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Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

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Volume XL

October 1975

MARTIN MADAN AND THE LIMITS OF EVANGELICAL PHILANTHROPY

A PRESENT-DAY student of eighteenth-century England is gratified to discover the figure of Martin Madan (1725-90),¹ whose social concern led to his efforts to secure humane and effective treatment for male and female victims of venereal disease despite the “prejudice and hostility”² of a society that saw such an affliction as the proper reward of iniquity. And, after some initial surprise that the solution is offered without a trace of irony on the author’s part, the researcher sees a previously unheard-of sympathy for the plight of women in Madan’s three-volume *Thelyphthora*, which argues that the restitution of polygamy, on the Old Testament model, will put an end to the circumstances that drive women into prostitution—and frequently into the care of the Lock [Venereal Disease] Hospital, which Madan served as unpaid chaplain. Madan was an Anglican Evangelical clergyman, but his career seems to deny the usually safe judgement that “Evangelicalism was always socially respectable and conservative in its politics”.³ One does not see him as what Ford K. Brown has so ably proved the other Evangelicals to have been—a “father of the Victorians”,⁴ a man more concerned

¹ The most convenient source of information about Martin Madan is the relevant chapter of Falconer Madan, *The Madan Family* (Oxford: Printed for Subscribers, 1933), a book that also contains an excellent annotated bibliography of Madan’s writings. In the preparation of this article I have benefited from the opportunity to use both Falconer Madan’s notes for this work and the unpublished letters of Martin Madan to George Hardinge. I wish to thank Mrs. Beatrice Madan Brocklebank for her efforts in locating these materials and her kindness in letting me make transcriptions of them. I want also to acknowledge the support of an All-University Research grant from Michigan State University, which has met some expenses incidental to my investigation of Martin Madan and Anglican Evangelicalism.

² David Owen: *English Philanthropy, 1660-1960* (Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 52.

³ André Parreaux: *Daily Life in England in the Reign of George III*, trans. Carola Congreve (London, 1969), p. 160.

⁴ Ford K. Brown: *Fathers of the Victorians: The Age of Wilberforce* (Cambridge University Press, 1961).

with preserving the calm of the English Sunday than with relieving the hard conditions of eighteenth-century life. But an examination of Madan's full career soon reveals discordant details in the picture, that initially suggests itself, of a precursor of William Blake or Mary Wollstonecraft. Madan, trained for the law at the Inns of Court and early successful as a barrister, was the author of *Thoughts on Executive Justice* (1785), a book arguing against any leniency whatever in the sentencing of criminals—an unexpected stance in an England that could astonish a French visitor with “not the severity of the law but the humanity with which it was enforced”.⁵ But another shock awaits an inquirer into Madan's life, particularly if that inquirer agrees with David Owen that the Evangelicals’ “stupendous achievement in demolishing slavery atoned handsomely for the myopia with which they sometimes viewed other public issues”.⁶ For the truth is that Madan's considerable wealth had its origin in a West Indian sugar plantation of the sort then profitable only by means of the use of African slaves. Madan inherited slaves, and willed them to his wife at his own death.⁷ His cultivated English country life—made up, as Madan's unpublished personal letters show, of good music, the study of the classics, and the tactful support of the deserving poor—was, like so many graceful English lives, purchased with black labour. The present essay will ask that Madan be given the tribute that has too long been withheld from his humanitarian achievement. But Madan can be valued rightly only when his career and attitudes are viewed within the context provided by his age, by his class, and by the Evangelical movement in which he was a particularly central and representative figure. The man is all of a piece, and, given his own limits and the limits of Evangelical philanthropy, he is an enlightened and courageous pioneer in causes that even today repel the squeamish and offend the pious.

Martin Madan's conversion, that conviction of sin and knowledge of saving grace which is a defining element in the Evangelical faith, occurred relatively late, and in what would seem unpromising soil. For Madan there was no fasting and meditation at Oxford of the sort that started Wesley, Whitefield, and others on the path to faith.⁸ Instead Madan, while at Christ Church, “fiddle[d] and sh[ot] partridges”.⁹ Despite parental opposition, he entered the legal profession, by way of the Inner Temple, being called to the Bar in 1748. He spent every Wednesday night, from 5 p.m. until 5 a.m., at the Robin Hood Alehouse in Butcher Row near Temple Bar as part of “a very free-speaking and deep-drinking”¹⁰ club made up of an odd

⁵ Parreaux, op. cit., p. 191.

⁶ Owen, op. cit., p. 94.

⁷ From Madan's will, dated 4th April 1778: “. . . all my negroes purchased since the death of my Father to my wife Jane, sole Exix.”

⁸ e.g. “Whitefield increased his ascetic practices, and by and by reduced himself to a state of physical prostration” (J. S. Reynolds: *The Evangelicals at Oxford, 1735-1871* (Oxford, 1953), p. 8).

⁹ Judith Cowper Madan in a letter quoted by Falconer Madan, pp. 104-5. Judith's letters are now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

¹⁰ Falconer Madan, op. cit., p. 105.

assortment of poets and artisans, including the sceptic David Mallet, now best remembered as Gibbon's free-thinking tutor. It was within this group that Madan revealed himself to be what an unfriendly contemporary account labelled "a professed 'bon vivant' of the libertine cast. . . ." ¹¹ As Falconer Madan has observed,

Martin's connexion with this Club, which seemed to threaten his prospects at the Bar, where incessant application is absolutely necessary for success, became indirectly the occasion of his making the fullest and best use of his undoubted powers. ¹²

Learning that John Wesley would be preaching within range of their London haunts, the club commissioned Madan to hear Wesley, so that he could mimic his "*manner and discourse* for their entertainment". In what became a standard illustration of the power of the Evangelical pulpit, Wesley's exhortation to repentance, using as text "*Prepare to meet thy God!*" (Amos iv. 12), wrought the full conversion experience in Madan at once. When his friends asked whether "he had taken off the old Methodist", he replied: "*No, gentlemen, but he has taken me off.*" ¹³ Even in Madan's own lifetime, his opponents sneered at "a conversion, which ranks the determined profligate for its most unexceptionable disciple", ¹⁴ but it was the evangelical conversion of a man so circumstanced that made possible Madan's unique contribution to Evangelical philanthropy.

As might have been anticipated, Madan's unexpected conversion won only limited sympathy in his own family, which one must assume to have been fashionable in their Deism as in everything else. Neither his father, whose "backsliding and frivolity" ¹⁵ remained a family concern, nor Martin's new wife Jane Hale, were much support when "Martin constantly [read] Prayers morning and evening in his Family". ¹⁶ His mother, the sensitive poetess Judith Cowper Madan, was, however, genuinely pleased, exclaiming: "Never was so th[rough] a Change, sure, ever wrought in a Human Heart", though adding, "How agreeable to Jane, I can't say. . . ." ¹⁷ Judith's own devotion to the early Evangelical leaders is evident in her letters, which report as well her endeavours to move her husband towards conversion. ¹⁸

By the time that Martin Madan was ordained in 1757, his letters testimonial could attest to "his piety, sobriety, honesty, diligence, and orthodoxy for three years past". ¹⁹ But clearly he was the only Evangelical whose former life—whether as actual "profligate" or as witness to profligacy in his club days ²⁰—gave him the sympathy

¹¹ E. B. Greene: *Whispers for the Ear of the Author of Thelyphthora* (London, 1781), p. xxiii.

¹² Falconer Madan, op. cit., p. 106.

¹³ [A. C. Hobart Seymour:] *The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon* (London, 1844), I, p. 165. See Falconer Madan, op. cit., p. 106.

¹⁴ Greene, op. cit., p. xxiii.

¹⁵ Falconer Madan, op. cit., p. 107 n.

^{16, 17} *ibid.*, p. 107.

¹⁸ Letters collected and bound as "Madan Family Correspondence" at the Bodleian Library.

¹⁹ Falconer Madan, op. cit., p. 108.

²⁰ See Parreaux, op. cit., pp. 167-9, on the "libertines and bons vivants" and the Clubs.

requisite to offer himself as chaplain, without pay, at the Lock Hospital. The provision of treatment for venereal disease, without charge when necessary, was a charity that had the support of "the theatrical and musical professions",²¹ but its eventually enthusiastic support as a major beneficiary of Evangelical philanthropy was the result of Madan's work to build a chapel where non-patient Evangelical parishioners paid for their pews and patients sat in free seats. As a result of the effective preaching of Madan and others, the Lock Chapel was to become the best-known Evangelical chapel in London, served over the years by major Evangelicals like Charles de Coetlogon, Thomas Haweis, and Thomas Scott, but opening its pulpit to other Evangelicals, some of whom found little welcome elsewhere because their views were condemned by more orthodox churchmen. It was only because its founder was Martin Madan, who contributed £100 and considerable effort, that the Evangelical viewpoint was to find its most secure home in the garden of an institution filled with prostitutes and rakes—and, in grim fact, the innocent wives and children of such rakes—all suffering from gonorrhœa or syphilis.

In the eighteenth century, as in our own, venereal disease was to many people a laughing matter. Yet in the world of the clubs, indeed in fashionable society, as we know best from James Boswell, venereal infection seems to have been the constant scourge of the sexually active. Although bravado could name it "the manly disease",²² in an age that offered only a few inadequate treatments, one could not but know that venereal disease could be the cause of blindness, insanity, and death. Clearly the treatment of the infected among the 50,000—perhaps 70,000²³—prostitutes in eighteenth-century London, found most of all in central London, in Covent Garden, Drury Lane, or the Strand, was an undertaking of vast size and utmost importance. Madan, in appealing for continuing support, could point with pride to the numbers of cures effected at the Lock by 1762. Two hundred of those cured were children "from two to twelve years", many of them intentionally infected by a parent "in order to get rid of the disease as they foolishly think".²⁴ Madan stressed that the cures of "the most profligate and abandoned", for whom there is frankly "easiness of access" to the Lock, must often have prevented "so diabolical a practice".²⁵ Arguing with considerable skill, Madan used the plight of the innocent to assure the extension of treatment to those with whom the philanthropist might have less sympathy. His best charity sermon, *Every Man Our Neighbour*, has as its motto "Go and sin no more"—the words of Jesus in His refusal to voice a condemnation of the woman taken in adultery. In it Madan would have

²¹ Falconer Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

²² Parreaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-5.

²³ There is no way to establish a precise figure, but see *ibid.*, pp. 134-5.

²⁴ Martin Madan: *Every Man Our Neighbour: A Sermon Preached at Opening of the Chapel of the Lock-Hospital near Hyde-Park Corner* (London, 1762), p. 24.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 25.

the governors [of the Lock] go on with the more alacrity and cheerfulness in the reception of [the infected], not withstanding all that malice can suggest about the encouragement of vice.²⁶

He knows that there are those who say that

no Hospital should be supported, which is to relieve persons who willfully bring a disease upon themselves, through their own wickedness and abandoned life,²⁷

but he argues that

It bespeaks a far better sense of our love to our neighbour, to be finding reasons for doing him good, than inventing, or even admitting, excuses for withholding our charity from him.²⁸

In words so rightly chosen as Madan's are here, one can see how the Evangelical faith could produce genuinely selfless—indeed Christian—philanthropy. And in this particular cause Madan seems to have provided leadership that the others would follow.

Madan's participation in the intersecting worlds of fashion and of vice led to his authorship of one of the more interesting of contributions to that Evangelical genre, the essay on the death of the converted prostitute. In 1763 Martin Madan, "lately an eminent Counsellor at Law but now as eminent and able a Minister of the New-Testament in London", published *An Account of the Triumphant Death of F.S., a Converted Prostitute*,²⁹ the subject of which was a well-educated daughter of a gentleman and known to Madan both in her early life and at the end. Every Evangelical could recite, and perhaps publish, a similar history, but Madan would at the Lock be uniquely placed to know the sort of details that so often appalled and inspired readers of the *Evangelical Magazine*. A cynical modern might suspect the drives revealed in the Evangelical fascination with the particulars of vice; but the crucial fact that the subjects were *converted* prostitutes points to Evangelical success in reaching women ignored by the more conventional eighteenth-century clergy.

