? Toplady's
own.

Hymn 42 (<i>Poetical
Works</i> , v, p. 461),
stanza 12, ll. 5-8 |

Hymn No. XCIV—Jesus to Thee I bow (Poetical Works, i, p. 148, etc.)

Here is a very curious jumble of Wesley material. Its elements were familiar to Methodists, but not in this confusing pattern. Only two of its seven stanzas hold their customary sequence, and as Toplady's opening stanza is the fifth of an established Methodist cento, the index-searcher is misled from the outset.

TOPLADY

Christ's Glory and Condescension

1. JESUS [Jesu] to Thee I bow
Th' Almighty's EQUAL [Fellow] Thou!
Thou the Father's only Son;
Pleas'd he ever is in Thee:
Just and holy Thou alone,
Full of truth and grace [grace and truth] for me.

2. High above ev'ry name
JESUS the great I AM;
Bows to JESUS ev'ry knee
Things in heav'n, and earth, and hell;
Saints adore him, daemons flee,
Fiends and men and angels feel.

3. He left his throne above
Disrob'd [Emptied] of all but love,
Whom the heav'ns cannot contain,
GOD, vouchsaf'd a worm t' appear;
Lord of Glory, son of man,
Poor, and vile, and abject here.

4. Hail Galilean King!
Thy humble state I sing:
Never shall my praises [triumphs] end
Hail, derided Majesty!
JESUS, hail! The sinner's friend
Friend of publicans and me.

5. Great Sacrifice divine
[Saviour, the world's and mine,]
Was ever Love [grief] like thine?
Thou my pain, my curse hast took
All my sins were laid on Thee:
Help me, Lord, to Thee I look:
Draw me Savior, after Thee.

6. High on Thy Father's throne,
O look with pity down!
Save, O save! [Help, O help!] attend my call,
Captive lead captivity:
King of glory, Lord of all,
CHRIST, be Lord and [be] King to me.

7. Thy pow'r I pant to prove;
Rooted and fix'd in Love:
Make me by Thy Spirit's might
[Strengthened by Thy Spirit's might]
Wise to fathom things divine;
What the length and breadth and height,
What the depth of love like thine.

WESLEY ORIGIN

Hymn on Titles of Christ
(*Poetical Works*, i, p.
148), stanza 8

ibid., stanza 9

ibid., stanza 10

ibid., stanza 12

Second Hymn to Christ
(*Poetical Works*, i, p.
149), stanza 1

Second Hymn to Christ
the King (*Poetical*
Works, i, p. 155),
stanza 2

Second Hymn to Christ
(*Poetical Works*, i, p.
150), stanza 5

Hymn No. XCIX

The little hymn, entitled *Baptism*, has only two stanzas. The first is the fifth of Wesley's composition entitled *At the Baptism of Adults* (*Hymns and Sacred Poems*, CLXXXI; *Poetical Works*, v, pp. 388-9), but with its first line altered so as to render a Wesley index useless in trying to identify it. The second stanza is not to be found, as such, in Wesley, although all its elements, being conventional, are there. Perhaps Toplady himself made up the stanza, but why he could not take Wesley as he stood is hard to understand. Perhaps he considered his adaptation more suitable for infant baptism. This much, at least, can be said for it: it combines the notions of the Spirit's distinctive work with the Trinitarian formula, in neat compass, thus:

1. [5] Come HOLY GHOST descend from high
 [Eternal Spirit, descend from high]
 Baptizer of our spirits Thou!
 The sacramental seal apply
 And witness with the water now.
2. Exert thy energy divine,
 And sprinkle the atoning blood;
 May Father, Son and Spirit join
 To seal this child a child of GOD.

Hymn No. CCXXVII—*To the hills I lift mine eyes*

(*Psalms CXXI*; *Poetical Works*, viii, p. 235)

Nearly all Toplady's editorial agilities are displayed in this cento. First he rejects half the original, but not in neat stanza sections. Next a dozen small alterations—textual, punctuational and typographical—are introduced into stanza 1. Stanza 2 requires visual comparison in order to appreciate just how thoroughly Toplady could write his originals out of existence and yet leave the meaning little changed.

TOPLADY

Savior let me always pray
 And still in Thee confide!
 Thou my feeble steps will stay
 My Guardian and my Guide:
 Let me lean upon thy breast;
 Thou my quiet spirit keep:
 In Thy arms secure I rest
 Whose eyelids never sleep.

