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A table of contents for the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* can be found here:

[https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles\\_whs\\_01.php](https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_whs_01.php)

# Proceedings

OF THE

## Wesley Historical Society

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

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Volume XXXVIII

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### JOHN WESLEY AND THE GREEK ORTHODOX BISHOP

*(Continued from page 87)*

IT is well known that in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the Anglican and Greek Orthodox Churches found common interests. Sir Stephen Runciman, in his book *The Great Church in Captivity* (1968) has greatly added to the detailed knowledge of this. Both churches rejected Roman rule, but retained belief in apostolic succession; both accepted the charismatic equality of all bishops; the celebration of the sacrament in both kinds; the same attitude to the laity and their share in councils; the same readiness to accept a monarch as head of the Church. Both were equally shy of definitive theological pronouncements.

To appreciate the situation when Wesley met the Greek bishop, we must look summarily at the relationship between the two churches from the early seventeenth century. Attempts at reconciliation and mutual support against Rome began in 1617 when Archbishop Abbot invited Greek students to read theology in England. The Cretan Conopius, a pupil of Cyril Lucaris, the "Calvinist Patriarch", came to Balliol; when ejected by the Puritans in 1647, he was a minor canon of Christ Church. Later he became Archbishop of Smyrna. Another Balliol Greek had already been Patriarch of Alexandria. A personal doctor of Charles II was a Greek. In 1680 a Greek church was built in Soho, partly paid for by publication of a book on Samos. A servant absconded with church funds, and the vicar of St. Martin's annexed the building.

In 1711, Bishop Ken said: "I die in the holy and apostolic faith, professed by the whole church before the division of the East and West." After that it became almost a sacred duty for the Non-jurors to attempt reunion with the Greek Church. In 1714, Arsenius, Metropolitan of the Thebaid, and Gennarius, a Cypriot, with a retinue of six, travelled in style to England to raise money and open discussions towards a rapprochement with the Church of England.

These went on, Overton says, for nine years.<sup>21</sup> It soon became clear, however, that they could negotiate only with the Non-jurors, and in 1717 the ruling Anglicans bribed them to leave by a gift of £200 from Queen Anne's Bounty, £100 from King George I, and £100 more if they departed speedily. They went on to raise funds in Russia. Meanwhile, Arsenius and the Non-jurors had drawn up twelve proposals, twelve more headings on which they believed they had reached agreement, and five on which there would have to be more discussion. The reaction in Constantinople was adverse. The Non-jurors had hoped for acceptance of their compromise word, "consubstantiation", to describe the sacramental reality. Many English, Arsenius said, were entering the Greek Church. The Patriarch, however, decided, no doubt uneasily, for the Roman "transubstantiation". Similarly, the Non-jurors were against the title of the existing monarchy. The negotiations had failed.<sup>22</sup>

Further interest in the conflict between the Eastern and Western churches with which we are directly concerned is illustrated by the book *Petra tou scandalou*, latinized as *Lapis Offendiculi*, an historical account of the schism, followed by five specified points of difference. It was written by Elias Meniatis, born in Cephalonia, who, after studying in Venice, became bishop of Kerniki-with-Kelavritis in the North Peloponnese. His only journey to northern Europe was on a diplomatic mission to Austria in 1703. He died in 1714. His book was published posthumously in Leipzig in 1718. Ten editions followed in the capitals of Europe—six in the eighteenth century and four in the nineteenth—the last in 1865. It was translated into Latin, Arabic, and Russian.<sup>23</sup> The Amsterdam edition (1760) was printed at the expense of a Greek, Ioannes Prinkos; we shall come later to the London edition.

*The Great Church in Captivity* has much to say about the condition of the Greek clergy at this time that is relevant to our story. Oppression through finance caused deplorable standards of education. Each election to the patriarchate had to be bought from the Turks, for whom the shortest were the most profitable. The climax was reached in 1726, when the latest patriarch paid 5,600 gold pounds, and died from joy the next day. In 1730 the debt owed to the Turks was 1,500 gold pounds, at a time when the church revenue seldom covered its expenditure.<sup>24</sup> We also read:

It was in the sphere of education that the Greek Church was to feel the effect of servitude most disastrously. . . . Once the future priest had learned the words of the liturgy his education was finished.

Conversion to Islam, especially in Crete, was due to the ignorance and impoverishment of the clergy.<sup>25</sup> In 1780 a Greek boy, adopted by Muslims, was hanged for reverting to Christianity. In the seventeenth century, a traveller said, "the oppression and contempt that

<sup>21</sup> J. H. Overton: *The Non-jurors* (1902).

<sup>22</sup> Runciman, op. cit.

<sup>23</sup> For this I am indebted to Dr. Walton. (See note 1.)

<sup>24</sup> Runciman, op. cit., p. 202.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 208, 219.

good Christians are exposed to and the ignorance caused through poverty in the clergy" made it a miracle that any survived.<sup>26</sup> In the eighteenth, travellers were "horrified at the low standards", but there were still "some provincial bishops who could discuss theology with erudition". In general, therefore, it was no wonder that the Greek Church sent its students and its missions to seek aid in the West.

So we turn at last to the bishop himself, and ask what knowledge we have of him.

In 1771, Toplady said that in 1764 the bishop was an old man.<sup>27</sup> Records compiled in Amsterdam by his contemporary Ioannes Prinkos, the promoter of the 1760 Amsterdam edition of *Lapis Offendiculi*, state that in 1752 Gerasimos Avlonites, sometime bishop of Arkadia, passed through Amsterdam, where he celebrated the liturgy for the small Greek community. It was the beginning of the Greek church there. The Amsterdam Greeks chose for their parish priest a Russian cantor (psalter) from London, one Alexios Kosakos, whom they sent for ordination to Smyrna, the city with which they had close trading relations.<sup>28</sup> After ordination he took the name Ambrosios Partzikalas.

In 1758, Gerasimos wrote (from whence is not known) to Amsterdam, complaining that they had not chosen him for their priest, and in 1761, having heard that Ambrosios had absconded with church property, he wrote again offering his services. Negotiations, however, had gone too far with another.<sup>29</sup>

In 1762, the London edition of *Lapis Offendiculi* was published by Haberkorn of Gerrards Street, Soho, the Greek quarter of London. It is in Latin, with the title-page and preface in both Latin and Greek, and it carries after the preface the name Gerasimos Avlonites (in the Latin, Erasmus Aulonita), *Episcopus en Arkadia*. Probably it was then that John Wesley met him, talked with him (perhaps on the subject of intercommunion), relieved his needs, and sent him back to his friends in Amsterdam. Later, in 1779, Wesley put a copy of the book, initialled, in the library of Kingswood School. The other known copy is in Venice.

In 1764, as we have seen, Gerasimos returned from Amsterdam, probably at Wesley's request, and then, as Wesley asked, ordained John Jones and also—but without Wesley's concurrence—Laurence Coghlan. Back in Amsterdam, on 30th May he wrote to Charles Wesley, asking for help to return to Greece. The letter has the elaborate signature "Gerasimos Protopapas [or, as the experts in Athens say, perhaps Prothiereus] Arkadias". The term "prothiereus" means high-priest, and was probably a survival from the Venetian rule in Crete, when the title "bishop" was restricted to the

<sup>26</sup> Runciman, op. cit., pp. 204 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Toplady, op. cit.

<sup>28</sup> In this period, Admiral Boscawen seized a merchantman sailing from Smyrna to Amsterdam.

<sup>29</sup> V. Skouvaras: *The Greek Community in Amsterdam* (Academy of Athens).

Roman Church.<sup>80</sup> Later, when, from June to October, Wesley was away from London, the Maxfield faction brought him back again to ordain four of their men. Again in December he returned to ordain six others, this time highly unsuitable by British standards. By Greek standards, at the time, they would have passed muster, and in any case Gerasimos could have been sure only of their fervour and sincerity.

In 1768, Gerasimos went from Holland to Sweden. On 20th September, the presiding officer at a meeting of the Church Council of Stockholm commented upon the lamentable situation of Bishop Erasmus Avlonita of Crete, and proposed a collection to help him. In March 1769, Gerasimos wrote to the president of the Council, asking for a letter of recommendation to the Swedish clergy, and for a coach and horses, for which he would pay, to help him on his journeys. The Council met the following day, and sent him the letter which (or a copy of it) exists in the Swedish archives. With it he was entertained by the scholar-bishop Johan Engeström and others.