Although Madan led Evangelical philanthropy into new causes, he was content to support the predominant tendencies in Evangelical theology and worship without major innovation of his own. But, characteristically, the support he gave was energetic and effective. We find him striving to restore the doctrine of justification by faith in his enthusiastic re-publication in 1765 of *Justification in Christ's Name*, a sermon by Launcelot Andrewes, and in his participation in a Paris theological conference reported, under his probable editorship, in *A Conversation between Richard Hill, Esq., The Rev. Martin Madan, and Father Walsh*.³⁰ The latter work must be credited in the practice of assigning Madan to the Calvinist wing of Evangelicalism in opposition to the Arminian wing led by Wesley, whose views were under discussion at the Paris meeting. It is not inconsistent with

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁷, ²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 21.

²⁹ Boston, 1764.

³⁰ *Justification in Christ's Name* (London, 1765). *A Conversation between Richard Hill, Esq., the Rev. Martin Madan, and Father Walsh . . . Relative to Some Doctrinal Minutes, advanced by the Rev. John Wesley* (London, 1771).

Madan's sympathy with human frailty to find him emphasizing the heart rather than the deed, but one sees in his endeavours to resolve contradictions in Wesley's remarks a simple determination to reveal the consistency of the entire movement. He seems briefly alarmed that the Evangelical Anglicanism, in which he participates, might suffer misrepresentation in certain of Wesley's remarks. Despite Wesley's Arminian tendencies—and they did cause something of a schism between Wesley and Madan³¹—it after all remains a safe dictionary definition of evangelicalism to say, with the *N.E.D.*, that it is

that school of Protestants which maintains that the essence of "the gospel" consists in the doctrine of salvation by faith in the atoning death of Christ, and denies that either good works or the sacraments have any saving efficacy.³²

About Madan's Anglicanism there can be no doubt—and it is useful to understand that Anglican Evangelicalism often had High Church, and not Low Church, origin and issue:³³ Madan stoutly defends the Thirty-nine Articles in his *Scriptural Comment*³⁴ of 1772 using scripture as his basis, as was his constant controversial practice—one that would spell trouble for him when it resulted in *Thelyphthora*, but the usual Evangelical practice nonetheless. Madan's fundamental orthodoxy is evident as well in his publication of an *Answer to Law* (from an anonymous hand, with preface by Madan) in 1763.³⁵ William Law to a large extent fathered Evangelicalism, his books certainly playing a role in the individual conversion of several of the major figures in the movement,³⁶ but Madan follows Wesley in finding Law's mysticism, particularly as it derives from Jacob Boehme, productive of "capital Errors". Here, as is almost always the case (outside of *Thelyphthora*), Madan

³¹ See Falconer Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

³² J. S. Reynolds employs this definition, p. 1.

³³ The conventional assumption about the Low Church origin of Evangelicalism can be seen in Alfred Plummer's explanation that both Methodism and Anglican Evangelicalism owe "their origin to the Pietistic development among Low Churchmen, which found its highest expression in the writings of William Law" (Alfred Plummer: *The Church of England in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1910), p. 153). Plummer is certainly right to stress the importance of William Law, but Reynolds provides a valuable corrective as respects the Low Church relationships: "It has too frequently been supposed that 'the portion of the evangelical school which belongs to the Anglican church is practically identical with the "Low Church" party.' (*N.E.D.*) [On the contrary] the earlier evangelicals found the so-called 'low churchmen,' the spiritual descendants of the latitudinarians, among their chief opponents and persecutors." (Reynolds, p. 3.) John Walsh points out that "a number of important future evangelicals, from Wesley to Charles Simeon, may be said to have derived from a High Church background." (John Walsh, "Origins of the Evangelical Revival," *Essays in Modern English Church History*, ed. G. V. Bennett and J. D. Walsh (Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 138).

³⁴ *A Scriptural Comment upon the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England* (London, 1772).

³⁵ London, 1763.

³⁶ Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 154: "It is probable that most of the Evangelical leaders were inspired by the *Serious Call*: certainly this is true of Henry Venn and Thomas Scott."

voices what one might call an average or median Evangelical position.

In worship Madan played a major role in the reintroduction of music that the Evangelicals brought about. Genuinely skilled in musical composition, Madan edited a Lock Hospital collection of hymns, sold to benefit the charity, and featuring many new tunes and arrangements by Madan himself. The collection was to see constant reprinting, becoming in fact the hymn-book most used by Evangelical Anglicans. In its emphasis on "simplicity, orthodoxy, and conformity to scripture",³⁷ the collection finds most space for hymns by the Wesleys and by Isaac Watts, but it can turn to others, like George Herbert or to Martin's mother, Judith Cowper Madan, when the right attitude of simple, understated, emotional conviction is present. It is very much an Evangelical product, and it served the Evangelicals long and well. It had

a most powerful influence on the hymnody of the Church of England. Nearly the whole of its contents, together with its extensively altered texts, were printed in numerous hymn-books for nearly one hundred years.³⁸

Madan himself, it is interesting to note, wrote the words of no complete original hymn, despite skill in poetry evident throughout his career;³⁹ but it is almost certain that among the revised phrasings contributed by Madan throughout the volume were the lines

With [th'] angelic host proclaim,
Christ is born in Bethlehem.

Martin Madan's *Thelyphthora*, a three-volume exhortation to a return to the Old Testament practice of polygamy, is not perhaps the work one would expect from a man so centrally Evangelical, so orthodoxly Anglican, as Madan can be seen to have been. Reactions to the work, universally unfavourable,⁴¹ seem to see little possible explanation beyond the author's having gone suddenly berserk. Only E. B. Greene, author of *Whispers for the Ear of the Author of Thelyphthora* (1781), attempted to view the work as the logical outcome of the life of "a professed 'bon vivant' of the libertine cast", but in Greene's hands such an attempt results in a truly vicious attack on Madan for hypocrisy, lifelong frivolity, and blasphemy—

³⁷ Falconer Madan, op. cit., p. 275. See Martin's preface for a discussion of his principles of selection: *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (London, 4th edn., 1765), pp. iii–viii.

³⁸ John Julian: *A Dictionary of Hymnology* (London, revised edn., 1907), p. 710.

³⁹ The verse Prologue and Epilogue to his *Letters on Thelyphthora* (London, 1782) deserve, but have not yet found, a place in anthologies of eighteenth-century poetry. Martin published some Latin verse as *Poemata partim reddita, partim scripta* (Epsom, 1784).

⁴⁰ See Falconer Madan, op. cit., p. 276.

⁴¹ By 1822 a fair estimate of Madan's intentions was possible: John White Middelton writes; "... it is due to [Madan's] memory to observe, that he never intended to recommend polygamy in the abstract, but conceived that such a regulation would act as a powerful check to that profligacy which enslaved so many females, whose subsequent misery he was constrained to witness at the Hospital which was the particular scene of his ministry." (*An Ecclesiastical Memoir of the First Four Decades of the Reign of George the Third* (London, 1822), p. 47.)

Greene's pages overflow with angry sarcasm and direct abuse. Perhaps Greene is somewhat justified to see in the sympathies evident in *Thelyphthora* the attitudes of a reformed libertine—although he seems to insist that any reformation Madan made was superficial. Yet, whatever Madan's early life contributed, there are ingredients in *Thelyphthora* that make it, like all Madan's written work, a centrally Evangelical production.

Madan's concern in writing *Thelyphthora* is to provide support—socially and financially—to the seduced woman who so often ended on the streets in eighteenth-century London. Deeply involved in the work of the Lock Hospital, supporting the work of the related hostels for the rehabilitation of reformed prostitutes, Madan saw clearly the force with which the trap of prostitution held tens of thousands of London women. He dedicates his work to the hostels and to his own Lock Hospital, winning Greene's scorn and characteristic sarcasm:

See our Author's Dedication to the Asylum, Misericordia, Magdalene, and Lock Hospitals. His book is by no means an antidote against the disorder requisite for admission into *the last*. See his laboured ingenuity of most delicate comment on the rise and progress of that evil, in *Thelyphthora*.⁴²

Nevertheless, despite Greene, the emergence in the eighteenth century of new institutions for the reception of reformed prostitutes shows that Madan's concern for these women was the Evangelical concern. Similarly, the desire to find some remedy for the prevalence of seduction is the same concern, even more valid in that age than in most, that is heard in John Wesley's lament:

Where is male chastity to be found? Among the nobility, among the gentry, among the tradesmen, or among the common people of England? How few can lay any claim to it at all! How few desire so much as the reputation of it! How numerous are they now even among such as are accounted men of honour and probity . . .?⁴³

And, as G. M. Trevelyan has pointed out, "The harshness of the world's ethical code, which many parents endorsed, too often drove a girl once seduced to prostitution."⁴⁴ Madan's answer to the question of how the seducer is to be treated by law was simple and direct: let him marry the seduced woman. If he is already married, he has the Old Testament warrant, carefully reconstructed by Madan from the Hebrew, for polygamy. Even Madan's Evangelical friends deserted him at this point—certainly Wesley did, as did his kinsman the poet William Cowper, who wrote an *Anti-Thelyphthora*.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, neither Madan's sympathies nor his method of argument—scriptural proof—had yet taken him out of the Evangelical movement. Under Madan's leadership the Lock Hospital had prospered as an Evangelical philanthropic institution; there was, however, no

⁴² Greene, op. cit., p. iv n.

⁴³ *Works* (ed. T. Jackson), viii, pp. 163-4, quoted by Parreaux, op. cit., p. 127.

⁴⁴ G. M. Trevelyan: *English Social History* (Penguin, 1967), p. 504.

⁴⁵ Falconer Madan, op. cit., p. 115, pp. 289-98.

chance that the Evangelicals would endorse an attempt to re-define marriage to make it a philanthropic institution as well. And yet, the impulse behind Madan's notion was the same desire to make a moral life possible that was to cause the Evangelicals to take up causes as seemingly diverse as Sunday observance and the anti-slavery movement.

If Madan's *Thelyphthora* was a work that offended by its bold sweeping-away of convention, Madan's *Thoughts on Executive Justice* (1785) was offensive to at least a few for its rigidity in the cause of law and order. Madan, occupying "a *villegiatura* . . . at least as early as 1775, at Woodcote End, Epsom",⁴⁶ exercised the powers of magistrate for that locality, a role for which his legal training would give him superior qualifications. E. B. Greene can, as usual, be relied on for disparaging comment on this phase of Madan's life:

Not that a single amusement suffices the craving appetite of our instructor [in polygamy]; he hath condescended to the appointment of civil magistrate: . . . our man in office diverts himself with *hunting down* his fellow creatures . . . aggravating, not alleviating, the spirit of dissension among the dregs.⁴⁷

Greene's estimation of Madan as magistrate seems to have been shared by the townspeople, who burned Madan in effigy "when he exercised his powers as magistrate to stop illegal games during the Epsom races".⁴⁸ Madan's campaign against the illegal games was of course consistent as an Evangelical attempt to bring about a moral climate in which men can give their first attention to the salvation of their souls. And the thinker who judged the seducer with full severity in *Thelyphthora*—the seducer must marry his victim whether or not he is already married—is not inconsistent in his demand that the full penalty of the law, which was of course death for many offences now deemed petty crimes, be exacted. Such severity would, he feels, serve as a deterrent, as would "encouraging industry, lessening the numbers of ale houses, public places of diversion, &c."⁴⁹ Here the attitude is fully that of the Evangelicalism that was to become the very synonym for joylessness in the century to follow; and still it would be wrong to say that Madan's assumptions are greatly different here from the assumptions in *Thelyphthora*: reform of society must be achieved whatever the collateral cost of the severity that accomplishes that reform.

However much the reader is inclined to respect Madan's yearnings for a moral social order, where "the young beginner" in crime receives no encouragement but to "reform",⁵⁰ he must admit that Madan shows throughout a now distasteful anxiety for the security of property. But we would be wrong to think that Evangelical philanthropy, whatever it sought to accomplish in individual cases, ever contemplated a redistribution of resources. It is only when

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 116.

⁴⁸ Falconer Madan, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁴⁹ Martin Madan: *Thoughts on Executive Justice* (London, 2nd edn., 1785), p. 81.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴⁷ Greene, *op. cit.*, p. xxxi.