WESLEY

Faithful soul, pray always, pray
 And still in God confide:
 He thy feeble steps shall stay
 Nor suffer thee to slide;
 Lean on thy Redeemer's breast;
 He thy quiet spirit keeps.
 Rest in Him, securely rest;
 Thy watchman never sleeps.

Toplady's third stanza is a compilation comprising Wesley's stanza 3, lines 5-8, and stanza 4, lines 5-8, with textual alterations, thus:

Thou art [He is] Israel's [*Israel's*] sure defence;
 I [Israel] all thy [his] care shall prove,
 Kept by watchfull Providence [providence]
 And never-failing [ever-waking] love.
 Shades thy gracious [Shadows with his] wing my [thy] head
 Guards me from [from all] impending harms;
 Round me [thee] and beneath are spread
 Thy [The] everlasting arms.

*Hymn No. CCXXXII—'Tis pleasant to sing**(Psalm CXLVII. 1; Poetical Works, ix, p. 343)*

Wesley's composition was of six lines only, yet it has to undergo a major operation before Toplady will admit it. This means that it cannot be traced by means of its opening line. Wesley's little hymn ran :

How pleasant a thing
With thanksgiving to sing
As with joy from the vale we remove !
But pleasanter still
When we stand on the hill
And give thanks to our Saviour above.

Toplady substitutes the notion of continuance for that of removal, and invites a comparison between praise here and hereafter, by making lines 1-3 read :

'Tis pleasant to sing
The sweet praise of our King
As here in the valley we move.

*Hymn No. CCXL—Father, Son, and Spirit hear**(Poetical Works, i, p. 356, etc.)*

Charles Wesley's composition entitled *The Communion of Saints*, parts I-IV, contained some of his best-loved lines; parts V and VI are hardly known. From the first four parts Toplady made up a cento which corresponded to nothing that ever was in Methodism or elsewhere. With a freedom that seems to a Methodist nothing short of sacrilegious, Toplady puts asunder what hallowed custom had joined, sets familiar beauties in disarray, and narrows Wesley's grand sweep down to the confines of election. The facts are these :

TOPLADY

WESLEY ORIGIN

Communion of Saints

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. FATHER, SON, and SPIRIT, hear
Faith's effectual fervent prayer !
Hear, and our petitions seal ;
Let us now the answer feel.
Thee let all our nature own
One in Three and Three in One !
Join our new-born spirits, join
Each to each, and all to Thine ! | <i>Poetical Works, i, p.
356. Part I, stanza 1,
ll. 1-4
ibid., ll. 7-8
ibid., stanza 2, ll. 7-8</i> |
| 2. Build us in one body up.
Call'd with [in] one high calling's hope
One the Spirit whom we claim ;
One the pure Baptismal flame ;
One the Faith and common LORD ;
FATHER, HOLY GHOST, and WORD :
[One the Father lives adored]
Over, through and in us all,
GOD incomprehensible. | <i>ibid., stanza 3</i> |
| 3. Move and actuate and guide
Divers [Diverse] gifts to each divide,
Plac'd according to Thy Will
Let us all our work fulfill. | <i>Poetical Works, i, p.
362. Part IV, stanza
3, ll. 1-4</i> |

- Wait we till the Master [Spouse shall] come *ibid.*, i, p. 359. Part II,
 Till our LORD [the Lamb] shall take us stanza 6, ll. 5-6
 home;
- Till his glorious face we see Not Wesley. Probably
 Crown'd with immortality. Toplady's own.
4. Many are we now, and one *ibid.*, i, p. 362. Part IV,
 We who JESUS have put on ! stanza 5
 There is neither bond nor free,
 Male nor female, LORD, in Thee.
 Chose alike by sov'reign grace
 Cover'd with one Righteousness.
 [Love, like death, hath all destroy'd,
 Render'd all distinctions void :]
 Names, and sects, and party's fall :
 Thou, O CHRIST, art all in all !

Hymn No. CCLXXXIV—Father of Lights from whom proceeds
 (*Poetical Works*, i, p. 76, etc.)

Toplady's version of this hymn would make strange singing for a Methodist. In the first four stanzas are textual alterations, small for the most part, but in stanza 3 the lines

Thou knowst how wide my passions rove
 Nor check'd by fear, nor charm'd by love

are changed into this jingle :

If one good thought all heav'n would buy
 Not one good thought, O LORD, have I.

