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# Proceedings

OF THE

## Wesley Historical Society

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### THE CONVERSIONS OF JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY AND THEIR PLACE IN METHODIST TRADITION

(Continued from page 53)

#### II

IF it were the case (as we have argued) that the Wesley brothers differed in their teaching regarding justifying faith, we should expect to find this difference being mirrored in the conversion experiences of their followers: that those who had been instructed by John reported one type of conversion, while those who had been influenced more by Charles testified to another. And, indeed, we find this to be the case.

A full examination of the evidence is not possible here, but a sensitive indication of eighteenth-century Methodist attitudes is provided by the testimonies of the early preachers as these are found in *Wesley's Veterans*;<sup>1</sup> and we can see quite clearly that these men, who in their turn influenced many hundreds of Methodist people in the circuits which they served, had been in some cases followers of John and in others of Charles, in the kind of conversion they had looked for and found.

We find that fourteen<sup>2</sup> of these thirty-six preachers report their conversion in the way John Wesley had outlined it. Two of these accounts are given as examples of the rest.

John Nelson, having resolved "neither to eat nor drink" till he had found the kingdom of God, recalls:

I kneeled before the Lord some time, and saw myself a criminal before the Judge; then I said, "Lord, Thy will be done; damn or save!" That moment Jesus Christ was as evidently set before the eye of my mind, as crucified for my sins, as if I had seen Him with my bodily eyes; and in that instant my heart was set at liberty from guilt and tormenting fear,

<sup>1</sup> ed. J. Telford (7 vols.), n.d.

<sup>2</sup> See (ibid.) i, pp. 75, 118; ii, pp. 10, 183; iii, p. 16; v, pp. 27, 233, 244; vi, pp. 239, 245; vii, pp. 18, 140, 205, 236.

and filled with a calm and serene peace. I could then say, without any dread or fear, "Thou art my Lord and my God."<sup>3</sup>

James Rogers, similarly, was praying for faith with two others, when, he said,

In that solemn moment, all the sufferings of Christ came to my mind. By the eye of faith I had as real a view of His agony on Calvary as ever I had of any object by the eye of sense. . . . But oh what a look was that! Such an inexpressible degree of approbation was communicated to my soul thereby as I shall never forget. . . . In that moment my burden was gone; my heart was brought out of bondage into glorious liberty.<sup>4</sup>

The pattern here is plain. Labouring along with the faith of a servant, the sinner in conversion experienced first a sudden almost visionary certainty that "Christ died for me" (justifying faith); and this was followed immediately by a distinct sense of pardon and peace with God (saving faith).

The rest of the *Lives*, however, turn upon a conversion of the type suggested by Charles Wesley, in which the faith of a servant (which includes a certainty of an interest in Christ's death) is actively exercised, and so gives way at last directly to that sense of pardon and peace which is saving faith. Once again, two representative examples are given.

Thomas Rankin tells how he "sought the knowledge of salvation" with his whole heart. In a darkness of soul, he "wrestled with God" for peace, being already intellectually convinced "that Christ's blood was spilt for me". In this state he continued some weeks, until:

One morning . . . I began to wrestle with God in an agony of prayer. I called out, "Lord, I have wrestled long, and have not yet prevailed: Oh, let me now prevail!" The whole passage of Jacob's wrestling with the Angel came into my mind; and I called out aloud, "I will not let Thee go, unless Thou bless me!" In a moment the cloud burst, and tears of love flowed from my eyes; when these words were applied to my soul, many times over, "And he blessed him there." They came with the Holy Ghost, and with much assurance; and my whole soul was overwhelmed with the presence of God. Every doubt of my acceptance was now gone.<sup>5</sup>

George Story also tells how, whilst he knew that his heart was "full of pride, ambition, anger, evil desire, unbelief, and everything that was vile and vain", he was "delighted with the discovery of the divinity of Christ and the atonement which He made for sinners". Thus he "began to look up for the pardon of sin", knowing that "to forgive was God's prerogative, and to believe was my duty". He goes on:

This believing for salvation I found was a distinct thing from believing I was saved: I found it implied the lifting up of my heart to the Lord in fervent prayer, looking to Him with a single eye and steady aim, without evil reasonings or vain wanderings; cleaving to Him with all my strength, casting my soul upon His mercy, and depending upon His promises.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, iii, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, vii, p. 140.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, vi, p. 126.

At last he had a "clear manifestation of pardoning mercy".<sup>6</sup>

The evidence of these preachers seems to be plain. It shows that in Methodism, in the early years of the revival, conversion was looked for in two ways, and that the method of receiving justification expressed by Charles Wesley's hymns was at least as influential as that outlined in John's *Minutes* and *Sermons*.

In the years following Wesley's death, it can be assumed that both points of view were expressed in the preaching and teaching of Methodism, although an examination of the published sermons and works belonging to that period shows that Charles Wesley's teaching was more commonly put forward.<sup>7</sup> No one, however, seemed to realize the incompatibility between these two concepts of justifying faith until 1806, when Joseph Cooke published two sermons *On Justification by Faith and the Witness of the Spirit*.

Other points are made in these sermons with which we are not directly concerned, but Cooke's relevant claim was this: that it is absurd to say that justifying faith is *an assurance* of any kind. He states that many Methodists had been taught to regard justifying faith "as being so *immediately* the gift of God, as to be utterly inconceivable, till the moment he bestows it", and Cooke insists, on the other hand, that

believing, loving, and rejoicing are the acts of man. And it should never be forgotten; that the *believing*, which is the mean of *justification*, is not a *being* or *substance*, which may be conferred upon a man, but an *action* to be performed by him.

i.e. it is "receiving" or "trusting in Christ".<sup>8</sup>

Joseph Cooke's sermons caused something of a stir in Methodism, and led to his expulsion from the ranks of the Wesleyan preachers by the Conference of 1806; but the matter did not rest there.<sup>9</sup>

In 1809 Melville Horne again opened up the question in *An Investigation of the Definition of Justifying Faith, the Damnatory Clause under which it is Enforced, And the Doctrine of A Direct Witness of the Spirit, Held by Dr. Coke, and other Methodist Preachers*. One of Horne's main points is that an assurance "that Christ *now* loved me . . . has no relation to justifying faith". He examines the definition of justifying faith

which is stated to be "A conviction of the Spirit, that Christ loved me, and gave himself for me."

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, ii, p. 244.

<sup>7</sup> e.g. Joseph Sutcliffe: *The Doctrines of Faith, of Regeneration, of Assurance, and of Present Salvation* (1806), p. 13, for John Wesley's doctrine (which is, however, misstated); and, for Charles's view, William Myles: *Justification by Faith* (1803), p. 6; *Methodist Magazine*, 1807, p. 359.

<sup>8</sup> 2nd edn. (1806), pp. 13, 23 f.

<sup>9</sup> He was answered by E. Hare (*Remarks on Two Sermons . . .* (1806), *Genuine Methodism Acquitted . . .* Pt. 1, and *The Sentence [sic] Confirm'd . . .* Pt. 2 (1807)). Meanwhile he had responded with *Methodism Condemned by Methodist Preachers . . .* (1807).

He comments :

1. I deny that *any* conviction of the Spirit is an act of faith. . . . in faith, I must receive Christ, and submit to him ; which are both acts of my prevented will . . .
2. In the above definition is included nothing of the primary idea of faith, which is to believe in Christ, to receive him, trust in him, come to him, follow him, . . . submit to him, &c. &c. The definition is, therefore, *radically* defective.

Horne's conclusion is clear : " No assurance can be faith, any more than the *effect* can be its own *cause* " ; and he says of those Methodist preachers who accept the above definition :

You renounce . . . justification by faith. You lay another foundation, even *Assurance*, and preach salvation by *Assurance*, justification by *Assurance* alone. . . . You invert the whole order of Scripture and of experience.<sup>10</sup>

Answers to these accusations were soon forthcoming,<sup>11</sup> but the most important was by Thomas Coke himself,<sup>12</sup> whose preaching at Macclesfield had provoked Melville Horne into writing his *Investigation*. Coke's reply is long, vague and wordy, and quite plainly the author was unsure of his ground as he tried to expound Wesley's doctrine and defend it. In an important passage Coke set out the stages of a man's progress towards conversion, and it is here that we discover what his belief was regarding justifying faith. Having learned the facts about justification through Christ, the sinner is enabled (says Coke)

to believe that the promises of God are sure, that his mercies are from everlasting to everlasting, and that it is through the Lord's mercies that he is not consumed. With these views before him, he includes himself in the number of those sinners for whom Christ died, and feels disposed to part with all for Christ. Thus circumstanced, he cries in his heart, " Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief," and ventures upon him with an earnest expectation, and strong persuasion, that he shall be received ; and in that moment in which he *ventures* upon Christ, he is justified freely from all things.<sup>13</sup>

For all his protestations to the contrary, therefore, Thomas Coke in fact agreed with Melville Horne—and with Charles Wesley ; and John Wesley's definition was not defended at all.

In view of the unsatisfactory vagueness of Coke's reply, it is not surprising to find that Conference in 1812 urged Jabez Bunting to preach on this theme ; and his sermon, *Justification by Faith*, published in 1813 and running to many editions, seems to have stood as the official statement of Wesleyan doctrine. In this magisterial

<sup>10</sup> pp. 7 f., 11, 16.

<sup>11</sup> E. Hare : *A Letter to the Rev. Melville Horne* . . . (1809) and *A Defence of the Scriptural Doctrine of Assurance* . . . (1809) ; Anon. : *Investigation on Investigation, or The Minister of Christ Church, Macclesfield, Inconsistent with Himself* . . . By Two Gray-Headed Definition Men . . . (1810).

<sup>12</sup> *A Series of Letters Addressed to the Methodist Connexion, Explaining the Important Doctrines of Justification by Faith, and the Direct Witness of the Spirit, as taught by the Preachers of that Body* . . . (1810) (382 pp.).

<sup>13</sup> op. cit., pp. 71 ff.

sermon, Bunting says that faith is "a complex act of the mind", with "three distinct but concurrent exertions of its powers". These are: first, the "Assent of the Understanding to the testimony of the Gospel"; second, the "Consent of the Will and Affections to this plan of salvation"; and last, "Actual Trust in the Saviour, and Personal Apprehension of his merits".<sup>14</sup>

Jabez Bunting appears to have said the last word, and the debate was over. It was felt that John Wesley had been vindicated, and yet by defining justifying faith as (in Bunting's phrase) an "act of personal Trust in Christ", Methodism had turned its back on Wesley's doctrine of faith as an assurance.

