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Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

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

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THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS IN WESLEY'S "CHRISTIAN LIBRARY"

IN order to provide a useful collection of practical divinity for his Methodist preachers and societies, John Wesley published a fifty-volume "Christian Library" during the years from 1749 to 1755. The "Library" embraces works drawn from a variety of sources, including, for instance, the Greek Fathers, German Pietists, High-Church Anglicans, Puritan authors and the Cambridge Platonists. Perhaps these latter divines are the least well-known among those represented in the "Library". The Cambridge Platonists are a group of seventeenth-century Anglican divines who set before themselves a two-fold task: to encourage a revival of inward religion, breathing the spirit of love and humility; and to combat the atheistic and materialistic conclusions which men such as Thomas Hobbes were drawing from the new natural science. Prominent among the members of the Cambridge School are Benjamin Whichcote (1609-83), Provost of King's College; John Smith (1618-52), a student of Whichcote and a Fellow of Queens' College; Ralph Cudworth (1617-88), Regius Professor of Hebrew; and Henry More (1614-87), Fellow of Christ's College. Associated with them are figures of less significance from a theological point of view, such as Nathanael Culverwel (d. 1651?), Fellow of Emmanuel College; John Worthington (1618-71), Master of Jesus College; George Rust (d. 1670), Bishop of Dromore; Simon Patrick (1626-1707), Bishop of Ely; and Edward Fowler (1632-1714), Bishop of Gloucester.¹

Works by Cambridge Platonists appear in seven of the fifty volumes of the "Christian Library". The authors and titles represented are:

RALPH CUDWORTH: *The Life of Christ, the Pith and Kernel of All Religion: A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of*

¹ Scholars disagree as to the precise composition of the Cambridge school. The list of Cambridge Platonists given in the text is that of John Tullock: *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century* (1872), volume II.

Commons, at Westminster, March 31, 1647.—Christian Library, vol. XVII (1752).

NATHANAEL CULVERWEL: *Extract from the Works of Nathanael Culverwel.*—Christian Library, vol. XVII (1752). (The title of the volume from which these extracts came is *An Elegant and Learned Discourse Of the Light of Nature, With several other Treatises.*)

HENRY MORE: *Extracts from the Sermons of Dr. Henry More.*—Christian Library, vol. XXXIX (1754). (The title of the volume which Wesley abridges is *Discourses on Several Texts of Scripture.*)

SIMON PATRICK: *An Extract of the Christian Sacrifice: A Treatise showing the Necessity, End, and Manner of receiving the Holy Communion, together with suitable Prayers and Meditations.*—Christian Library, vol. XXXII (1753).

JOHN SMITH: *Extracts from the Works of the Rev. John Smith.*—Christian Library, vols. XIX-XX (1752, 1753). (The title of the volume from which these extracts are taken is *Select Discourses . . . As also a Sermon preached by Simon Patrick . . . at the Author's Funeral.*)

JOHN WORTHINGTON: *The Great Duty of Self-Resignation to the Divine Will.*—Christian Library, vols. XXIII-XXIV (1753).

At first sight it is difficult to understand why Wesley placed in his "Library" works by these authors. Are they not the original "latitudinarians"—the proponents of a sort of religion which Wesley specifically opposes?² Furthermore, the Platonists' works are steeped in an intellectual mysticism derived in large measure from neo-Platonic sources. Wesley's antipathy towards mysticism as he understood it—an antipathy arising in part from his experiences in Georgia and his troubles with the "still people"—is well known. And of course the philosophical position of Wesley is considerably removed from that of the Cambridge Platonists. They are staunch proponents of "innate ideas" and "common notions", which Wesley, following John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, rejects.³

Despite these differences and variations, works by the Platonists do indeed appear in the "Library". The purpose of this article is to consider the question: What ideas and qualities in the Cambridge Platonists commended their writings to Wesley? This question may be answered in part by means of an analysis of his work as an editor and reviser. Wesley's editorial changes are of two sorts: he makes stylistic changes in favour of conciseness and clarity, and he makes changes in content in the interests of consistency and congruence with his own ideas. Wesley's abbreviations are of little moment here; it is the latter sort of modification, rather, which concerns us. The distance between Wesley's theology and that of the Cambridge Platonists may be measured by means of the passages which he excised from their works. These omissions, in turn, throw into relief

² See Wesley's *Standard Sermons* (ed. E. H. Sugden), ii, pp. 142-4.

³ Wesley's *Works* (3rd edn., ed. Thomas Jackson), xiii, p. 417.

the passages which remain—the passages with which Wesley concurs and which he wishes to commend to his readers.

* * *

In the preface to the "Christian Library", Wesley states that during the process of abridgement he had eliminated the mystical passages which he found in the original works.⁴ An example of the sort of passage which Wesley excised is the following sentence from Cudworth's sermon before the House of Commons:

This Divine life begun and kindled in any heart, wheresoever it be, is something of God in flesh; and, in a sober and qualified sence [sic], Divinity incarnate; and all particular Christians, that are really possessed of it, so many Mystical Christs.⁵

Wesley also omits Cudworth's reference to the espousal of the soul to God—a phrase redolent of the mystics' interpretation of the Song of Songs.⁶ Much of John Worthington's talk concerning the "passive resignation" of the soul to God disappears: Wesley may have connected this concept with Roman Catholic mysticism.⁷

Among the Cambridge Platonists named at the beginning of this essay, only Nathanael Culverwel maintains a Calvinistic position concerning predestination and the activity of grace. In adapting Culverwel's discourses to his purpose, Wesley eliminates the touches of Calvinism which he finds therein. For instance, he omits the phrases italicized in the following passage:

Consider the efficacious *and overpowering* work of grace; *he must force thee to be happy, and necessitate thee to salvation, and compell thee to come in.* It is not enough to provide the meanes, but he must strongly apply them; unlesse the arme of the Lord be reveal'd, there's none will beleeve [sic] our report.⁸

Wesley cuts out a whole paragraph in which Culverwel expatiates upon the small number of God's elect. He also omits Culverwel's argument against God's election of His saints on the basis of His foreknowledge of their choices and actions.⁹

Further examples of the way in which the Platonists' writings are squared with Wesley's teachings may be noted. Wesley always insists that Christians are obliged to use the means of grace which God has established. Thus we can understand why he omitted the following statement from John Smith's discourses: "As sincere and reall Christians grow up towards true perfection, the lesse need have

⁴ *A Christian Library: Consisting of Extracts from and Abridgments of the Choicest Pieces of Practical Divinity, Which have been publish'd in the English Tongue*, ed. John Wesley (1st edn., 50 vols. Bristol: Printed by Felix Farley, 1749-55), Preface, I, p. iv. The abbreviation JW will be used in the following footnotes to refer to this collection.

⁵ Cudworth, pp. 33-4; omitted by JW, XVII, p. 28.

⁶ Cudworth, p. 49; cf. JW, XVII, p. 34.

⁷ Worthington, pp. 80, 82; JW, XXIV, pp. 7, 8.

⁸ Culverwel, "The Act of Oblivion", *Discourse Of the Light of Nature*, p. 42; JW, XVII, p. 72; cf. "Act", p. 37; JW, XVII, p. 67.

⁹ Culverwel, *ibid.*, pp. 38-9; JW, XVII, p. 68.

they of Positive precepts or Externall helps."¹⁰ The Wesleyan view of assurance is set upon the Platonists' lips. So Wesley modifies Simon Patrick's advice to the prospective communicant by substituting the word "sense" for the word "hope" in the following exhortation: "Beg of him his mighty grace to confirm you in your resolution: that so you may always maintain in your soul this hope of his pardoning love."¹¹ He eliminates Culverwel's statement that few Christians receive the assurance of salvation.¹² He also omits Culverwel's flat statement that there is no perfection for Christians in this life.¹³

Philosophical positions with which Wesley disagrees are especially prominent in the *Select Discourses* of John Smith. Wesley cuts Smith's references to the Platonists' world soul and Aristotle's heavenly intelligences.¹⁴ The "Plastick Nature which intends to form Living creatures" disappears.¹⁵ Several references in "innate ideas" and "the Archetypal Ideas" are omitted.¹⁶ Wesley tends to omit Smith's quotations from Plotinus's *Enneads* and Proclus's commentary on the *Timæus* of Plato. And, in good Lockean fashion, he leaves out Smith's contention "that all Humane Knowledge hath not its rise from Sense".¹⁷

* * *

Thus far in this article several of the ways in which Wesley "corrected" the works of the Cambridge Platonists have been illustrated. These substitutions and deletions, it is argued, are indices of Wesley's disagreements with the Platonists. Of greater interest, however, are the considerable number of themes which appear both in the writings of the Platonists and in the books of Wesley. These ideas held in common suggest the large measure of agreement between Wesley and the Cambridge Platonists. A few of these similarities may be noted.