For his fifth stanza Toplady takes Wesley's seventh, and for his sixth he jumps back to Wesley's fifth. And then comes a trick which astounds the Methodist, and intrigues others. In order to make his seventh and eighth stanzas Toplady wrenches lines from an altogether different hymn, namely that on Psalm cxix. 23 (*Poetical Works*, i, p. 87), and to make them fit his six-line stanza hymn he has to jettison two lines in each case. We here show the rejected lines in italics. Textual originals are given in brackets.

7. [1] JESUS [Jesu] my great High Priest above
 My friend before the throne of love ;
 If now for me prevails thy prayer,
 If now I find Thee pleading there ;
If Thou the secret wish convey,
And sweetly prompt my heart to pray,
 Hear and my weak petitions join,
 Almighty Advocate, to thine !

8. [5] O sov'reign Love, to thee I cry
 Give me Thyself, or else I dye.
 Save me from death, from hell set free ;
 Death, hell, are but the want of Thee :
Quicken'd by Thy imparted flame,
Saved when possess of Thee, I am ;
 My life, my crown, my heav'n Thou art :
 O may I find Thee in my heart !
 [My life, my only heav'n Thou art :
 And lo ! I feel Thee in my heart !]

Julian had glanced, it seems, only at the first lines of these stanzas, for his annotation of the hymn "Father of lights, from whom proceeds" gives no hint of Toplady's alterations.

Hymn No. CCLXXXVIII—Come, Holy Ghost, our hearts inspire
(*Poetical Works*, i, p. 238, etc.)

Rarely outside Methodism, and probably never within it, has Charles Wesley's hymn of four stanzas, entitled *Before Reading the Scriptures*, been sung in any other form than that in which he left it. The Methodist who sang from Toplady's cento would feel like a man on a whirligig continually being whisked away from and returned to a beloved starting-point. Elements from four distinct Wesley compositions are here interlaced. The text is considerably altered. The facts will speak for themselves when they are before the reader :

TOPLADY	WESLEY ORIGIN
<i>Public Worship</i>	
1. COME HOLY GHOST, our hearts inspire Let us thine influence prove : Source of the old prophetic fire Fountain of life and love. Whilst [While] in Thy word we search for Thee, With humble, filial awe, [We search with trembling awe,] Open our eyes, and let us see The wonders of thy law.	<i>Before Reading the Scriptures</i> , III (<i>Poetical Works</i> , i, p. 238), stanza 1 II (<i>ibid.</i> , i, p. 237), stanza 2
2. Come, HOLY GHOST, ([for mov'd by Thee Thy prophets wrote and spoke :]) Unlock the truth, (thyself the key !) [no brackets] Unseal the sacred book. Expand thy wings celestial [prolific] Brood o'er our nature's night ; On our disorder'd spirits move, And let there now be light.	III (<i>ibid.</i> , i, p. 239), stanza 3 III (<i>ibid.</i> , i, p. 239), stanza 3
3. Water with heav'nly dew thy word [O, give me now to speak Thy word] In this appointed hour : Attend it with thy presence [Spirit] Lord, And bid [let] it come with pow'r : Open the hearts of them [all] that hear To make the [their] Savior room ; Now let us [them] find redemption near Let faith by hearing come.	<i>Before Preaching</i> (<i>Poetical Works</i> , i, p. 239), stanza 3 <i>ibid.</i> , stanza 4
4. Open the Scriptures now ; reveal All which for us Thou art ; Talk with us, LORD, and let us feel The kindling in our heart. Effectual let thy Gospel prove [Savour of life, O let it prove] And show our sins forgiv'n ;	<i>Before Reading the Scriptures</i> , II (<i>ibid.</i> , i, p. 238), stanza 3

Give us the faith which works by love,
 [Work in them faith, which works by love,]
 And surely leads to heav'n.

Hymn No. CCCXX—O Jesus, I see (Poetical Works, xi, p. 364, etc.)

Under the title *Bethesda*, Toplady here provides a cento comprising six stanzas of three lines, in the metre 5.5.11. The germ of the hymn is Wesley's composition of a single stanza, numbered 1711 in the *Hymns on the Four Gospels* :

O JESUS I see
 My Bethesda in Thee
 Thou art full of compassion and mercy for me :
 Thy blood is the pool
 Both for body and soul,
 And whoever steps in is made perfectly whole.

Lines 1-3 made Toplady's first stanza. Lines 4-6 were objectionably Arminian, and had to be rejected. In their place Toplady wrote :

Made willing I am
 And thy promise I claim ;
 The water of life in my Advocate's name.