Of course there were those who, conscious of their links with the past, still put forward John Wesley's point of view. Notable among these were Adam Clarke (e.g. in his sermon, *The Doctrine of Salvation by Faith Proved . . .* (1815))<sup>15</sup> and Richard Watson (in his *Life of Wesley* (1831));<sup>16</sup> but as the years went by, Charles Wesley's doctrine quietly superseded the other. When we turn the pages of those theological works which served to train successive generations of Methodist preachers and teachers, we find that justifying faith is almost invariably set out as being an act of trusting in Christ, as the following brief extracts show.

W. B. POPE: *A Compendium of Christian Theology* (1875).

The faith which is the condition and instrument of justification is the trust of the soul in Christ . . . It is a personal act of the penitent sinner.<sup>17</sup>

BENJAMIN FIELD: *The Student's Handbook of Christian Theology* (1896).

. . . the faith to which the privilege of justification is annexed is such a belief of the Gospel . . . as leads us to come to Christ, to receive Christ, to trust in Christ, and to commit the keeping of our souls into His hands.<sup>18</sup>

CHARLES O. ELDRIDGE: *A Popular Exposition of Methodist Theology* (1899).

. . . saving faith accepts the truth of the gospel, and it is the act of the soul in receiving and resting upon Christ for salvation.<sup>19</sup>

H. MALDWYN HUGHES: *Christian Foundations* (1927).

The faith that is a pre-condition of Christian conversion is . . . an apprehension of Jesus Christ as the revealer of God, and a confident surrender to Him and trust in Him.<sup>20</sup>

GREVILLE P. LEWIS (ed.): *An Approach to Christian Doctrine* (1954).

This faith is not simply an intellectual assent . . . it is an utter trust and reliance on Christ, in which we cast ourselves upon Him and Him alone for salvation.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Bunting, op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>15</sup> 2nd edn. (1819), p. 36.

<sup>16</sup> p. 165 f. (n). Yet, in this detailed exposition, greater stress is placed on "the act of . . . entire trust" than is in fact found in Wesley's works. Cf. J. Ryan: *A Sermon on the Nature of Saving Faith* (1847), pp. 9 ff., 23. See also J. A. Beet: *A Shorter Manual of Theology* (1908), p. 63, where Wesley's first self-corrected teaching is reproduced—i.e. justifying faith is an assurance of *pardon*.

<sup>18</sup> p. 205.

<sup>19</sup> pp. 102 ff.

<sup>20</sup> 4th edn. (1933), p. 151.

<sup>21</sup> p. 120.

*The Senior Catechism of the Methodist Church* (1952).

Faith in Jesus Christ is trusting in Him alone for our salvation.<sup>22</sup>

In reflecting upon this rejection of John Wesley's doctrine, the following comments may be helpful.

Firstly, it is interesting to notice that most of those who argued for and against Wesley's teaching about justifying faith did not understand at all clearly what that teaching was. Joseph Cooke, having commented (rightly) that, in his 1747 letter to Charles, John only declares "what *justifying faith is not*", adds:

... after the closest examination I have not been able to discover, in all his writings within forty years of that time, one single definition of what that faith *is*.<sup>23</sup>

We have attempted to show that it is possible to discover Wesley's definition of justifying faith; but the fact remains that his beliefs about this changed over the years, and he did not make his final position sufficiently clear. One reason, therefore, why his doctrine fell into neglect was, quite simply, that it was not properly understood by those who might have wished to defend it.

It is important, secondly, to ask whether Joseph Cooke and Melville Horne were right in their criticism of Wesley's teaching;—and two reasons may be put forward to suggest that they were.

In the first place, John Wesley's basic scriptural definition of justifying faith was ill-chosen. He regarded as fundamental to the whole matter the definition given in Hebrews xi. 1: "And what is faith? Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen." With this principle in mind, Wesley constantly taught that, in essence, faith is "seeing": the eye of faith "sees" the invisible things of God.<sup>24</sup> So far as justification is concerned, justifying faith is, therefore, "seeing" the personal relevance of Christ's death—and the accounts given by John Nelson and James Rogers, quoted above, reveal experiences of exactly this kind.

It may be questioned, however, whether Wesley chose his definition well. The Hebrews passage gives a general philosophical characterization of *faith as compared with knowledge*:<sup>25</sup> i.e. *faith* is a conviction about matters which the senses cannot explore, while *knowledge* rests upon just such empirical testing. Yet justifying faith, whilst falling within this broad category, has to do essentially with the response of the individual in self-dedication to the claims of God: it is not "seeing", but trusting. The scriptural pattern for this is to be found in the Acts of the Apostles, where, on hearing the gospel preached, people "repent and believe"; and it is this act of personal commitment which Paul expounds in those passages where he treats of justification by faith.

<sup>22</sup> Question 31. See also Arthur T. Guttery: *Christian Conversion* (1920), p. 184 f.; C. Ryder Smith: *The Christian Experience* (1926), p. 36 f.

<sup>23</sup> *Methodism Condemned by Methodist Preachers* . . . , p. 79. Nor was it realized that the views of John and Charles differed.

<sup>24</sup> e.g. *Works*, vii, pp. 195, 231 ff., 326 ff.; viii, p. 4 f.; *Letters*, v, p. 209.

<sup>25</sup> In the context the reference is particularly to faith as hope for the future.

The obscurity of Wesley's teaching about justifying faith arose, therefore, because, having taken the Hebrews text as his starting-point, he was not able to graft on to that broad philosophical definition the very different type of faith which in scripture leads to justification; and later Methodists, as well as those who first debated the issue, were for this reason right in rejecting Wesley's doctrine.

The other ground upon which John Wesley's teaching may justly be criticized is psychological. One of the findings of the psychological studies of conversion made at the turn of this century is the importance of self-surrender. The desired transition from distress to peace generally comes, it has been pointed out, when the sinner ceases to follow the dictates of his own personal will, and surrenders himself wholly to the will of God.<sup>26</sup> Both John and Charles Wesley realized the importance of this self-surrender, for they agreed in describing the faith of a servant in terms of it. The difference between them, however, was this—that for John self-surrender was not in itself justifying faith properly so called, while for Charles it was. For John, the self-abasement of the servant of God was directed towards a revelation of Christ which must be received before the sinner could have peace with God. For Charles, the self-emptying was in itself the act of faith to which peace and reconciliation are immediately given—and it is to be expected that this explanation of justifying faith, being closer to the psychological facts of the conversion process, should gain in acceptance. Charles, rather than John, had understood the psychological truth about justifying faith, and once again Methodism was right in dismissing the definition of it which John Wesley had propounded.

One other comment may be made. If the argument here put forward is sound, further evidence has been provided to show that Charles should be honoured equally with his brother as co-founder of Methodism.

It is true, of course, that John set up the Methodist organization, and that he alone took those steps which led to the eventual separation of his society from the parent Church. But if John was responsible for "our discipline", it was Charles who, with a surer understanding of the human mind and spirit, taught Methodism "our experience". It has been suggested elsewhere that, in the end, the doctrine of Christian Perfection accepted by Methodism was that of Charles rather than John.<sup>27</sup> The point is now made that the experience of conversion which has become generally accepted derives also from the younger brother. The "Wesley Day" which has in fact stood as the pattern for the religious experience of many generations of Methodists is not 24th but 21st May 1738; and it is right that due honour should be paid to the one who felt, on that day, "a strange palpitation of heart".

BERNARD G. HOLLAND.

<sup>26</sup> e.g. William James: *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), 1913 edn., pp. 209 ff.

<sup>27</sup> R. Newton Flew: *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology* (1934), p. 332 f.; Henry D. Rack: *Twentieth Century Spirituality* (1969), pp. 41, 96.

## AN UNPUBLISHED WESLEY PICTURE AND PITCHER

IN the year 1924, that indefatigable Methodist historian the Rev. John Telford compiled the *Sayings and Portraits of John Wesley*, and it is reasonable to assume that in illustrating and describing no fewer than fifty-two portraits he included all those which his considerable research had discovered. When, therefore, one comes to light which had evidently escaped his attention, it is worth noting.

The fact that the date of its production is known by the bold rendering of the year, 1825, and that it occurs in association with a wealth of detail indicative of the social conditions of its time, makes it an important historical record. Perhaps Telford never thought of examining domestic pottery, but, be that as it may, the portrait adorns a jug, and moreover a jug of considerable size, as the following dimensions show :

Outside height	...	...	9 <sup>11</sup> / <sub>16</sub> ins.
Largest circumference	...	...	2 ft. 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> ins.
Outside diameter of brim	...	...	5 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> ins.
Weight	...	...	3 lb. 12 oz. 2 dr.
Capacity	...	...	206 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> fl. oz. (i.e. 10 pints 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> fl. oz.)

This is no ordinary item of pottery made for culinary use. It must have been specially commissioned as a wedding present for the John and Jane Richardson whose names are prominently inscribed, and the enormous surface available enabled the decorative artist to display his skill in joyous abandon with a riot of colour. His choice of subjects is extraordinary, for the designs depict religion, commerce, manufacture, fraternal regard and patriotism—all surrounded with the beauties of nature.

Telford's collection of fifty-two portraits is so varied that it is difficult to believe that they are all likenesses of the same man; and the same remark can be made when one sees a collection of eighty pottery busts of Wesley. The principal feature which these have in common is the head of hair, almost shoulder-length and terminating in a majestic roll of curls, with possibly the clerical bands. The lineaments of the face range from the true model prepared from life by Enoch Wood to faces which could belong to anyone—some, in fact, are so grotesque that they are barely human.

What seemed to be a never-ending demand for busts of Wesley led to their production by potters in Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Durham, South Wales and elsewhere in great numbers. Consequently no artist could have experienced any difficulty in finding an example for his portrait of Wesley, and the one which has prompted this article could fall into that class—a copy of a copy, *ad infinitum*. To remove any possible doubt of identification, the name of the reverend gentleman is given and the emblems of his source of grace are displayed—a copy of the scriptures, a cross and a hymn-book, and with the portrait, all twice entwined.



A PRESENTATION PITCHER, 1825: FRONT VIEW.



A PRESENTATION PITCHER, 1825: SIDE VIEW.

