XIX.
Der christliche Glaube.

Wir glauben all an einen Gott,
Schöpfer himmels und der erden,
der sich zum Vater geben hat,
Dass wir seine Kinder werden.

Er will uns allzeit ernähren,
Leib und Seele wol bewahren,
Er will uns allzeit ernähren,
Leib und Seele wol bewahren,

Er will uns allzeit ernähren,
Leib und Seele wol bewahren,
Er will uns allzeit ernähren,
Leib und Seele wol bewahren,

Wir glauben an den heiligen Geist,
Gott mit Vater und dem Soze,
der aller blüden tröster heiss,
Und mit geben gieret schöne.

Die ganze Christenheit auf erden,
Hält in einem Farn vor eben,
Die all sind verborgen werden,
Dass keff soll auch wider leben,
Dass keff soll auch wider leben,

Das ist ein wunder mensch geboren
Durch den heiligen geist im glauben,
Sich und die wir wol verloren,
Am kreuze gekrohen,

Von Maria der jungfrauen

Amen.
"The Creed in Rhyme"

As Wesley heard it at Berthelsdorf,
6th August, 1738.

In Wesley's Journal there are two references to the song-worship at Berthelsdorf, where Johann Andreas Rothe, the author of the great hymn, "Now I have found the ground wherein," was minister. On 6th August, 1738, Wesley says, 'the people sang the Creed in rhyme.' A few days later Zacharias Neisser told him how the blessing of full assurance came to him during the singing of this Creed in the same church some years before Wesley himself heard it. "While we were singing those words Wir glauben auch in Jesum Christ (We believe also in Jesus Christ) I clearly saw Him as my Saviour."

There seems to be no reason to doubt that both the words and the tune were by Luther. Our reduced facsimile is from the fine German edition of Luther's Geistliche Lieder by Dr. C. E. P. Wackernagel, published at Stuttgart, 1848. In his valuable notes he states that the hymn and tune were first published by Joh. Walther in the Geistliche gesamk Buchleyn, Wittenberg, 1524, and he quotes from Walther's essay on Luther's Church Music inserted in Michael Pratorius's Syntagma Musicum. Luther, having directed that the popular vespers should be re-arranged into simple chants for the choristers and young people, contributed most of the German hymns himself. The Creed and the Sanctus are both Luther's version and took the place of the two Latin chants in prose. The melodies are based on the old Latin chant, "especially the Creed with its drawn out syllables." (Note xix).
The following is a portion of an English rendering by Dr. John Hunt in his *Spiritual Songs of Martin Luther*. The second stanza, of which a line is quoted in Wesley's *Journal*, is as follows:

In Jesus Christ we, too, believe,
Who came lost sinners to receive;
Jesus the Father's only Son,
Co-equal of the Eternal One;
But Who to suffer in our room,
Despisèd not the Virgin's womb;
And died upon the accursed tree,
To save us from our misery:
But through our God He rose again,
That with His Father He might reign.

Luther's *Wir glauben all an einen Gott*, was sung on 5th May, 1525, at the funeral of his friend the Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony, who lies buried in the church of All Saints in Wittemberg, close to the graves of Luther and Melanchton. It was often, in later times, sung at funeral services, for which its closing confession of faith well fitted it. These associations gave it a value to the German singers, not perhaps apparent to the English reader. Dr. Hunt renders the last lines, in his very free rhymed version, as follows:

To all His saints His grace He gives,
Through Him the drooping spirit lives.
This is the faith that all proclaim
Who bear the honoured Christian name;
Sinners on earth shall be forgiven,
And live with God and Christ in heaven:
When all our sorrows here shall end,
To heavenly joys we shall ascend.

Coverdale has another translation in his "*Goostly Psalms and Spirituall Songes*," of which a unique copy is at Queen's College, Oxford. The Rev. J. Mearns, (*Dict. Hymn.,*) notes translations in the *Moravian Hymn Book, 1754*, and by Russell, 1851; Massie, 1854; Miss Winkworth, 1863; and Dr. G. Macdonald, in *Sunday Mag. 1867*, repeated and altered in his *Exotics, 1876*.

The most interesting translation of Luther's 'Creed in rhyme' is the version in Coverdale's *Goostly Psalms and Spirituall Songes... for the confort and consolacyon of such as love to rejoyse in God and his worde*. It is as follows:
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THE CREDE.