The definition of "religion" to be found in the Platonists is similar to that which is given by Wesley. Both he and the Platonists strive mightily against two misunderstandings of religion, namely, the notion that true religion comprises only works of the law and the insistence that correct "opinions" are the *sine qua non* of true Christianity. Over against moralism and mere orthodoxy they set the concept that "the Pith and Kernel of all Religion" is "the Life of Christ" in the souls of men.¹⁸ Cudworth describes this "inward

¹⁰ Smith, p. 160; JW, XIX, p. 279.

¹¹ Patrick, p. 131; JW, XXXII, p. 209.

¹² Culverwel, "Spiritual Opticks", *Discourse Of the Light of Nature*, p. 27; JW, XVII, p. 158.

¹³ Culverwel, *ibid.*, p. 2; JW, XVI I, p. 138; cf. Culverwel, "Act of Oblivion", p. 60; JW, XVII, p. 95.

¹⁴ Smith, p. 73; JW, XIX, p. 234.

¹⁵ Smith, p. 42; JW, XIX, p. 216.

¹⁶ Smith, pp. 1, 6-7, 434; JW, XIX, pp. 181, 186; XX, pp. 190-1. Smith's chapter V on "innate mathematical ideas" and his chapter VI on "archetypal ideas" are omitted.

¹⁷ Smith, pp. 68-9; JW, XIX, p. 232.

¹⁸ Cudworth, p. 1 of introduction; JW, XVII, p. v.

Principle of Spirit, and Life" as "the reall Establishment of the Righteousnesse of God in their hearts, and that Participation of the Divine Nature, which the Apostle speaketh of [2 Peter i. 4]".¹⁹ This is not far removed from Charles Wesley's description of "religion", which his brother John endorsed:

It is a participation of the divine nature; the life of God in the soul of man; Christ formed in the heart; "Christ in thee, the hope of glory;" happiness and holiness . . .²⁰

Both the Cambridge Platonists and Wesley celebrate that "free grace" of God which is "the only Fountain of all Righteousness and Happiness".²¹ This motif is especially prominent in a sermon of Nathanael Culverwel, which Wesley prints, entitled "The Act of Oblivion". In this sermon, devoted to the doctrine of justification, the preacher reinforces his point by repeating the words "Free grace!" over and over again, as in a litany or an incantation. The mercy and the favour of God towards sinful men are also emphasized in the pieces by John Smith which Wesley selects for his "Library".²² Implicit in the works of all the Platonists, except Culverwel, is an "Arminian" interpretation of the way in which grace operates. Grace creates within the minds and wills of sinful men the ability to know and to do God's will. Those men who choose to respond to God's initiative and to use the powers which God has given them may expect to receive further grace and additional powers. This doctrine of grace, which is somewhat muted in the works of the Platonists, presumably because they were trying to quench rather than to fan the flames of theological controversy, is stated explicitly by Wesley. The reason for Wesley's insistence is not far to seek: the very concept of "grace", if not extinguished, was at least obscured in the eighteenth-century Church.

The Platonists and Wesley each insist that the beginning of the Christian life is marked by a twofold act of divine grace—the justification of the believer, and his sanctification. By "justification" they mean the deliverance of the individual from the guilt of sin, through the merit of Christ's sacrificial death. They define "sanctification" as deliverance from the power of inward sin by means of the Holy Spirit, who comes to dwell in the believer's heart.²³ Under one aspect sanctification means that the believer is enabled to cooperate with the Spirit, and in His strength to resist further temptations to sin. Only the man who uses the powers and capacities with which he has been endowed by the Spirit and who strives in all sincerity to fulfil God's commands will be saved at the last. Henry More puts the matter quite baldly: "The inheritance of Heaven is

¹⁹ Cudworth, pp. 2, 3 of introduction; JW, XVII, p. vi.

²⁰ *Standard Sermons*, i, p. 78.

²¹ Smith, p. 309; JW, XX, p. 83.

²² Smith, pp. 62, 310, 318; JW, XIX, p. 229; XX, pp. 84, 90.

²³ Cudworth, pp. 29, 44; Smith, pp. 315-16, 329; Culverwel, p. 33; JW, XVII, pp. 25, 31; XX, pp. 89, 100; XVII, p. 63.

conditional"; "For without killing of your sinful lusts, without Mortification there is no Salvation."²⁴

This act of justification and sanctification marks not the fulfilment but the beginning of the Christian life, both the Cambridge school and Wesley contend. They are quick to attack those false interpretations of justification by faith which lead to antinomian conclusions.²⁵ The act of regeneration is the beginning of a growth in grace, in which the believer's faculties of will, intellect and affections participate. Whilst the Platonists do not forget the other two faculties, they place particular emphasis upon the will, as we might expect in an age of civil disorder and moral breakdown. During the course of the Christian life, the will becomes more and more "resigned" to the will of God—that is to say, the believer conforms ever more closely to the standard of human behaviour set out in God's law. This motif of "self-resignation" runs throughout the works of the Platonists; two instances may be cited by way of illustration. John Worthington wrote an entire tract upon *The Great Duty of Self-Resignation to the Divine Will*, which Wesley reprints with few editorial changes. Simon Patrick makes a particular application of this duty in his directions concerning the fruitful reception of the Lord's Supper. The communicant is exhorted to make his own the words of the Prayer Book:

... And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee . . . And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto Thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service; not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord.²⁶

The goal of the Christian life, for both the Platonists and Wesley, is the perfection of the believer. Ralph Cudworth describes this state in terms which are also to be found in Wesley's works:

The end of the Gospel is Life and Perfection, 'tis a Divine nature, 'tis a Godlike frame and disposition of spirit; 'tis to make us partakers of the Image of God in Righteousnesse and true Holinesse.²⁷

The Platonists might well endorse the verse from Charles Wesley's hymn:

Happy the souls to Jesus joined,
And saved by grace alone;
Walking in all His ways, they find
Their heaven on earth begun.

²⁴ More, p. 279; JW, XXXIX, p. 79. The concept of a "double justification" is to be found in a passage from John Smith's works, which Wesley reprints. The Christian's first justification depends upon faith alone; the second justification, of which the apostle James speaks in his epistle, follows from faith and the good works which the believer does after he has been sanctified (Smith, p. 327; JW, XX, p. 98). This concept also appears, of course, in Bishop George Bull's celebrated work *Harmonia Apostolica*.

²⁵ Cudworth, pp. 58-9; JW, XVII, p. 39.

²⁶ Patrick, p. 128; JW, XXXII, p. 207; cf. More, p. 290; JW, XXXIX, p. 85.

²⁷ Cudworth, p. 46; JW, XVII, p. 32; cf. Cudworth, p. 32; JW, XVII, p. 26.

The righteous man is the happy man; his soul's yearning for happiness has been satisfied.²⁸ The perfected man is free; he has been delivered from his former slavery to his passions and lusts, and from his fears and anxieties concerning the guilt of his sins.²⁹ Now he gladly and joyfully performs that service of God which is perfect freedom. Though he still walks upon the earth, the perfected man participates in the joys and delights of heaven itself. Yet in the life to come there are states of perfection which far transcend anything which the believer may enjoy here. Just as the life of the Christian upon earth admits of degrees, so there are degrees of sanctity and perfection in the future life.³⁰

A prominent obstacle in the path towards perfection is the mutual hatred and spirit of faction which grow out of theological controversy. In the judgement of the Platonists, much of this controversy serves no useful purpose. If this needless controversy could be stilled, one root of un-Christlike tempers would be destroyed. Therefore the Cambridge Platonists try to place theological discussion within a realistic perspective. The Platonists believe that doctrine is important; they are not theological indifferentists. On the other hand, they warn their readers against mistaking the trees for the woods. The essence of religion is not correct "opinion" but the communion of the believer with God. Forms of words are means whereby a relationship to God and a quality of life may be engendered and sustained; they are not ends in themselves.³¹ Indeed, the itch for theological speculation may be a scarcely-concealed form of human pride. For all their exaltation of human reason as the "candle of the Lord", the Platonists emphasize that reason cannot definitively resolve a plenitude of theological issues. Many passages of Scripture are open to a variety of credible interpretations, no one of which is compelling to all. Instead of accepting this state of affairs, and extending the hand of fellowship to those with whom he disagrees, the sectarian refuses to leave well enough alone. He elevates a particular interpretation of a disputed passage to the status of an essential element of the Faith.³² The delusion that the whole "truth" is within his grasp feeds the ego of its defender: he succumbs to "the vanity of dogmatizing".³³

The motto variously attributed to Philip Melancthon, Rupertus Meldenus and Richard Baxter—"In necessary things, unity; in doubtful things, liberty; in all things, charity"—would be heartily endorsed both by the Platonists and by Wesley. Ralph Cudworth, preaching to a House of Commons divided along political, economic and theological lines, exhorted his hearers:

²⁸ Worthington, p. 60; JW, XXIII, p. 270.