Madan's dedication to the Lock Hospital and the warmth of his appeals in its behalf are recalled that we seem to find a new hardening of heart. Yet it is significant that he feels enough to know that he must argue for the firm course against all promptings to the lenient one :

those, whose duty and office it is to administer . . . laws, have now, for many years, been preferring their *own feelings as men*, to the duty which they owe the public as *magistrates* . . .⁵¹

Of course the judge feels pity—he would otherwise “be a monster in nature”⁵²—but his duty is severity without reprieve. If the law is “too sanguinary”,⁵³ the legislature has the privilege to alter it, but the judge does not. If the case of the woman taken in adultery, whom Jesus refused to judge, is offered in contradiction⁵⁴—an example used by Madan himself in the motto to *Every Man Our Neighbour*, a sermon that argues against judging the victims of vice—then Madan must reject the example as inappropriate: Jesus did not have the *public* role of judge to exercise, and could therefore use a *private* leniency.

At the Lent Assizes of 1785, in a charge given to the Grand Jury for the County of Surrey, Sir Richard Perryn gave thoughtful notice to Madan's book in his own defence of leniency. From an historical perspective, Perryn is right in attributing a major part in the increase of crime to the “disbanding so many soldiers, sailors, and militiamen, which must be the case after a war”.⁵⁵ In answering Perryn in an Appendix to the second edition of *Executive Justice*, Madan himself shows signs of a characteristic feeling for the lower classes who learned vice “in the profligate examples of their masters and mistresses”.⁵⁶ Wilberforce had by this time led George III to issue his “proclamation against vice, profaneness, and immorality”,⁵⁷ and Madan offers his own remedies for the cure of a diseased moral order, including *George Barnwell*, a play by George Lillo that brings “an abhorrence and dread of the *first appearance of evil*, as well as of its destructive consequences”, to be performed in “*holiday-times*, when boys from school, apprentices, servants, and the lower kinds of tradesmen, frequent the theatres”.⁵⁸ (One recalls how this tale of the ungrateful apprentice was used to bully Pip in Dickens's *Great Expectations*, a use that is the logical Victorian outcome of Evangelical endorsement of this play.) Gay's *Beggar's Opera* shows, on the contrary, the effects of reprieve, and causes Madan to observe: “That such a performance as this should be suffered in any civilized country, has been, and still is, the amazement of many.”⁵⁹ In words like these the potentially destructive Victorian Evangelical attitude to both society and art is evident, but Madan is by now in reaction to the dawning secular age in which men “are taught to live *without God* in the world”:

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵² *ibid.*, p. 221.

⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 196.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 84.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 193.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 250, p. 249.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 138–9.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 195.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 247.

What security can we have for the honesty of tradesmen, for the fidelity of servants, for the obedience of children, or, in short, for the observance and performance of those civil and relative duties, which are essential to the peace, comfort, and happiness of our common life. . . .⁶⁰

Madan here takes on himself what Ford K. Brown has shown to be the

sole purpose of Evangelicalism as led by Wilberforce from 1787 to 1825 . . . [a reformation of] the manners and morals of the English people by combating the infidelity that is the cause of vice and sin.⁶¹

If Madan's Evangelical desire to reform English manners, part of the hope that improved circumstances would benefit the souls of men, could lead him to stress the rights of property beyond the promptings of the merciful heart, his ability to continue as a long-distance slave-holder is comprehensible. Given his class origins and the age that he lived in—just before the full fervour of the anti-slavery campaign—we need not be surprised that he voiced no inclination to free slaves whom we need not assume were ill-used. Whitefield, we know, “agreed with the Moravians that in Georgia slaves ‘might be employed in a Christian spirit . . .’”⁶² The Evangelical anti-slavery movement was not conducted on humanitarian grounds, but on the same basis as the campaign to secure the Proclamation against vice: Wilberforce looked to a reformation of the spiritual life of Englishmen brought about by removing “the necessity of sin from the slavers and the slave owners and their supporters”.⁶³ If Madan was not drawn to the aid of slaves, then Wilberforce seems to have been unlike Madan in not feeling called upon to join further endeavours to reform the destructive life of the English prostitute.⁶⁴

In his willingness to aid the scorned prostitutes of London—who existed in such exceptionally large numbers—Madan must be given credit for responding to a social evil that particularly demanded redress in his own age. It does not appear that Madan refused the opportunities for charity that he found even amidst semi-retirement in Epsom, where he turned much of his attention to translations of Juvenal and Persius, to his own Latin verse, and to music. His unpublished correspondence with George Hardinge shows Madan preaching charity sermons to the end,⁶⁵ and reveals that

the whole profits of the Edition [of Juvenal] are to be given to a very worth Clergyman in Worcestershire, who has a wife and Six Children, and no parsonage house.⁶⁶

Yet, if the philanthropic impulses are consistent, so are the fears

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 197.

⁶² Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 159 n.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 374–5. An anonymous pamphlet demanded of Wilberforce: “What are the sorrows of the enslaved negro from which the outcast prostitute of London is exempted?”

⁶⁵ The letters are collected in a bound volume entitled *Letters from Rev. M. Madan to G. Hardinge*, the property of Mrs. Beatrice Madan Brocklebank. The pages are numbered in pencil, with the references to a charity sermon on p. 10 and p. 14.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶¹ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

⁶³ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

expressed for the loosing of anarchy in his own society: on 7th February 1790, Madan sends Hardinge a report on events in France, with the remark that "this perhaps had been our situation, in a few years, had the Dissenters prevailed."⁶⁷ He strikes the true Victorian Evangelical note in a comment that combines domestic and public concerns: "I thank God! we are very quiet here, and we may hope to remain so, if the Dissenters will let the Kingdom be so."⁶⁸ Clearly an increase in the social liberty of the Dissenting sects can only be seen as a threat to order by the Evangelical author of a defence of the Thirty-nine Articles. Nor can we express surprise when, on 5th February 1790, Madan hopes that a defeat of social legislation will serve as "a coup de grace to the sturdy beggars".⁶⁹ Madan extended the limits of Evangelical philanthropy, and led a fair number of Englishmen into sympathies to which they would once have denied legitimacy. That he was otherwise a man of his age and his class, an entirely typical Anglican Evangelical—albeit an advocate of polygamy!—should in no way obscure either his accomplishment or his feeling heart.

VICTOR N. PAANANEN.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 45.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 43.

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MORE LOCAL HISTORIES

We acknowledge, with many thanks, the following handbooks and brochures which have reached us recently. We give the prices where these are stated.

A Short Account of Methodism in Athy (centenary brochure) (pp. 5) : copies from the Rev. Herbert Kelso, The Manse, Mountmellick, Co. Laois, Ireland.

Methodism in Hutton Roof, by P. Gaskins (pp. 26) : copies from the author at 75, St. James's Drive, Burton-in-Kendal, Carnforth, Lancs.

West Wylam Ebenezer centenary brochure (pp. 16) : copies, price 15p., from the Rev. David D. Mann, 6, Western Avenue, Prudhoe, Northumberland, NE42 6NU.

175 Years of Methodist Witness in Stamford Street, Ashton-under-Lyne, 1799-1974 (pp. 16) : copies from the Rev. Kenneth Bounds, 144, Henrietta Street, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs, OL6 8PH.

Within these Walls: A Century of Methodism in Formby, by Derrick G. Hanson (pp. 102) : copies, price £1 25p., from the Rev. Brian J. Dennigan, 2, Cloister Green, Redgate, Formby, Liverpool, L37 4HA.

Ormeau Road, Belfast, centenary brochure, by Mrs. M. G. Kelly (pp. 36) : copies from the author at Aldersgate House, University Road, Belfast.

Cullercoats church, a short history, by the Rev. David K. Roberts (pp. 20) : copies from the Rev. J. David Bridge, 32, Mast Lane, Cullercoats, Tyne and Wear, NE30 3DE.

OUR DOCTRINES

“DOES he believe and preach our doctrines?” This is one of the questions asked each quarter concerning all our local preachers, and annually concerning our ministers.

But when we come to ask “What are these doctrines?” we are frequently met with vague replies. We are told that we have no confession of faith such as the Augsburg Confession of the Lutheran Church, or the Westminster Confession of the Scottish Church, or the Thirty-nine Articles. We are reminded in the Deed of Union that “the Methodist Church . . . accepts the fundamental principles of the historic creeds and of the Protestant Reformation”. The Deed goes on to point out that “we acknowledge the Divine revelation recorded in the Holy Scriptures as the supreme rule of faith and practice”. Further than that the Deed declines to go, summarizing the position by saying that

these Evangelical Doctrines, to which the preachers of the Methodist Church, both Ministers and Laymen, are pledged, are contained in Wesley’s *Notes on the New Testament* and the first four volumes of his sermons.

The Deed proceeds to comment—and this is the attitude which in some Methodist circles is supremely stressed today—that the *Notes* and the *Sermons*

are not intended to impose a system of formal or speculative theology on Methodist Preachers, but to set up standards of preaching and belief which should secure loyalty to the fundamental truths of the Gospel of Redemption.

As Dr. Frank Baker says, “These doctrinal standards constitute the one unalterable element in the Methodist Church.”¹

But there is clearly a difference between doctrines which are implicit—or even explicit—in a New Testament commentary, or four volumes of sermons, and doctrines which are summarized under specific heads and defined in precise clauses. One has to ask: “What, in fact, are the ‘doctrines contained in Wesley’s *Notes on the New Testament* and the first four volumes of his sermons’?” Wesley himself was obviously aware that this was not precise enough, for he prepared, first for the American societies, and two years later for British Methodists, an abridgement of the Thirty-nine Articles, which omitted references to general councils and the establishment and rephrased other articles in a Protestant and Arminian direction, resulting in a credal statement of twenty-five instead of thirty-nine articles. This abridgement has been all but forgotten in British Methodism, but is still current with Methodists in America. That it was beginning to be forgotten in British Methodism within twenty years—or that it was felt not to be sufficiently explicit—is perhaps the reason why the Conference of 1805 authorized three men—Adam Clarke, Thomas Coke, and Joseph Benson—to draw up

¹ F. Baker: *A Charge to keep* (1947), p. 108.

"Methodist Articles of Religion". But whilst the task assigned was fulfilled, the Articles were never formally accepted by Conference. They exist in two forms—one of twenty-nine articles, the other of thirty-eight—and this latter was printed, presumably as a draft, entitled *Articles of Religion proposed to the consideration of the Preachers of the late Rev. John Wesley's Connection* [sic] at the Conference Office in 1807, and reprinted by our Society in 1897 (Publication No. 2). It would be interesting to speculate why Conference took no further action: perhaps the influence of Dr. Clarke's enemies was too strong? The matter was left "rather vaguely as those to be found in Wesley's *Explanatory Notes on the New Testament* and in his *Standard Sermons*".²

But the smaller and younger branches of Methodism felt it necessary to be more specific. The New Connexion was of course the first to do so; their *Minutes* of 1800 summarized the doctrines believed by Methodists in five phrases, which are amplified in the *General Rules* of ten years later:

1. The fall of man.
2. Redemption by the blood of Jesus Christ.
3. Justification by faith.
4. The compleat [sic] sanctification of believers.
5. The necessity of continuing in faith and good works to the end, in order to final salvation.

These five basic themes are, as we have said, somewhat amplified in the *General Rules* of 1816, with the addendum "If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not. 2 John 10."

In 1832 Salt's *Memorial*, and in 1834 the New Connexion *Catechism*, increased these five heads to ten, both publications using virtually identical wording; the table appearing on pages 74-9³ indicates the few verbal differences. These again are increased to thirteen paragraphs in the 1838 *Abridgement* of MNC *Rules*, the MNC *Digest* of 1876 and again in 1903—some of these paragraphs, as will be seen, repeating word for word either Salt or the 1834 *Catechism*.

The MNC *Catechism* of 1851, prepared by William Cooke, is not a statement of faith, as are all those summaries we have mentioned already, but is of the traditional form of "question and answer", under twelve heads. With this catechism it is interesting to compare the headings of the undated (c. 1882) Wesleyan catechism. There is, in spite of some re-arrangement of order, a general similarity, though the Wesleyan catechism has an opening section, "Of the Christian Religion", and omits a section on "The Holy Scriptures". (Perhaps one should not read too much into that omission!)

The earliest Bible Christian *Rules* of 1818 do not include a statement of faith, contenting themselves with echoing Wesley's well-known *Rules of the Society*; but from at least the fourth edition of their *Digest of Rules* (1872), and repeated in the three succeeding

² *ibid.*, p. 107.