For his third and fourth stanzas Toplady goes far afield—to Wesley's hymn on Genesis xxvii. 36 (*Short Hymns—Poetical Works, ix, p. 26*), which he divides and Calvinizes thus :

3. My Savior and [my] God
 I trust in thy blood,
 To bring me to pardon [the blessing] on many bestow'd.
 4. Though purchas'd by Thee
 To man it comes free,
 [For all it is free]
 And I know it is mine, when my GOD [Lord] is in me.

Half of yet another hymn, namely that on Isaiah xlv. 3 (*Poetical Works, ix, p. 420*), which begins "The true Cyrus I see", provides Toplady with material for his two remaining stanzas, but not before he has divided and altered it, thus :

5. I [We] have nothing to pay :
 But [For] the FATHER did lay
 All my sins upon Thee, who hast borne them away.
 [Our sins on his Son and he bore them away.]
 6. Thy suff'rings alone
 [His passion alone]
 For sin [all] did atone :
 And, redeem'd by thy [his] death, I inherit thy [his] throne.

Few Methodists would own this mongrel, although many would recognize the pedigree features. The metre, of course, is characteristically Wesleyan. Yet, in spite of its peculiarities, the cento is neither grotesque nor obviously patchwork. In those places where it has been sung, it has probably passed itself off as a unity. At any rate, no hymnological work known to the present writer makes any reference to it.

Hymn No. CCCXLII

Here, under the title *Pleading the Atonement*, is one of the strangest things in the whole field of hymnology. Beginning disingenuously with a recognizable Wesley couplet, it gives no hint of the maze that lies behind—a maze through which there is no passing without a guide.

- | TOPLADY | WESLEY ORIGIN |
|--|---|
| 1. FATHER, GOD, who see'st in me
Only sin and misery,
Turn to thy [See thine own] Anointed One
Look on thy beloved Son;
Him and then the sinner see
Look through JESUS' [Jesu's] wounds on me. | Hymn CXIX (<i>Poetical Works</i> , iii, p. 304), stanza 1, ll. 1-4

Hymn CXX (<i>ibid.</i> , iii, p. 305), stanza 1, ll. 4-5 |
| 2. Heav'nly FATHER, Lord of all
Hear, and show, Thou hear'st my call;
Bow thine ear in mercy bow
Smile on me a sinner, now!
[Pardon and accept me now.]
Now the stone to flesh convert;
Cast a look, and melt my heart. | John xvi. (<i>ibid.</i> , i, p. 192), stanza 2, ll. 1-2
<i>After a Relapse into Sin</i> (<i>ibid.</i> , i, p. 273), stanza 11, ll. 3-4
<i>ibid.</i> , stanza 12, ll. 3-4 |
| 3. Since the SON hath made me free,
Let me taste my liberty;
Thee behold with open face
Triumph in thy pard'ning [saving] grace:
Thy great will delight to prove,
Glory in thy heart-felt [perfect] love. | John xvi. 24 (<i>ibid.</i> , i, p. 193), stanza 6 |
| 4. LORD, I cannot [will not] let thee go
Till a [the] blessing thou bestow:
Hear my Advocate divine,
Lo, to his, my suit I join;
Join'd with his, it cannot fail,
Let me now with Thee prevail.
[Bless me, for I <i>will</i> prevail!] | <i>ibid.</i> , stanza 9 |
| 5. Turn from me thy glorious eyes
To his [that] bloody Sacrifice,
To the full Atonement made
To the utmost ransom paid:
And if mine thro' him Thou art
Speak thy mercy [the pardon] to my heart. | Hymn CXIX (<i>ibid.</i> , iii, p. 304), stanza 2

Hymn CXX (<i>ibid.</i> , iii, p. 305), stanza 4, ll. 5-6 |
| 6. JESUS, answer from above;
Is not all thy nature love?
Pity from thine eyes let fall;
Bless me, whilst on thee I call;
[By a look my soul recall;]
Thine I am, thou SON of GOD;
Take the purchase of thy BLOOD. | <i>After Relapse</i> (<i>ibid.</i> , i, p. 273), stanza 10, ll. 1-2
<i>ibid.</i> , stanza 12, ll. 1-2 |
| 7. FATHER, see the Victim slain,
Offer'd up for guilty man;
Hear his blood's prevailing cry
Let thy bowels then reply!
Then thro' him, the sinner see
Then, in JESUS, look on me! | cf. John xvi. 24 (<i>ibid.</i> , i, p. 193), stanza 7, ll. 5-6

Hymn CXX (<i>ibid.</i> , iii, p. 304), stanza 1, ll. 1-2
Hymn CXIX (<i>ibid.</i> , iii, p. 304), stanza 4 |

Hymn No. CCCXLVIII—Weary Souls, who wander wide
(*Poetical Works*, iv, p. 212, etc.)