²⁹ Worthington, pp. 37, 49; JW, XXIII, pp. 255, 263.

³⁰ Smith, pp. 444, 446; JW, XX, pp. 199, 200.

³¹ Cudworth, pp. 5-6; JW, XVII, p. 13.

³² Smith, p. 11; Worthington, p. 13; JW, XIX, p. 189; XXIII, p. 240.

³³ The title of a book by Joseph Glanvill, who was not a Cambridge Platonist, but who argues for the same point.

Let this soft and silken Knot of love, tie our Hearts together; though our Heads and Apprehensions cannot meet, as indeed they never will, but always stand at some distance off from one another.⁸⁴

This sort of spirit underlies the familiar quotations from Wesley:

"If thine heart is as my heart," if thou lovest God and all mankind, I ask no more: "Give me thine hand" [2 Kings x. 15, and] As to all opinions which do not strike at the root of Christianity, we think and let think.

It underlies Wesley's plans for a union of the evangelical clergy of England, his firmly Protestant yet well-disposed *Letter to a Roman Catholic*, and his call for Methodists to worship regularly in the parish churches of the Establishment. Indeed, it could be argued that the vision of a Christian community which is at once catholic, evangelical and free is the most important legacy not only of the Cambridge Platonists but also of John Wesley.

JOHN C. ENGLISH.

[Dr. John C. English is Professor of History at Baker University, Baldwin, Kansas, U.S.A.]

⁸⁴ Cudworth, pp. 64-5; JW, XVII, p. 42.

We gratefully acknowledge the following periodicals, some of which are received on a reciprocal basis with our *Proceedings*.

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, 1967.

The Journal of the Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of Wales, June and September 1968.

The Baptist Quarterly, July and October (Diamond Jubilee issue) 1968.

The Local Historian, Nos. 1, 2 and 3, 1968.

Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society, October 1968.

Transactions No. 1 of the Congregational Historical Society, Bradford Branch: "The Rise of English Congregationalism in the Seventeenth Century", by John Neal.

The Bulletin of the Wesleyan Theological Society (Iowa, U.S.A.), Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

Publications of the Japan Wesley Association (see Editor's note, p. 189):
No. 1—Wesley and Calvinism.

No. 2—Wesley and Sanctification.

No. 3—The Doctrine of the Church of John Wesley.

Bulletin No. 19 of the Committee of Archives of the United Church of Canada: "The Unification of Methodism in Canada".

Methodist History for July 1968 contains, *inter alia*, an article by Warren Thomas Smith entitled "The Christmas Conference" and another by John C. English on "John Wesley and Francis Rous".

Two interesting Branch "Occasional Publications" have also reached us. *Joseph Rayner Stephens*, by Michael S. Edwards (pp. 22, 2s. 6d.), may be obtained from Dr. H. Andrews, 1, Tollemache Road, Mottram, Hyde, Cheshire, and *The Methodist New Connexion in Dawley and Madeley*, by Barrie Trinder (reviewed on page 188) from Mrs. E. D. Graham, 34, Spiceland Road, Northfield, Birmingham, 31.

BILLY AND ALICE BRAMMAH, PARTNERS IN MINISTRY

JOHN WESLEY made the following entry in his *Journal* for 6th June 1777:

I preached at Bradford, where a blessed work has increased ever since William Brammah was here. "Hath not God chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise?"

This is the sole reference to Billy Brammah in the *Journal*.¹ No "life" appears ever to have been written about one of the first Methodist travelling preachers from Sheffield. He was a rough diamond, and perhaps this fact, together with the most memorable comment on him made twenty-one years after his death by Charles Atmore, who recalled the proverbial expression "Hear William Brammah once, and you hear all he has got to say, let his text be what it will",² was to deter potential biographers. It may have been Atmore's remark which caused Tyerman, whilst mentioning Brammah's usefulness at Bradford, to describe him as "one of Wesley's weakest preachers".³ The epithets "foolish" and "weakest" are unfortunate; it is the present writer's feeling that Brammah is due for a certain rehabilitation. He and his wife Alice, a loyal helpmeet with a caustic tongue, were a colourful pair of characters.

Nothing is known of the Brammahs' early life—they do not appear in local parish records—but it is reasonable to suppose that they were among Wesley's hearers on his first visit to Sheffield on 14th June 1742 to see David Taylor, who had introduced Methodism into the area in 1738. James Everett records that the 14-year-old William Woodhouse of Fulwood used to see Alice and Billy Brammah at the Anglican chapel at Ecclesall; this would be about 1741. Ecclesall chapel, about three miles from Sheffield, had an evangelical curate named Dodge who was sympathetic to the Methodists, though his emotional ardour and high standards of personal conduct were too much for some people. When Mr. and Mrs. Brammah walked up to Ecclesall they were taunted by the local mob, who would shout "Here are the Methodists coming!"⁴ Subsequently Dodge became curate of St. Paul's, which had been opened in 1740 as another chapel-of-ease to Sheffield parish church. The Methodists must have remained loyal to him, for they prevailed upon Wesley to visit him on his death-bed on 2nd August 1759.⁵

Billy Brammah is variously described as a tailor and a stay-maker. In the early 1750s he began to exhort. His earliest known

¹ *Standard Journal*, vi, p. 153.

² C. Atmore: *Methodist Memorial* (1801), p. 64.

³ L. Tyerman: *Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley* (1872), iii, p. 243.

⁴ J. Everett: *Historical Sketches of Wesleyan Methodism in Sheffield and its Vicinity* (1823), pp. 20-1; also "From loose papers in the handwriting of Everett", in Tyerman MSS.: "Copies of Original Letters and other Documents relating to Methodism", i, p. 25.

⁵ *Journal*, iv, p. 343.

This simple and honest couple, devoted to each other, with a zeal for the Lord and a passion for souls, yet both so very human, occupy a special place in early Methodist history. It is fitting that James Everrett should provide their epitaph: "Alice and Billy Brammah knew where to find what was good."⁴⁶

JOHN DUNSTAN.

[Mr. N. John Dunstan, M.A. is Lecturer in Modern Languages at the Sheffield College of Technology.]

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, i, p. 25.

MORE LOCAL HISTORIES

We acknowledge, with many thanks, the following handbooks and brochures which have been sent to us recently. We are always glad to have such evidence of the work of local historians, and they constitute a valuable addition to our Library. A further list will appear in our next issue.

The English Methodist Church, Rhyl (pp. 24)—centenary brochure: copies, price 2s. 6d., from the Rev. Stanley T. Stratford, 47, Elm Grove, Rhyl, Flints.

Metheringham Methodist church jubilee brochure (pp. 8): copies, price 2s. 10d. post free, from the Rev. J. Neil Graham, The Manse, Metheringham, Lincoln.

A Hundred Years in a Country Chapel (pp. 64)—a history of Hutton Free Church, by J. K. Sigournay: copies, price 7s. 6d. post free, from Hutton Free Church Bookstall, 51, Hanging Hill Lane, Brentwood, Essex.

Midge Hall Methodist church centenary brochure (pp. 8): copies from the Rev. Derek W. Bowker, 47, Haig Avenue, Leyland, Lancs, PR5 1WD; no price stated.

From Acorn to Sturdy Oak (pp. 20)—centenary of Goff's Oak church, by Jim Priest; copies, price 2s. 6d., from Mr. B. R. Brooks, 290, Great Cambridge Road, Cheshunt, Herts.