³ Slightly compressed here and there through considerations of space.

editions, their "Summary of Doctrines" is catalogued under fourteen heads. Whilst, naturally, having no dependence on the MNC articles, they equally naturally—both being Methodist—stress the same doctrines, although, somewhat surprisingly, the Bible Christian summary is more "theological" in its language, and its longest section deals with the Sacraments.

Of the denominations combining to form the United Methodist Free Churches, as may be imagined in view of their insistence on local independence, several circuits drew up their own statements of faith. Among these were Sunderland Wesleyan Methodist Association circuit in 1838 and Leeds Lady Lane UMFC in 1866. Others, such as Rochdale Baillie Street, Camborne Methodist Free Church, and Louth Free Methodist Church, contented themselves with conditions of membership similar to those of the present day: presumably, since they were not quarrelling with Wesleyan doctrine, they took current Methodist understanding of the faith for granted.

Sunderland summarized the doctrines under fifteen heads, each being a substantial statement of faith; Leeds, on the other hand, simply outlined the titles, e.g. "Repentance", "The Resurrection of the Body", and in this they were closely followed by the Primitive Methodist *General Rules* of 1836. Sunderland's summary may well have been used elsewhere, for when we come to the Wesleyan Methodist Association Foundation Deed of 1840 (which was taken over as it stood by the UMFC Foundation Deed in 1857), we find that there is a close similarity between the 1838 and the 1840 documents. The striking difference lies in the fact that whilst Sunderland has a closing paragraph on the Sacraments, none such appears in 1840 or 1857; and Sunderland's paragraphs on justification and sanctification are more explicit.

The story concludes with the statement of doctrine in the United Methodist Church *Rules* in 1907. This is, understandably, re-phrased, and includes a brief paragraph on the Sacraments, using phrases which are continued in the 1932 Deed of Union. These 1907 *Rules* would appear to depend chiefly on the 1840 (and 1857) Foundation Deed; there is no obvious dependence on the phraseology of the Bible Christian and New Connexion summaries. The most striking innovation (if that is the correct expression) is a section on "The Holy Catholic Church"—a phrase not used until then, and symbolic perhaps of the ecclesiastical climate of the new century, even though the substance of the paragraph's tenets had been held from the beginning.

Nowadays we are *Doing Theology*⁴—a hint perhaps of what we sometimes call, especially in our youth work, the "experiential approach"; and the danger is that we may too easily assume doctrine to be that which each of us discovers for himself—and no more than any one man personally discovers. We tend to be content with an irreducible minimum. And, what is worse, doctrine then becomes

⁴ The title of a text-book on theology for Local Preachers published by the Local Preachers' Department of the Methodist Church in 1972.

something that is no more than a matter of personal choice. That is not the historic faith. Our first theologian, Paul, disclaimed such an attitude vehemently: "I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received." This is not the place for a sermon on that text; but Methodists of the late twentieth century might well consider afresh these forthright dogmatic (in the best sense of that word) professions of faith of some of their nineteenth-century forefathers. They too believed in experiential religion (though *they* called it "experimental"): the assertions they were given in their formularies they found true within their own experience. And to sum it all up: when we speak of "our doctrines", these are they which we have historically held.

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

THE ANNUAL MEETING AND LECTURE

THE Annual Meeting, Tea and Lecture, held at Garston on Monday, 30th June, in connexion with the Liverpool Conference, were well supported. There were the usual familiar faces of members and friends who were Conference representatives, those who lived in the area, and some who had travelled long distances to be present. At the tea-table the Rev. C. N. R. Wallwork expressed the thanks of those who had partaken to our invisible host and hostess Mr. and Mrs. Rowland C. Swift.

Business Meeting

Many references were made to our late President, Dr. Maldwyn Edwards, during the course of the day, and at the beginning of the Annual Meeting the Society's tribute to him was ably expressed by the Rev. W. Russell Shearer. Among other members who had died during the year, to whom tribute was paid, was Mr. F. O. Bretherton, who in 1959 opened the Society's Library, the nucleus of which had been bequeathed by his father, the Society's President from 1941 to 1956, the Rev. F. F. Bretherton.

The Rev. Dr. John C. Bowmer was unanimously elected as President, the meeting taking the opportunity at the same time of congratulating him on attaining the fortieth year of his ministry, which he has marked this year by the publication of his Fernley Hartley lecture, *Pastor and People: A study of the Pastoral Office in Wesleyan Methodism, 1791-1858*.

The meeting was told of the steady enrolment of new members. There had been an improvement in subscription income and some reduction in arrears. The membership fees were revised, and fixed at £1 per annum, £4 for five-year and £20 for life membership. There was a useful discussion on reports, both oral and written, received from the branches.

The Annual Lecture

Mr. Peter Facer of Nelson presided and introduced the lecturer, Dr. Ian Sellers of Padgate College, who by expert presentation and deft touches of humour kept the interest of his audience in an historical-theological study of "Adam Clarke and the Eternal Sonship"—about which a considerable proportion of them must have known nothing at all before the lecture began. Dr. Sellers proved—to our satisfaction at least—that, contrary to popular opinion, there was a serious theological debate in Wesleyan Methodism on the Person of Christ. For the details of his exposition we shall have to wait for the publication of the lecture.

THOMAS SHAW.

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF

(See article by Dr. Oliver A.

SALT'S MEMORIAL, 1832 and NEW CONNEXION GATECHISM, 1834	MNC MINUTES, 1800 (M); MNC GENERAL RULES, 1816 (R)	ABRIDGEMENT OF MNC RULES (10th edn.), 1838; MNC DIGEST, 1878; MNC ABRIDGEMENT, 1903	WESLEYAN GATECHISM, c. 1882 (W); MNC GATECHISM, 1851 (N)	BIBLE CHRISTIAN DIGEST OF RULES, 4th edn. (1872), 5th, 6th & 7th edns.
<p>1. We believe in the existence and perfections of the Supreme Being.</p>		<p>1. We believe that there is one God, who is infinitely perfect, the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of all things.</p>	<p><i>These Catechisms are not statements of faith, but in the form of question and answer, under the following chapter-heads.</i> N—1. God and His attributes. W—(2) Of God.</p>	
<p>2. We believe that the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are given by Divine inspiration, and form a complete rule of faith and practice.</p>		<p>2. As Salt 1832, 2.</p>	<p>N—2. Creation, Providence, etc. W—(3) Of Creation and Providence. N—11. The Holy Scriptures.</p>	<p>1. That the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments contain a revelation of the will of God concerning man, and are a complete rule of faith and practice.</p>
<p>3. We believe in the Divinity of Christ, and in the Personality and Godhead of the Holy Spirit.</p>		<p>3. We believe that three Persons exist in the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, undivided in essence, and co-equal in power and glory.</p>	<p>N—6. The Holy Spirit and His offices. W—(7) Of the Holy Spirit.</p>	<p>2. That God is unoriginated, unchangeable, and independent; almighty in power, everywhere present, and knowing all things; infinitely gracious, holy, just and true; and that He is the Creator, preserver, and Governor of all things.</p>
<p>4. We believe that Adam, by his fall, involved all his posterity in guilt and depravity, and that Christ has made an atonement for the sins of all mankind; and that there is no other name given under heaven by which we can be saved.</p>	<p>M—1. The fall of man. R—1. The fall of man; by which is understood, that by disobedience Adam fell from the favour of his Maker, into a state of condemnation; from a state of rectitude and happiness, into a state of disorder and misery; and in consequence of his fall, rendered himself liable to everlasting punishment. And that in consequence of the fall of Adam, all men bring a depraved nature with them into the world.</p>	<p>4. We believe that in the person of Jesus Christ the Divine and human natures are united, so that he is truly and properly God, and truly and properly man.</p>	<p>N—5. The offices of Christ. N—3. Man's Original state and fall. W—(4) Of the Fall of Man.</p>	<p>3. That in the Godhead there are a plurality of persons, termed in the Scriptures the Father, the Word or Son, and the Holy Ghost, and these are co-equal and co-eternal.</p>
		<p>5. We believe that man was created in righteousness and true holiness, but that by his disobedience, Adam lost the purity and happiness of his nature, and in consequence, all his posterity are involved in depravity and guilt.</p>	<p>N—4. Redemption. W—(5) Of the Redemption of the World by our Lord Jesus Christ.</p>	<p>4. That man was created free from all moral impurity, in righteousness and true holiness, capable of continuing in that state, but liable to fall. 5. That by the abuse of his free agency he fell from that state, became morally depraved, and transmitted his defilement to all his posterity. 6. That to redeem mankind from the consequences of the fall, the Eternal Word assumed human nature, "tasted death for every man", and thereby made a complete atonement for the sin of all the human race, and procured the influence of the Holy Spirit to help their in-</p>

METHODIST DOCTRINAL STATEMENTS

Beckerlegge on pages 69-72.)

PROPOSED ARTICLES OF RELIGION, 1807	SUNDERLAND WMA CIRCUIT, 1838	LEEDS LADY LANE UMFC, 1866 (L); PM GENERAL MINUTES, 1836 (P)	WMA FOUNDATION DEED, 1840 and UMFC ditto, 1857	UMC RULES, 1907
IV. The Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation.	1. The Scriptures of the Old Testament, as received by the Jews, and the books of the New Testament, as received by the primitive Christians from the evangelists and apostles, we believe to be divinely inspired, and of supreme authority.	L—1. The Sacred Scriptures, having been given by inspiration of God, contain a perfect rule of faith and practice.	1. The Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were written under Divine Inspiration, and are a revelation of the will of God to man, and contain a true and perfect rule of faith and practice, and that therein are revealed the following truths:	1. The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, through divine inspiration, contain a revelation of the will of God to man, and furnish a sufficient rule of faith and practice.
I. Of God, and of the Holy Trinity.	2. We believe in one God, essentially wise, holy, just, and good; eternal, infinite, and immutable in all natural and moral perfections; the creator, supporter, and governor of all beings, and of all things.	L—2. The existence of the one true and eternal God.	2. There is one living and true God, infinite, eternal, unchangeable and all-glorious; possessing absolute perfection; the Creator, the preserver and the Sovereign of all other beings, and the proper and sole object of all worship;	2. There is one God, the Creator, Preserver, and Ruler of all things, Who is above all, and through all, and in all;
I. Of God, and of the Holy Trinity.	3. That God is revealed in the scriptures as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and that to each are attributed the same divine properties and perfections.	L—4. The personality and divinity of the Holy Spirit. P—h. The doctrine of the Trinity.	3. And that in the one all-glorious Godhead there are three co-equal Persons, named the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that in the person of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son, the Divine and human natures are united.	And, in the mystery of His being, there are three Persons in the one Godhead, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.
VII. Of the Creation of Man.	4. That man was created after the divine image, sinless, and, in his kind, perfect; but that the first man disobeyed the divine command, fell from his state of innocence and purity, and involved all his posterity in the consequences of his fall.	L—5. The original purity of man. P—a. The innocency of man in his first state. L—6. The fall and total depravity of man. P—b. The fall of man.	4. That the first man and woman were created wise, holy, happy and immortal, and they by voluntary transgression fell from that state, involving themselves and all their posterity in sin and misery, became at enmity with God, prone to evil and liable to eternal death.	3. The Lord Jesus Christ is the incarnate Son of God, in the unity of His being at once human and divine, truly God and truly man.
IX. Of the Fall of Man, and of Original and actual Sin.	4. That man was created after the divine image, sinless, and, in his kind, perfect; but that the first man disobeyed the divine command, fell from his state of innocence and purity, and involved all his posterity in the consequences of his fall.	L—5. The original purity of man. P—a. The innocency of man in his first state. L—6. The fall and total depravity of man. P—b. The fall of man.	4. That the first man and woman were created wise, holy, happy and immortal, and they by voluntary transgression fell from that state, involving themselves and all their posterity in sin and misery, became at enmity with God, prone to evil and liable to eternal death.	4. Man as a moral being is free and responsible, and in the exercise of his freedom has fallen into sin and condemnation.
IX. Of the Fall of Man, and of Original and actual Sin.	5. That God, having graciously designed to redeem fallen man, made disclosures of his mercy, which were the grounds of faith and hope from the earliest ages.	L—3. The true and proper Godhead of Jesus Christ. P—j. The proper divinity of Jesus Christ.	5. That Jesus Christ, by the grace of God, died for every man; and that His death was, and is, a proper sacrifice,	5. The Lord Jesus Christ in His life and death perfectly manifested the righteousness and love of God: and
XII. Of the Mediator of the Covenant of Grace.	5. That God, having graciously designed to redeem fallen man, made disclosures of his mercy, which were the grounds of faith and hope from the earliest ages.	L—3. The true and proper Godhead of Jesus Christ. P—j. The proper divinity of Jesus Christ.	5. That Jesus Christ, by the grace of God, died for every man; and that His death was, and is, a proper sacrifice,	5. The Lord Jesus Christ in His life and death perfectly manifested the righteousness and love of God: and