As shown by the illustration facing page 72, this elaborate design has a central position. It is placed below the pouring-lip, and the problem which it offers is the reason for its appearance at all. Such a pronounced Methodist flavour in the decorations rather suggests that John and Jane were devoted followers of Mr. Wesley's teachings; and could it be that this gorgeous wedding present came from the members of a Wesleyan chapel where the bride and groom were held in high esteem?

Clasped hands with a verse repeated (see the illustration opposite)

No jarring Discord in our Lives should be,  
 We should in Voice, in Heart, in Hand agree;  
 Our Words, our Actions and our Thoughts should prove  
 The Force of Concord, Harmony and Love

suggest the way to connubial bliss; but the same sentiments could also apply to the members of a friendly society. The ribbon immediately above the hands clasped in union carries the words "Success to the friendly Association of Cotton Spinners".

Turning to other features of the decorations which, like the verse, appear on both sides of the jug, the most striking is the piece of machinery with man and child in the foreground. The label, "The Spinning Machine", leaves us in no doubt as to the nature of this contraption. It is a cotton spinning-mule, which could be adapted to be driven by either water- or steam-power—a development of Samuel Crompton's "Mule" of 1779, and two workers were required to operate it. The adult—always a man and never a woman—was the journeyman cotton-spinner, and had to be highly skilled; he had working with him "a little piecer", whose principal functions were to tie broken threads and to pick up waste.

This part of the picture comes within a beaded circle, which in turn is flanked by bales of cotton, a cotton-tree, and a fully-rigged ship ploughing the main. The extremities of the previously-mentioned ribbon have the words "Success to Commerce" and "Success to the Cotton Tree", though the final word, being blurred, may have been intended for "Trade". The appearance of the crown, described as "Britain's Glory", suggests loyalty, while "Liberty to the Sons of Britain" may have had some bearing on the desire for Parliamentary reform which was being canvassed at that time. The whole of these designs is encircled, the lower part with two leafy branches tied with ribbon, while the upper part of the wreath consists of two trailing garlands fruited with hops and also tied in a bow. Floral emphasis appears in every direction, for not only is the Wesley portrait separated from the other pictures by elegant sprays, but the deep neck of the jug has also received such treatment, plus the addition of two colourful birds of paradise. This liberality of decoration is produced in many colours, including the use of copper lustre, and whilst one would like to know more about potter and artist, one has to be content with knowing that this huge jug or pitcher was made in Hanley; the all-important word which

precedes Hanley, and which would be the potter's name, is unfortunately blurred.

What more can one learn from this piece of craftsmanship which has now survived for one hundred and forty-six years? Who were the original recipients, and where did they live?

At the beginning of the last century the cotton trade, like the linen trade, was developing all over the country, and mills were to be found, and still exist, in Scotland; but the reference to "the friendly Association of Cotton Spinners" reminds one that there was a spinners' trade club or union of considerable strength in Manchester in 1825. Indeed, similar bodies were formed in other towns on the fringe of Manchester. All these associations had friendly-society objects as well as union aims, and in 1826 they were of sufficient strength to organize a strike on a big scale. The members of these societies would be hand-mule spinners; but inventive genius was at work, and within a year or so the self-acting mule made its appearance. Its widespread adoption had many repercussions: it put the journeyman cotton-spinners out of business; they were superseded by female operatives, and the men thus made redundant often turned to keeping public-houses.

Dr. W. H. Chaloner of Manchester has kindly pointed out to me that in the Manchester and Salford Directory for 1825 (this being volume II of the *History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster*, by E. Baines, sen.) no fewer than nine John Richardsons are listed. Three of these were victuallers, and four others were respectively stonemason, tobacconist, shoemaker, and grocer and tea-dealer; one is undescribed, and finally there is John Richardson, jun., an attorney. The latter, his father still living, would have been of some standing in the community—perhaps the secretary of a "friendly Association of Cotton Spinners", as well as being a pillar of a Wesleyan chapel. But this we do not know, though it is tempting to think that this was the John who along with his Jane received this remarkable presentation pitcher on the occasion of their wedding in 1825.

HORACE HIRD.

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Among publications recently sent to us are the following, which we have been pleased to place in the library.

*Die Evangelisch-Methodistische Kirche in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* (pp. 48, illustrated).

*Association Records of the Particular Baptists of England, Wales and Ireland to 1660*, Part I, South Wales and the Midlands. Edited by B. R. White and published by the Baptist Historical Society (pp. 50, price 75p.).

*Some of my Memories*, by Irene Martin (pp. 80). Copies, price £1 50p., obtainable from the author at 11, Mornington Villas, Bradford, Yorks.

*A Handlist of Methodist Local Histories of Greater Manchester, 1827-1970*, by E. A. Rose. Copies obtainable from the author at 18, Glenthorpe Drive, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancs (no price stated).

# JAMES MONTGOMERY IN METHODIST HYMNALS

JAMES MONTGOMERY, the bicentenary of whose birth falls in the last quarter of 1971,<sup>1</sup> was a man of many parts. A Moravian layman, the editor of a radical newspaper who knew what the inside of York Castle prison looked like, a lecturer on poetry at the Royal Institution in London, he had great affection and high regard for Methodism. His impressive advocacy of the cause of foreign missions made him a popular choice as a speaker at Wesleyan Methodist missionary meetings and rallies. He died on the same day as Robert Newton, and there were not lacking those in Methodism who saw this double loss as portentous.<sup>2</sup>

In his day he was known as "the Christian Poet", and it is as a hymn-writer that he is best remembered. His gifts in this field were considerable, though very few of his hymns are of outstanding quality. He wrote with lucidity but with little originality, and his lines often suggest an indebtedness to Watts and Charles Wesley. On the whole, his versifications of the Psalms are superior to his original hymns, though "Stand up and bless the Lord" and "Angels from the realms of glory" are original hymns of a very high order. His version of Psalm lxxii, "Hail to the Lord's anointed", is his finest composition, as good as—if not better than—Watts's paraphrase of the same psalm, "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun".

Montgomery's hymnody is not a subject immediately germane to a journal devoted to Methodist history, but it seems fitting that, in this bicentenary year, some account should be given of the use which Methodists have made of Montgomery's hymns in their hymnals. The hymnals noted below are only a representative selection of British Methodist books which have been published since Montgomery's death, but the details extracted from them convey some impression of the continuing influence of "the Christian Poet" in Methodism.

The Wesleyan hymn-book of 1876 (Wesley's 1780 *Collection of Hymns* with its second official supplement) contains fourteen hymns by Montgomery:

No.	First line
558	One thing with all my soul's desire
565	Lord, let me know mine end
586	Hail to the Lord's anointed
587	In time of tribulation
589	Of old, O God, Thine own right hand
597	Call Jehovah thy salvation
619	Glad was my heart to hear
739	Sow in the morn thy seed
746	The heathen perish: day by day
823	Prayer is the soul's sincere desire

<sup>1</sup> James Montgomery was born on 4th November 1771.

<sup>2</sup> See *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1854, p. 757.

- 865 Lord, teach us how to pray aright  
 908 Be known to us in breaking bread  
 944 For ever with the Lord  
 993 This stone to Thee in faith we lay

The (Wesleyan) *Methodist Sunday-School Hymn and Tune-Book* of 1879 contains the following sixteen :

- 5 Glory to the Father give  
 31 Songs of praise, the angels sang  
 80 Hosanna ! be the children's song  
 128 Angels from the realms of glory  
 155 When Jesus left the throne of God  
 258 Prayer is the soul's sincere desire  
 269 Almighty God ! in humble prayer  
 284 There is a precious day  
 423 Love is the theme of saints above  
 445 For ever with the Lord  
 512 A children's temple here we build  
 544 Thy throne, O God, in righteousness  
 551 Hail to the Lord's anointed  
 554 Hark ! the song of jubilee  
 561 Sow in the morn thy seed  
 576 Be known to us in breaking bread

Increasing numbers of Montgomery hymns are found in three hymn-books produced by non-Wesleyan sections of Methodism in 1888-9. The United Methodist Free Churches' collection, *Methodist Free Church Hymns* (after 1907 this title appeared beneath the heading *United Methodist Church Hymnal*), contained twenty-six :

- 17 The God of nature and of grace  
 80 Angels from the realms of glory  
 104 Go to dark Gethsemane  
 130 Lord God, the Holy Ghost  
 204 Songs of praise the angels sang  
 211 Stand up and bless the Lord  
 278 At evening time when day is done  
 319 Come to Calvary's holy mountain  
 533 God ! be merciful to me  
 539 Father ! Thy will, not mine, be done  
 627 Prayer is the soul's sincere desire  
 666 Sow in the morn thy seed  
 704 Come in, thou blessed of the Lord  
 709 Lord, pour Thy Spirit from on high  
 711 We bid thee welcome in the name  
 725 According to Thy gracious word  
 758 Friend after friend departs  
 776 For ever with the Lord  
 778 O where shall rest be found  
 804 Hail to the Lord's anointed  
 806 Hark ! the song of jubilee  
 852 The God of harvest praise  
 866 This stone to Thee in faith we lay  
 894 Lord of Hosts, to Thee we raise  
 896 Now weigh the anchor, hoist the sail  
 953 Thousands, O Lord of Hosts ! this day

The 1888 Bible Christian *Collection of Hymns* (also afterwards headed *United Methodist Church Hymnal*) had thirty-one :

- 7 Holy, holy, holy Lord
- 105 Angels from the realms of glory
- 140 Go to dark Gethsemane
- 160 When on Sinai's top I see
- 224 Lord God, the Holy Ghost
- 392 Prayer is the soul's sincere desire
- 499 For ever with the Lord
- 524 Friend after friend departs
- 541 Palms of glory, raiment bright
- 575 Pour out Thy Spirit from on high
- 593 Command Thy blessing from above
- 605 Millions within Thy courts have met
- 610 Songs of praise the angels sang
- 612 Stand up and bless the Lord
- 619 To Thy temple I repair
- 653 O God, Thou art my God alone
- 659 Hail to the Lord's anointed
- 660 In time of tribulation
- 667 Call Jehovah thy salvation
- 715 Lord, teach us how to pray aright
- 718 Our heavenly Father, hear
- 733 According to Thy gracious word
- 738 Come in, thou blessèd of the Lord
- 766 Hark ! the song of jubilee
- 771 O Spirit of the living God
- 777 Sow in the morn thy seed
- 794 This stone to Thee in faith we lay
- 803 Lord of Hosts, to Thee we raise
- 809 A children's temple here we build
- 815 When, like a stranger on our sphere
- 887 Thousands, O Lord of hosts ! this day