Stoneycroft Century (pp. 28), by the Rev. Eric Roberts: copies from the Rev. Donald J. Sampson, 2, Greenfield Road, Liverpool, 13; no price stated.

Grove Methodist church, Horsforth, centenary brochure (pp. 20), by J. Stanley Mathers, M.A.: copies, price 2s. 6d., from Mr. C. O. Manley, 4, West End Close, Horsforth, Leeds.

Hailsham Methodist church centenary brochure (pp. 32), by Betty M. Wells: copies from the Rev. Ronald Shaddick, 44, Windsor Road, Hailsham, Sussex; no price stated.

Bethnal Green, London, centenary brochure (pp. 8): copies from the East End Mission, 583, Commercial Road, London, E.1; no price stated.

Purton Stoke (Brinkworth circuit) centenary (pp. 12): copies from the Rev. George H. Lockett, 43, Bath Road, Wootton Bassett, Wilts; no price stated.

Retrospect and Prospect (pp. 20)—College Road Methodist church, Quinton: copies, price 5s., from Mr. Bonsall, 5, Narrow Lane, Halesowen, Worcestershire.

North End church, Newark, centenary brochure (pp. 16): copies, price 2s., from the Rev. Bryan Ashberry, 49, Milner Street, Newark, Notts.

THE ANNUAL MEETING AND LECTURE

THE Annual Meeting and Lecture was held at Wesley's Chapel, City Road, London, E.C.1, on Thursday, 20th June. Tea was again provided by the generosity of Mrs. G. Ibberson of Barnsley, and was served by the Wesley's Chapel ladies. The thanks of those who were present were expressed by the Rev. William Parkes. Among our guests at the tea, and at the meeting following, were the Rev. Dr. Frederick E. Maser, of St. George's, Philadelphia, and several members of the London Branch who are not (yet) members of the parent Society.

Business Meeting

In the unavoidable absence of the President (Dr. Maldwyn Edwards), the chair was taken by the Rev. Dr. A. Skevington Wood. Congratulations were expressed to the Rev. Dr. John C. Bowmer upon his recently-awarded doctorate, and felicitations were conveyed to the Rev. Professor E. Gordon Rupp upon his accession to the Presidency of Conference.

It was reported that we now have a membership of 898—a net increase of 17 on the previous year, bringing us almost to the point at which another hundred recruits would bring our membership up to 1,000. Thirty-two members had been enrolled during the year, seven had retired, and eight had died. The Treasurer's report showed that the total assets of the Society amounted to £973 2s. 7d., of which sum £759 19s. 9d. represented subscriptions paid in advance. The report was adopted. The complete financial statement is printed on page 186.

Reports of branch activities were received from every part of the country and from Ireland, and these formed the basis of a valuable discussion. Mr. John A. Vickers reminded us that the branch journals were constantly in circulation among those members who had asked for inclusion in the rota.

The meeting heard with regret that Alderman Horace Hird was unable to continue in office as Exhibitions Secretary on account of ill-health, and recorded its thanks to him for the help that he had given over the past few years. This year's Exhibition was divided between City Road and the Westminster Central Hall, and was arranged by Dr. Bowmer. Mr. William Leary was appointed to the office of Exhibitions Secretary. The remaining officers of the Society were re-elected.

The Annual Lecture

Mr. John E. Pater presided at the lecture, which was given by the Rev. A. Kingsley Lloyd, on "The Labourer's Hire: the Payment and Deployment of the Early Methodist Preachers, 1744-1813"—both the chairman and the lecturer being distinguished members of our Society.

During the "preliminaries"—a word which can perhaps be used of a lecture though not of a service—we listened with interest to the Rev. Dr. F. E. Maser, the minister of the historic St. George's Methodist church, Philadelphia, who represented the American Association of Methodist Historical Societies. Dr. Maser generously presented our Society with a copy of the first American edition of Coke and Moore's *Life of Wesley*.

The lecture itself held our complete attention, and as Mr. Lloyd skilfully unfolded a history which had not been fully examined before, we did not know whether to marvel most at the almost Franciscan self-denial of the early preachers or the skill with which one Jabez Bunting laid the foundations of ministerial remuneration in later Methodism. The lecture is to be published, we hope, later in the year.

THOMAS SHAW.

IRISH NOTES

Annual General Meeting. On Friday, 7th June, at the Irish Conference in Cork, Mr. Norman Robb was re-elected President of the Irish Wesley Historical Society, Mr. Frederick Jeffery Vice-President, Mr. John H. Weir Secretary and Treasurer, and Mrs. Victor Kelly Archivist.

Wesley Day, 1968. Members and friends of the Society were received cordially at Kilrea, Co. Londonderry, by the rector and the Presbyterian minister on Saturday, 25th May. This recalled the friendly spirit in Wesley's time, 4th July 1778, when he came at the invitation of the then rector, the Rev. John Haughton, but preached in the Presbyterian meeting-house, as the parish church was too dilapidated. The ruins are still there beside the present Anglican church.

Mr. F. Jeffery gave an outline of the career of John Haughton, a weaver from Chinley End who was one of Wesley's first preachers. He entered the itinerancy as early as 1741, and was stationed in Ireland on a number of occasions. In 1749 the whole of Ireland was one circuit, and John Haughton was one of the two preachers appointed to cover the whole of the island. In 1750 he was with Wesley during the riots in Cork. In 1760 he was again sent to Ireland, but shortly afterwards sought ordination as a clergyman and in 1776 came to Kilrea as rector, where he died some four or five years later. He remained a strong supporter of the Methodist movement all his life.

The party went on to Gracehill, Co. Antrim, and in the Moravian church there heard of John Cennick's connexion and John Wesley's visit. The settlement was modelled on that at Fulneck in the West Riding. Here the party was joined by Mrs. Terence O'Neill, wife of the Northern Ireland Prime Minister. She is a descendant of Benjamin Ingham of the Oxford Holy Club, and Ingham is still used as a family name.

Tea was provided for all at Cullybackey by the ladies of the Methodist church there. In the evening the Rev. Richard Greenwood, principal of Irish Methodism's theological college, Edgehill, Belfast, gave a vivid account of the Seceder tradition in the Presbyterian history of Ulster. This is the background of our Cullybackey congregation, for it is not Methodist by origin. Mr. Greenwood himself had been baptized by the last Presbyterian minister of that congregation, which in its later years was under the jurisdiction of the former United Free Church of Scotland, and never under the Irish General Assembly. When the UFC decided to give up its Irish work just after the end of the first world war, and when a request for a minister from the Irish General Assembly could not be met, then an approach was made to the Methodist Conference, which, after satisfying itself as to the situation, did provide a minister.

There are still Presbyterian traditions at Cullybackey. A metrical psalm and a paraphrase are sung as part of the worship every Sunday morning, and the room behind the church is still known as the "Session Room". But now the congregation is a circuit in Irish Methodism, and is fully integrated into connexional life and responsibilities.

200th Conference. The 1968 Irish Conference is stated to be the 199th Conference and the 187th *annual* Conference, and so it is anticipated that the 1969 Conference will be the 200th.

Since 1782 annual conferences have been held, and this makes 1969 the 188th. It is true that no full conference was held in 1791, the year of John

Wesley's death. However, the preachers all met in Dublin, fixed the stations, and sent the list to England for ratification, so it would seem that a "legal" conference was held even though there were no "conversations". This leaves twelve others to be accounted for before 1782. F. Jeffery's *Irish Methodism* gives eight others in an appendix, but this list inadvertently omits the Conference of 1765 (July 25-26). The other three dates (1762, 1773 and 1775) are mentioned in the combined *Minutes*, first published in 1864. Someone did a great deal of research at that time, and the three resulting volumes constitute a record of all early Irish *Minutes*. Perhaps the same person was responsible for the insertion in the 1861 *Minutes* of the statement that this was the 92nd Conference and the 80th annual; this is the first appearance of such a statement on the title-page of the Irish *Minutes*.

Volume I of these combined *Minutes*, page 7, states: "In 1762 Mr. Wesley spent four months in Ireland, and, no doubt, held a Conference with the Preachers; but he omits all notice of it in his journal." Mention is also made of 1773 and 1775 as years when Wesley was in Ireland long enough to have held a conference. In each of these three years the Irish stations were fixed and subsequently recorded in the English *Minutes*; so it would seem that the compiler of these volumes assumed that there would have been conferences—which, after all, were not then the official gatherings they later became—because on other Wesley visits there always were such. He may, indeed, have had other information not to hand now. Has any reader any comments?