On 17th July 1769, he wrote to Bishop Engeström, saying that the pasha who for thirty years had tyrannized over the Christians of Crete and been the cause of his sufferings and exile had been killed in Egypt, and that he had had a letter, sent on from Amsterdam, which recalled him to Crete. He thanked Engeström for his care of him, not forgetting "the grace and hospitality of the most noble lady your sister [who, however, was a niece], wife of the Præpositus Munthe", and sent his sympathy on the death of Engeström's brother. The letter is in the same cultivated hand as that in which he wrote to Charles Wesley. This is the last we hear of him and his sister, to whom the only reference comes in the announcement of their departure by the Swedish newspaper *Inrikes-Tidningarr* on 7th August 1769.<sup>81</sup>

So to a final survey of the evidence. The impression that remains is that of a real man, consistently calling himself the exiled bishop Gerasimos Avlonites of Arkadia (the monastery south of Rethymon in central Crete, a centre of resistance to foreign domination, Venetian or Turkish), from which he had been driven into exile and suffering, about 1739, by the oppressive Turkish régime, or even, like many more famous than he, expelled for heresy, to become a wandering bishop in the West, still hoping to be—and being—of service to the religious life of his countrymen.

There is no evidence that he was an impostor. On the contrary, the Greeks of Amsterdam clearly—at the time and in retrospect—accepted him as genuine, since their contemporary recorder Ioannes Prinkos refers to him by name without reserve, saying that he began the first Greek church there. Prinkos must also have known about

<sup>80</sup> For this information also I am indebted to Dr. Walton.

<sup>81</sup> Knös, Börje: "Visit of a Cretan Bishop to Sweden in the Eighteenth Century", in *Kretika Kronika*, 1961-2.

Gerasimos's part in the publication of the London edition of the *Lapis Offendiculi*, since it was he himself who had financed the Amsterdam edition, and Gerasimos was going to and fro between London and Amsterdam at the time. The publisher J. Haberkorn cannot have suspected him: he was a reputable man who had published other scholarly books, for example James Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens* and the *Psalmodia Germanica*. Nor could there have been any opposition to him from the Greeks of London.

John Wesley, who could talk to him in Latin and some form of Greek, the archbishop of Smyrna, the Turks who were consulted, and particularly the good scholar Engeström, with the Swedish Church Council—all these accepted him.

Toplady's accusation of illiteracy must fail. The education of Gerasimos was far superior to that of the run of parish priests. His letters are well written—said by clergy in the cathedral of Heraklion to be in the correct Greek of the period, in a cultivated hand. His elaborate signature is that of an educated man. If, as Toplady said, Gerasimos followed ordination to the priesthood hard on that to the sub-diaconate and the diaconate, that would show that he did use the practice of the Orthodox Church. Had he written, however, "mean" Greek of the classical type, that would not have supported Toplady's attack. His use of the term "high-priest" argues intimate knowledge of Cretan custom in the early days of Turkish occupation. His reference to the "consubstantial" father indicates discussion with the Wesleys of the Non-jurors' attempted compromise.<sup>82</sup> The ordination certificate, if Toplady saw a true copy, is only that to be expected from an advocate of the universal church catholic.

That Gerasimos accepted fees for ordination, which so shocked the Wesleys, could not have been repulsive to his compatriots. Their church was impoverished. From patriarch downwards, all paid for their offices; and of course the ordinands were drawn from the laity, the source of all finance. Most Greek exiles in the West were in desperate need. The last mission to England was no exception; the visitors had intrigued with the Non-jurors, and over-stayed their leave. Gerasimos may have done the same, but with Dissenters, in England and possibly also in Sweden.

That the original author's name is omitted from the London edition of *Lapis Offendiculi*, whilst the preface has the name of Gerasimos, should be viewed in the light of contemporary literary etiquette. Copyright was non-existent, and even John Wesley, in his desire to propagate what he believed to be the truth about the American War of Independence, did not hesitate to appropriate Dr. Johnson's published ideas. The author of *Lapis Offendiculi*, long dead, could not be hurt. The book had become a standard statement. What more natural than that Ioannes Prinkos (probably a patron of Gerasimos as well as his recorder) should relieve both of their pockets

<sup>82</sup> Runciman, op. cit., p. 307.

by encouraging that London edition? It would enlighten London as well as Amsterdam, and if Gerasimos was employed to read the proofs and appear in the preface, that would be further evidence of his competence. Is it likely that an impostor would be so associated with a book of more than European notice?

The name of Gerasimos Avlonites does not appear in the present list of bishops of the fortress-monastery of Arkadia, south-east of Rethymon in Crete, though there are others with different patronyms or names of place origins. The period, however, is the dark age of Cretan history. Even in thoroughly-investigated bishoprics elsewhere in occupied Greece, there are large gaps in the records. Many names must be missing—of exiles escaping from Turkish or Church authorities, of resisters or schismatics, or of good men who have left no memorial. The name Avlonites may indicate Cretan origin, for there are possible ancient sources not now named on the maps, or it may be a patronym, since the Avloniti were a noble family in Corfu.

So, finally, it would seem that in the absence of decisive record in Crete, the most satisfactory and safest thing—the most probably accurate—is to take at his word this needy, meteoric ecclesiastical wanderer exiled from home and become in his own words and those of the psalmist before him like “a pelican in the wilderness, an owl of the waste places, a sparrow upon the house-top”.<sup>88</sup>

A. B. SACKETT.

<sup>88</sup> Knös, *op. cit.*

The Conference *Handbook* for 1972 is a famine for the historian. This is not to say that it is not a good handbook, only that there are no articles dealing with the history of Methodism in Nottingham. It may be argued that all this has been covered in previous handbooks and need not be repeated; but we miss it, and the excellent articles (and they *are* excellent) on the contemporary scene would have been none the worse for a consideration of the historical foundation on which all our present and all our future rests. Otherwise the book is well-produced, with an attractive cover and in a handy size. Certainly the articles will be useful to students of the future who look back at religion in England in the 1970s.

#### NOTICE FROM THE REGISTRAR

**A**T the meeting of the Executive Committee held on 29th March 1972, it was decided that Subscription-Receipts will in future only be issued in the case of a member's first subscription. The reason for this decision is financial—the cost of printing and postage.

It would be of great assistance to the Registrar and to members themselves if subscriptions could be made either by Banker's Order or by cheque.

Members are reminded that subscriptions are due on the 1st JANUARY.

KENNETH B. GARLICK.

## WESLEY PRINTS ON POTTERY

**A**LDERMAN HIRD'S article on the pitcher with the print of Wesley caused me to look again at a jug I obtained some twenty years ago. This is of much more modest size: it is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins. tall, and has a capacity of about one pint. Unlike Mr. Hird's pitcher, it is unmarked, but it seems virtually certain that it dates from the very end of Wesley's life or possibly some time during the 1790s. Its place of manufacture is almost certainly either Leeds or Herculaneum (Liverpool). Incidentally, the Hanley firm who made Mr. Hird's jug is, again almost certainly, that of Thomas Baddeley, who worked from 1809 to 1834, and who is known to have printed scenes relating to the cotton trade on his pottery. Unlike the "riot of colour" of the larger pitcher, this cream-coloured jug is printed in a bright brick-red. It has not of course the same scope for decoration on account of its much smaller size; one side has, surrounded by a design of twigs and swags, a familiar verse of Charles Wesley's:

O may I still from sin depart . . .

The other side is much more elaborate. Across the top of the design are, to the left, Hope seated on a bank, with an anchor at her side and a tree in the background, and, to the right, Charity, again with a tree in the background, and holding a babe in her right arm, with another child clinging to her skirt and a further child kneeling on the ground in front of her.