The greatest corpus of Montgomery hymns found in any Methodist hymn-book appeared in the *Primitive Methodist Hymnal* of 1889. No fewer than forty-six are included :

- 12 Songs of praise the angels sang
- 14 Holy, holy, holy Lord
- 20 The God of nature and of grace
- 77 Bright and joyful is the morn
- 80 Angels from the realms of glory
- 98 Go to dark Gethsemane
- 133 Hail to the Lord's anointed
- 168 O Spirit of the living God
- 177 Lord God, the Holy Ghost
- 265 Come to Calvary's holy mountain
- 292 Mercy alone can meet my case
- 368 I love the Lord, He lent an ear
- 455 In the hour of trial
- 488 O God, Thou art my God alone
- 496 One thing with all my soul's desire
- 529 Come in, thou blessèd of the Lord
- 551 For ever with the Lord

- 596 Sow in the morn thy seed  
 639 Call Jehovah thy salvation  
 665 Prayer is the soul's sincere desire  
 686 We bid thee welcome in the name  
 687 Pour out Thy Spirit from on high  
 689 A blessing on Thy servant's head  
 694 Rest from thy labours, rest  
 696 Servant of God, well done !  
 704 Go to the grave in all thy glorious prime  
 709 Daughter of Zion, from the dust  
 729 According to Thy gracious word  
 749 Millions within Thy courts have met  
 778 Command Thy blessing from above  
 779 Sing we the song of those who stand  
 786 Glad was my heart to hear  
 787 Stand up and bless the Lord  
 788 To Thy temple I repair  
 800 Thousands, O Lord of hosts ! this day  
 813 Not here, as to the prophet's eye  
 816 This stone to Thee in faith we lay  
 847 Hark ! the song of jubilee  
 850 Home, kindred, friends, and country—these  
 852 What are those soul-reviving strains  
 853 With heart and soul, with mind and might  
 892 We lift our eyes, our hands to Thee  
 896 The God of harvest praise  
 986 Friend after friend departs  
 1023 O where shall rest be found  
 1049 Let me go, the day is breaking

To these forty-six hymns the Primitive Methodist *Supplement* in 1912 found it necessary to add only two :

- 10 O my soul, with all thy powers  
 68 Lift up your heads, ye gates of brass

In 1890 the Methodist New Connexion published *Hymns for Divine Worship*, incorporating the following twenty hymns by Montgomery :

- 76 To Thy temple I repair  
 116 O my soul, with all thy powers  
 123 Holy, holy, holy Lord  
 129 Call Jehovah thy salvation  
 203 Come, let us sing the song of songs  
 248 Go to dark Gethsemane  
 286 Hail to the Lord's anointed  
 293 Lord God, the Holy Ghost  
 362 Come to Calvary's holy mountain  
 622 O God, Thou art my God alone  
 841 Friend after friend departs  
 844 For ever with the Lord  
 897 According to Thy gracious word  
 911 Pour out Thy Spirit from on high  
 927 This stone to Thee in faith we lay  
 935 O Spirit of the living God  
 949 Sow in the morn thy seed

- 950 Hark ! the song of jubilee  
 979 There is a precious day  
 997 It is the Lord !—Behold His hand

The *Primitive Methodist Sunday School Hymnal* in 1900 was more restrained than the adult book of 1889, and supplied only eight Montgomery hymns :

- 26 O my soul, with all thy powers  
 68 Angels from the realms of glory  
 110 When Jesus left His Father's throne  
 171 Hail to the Lord's anointed  
 344 Sow in the morn thy seed  
 358 Prayer is the soul's sincere desire  
 486 Hark ! the song of jubilee  
 566 A children's temple here we build

The 1904 *Methodist Hymn-Book* produced jointly by the Wesleyan Methodists, the Methodist New Connexion and the Wesleyan Reform Union contained almost the same selection of Montgomery hymns as the 1876 book. "Lord, let me know mine end" and "Of old, O God, Thine own right hand" were dropped, and "Go to dark Gethsemane" and "According to Thy gracious word" brought in.

The joint Wesleyan-United *Methodist School Hymnal* in 1911 was even more sparing than the PM Sunday-school book, four hymns only being selected :

- 121 Glory to the Father give  
 135 Hosanna ! be the children's song  
 353 Prayer is the soul's sincere desire  
 482 Hail to the Lord's anointed

Fourteen hymns by Montgomery appear in the 1933 *Methodist Hymn-Book* :

- 119 Angels from the realms of glory  
 194 Go to dark Gethsemane  
 245 Hail to the Lord's anointed  
 265 Lift up your heads, ye gates of brass  
 298 Lord God the Holy Ghost  
 533 Prayer is the soul's sincere desire  
 539 Lord, teach us how to pray aright  
 599 Sow in the morn thy seed  
 658 For ever with the Lord  
 680 Glad was my heart to hear  
 685 Stand up and bless the Lord  
 763 According to Thy gracious word  
 766 Be known to us in breaking bread  
 829 Hark ! the song of jubilee

To these fourteen, two hymns have been added in the 1969 supplement, *Hymns and Songs* :

- 14 Command Thy blessing from above  
 64 Songs of praise the angels sang

The current *School Hymn-Book of the Methodist Church* (1950) contains four :

- 29 Songs of praise the angels sang  
 97 Angels from the realms of glory  
 187 Hail to the Lord's anointed  
 294 Sow in the morn thy seed

There is only one Montgomery hymn which has a place in every collection (excluding, of course, the supplements)—“Hail to the Lord's anointed”, which undoubtedly belongs to the handful of hymns by “the Christian Poet” which may be expected to survive. Our survey indicates, however, how valuable a contribution Montgomery has made to the praises of Methodism to this day.

In conclusion, we may profitably quote Montgomery's special tribute to Methodism: the “Centenary Hymn”, written in January 1839, and “sung throughout the Connexion”.<sup>3</sup> This hymn does scant justice to Montgomery's poetic gift, but it well illustrates his admiration for Methodism:

One song of praise, one voice of prayer,  
 Around, above, below;—  
 Ye winds and waves, the burden bear,—  
 “A hundred years ago!”  
 “A hundred years ago!”—What then?  
 —There rose, the world to bless,  
 A little band of faithful men,  
 A cloud of witnesses.  
 It look'd but like a human hand;  
 Few welcom'd it, none fear'd;  
 Yet, as it open'd o'er the land,  
 The hand of God appear'd.  
 The Lord made bare his holy arm,  
 In sight of earth and hell;  
 Fiends fled before it with alarm,  
 And alien armies fell.  
 God gave the word, and great hath been  
 The preachers' company;  
 What wonders have our fathers seen!  
 What signs their children see!  
 One song of praise for mercies past,  
 Through all our courts resound;  
 One voice of prayer, that to the last  
 Grace may much more abound.  
 All hail “a hundred years ago!”  
 —And when our lips are dumb,  
 Be millions heard rejoicing so,  
 A hundred years to come!<sup>4</sup>

NEIL DIXON.

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<sup>3</sup> G. J. Stevenson: *The Methodist Hymn Book* (1898), p. 344.

<sup>4</sup> *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1839, p. 336.

## JOHN WESLEY AND THE GREEK ORTHODOX BISHOP

EARLY in 1763 John Wesley arranged for the ordination of a tried and trusted colleague by a bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church. The incident is well known, but its context and chronology and the identity of the bishop repay further study.

Interpretation of the events depends on two positions which John Wesley in the 1760s still firmly held: his determination not to allow his unordained preachers to administer the sacraments and his refusal to be tied down to any locality.<sup>1</sup>

The years 1761-3 were of such rapid growth in Methodism that the need for ordained help became desperate, particularly in London. In his own *Short History of Methodism*, Wesley records that numbers rose from 3,200 in 1761 to 8,200 in 1763. Yet in these very years he lost the only ordained help he could rely upon; his brother Charles refused to come to his aid in London;<sup>2</sup> he could get no help from the other evangelical clergy, many of whom were Calvinists. Thomas Maxfield, who had been ordained specifically to help him with the sacraments, became unstable, progressively unhelpful, and in 1763 left him, taking with him 106 members of the society.<sup>3</sup> With Maxfield went the ordained Benjamin Colley. Wesley, therefore, was faced with a serious crisis. His main alternatives—to remain anchored in London or himself to ordain a helper—were equally abhorrent. If he left London without the service of the sacraments, the membership would further and dangerously diminish; and to ordain—as, he believed, when the need was imperative a presbyter had the right to do,<sup>4</sup> would carry the extreme risk of separation from the Church of England and be bitterly opposed by his brother and the evangelical clergy. Before he took either step he would make a new approach to the evangelicals for help. This he did, but meanwhile, between 1762 and the summer of 1763, there appeared another alternative.

<sup>1</sup> In the process of this inquiry the author has been under great obligation to the following: Sir Stephen Runciman for personal interest, and in particular for his work *The Great Church in Captivity*; Dr. F. Walton for his generous and erudite help, and his staff at the Gennadius Library, the American School of Classical Studies, Athens; Dr. S. Spoelstra of the University of Amsterdam; Mr. A. G. Ives, author of *Kingswood School in Wesley's Day and since*, an essential mentor; Mr. Philip Argenti; the author's son Hugh, of the British School of Archæology, Athens; Mr. N. Stavrinidis of the Heraklion Library; Dr. John C. Bowmer of the Methodist Archives, London, for his patience and knowledge, and for much of the text; and Mr. J. W. Gardner of Kingswood for reading the bishop's Greek.

<sup>2</sup> See *Letters*, iv, pp. 201-4.

<sup>3</sup> See *Journal*, iv, p. 480; v, pp. 7, 10; *Letters*, iv, pp. 191-4, 201-4; letter from John Jones to Charles Wesley, April 1762, in the Methodist Archives, London.

<sup>4</sup> For this, and its relation to the question of apostolic succession, see A. B. Lawson: *John Wesley and the Christian Ministry* (SPCK, 1963) and C. W. Williams: *John Wesley's Theology Today* (Epworth Press).