We believe all upon one God:
Maker of heaven and earth he is truly,
Our father dear he hath hym made,
That we all his children myght be.
He provydeth for us dayly,
Body and soul defendeth he strongly.
All misfortune shall from us fie,
No harme shall happen to any of us.
He careth for us both daye and nyght;
He is our Keeper most graciously:
All thyng stode in his powre and myght.

We believe all on Christe Jesu,
His own Sonne and our Lord most deare;
Which in Godheade, power, and vertue
Is alway lyke unto his Father.
Of the glorious Virgyn Mary
Was he borne a man undoubtedly,
Thorough the Holy Gooste's working fre:
For he deed and buried truely,
He rose up the thyrde daye alone;
To heaven ascended he myghtely,
And shall come to judge us echone.\(^1\)

We believe all on the Holy Goost;
Lyke the Father and Sonne in Trenite;
In all our trouble our coforte most,
And in all our adversite.
One holy church believe we all,
Which is filleth with sayntes great and small;
And for synne can it never fall.
Of synnes there is clene remission:
Our flesh shall aryse without doutynge:
There is prepared for us everychone
A lyfe that is everlastynge.\(^2\)

Recent writers on hymnology have deprecated the attempts
to transform doctrinal and confessional formulæ into verse, but
Coverdale disarms criticism by his quaint prelude, much in the
style of Luther's prose prefaces in vindication of his popular aim:

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1. echone: each one.

2. Perhaps some Oxford reader, having access to the rare copy of
Coverdale's "lytle boke" in the library of Queen's College, can tell us if the
musical notes, omitted from the Parker Society reprint of 1846, are the same
as those given in our facsimile from Wackernagel. There is a very full and
interesting account of this work of Coverdale's in Cotton's *List*, and *Appendix*,
Clarendon Press, 1821, pp. 56 and 157-159. On the identification of Coverdale's
versions with the German originals, see Rev. J. Mears in *Julian's D.H.*, and
Professor Mitchell's letter to the *Academy* of 28th June, 1884.
Go lytle boke amonge men's chyldren
And get the to theyr companye
Teach them to singe ye comandementes ten
And other ballettes of God's glorye
Be not ashamed I warande the
Though thou be rude in songe and ryme.

In an expanded record of "The Varieties of Religious Experience," the place of the Creed in the story of Zacharias Neisser, of the Litany in the pre-Methodist revival in Wales, of the Te Deum in the experience of Thomas Olivers, should be recognised as illustrating evangelistic possibilities in confessional and liturgical forms.

There is an interesting article by Mr. Edward Pope, J.P., in the W. M. Mag., Nov., 1906, describing his visit to Berthelsdorf Church, where Wesley and Neisser heard the "Creed in rhyme." He says "A few years ago when on a passing visit to Herrnhut, we ascended with one of the 'brethren,' the 'Hutberg,' where rest the remains of the faithful dead in their respective divisional burying-grounds, forming the 'Gottesacker' (God's Acre) of the community to which Wesley refers in his Journal. From the top of this eminence a good view of Herrnhut is to be had. From the opposite side of the hill you look down on the village of Berthelsdorf. One of the most conspicuous objects to the right is the fine old church, where Pastor Rothe, the friend of the early Moravian settlers, officiated." Mr. Pope gives a good account of Rothe's great hymn (M.H.B. 362) and its translations, and a photograph of Berthelsdorf Church.

For a later harmonised version of Luther's tune, and Miss Winkworth's translation of the words, see The Chorale Book for England, app. xvi.

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

JOHN WESLEY'S VISIT TO OCKBROOK IN JUNE, 1741.

The real reason for Mr. Wesley's sudden excursion into the Midlands in June, 1741, has not yet been discovered. The note given on p. 462 of the Standard Edition of the Journal, Vol. ii, is all that can clearly be seen at present. On Sunday evening, 7th June, after preaching at Charles Square, Hoxton, he rode out
ten or eleven miles in the rain to Enfield Chase, one of the residences of the Countess of Huntingdon. Here he spent the night, and rising the next morning at 3.30, set out at 4.50 for Leicestershire. His real destination proved to be Ockbrook in Derbyshire, i.e., if his visit to Nottingham was only of an incidental nature.