Between these is a profile of Wesley in a plain double circle which includes the words THE REVEREND JOHN WESLEY; M.A. Above the circle, between the inscriptions in ribbons HOPE and CHARITY, appear a Bible and a cross, with (probably) a hymn-book peeping out beneath one angle of the cross. Whilst the portrait is not identical with that on Mr. Hird's pitcher, it is clearly a derivation from the same original. Though it is in profile, both halves of the bands are shown, and there is the same distinctive white shoulder-band which I do not find in any of the portraits in Telford's *Sayings and Portraits of John Wesley*, except that the Johnson portrait (p. 103) has a faint suggestion of it; indeed, that portrait, which became familiar in 1791 as the frontispiece of Hampson's *Life of Wesley*, might just conceivably, to my mind, be the original of this crude print. The connexion between the two pottery prints is strengthened by the common use (albeit not the same print) of Bible, cross, etc.

Below the design are the following lines (anonymous, so far as I know), surrounded on three sides by leafy branches. (I have myself supplied the punctuation.)

JEHOVAH reigns; let Saints, let Men adore;  
Obey, ye Sinners, and proclaim his pow'r.  
Ho! each desponding thirsty Soul, draw near;  
Nor money bring, nor price, nor doubt, nor fear.  
Wide as Creation, deep as Sin's recess,  
Extends the merits of redeeming Grace.  
So WESLEY speaks, so wond'ring Angels taught;



Love, peace, goodwill to all in Christ are bought;  
 Enamour'd thousands hear the joyful Word,  
 Yield to conviction, and confess the LORD.

But this mention of prints on jugs raises other issues. Whilst the mass of Wesley pottery consists of busts, statuettes and "pulpit Wesleys", which in the nature of the case are modelled with the range of likenesses and unlikenesses which Mr. Hird indicates, there exist a smaller number of plaques and the like where, as with these jugs, the portrait is printed on the surface.

The most familiar sort of plaque is the traditional Sunderland ware, with its heavy gilt and its mauve "marbling" effect. In the centre is a black print of Wesley silhouetted against what look like feathery clouds. To either side of this are the words, in an arc, "The best of all . . . God is with us". Below the portrait we read:

THE REVD. JOHN WESLEY, A.M.  
 Wesleyan-Methodist Society.  
 ESTABLISHED 1739.

This was produced by Dixon, Phillips & Co. about 1820.

Some twenty years later we find the identical print on an unusual circular plaque of unknown (possibly Staffordshire?) manufacture. There is a narrow, moulded, beaded border enclosing a black circle which itself encloses a thin yellow circle. In the centre appears the portrait, with the identical text below (all clearly taken from the same single transfer); but round the portrait appear the words "In the Lort [sic] I put my trust. Let me never be confounded"; the letter t is in each case printed in the form of a figure 4. There is no doubt of the origin of this portrait: it is a faithful reproduction of the Edridge portrait (Telford, op. cit., p. 151) which, among other things, formed the frontispiece to Coke and Moore's *Life*.

The last plaque which I know (and have) is a simple vertical rectangular plaque with a thick black border. This has a faithful reproduction of the Arnold portrait (Telford, op. cit., p. 139)—faithful even to the extent of representing the shelves of books in the background. As with the original, the design is oval, and it bears beneath it the simple legend

REVEREND JOHN WESLEY, M.A., Aged 87.

This again is Staffordshire ware, and dates from 1825-30.

But there were also plates (with no holes for suspending) as well as plaques. One I have, of probably early Victorian Sunderland ware, is 6 $\frac{7}{8}$  ins. in diameter, with embossed and brightly-coloured flowers on the rim, some of which are in the typical Sunderland mauve. The centre is taken up with a reproduction of the Jackson portrait (Telford, op. cit., p. 191), which was commissioned in 1827 by a group of influential Wesleyans. Below is the legend "Revd. J. Wesley, M.A." That this was indeed used as a plate (part of a chapel's china?) is borne out by the fact that it is badly scratched with wear. Jackson's portrait was of course very familiar in the

mid-nineteenth century, as it was often the basis of the portraits appearing in hymn-books.

It would be interesting to know how many more items were produced, and how far the potters used original sketches or reproduced more familiar portraits. It was no doubt partly a matter of personal taste and partly of what transfers were already available. In much the same way, presumably, do we explain the various portraits that adorned many nineteenth-century hymn-books. But that is another story.

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

We have pleasure in noting the following articles in recent journals. A copy of each has been placed in the Archives Library.

- "Joseph Bell: Methody Fenman" (a diary), in *The Countryman*, Summer 1971.
- "The Religion of the People and the Problem of Control, 1790-1830", by W. R. Ward, and "Methodism and the Mob in the Eighteenth Century", by John Walsh, in *Studies in Church History*, vol. 8.
- "Wesleyan Methodism and Working-class Radicalism in the North, 1792-1821", by Paul Stigant, in *Northern History*, vol. vi.
- "An Appraisal of Thomas Coke's Africa Mission, 1796-1811", by Warren Thomas Smith, in *Church History* (USA), September 1971.
- "Letters of a Badsey Family, 1735-36" (reference to William Sewell), by Peter Bray, in Research Papers of the Vale of Evesham Historical Society.
- "The Wesley Naturalist", by Stuart Andrews, in *History Today*, November 1971.

The following books and pamphlets have come our way:

- A History of the Methodist Church in Ceylon, 1814-1964*, by a team of writers (The Wesley Press, Colombo, pp. 666): copies, price 50p., from the bookshop of the Methodist Missionary Society, 25, Marylebone Road, London, N.W.1.
- The Maori Response to the Gospel*, by Ruawai D. Rakena (pp. 40): copies from the Wesley Historical Society (New Zealand), Box 5023, Auckland.
- Francis Asbury: Father of American Methodism*, by the Rev. R. Leslie Scrase (pp. 10): copies, price 15p., from the author at The Methodist Church, St. Edmond's Church Street, Salisbury, Wilts.
- Sixty Years behind the Counter*—the story of Thomas Morse Price (pp. 48), by the Rev. George E. Lawrence: copies, price 25p., from the author at Westbury, Upper Road, Pillowell, Lydney, Glos.
- The Browns of Plymouth*, by Ernest T. English (pp. 86), printed for private circulation.
- The Methodist Chapels and Preaching Places of Liverpool and District, 1750-1971*, by Ian Sellers (pp. 40): copies, price 30p., from the author at 10, Wells Close, Woolston, Warrington, Lancs.
- Vincent Taylor, 1887-1968*, by the Rev. Prof. C. Kingsley Barrett (pp. 10 and portrait), an offprint from the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. lvi (Oxford University Press).

## NEWS FROM OUR BRANCHES

[All dates refer to 1971 unless otherwise stated.]

THE spring meeting of the **Bristol** branch was held on Saturday, 13th March, at the New Room. The warden, the Rev. E. Ralph Bates, spoke on the "family" life of the New Room as the Wesleys knew it.

On Saturday, 16th October, members gathered, again at the New Room, for their autumn meeting, which was addressed by Dr. John D. Walsh, of Jesus College, Oxford. His subject was "Methodism and the Mob".

Mr. Bates's and Dr. Walsh's addresses are both fully reported in the branch *Bulletins*.

*Bulletin*: No. 11 received, also an excellent "guide" to the New Room.  
*Secretary*: Mr. G. E. Roberts, 21, Ormerod Road, Stoke Bishop, Bristol, 9.  
*Membership*: 76.

THE Annual Meeting of the **Cornish** branch, held at Truro on Tuesday, 25th May, re-elected its officers, with the addition of Professor Charles Thomas as one of the vice-presidents.

Arranged by the Rev. Sidney O. Dixon, and led by Mr. D. C. Vosper and Mr. W. C. Hobbs of Saltash, a pilgrimage to places of Methodist interest in the Saltash area was held on Saturday, 19th June, the company being entertained to tea by the Saltash ladies.

On Friday, 17th September, an evening pilgrimage to sites of early Methodism in Truro was arranged and led by Dr. H. D. Eddy of Truro.

A well-attended conference on "Local Methodist History in Cornwall" took place at Truro School on Monday, 25th October, presided over by the chairman of the branch's executive committee, Mr. D. W. Burrell, who is the Truro School headmaster, and led by the branch's editor and General Secretary of the Wesley Historical Society, the Rev. Thomas Shaw.

*Journal* III. Nos. 6, 7 and 8 received.