In a letter to the *St. James's Chronicle*, a month after the episode was over, Wesley himself describes it. In February 1765 he wrote:

A year or two ago I found a stranger perishing for want and expecting daily to be thrown into prison. He told me he was a *Greek* bishop.<sup>5</sup> It was the coming of this man, who, if genuine, must be in the line of apostolic succession, that led Wesley to take the hazardous step of using him to ordain his chief assistant. Wesley's extreme need, the timely appearance of this bishop, and the character of his assistant, all coincided.

If Wesley seems to have acted erratically and out of character in taking this lesser risk (lesser since he himself avoided ordaining), a forgotten background should be recalled. When, in 1720, Wesley entered Christ Church, Oxford, the attempted reunion between the Anglican (largely Non-juror) and the Greek Orthodox Church, which sought collaboration against Rome,<sup>6</sup> was an important intellectual and religious interest, which he did not forget. Now in 1764 he must have had it at the back of his mind. Very possibly he met the bishop earlier, as we shall see.

The clinching factor in Wesley's decision was the character of his assistant. This man was John Jones, A.M., M.D., of Trinity College, Oxford. Apart from Wesley's fire, dominance, mobility and genius, Jones and Wesley had much in common. They shared a steadfast adherence to the Church of England, Arminian theology, Tory politics; both had a keen interest in the Non-jurors; the preaching of both was reasoned, analytic and effective—Mrs. Edwin said she benefited even more from Jones's than from Wesley's;<sup>7</sup> they were both interested in science and medicine, and the pressing need for Christian education—hence Wesley's choice of Jones to launch his venture at Kingswood School.<sup>8</sup> Since 1747, Jones had been Wesley's principal assistant and personal confidant; he was also the steady and reliable friend of both brothers and of the Countess of Huntingdon, and the intermediary between the Bristol and London societies. If Wesley was going to have anyone ordained, Jones it was whose ordination would create least opposition.

Now in describing the course of events, the earliest information we have is in Wesley's letter, cited above, with which we now continue. Having met the bishop, Wesley was not precipitate, but circumspect. He says: "I examined his credentials, and was fully satisfied." All sources say that the Greek called himself Erasmus, bishop of Arkadia in Crete. This was confirmed, first by the Patriarch of Smyrna, to whom Jones wrote at Wesley's request, and also by "certain gentlemen of the bishop's acquaintance in Turkey". Tyerman reports Wesley as saying that he had "abundant, unexceptional credentials as to his episcopal character". Wesley himself continues:

<sup>5</sup> *Letters*, iv, p. 289.

<sup>6</sup> Runciman, *op. cit.*, chapter 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Howell Harris's Visits to London* (Aberystwyth, *Cambrian News Press*), p. 204.

<sup>8</sup> A. G. Ives, *op. cit.*

After much conversation (in Latin and Greek, for he spoke no English at all) I determined to relieve him effectively; which I did without delay, and promised to send him back to Amsterdam, where he had several friends of his own nation. And this I did, without any farther view, merely upon motives of humanity. After this he ordained Mr. John Jones, a man well versed both in the languages and other parts of learning.<sup>9</sup>

The ordination of John Jones was at Wesley's request: the degree of his "brinkmanship" was the measure of his need.

Wesley gave this ordination no precise date; but two letters help us. On Thursday, 1st March 1764, he wrote from London to his brother in Bristol:

You "have no thoughts of venturing to London before May"! Then I must indeed "do the best I can". So I will comply with the advice of the Stewards, as well as my own judgement, and insist upon John Jones's assisting me on Sunday. I have delayed all this time purely out of tenderness to *you*.<sup>10</sup>

Before this date, therefore, Jones has been ordained, but is restrained from acting as a clergyman.

The second letter tells us that John Wesley went to Bristol on or shortly before 12th March to consult his brother on this matter, and the cause of his journey. On 13th March, one B. Richards wrote to Charles Wesley, saying that he hoped he would come to London, for there was grave disturbance caused by "Dr. Jones officiating as a clergyman among us". His objections, given at length, were that the Greek Church "abounds in errors almost as bad as the Papists"; that it would disaffect the English bishops who could not themselves ordain out of their own dioceses; that it was the "wrongest step" ever taken, one which would most expose the Methodists to the "rage of their enemies".

Attached to this letter is a list of four "Reasons humbly offered" against the ordination, again given at length, which were: (i) great doubts in 1763 whether the bishop was genuine or had left his own country for crime or misbehaviour; (ii) that, if genuine, he had no right to ordain here, and that anyone ordained by him would be liable to prosecution in the Ecclesiastical Court; (iii) that the ordination would divide the societies, and should not be permitted without the consent of both the Wesley brothers; (iv) that only if the Methodists were registered as dissenters could a Methodist ordained by this bishop avoid the risk of a fine of £100 under the Act of Uniformity for every illegal celebration.<sup>11</sup>

To put it mildly, this document, a copy of which Richards had given to John Wesley, caused acute concern, whether or not the letter means that the celebration of the sacrament by Dr. Jones, already long delayed, is still under consideration or has taken place on the Sunday, 4th March. Its result was that Wesley extended his

<sup>9</sup> *Letters*, iv, pp. 289-90.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, iv, p. 230.

<sup>11</sup> Letter in the Methodist Archives. But who was B. Richards?

meeting with his brother into a wider conference. In his *Journal* for 16th March he says: "I met several serious clergymen". This group of "awakened clergy" in Bristol deserves to be better known. They met with Lady Huntingdon as well as with the Wesleys.<sup>12</sup> John Wesley's declared object at the conference was "an open, avowed union between all who preach those fundamental truths, Original Sin and Justification by Faith, producing inward and outward holiness". He must also, though he could not expect to win assent to Jones's ordination, have hoped to put pressure on his brother to come to London, as Richards had asked, and perhaps to bargain restraint on Jones for help to find a regularly-ordained man willing to serve him. His published result was: "all my endeavours have been hitherto ineffectual". But, as we shall see, then, or soon afterwards, he found his man.

Not even this crisis, however, deterred him from going off on his travels again. He left Jones to "hold the fort" in London, and went North—whence, on 19th April 1764, he wrote his well-known letter to those clergy whom he judged sympathetic. Its objectives were the same as those at the Bristol conference. In general, it failed; indeed, matters got worse. Soon he had to fend off twelve clergymen led by Walker of Truro who countered his request by the telling argument that where there was a pious clergyman, the societies formed in his parish should not be interfered with by sporadic itinerants. Charles is said to have agreed, confessing that if he were a parish priest the Methodist preachers should not operate in his parish! However, if the general appeal had failed, Wesley nevertheless was about to gain the help he so desperately needed. John Richardson, a young clergyman of Ewhurst (on the Surrey-Sussex border)—already, in the letter Wesley had written for help, named alongside the Wesleys and Benjamin Colley—now came over to him.

John Jones had probably officiated in London on that Sunday, 4th March 1764. That he did so at times, later that year, probably when no other regularly-ordained men were available, would seem established by another letter from Richards to Charles Wesley, telling him of one such occasion. Then, Richards said, he had "avoided going to that part of the Table where he [Jones] administered the cup". He had asked John Wesley if Charles had agreed to it, and had been told that Charles had "half concurred". Richards wanted to know whether Charles thought it expedient for him to submit.<sup>13</sup>

John Wesley no longer had need of the bishop, who returned to Amsterdam, whence on 30th May 1764 he wrote to Charles, in the authentic Greek of the period, saying:

I know I have done you a wrong, but I am not the cause. In this the Lord knows the disputes of men, he has made us at peace with the substantial father.

<sup>12</sup> See *James Rouquet*, to be published by the Wesley Historical Society. The group included James Brown (a minor canon of Bristol Cathedral), Richard Hart, Richard Symes, and James Rouquet, who followed John Jones as headmaster of Kingswood.

<sup>13</sup> Letter in the Methodist Archives.

In a postscript he adds that "the time has come for my journey to Greece", and asks for help for the journey.<sup>14</sup>

Relieved, since both Jones and Richardson were in London, Wesley could travel again. From June to October he was in Scotland; then, after only ten days back in London, he went off to Somerset and Wiltshire. In Bristol he preached to great congregations, and had much joy. In London in October he had preached to multitudes, but now his troubles accumulated. In his letter of 10th February 1765 to the *St. James's Chronicle*, already quoted, Wesley continues:

Some time after, Mr. Maxfield, or his friends, sent for him from Amsterdam, to ordain Mr. S——t and three other persons, as *unlearned* as any of the Apostles, but I believe not *so much inspired*.

Though this upset Charles Wesley and the sympathetic clergy, it did not stir John to action. However, he says:

In December last he [the bishop] was sent for again, and ordained six other persons, members of our Society, but every way, I think, unqualified for that office. These I judged it my duty to disclaim . . . for a fault which I know not who can excuse, *buying* an ordination in an *unknown tongue*.<sup>15</sup>

They had paid a fee of five guineas.

Wesley's *Journal*, far from showing any special anxiety at this time, becomes almost frivolous. He has easily, in six days in December, raised £600 to pay for the repair of the Foundery and reduce the debt. Now, on 31st December, he has taken a German-flute player to the Tower zoo, and been delighted that his music caused the tigers incessantly to leap over the lions' backs and back under their bellies. The *Journal* is so often a snare for historians!

Then, on 5th January 1765, James Thwaites, one of the six preachers ordained by the Greek bishop, wrote to Charles Wesley, as one of his sons in the gospel:

As you will be aprised by This poast of sumthing which will Displeas you I take the freedom to aquaint you my self Ett hath fall oute withoute my seeken or Even Desire but a person came to me injointed me to keep a secret for a tim and then Ett was propounded to and I was without any Desire perswaded into ordenation by the Greek Bishope with severall other traveling preachers which hath made sum stirr among us war as Mr. Jones hath sett the Example and admitted by your Brother's aprobatation Why should we bee turndoute of the Methodist Sositey for the same falt over looked in others . . . if Mr. Jones will give up his we are willing to give up owers.

Dear Sir. Excuse my writing to you & pardon me in this thing.<sup>16</sup>

It may have been at this time that Charles Wesley added a postscript to the letter he had had from the bishop:

wd Peter's zeal have sold  
His heavenly powers for perishable gold?  
At Mamon's beck dispens'd ethereal fire  
And made Apostles for a Wizard's hire?

<sup>14</sup> Methodist Archives.

<sup>15</sup> *Letters*, iv, p. 290.

<sup>16</sup> Methodist Archives.