SALT'S MEMORIAL, ETC.	MNC MINUTES, ETC.	ABRIDGEMENT OF MNC RULES, ETC.	WESLEYAN CATECHISM, ETC.	BIBLE CHRISTIAN DIGEST, ETC.
5. We believe that repentance is absolutely necessary to salvation.		7. We believe that repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ are necessary to salvation.	N—8. The Conditions of Salvation. W—(6) Of the Gospel Salvation.	firmities; and having confirmed the efficacy of that atonement, by His resurrection, ascended into heaven, where He "ever liveth to make intercession" for them.
6. We believe that justification is by grace through faith, and that he that believeth hath the witness in himself; that it is our privilege to be fully sanctified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the Spirit of our God.	M—3. Justification by faith. R—3. Justification by faith; by which is understood the free and full pardon of past sins, and the acceptance of our persons, which blessings are obtained by faith in the mercy of God, manifested through the Lord Jesus Christ . . .	8. As Salt 1832, 6.	N—7. Salvation — the Blessings it includes.	7. That repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, are the only conditions on which the benefits of Christ's death are offered to those who are part-takers of the light of the Gospel. 8. That all who thus repent and believe the Gospel are regenerated, and have the witness in themselves that they are justified freely by His grace.
7. We believe that all our [1834: man's] salvation is of God, and that man's [1834: his] damnation is all [1834 omit] of himself. Nevertheless [1834 omit] we believe that in the Gospel plan of redemption, men are treated as rational, accountable creatures; that "It is God that worketh in us to will and to do of his own good pleasure"; and that we are to "work	M—2. Redemption by the blood of Jesus Christ. R—2. Universal redemption by Jesus Christ, who by his death made a full and perfect atonement for the sins of mankind. R—3 (cont.)— . . . and are evidenced on the part of a sinner by good works.	9. As 1834 Catechism, 7.	N—9. Our duties in general. W—(8) Of the Law of God.	9. That it is the privilege of every true believer to be sanctified wholly "in the name of our Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God".
		[From second column] MNC Minutes (M); MNC General Rules (R) M—4. The compleat [sic] sanctification of believers. R—4. Complete or full sanctification by the spirit of God, and the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.		

PROPOSED ARTICLES OF RELIGION	SUNDERLAND WMA CIRCUIT	LEEDS LADY LANE U.M.F.C., ETC.	WMA FOUNDATION DEED, ETC.	UMC RULES
	<p>Christ, the divine and human natures are united: so that he is truly and properly God, and truly and properly man.</p> <p>7. That Jesus Christ, the Son of God, revealed, personally, by his own ministry, or by the Holy Spirit in the ministry of his apostles, the whole mind of God, for our salvation; and that, having perfectly obeyed the divine law in his life, he, by his death, offered a proper, sufficient, and complete satisfaction, oblation, and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world.</p> <p>8. That, after his death and resurrection, he ascended up into heaven, where, as the mediator, he ever liveth to make intercession for them that come unto God by him.</p> <p>9. That the Holy Spirit is given in consequence of Christ's mediation; and that his influence is indispensably necessary to the conversion, sanctification, and final salvation of men.</p>	<p>L--7. The atonement of Christ, extending to every human being.</p> <p>P--c. General redemption by Jesus Christ.</p> <p>L--10. Regeneration by the Holy Ghost.</p> <p>P--g. Sanctification by the Holy Spirit, producing inward and outward holiness.</p> <p>L--11. The Witness of the Spirit.</p> <p>P--f. The Witness of the Spirit.</p> <p>—8. Repentance.</p> <p>P--d. Repentance.</p>	<p>sufficient satisfaction, and atonement for the sins of the whole world.</p> <p>6. That the influences of the Holy Ghost are indispensably necessary to man's illumination, conviction, conversion, and sanctification.</p>	<p>becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross. He made atonement for the sins of the whole world. He was raised from the dead, and received up into glory, and now reigns Lord over all.</p>
<p>XIV. Of Repentance unto Life.</p>	<p>10. That repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, are essential to personal salvation.</p>		<p>7. That God willeth the salvation of all men; but that repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ on the part of all who are capable of them, are absolutely requisite to salvation.</p>	<p>6. God wills not the death of any sinner, but requires repentance towards Himself and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ as necessary to salvation.</p>
<p>XIX. Of the Justification of Man.</p> <p>XXII. Of the Witness of God's Spirit, and an Assurance of being in a State of Salvation.</p>	<p>11. That justification is an act of God's free grace, whereby, for the sake of Christ, he pardoneth and absolveth all them who truly repent and unfeignedly believe his holy gospel; that a holy life is the necessary effect of a true faith in Christ; and that good works and holy tempers are the certain fruits of a vital union with him.</p>	<p>L--9. Justification by faith.</p> <p>P--e. Justification by faith of the ungodly on their turning to God.</p>	<p>8. That justification is by God's free grace through the atonement of Christ, and is bestowed on all those who, renouncing all sin, trust in Christ alone for salvation.</p>	<p>7. Believers are justified by faith through the grace of God, are born again from above, and by the life of obedient faith, perfect holiness in the fear of God.</p>
<p>XXIII. Of Sanctification and Christian Perfection.</p>	<p>12. That sanctification is an entire destruction of sin in the heart—an entire conformity to the mind and image of Christ, called, in the Scriptures, "Perfect love"; and that this state of purity and enjoyment, it is the privilege of every believer to seek after and possess.</p>	<p>L--12. Christian perfection, or entire sanctification.</p>	<p>9. That the Holy Spirit itself bears witness in those who believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, that they are children of God.</p> <p>10. That believers in Christ are born again of the Spirit, and that it is their duty and privilege to obtain salvation from all sin, so that being sanctified wholly their whole spirit, and soul, and body may be preserved blameless unto the coming of Christ.</p>	<p>8. The Holy Spirit of God illuminates the minds of men, convicts of sin, leads into all truth, gives assurance of salvation and sonship, and dwells in every believer to strengthen and sanctify.</p>

SALT'S MEMORIAL, ETC.	MNC MINUTES, ETC.	ABRIDGEMENT OF MNC RULES, ETC.	WESLEYAN CATECHISM, ETC.	BIBLE CHRISTIAN DIGEST, ETC.
<p>out our own salvation with fear and trembling".</p> <p>8. We believe that it is possible for man to fall finally from grace.</p> <p>9. We believe the soul to be immortal, and that after death it immediately enters upon a state of happiness or misery.</p> <p>10. We believe in the resurrection of the body [Salt: omit], in the general judgement at the last day, in the eternal happiness of the righteous, and in the endless punishment of the wicked.</p> <p>For the illustration of these doctrines we refer to the first four volumes of Mr. Wesley's sermons and his Notes upon the New Testament.</p> <p>"If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not." 2 John 10.</p>	<p>M—5. The necessity of continuing in faith and good works to the end, in order to final salvation.</p> <p>R—5. The necessity of holding fast faith and good works, in order to be saved to eternal life.</p> <p>R—"If there come any unto you . . ." etc.</p>	<p>10. We believe that it is possible for <i>man</i> [1876: a man] to fall finally from grace.</p> <p>11. <i>As</i> Salt 1832, 9.</p> <p>13. And we hold and believe that the Ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper are of Divine appointment, and of perpetual obligation in the Church of Christ; and that of the Ordinance of Baptism infant children are proper subjects.</p> <p>12. <i>As</i> 1834 Catechism, 10.</p> <p>For the illustration . . . etc. <i>As</i> Salt 1832 [1876 omits].</p> <p>"If there come . . ." etc. <i>As</i> Salt 1832.</p>	<p>N—12. The Future State of mankind. W—(10) Of Death and Judgment.</p> <p>N—10. The Means of Grace—Religious Ordinances. W—(9) Of the Church and the Means of Grace.</p> <p>W—(1) Of the Christian Religion. [Covers MNC 5 and 11.]</p>	<p>10. That the Christian's continuance in this state of salvation depends on his maintaining a life of humble and obedient faith.</p> <p>11. That there are two sacraments appointed by Christ to be observed in His Church; namely, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; the former showing the necessity and prefiguring the regeneration of the soul, and the latter commemorating the death of Christ Jesus, and containing on His part a pledge of Gospel benefits, and on the part of the communicant a manifestation of his firm trust in the Redeemer, and a solemn act of dedication to Him.</p> <p>12. That there will be a general resurrection from the dead, both of the just and the unjust.</p> <p>13. That there will be a day of judgment, at which God will judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, and unalterably determine the eternal destinies of all men according to their works.</p> <p>14. That the punishment of the ungodly in hell, and the happiness of the saints in heaven, will endure for ever and ever.</p>

PROPOSED ARTICLES OF RELIGION	SUNDERLAND WMA CIRCUIT	LEEDS LADY LANE UMFC, ETC.	WMA FOUNDATION DEED, ETC.	UMC RULES
<p>XXVII. Of the Perseverance of the Saints, and falling finally from Grace.</p> <p>XXXIV. Of Baptism.</p> <p>XXXV. Of the Lord's Supper.</p> <p>XXXVII. Of the State of men after Death, and of the Resurrection of the Dead.</p> <p>XXXVIII. Of the Last Judgment.</p> <p>II. Of the Word or Son of God, who was made very Man.</p> <p>III. Of the Holy Spirit.</p> <p>V. Of the Old Testament.</p> <p>VI. Of Creation.</p> <p>VIII. Of Providence.</p> <p>X. Of God's Covenant with Man.</p> <p>XI. Of the different Dispensations of the Covenant of Grace.</p> <p>XIII. Of Free Will.</p> <p>XV. Of Saving Faith.</p> <p>XVI. Of the Universal Call and Gift of Grace.</p> <p>XVII. Of Predestination, Election, and God's Universal Love.</p> <p>XVIII. Of General Redemption.</p> <p>XX. Of Adoption.</p> <p>XXI. Of Regeneration, or the New-Birth.</p> <p>XXIV. Of Good Works.</p> <p>XXV. Of human Merit, and Works of Supererogation.</p> <p>XXVI. Of sin after Justification, and the Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.</p> <p>XXVIII. Of Christian Liberty.</p> <p>XXIX. Of the Civil Magistrates.</p> <p>XXX. Of Marriage and Divorce.</p> <p>XXXI. Of Religious Worship.</p> <p>XXXII. Of the Christian Sabbath, or Lord's-Day.</p> <p>XXXIII. Of the Church of Christ.</p> <p>XXXVI. Of the Communion of Saints.</p>	<p>13. That the soul of man is immortal, and, after death, is received into happiness, or banished into misery, according to its previous state and character.</p> <p>15. That there are but two sacraments in the Christian church—Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The first is the rite of admission into the Christian dispensation or economy; the second is to shew forth the Lord's death till he come the second time without a sin offering unto salvation.</p> <p>14. That Christ will come again to raise the dead, and judge the whole human race; that he will separate the righteous from the wicked; will receive the former into "life everlasting", and consign the latter to everlasting punishment.</p>	<p>L—13. The possibility of falling from grace, and perishing everlastingly.</p> <p>L—14. The resurrection of the body.</p> <p>P—j. The resurrection of the dead.</p> <p>L—15. The general judgement.</p> <p>P—k. The general judgement and punishments.</p> <p>L—16. Eternal rewards and punishments.</p> <p>P—l. Eternal rewards and punishments.</p>	<p>11. That continuance in a state of salvation depends upon continued obedient faith in Christ; without this man falls from grace, and may perish eternally.</p> <p>12. That the observance of the moral law is of perpetual obligation.</p> <p>13. That the soul of man is immortal, and at death enters into a state of happiness or of misery.</p> <p>14. That there will be an universal resurrection of the dead, both of the righteous and the wicked, and that the Lord Jesus Christ will come to judge the world in righteousness, when He will receive His saints into eternal glory with Himself, and will condemn the wicked to eternal punishment.</p>	<p>11. The Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper are of Divine appointment and of perpetual obligation.</p> <p>12. There will be a resurrection of the dead, both of the righteous and the wicked; the Lord Jesus Christ will be the Judge of all men; and they who have done good shall come forth unto the resurrection of life, and they who have done evil unto the resurrection of condemnation.</p> <p>9. The Holy Catholic Church is the innumerable company of saints of every age and nation, who, being united to Christ their Head, are one body in Him, and have communion with their Lord and with one another.</p> <p>10. It is the will of Christ that His Church on earth should exist as a visible brotherhood, for the worship of God, for the manifestation of His Spirit and teaching in the service of man and for the extension of His kingdom throughout the world.</p>

EVIDENCE AGAINST JOHN WESLEY

(c. 1636-70)

AMONG the State Papers Domestic there exists a document of evidence presented against John Wesley, grandfather of the founder of Methodism.¹ This evidence, clearly the result of close observation and, one suspects, carefully-phrased exaggeration, must have played a significant part in the eventual deprivation of living, and, possibly, the continued hounding of a sincere man who found that he could neither submit to the oath required under the Act of Uniformity nor, presumably, endure the episcopal rule of the Anglican Church. The document runs as follows:

DORSET

How Mr John Wesley, Clerk or Vicar of
Winterborne Whitchurch hath most diabolically
railed, in y^e pulpit against y^e late King
and His Posterity.