*Occasional Publications*: Enlarged and revised edition of *The Sociology of Cornish Methodism* (J. C. C. Probert).

*Secretaries*: Rev. Baynard P. Evans, Orchard Meadow, Tremarne Close, Feock, Truro, Cornwall.

Rev. Sidney O. Dixon, The Manse, Mullion, Helston, Cornwall.

*Membership*: 330.

THE spring meeting of the **East Anglia** branch was held at Trinity chapel, Dereham, on Saturday, 8th May, under the chairmanship of the Rev. Hubert J. Martin. Welcome was expressed and devotions led by the Rev. Brian H. F. Webb. "The Coming of Methodism to Norfolk" was the title of a lecture delivered by Mr. C. A. Jolly. The Annual General Meeting followed.

*Bulletin*: Nos. 25 and 26 received.

*Secretary*: Rev. William D. Horton, M.A., 28, The Croft, Sudbury,

*Membership*: 118.

[Suffolk.]

THE spring meeting of the **Lancashire and Cheshire** branch was held on Saturday, 3rd April, and took the form of a return visit to Hartley Victoria College, Manchester. Mr. Michael R. Sheard, a student at the college, spoke on early Primitive Methodism in Cheshire and its links with such revivalist groups as the Independent Methodists of Macclesfield and Warrington.

For the summer outing, members made a well-attended pilgrimage to Epworth on Saturday, 12th June.

The Annual General Meeting was held on Saturday, 30th October, at the Central Hall, Manchester. Afterwards the Rev. George W. Dolbey gave an illustrated talk on "Methodist Architecture after 1840".

*Bulletin*: Vol. II. Nos. 3 and 4 received.

*Secretary*: Mr. E. A. Rose, 18, Glenthorne Drive, Ashton-under-Lyne,

*Membership*: 118. [Lancs.]

Two meetings of the **Lincoln** branch were held during the year—one at Winterton, where Mr. Tate addressed the company and showed members where Wesley preached. The second meeting was at Spilsby, where Mrs. T. Musgrave spoke on Spilsby Methodism and displayed several pieces of Wesleyana.

*Journal*: Vol. II. Parts 1 and 2 received.

*Secretary*: Mr. William Leary, Woodlands, Riseholme, Lincoln.

*Membership*: 95, plus 10 libraries.

THE summer meeting of the **London** branch was held at the Whitechapel Mission on Saturday, 12th June. Members were conducted on an historical tour of East-End Methodism under the experienced guidance of the superintendent of the mission, the Rev. William Parkes. Places visited included Spitalfields via Brick Lane, Christ Church, All Saints (spiritual home of an old Huguenot congregation), Welclose Square, Wilton's Theatre (The Old Mahogany Bar), and Bonner Road (birthplace of the National Children's Home).

On Saturday, 9th October, members met at Wesley's Chapel, City Road, for the Annual General Meeting and a most interesting talk by the Rev. Arthur W. Saunders on Wesley heraldry. The Rev. Arthur G. Utton retired as branch chairman, having served since its foundation. He is succeeded by the Connexional Archivist, the Rev. Dr. John C. Bowmer, whose first duty it was to preside over Mr. Saunders's lecture.

*Bulletin*: No. 11 received.

*Secretary*: Mr. J. A. Pendry Morris, 118, Elgar Avenue, Tolworth,

*Membership*: 73. [Surbiton, Surrey.]

THE **Manx** Methodist Historical Society began with a meeting of interested people, as reported last year. One of the results of this meeting was a pilgrimage to places of Methodist interest in the south of the Isle of Man on Saturday, 24th April.

The first proper meeting of the Society took place on Saturday, 30th October, in the schoolroom at Victoria Street, Douglas, when a committee and officers were appointed and the aims of the Society approved. Following the meeting, a talk was given by Mrs. Joseph Wilson on "The Methodist Dorcas Society" from the time of the cholera epidemic in 1832 to its activities of the present day.

*Bulletin*: No bulletins have yet been issued, but we have received an interim report on Methodism in the Isle of Man by Mrs. E. V. Chapman.

*Secretary*: On her departure from the island and return to the mainland, Mrs. Chapman will be greatly missed. For the time being, the secretary is Miss MacHardy, Zeerust, Clay Head Road, Baldrine, Isle of Man.

*Membership*: 20 (among whom we are pleased to welcome the Deemster and Clerk of the Rolls, Mr. D. C. Moore).

ON Saturday, 19th June, members and friends of the **North-East** branch held their summer outing at Mount Grace Priory in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Thence they travelled to Osmotherly, so redolent with Methodist history, then to Scarth Nick, of Primitive Methodist Camp-Meeting fame, and to Hutton Rudby. Mr. Geoffrey Milburn's efficient arrangements added to the enjoyment of the beautiful countryside.

In July the branch editor and branch secretary were able to attend the Conference Lecture and Annual General Meeting of the Society at Knaresborough—thus helping the branch to feel more closely allied to the parent body.

A very well-attended meeting was held at Station Road chapel, Chester-le-Street, on Saturday, 16th October, when the speaker was the Rev. Dr. John C. Bowmer, Connexional Archivist and a founder-member of the branch. His subject, "Ten Turbulent Years", covered the critical period after the death of John Wesley, when so many problems beset the Methodists bereft of their leader.

*Bulletin* : Nos. 15 and 16 received.

*Secretary* : Miss C. M. Bretherton, 6, The Craiglands, Tunstall Road,  
Sunderland, SR2 9AD.

*Registrar* (who despatches the *Bulletin* and receives the subscriptions) :  
Mr. Norman Moore, 3, Martello Gardens, Cochrane Park,

*Membership* : 82. [Newcastle upon Tyne.

ON Saturday, 18th September, members of the **Plymouth and Exeter** branch met at Ashburton, when Mr. W. C. Hobbs of Burradon (Saltash) displayed part of his extensive collection of Wesleyana. Mr. Roger F. S. Thorne, who now edits the branch *Proceedings*, described the items, thus providing a most interesting afternoon.

*Proceedings* : Vol. II. No. 6 received.

*Secretary* : Mrs. J. Lawson, Highfield, 229, Exwick Road, Exeter.

*Membership* : 93.

THE **West Midlands** branch has had a successful year, with a small but faithful number attending the meetings. The spring meeting was held at Hasbury chapel, Halesowen, when Mr. T. Hunt gave a lecture and presented a display on "The History of Bourne College, Quinton". An old boy of the school was present, and his personal reminiscences were greatly appreciated. The Annual General Meeting followed.

On Saturday, 22nd May, about 25 members travelled to the New Room, Bristol, where the Rev. E. Ralph Bates gave a lecture and a conducted tour. Thence they went to Wesley College for tea, inspection of the library, and an epilogue.

As the friends at Asbury Memorial were arranging a special celebration for the bicentenary of Asbury's departure for America, the autumn meeting of the branch was cancelled, and members joined in the celebration with a lecture by the President of the Society, the Rev. Dr. Maldwyn L. Edwards.

*Bulletin* : Vol. II. No. 3 received.

*Secretary* : Mrs. E. D. Graham, B.A., B.D., 34, Spiceland Road,  
*Membership* : 114. [Northfield, Birmingham, B31 1NJ.

THE summer meeting of the **Yorkshire** branch was held on Saturday, 15th May, when members were welcomed at Hunmanby by the Rev. Nigel L. Gilson. Opening devotions were conducted by the Rev. Thomas M. Morrow. The speaker was Mr. Clifford B. Freeman (Librarian of the Institute of Education, University of Hull), whose subject was "East Riding Methodism, as seen by Mary Simpson of Boynton Vicarage, 1856-69". The Annual General Meeting followed.

The autumn meeting was held on Saturday, 16th October, at Pitt Street chapel, Barnsley. The superintendent minister spoke of Methodism in Barnsley, and showed members the places of Methodist interest in the town. Special attention was given to James Hudson Taylor (1832-1905), the founder of the China Inland Mission, whose grandfather was minister at Pitt Street but whose family became Wesleyan Reformers. Mr. Bradford prepared one of the best exhibitions of treasures we have seen from a local church, including a bound set of plans almost complete (other circuits, please note!). An unexpected pleasure was a second lecture—by Mr. Raymond Horbury, a former circuit steward, who is at present Finance Officer of the Yorkshire Mineworkers' Association. He spoke entertainingly and challengingly of eight Yorkshire miners who were Methodists, several of whom he had known personally.