If all this is so, then we do have the twelve extra conference-years required, viz. 1752, 1756, 1758, 1760, 1762, 1765, 1767, 1769, 1771, 1773, 1775, 1778; thereafter, from 1782, Conference was held annually as above described.

FREDERICK JEFFERY.

Several of the studies presented at the International African Seminar on *Christianity in Tropical Africa*, and now edited by Prof. C. G. Baëta (Oxford University Press for International African Institute, 1968, 55s.) make incidental reference to Methodism, but Mr. I. Tufuoh's essay on "Relations between Christian Missions, European Administrations, and Traders in the Gold Coast, 1828-74" will be of particular interest to members of our Society. The author has made discerning use not only of Missionary Society archives and Colonial Office records, but of relevant papers at Rhodes House, Oxford. He is perhaps somewhat more than fair to Thomas Birch Freeman,¹ presenting him as a man who for many years succeeded in the difficult task of preserving good relations both with the trading community and with the administration. This is doubtless generally true, but a fuller account might well contain certain modifications of detail on both these points. Before his resignation as a missionary in 1857, merchants at times expressed outspoken criticism of Freeman's conduct of the mission's financial affairs; whilst a contributory factor in the estrangement between mission and administration in later years (to which Mr. Tufuoh refers) may have been the comparative failure of Freeman's subsequent career in government service (see the two large volumes C.O. 96/48 and 96/54 entitled "Mr. Freeman's case" and correctly described by one civil servant as a *rudis indigestaque moles*.)

PAUL ELLINGWORTH.

¹ See *Proceedings* xxxiv, pp. 5 ff.

A HISTORY OF THE ORIGINAL METHODISTS

(Continued from page 148)

VIII

ON 1st June 1857 the foundation stone of a new Zion Methodist chapel was laid on Water Lane, South Normanton. This society made a tremendous impact on the locality, though its finances were not always correspondingly healthy, as later paragraphs will show.

In 1862 the South Normanton society organized a mission under the preaching of Mr. H. M. Hooke, a member of the Plymouth Brethren, whose home was in London, and a wonderful revival took place. When Mr. Hooke left South Normanton in November 1862 after his first visit, over three hundred had been converted. Upon his departure, many prophesied that no lasting effect would be felt, and that the young converts would soon be "in the world" again; but instead of this, the work increased. Upon invitation, Mr. Hooke re-visited South Normanton on 18th January 1863, and laboured there until 10th February. He preached on seven nights in each of the three Methodist chapels, and on 9th February in a large tent kindly lent by Mr. John Smedley of Lee Mills, Cromford.

At this time the Original Methodist society had 80 adult members and a very promising group of over fifty young people attending membership classes. In 1862 and 1863, when religious revival was at its peak, a preaching service was held every evening in the chapel, and there were prayer meetings each afternoon to pray for the conversion of the whole village. The average attendance at these prayer meetings was 40, but at all the evening services the chapel was crowded, and on one occasion, when Mr. Hooke was preaching, there were 50 converts.¹ Some who were converted had been notorious drunkards, and Mr. Hooke's revival meetings became a matter of the gravest concern to the publicans of South Normanton!

At these meetings also, the Original Methodists were able to use their new hymn-book, which was published, by arrangement with Messrs. J. & H. Clarke of Nottingham, in August 1862. The new book contained 502 hymns, and took the place of the earlier publication of 1851. It was "printed in the best style, from new type", and could be purchased for "one shilling and sixpence (plain) or two shillings (embossed and gilt)". There was an index to the subjects of the hymns, as well as the usual index to the first lines. The Original Methodists were proud of their second hymn-book, as they had been of their first publication:

No time, labour, or expense has been spared in the selection of the hymns and arrangement of the book; and while we feel greatly indebted

¹ *Original Methodists' Record*, 1st April 1863.

to the composers of the hymns, we have no fear in saying that it will be the best and most useful Hymn Book now in use.²

At the June Quarter-day of 1859 the financial state of the new South Normanton chapel was one of the main subjects of discussion. It was felt that the members and friends there had exerted themselves nobly in order to meet every obligation which had devolved upon them in the erection of their neat little structure; and yet there was a deficiency of about £9, in respect of which certain tradesmen, having waited very patiently for the money due to them, decided that they could wait no longer, and were threatening legal action against the trustees in default of immediate payment. In this emergency the trustees came to the Quarter-day humbly craving assistance; and after careful consideration the meeting concluded that for the comfort of the trustees and the character of the Connexion (the chapel being a connexional one) it would be advisable to make a collection at each place to help the South Normanton brethren out of their difficulty. It was arranged for each place to make the collection on the day when Charles Tomlinson was next planned, except that at Normanton it had to be when W. Osborne was planned, at Wirksworth when John Tomlinson was planned, and at Yeldersley when W. Dale was planned.

The South Normanton trustees expressed their thanks in the *Record* of January 1860 for the sum of £3 11s. 1½d., contributed by the following societies: Selston 5s. 7d., Hucknall Torkard, 7s. 10½d., Ironville 2s. 6d., Brinsley 4s. 3d., Greenhill Lane 5s. 4d., Normanton 14s. 9½d., Brinsley Wharf Row 5s. 4½d., North Wingfield 4s. 3d., Brassington 8s. 4d., Middleton 5s. 4d., Wirksworth 5s., Yeldersley 2s. 6d.

The financial problem at South Normanton re-opened the discussion on the desirability of establishing a Chapel Fund, and this subject occupied the attention of the December 1859 Quarter-day for a considerable time. It was then resolved that there should be a collection in each place once a quarter. The Chapel Fund would be used to assist in the building of new connexional chapels and also, where necessary, to liquidate the debts of chapels already built. Undoubtedly something of the kind was becoming necessary, since the Connexion owned

chapel property to the amount of something like £1,000. To old and large religious bodies this may appear a paltry sum, but to us it is a grave subject, and if we don't take care while we can, the time may come when, if we would we could not.³

On 25th December 1845 a Preachers' Sick Fund was established in the Connexion, but through some unfavourable circumstances it was discontinued in 1847. From that time until 1858 the matter lay dormant, though many preachers at different times expressed a wish for it to be resumed; but it was not brought formally before any

² *ibid.*, July 1862: "Our New Hymn Book—A Prelude to Publication.

³ *ibid.*, January 1860.

Quarter-day board and properly discussed until June 1858. It was then resolved that the Preachers' Sick Fund should be revived. Any preacher could become a member by "paying one quarter's contribution. This business to be attended to during the time allowed for tea."⁴

At the December Quarterly Meeting of 1859 John Tomlinson, who had served the Original Methodists as Connexional Secretary for over twenty years, resigned. At the same time he relinquished his duties as editor of the *Record*. His place was taken by his son Charles (1831-1905), who was a gifted preacher, conscientious Sunday-school superintendent, and a man of more flexible and tolerant disposition than his father. He could remember little or nothing of the early bitter exchanges with Carthy and Herod, and his appointment is indicative of the less uncompromising mood which prevailed during the Connexion's closing years. Free-gospel principles were still vigorously defended, but the diatribes and vitriolic strictures of the '50s became less numerous, eventually disappearing altogether. Preachers from other denominations were frequently invited to lead special services, camp-meetings and missions, though it must be admitted that the majority of these laymen were members of other free-gospel denominations. Matthew Hayes (1824-98), a Pinxton Wesleyan until 1849, when he joined the Wesleyan Reformers, and eventually, in 1857, the United Methodist Free Churches, was the most notable exception to the general rule, and proved very acceptable at Sunday-school anniversary services, particularly at Selston Middle Chapel. Mr. Issachar Jaques⁵ of New Sneinton, an Independent Methodist, was popular with the Original Methodists. So was Mr. G. Baxter, an Independent Primitive Methodist (later Independent Methodist) of Bingham. The former, judging by all the records available, seems to have been a preacher of almost hypnotic power, and stands out as one of the most eminent in the district. His presence in Hucknall drew crowds of hearers. The *Record* of October 1859 states that on 14th August of that year, when Mr. Jaques was appointed to preach, the chapel was filled to capacity long before the arrival of the preacher, and the great crowds outside unable to gain admission necessitated the transference of the meeting to the open air, a neighbour tendering the use of his croft for the occasion.