The names he mentions in this tour are significant. The second night was spent with Mr. Ellis, at Markfield, Leicestershire; Mr. Ellis was a friend of the Countess. The next morning he set out with David Taylor, a coachman of Lady Huntingdon's, who did a great work as an evangelist in Leicestershire and elsewhere. Tyerman says that he was "formerly footman to Lady Ingham" (i.e., Lady Margaret Hastings—sister to the Earl of Huntingdon—married to Benjamin Ingham five months after this date). Also that he had "been converted under Ingham's ministry and, notwithstanding certain vacillations, was a great and successful preacher, and raised societies in Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and in some parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire." [The Oxford Methodists, p. 123.] Moreover "Taylor was the means of the conversion of Samuel Deacon, an agricultural labourer, and the two combined were the instruments, in the hands of God, of raising up a number of churches in Yorkshire and the Midland Counties, which, in 1770, were organised into the New Connexion of the General Baptists." (Tyerman, Life and Times of John Wesley, I, 10. Similar statements are made I, 382, 383, 390.

In 1743 he was preaching near Sheffield with Charles Wesley when they were mobbed. He was also the means of the conversion of John Bennet. We are inclined to think that Tyerman has confused the work of two different men. David Taylor was much more attracted by the Moravians than by the English Dissenters. The General Baptists were undoubtedly influenced in their evangelical tone by the Methodist Revival, but the founder of their "Leicestershire Association" was Dan Taylor, who left the Methodists of Halifax, in 1762. Dan Taylor was baptized by immersion in the river Idle, at Gamston, on 16th February, 1763. The Association of the General Baptists was formed at Lincoln in 1769. Dan Taylor would be only 3 years of age at the time of this journey of Mr. Wesley. [See W.H.S. Proc., VIII, 72, also Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptists, 1751-1811.]

Let us return to Mr. Wesley and David Taylor as they set out together from Markfield that summer morning. The one the coachman, footman, butler, or whatever our experts may discover him to have been, the other the scholar and fine gentleman who
had found his friends among such men as Bray the brazier, Jennings and Shaw, with whom he had set off to walk to Oxford, 9 Oct., 1738 (see Standard Journal ii, 83 note). It was their fervent evangelism alone which united them.

The third companion was Mr. Howard whom we do not know. They call at Watton, Joseph Caladine's and George Moreley's, and stay the night at Ockbrook (Ogbrook it is spelled in the Diary), apparently at Jane Cooper's, having heard Mr. Simpson and interviewed William Greaves, the vicar. John Simpson was one of the Oxford Methodists who had gone over to the Moravians, and was now at work in their little society there, which had been recently gathered by Ingham, who had come over from Nottingham to preach. It was not until 1750 that they built a meeting house, which was the beginning of the present delightful Moravian Settlement there.

It is somewhat of a coincidence that Mr. Wesley made a journey north in the following May to see Miss Fanny Cowper, a friend of the Countess of Huntingdon, who was dying from consumption at Donington Hall [see W.H.S. Proc., V. 142, VII. 39]. On this occasion also (1741) he stayed with a person of the same name (pronunciation is identical but spelling varies). Jane Cooper was however of Norfolk birth, and belonged to no distinguished family. Miss Fanny Cowper was probably of gentle birth.

The next evening was spent with Moravians in Nottingham, and on the following day Mr. Wesley returned to Markfield, via Loughborough, calling on the way at David Taylor's, who was living somewhere near Woodhouse Eaves. One would now naturally expect Mr. Wesley to return to London but he goes back the next morning with David Taylor and Bro. Clapham to Melbourne (Derbyshire) to Mr. Memry's, the natural route being by Staunton Harold, the home of the Ferrers family to which the Countess belonged. Having preached on the common at Melbourne they rode, apparently through Castle Donington, to the little hamlet of Hemington, where they had supper and Mr. Wesley preached, and an exciting incident followed; then once more to Mr. Caladine's for the night. The next morning on to Nottingham and Markfield for the evening, and then back to London. One rather surprising feature about this visit is that there is no mention either in the Journal or the Diary of Castle Donington, which was at that time the most important place in the neighbourhood, and became afterwards the head of a 'round' which included the whole of Leicestershire and more; nor is there any reference to Donington Park, the chief residence of the Earl of Huntingdon,
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which is rather more than a mile from this pleasant little town, and lies on the Leicestershire bank of the Trent looking across the river to Derby. It seems highly probable that Mr. Wesley stayed at Castle Donington.