Now, of course, John Wesley could not avoid action. On 6th January his *Journal* has :

The whole society met in the evening. . . . I do not remember so solemn a season since the first time we joined in renewing our covenant with God.<sup>17</sup>

He says nothing about the subject discussed! Next day a conference followed. There were present John Wesley, John Richardson, Benjamin Colley, John Jones, John Murlin, John Moger and eight stewards. It was agreed that six men, named,

having acted contrary to the will of God and the duty they owe to their ministers and their brethren, 1. Can no longer be owned as clergymen ; 2. Can no more be received as preachers ; 3. Nor as members of the Society.

To the press he added his condemnation of the ordinands for taking ordination in a language they could not understand and unlawfully giving money for it. Joseph Sutcliffe, who reported the conference, says : "The sentence had been required by the Rev. Messers Madan, Romaine and Shirley." Evidently John Jones and Laurence Coughlan now quietly desisted from administration of the sacraments until later they were episcopally ordained. But when historians (generally following Atmore) have stated that, as a result of Charles Wesley's opposition to his ordination, Jones left or was forced to leave the Methodists, they have been mistaken. His close friendship with Charles remained unaffected until his death, and he also stayed at John Wesley's right hand at least until 1767, when ill-health forced him to relinquish care of the societies in London.<sup>18</sup>

We now come to the question of the authenticity of the Greek Orthodox bishop. Doubts of the validity of his orders have been current ever since B. Richards wrote the letter quoted above, and that was early in 1764. Others joined in. Charles Wesley called him "a wizard", and Vincent Perronet said that he "could wish his Grecian Lordship had been preaching either in Lapland or Japan, instead of putting the whole Methodist church in confusion".<sup>19</sup> Other evangelical clergy objected to the ordinations. It was Augustus Toplady who in 1771 said that the Russian ambassador's chaplain knew nothing of him, and that the Greeks in Amsterdam held him to have been an impostor. Toplady also said that he had once seen one of the ordination certificates he had given, which was

written in mean Greek . . . drawn up not in the modern Greek, which the Christians of that church now use, but in the ancient, and if I am not greatly mistaken, the words were likewise accented.<sup>20</sup>

In an article in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* of 1878, G. A. Phœbus held it incredible that a supposed canonical bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church should appear in London in 1763, disregarding the relations of his church with Protestants, and proceed to

<sup>17</sup> *Journal*, v, p. 104.

<sup>18</sup> See the author's work on John Jones to be published by the Wesley Historical Society.

<sup>19</sup> Methodist Archives.

<sup>20</sup> Toplady's *Works*, v, p. 337.

ordain Luther-Calvinists. Finally, the Very Rev. George Tsoumas, in the *Greek Orthodox Theology Review* of 1956, says: "The fact is that Erasmus was not a canonical bishop of the Greek Orthodox Church", and maintains this assertion on the grounds that (i) Erasmus shows total ignorance of the practice, custom and canon law of the church he is supposed to represent; (ii) the certificate he gives to the ordinands differs in content from that of the Greek Orthodox Church of the period; (3) his deplorable state, "being in dire need and ready to be thrown into prison", contradicts the kindness, honour and hospitality accorded to visiting Greek prelates by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities and the Greek people living in London during this and previous periods; (iv) his name is not found in the catalogue of bishops of Crete.

Behind all this, however, there lies the contemporary historical background, and to this we shall turn in the second part of this article.

A. B. SACKETT.

(To be continued)

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[A facsimile of Bishop Erasmus's signature appears facing page 88.—  
EDITOR.]

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

*The Story of Illingworth Moor Church*, by Horace Moore (pp. 24)—reprint from a publication of the Halifax Antiquarian Society.

*Primitive Methodism in the Leek Moorlands*, by W. H. Simcock (pp. 40, typed foolscap): copies from the author at Clayton House, Butterton, Leek, Staffs, ST13 7SR; no price stated.

Harlesden centenary brochure (pp. 12): copies from the Rev. Keith M. Johnson, 134, Wrotesley Road, London, N.W.10; no price stated.

*A Bonny Hubbleshoo* (recollections and stories from Swaledale and Arkengarthdale), by Margaret Batty (pp. 48): copies from the author at The Manse, Reeth, Richmond, Yorks; no price stated.

*The Putney Story*, by the Rev. Leslie G. Farmer (pp. 20): copies, price 20p., from the author at 13, Enmore Road, Putney, London, S.W.15.

Romsey (Worcs) centenary brochure (pp. 15): copies, price 15p., from Mr. J. Price, 103, Love Lane, Pedmore, Stourbridge, Worcs.

*The Story of the Methodists of Retford and District*, by Barry J. Biggs (pp. 55): copies, price 40p. (by post 43p.), from Mr. A. E. Sutton, Sunny Mount, South Wheatley, Retford, Notts.

Colchester—brochure for the opening of the new Castle church, with 4-page historical and descriptive inset: copies, price 8p., from the Rev. Gerald D. Needham, 15, Roman Road, Colchester, Essex.

*Sixty Glorious Years*—Tooting jubilee brochure (pp. 24): copies from the Rev. John F. C. Dakin, Methodist Mission, Longmead Road, Tooting, London, S.W.17.

*Heritage*—history of St. Clement Street, Truro (3 issues, each pp. 6): copies, price 5p. per issue, from Mr. R. E. Tonkin, 19, Broad Street, Truro, Cornwall.

## NEWS FROM AMERICA

## The World Methodist Historical Society

TUESDAY and Wednesday, 17th and 18th August 1972, the two days preceding the opening of the World Methodist Conference, saw a gathering of members of the International Methodist Historical Society and other "interested persons" at the University Park United Methodist church, Denver, Colorado. Temperatures were in the nineties, there was no air-conditioning in the church, and the peaks of the Rockies away to the west looked temptingly near at hand; but the sessions were well attended throughout. The chair was taken by the President of the Society, Dr. Maldwyn Edwards, who also gave the "Keynote Address" on the Tuesday evening, his subject being "Some Women in Wesley's Life".

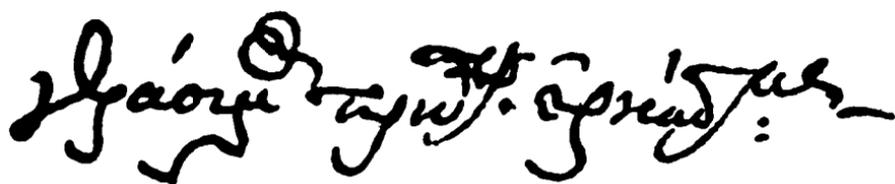
Dr. David H. Bradley of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church gave a lecture on Francis Asbury and the Black Methodists. Bishop Carlos T. Gattinoni of Argentina, in an account of the autonomous Methodist churches of Latin America, asserted that "the Church is not autonomous—it is a servant", a fitting climax to an address that gave us a glimpse of Methodism in unusual and challenging surroundings. For the rest, however, the addresses had little or no historical content, and this was true also of a number of the reports received or presented from various parts of the Methodist world at the opening session. This made it the more regrettable that Dr. Frank Baker's talk on editing the new edition of John Wesley's *Works* should have been relegated to the status of an "after-dinner" speech at the closing luncheon. He was able to report that, as a result of ten years of careful preparation, the first of the proposed thirty-three volumes is expected from the Oxford University Press in the next year or so.

After some revision, a new constitution for the Society, henceforth to be known as the World Methodist Historical Society, was adopted. This has among its stated aims "to co-ordinate the activities of [Methodist] historical agencies", "to disseminate information" about these activities, and "to encourage and assist in the preservation of books, documents, personal relics, buildings and sites connected with Methodist history". Provision is made for both personal and corporate membership, the annual subscription being \$5; five years, \$20; life membership, \$100.

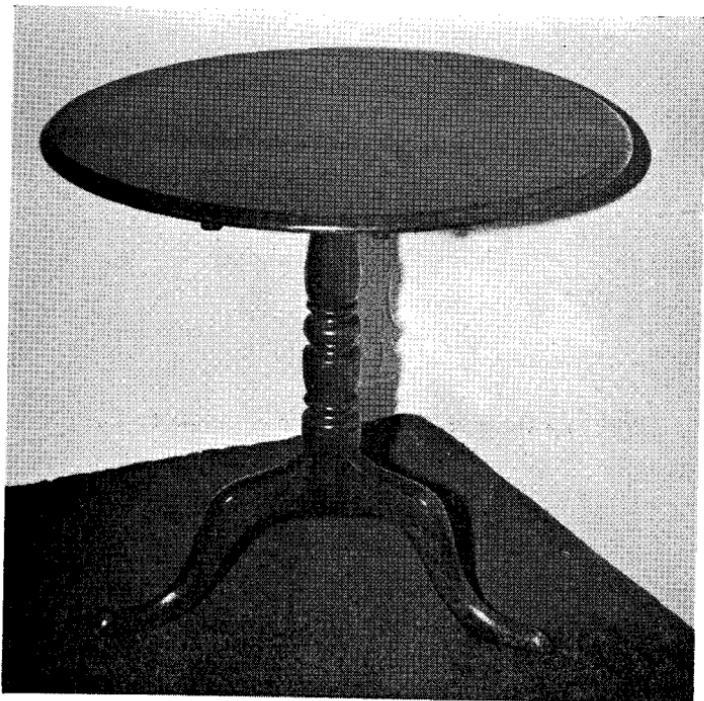
At the closing session, the following were elected as officers for the next quinquennium: President, Bishop Carlos T. Gattinoni; Executive Secretary and Editor, Dr. Frederick E. Maser; Secretary (British Section), Rev. Thomas Shaw; Treasurer, Dr. John H. Ness, jun.; Vice-Presidents, Bishops Frederick D. Jordan and C. Ernst Sommer. (Vice-Presidents for Africa, Asia and Oceania to be elected.) Other members of the Executive Committee: Dr. Frank Baker, Bishop Ole Borgen, Dr. David H. Bradley, Dr. Maldwyn L. Edwards, Bishop O. Eugene Slater, Mr. John A. Vickers. The retiring President, Dr. Maldwyn Edwards, was unanimously elected a life member of the Society.

How far this constitution will remain a paper transaction, like its predecessor, will no doubt depend on the interest and enthusiasm of the members. It is hoped that a regular bulletin of information will be issued; and Dr. Edwards encouraged the members to consider more frequent meetings by inviting them to meet in Bristol in 1973 or 1974. It may be that the dry bones will live at last!

JOHN A. VICKERS.