In 1867 the Original Methodists' Connexion was officially dissolved, and Zion Methodist chapel, South Normanton, along with several other societies, joined the United Methodist Free Churches, Ripley circuit. One or two of the remaining societies rejoined their former Primitive Methodist brethren—as, for instance, at Bleak Hall; though it is possible that the Wesleyan Reform society at Annesley Woodhouse, which had declined to join in the amalgamation of 1857, when the UMFC denomination was formed, gained the adherence of some of the older members of Bleak Hall.

⁴ *ibid.*, 1st July 1858.

⁵ Alternative spellings are common, e.g. Isacher Jaquiss.

It must not be assumed that the dissolution of the Connexion in 1867 was prompted by a weakening cause, the recognition of which fact convinced the moderates that a separate existence was no longer tenable. It is true that only a dozen societies remained; though the period from 1860 to 1867 had witnessed the inclusion, from time to time, of new societies, some of which were mission stations in areas not touched by the wider-ranging denominations, whereas others were merely disgruntled splinter-groups, usually offshoots from Primitive Methodism. Examples of the former group may be seen in Woodlincoln and the Bagthorpe Mission, both of which arose out of concentrated activity in those areas during the summer of 1864. The cottage-meetings at Inkerman, Alma and Yeldersley all contained former adherents of the Primitive Methodists. The Inkerman PM society had been formed as lately as 1854, and in the following year this place was included in the newly-formed Ripley circuit of that date. All these societies were short-lived, some having an existence of not more than three months. When the Inkerman PM chapel was built in 1867, free-gospel meetings in the neighbouring hamlets of Inkerman and Alma appear to have ceased altogether. It is perhaps significant that some of the first trustees and officials of the new chapel came from Bagthorpe. An Original Methodists' "Sunday School Teachers' Plan" of 1865 shows that at Inkerman a class meeting was held at 8-30 a.m. on Sundays, a prayer meeting at 7-30 p.m. on Tuesdays, and a preachers' meeting at the same hour on Thursdays.

The strength of the Connexion shortly before the dissolution may be appreciated from the following facts. A new chapel was opened at Greenhill Lane in 1860, so numerous was the congregation in that part of the Riddings. In the *Record* for July 1863, Charles Tomlinson still speaks of increasing numbers at South Normanton. Mr. Hooke made two more visits to the village, and a certain J. Alexander, who spent twenty-three days on mission work in Normanton, seems also to have had great success. The camp-meetings at Selston were always well-attended, and the treasurer's pew-rents account book shows that the chapel there was filled to capacity. Large increases were reported from the Brassington society in the *Record* of April 1862, and these reports continued to enhearten the Connexion during the remaining five years. The *Record*, then printed by the firm of J. & H. Clarke, Clumber Street, Nottingham, continued to circulate throughout the district at the usual price of 2d., and during the last six years of publication normally consisted of 32 pages.

The strongest opposition to any reconciliation with a paid ministry came from South Normanton, and shortly before the union of 1867 an unfortunate division arose between the moderates and those bent on retaining their separate identity. The latter were led by the brothers Jarvis and Benjamin Taylor and Jackie and Solomon Robinson. These men re-opened the old Bethel chapel, and continued a separate existence under the name of Free-Gospellers. They became

associated with a Clay Cross church under the same name. This division seriously weakened the Water Lane chapel, and its membership had been reduced considerably by the date of the union. When the place was included in the Ripley UMFC circuit the membership dwindled even further, and in January 1872 the chapel was sold to Mr. Joseph Swann, a colliery-owner of South Normanton, and re-opened as a Congregational church. Mr. James Gray of Glasgow was appointed minister at a salary of £80 per annum. He preached twice on Sundays and once in the week, and taught day-school. In his *Memoirs* John Tomlinson (1861-1949) pays tribute to this minister, from whom he received what little education he ever had. The archives of the Congregational Church have failed to reveal anything whatever about the church on Water Lane. How successful it proved to be, or how long it survived, we do not know. Perhaps future research will throw light on its subsequent history.

In 1873 those Methodists who had remained at the Water Lane chapel for a short time to help the Congregational church to acquire a foothold in the district rejoined their old comrades at Bethel. By 1874 the Blackwell collieries had been sunk, and were now beginning to wind large quantities of coal. The prospects of more work in the district encouraged agricultural labourers from Bedfordshire and Dorset and coalminers from Yorkshire and Staffordshire to make their homes in and around Normanton and Blackwell. A plan dated February to May 1876 showed the names of eight preachers: Solomon Robinson and his wife Ephie, Charles Tomlinson and his wife Mathilda, Levi Ball, William Flint, Aaron Booth and Charles Allcock. Eight exhorters are also named, of whom five were young preachers from agricultural districts. All these men eventually returned to their original homes, with the exception of Thomas Neal, who served faithfully there until his death. On the same plan appeared the names of twenty-eight auxiliaries, some of whom had served the Original Methodist Connexion before the dissolution.⁶ During these years the free-gospellers seem to have prospered.

However, later in 1876, the union with the Clay Cross society was dissolved, and Bethel sought and obtained admission to the United Methodist Free Churches, Riddings circuit, in 1877.

In 1876 the Ripley UMFC circuit had twenty-two places, and was considered by many local preachers to be too scattered and unwieldy, causing them difficulty in reaching their appointments. It was therefore decided to divide the circuit, and a new Riddings circuit was formed, which South Normanton joined, the other places being Riddings, Heanor, Codnor, Waingroves, Pinxton Wharf, Somercotes, Ironville, Langley Mill and Pye Bridge.

The ministers of the circuit were John Fish (1868-1930) and William Dawkins (1861-1930). Solomon Robinson and Charles Tomlinson were accepted as preachers, and their names were placed

⁶ Most noteworthy of these were William and James Green of Selston and Thomas Shore of Heanor.

on the circuit plan. The society agreed to a quarterly assessment of £5 10s., and the ministers preached at the old Bethel chapel on alternate Thursday evenings.

The union of 1877 marked the end of well-organized free-gospel activity in the district. In spite of economic difficulties caused by the low wages of the miners, attempts occasionally made to re-ignite the dying embers of "anti-hirelingism" all proved to be of no avail.

DONALD M. GRUNDY.

⁷ For example, the secession of John Bailey from the Alfreton PM station in March 1885.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Financial Statement for the Year ended 31st May 1968

INCOME.	£ s. d.	EXPENDITURE.	£ s. d.
Subscriptions in advance br't forward from previous year—		Printing of <i>Proceedings</i> (3 issues), etc. ...	304 9 6
Ordinary Members ...	478 7 6	Secretarial and Editorial Expenses ...	10 14 6
Life Members ...	276 10 0	Insurance ...	4 9 7
Received during year ...	329 19 4	Lecturer's Honorarium ...	26 0 0
	1,084 16 10	London Electricity Board	4 8
Less Unexpired Subscriptions (see Balance Sheet)	759 19 9	Library Heating Installation	141 15 0
	324 17 1	Library Expenses ...	10 0 0
Irish Branch ...	32 8 0	Conference Exhibition ...	10 0 0
Share of Lecture Collection	30 13 0	Bank Charges ...	1 1 0
<i>Proceedings</i> (back numbers) and Advertisements ...	52 6 0		
Publications sold ...	14 17 6		
War Stock Dividend ...	7 15 6		
Bank Interest ...	17 8 10		
Balance of Expenditure over Income ...	28 8 4		
	£508 14 3		£508 14 3

Balance Sheet

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
Unexpired Subscriptions—		Cash in hand—Treasurer ...	182 5 3
Ordinary Members ...	479 19 9	Registrar ...	69 5 2
Life Members (80 at (say) £3 10s. od. each) ...	280 0 0	War Stock (at cost) ...	225 0 0
	759 19 9	Trustee Savings Bank ...	496 12 2
Accumulated Funds b/fwd.	241 11 2		
	1,001 10 11	Library, Publications Stocks, Filing Cabinet, etc. unvalued	
Less Balance of Expenditure over Income ...	28 8 4		
	£973 2 7		£973 2 7

ROWLAND C. SWIFT, *Treasurer*.
F. HAMMOND, F.C.A., *Auditor*.

20th June 1968.

BOOK NOTICES

John Wesley's Letter to a Roman Catholic, ed. Michael Hurley, S.J. (Geoffrey Chapman and Epworth House, Dublin, 7s. 6d.)