Since the middle of the eighteenth century, Methodists have used this hymn in its original cento of four stanzas. Toplady padded it out with stanzas very different in spirit, and lacking in inspiration :

TOPLADY

Invitation to Convinc'd Sinners

1. Weary souls, who wander wide
From the central point of bliss,
Turn to JESUS crucify'd
Fly to those dear wounds of his,
Sink into the purple flood,
Rise into the life of GOD !
2. GOD his messengers hath sent
[Thou Thy messengers hast sent]
Joyfull tidings to proclaim,
That his people might repent
[Willing we should all repent]
Know salvation in his [Thy] name,
Feel their [our] sins by grace forgiv'n,
Find in CHRIST [Thee] the way to heav'n.
3. O believe the record true
GOD for [to] you his SON hath giv'n,
Ye shall soon [may now] be happy too,
Live on earth the life of heav'n ;
Live the life of heav'n above,
All the life of glorious love.
4. Find in CHRIST the way of peace,
Peace unspeakable, unknown ;
By his pain he gives you ease,
Life by his expiring groan :
Rise, exalted by his fall ;
Find in CHRIST your All in All.
5. JESUS [Jesu] roll away the stone !
Good physician, shew thine art ;
Make thy [Thine] healing virtue known,
Bind Thou up the broken heart :
[Break the unbelieving heart.]
All thy people's fears subdue,
[By thy bloody cross subdue]
Tell them, I have dy'd for you.
6. This the great, the glorious bliss
[This the universal bliss]
Bliss for waiting souls [every soul] de-
signed ;
GOD'S original promise this,
To the chosen of mankind ;
[God's great gift to all mankind :]
Blest in CHRIST this moment be,
Blest to all eternity.

WESLEY ORIGIN

The Invitation (*Hymns for those that seek and those that have Redemption*), No. 4 (*Poetical Works*, iv, p. 212), stanza 1

Hymns for Times of Trouble (1745), No. XI (*ibid.*, iv, p. 58), stanza 2

The Invitation, stanza 3

ibid., stanza 2

Hymn XI (*ibid.*, iv, p. 59), stanza 3, ll. 1-4

ibid., stanza 4, ll. 5-6

Hymn IV (*ibid.*, iv, p. 213), stanza 4

*Hymn No. CCCL—Love's redeeming work is done**(Poetical Works, i, p. 185, etc.)*

In order to make up this hymn, Toplady took the last four (the least felicitous) stanzas of Wesley's *Hymn for Christmas Day* beginning "Hark how all the welkin rings" (*Poetical Works, i, pp. 183-4*), and added them to six stanzas which he had selected from the *Hymn for Easter Day* beginning "Christ the Lord is risen to-day". John Wesley did not include either hymn in his standard *Collection of Hymns*, but Martin Madan had centos of both, years earlier, though nothing like this of Toplady's. In rejecting Wesley's stanza 1, and beginning the hymn with stanza 2—"Love's redeeming work is done", Toplady had no support until the advent of the *English Hymnal*. It may be felt that he has made a tolerable marriage out of these two extracts, but why he should want to force it in the first place is a mystery.

*Hymn No. CCCLXXII—Omnipotent Redeemer**(Poetical Works, iv, p. 237, etc.)*

Delight in the familiar opening lines of this hymn would be short-lived. After only five lines, a feeling of confusion and disappointment seizes the Wesley hymn-lover as the text switches off into fifteen lines rarely sung since the early days of Methodism, if at all. These lines come from a composition beginning "Jesus, take all the glory", but this fact is not obvious, because he has rejected its first five lines. The cento runs:

TOPLADY

WESLEY ORIGIN

Thanksgiving

1. OMNIPOTENT Redeemer
Our ransom'd souls adore Thee;
Our Savior thou,
We find it now,
And give Thee all the glory;
Thee gladly we acknowledge
Our Righteousness for ever
[Our only Lord and Saviour]
Thy name confess
Thy merit [goodness] bless,
And triumph in thy favor.
2. With angels and arch-angels
We prostrate fall before Thee;
Again we raise
Our souls in praise,
And thankfully adore Thee:
Honor, and power, and blessing
To Thee be ever given;
By all who know
Thy name [love] below,
And all our friends in heaven.