A handwritten signature in Greek script, written in black ink on a white background. The signature is highly stylized and cursive, consisting of several large, interconnected letters. It appears to be the name 'ΕΡΑΣΜΟΣ' (Erasmus) written in a personal, calligraphic hand.

THE SIGNATURE OF GREEK ORTHODOX BISHOP ERASMUS.  
(See article on pages 82-87.)



A WESLEY TABLE FROM WEDNESBURY.  
(See Notes and Queries No. 1224 on page 93.)

## THE DIARIES OF R. BENNETT DUGDALE

RECENTLY acquired by the Archives Centre are three quarto volumes of closely-packed script—the diaries of R. Bennett Dugdale. The entries proceed through the recto sides of the pages, then the book is turned round and the writing continues on what now becomes the recto side, running from back to front. The years covered by the several volumes are:

BOOK 1—1st December 1777 to 19th February 1780;  
20th February 1780 to 25th July 1782.

BOOK 2—19th February 1786 to 24th August 1788;  
25th August 1788 to 7th June 1792.

BOOK 3—10th June 1792 to 11th June 1815;  
Sermons and addresses.

It will be noticed that there is a gap from 26th July 1782 to 18th February 1786. One hardly dares to hope that the diary for this period will yet come to light. Similarly, for the late period—from 12th June 1815 to Bennett Dugdale's closing years (he died in 1826). The first two of the volumes in our possession cover three of Wesley's visits to Ireland, namely those of 1778, 1787 and 1789; the missing volume would, we presume, deal with those of 1783 and 1785.

Bennett Dugdale was one of two young Dublin printing apprentices who, in 1774, were converted and brought into membership with the Methodist society by Peter Jaco, the assistant at Dublin at the time. Dugdale's companion was Matthew Joyce, who later entered the itinerancy. Dugdale himself, however, became one of the most useful and highly respected laymen in Irish Methodism. His diary reveals him as a deeply religious character, a most conscientious class-leader, and a local preacher much in demand. At home there was always a warm welcome for the preachers, and on several occasions he had John Wesley as his guest. As a successful business-man in the printing and book trade, he had a wide knowledge of and a deep affection for books of divinity. Two publications, at least, came from his own pen. One was entitled *The Experience of the most eminent Methodist Preachers* (1783), and the other was a collection of hymns known as *Select Hymns for the use of the Singing Society*. These books, says one writer, "are as important as they are rare".<sup>1</sup> Neither of them is in the Archives Library in London, and we should be glad to know the whereabouts of any copies now in existence. The former of these publications has a portrait of John Wesley (reproduced in the Dublin Centenary brochure) which is not included in Telford's *Sayings and Portraits of John Wesley*.

<sup>1</sup> *Methodist Centenary Church, Dublin, 1843-1943*, p. 46.

When the lamentable split occurred in Irish Methodism (1818),<sup>2</sup> Bennett Dugdale allied himself with the Primitive Wesleyans, and in 1821 was appointed their first Home Missions treasurer. At the request of his brethren, he laid the foundation stone of the Primitive Wesleyan chapel in South Great George's Street, but soon after this pleasing event he died. Crookshank, in his *History of Methodism in Ireland*, describes him in the following words:

As a leader and local preacher, his talents were of a high order, and sanctified by divine grace, rendered him exceedingly useful.<sup>3</sup>

His funeral sermon was preached by George Revington in the South Great George's Street chapel on Sunday, 22nd January 1826.<sup>4</sup>

Bennett Dugdale's diary, like most of its kind in early Methodism, is deeply introspective, concerned much with the writer's feelings and pious hopes; but of supreme interest to us are the references to John Wesley. So for the remainder of this article we shall concentrate on these.

Dugdale twice refers to Wesley's 1778 visit to Ireland. On 30th June, he supplements Wesley's own account by noting:

In the evening, Mr. Wesley preached the most practical discourse I think I ever heard from I Corinth. 7: 9, 10, 11 . . .

Then on Sunday, 12th July 1778, he says that the day started "dry and barren", but in the evening he

was blessed with more than ordinary privilege, namely, the whole Society entering into solemn covenant with God and ratifying it by receiving the sacrament administered by Mr. Wesley. . . .

Wesley refers to this in his *Journal* as "a time never to be forgotten".<sup>5</sup> Dugdale's entry is significant as confirming that the Lord's Supper was associated with the Covenant Service.

It is a matter for regret that we do not possess that part of Dugdale's diary which, almost certainly, would have contained references to Wesley's Irish tours of 1783 and 1785; so we have to leap the years until we come to 1787. According to his own *Journal*, Wesley arrived in Dublin on Good Friday, 6th April;<sup>6</sup> and Dugdale notes in his diary: "In the evening was pleasingly surprised to hear of the arrival of the Revd Mr. Wesley". But the following day brought a disappointment. Evidently he had been given to understand that Wesley was to stay with him, but he was

much grieved today by the Preacher giving me to understand that Mr. Wesley could not be with me while in town, notwithstanding he had given me a promise; as it appeared manifest, that there was a great partiality.<sup>7</sup> Notwithstanding, I saw clearly that there was a blessed opportunity of my growing in grace . . . yet I felt the trial sore.

<sup>2</sup> On the Primitive Wesleyans, see *Proceedings*, xxxiv, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Crookshank, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> *Primitive Wesleyan Magazine*, 1826, pp. 18-29.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal*, vi, p. 203.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, vii, p. 258.

<sup>7</sup> Wesley stayed with Arthur Keene, a prominent layman in the Dublin society. See *Proceedings*, vii, p. 258.

The next day, 8th April, was Easter Day, and Dugdale resigned himself "to have or not have Mr. Wesley's company just as the Lord shall see good", and visited "the little Society at Swords".

During the next few days, Dugdale seems to have overcome his disappointment, for on Monday (9th) he "was much blessed . . . in hearing Mr. Wesley enforce a spirit of Catholicism" (we should probably use the word "Catholicity", and Wesley himself spoke of "a Catholic Spirit")<sup>8</sup>—but adds, "the impressions were only like figures in the sand". Wesley's shorthand diary helps us here, for there he notes the text from which he spoke. It was Acts x. 34: "Then Peter opened his mouth, and said, Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons".

But soon Dugdale is put in a happier mood, for on the evening of the 10th he was "favoured . . . with the company of Mr. Wesley which I found truly profitable", and on the 11th he was again "highly favoured in hearing and conversing with Mr. Wesley". This happened again on the 12th. On the 13th he was divided in his mind as to whether he "should accompany a few friends to escort Mr. Wesley out of town", but finally decided to stay in town and supply the preaching-place.

From the 13th April to the 21st June, Wesley was on tour in Ireland, but during his last few days in Dublin Dugdale again enjoyed his company, as these entries show:

- 21—. . . found my strength renewed hearing Mr. Wesley in the evening.  
 24—Notwithstanding I am much outwardly engaged, yet find the Lord Gracious by reviving his work and granting me many refreshing seasons from above and making the present visit of Mr. Wesley a great blessing to my soul.  
 29—Enjoyed a sweet season in conversation with Mr. Wesley and others.

On 11th July, Wesley left for England, and with him was Dr. Coke. Dugdale, with business to do in London, decides to travel on the same boat. They set off "with a fair wind and the prospect of a good voyage", but during the night there occurred the alarming incident which Wesley described in his *Journal*.<sup>9</sup> Here is Dugdale's version:

[11th July 1787]—Embarked today with Mr. Wesley, Dr. Coke and several other friends for England with a fair wind and the prospect of a good voyage. I staid upon deck as long as I was able until sickness forced me to bed.

- 12—This morning was awakened by a most alarming occurrence, the vessel striking against a rock; in a few minutes all was up and one of those that got soonest upon the deck returned to the cabin and cried we had better go to prayers, accordingly we fell before God and intreated Him for His own glory to make bare His arm in our behalf and let us see a great salvation; all the time we were at prayers the

<sup>8</sup> Sermon XXXIV. (Standard *Sermons* (ed. E. H. Sugden), ii, p. 126.)

<sup>9</sup> *Journal*, vii, p. 299.

vessel kept driving against the rock, so that we knew not the moment she might bulge and go to the bottom. After prayer we got upon the deck and were still more sensible of our dangerous situation, being alongside of a most tremendous rock, part of which the mariners had fastened the vessel to, to hinder her from working. But in a short time the God that heareth prayer made our extremity the hour of our deliverance by causing the vessel to get free and launch into sea room with only a small leak. We then returned into the cabin to give glory to Him that had so graciously delivered.

By eight o'clock in the evening they were safely at Chester among "a kind, loving people". As the stage coach had gone, they had to stay in Chester over the 13th; but Dugdale was not dismayed, since it gave him "the opportunity of being in company with Mr. Wesley". On the 14th, after breakfast with Wesley, he proceeded on his journey to Bath.

Wesley's next visit to Ireland was in 1789, and on 29th March Dugdale writes:

This morning the Lord brought over Mr. Wesley in health and safety. At dinner was favoured with his company when the Lord mercifully preserved me from that distraction which a large company exposes to. Heard him twice . . .

This incident is confirmed by the only entry in Wesley's diary which mentions Dugdale by name:

2 at brother Dugd [ale's], dinner, conversed, prayer . . .<sup>10</sup>

Before Wesley started on his tour of the societies, Dugdale twice enjoyed his company—i.e. on the 4th and the 6th April; then on the 13th, when the Dublin preachers accompanied Wesley on his journey, Dugdale "had to supply their place at White Fryer Street". On 19th June he met Wesley, back again in Dublin, and on the 21st Wesley and a number of friends dined with him.

This was Wesley's last visit to Ireland, and Dugdale's diary gives us some idea of the impression he made on his followers. We also learn a little of the impact Wesley's death made on the Methodist people. Here is Dugdale writing in March 1791:

6—Today heard the melancholy tidings of Mr. Wesley's death. Oh that his mantle may fall upon some of his preachers, that his lack of service may in some measure be supplied to the church . . .

7—My mind much solemnized by the late awful stroke of divine providence and deeply affected for the loss of such an invaluable man.

9—Was much comforted and my soul quickened in hearing an account of Mr. Wesley's sickness and death. Oh that I might treasure up the sayings of the man of God and endeavour to realise them in my life and conversation.

Any further information on Bennett Dugdale would be welcome: we wonder if our Irish members could help. He was certainly a worthy member of our cause.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, vii, p. 481.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### 1224. A WESLEY TABLE.