John Wesley's distrust of Romanism as a political force did not in the slightest degree diminish his love for individual Roman Catholics nor his resolve in paragraph 17 of his *Letter* not to think or speak or do anything hurtful or unfriendly. Indeed, the *Letter to a Roman Catholic* ends with a noble appeal "to help each other, on whatever we are agreed leads to the Kingdom." This did not mean a theological indifferentism. Bishop Odd Hagen and Cardinal Bea, who write prefaces, as well as Father Hurley himself, are concerned to show that John Wesley regarded indifference to all opinions as "speculative latitudinarianism", and that men who "jumble all opinions together" are of a "muddy understanding".

In his *Word to a Protestant*, John Wesley pointed out serious doctrinal differences, and in his *Letter to a Roman Catholic* he enunciated the Protestant belief in God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, in the Church, and in the life everlasting. It was for this very reason that he wanted a dialogue with Roman Catholics. "Come, my brother, and let us reason together." Chiefly, however, he wanted no differences to prevent a mutual provoking to love and good works. "If we cannot as yet think alike in all things, at least we may love alike."

It is the eirenic tone and temper of this splendid letter which, together with his sermons on "A caution against Bigotry" and "The Catholic Spirit", sets John Wesley so far ahead of his age in such notable charity of spirit. Indeed, it is perfectly in accord with the present rapprochement between Roman Catholics and Methodists and the conversations on many levels being conducted between them.

It was therefore an excellent idea of Father Hurley to edit a fresh edition of the *Letter* and to secure a joint production by Roman and Methodist publishers. Indeed the idea is better than the execution, because the author might have made further references to Wesley's other writings on the subject and to his personal relations with Roman Catholics. But this is a small matter. The venture must be warmly applauded. Its publication at this present time can do nothing but good.

MALDWYN L. EDWARDS.

Journal of Various Visits to the Kingdoms of Ashanti, Aku, and Dahomi in Western Africa, by Thomas Birch Freeman. Third edition (1968), with a new Introduction by Harrison M. Wright. (Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., pp. xxxix, x. 298, 84s.)

Freeman's best-known published work attained immediate popularity in its day, but is now reprinted for the first time since 1844. A facsimile reproduction of the 1844 edition is prefaced by a wholly admirable survey, based on materials in Ghana and in England, of Freeman's life and work. Professor Harrison Wright of Swarthmore College appears to have not only read but digested the entire corpus of Freeman's largely unpublished extant writings, together with the relevant secondary sources. Perhaps his most valuable contribution to Ghanaian history lies not even in the quite numerous new facts he has discovered, but in his measured reassessment of Freeman's achievement, which shows how wide, after all, is the *via media* between hagiography and "de-bunking". Incisive judgements—"Freeman's manner with African leaders was tact itself"—"He did not delegate authority well"—are grounded on the rock of research which does not

stop with the details of Freeman's own and his colleagues' careers, but reaches out into his missionary methods, his brief career in government service, the secular history of the period, and the different versions of the *Journal* itself. Place-names in the Introduction are given (with the exception of Whydah/Ouidah) in both nineteenth- and twentieth-century spellings. There is, alas! still no index.

PAUL ELLINGWORTH.

The Methodist New Connexion in Dawley and Madeley, by Barrie Trinder. (Wesley Historical Society West Midlands Branch Occasional Publication, pp. 20 + appendices and maps, 3s. post free.)

There are several reasons why this booklet deserves widespread attention. The Madeley and Dawley area is a particularly interesting one, as the cradle of the Industrial Revolution, as the scene of John Fletcher's ministry, and, most recently, as the site chosen for redevelopment as a "new town". More specifically, the present study is a good example of the growing interest in nineteenth-century Methodism, and deals with a branch of the Church that has not had its fair share of competent attention. Then again, much of its virtue lies in the fact that it places the church firmly in its social and cultural setting, and sees it not, as is so often the case, in isolation but as part of the local community. The credit for this must go, at least in part, to the fact that the booklet is the outcome of an historical study group which has been working for two winters on the role of the churches in the Dawley area. Too much of our research into local Methodist history is the work of isolated individuals, and the ploughing of lone furrows does not make for breadth of vision. This booklet shows what can be achieved by a group under really able leadership; and to recognize this is to emphasize, rather than minimize, the contribution of Mr. Trinder himself both as the group-leader and as the author of the resulting booklet. It should be read by everyone engaged in local Methodist history or interested in the nineteenth-century church.

JOHN A. VICKERS.

Presidential Notes

IT was my privilege during the first two weeks in July this year to visit Lake Junaluska, which can fittingly be looked upon as the headquarters of World Methodism. Here I was able to give a series of lectures on the early beginnings of the Methodist story to representatives from the Historical Associations of the South-Eastern Jurisdiction, which forms the largest group of Methodist historical societies in the whole of the United States. It was my pleasure to attend the business meeting, and to sit next to the Rev. Dr. Frank Baker, the former secretary of our Society, who is a trusted and revered member of the American Methodist Historical Societies' Association. His pre-eminence as a Methodist historian is fully recognized.

I was able also to discuss plans for a worthy series of meetings for the International Methodist Historical Society to be held when the next World Methodist Conference meets in Washington in 1971. As President of the IMHS, I was particularly glad of the opportunity to make other suggestions for the joint development of our interests that had already been discussed by Dr. Maser, Dr. Bowmer, the Rev. Thomas Shaw and myself during the time when the British Conference was meeting in London in June. Altogether it was a most happy and worthwhile visit.

MALDWYN L. EDWARDS.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1184. THE JAPAN WESLEY ASSOCIATION.

The recent visit of Professor Yoshio Noro, of Aoyama Gakuin University, to the Methodist Archives has established a valuable contact with the Japan Wesley Association, so some account of the Association's activities will not, we hope, be without interest to our readers. Dr. Noro has graduated at Tokyo, Drew, and Union (New York), and at present is Professor of Systematic Theology at Aoyama Gakuin. He is also secretary of the Japan Wesley Association, editor of the *North-East Asia Journal of Theology*, and the author of an outstanding book, in Japanese, on John Wesley.

Dr. Noro's visit was followed up by a long and fraternal letter from the Rev. John W. Krummel, the English secretary of the Japan Wesley Association. He sent us a copy of *Wesleyan Studies*, No. 3, published by the Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia; this issue is devoted entirely to "Japanese Contributions to the study of John Wesley".

To turn, however, to the Japan Wesley Association: in a land where there is now no Methodist Church as such the Association is making a noble stand to maintain the theological emphases of John Wesley. But on all sides it is beset with difficulties. Financial strain has been severely felt, but a generous grant from the American United Methodist Board of Missions is assisting in the translation of some of Wesley's works. Furthermore, there is in Japan a general lack of knowledge (and, consequently, of interest) in the teachings of Wesley. Mr. Krummel says in the course of his letter:

The complete works of Calvin and Luther have been published in Japanese in several different editions through the years. However, publishers are not interested in Wesley. This is in spite of the fact that the translations which our Association has brought out have sold very well, going into second printings.

It is only lack of funds that prevents the publication of their journal twice a year, as they would wish, instead of annually.

Interlinked with the Wesley Association is the Japan Wesley Study Society, whose fourth annual conference (1967) made a study of Christian Perfection. The subject of the 1968 conference was "Original Sin". This Study Society has published three issues of its journal; titles are "Wesley and Calvinism", "Wesley and Sanctification", and "The Doctrine of the Church of John Wesley". Mr. Krummel has sent us copies of these studies, for which we are very grateful. The Study Society also sponsors lecture meetings.

The Japan Wesley Translation Society, founded in 1959, has undertaken to publish a ten-volume set of Wesley's *Works*. Two volumes of his *Notes on the New Testament*, two of the *Standard Sermons*, and the first three volumes of an edition of Wesley's theological writings have appeared.

Independently of the Translation Society, there has also been published a complete translation of the *Journal* in eight volumes, on which Dr. Tokuo Yamaguchi worked for nearly thirty years.