After y^e late King's death hee tooke his text out of Isaiah 14 calling y^e late King Old Traitor Rebell, and destroyer of y^e children of God. On declaring y^t Hee was brought down to hell, and y^t hee destroyed y^e people of God, and y^t hee was cast out of his grave like an abominable branch, and as y^e remnant of those y^t are slain, thrust through wth a sword, y^t down to y^e stones of y^e pit as a carcase troden underfoot: And y^t hee should not bee joined wth his Ancestors in buriall, because thou hast destroyed thy Land and slain thy people, y^e seed of evill doers shall never bee renowned. Prepare slaughter for his children, for y^e iniquity of their Father y^t they do not rise, nor possesse y^e Land, nor fill y^e face of y^e world wth cities. For I will rise up against them, saith y^e Lord of Hosts etc. Then, in y^e pulpit, hee did raile against them in a farre greater and worse manner.

In many Sermons (as they were called) in y^e pulpit, hee railed against y^e late King, calling him old Rebell, Traitor, and Tyrant. And because hee would expresse it more plainly, hee said, That Old Rebell Charles Stewart I meane.

And in y^e pulpit, divers times, hee desired God to extirpate, root out, and confound y^e name of y^e Stewarts: for they were an Antichristian generation.

Another time, in y^e pulpit, he was speaking concerning drunkennes etc making as though King James was one who should wish y^t his neck were as long as a Crane's, y^t y^e relish and tast of y^e sack and other good liquors, might not so soon have gone out of his throat.

Mr Wesley hath extraordinarily, in y^e pulpit, praised and extolled Oliver etc and said y^t David and Salomon came far short of him etc. And y^t hee was now a Saint in Heaven etc. sitting at y^e right hand of God triumphant etc.

Another time in y^e pulpit, hee kept a railing at y^e wickednes of y^e women y^t had children, what pain and trouble they had in child-birth: and y^t their children came forth into y^e world betwixt their mothers knees, and went away to hell as fast as possible might bee.

¹ S.P.D. 29/30.

And in y^e pulpit at Turnwood, hee said Hell was paved wth y^e skulls of Children etc.

Also hee preached y^t No man was saved by y^e mercy of God etc

And divers times in y^e pulpit hee said y^t hee and some others, (w^{ch} hee called Saints) had spoken wth God: O God, here are some in thy presence, w^{ch} have spoken wth thee this morning: and here are others w^{ch} do never speake wth thee, but post to hell as fast as possible etc. and said y^t hee would keep on his separation, let man or Devill say what they would.

Mr Wesly preached and said, y^t at y^e day of Judgement hee should come wth our Saviour Jesus Christ to judge y^e world etc and y^t hee should bee very sorry to see how simple most of his Congregation would then looke (except some Saints y^t are here) seing y^t hee had preached unto them so many goodly and godly sermons, and y^t they were never y^e better: w^{ch} then would bee a great grief to his heart for to see etc.

Another time in y^e pulpit hee was speaking of y^e shaking of y^e world (his text Hebrews . . .) Bishops, they are shaken and gone: but y^e late King Charles should say, No Bishop no King: But that (I think) said hee, hee had it from his supposed father K. James. God had fooled Kings, Protectors, and Parlements: And God had a great work to do: And y^e meanest and despised of men, should do it, poor fishermen, y^e souldiers, saith hee, I meane etc.

Another time in the pulpitt (he yⁿ beinge a soldier & rode under or wth Major Dewry) he desired God to bless this Country about and before all other Countries in y^e Land: and y^e godly Governours and Officers thereof w^{ch} were men y^t did seeke nothing but y^e honour and glory of God etc. And then those Governours, Officers, and souldiers rated and taxed y^e County in a most strange manner: w^{ch} hee said was for y^e honour and glory of God etc And then likewise hee said y^t y^e Land would bee well governed, if governed by Monks etc. alluding to Generall Monck, then in his march, as is supposed. And also, y^e next Sunday after, in y^e pulpit, hee kept a snobbing, crying and sighing, that y^e sword was now drawn, and y^t hee spake wth God that morning (as oftentimes besides) and desired y^t it might bee putt up again: but God and Jesus Christ told him y^t it should not bee put up: And so likewise divers of y^e praying people of y^e Land had spoken wth God, and petitioned y^t y^e sword might bee putt up but Thou o God hast flatly denied us all. Just as it was wth y^e Children of Israell when they had vanquished and overcome all of their enemies, then they did sheath their swords in one anothers bowells; so Beloved wth us; (crying and snobbing) as I said before) saying, The Lord knowes whether ever I shall come to preach amongst you more etc. And then away again hee rode a trooping to Dorchester y^e Monday: but before y^e next Sunday they were sent every one his way etc. Now, certainly, this pretended parson spoke not wth God.

Mr John Wesly rode wth holsters and pistolls, and a plunder'd sword, of one Mr Bennet about Shaston, who, after hee came home, from trooping, came and demanded his sword.

When hee heard S^r Geo Booth was routed, hee being then a trooping about, and along wth Major Dewy, when hee came home wth y^e news, caused a great bonfire to bee made and shott off his pistolls into y^e bonfire etc. and caused y^e bells to be rung out, and gave y^e ringers 2s. 6d.

The Major gave him 5*l* for his service for his good service. And hee kept along a trooping continually wth y^e Major, Dewy, also for y^e illegal raising and taxes of horses and money; and rode also wth him into Dorchester; and continued wth him untill his Commission was taken away.

Another time hee said y^t Originall Sin was greater than y^e killing of Father, or Mother, or than y^e sin against y^e H. Ghost.

Hee also said in y^e pulpit, y^t Whosoever prayed by book, or used any set form of prayer, was a Child of y^e Devill.

And another time, in y^e^t pulpit also, hee said y^t our Saviour Jesus Christ did works at his father's trade of a carpenter, untill hee was thirty years old etc.

And in y^e pulpit, at Stickland, hee said y^t hee did see there in y^e church divers of them marked in y^e forehead wth a black spot and y^t they were y^e children of y^e Devill etc.

Also hee preached y^t old people, and such as were above 60 years of age, were damned, being so long heretofore led in ignorance and blindness etc.

And divers times, in y^e pulpit, hee railed and exclaimed against Bishops saying y^t they were Antichristian and Papisticall etc And likewise also against y^e Book of Comon Prayer etc.

The Articles were witnessed by those
whose names are under-written

Mr THO PISTLE	JOHN DAVIES
Mr JAMES MEECH	MATTHEW ABBOT
Mr ROBERT HUMBER	HENRY BARBER
ROBERT JOYCE	HENRY DENNIS
WALTER BROOKMAN	RICH DENNIS
RICHARD SQUIBB	EDMUND FILL
JAMES SQUIBB	

Febr 5th. 1660
before

THOMAS FREKE Esq^r, one of y^e Deputy-Lieutenants
WILLIAM FRAMPTON Esq^r
ROBERT FREKE Esq^r

John Wesley ministered in the Dorset parish of Winterbourne Whitchurch from 1658 to 1662.² He was appointed by the Trustees, and approved by the Triers of the parish.³ The patrons of the living had been the Bishops of Salisbury, and, with the rights of patronage in abeyance, the "Trustees for Maintenance of Ministers", created in September 1654, exercised the rights of patronage to livings formerly in the Bishops' gift. Winterbourne had a resident incumbent when Wesley was appointed: one Tobias Walton, who died in December 1658 at the age of 89 years. Probably he was too old and feeble to continue his active ministry, and this may have been the

² Hutchins: *History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset* (1861-7), i, pp. 203-4. [His name has by custom been given in our pages as "Wesley" or "Westley", but it is clear from the illustration in *Proceedings*, vi, facing p. 1 (a page from the Winterbourne Whitchurch parish register) that he himself wrote it as "Wesly"—the spelling used in the present article.—EDITOR.]

³ *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, x, pp. 272-4.

reason why it had been considered that the parish was without a minister for many years, and why Wesley was appointed seven months before the death of the incumbent.⁴ The living was worth only £30 per annum, and Tobias Walton may have continued in receipt of this amount, whilst Wesley received an augmentation of £7 10s. from the Trustees.⁵

Wesley's appointment incurred much hostility from "Persons of Figure in His Neighbourhood",⁶ and evidence was gathered in an attempt to prove his radical and unacceptable theological and political behaviour. That the evidence was exaggerated there seems little doubt. When Bishop Ironside confronted John Wesley and questioned him closely, he was replied to in such reasonable terms that the bishop decided there was no case to answer. Yet the vilification of Wesley continued, and he was several times imprisoned before finally being ejected from the parish under the terms of the Act of Uniformity.

The document of 5th February 1660 was submitted to the Secretary of State on 14th May 1661. Both dates are Old Style (common before 1752), when Lady Day (25th March) marked the beginning of the year. We must assume that, in New Style, the document was drawn up on 5th February 1661 and submitted on 14th May of the same year. Thus, the evidence was finally collected after Charles II had been proclaimed King, and immediately before the Restoration Parliament met. Wesley was in prison in July 1661, and it is possible that this evidence was used to incriminate him.⁷

To associate Wesley's name so closely with that of James Dewey was, in the eyes of the new administration, strong condemnation. Dewey had been a Member of Parliament for Dorset, and for the borough of Wareham, during the Interregnum. In January 1650 he had served on a commission at Blandford to apprehend those who publicly proclaimed the Prince of Wales, the future Charles II, as King of England. In 1655 he served in the court which passed judgement on 109 Royalists from the Western Counties. His extreme hostility towards Royalists was well known, and his behaviour struck terror into the hearts of those he persecuted. He was named as the torturer of a 70-years-old rector, father of a Royalist supporter, who refused to testify against his son, and was, at the hands of Dewey, cruelly beaten and tortured with matches.⁸

From the evidence, Wesley appears to have played quite a martial role while at Winterbourne Whitchurch. Without confirming evidence, and considering his courteous treatment at the hands of the bishop, we must assume that his military role was an exaggeration—even perhaps a fabrication. Certainly nothing in his later life

⁴ *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archæological Society*, volumes xxxvi, lxx, lxxi, lxxii.

⁵ Shaw: *The Church under the Commonwealth*, ii, p. 586.

⁶ Calamy: *Continuation* (1727), i, pp. 439, 445.

⁷ Beal: *The Fathers of the Wesley Family, clergymen in Dorsetshire, 1650-1662* (pamphlet, c. 1900).

⁸ Bayley: *The Great Civil War in Dorset, 1642-1660* (1910).

suggests that he was a man of violence. His pleasure at the death of Charles I, and his slanderous attacks on James I and the Stuart line seem to have been included in order to discredit him, making it appear that he was the sworn enemy of all the Stuarts. His satisfaction at hearing of the routing of Sir George Booth, who led an abortive Royalist rising in Cheshire in 1659, and his dismay at hearing the news of the march of General Monck, indicate his strong support of the Interregnum administration. This evidence seems to confirm the view that the dating in New Style of 5th February 1661 is correct, because such evidence would have played a major part in his condemnation with the Royalist administration.