Hymn XX. *Written after Deliverance in a Tumult* (*Poetical Works, iv, p. 237*), stanza 2, ll. 1-5
Hymn Thanksgiving (*ibid., iv, p. 258*), stanza 1, ll. 6-10

ibid., stanza 2

Almost all the one hundred and ninety Charles Wesley hymns in the "Orange Street Hymnal" become curiosities in Toplady's hands. Julian *Dictionary* is aware of some of these, but is often misleading, and sometimes erroneous regarding the Toplady centos. For example, we read that part 2 of Wesley's *Hymn for the Love Feast* beginning "Come and let us sweetly join" is to be found in Toplady's *Collection*. The reader assumes that this means "part 2 intact". But the fact is that out of Wesley's thirty-two lines, fourteen are rejected. Moreover, stanza 1 is drawn from Wesley's first and second stanzas, and the second stanza is a compilation from three distinct Wesley hymns, thus :

TOPLADY	WESLEY ORIGIN
Sanctify us, LORD, and bless,	<i>The Love Feast (Poetical Works,</i>
Breathe thy Spirit, give thy peace,	
Mutual love the token be	i, p. 356), stanza 2, ll. 5-6
LORD, that we belong to Thee :	ibid., Part IV, stanza 4, ll. 3-4
Plant in us thy humble mind,	ibid., Part II, stanza 3, ll. 5-8
Patient, pitifull and kind.	
Meek and gracious [lowly] let us be,	
Full of goodness, full of Thee.	

Once again, the *Dictionary* entry upon Wesley's "Father God, who see'st in me" draws attention to the fact that a remarkable patchwork cento of the hymn is to be found in Rippon's *Selection* (Baptist). It correctly points to the originals, but it makes no mention of the fact that two of these had four-line stanzas and two had six-line stanzas. The *Dictionary* was unable to name the perpetrator of the patchwork. As we have seen, it was Toplady in his most gymnastic mood.

How much more of a like kind his "Orange Street Hymnal" contains would take many hours to discover. Few would consider the labour worth while merely to climb a mountain of hymnological curiosities.

GEORGE LAWTON.

Below are given particulars of more local histories, copies of which we have been pleased to receive. A further list will appear in our next issue.

Silkstone Common centenary (pp. 24) : copies from Mr. S. Crawshaw, 61, Haigh Lane, Hoylandswaine, Sheffield; no price stated.

Framwellgate Moor (Durham) centenary (pp. 8) : copies from the Rev. Kenneth A. Wade, 90, Rothbury Road, Newton Hall, Durham; no price stated.

Fragments—Hythe, Sandgate, Dymchurch, Folkestone, Elham Valley and Sellindge (pp. 36) : copies, price 5s., from the Rev. David G. Nash, Trevone, South Road, Hythe, Kent.

The Story of Mossley Methodism, by E. A. Rose (pp. 22) : copies, price 2s. 6d., from the author at 18, Glenthorne Drive, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs.

Mosborough, Queen Street, centenary (pp. 12) : copies, price 2s., from the Rev. Dr. O. A. Beckerlegge, 69, Woodhouse Road, Sheffield, 12.

BOOK NOTICES

Kingswood School in Wesley's day and since, by A. G. Ives. (Epworth Press, pp. 264, with many illustrations, 45s.)

I was immediately attracted to this book by the dust cover, which shows James Heath's engraving to good advantage. Old Kingswood School stands square and splendidly simple on the front cover while, wrapped over on the back, a diminutive John Wesley walks arm-in-arm with (presumably) Joseph Bradford beside a row of elm trees. That part of the picture which appears on the spine suggests, albeit by chance, the all-pervasive influence of Epworth rectory over the subsequent history of Wesley's great educational establishment.

The author begins with an apology for giving a disproportionate amount of space to the school's early history, but even if this is the case (which is questionable), the readers of this journal will be the last to regret it. Every strand in the school's later history goes back to its Wesleyan foundation. Mr. Ives makes excellent use of his sources—mainly the literature of early Methodism and the school's own records. His narrative flows on smoothly, and deals with such hiatuses as appear as a torrent on a waterfall does with the rocks, and with the same effect. His story moves from the school's eighteenth-century setting in none-too-salubrious Kingswood to James Wilson's nineteenth-century palatial building on Lansdown Hill, in which the governor occupied comfortable apartments approached by the imposing entrance-hall, while the boys and staff journeyed daily to their working-quarters through a subterranean tunnel beneath it! The story continues through the periods of building, re-building, and acquisition of additional property, to the recent erection of a contemporary sixth-form block.