We send fraternal greetings to the Japan Wesley Association, and hope from time to time to be able to publish reports of its activities.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

1185. BOSWELL ON WESLEY'S SISTER.

In the Standard edition of Wesley's *Journal*, volume vi, there is a footnote on page 312 which tells us that on 15th April 1781 his sister Mrs. Hall was dining with Dr. Samuel Johnson. The note concludes by saying: "Boswell thought she resembled her brother, both in figure and manner—'lean, lank, preaching Mrs. Hall was exquisite' (Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, p. 413)." The last words of this passage are a curious misquotation. The relevant paragraph in Boswell reads as follows:

Some time after this, upon his making a remark which escaped my attention, Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Hall were both together striving to answer him. He grew angry, and called out loudly, "Nay, when you both speak at once, it is intolerable." But checking himself, and softening, he said, "This one may say, though, you *are* ladies." Then he brightened into gay humour, and addressed them in the words of one of the songs in "The Beggar's Opera":

"But two at a time there's no mortals can bear."

"What, Sir, (said I,) are you going to turn Captain Macheath?" There was something as pleasantly ludicrous in this scene as can be imagined. The contrast between Macheath, Polly and Lucy—and Dr. Samuel Johnson, blind, peevish Mrs. Williams, and lean, lanky, preaching Mrs. Hall, was exquisite.

Anyone who examines the final sentence can see that the subject of the words "was exquisite" is not Mrs. Hall at all, but "the contrast" between two trios of people—the dashing Captain Macheath with his two "glamour girls" on the one hand, and on the other Dr. Johnson and the two old ladies with whom he was conversing—a contrast which Boswell found exquisitely ludicrous.

The footnote in the *Journal* has isolated the last seven words from their context and has omitted the comma, thus making Boswell say something far removed from what he actually wrote. Unfortunately other publications have made this assertion that Boswell thought Mrs. Hall was exquisite; this note is evidently the source. T. FRANCIS GLASSON.

1186. ARTICLES OF METHODIST HISTORICAL INTEREST.

Since the last list was published in *Proceedings*, xxxv, p. 135, the following articles of Methodist historical interest have appeared in the *London Quarterly and Holborn Review*:

JANUARY 1966—"A Revised Covenant Service", by David H. Tripp.

JULY 1966—"John Wesley presides", by Geoffrey F. Nuttall; "Francis Asbury: 1745-1816", by John T. Wilkinson; "The Fletcher-Toplady Controversy", by J. Maycock; "A Sociological Study of Lapsed Membership", by John R. Butler.

OCTOBER 1966—"The Methodist Book of Offices", by John C. Bowmer; "Ablutions and the Methodists", by E. Gordon Rupp; "Methodism and the Chartist Movement", by Michael S. Edwards; "Aldersgate and Wesley's Editors", by Frank Baker.

OCTOBER 1967—"John Wesley's First Marriage", by Frank Baker; "Our use of Creeds in Worship", by David H. Tripp.

JANUARY 1968—"The need for a Methodist Service for the Admission of Infants to the Catechumenate", by Geoffrey Wainwright.

APRIL 1968—"John Wesley and the 'Mystical Prayer'", by D. Dunn Wilson; "Charles Wesley's Vocabulary", by Oliver A. Beckerlegge.

EDITOR.

1187. SAMUEL WESLEY'S FIRST RESIDENCE IN LINCOLNSHIRE.

What the anonymous correspondent wrote in *Proceedings*, xxxvi, p. 32, regarding Samuel Wesley's first residence in Lincolnshire, is correct, and is borne out by what appears in the *History of the Parish of Ormsby cum Ketsby in the Hundred of Hill and County of Lincoln*, by W. O. Massingberd, M.A., Rector of the Parish (Lincoln: privately printed by James Williamson, n.d.).

The house at Ormsby was let to George Saunderson, Viscount Castleton, a member of a Lincolnshire family. W. O. Massingberd quotes in full a letter from Burrell Massingberd to Philippa Mundy, his future wife, written at Ormsby on 5th April 1714, in which he says:

I got home on Friday night as I proposed, but through a great deal of bad weather, and found Ld. Castleton so far past all hopes of recovery that nothing less than a miracle can hinder my having my own house again next spring if I don't agree to take it sooner.

Massingberd also states that

Lord Castleton was related to George Saunderson esqr. of Thoresby, whose wife was a daughter of Sir Henry Massingberd bart. of Bratof, and therefore first cousin to Burrell Massingberd.

This relationship with the patron may well explain why Wesley's attitude to Castleton's mistress made life uncomfortable for himself and his family at South Ormsby.

It is also worth noting that Massingberd writes as follows:

It was while he was Rector of Ormsby that Samuel Wesley published his *Life of Christ*, "an heroic Poem dedicated to her most sacred Majesty". The Queen to whom it was dedicated was Mary, the wife of William III, who is said to have had a high opinion of him, and to have intended to make him a Bishop. The Poem is not remarkable for poetic talent, but it contains an allusion to the writer's situation at Ormsby Parsonage, which is curious and interesting. Describing the place where he was living, he says:—

Or from the face of men remov'd away,
In a mean cot composed of reeds and clay,
Wasting in sighs the uncomfortable day:
Near where the unhospitable Humber roars
Devouring by degrees the neighb'ring shores.

It would seem from this that the Rector was not so well pleased with his residence as some of his successors have been, though the condition of the house itself may have been some excuse. It is described in a Terrier of that date, as 'consisting of three bays, composed of mud and stud, and thatched, and fronting South to the Town-street'. The Parsonage then stood, where was the pretty little house that was pulled down in 1850, immediately under the Church hill, and some of the 'mud and stud' of Samuel Wesley's house was not pulled down till a new kitchen was built about the year 1822. But how could it 'front South to the Town street'? Because the high road then passed under the Church hill, and so across what is now the middle of the Park to Tetford. . . .

Samuel Wesley left Ormsby in 1695, for his successor, Thomas Raven, was admitted Nov. 18, 1695, so that he was Rector less than 5 years. The Parish Register at Swaby shows that Mr. Wesley served that Parish as Curate in 1694-5, and that of S. Thoresby that he was Curate there in 1693.

It seems odd that the Marquis of Normanby has for so long been the subject of such a mistaken story. Adam Clarke perhaps assumed that the nobleman at Ormsby was the Marquis because he had heard John Wesley mention him in other connexions. After all, the influence of the Sheffield family, of whom the Marquis was a member, was considerable in the Isle of Axholme. It would be interesting to know more of the Viscount Castleton and his rather mysterious mistress!

TERENCE R. LEACH.

1188. EAYRS ESSAY PRIZES.

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

31. 1965-6. "Methodism in its relation to the English Free Churches: 1892-1940."

No entry received.

32. 1966-7. "The Ecclesiological Views of J. H. Rigg and his Generation."

First prize—Rev. David J. Moody, LL.B., B.D.

Second prize—No award.

EDITOR.

1189. CENTENARY TICKETS, 1839.

Referring to Note No. 1182 (*Proceedings*, xxxvi, p. 160), Mr. Leslie W. Kinsey of Chelmsford has produced two Centenary Tickets, entitled; "Pontefract Wesleyan Centenary Festival, 28th Oct., 1839". These are now in the City Road Archives.

EDITOR.

1190. ORIGINAL METHODISTS.

In Part VII of his "History of the Original Methodists" (*Proceedings*, xxxvi, pp. 143-7), Mr. Grundy refers to the Primitive Methodist chapel at the rear of No. 25, Portland Row, Selston.

It is interesting to note that when the 1851 Census was taken, Nos. 25 and 26, Portland Row were occupied as one dwelling, which was used as an ale-house besides housing the chapel. It also probably performed the function of a "tommy shop", as did the other ale-house mentioned by Mr. Grundy at No. 1, Portland Row.

Mr. Grundy's reference to the property being "made over to the PM Connexion" is confusing, because the only house on Portland Row sold by the Butterley Company before Vesting Day (1st January 1947) was No. 47.

A. R. GRIFFIN (Mansfield, Notts).

1191. JOHN GRACE AND JOHN GRANT.

In *Proceedings*, xxix, p. 2, Dr. Frank Baker says that John Grace was "familiarily known as 'the Walking Bible'". This identification appears to rest on Telford's note in the *Standard Letters*, viii, p. 177, which reads: "John Grace . . . was a very able preacher, known as 'the Walking Bible'; he died in 1811." The index to the *Standard Letters* lists "Grace, John, 'The Walking Bible'".

Comparison of the obituaries of John Grace and John Grant, however, suggests that Telford has confused these two men. Both obituaries appeared in 1812, Grant having died in October 1811 and Grace in July 1812; but it is Grant's obituary which reads: "He had a memory so richly stored with the Word of God, that he was, by many emphatically denominated, 'The Walking Bible'." See also *Wesleyan Takings*, i, p. 312.

PETER HOWARD.