Theologically, the evidence is reasonably conclusive that Wesley was opposed to the use of the Prayer Book and to the episcopacy favoured by Anglicans. The evidence claims that he preached from Isaiah xiv, which includes the text

The Lord hath broken the staff of the wicked, and the sceptre of the rulers. He who smote the people in wrath . . . he that ruled the nations in anger, is persecuted.

Undoubtedly such a text would be frowned upon by the Anglican authorities, newly restored in 1660, and strong supporters of the Crown. Interestingly, and in contrast to the militant role in which he had been cast by these witnesses, his final sermon at Winterbourne was based on the text of Acts xx. 32.

On 22nd February 1663, Wesley left Winterbourne Whitchurch for Melcombe, a coastal parish in Dorset.⁹ The Corporation, however, made an order against his settlement in the town, and in May he retired to nearby Preston, where, through the generosity of a follower, he was offered a rent-free cottage.¹⁰ The home he and his wife and children occupied still stands. Here, in the direst poverty, they lived for two years, until forced to leave under the terms of the Five Mile Act. He died, it is believed, about 1670, but his last resting-place is unknown.

Independents maintained the right for every particular congregation to ordain their own officers. Wesley's appointment to Winterbourne was never authorized by the diocese, nor apparently supported by the leading Dorset families. Though this "irregular" appointment may have played a significant part in his eventual removal, undoubtedly the hostility of the Squibbs, whose ancestral home lay in Winterbourne Whitchurch, the Frekes, ardent Royalist supporters, and the Framp-ton, frequent holders of Crown offices, played an important part in Wesley's imprisonment and rejection. GLANVILLE J. DAVIES.

[I am indebted to the editor of *Notes and Queries* of Somerset and Dorset for permission to re-publish the full text of the Evidence, which first appeared in volume xxx, September 1974.—G.J.D.]

[Mr. Glanville J. Davies is a Senior Lecturer in History at Weymouth College of Education—specially interested in the history of Nonconformity in Dorset.]

⁸ Beal, *op. cit.* See also G. Lyon Turner: *Original Records of Early Nonconformity* (1914), iii, p. 96.

¹⁰ See *Proceedings*, iv, p. 90; vi, pp. 1-4.

WORLD METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Conferences, 1975 and 1977. Forty-two resident and fourteen non-resident Conference-members spent three days at Kingsmead College, Selly Oak, from 22nd to 25th July 1975, discussing a series of papers on aspects of British Methodist history from its origins up to the present century. There was particular value in the opportunity for exchange of information and views. The sessions were recorded in full, and a detailed summary is in preparation. Anyone not able to attend who would like a copy may obtain one at cost by writing to me.

The World Methodist Historical Society has plans for a one-day meeting before next year's World Methodist Conference (see below), and hopes to hold a residential conference in Canada in 1977. By general agreement of those present at Selly Oak, the British Section will hold a second conference at Kingsmead College in the summer of 1978.

Quinquennial Meeting, 1976. The quinquennial meeting of the World Methodist Historical Society will be held on the day preceding the opening of the World Methodist Conference—Tuesday, 24th August 1976, in the Dun Laoghaire Methodist church, near Dublin. The provisional programme opens with a business session at 2 p.m., followed by one or more historical papers. Dinner is to be served by the women of the church, and the closing session at 7-30 will consist of a lecture on the Irish contribution to World Methodism.

Registration for this event is not confined to members of the WMHS, and all who are interested are invited to send their reservation fees of 90p. each (to include the cost of the meal) to myself as the British Secretary, at 87, Marshall Avenue, Bognor Regis, West Sussex, PO21 2TW.

JOHN A. VICKERS.

We have received and gratefully acknowledge the following periodicals, some of which come to us on a reciprocal basis with copies of our own *Proceedings*.

The Baptist Quarterly, April, July and October 1975.

The Local Historian, Vol. 11, Nos. 6, 7 and 8.

Methodist History, July and October 1975.

Heritage (the journal of the Methodist Historical Society of Victoria (Australia) and Tasmania), October 1975.

The Wesleyan Theological Journal (the bulletin of the Wesleyan Theological Society, Kansas City, USA), Spring 1975.

Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society, October 1975, together with the Presidential Address for 1975—*The Founding of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association*, by H. L. Short.

Friends' Historical Society, Presidential Address of 1973—*Alexander Cowan Wilson, 1866-1955, his finances and his causes*, by Stephen Wilson.

Of more ample proportions than most local histories reaching us is *Fordwich: the Lost Port* (pp. 240). In the Middle Ages, Fordwich (Kent) was a place of importance, serving as the port of Canterbury. Copies of this parish history edited by H. K. McIntosh, may be obtained from The Pilgrim's Bookshop, 29, St. Margaret's Street, Canterbury, Kent, price £2 in hardback or £1 in paperback plus 20p. for postage and packing.

BOOK NOTICES

The Encyclopedia of World Methodism (General Editor, Nolan B. Harmon). (Abingdon Press, Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A., 2 vols., pp. 2814, \$89.50.)

The publication of this eagerly-awaited work is an event in Methodism, though to review it adequately is really impossible. Sufficient to say that here is a work of reference which should find its way into every library, even if it is a luxury beyond the means of the individual. Readers will find it a useful source of information on all aspects of Methodism—theology, organization, history, people and places—in all parts of the world. We hope that the sales will abundantly justify the production of this ambitious work.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

Captain Thomas Webb: Anglo-American Methodist Hero, by E. Ralph Bates. (World Methodist Historical Society (British Section), 1975, pp. 36, 60p. plus postage, obtainable from Mr. John A. Vickers, 87, Marshall Avenue, Bognor Regis, West Sussex, and Dr. John H. Ness, jun., Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, USA.)

After nearly one hundred and eighty years, Captain Thomas Webb has found his biographer. He has long been a familiar figure to all who know their Bristol Methodism—resplendent in scarlet-and-gold regimentals, and with his sword lying incongruously on his pulpit-desk. Mr. Bates has uncovered what must surely be the sum total of the known facts about his life on both sides of the Atlantic, and has established his importance in American Methodist history as the principal founder of the Methodist societies between New York and Baltimore. The book is carefully researched and documented, and has useful appendices dealing with Webb's known portraits, his descendants, and the recent re-interment of his mortal remains. Like its subject, it is one more link between Bristol and New York; the New Room and John Street United Methodist church.

THOMAS SHAW.

Some Early Methodist Tune Books, by Francis B. Westbrook. (The Wesley Historical Society Lecture for 1974, pp. 24, 50p. plus postage (2 oz.), from the Society's General Secretary or Publishing Manager.)

Time was when the hearer at our Conference Lecture could go out into the chapel vestibule after the meeting and be sure of being able to purchase the full version of the lecture, published in book form by the Methodist Book-Room. Since 1967, owing to increasingly difficult economic circumstances, this has no longer been the case, and our Society has had to take publishing responsibility if the lecture was to appear in print. Except for Mr. Fred Jeffery's 1973 lecture, which was published by our Irish Branch, this lecture by Dr. Westbrook is the first to be so produced.

No publication of this kind could well supplant the "live" lecture given at Bristol, with its wealth of choral illustration, but it makes interesting reading, and enables us to sort out the permanent from the transitory in the character of the tunes we sing. A few printing errors are noted. On page 5 the tenth and ninth lines from the foot should be deleted, as also the short centred rule, and the remainder of the page "closed up". *St. Leonard* is MHB 780, not 580 (p. 6), and on page 19 the key into which *Venice* is transposed is G minor and not C minor as stated in the text.

It is sad to have to chronicle the death of Dr. Westbrook since this booklet appeared, and we mourn the loss of one who had unrivalled knowledge and ability in his particular field.

ALFRED A. TABERER.

A Shorter Selection

Wordsworth's "Natural Methodism", by Richard E. Brantley (Yale University Press, pp. xvi. 205, £5 50p.), demonstrates the influence on the work of William Wordsworth of Evangelical Anglican tradition in general and of Methodism in particular. It challenges the view that the poet secularized theology and anticipated modern religious scepticism, and argues that his distinctive traits can best be understood in the light of Evangelical ideas. The author is an associate professor of English at the University of Florida, Gainesville.

The American War, by Charles Wesley, with Introduction and Notes by Donald Baker, M.A., M.Phil. (The Keepsake Press, 26, Sydney Road, Richmond, Surrey, TW9 1VB, pp. 38, £3 95p. cloth, £1 95p. paper), is a reprint of an unpublished poem written by Charles Wesley in 1782. Wesley takes the remarkable view that Britain's defeat was deliberately contrived by the Whig General Sir William Howe. . . . *Five Sermons and a Tract*, by Luther Lee, edited with an Introduction by Donald W. Dayton (Holrad House, 5104, North Christiana Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, 60625, USA, pp. 135, \$3), consists of five sermons and a tract from the pre-Civil War period in America. Luther Lee was a Wesleyan minister and a keen abolitionist against slavery.

Two Calvinistic Methodist Chapels 1743-1811, by Edwin Welch (London Record Society, c/o Leicester University Library, University Road, Leicester, pp. xix. 108, £4 50p.), is a study of two manuscripts—first, the minutes of the London Tabernacle founded by George Whitefield and the minutes of the English Calvinistic Methodist Association, 1744-9; second, the late eighteenth-century minutes of the Countess of Huntingdon's "cathedral", Spa Fields Chapel. We are happy to report that the price of this work to members of the Wesley Historical Society is £3 15p. including postage.

Forms for the Divine Office, Private and Communal Orders for Morning and Evening Prayer for the Use of Methodists is the self-explanatory title of a 76-page booklet published by the Methodist Sacramental Fellowship. The Offices provided are:

The Primary Office for Communal Use
 The Primary Office for Private Use
 Propers for the Primary Office
 Table of Psalms for the Primary Office
 The Second Office for Communal Use
 The Second Office for Private Use
 Propers for the Second Office.

Much prayerful thought and liturgical expertise have gone into the compiling of this manual, copies of which, price 50p. post free, may be obtained from the Methodist Publishing House or from the Rev. C. N. R. Wallwork, The Manse, Top Road, Kingsley, Warrington, WA6 8BY.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

In addition to the local histories referred to elsewhere in this issue, the following also have come to hand:

Whitemoor centenary (pp. 8): copies from the Rev. Philip D. Williams, The Manse, Wellington Road, St. Dennis, St. Austell, Cornwall.
 Halstead (Essex) centenary (pp. 12): copies from the Rev. John D. Searle, 11, Croft Close, Braintree, Essex.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1275. PRESERVATION OF LOCAL CHURCH AND CIRCUIT RECORDS.

With the recent "restructuring" at local church and circuit levels, many minute and account books, even if not full, will have been taken out of use; and at the same time many offices have changed hands or ceased to exist. This inevitably puts at risk some recent church records which are no longer in current use but are needed for the time being for reference. To meet this situation, the Connexional Archivist has prepared a label which may be fixed inside the front cover of any record book, drawing attention to the provisions of S.O. 016 and the need to safeguard non-current records by depositing them eventually with the appropriate county or municipal record office. These labels are available through District Archivists or, in case of difficulty, direct from the Methodist Archives and Research Centre, together with a memorandum explaining their purpose. Members of our Society can help by ensuring that appropriate steps are being taken in their local churches and circuits to make use of the label, especially where record books remain for the time being in private hands.

JOHN A. VICKERS.

1276. "METHODIST HISTORY".

This quarterly periodical of the Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church (USA) contains a number of substantial articles, many of them of interest to British Methodists. The issue for July 1975 carries an article on John Wesley and Alcohol which demonstrates that his attitude was by no means as simple as Methodists have sometimes tried to believe. A British contributor, the Rev. E. Ralph Bates, discusses the question of John Wesley's first sermon and where it was preached, drawing the conclusions set out in his article on pages 7-16 of the current volume of the *Proceedings*.

The annual subscription of £2 (or £3 20p. for two years) may be paid in sterling through the British Secretary of the World Methodist Historical Society, Mr. John A. Vickers. (Please indicate, in the case of a new subscription, the issue with which you wish the subscription to begin.)