*Bulletin*: Nos. 18 and 19 received.

*Secretary*: Rev. W. Stanley Rose, B.D., 45, Main Street, Menston,

*Membership*: 123. [Ilkley, Yorks, LS29 6NB

AS we go to press, we hear that steps are being taken to form a branch in **Scotland**. An inaugural meeting is being held on Saturday, 27th May 1972 at the University of Stirling. It will commence at 5 p.m., following a District Lay Training Conference. It is hoped that the Scottish Record Office will send someone to give a short talk about local records. We trust there will be a good attendance at this meeting, and that from it there will emerge yet another branch of the Society.

Inquiries by anyone interested should be sent to Dr. David Gowland, Department of Modern History, The University, Dundee, DDI 4HN.

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*.

*Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, December 1971.

*John Perrot: early Quaker Schismatic*, by Kenneth L. Carroll (supplement to the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, 1971).

*Heritage*, a journal of the Methodist Historical Society of Victoria (Australia) and Tasmania, October 1971.

*The Baptist Quarterly*, July and October 1971.

*The Local Historian*, Vol. 9, No. 8.

We beg the indulgence of our readers that this issue of the *Proceedings* is late in appearance and contains only 24 pages. However, we hope to complete the volume before the end of 1972 with the 72 pages necessary to bring up the total to 192. In this way we can minimize the extra cost of postage occasioned by the increased rates applicable to postal packets weighing more than 2 oz. from 6th March 1972.

## SARAH RYAN AND KINGSWOOD SCHOOL

THE statement that Sarah Ryan was Wesley's housekeeper at Kingswood School for a period is so deeply embedded in the secondary authorities of Methodist history that it might seem an impertinence to challenge it. Southey makes it;<sup>1</sup> Stevens repeats it with the inference that her experience there was of value when, later, she helped Mary Bosanquet with her company of children.<sup>2</sup> Tyerman dwells on her unsuitability to be the "matron" of Kingswood School.<sup>3</sup> Curnock says Wesley "made Mrs. Ryan housekeeper in Bristol and Kingswood".<sup>4</sup> Telford states that Wesley "appointed her housekeeper at Kingswood in 1757, which post she held for four years".<sup>5</sup> Understandably, the statement that Wesley appointed her as housekeeper at Kingswood was repeated without question in the 1898 *History of Kingswood School*.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless the primary authorities for Methodist history indicate that she was housekeeper at Bristol's New Room, and her relationship with Kingswood is open to question.

Wesley's letters to Sarah Ryan indicate that she lived at the New Room and not at Kingswood. When writing to his wife in 1774, he refers to "Sarah Ryan, the housekeeper at Bristol".<sup>7</sup> It is Wesley's normal practice to distinguish clearly between Bristol and Kingswood. Not only is this true of his *Journal*, but at the head of his letters, if writing from the New Room he names Bristol, and if from the school, he names Kingswood.<sup>8</sup> It would be strange if in this case he wrote "Bristol" when it should have been "Kingswood". Moreover, the contents of his letters indicate that she was at the New Room. In one, written soon after she went to the West Country, he refers to her difficulty because she has "no knowledge of the people".<sup>9</sup> The reference to "people" suggests the chapel rather than the school. Furthermore, the rules which Wesley sets down for Sarah Ryan in his letter dated 8th November 1757<sup>10</sup> differ substantially from those given in his prospectus for the school.<sup>11</sup> Two points may be mentioned, though more could be cited. In his rules for the school, all rise at 4 a.m.; in those sent to Sarah Ryan, half rise at 4, and the others at 4-30. More significant, possibly, is the statement in the rules for the school that breakfast is over and lessons begin at 7 o'clock. In Sarah Ryan's rules, breakfast is taken at 7.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Southey's *Life of John Wesley* (3rd edn.), ii, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Stevens's *History of Methodism* (2nd edn., 1864), pp. 574, 576.

<sup>3</sup> Tyerman's *Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley*, ii, p. 286.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal*, iv, pp. 243-4.

<sup>6</sup> *History of Kingswood School* (1898), p. 49.

<sup>5</sup> *Letters*, iii, p. 239.

<sup>7</sup> *Letters*, vi, p. 100.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., *Letters*, iii, p. 229 (Kingswood); iii, p. 230 (Bristol).

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, iii, p. 240.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, iii, p. 240.

<sup>11</sup> A. G. Ives: *Kingswood School in Wesley's Day and since*, pp. 10-19 (facsimile of the prospectus).

<sup>12</sup> Comparison may be made between Ives, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-18, and *Letters*, iii, p. 240.

It may be noted that school still began at 7 a.m. after Wesley's death. There is no hint of any relaxation in this respect during his lifetime. It is unlikely that Wesley erred at this point. Still another indication that Mrs. Ryan was at the Room and not at Kingswood may be found in Wesley's statement to his wife that at one time he was "in the same house" for ten days, and during that time did not have twenty minutes' talk with the housekeeper.<sup>13</sup> Only once during Mrs. Ryan's residence in the West did he stay ten days at the Room, and never quite as long at Kingswood. Of itself this might have little significance, because at the most critical stage in his relationships with Mrs. Wesley and Sarah Ryan, he stayed nine days at Kingswood.<sup>14</sup> Taken in conjunction with other evidence, probably it is worth noting.

Sarah Ryan's letters to John Wesley also indicate residence at the New Room. Those letters, written between the autumn of 1757 and the first nine months of 1758, and published in the *Arminian Magazine* for 1782, sometimes have no place-name indicating where they were written, but when one is given it is always Bristol, and never Kingswood. Several points in her letters indicate residence at the Room and not at the school. There is a reference to Mr. Walsh being in the house and she being ill while he was there.<sup>15</sup> The exact dates can be given for his residence in Bristol on the way back to Ireland for his final illness, and again, the indications are that he stayed in one of the preachers' rooms at the chapel, and not at Kingswood. On another occasion, in a letter dated 8th February 1758, she tells Wesley that her practice was to meet with "Brother Carthy and Sister Clark" on Saturday evenings.<sup>16</sup> Carthy appears to have held some office in connexion with Wesley's books at the chapel, and a letter Wesley sent to him is definitely addressed to the New Room.<sup>17</sup> "Sister Clark" possibly was Sarah Ryan's friend in whose house in Christopher Alley, Moorfields, she had boarded for a time. If the three met under the one roof on Saturday evenings in the depth of winter, and the meeting-place was Kingswood, presumably it meant that Carthy braved a formidable journey in the darkness to be with Sisters Ryan and Clark. It seems more likely that all could meet for spiritual fellowship preparatory to Sunday services because all were living at the New Room.

A further line of evidence is to be found in Mary Fletcher's *Journal*, as preserved in Henry Moore's memoir of her. Twice she refers to Sarah Ryan as housekeeper at "Bristol-room". It is unlikely that she confused "Bristol-room" and Kingswood School, because at one stage she stayed seven weeks in Bristol for her health's sake, and during those weeks, she writes, "I spent much time with

<sup>13</sup> *Letters*, iv, p. 65.

<sup>14</sup> He was at Bristol, 25th December 1757 to 3rd January 1758, and at Kingswood, 4th to 12th January 1758.

<sup>15</sup> *Arminian Magazine*, 1782, p. 493. (Letter dated 11th March 1758.)

<sup>16</sup> *ibid.*, 1782, p. 380. (Letter dated 8th February 1758.)

<sup>17</sup> *Letters*, iv, p. 65.



her at the room".<sup>18</sup> Confusion would only arise if she had never visited Bristol or Kingswood.

The terrible story of Wesley's wife's unbridled attack at the Bristol Conference of 1758 when she saw Sarah Ryan sitting at the head of the table with the preachers together for a meal, told by Tyerman,<sup>19</sup> also suggests the Room rather than the school. Conference certainly was held at the Room. The preachers would not be likely to walk out to Kingswood for their midday meal! Nor is it likely that their light meal in the evening would be taken together: surely for this they would disperse to the homes where they would be staying. Neither Kingswood nor the Room could accommodate them all at night. But the common-room at the chapel would be large enough to admit of their having a meal together at midday.