Mrs. Jane Hurstfield, of Goostrey, Cheshire, writes regarding an oak tripod table, at which John Wesley sat and did some of his writing, and which has recently come into her possession. The history of the table, and its connexion with the Wednesbury Riots, may be gathered from the following newspaper quotations.

(i) The *Wednesbury Herald* of 26th February 1902 carried an article respecting

Frank Rigby Heeley, a descendant of "faithful Francis Ward" whose house in Bridge Street was the home of John Wesley on the many occasions on which he visited Wednesbury. . . . It was from there that John Wesley was dragged on October 20th, 1743, when the rabble descended upon him and took him by force to Bentley, ostensibly to have him tried as a disturber of the peace, but secretly intending to kill him on the way. Francis Ward had much to do with rescuing Wesley on this occasion, and though his house was wrecked, continued to give shelter to the great preacher.

(ii) A piece entitled "A Link with Wesley" appeared in the *Wednesbury Borough News* of 17th April 1926, and contained the following:

Frank Rigby Heeley, who is manager of Barclay's Bank, Bilston, possesses the oak table on which John Wesley did his writing when visiting the home of Francis Ward upon his visits to Wednesbury.

It was after the death of Mr. Heeley, and later of his wife Elizabeth, that the table came back across the Pennines from Yorkshire to the home of their niece (Mrs. Hurstfield) in Cheshire.

[An illustration of the table appears facing page 89.—EDITOR.]

### 1225. THE METHODIST MAGAZINE.

Many members of the Wesley Historical Society will be aware of the attempt made to continue the *Methodist Magazine*—Wesley's own magazine, the oldest in the world—when Conference closed it down in 1969. And many will know that, owing to a host of difficulties placed in the way of its promoters, it too had to close down after eight issues, leaving a debt of over £2,000 to be found by two or three circuit ministers.

By the goodness of many friends, that debt has now been brought down to £850; and it seems possible that members of the Wesley Historical Society might care to play their part in helping to find the remainder. At the moment it is possible to make up *a very few sets* of the eight numbers published (No. 1 is almost exhausted), after which only Nos. 2-8 will be available. (These complete sets may well be collectors' items!)

Dr. Beckerlegge, whose address is 128, Regent Road, Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent, can let members have these complete sets, as far as they last, at the price of 10s. per set, post free. Or if any members would care to take a batch of copies of the later issues for sale as mementoes among their local church-members and friends, at 1s. each, these also could readily be supplied. Please say how many you can use. And, of course, straightforward donations would be a help!

Can just under a thousand members find £850? It is less than £1 each!

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

## 1226. "THE SECRETARY OF THE CONFERENCE".

"Hill's Arrangement"—or, to give it its official title, *Ministers and Probationers of the Methodist Church*—contains lists of all those who, in the various branches of the Methodist Church, have held the office of Secretary of the Conference. These lists, however, conceal the fact that the office was quite different in Primitive Methodism from what it was with the Wesleys. In Wesleyan Methodism the Secretary of the Conference was usually appointed to some other connexional post, and remained in office for five or six years. In Primitive Methodism the Secretary of the Conference was a circuit minister appointed annually to minute the Conference, then his work was finished. The only exceptions to this are Hugh Bourne, who was Conference secretary in 1825 and 1826, William Garner (1844 and 1845), and William Lister (1861 and 1862). The Wesleyan Secretary of Conference found his counterpart in Primitive Methodism's "General Secretary of the Church and Secretary of the General Committee", who was separated from circuit work and remained in office for five years. (Five years was the allotted span for holders of connexional appointments in Primitive Methodism.) He it was, and not the Secretary of the Conference, who prepared the *Minutes* for publication.

The holders of this office are not shown in "Hill's Arrangement", so to complete the record we list them now, from the year when the office became a separated connexional appointment.

1846-53	William Garner	1889-93	James Travis
1854-58	John Bywater	1894-98	William Goodman
1859-64	Moses Lupton	1899-1903	John Hallam
1865-68	James Garner	1904-08	John Welford
1869-71	Samuel Antliff	1909-13	J. Day Thompson
1872-73	Robert Smith	1914-18	Matthew P. Davison
1874-78	Charles Smith	1919-23	George Armitage
1879-82	Robinson Cheeseman	1924-27	W. Musson Kelley
1883-88	Thomas Whitehead	1928-32	Jacob Walton

It will be recalled that the United Methodist Church appointed, annually, a layman as their Conference secretary.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

## 1227. INDEPENDENT METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

We are always glad to have news of contemporary historical societies, especially within the wider family of Methodism, so it is with pleasure that we record details of the Independent Methodist Historical Society, which was formed about four years ago. Within the Connexional Book-Room at Wigan an Archives room has been established, where members of the Society meet three times a year. Visits are also made to places of interest in the Connexion.

The officers of the Society are :

*Chairman* : Miss Beatrice Crossley, 8t, Park Road, Barnoldswick,  
Colne, Lancs.

*Secretary* : Mr. Allan Dalby, 12, Grosvenor Street, Colne, Lancs.

*Minute Secretary* : Miss Brenda Halliwell, 119, Scot Lane, Newtown,  
Wigan, Lancs.

*Treasurer* : Mrs. Violet Ashton, 90, Halifax Road, Nelson, Lancs.

EDITOR.

## 1228. ACADEMIC THESES ON METHODIST HISTORY.

The following have come to our notice since the list appearing in *Proceedings*, xxxvii, p. 196. (In the case of those marked \* there is a MS. copy in the Archives Centre.)

- \*"The Development of Wesleyan Methodist Principles and Ideas, 1791-1914"—I. David Cleland (Nottingham M.Ph., 1970).
- "S. E. Keeble and Nonconformist Social Thinking, 1880-1939"—Michael S. Edwards (Bristol M.Litt., 1970).
- \*"The Decline of Methodism: an Analysis of Religious Commitment and Organisation"—Bryan S. Turner (Leeds Ph.D., 1970).
- "English Hymnody, its relation to Theology and Worship in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries"—Neil Dixon (London M.Phil., 1970).
- \*"The Poetry of John and Charles Wesley, with special reference to their Hymns"—Elsie M. Hodgson (London Ph.D., 1970).
- "The Influence of Methodism on the Social Structure and Culture of rural Northumberland, 1821-1914"—John P. Horner (Newcastle M.A., 1971).
- "Benjamin Ingham, 1712-1772, with special reference to his relations with the Churches (Anglican, Methodist, Moravian and Glassite) of his time"—David F. Clarke (Leeds M.Phil., 1971).
- "The Constitutional Authority of Jabez Bunting over Wesleyan Methodism, as seen through his correspondence"—W. B. Maynard (Durham M.A., 1970).
- "Methodist Discipline, 1750-1900"—John D. Walker (Manchester M.A., 1971).
- "The New Testament Basis of the Eucharistic Hymns of the Wesleys"—Donald G. Rogers (London M.Th., 1971).

EDITOR.

## 1229. JOHN WESLEY AT THE MARKET CROSS.

Apropos the well-known etching of Wesley preaching at the market cross, does anyone know the original etching, its designer and whereabouts? My son, Philip, has a theory that it has for its background the town or village of Martlesham in Suffolk. Wesley never visited that place—or at least he does not mention it—which raises the point as to whether the original used Martlesham as a background. My son has a photograph of a Red Lion Inn which looks almost the same as the Wesley preaching etching. I should welcome any information; doubtless it would interest a wider public too.

WILLIAM LEARY.

## 1230. DRINKING HEALTHS.

On a visit to Yarm in 1788, John Wesley learned, to his surprise, that it had become "the custom in all 'good' company, to give obscene healths". A clergyman who had recently refused to drink such a health had been obliged to leave the party, and there is little doubt that he was Wesley's informant.<sup>1</sup> We recall that, a few years earlier, the young Adam Clarke was allowed to drink at table at Kingswood School only on condition that he drank "the healths of the company as the others do", on the grounds that "Mr. Wesley drinks healths, Mr. Fletcher does the same."<sup>2</sup> Wesley's concern at Yarm was therefore with the manner of drinking healths rather than with the practice itself.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, vii, p. 399 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Account of . . . Adam Clarke*, i, p. 168.

In the winter of 1760-1, at the other end of England, Sampson Staniforth had had an experience which may throw light on this question. Having become a constable for the parish, he attended Quarter Sessions for the first time, and his own words will tell us what happened:

After dinner they drank the king's health, which I drank; and a second, which I drank in water. The next man cried with a loud voice, "Here is Dr. Squintum's health."

When it came to me I stopped, and he said, "What, Mr. Staniforth, will you not drink that health?"

I answered, "I pray God to bless that good man and give him health and length of days." I then left the room.<sup>3</sup>

This episode occurred exactly at the height of what the *Monthly Review* called "the scandalous abuse of Mr. Whitefield under the opprobrious name of Dr. Squintum",<sup>4</sup> and Staniforth's action is to be seen in that light. No doubt on his leaving the room the next man would propose the health of Staniforth himself in some offensive way. The account given to Wesley at Yarm is so similar to this that we must assume that he uses the word "obscene" in its older and (to us) unfamiliar sense of "repulsive" or "distasteful", rather than in our modern sense of "indecent". Our surprise is, however, that, having published Staniforth's account in the *Magazine* five years earlier, he still speaks of such toasting as "quite new to me". There were, then, some aspects of eighteenth-century life with which even Wesley was unfamiliar!

PETER HOWARD.

<sup>3</sup> *Wesley's Veterans*, i, p. 96; *Arminian Magazine*, vi, p. 296.

<sup>4</sup> See Tyerman's *Life and Times of the Rev. George Whitefield*, ii, pp. 427-39.

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

*Cirplan*, Michaelmas 1971.

*The Journal of the Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of Wales*, October 1971.

*The Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, October 1971.

*The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England*, May 1971.

*The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, 1970.

Bulletin No. 22 (Spring 1971) of *The Society for Study of Labour History* prints the summary of a discussion, introduced by Mr. John G. Rule, on "Methodism and Chartism among Cornish Miners".

*Social Compass*, volume xviii (1971-2) contains an article by Dr. Bryan S. Turner under the title "Belief, Ritual and Experience: the case of Methodism".

Mrs. E. V. Chapman, who has been largely responsible for the formation of the Manx Methodist History Society, has produced for that Society a preliminary survey, *The Story of Methodism in the Isle of Man*.