JOHN A. VICKERS.

1277. WESLEY HYMNS IN A NEW HYMN-BOOK.

In *Grace Hymns* (1975), a volume which has recently been published on behalf of the Reformed—otherwise Strict and Particular—Baptist Churches of Great Britain, there are included 10 of John Wesley's verse translations and 47 hymns of Charles Wesley. Of these hymns, 44 will be familiar to present-day Methodists, but three are unfamiliar, if not unknown. No. 757, "Still nigh me, O my Saviour, stand", consists of this verse from No. 467 in the 1904 MHB and two more from No. 169 in our present book. No. 524, "Blow ye the trumpet, blow", is likewise No. 226 in the 1904 MHB and No. 842 in the *Primitive Methodist Hymnal* (with the verses re-arranged). But for No. 428, "O Thou who hast redeemed of old", we have to go right back to the 1876 Wesleyan book—one verse being taken from No. 772 and three from No. 122 in that compilation. Inquiry shows that these three hymns have long been treasured by conservative Baptists: hence their appearing in *Grace Hymns* marks a retention rather than a re-discovery. Are there any other recent non-Methodist hymnals which have similarly retained Wesley hymns now no longer found in the 1933 MHB or the 1969 *Hymns and Songs*?

IAN SELLERS.

1278. THE BIRTHDAY OF THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH (1907).

Some while ago I decided to list all the chapels in Devon that were being used by the Bible Christians at the date of Union in 1907, so as to demonstrate the extent of their influence at the end of their separate career. I thus needed to know the day—echoing Domesday—on which Bible Christians were also United Methodists.

A key date in the time-table which brought about Union was 26th July 1907, when the United Methodist Church received the Royal Assent. This meant that if certain votes were obtained, then Union could take place. The day on which Union would be legally achieved was defined carefully in Section 9 :

On and from the date of the enrolment of the said deed poll of foundation in the Central Office . . . become and be united in and form one united church or denomination . . .

Unity and Union were rather confused in some contemporary minds, and when Yelverton Bible Christian chapel was opened on 7th August 1907, the report in the *Bible Christian Magazine* (p. 529) for that year stated :

On the notice board, there stands the new name, " United Methodist Church ", for the moor cathedral. It is the first church of the United Denomination to be opened since the Act sanctioning Union received the Royal Assent.

It would have been foolish to paint " Bible Christian " on the notice-board, but such it was in legal fact for six weeks after its opening, and it was the last Bible Christian chapel to be opened.

On 17th September 1907 the United Conference—the official handbook called it the *Uniting* Conference, anticipating the result of the voting— assembled in City Road chapel, and duly resolved to unite and adopt the deed of foundation. The spontaneous singing of the Doxology suggests that in the minds of those present Union was then a reality. Smith, Swallow and Treffry perpetuated this assumption in *The Story of the United Methodist Church* : ". . . so was consummated the greatest union of Methodist Churches achieved up to that date." To them the deed was " to do only with the Conference and its constitution, proceedings and powers ". *Only!*

No reference to the enrolment of the deed can be found in contemporary accounts, but I came across an unexpected reference in the Recitals of the Model Deed of the new Church, which refers to " a certain Deed Poll of Foundation . . . enrolled in the Central Office of the Supreme Court of Judicature on the seventeenth day of September 1907 ". This suggested unusually prompt legal action, and I made further inquiries. Neither the Conference Office nor the Archives could assist, and the Central Office of the Supreme Court passed on the query to the Public Record Office. From the PRO came confirmation that the deed was enrolled on 17th September 1907 (PRO Ref. J18/76, pp. 80-111). I am advised by a barrister that 17th September is thus the legal birthday of the denomination, but it is quite likely that the deed was not presented to the Central Office until a day or two later, and was back-dated. Thus Bible Christians were also United Methodists on 17th September—not, as they all thought, because that was the first day of the United Conference, but because that was the date obligingly put on the deed by the Central Office.

ROGER F. S. THORNE.

1279. THE CENTENARY HYMN.

A Potteries newspaper, reporting the opening of a new chapel at Trent Vale, Stoke-on-Trent, in 1839, states that "the centenary hymn was sung".

The question naturally arises: What was this "centenary hymn"? Clearly it was one written for the great occasion which resulted in the building of so many "Centenary" chapels, the raising of the Centenary Fund, the issuing of Centenary mugs, medallions, etc., and the purchase of what came to be known as Centenary Hall as the Missionary Headquarters.

Jackson's *Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism* (1839) might be expected to print it; but the only hint there (pp. 301 ff.) is the mention of Charles Wesley's "Hymn at the Sacrament", beginning "The doctrine of our dying Lord",¹ originally sung at a "general love-feast" at the Tabernacle on 4th November 1744, and which Jackson suggests "will not be at all inappropriate to the Centenary services, especially where other classes of Christians choose to unite with us." But this suggestion is, one would think, a far cry from its appointment as "the centenary hymn". Another place where one might expect it to appear is at the close of Jackson's *Centenary Sermon*—but there is no hymn appended.

What of the *Methodist Magazine* for 1839? The reports of the centenary celebrations at Conference contain no mention of any hymn. The 25th October was fixed for the celebrations in the circuits—but in the arrangements and suggestions no hymn is mentioned. Smith's three-volume *History of Wesleyan Methodism* contains detailed accounts of the big "area" centenary rallies up and down the country, but there is no mention of a "centenary hymn".

But a number of hymns were composed in honour of the occasion. The *Magazine* (on page 856) reprints a seven-verse "Centenary Hymn" from the *New York Christian Advocate*—but that clearly was not an official centenary hymn for Britain. The book reviews mention two or three items. On page 580 is mention of "A Hymn of Thanksgiving in commemoration of the Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism. Written by B.C. . . ."; but the paragraph pays more attention to the worth of John Fawcett's tune than to the words. On page 733 is a longer review of *The Centenary Tune Book*, which was sold at the Book-Room; but this is simply a collection of 211 tunes (a completely different book, of course, from that of 1892 bearing the same title; the present writer would be glad to see and obtain a copy of the earlier book). On page 838 is mention of a "Wesleyan Centenary Hymn. Music by Samuel Banfield. Taunton;" but again, this would appear to be a tune without words. And on page 336 appears in full "A Hundred Years ago: Hymn for the Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism, by James Montgomery, Esq."—a seven-verse hymn, the first verse of which runs:

One song of praise, one voice of prayer,
 Around, above, below:—
 Ye winds and waves, the burden bear—
 "A hundred years ago!"²

This appeared early in the year, and was available, therefore, in time for the October celebrations. But was this recognized connexionally as the

¹ Green's *Wesley Bibliography*, No. 61.

² Montgomery's hymn was printed in full in *Proceedings*, xxxviii, p. 80.—
 EDITOR.

centenary hymn? Montgomery was by birth a Moravian; but for most of his long life he worshipped with the Wesleyans in Sheffield. His great missionary hymn, "Hail to the Lord's Anointed", was recited by him at a Wesleyan missionary meeting in Liverpool in 1822, so he could well have been regarded as Methodism's hymnographer of the period. His friend James Everett, who wrote quite a number of poems, does not seem to have written a centenary hymn.

Was Montgomery's hymn then accepted as "the centenary hymn"? Have we evidence to that effect? Was it reprinted as a pamphlet? If any member could throw light on this subject, it would be a useful contribution to our knowledge. One might in passing comment that if "the hymn" referred to in the Potteries newspaper had been the work of a local writer, local pride would almost certainly have noted the fact!

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

1280. MAGISTRATE'S CERTIFICATE.

It is generally accepted that, in the early nineteenth century, Wesleyan ministers going overseas were ordained by the laying-on of hands, though that ceremony was not generally adopted until 1836. This was to give them the status of recognized Christian ministers in the eyes of the colonial magistrates. I had never seen any documentary proof of this until recently, when a researcher at the Mission House showed me a certificate issued by a magistrate in Canada in 1831. It reads:

MIDLAND DISTRICT

TO WIT

No. Five

Be it remembered that at the General Quarter Sessions of the peace holden at the town of Kingston, in and for the said District, on Tuesday, the twenty-sixth day of April in the Year of our Lord One thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty One, before John Macaulay, Chairman and others, Esquires, Justices of our Sovereign Lord the King, assigned to keep the peace in the said District: Came Thomas Turner of the town of Kingston, who professes to be a Minister of the British Wesleyan Methodist Connexion . . . when it appeared to a majority of the said Justices, that the said Thomas Turner was duly ordained as a Minister of the said British Wesleyan Methodist Connexion . . .

JAMES NICKALLS, J
Clerk of the Peace,
M.D.

J. MACAULAY
Chairman
(T.S.M.D.)

Thomas Turner was received into Full Connexion in 1826, but I have not been able to trace any record of when or where or by whom he was ordained.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

1281. THE METHODIST ANCESTRY OF STANLEY BALDWIN.

At the 150th anniversary of the opening of Wesley's Chapel, City Road, London, on 1st November 1928, one of the tributes was given by the then Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin (afterwards Earl Baldwin of Bewdley). He began his speech by saying: "Wesley was a great Englishman, first and last." He made no reference, however, to his own connexions with Methodism. It is well known that his mother, Louisa Macdonald, was the granddaughter of James Macdonald, who was called into the ministry by John Wesley in Ireland in 1784. She was the daughter

of George B. Macdonald, who entered the ministry in 1825 and died in 1868, and the sister of Frederic W. Macdonald, who was President of the Wesleyan Conference in 1899.

Stanley Baldwin's great-grandfather, Thomas Baldwin, was the founder of the family iron foundry at Stourport. At his death he was followed by his son, George Pearce Baldwin, and it is at this point that Stanley Baldwin's connexions with Methodism on his father's side begin. G. P. Baldwin married twice. His second wife was Sarah, the daughter of the Rev. Jacob Stanley, sen. Jacob Stanley was stationed at Stourport 1808-10 and also 1819-22, and there is little doubt that it was during the second period that G. P. Baldwin and Sarah Stanley met. There were five sons and four daughters of the marriage. Alfred, the father of Stanley Baldwin, was born eight months after his father's death from scarlet fever in 1841. He was brought up as a Methodist by his mother, who sent him to Wesley Collegiate Institution in Taunton. On leaving school he became an apprentice in the family business.

Stanley Baldwin was thus the great-grandson of Jacob Stanley and the grandson of George B. Macdonald. KENNETH B. GARLICK.

1282. CONTEMPORARY REPORTS OF JOHN WESLEY'S PREACHING.

On Sunday, 6th August 1775, John Wesley preached in Birstall and Leeds, then in the evening set out by stage-coach for London, arriving on Tuesday afternoon. The next entry in his *Journal* is for Monday the 14th, where he says, "Having spent a few days in town, . . . I set out for Wales." He has left no record for the intervening days, except the date "August 13" (Sunday) at the head of a letter he wrote to Thomas Rankin, then in America. Where he preached that day he does not say.

Now we are grateful to Mr. Herbert Hughes, editor-in-chief of *The Chester Chronicle*—this year celebrating its bicentenary—for publishing in the course of a weekly feature "Pages from the Past" a report of the paper's London correspondent of those days hearing Wesley preach at West Street chapel "to a very crowded auditory" on what was evidently the date in question. The report reads:

In his discourse he displayed the national sins of England to be swearing, luxury, and murmuring against their rulers, for which the judgement of God hung over this land. He further observed that, except in some large towns, he had never in the course of his life seen such want and penury among the lower order of people, which, added to the present disturbances in America, was truly alarming.

That the conflict in America was much on his mind at this time we know from his writings. The *Chronicle* correspondent heard him again at St. Matthew's church, Bethnal Green, on Sunday morning, 12th November (see *Journal*, vi, p. 83), his text from 2 Samuel xxiv. 17—"Lo, I have sinned, and I have done wickedly, but these sheep, what have they done?"

He pathetically described the dire horrors of war, the noise of cannon, cities and villages involved with pillars of fire and smoke, garments rolled in blood, the cries of wounded and dying soldiers; the distresses of the widows and the sighs and tears of helpless orphans.

High and low, young and old, seemed affected with Mr. Wesley's discourse; for scarce a dry eye was seen in that large assembly.

After the sermon a good collection was made at the church doors for the support of the widows and children of those soldiers who were slain on the plains of America.

ALFRED A. TABERER.