No piece of evidence in favour of Mrs. Ryan's appointment being to the New Room is stronger than that contained in a letter written by Charles Wesley to John Jones in Bristol on behalf of Wesley himself. Wesley feared that an unwanted person ("proud, idle . . . fool") might try to get accommodation either in the New Room or at Kingswood. The year of writing was not given, though the date of the month is stated. (Internal evidence shows that the letter belongs to the summer of 1759.) On John's behalf, Charles bids John Jones "charge Mrs. Ryan and Mr. Baynes not to harbour him in *either* house without an express order from my brother."<sup>20</sup> The conclusion may be drawn that Sarah Ryan had authority at the New Room, and Mr. Baynes at the school. Certainly Baynes was a master at Kingswood.<sup>21</sup> He is unlikely to have had any authority at the Room.

Thus five primary sources indicate that, whatever her relationship with Kingswood (if any), Sarah Ryan was housekeeper at the New Room. The editor of Wesley's collected *Works* did not err when he added a footnote to the first of Wesley's letters addressed to Sarah Ryan: "Mr. Wesley's housekeeper at Bristol".<sup>22</sup>

On the other hand, a sentence in a letter of John Wesley to Sarah Ryan, dated 22nd November 1757, indicates that he wished the housekeeper at the New Room to be associated with Kingswood School. He wishes her, among other things, to "put forth all her strength . . . in assisting, quickening and directing the family at Kingswood", whom he trusts she will "always bear upon her heart".<sup>23</sup> Does this imply that she was also housekeeper at Kingswood?

Tyerman refers to her as housekeeper (matron) at Kingswood and also as being at Bristol. He is strangely indecisive, though making reference to both places.<sup>24</sup> Curnock has already been quoted as saying that she was housekeeper both at Kingswood and at Bristol.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Moore's *Life of Mrs. Fletcher* (19th edn., 1882), pp. 31, 43.

<sup>19</sup> Tyerman, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 286.

<sup>20</sup> Charles Wesley's *Journal* (ed. T. Jackson, 1849), ii, p. 256.

<sup>21</sup> Ives, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50.

<sup>22</sup> *Works* (1856 edn.), xiii, p. 202.

<sup>23</sup> *Letters*, iii, p. 241. <sup>24</sup> Tyerman, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 286-7. <sup>25</sup> See note 4.

The late Rev. Dr. T. Ferrier Hulme, always anxious to claim the maximum for his beloved shrine, and yet always mindful that he had been both boy and chaplain at Kingswood, wrote: "She was the housekeeper at the New Room and also had the domestic management of the School at Kingswood from 1757 to 1761."<sup>26</sup> But surely it is improbable that she held the two offices at the same time. Her health was not good, and eventually because of ill-health she had to leave the New Room.<sup>27</sup> To have acted as housekeeper of the two establishments, separated by several miles, under mid-eighteenth-century conditions, would have taxed the strength and ability of the strongest and ablest. With his usual frankness, Wesley told her she "had not large natural abilities".<sup>28</sup>

Is it not more probable that Wesley was really asking her to exercise a spiritual oversight? Had she been appointed as housekeeper, there would have been no need to exhort her to good works at Kingswood. He could have taken it for granted. But his faith in her spiritual witness at the time was almost unbounded, though he warned her of the dangers of her position. On 20th January 1758 he wrote to her:

I cannot think of you without thinking of God. Others often lead me to Him; but it is, as it were, going round about; you bring me straight into His presence.<sup>29</sup>

Dr. Hulme quotes Wesley's *Journal* for 4th January 1758,<sup>30</sup> some two months after Sarah Ryan's arrival at Bristol, in which Kingswood is described as

at length what I have so long wished it to be—a blessing to all that are within and an honour to the whole body of Methodists,<sup>31</sup>

and attributes the happy state to Sarah Ryan's influence.

But once again, a question may be raised. In personal correspondence, Mr. A. G. Ives, the author of the enthralling new history of Kingswood School, asks whether Wesley's writ to Sarah Ryan ever ran at Kingswood. In October of 1757, when Mrs. Ryan came to Bristol, there was a fire at Kingswood School, and John Maddern, the English master at the time, was active in dealing with the situation.<sup>32</sup> His wife, Mary Maddern, was a person of considerable gifts and character. Before her marriage to John Maddern in 1751, she had been on terms of very close friendship with Wesley.<sup>33</sup> As a widow, between 1770 and 1782, she was Wesley's housekeeper at the New Room.<sup>34</sup> Doubtless her gifts were of service to Kingswood during the years her husband was there. Years later, Wesley paid high tribute to her ability and Christian character.<sup>35</sup> If the Madderns

<sup>26</sup> T. F. Hulme: *Voices of the New Room*, p. 105.

<sup>27</sup> Moore, op. cit., p. 43: "Left Bristol-room . . . health not permitting her to continue . . . settled in a lodging . . . duty to come up to London . . ."

<sup>28</sup> *Letters*, iii, p. 240.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, iv, p. 4.

<sup>30</sup> Hulme, op. cit., p. 105.

<sup>31</sup> *Journal*, iv, p. 247.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, iv, p. 242 and n.

<sup>33</sup> Tyerman, op. cit., ii, p. 112.

<sup>34</sup> Membership Lists at the New Room, 1770 onwards.

<sup>35</sup> *Letters*, vii, p. 62.

left Kingswood just as Sarah Ryan came to Bristol, the new house-keeper at the Room may have been needed to fill a gap in spiritual influence at the school. Unfortunately there is no exact information as to when they left the school, though William Myles, in his *Chronological History of the People called Methodists*, brackets Maddern with others as being there from 1748 to 1760. This, however, probably represents a period, rather than exact dates. If they were still there when Wesley wrote to Sarah Ryan about Kingswood, one wonders what the reaction would be from Molly Maddern. Could not the writ Wesley sent be interpreted as derogatory to the Madderns and others at the school in 1757? May it be that Wesley's tribute in his *Journal* in January 1758 is intended as a word for them rather than for Sarah Ryan? These remain as open questions.

What is certain is that Sarah Ryan lived at the New Room from 1757 almost to the time she left Bristol in 1761, and that she was housekeeper there. It is not likely that she was ever housekeeper at Kingswood School. Whether she exercised a spiritual oversight there in any form at any time is uncertain. E. RALPH BATES.

[The Rev. E. Ralph Bates is Warden of the New Room, Bristol.]

## THE ANNUAL LECTURE

in connexion with the Nottingham Conference, 1972,  
WILL BE DELIVERED IN

**Musters Road Methodist Church, West Bridgford,  
On Wednesday, 5th July, at 7-30 p.m.,**

BY

**The Rev. MICHAEL S. EDWARDS, M.A., M.Litt.**

*Subject:*

**"S. E. KEEBLE AND METHODIST SOCIAL THINKING, 1880-1939".**

The chair will be taken by THE REV. DR. MALDWYN L. EDWARDS, M.A.  
(President of the Society).

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

Mr. and Mrs. Rowland C. Swift kindly invite members of the Society to **Tea** in the schoolroom at **4-30 p.m.** It is essential that all those who desire to be present at the Tea should send their names to the Rev. Leslie Mitchell, 119, Melton Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham, NG2 6FG (Telephone 233292), not later than Monday, July 3rd.

To reach Musters Road church from Nottingham, take No. 11 or No. 24 bus from the Town Hall, and alight at Musters Road—it is about a fifteen-minute journey. Cars follow the road signs to Trent Bridge, proceed over the bridge to the traffic lights, turn left at the next turning beyond the lights, and then into Musters Road a short distance ahead on the right. The church is on the left of the road. There is space for car-parking.

### **The Society's Exhibition**

will be open each day during Conference, in Room 1, Church Hall, St. Barnabas Cathedral. Smaller exhibitions relating to Methodist history will be found at the County Record Office and the Nottingham Public Library.

## THE RENEWAL OF THE COVENANT IN THE METHODIST NEW CONNEXION

SINCE *The Renewal of the Covenant in the Methodist Tradition*, by David H. Tripp (1969),<sup>1</sup> is likely to become a standard work, it may be worth while to amplify the sections on the observance of the Covenant in the Methodist New Connexion.