The narrative has three main strands. The first is the continuity of governors and headmasters, many of whom both influenced the school and were influenced by it. The succession runs from Dr. John Jones, Wesley's first schoolmaster, through a line of distinguished headmasters, including James Rouquet, Thomas McGeary, T. G. Osborn, W. P. Workman, H. A. Wootton, A. B. Sackett, and most recently A. Lowry Creed. The governors, who exercised John Wesley's spiritual authority at the school from 1791 to 1904, included such notable men as Joseph Bradford, Joseph Cusworth, Francis A. West, and George Bowden.

The second strand is the academic life of the school. It was an inspired idea to incorporate Wesley's school "prospectus" in facsimile neatly into the text. And what a prospectus!—English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, the classics, writers on Church history and recent theology; "milk-porridge and Water-gruel, Hash'd Meat and Apple-dumplings"; rise at 4 a.m., lessons all day interspersed with services and prayer-meetings at 5 a.m., 5 p.m. and 7 p.m.; to bed at 8 p.m.; constant supervision and no playtime. The academic potential of the school was threatened in 1769 by the St. Edmund Hall expulsions (which, says Mr. Ives, Wesley attacked in paragraphs "clearly penned in white heat"), assisted by the creation of the University of London in 1836, and still more by the re-entry of Methodists into the older universities after 1850. Kingswood maintained public-school standards throughout its history, and has been technically a public school since 1922.

The third strand is the corporate life of the school from the early days when discipline was tight in the sense that there was an iron control within the school itself and letters home were heavily censored, yet permissive at

For notice of Birth
 by the Rev. Henry Bull,
 He is not to be given,
 whose life is in jeopardy.



3d and not one word.
 Such might follow say.
 From the same office
 and send your bill way

10/11

*Promise to pay to Specimen, Hypocrisy, Practices of Methodism
 Preachers or Deacons FIVE farthings, unless Methodism shall have been
 done away by the Pious exertions of the established Clergy and when
 John Bulls Family shall be no longer scared by the tale of the Devil in loose.*

Five

*London the 1st day of Sept. 1818
 For J. Bull by just a fair way*

Farthings

AN ANTI-METHODIST PROMISSORY NOTE, 1818. (See page 196)

times in the sense that the boys were free to roam the district and engage the colliers' sons in tribal fights. Mr. Ives makes it clear that this Prussian régime of study, devotion, constant supervision and no play was never completely enforceable either in Wesley's time or afterwards, and sometimes gave rise to conflict and rebellion. The emancipation of the school (from the boys' point of view) came slowly indeed, and the list of headmasters and governors (many of them Wesleyan ministers) reads like the successions of the good and bad kings of Israel and Judah—Jonathan Crowther (headmaster, 1823-6) and Francis A. West (governor, 1860-7) standing out among the more repressive rulers. John S. Pawlyn, writing during the more liberal headmastership of T. G. Osborn (1866-85), when Arnoldian influences at length prevailed, says bluntly that "after the founder's decease there dawned a sunnier day for Kingswood School", but the present history makes it clear that it was not until A. B. Sackett's recent headmastership (1928-59), during which the old rules of silence were cancelled and petty punishments removed, that the windows were fully opened.

THOMAS SHAW.

George Whitefield, by Arnold Dallimore. Volume I (*Banner of Truth Trust*, pp. xiii. 598, 42s.).

Nothing could better mark the bicentenary of Whitefield's death than a book conceived in this cause, and with so much evidence of industry and research. The worth of the book is greatly enhanced by the quality of paper, print and binding and the attractive illustrations gathered by the author. No proper review of the work as a whole can be given, since this volume only takes the story up to 1740—at the close of Whitefield's second visit to America. We must wait for the second volume to know Mr. Dallimore's final assessment of Whitefield's labours in England and America and the kind of summary of his impact on society attempted by A. D. Belden in his biography entitled *George Whitefield—the Awakener*.