As early as 1813 there is an account in the *MNC Magazine* of a covenant service held at Ebenezer chapel, Leeds, at the beginning of the year.<sup>2</sup> It consists of an address and a covenant prayer, both apparently reproduced in full. This is not the place for a detailed examination of the text, beyond noting that it is by no means the same as the Wesleyan *Directions*. Whether this Leeds service was adopted elsewhere we have no means of telling.

In 1844 the MNC Conference resolved :

That Messrs. Woodhouse and Bakewell<sup>3</sup> prepare a form for the renewal of the Covenant, to be submitted to the Annual Committee, and distributed to the Circuits in due time for its observance.<sup>4</sup>

That this instruction was put into effect is confirmed by the *Jubilee* volume :

Before the close of the year [1844] a new Form for the Renewal of the Covenant was prepared, under the direction of Conference . . . and brought into use in the Connexion.<sup>5</sup>

A copy of this service is preserved in the Hobill collection at Hartley-Victoria College, Manchester.<sup>6</sup> It is a 12-page pamphlet entitled

*A Form for Renewing our Covenant with God: with introductory remarks and suitable directions.* London: Published by John Bakewell at the Methodist New Connexion Bookroom, 80, Newgate Street. Price one penny.

Although it is not dated, there can be little doubt that this is the 1844 service, since the MNC Bookroom was not established in London until 1844, and Bakewell resigned as Book Steward in 1849.

The sources of the service are indicated in the Introduction :

Various forms of covenanting with God have been published. One by a pious nonconformist writer of the name of Alleine, recorded in his work entitled "Vindiciæ Pietatis" and which was adopted by Mr. Wesley. In the seventeenth chapter of Dr. Doddridge's "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul" there are two forms . . . and in our Magazine for 1813 there is one which was used by our friends at Leeds. In the Form now submitted for the use of the Connexion we have availed ourselves of some sentiments and expressions found in each of these . . .<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Reviewed in *Proceedings*, xxxvii, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *MNC Magazine*, 1813, pp. 174 ff., 218 ff.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. the Rev. Simeon Woodhouse and the Rev. John Bakewell.

<sup>4</sup> p. 70, Resolution 41.

<sup>5</sup> 2nd (cheap) edn. (1851), p. 189.

<sup>6</sup> Hobill: MNC vol. 4, pp. 165 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *A Form* . . . , p. 7.

The Directions which precede the covenant prayer are very much shorter than the Wesleyan counterpart. There are four, strongly influenced by the closing paragraphs of the Wesleyan *Directions* (section V, paras. (l), (m) and (n)).<sup>8</sup> The covenant prayer uses "we", as did the Wesleyan form after 1834. The first three paragraphs follow Alleine in thought and occasionally in expression. The central affirmation, "I here take Thee . . . the Lord Jehovah . . . for my portion" is the same in both orders, as also are the closing words of the prayer. The prayer is followed by the covenant hymn, "Come, let us use the grace divine".

One suspects that the service was not widely used in a connexion that was unused to liturgical forms. However, it was still in print in 1858, when the Connexional Editor suggested in the *Magazine* that every member should be provided with a copy

in order to peruse the same with due solemnity prior to publicly taking upon himself the obligations of the covenant and also to refresh his conscience by an occasional reference to it afterwards.<sup>9</sup>

Evidence of MNC usage is given below:

1st January 1837 (London)—"After the public service, Mr. Ford renewed the covenant with us . . ."<sup>10</sup>

1884 (Hurst, Ashton-under-Lyne)—Among the references on the plan is "CS—Covenant Service and Sacrament".

January 1885 (Hunslet, Leeds)—"On Sunday evening next, the Covenant and Sacramental service will be held after the customary service" (church newsletter).

January 1894 (Ashton-under-Lyne)—"On the first Sunday of the New Year, two hundred members stayed to the Sacramental service to renew their Covenant."<sup>11</sup>

January 1900 (Macclesfield)—"Renewal of Covenant" planned at two of the thirteen places on the plan.

6th January 1901 (Lindley, Huddersfield)—"In the afternoon, we held the Communion and Covenant Service at Lindley, instead of the evening as heretofore . . . There was a much better attendance . . ."<sup>12</sup>

Thus there is considerably more evidence for a covenant tradition in the Methodist New Connexion than Mr. Tripp suggests. The New Connexion was the first non-Wesleyan body to provide an official Covenant Service. Moreover, there is evidence for a celebration of the Lord's Supper at New Connexion covenant services before the explicit provision in Scowby's service of 1887.

E. A. ROSE.

<sup>8</sup> Tripp's sub-divisions.

<sup>9</sup> MNC *Magazine*, 1858, p. 663.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, 1855, p. 38.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, 1894, p. 63.

<sup>12</sup> MS. diary of the Rev. W. H. Lockley in the possession of the writer.

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The Editor or the Publishing Manager would be pleased to accept back numbers of the *Proceedings*. Students and libraries are constantly requesting these (early issues in particular), and we would ask our members not to destroy their copies. Carriage will be refunded.

## BOOK NOTICES

*John Wesley and Methodism: A Guide for Schools*, by Thomas Shaw. (Wesley Historical Society, 1971, pp. 24, 15p. plus postage.)

Any teacher who has attempted to interest pupils in the history of Christianity in Britain or in the local community knows from experience the appalling dearth of material suitable for use in the classroom. With certain honourable exceptions—the Quakers and the Salvation Army in particular—the Christian denominations make it abundantly clear that, so far as the inquiring young minds of our schools are concerned, they either are not interested in their public image or haven't the first idea how to project it. And most of what material does exist is too obviously propaganda to earn the respect of the discerning younger generation.

In the case of Methodism, one or two useful books have hitherto been available for use in secondary schools, though little enough that is written with the less able pupils in mind. And, in a sense, the very wealth and variety of what has been written on the Wesleys has been a difficulty for the uninitiated. Mr. Shaw's pamphlet therefore meets a very real and specific need, and should be of value as a "guide" to both teacher and pupil, especially any who venture into the fascinating field of local studies. Short chapters cover the origins of Methodism, its nineteenth-century ramifications (usefully set out in a simple diagram), and its organization. There are indications of how to pursue further inquiries, and a carefully-selected bibliography (which enables any member of this Society to quarrel with the selection made!). In short, the answer to a long-felt need—the only problem being to ensure that those who need and would welcome its help are aware of its existence and can readily obtain copies. Publishing is "big business" in these computerized days, and the sale of school books is a high-powered affair with little room for the amateur. Mr. Shaw's *Guide* deserves not only widespread sale and use but also, perhaps, the official recognition of a need by the setting-up of an inquiry centre, such as other churches already have, or the more generous staffing of the Archives Centre in London to enable it to fulfil this role without jeopardizing its primary functions.

JOHN A. VICKERS.

*Robert Newton Flew, 1886-1962*, by Gordon S. Wakefield. (Eppworth Press, pp. xii. 268, £3.)

At a time when religious biography is hard to come by, it is good to have this pen-portrait of one who played such an important part in our affairs, on both the domestic and the ecumenical front. It is somewhat belated, for Dr. Flew died ten years ago; but it may be that the interval has enabled the author to see his beloved mentor (for such he was) in truer perspective. The book is a delight to read, as all who know Mr. Wakefield's style (complete with French and Latin tags) will expect.

We shall not treat our readers to a synopsis of the book, but use the occasion to express our regret that more of our Methodist saints and statesmen have not been similarly treated. It would be invidious to mention names, but the fact is that far too many of them have passed without an adequate biography. When we recall how much historians of today rely on biographies of the nineteenth century—an age when such studies were plentiful—we realize to what extent future students will lament the lack of twentieth-century material. Hence our gratitude for this study of Newton Flew, which we warmly commend.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

## 1231. JOHN WESLEY IN PEMBROKESHIRE.

One of our members, Mr. H. J. Dickman, of School House, Houghton, Milford Haven, writes as follows :

Wesley in his *Journal* for Friday, 21st August 1772, refers to a journey from Haverfordwest to Pembroke :

After dinner we hastened to the passage; but the watermen were not in haste to fetch us over, so I sat down on a convenient stone and finished the little tract I had in hand. However, I got to Pembroke in time, and preached in the town hall . . .

His route from Haverfordwest was on the Pembroke road, past Clareston (which he mentions elsewhere), and through the village of Houghton, where he preached twice. The passage, now a defunct foot-passenger ferry, was in Wesley's day—and very much later—a ferry for horse-drawn vehicles. My grandfather (born 1845, and a local preacher for 56 years) knew of it as such, and so did my mother, who was aged 92 when she passed on in March 1971. The ferry landed at the Burton side on the beach: there never was a landing-stage, and the footnote in the *Journal* about the old stone slip having been replaced by a pier is confused. The pier is a mile further down the waterway at Pembroke Dock, and serves the Neyland-Pembroke Dock steamboat ferry.

However, near the landing-point on the Burton side is still a grassy bank, overlooking the beach, and still on this bank is a large rectangular stone, 3 ft. by 3 ft. by 2 ft. in height. This is obviously the stone on which John Wesley sat. My forebears always spoke of this as a local tradition.

Incidentally, too, on the same *Journal* page, a footnote refers to the Bowens of Llwynygwair, a mansion about two miles from Newport (Pembrokeshire), and always their home. They went to Newport church. Reference to the dwelling as being in the grounds of Cardigan Castle is surely incorrect.

## 1232. "THE SECRETARY OF THE CONFERENCE".

In Notes and Queries No. 1226 (*Proceedings*, xxxviii, p. 94) Dr. Bowmer deals mainly with the office of Secretary of the Conference as it pertained in Primitive Methodism. Some further notes, therefore, may be welcome on the office in Wesleyan Methodism.

The office of Secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference was a requirement of the Deed of Declaration of 1784 which gave legal definition for the Conference. The fourteenth clause of the Deed requires the President and the Secretary of the Conference to sign the journal, signifying that what is written therein has become the act of the Conference.

From 1784 until his death, John Wesley was the President of the Conference. The first preacher to succeed him in 1791 was William Thompson. The first Secretary was Thomas Coke.

Throughout the history of the Wesleyan Methodist connexion, from the time of the creation of the office of Secretary of the Conference, the preacher (and he always was a preacher (i.e. minister) and a member of the Legal Conference) was appointed to a circuit or to a connexional office.

The chronological list of the names of the preachers who were Secretaries of the Wesleyan Conference, with the circuits or offices in which they concurrently served, is as follows :

1784-95	Thomas Coke	London
1796-8	Samuel Bradburn	Bath; 1797 Birmingham
1799	Thomas Coke	Superintendent, Foreign Missions
1800	Samuel Bradburn	Manchester
1801-4	Thomas Coke	General Superintendent, Irish, Welsh, West Indian, Nova-Scotia, New- foundland Missions
1805	Joseph Benson	Connexional Editor
1806-8	Thomas Coke	As for 1801-4
1809	Joseph Benson	Connexional Editor
1810-13	Thomas Coke	As for 1801-4 and 1806-8
1814-19	Jabez Bunting	Leeds; 1815-18 London West; 1819 London East
1820	George Marsden	London East
1821-3	Robert Newton	Manchester; 1823 Salford
1824-7	Jabez Bunting	Manchester (Grosvenor Street); 1827 Manchester (Irwell Street)
1828-31	Robert Newton	Liverpool (South); 1829 Liverpool (North)
1832-3	Edmund Grindrod	Manchester (Irwell Street)
1834-9	Robert Newton	Manchester (Grosvenor Street); 1835-7 Leeds East; 1838 Leeds West
1840-1	John Hannah	Theological Institution, Hoxton
1842-7	Robert Newton	Manchester (Oldham Street); 1844-6 Manchester (Irwell Street); 1847 Stockport (Tiviot Dale)
1848	Joseph Fowler	London (City Road)
1849-50	John Hannah	Theological Institution, Didsbury
1851-3	John Farrar	Theological Institution, Richmond
1854-8	John Hannah	Theological Institution, Didsbury
1859-69	John Farrar	Governor, Woodhouse Grove School; 1868 Governor, Theological Instit- ution, Headingley
1870	John H. James	Hull
1871	Luke H. Wiseman	Secretary, Missionary Society
1872	George T. Perks	Secretary, Missionary Society
1873-4	Gervase Smith	Secretary, Church Building Commit- tee
1875-7	Henry W. Williams	Highgate; 1877 London (Southwark)
1878-80	Marmaduke C. Osborn	Secretary, Missionary Society
1881-5	Robert N. Young	Theological Institution, Handsworth
1886-94	David J. Waller	Secretary, Education Committee
1895-1902	Marshall Hartley	Secretary, Missionary Society
1903-9	John Hornabrook	Secretary, Chapel Committee
1910-16	Simpson Johnson	London Mission and Extension Fund
1917-21	John E. Wakerley	Norwich and Cromer Mission; 1919 East Anglia District Missionary
1922-7	Thomas Kirkup	Under the direction of the Home Mission Department
1928-32	Robert Bond	Brixton Hill; 1932 Under the direction of the Home Mission Department

At the Uniting Conference in 1932, the Rev. Dr. Robert Bond was elected Secretary of the new Methodist Conference. He remained in



office until 1936, and during this period he was also secretary of the General Purposes Committee and secretary of the General Sustentation Fund. In 1937 the Rev. Edwin Finch was elected Secretary, and this year for the first time the Secretary of the Conference was not appointed to a circuit or department. In 1943 the designation "Conference Office" appears on the stations with the name of the Secretary of the Conference appointed. In 1946 an assistant was appointed to work under the direction of the Secretary of the Conference. The first to hold this office was the Rev. Harold Spencer, and he was followed the next year by the Rev. Walter A. Goss, who continued until 1952. The Rev. J. Bernard Sheldon was then appointed, and he remained in office until becoming a supernumerary in 1968. The present assistant is the Rev. W. N. Charles Wooldridge. In 1951 Mr. Finch was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Eric W. Baker, who stayed until 1971 and was then followed by the present Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Kenneth G. Greet.

In the early days the work of the Secretary of the Conference could not have been onerous, and for that reason he was appointed also to a circuit or to connexional office. Since Methodist Union that work has greatly increased, hence the need for an assistant. Nowadays the Secretary of the Conference represents British Methodism all over the world—not only at other Methodist conferences, but in the legislative bodies of other churches also. Between Conferences, the General Purposes Committee acts in place of the Conference, and the Secretary of the Conference is the chief administrator of that committee, in which sometimes great decisions have to be taken. Thomas Coke when he held office—and he was Secretary for 23 years in all—had a "wandering commission", but that could not be so today.

If we combine the lists of the Wesleyan Conference and the present Methodist Conference, it will be seen that the second longest tenure of office belongs to the ex-Secretary, Dr. Eric Baker, who served for 20 years continuously.

KENNETH B. GARLICK.

### 1233. INFORMATION WANTED ABOUT METHODIST SCHOOL-CHAPELS.

Mr. David M. Chappell, M.A., A.R.I.B.A. writes :

I am researching into the architectural development of Roman Catholic churches during the nineteenth century in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Catholic chapels bear a strong superficial resemblance to Nonconformist architecture. About 1825, Catholics began building school-chapels consisting of either two rooms or one room with a movable partition. I have a feeling that this form developed from Methodist practice, and I should be grateful if anyone able to suggest any pre-1825 examples, in Yorkshire or elsewhere, of Methodist school-chapels would write to me at 3, St. John's Avenue, Wakefield, Yorks.

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Two recent books contain material which should be of interest to Wesley Historical Society members. *The Geography of Religion in England*, by J. D. Gray (Duckworth, £3 95p.) reveals where early Methodism was strongest, and suggests why, connected with weakness of the Establishment in those areas. Minor inaccuracies do not detract from an important thesis. *Drink and the Victorians: the Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872*, by B. Harrison (Faber, £5 50p.) provides the most penetrating study yet made of the Temperance movement, and incidentally shows how Wesleyanism was rather late in acquiring its teetotal tradition. A fine piece of professional history, not to be missed. J. MUNSEY TURNER.