Already, however, it would seem that the author, himself of Calvinist convictions, is in danger of self-consciously correcting what he calls "the magnifying of John Wesley by the minifying of George Whitefield". The labours of neither must be compared with those of the other, because one star differs from another in glory. The book suffers from lack of an index and a bibliography, though one can be thankful for footnotes and short appendices. There are several good things in the book. Despite his intense admiration for Whitefield, Mr. Dallimore does not hesitate to condemn his views on slavery, even though he rightly shows that in this respect he was a child of his age and of course more humane than many. He also deals in a fascinating chapter with Whitefield's curious attitude to marriage, and how, in his resolve not to let any hindrance prevent him from being at full stretch for God, he allowed another to snatch the one woman whom he loved. There is here a certain parallel with Wesley's gaucherie in matters of the heart. The two chapters entitled "An affaire de cœur at Blendon Hall" and, later, "A Proposal of Marriage", are well conceived and written. Finally, the author gives a short but pithy summary of "the doctrines of grace", and he writes with fullness and knowledge of Whitefield's early tours in America.

The author is to be congratulated upon a work which attempts worthily to set forth the true dimensions of his hero. At its close, when volume two is published, we shall be better able to assess how he sets Whitefield into the context of the eighteenth century and his own distinctive part in the Revival.

MALDWYN L. EDWARDS.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1211. ACADEMIC THESES ON METHODIST HISTORY.

The following have come to our notice since the list appearing in *Proceedings*, xxxvi, p. 91 :

- "The Influence of Mysticism on John Wesley"—D. Dunn Wilson (Leeds Ph.D., 1968).
- "Agricultural Workers' Trade Unionism in Four Midland Counties, 1860-1900"—Pamela R. Horn (Leicester Ph.D., 1968).
- "Methodism and the Working Class, 1760-1821 : a Study in Social and Political Conflict"—Paul Stigant (Keele M.A., 1968).
- "The Proclamation of the Word in the Writings of John Wesley"—Philip A. Verhalen (Gregorian University of Rome S.T.D., 1969).
- "The Bible Christians in Canada, 1832-1884 : a Study in the Indigenisation of a Methodist Sect"—Albert Burnside (Victoria University, Toronto, D.Theol., 1969).
- "The Contribution of Christian Missionaries to Education in Bengal, 1793-1837"—M. A. Laird (London Ph.D., 1969).
- "Christianity in the Niger Delta, 1864-1918"—Godwin O. M. Tasié (Aberdeen Ph.D., 1969).
- "Methodism in Yorkshire"—B. Greaves (Liverpool Ph.D., 1969).
- "Methodism in North Ceylon : its History and Influence, 1814-90"—D. K. Wilson (London Ph.D., 1969).
- "The contribution of Local Preachers to the life of the Wesleyan Methodist Church until 1932, and to the Methodist Church after 1932, in England"—Margaret Batty (Leeds M.A., 1970). EDITOR.

1212. ARTICLES OF METHODIST HISTORICAL INTEREST.

Since the last list was published in *Proceedings*, xxxvi, p. 190, the following articles of Methodist historical interest have appeared in *The Church Quarterly* :

- JULY 1968—"The London Quarterly and Holborn Review, 1853-1968", by William Strawson.
- OCTOBER 1968—"Anglican-Methodist Unity : a Symposium", by L. W. Brown, Trevor T. Rowe, G. D. Leonard, C. O. Buchanan, C. Kingsley Barrett, Lord Fisher of Lambeth, Percy Scott and Henry St. John, O.P.
- JULY 1969—"The Methodist Sunday Service", by Arthur H. Couratin ; "The Background to the 1967 Methodist Service for Infant Baptism", by Bernard G. Holland.
- OCTOBER 1969—"The Pastoral Office in the Methodist Tradition", by E. Gordon Rupp. EDITOR.

1213. AN ANTI-METHODIST PROMISSORY NOTE.

The curious document depicted facing page 194, with its satirical "promise to pay to Ignorance, Hypocrisy & Fanaticism, Methodist Preachers, or Bearer Five farthings, when Methodism shall have been done away by the Pious exertions of the established Clergy, and when Iohn Bull's Family shall be no longer scared by the tale of the Devil let loose", is in the possession of Mr. S. J. Butcher, the Librarian of the London Borough of Barnet. Can any reader throw light on the circumstances attending the production of this note, dated 1818, who were its instigators, etc., or does anyone know of the existence of similar notes? Mr. Butcher would welcome any information sent to him at Ravensfield House, The Burroughs, Hendon, London, N.W.4. EDITOR.