This raises the question, where did Joseph Caladine live? In the Journal it is stated to be about 10 miles beyond Markfield. We gather from the Diary that the route followed was through Watton, where they rested, took lunch and conversed, setting off at half-past-one and walking to Mr. Caladine's where they arrived at 3 o'clock. Leaving at 4.30 they arrived at Ockbrook at 6.0. Now Watton (as it is still called locally) is Long Whatton, 8½ miles, as the crow flies, from Markfield and as they walked on for 1½ hours beyond Watton to Mr. Caladine's the calculation of about 10 miles from Markfield to Mr. Caladine's was well under the distance. How far would they walk between 1.30 and 3.0 on a June day? Mr. Wesley was a good walker, David Taylor, footman, ought to have kept up the pace, Mr. Howard's capacities we do not know. Let us say that Mr. Caladine then lived 5 or 6 miles beyond Long Whatton on the road to Ockbrook. One would imagine they would strike the old Nottingham to Tamworth turnpike road which passes through Castle Donington. Many experiences of the walk from Long Whatton home from Sunday evening preaching appointments confirm the opinion that it is a good five miles to Castle Donington. Probability points to this place then as the residence of Mr. Caladine. Another walk of about an hour and a half would bring them to Ockbrook at the right time.

The only question is where was the Trent crossed? That route would go over Cavendish Bridge. There is an alternative route by the ford or ferry at King's Mills, just under the hilly slope of Donington Park, and 1½ miles from Donington itself. In that case Mr. Caladine may have been a steward who resided at the Park, making a six mile journey to Long Whatton, and leaving six miles more on to Ockbrook.

Our other piece of information is that Mr. Wesley stayed the night at Joseph Caladine's, which he reached at 9.15, after preaching at Hemington at 7.0 in the evening. The previous evening his service seems to have occupied over 1½ hours and the crowd at Hemington was large and there was a remarkable conversion. Could one allow for more than half-an-hour in which to get to Mr. Caladine's? Now Hemington is situated just below the hill on which Castle Donington stands one mile away. There was time to get up there, or even (possibly) on to the Park for the evening.

The name Caladine is not a local name, nor has it been with-
in living memory, and rural memories are long. In a hurry to catch a train I looked up the Parish Registers last December and opening at 1741 the first name that I saw was Fra. Caladine, church-warden, and church-warden for that year only.

Further search has shown that Benjamin Caladine was church-warden in 1700 and 1715. He had a nephew John, born 9th May, 1682, and another Francis, born 22nd Feb., 1683. Francis was church-warden in 1741, but there is no Joseph in the register. They were evidently a family of good churchmen.

A. W. HARRISON

NOTES ILLUSTRATING WESLEY'S JOURNAL.

From recent issues of the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

On 21st May, 1789, Wesley 'hobbled on' to Annadale, where he soon forgot all the labours of the day, "for which the amiable family, and the earnest congregation made us large amends." In the Royal Society's Journal, Annadale is described as "a very beautiful residence, situated four or five miles, as the crow flies, east by south of Drumshambo." A monastery formerly stood here which was pulled down when Captain William Slacke became its owner, "but the ruins of its extensive vaults, as well as part of the walls of the church," and the well of St. Brigid still remain. "Kittulride," the original name, "has been re-named Annadale." This was done in memory of "Angel Anne Slacke," a remarkably energetic and religious-minded woman who died there on the 15th November, 1796, at the early age of forty-eight. Her Journal and some of her writings are still preserved. They are of much literary worth.

Was the "Angel" then, a member of the "amiable family"? The dates encourage this belief. (Would that Wesley had given us some of the Table Talk!) An earlier entry in his Journal, 24th May, 1787, says—"I had purposed going straight from hence to Annadale ........ However, I would not disappoint the poor people (at Manor Hamilton) although by this means Mr. Slack's dinner was delayed till near 6 o'clock. I preached at seven to a very serious congregation, and passed a comfortable evening." This proves that Mr. Slack's family was the one praised on 21 May,
1789. A quotation from Dr. Coke's Journal, 2 May, 1797, makes this mention of the Angel and the amiable family, "Next day I reached Annadale (Mr. Slack's), the family I have long known and loved; but alas, the Queen of the Dale, Mrs. Anna Slack, has suddenly taken her departure to heaven."

The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for 30th June, 1906, gives interesting particulars of the ancestors of Wesley's host, and their settlement in that country, as well as quotations from The Slacke Family in Ireland.

On 3th May, 1769, Wesley rode over the Black Mountains to Manor Hamilton, "so called from a poor wretch who settled here in the last century, and was famous for nothing else but hanging up all the Irish who fell into his hands." The Journal of the Antiquaries proves that this 'wretch' was Sir Frederick Hamilton, called "the Tamerlane of the West." A Journal by him, or written under his orders, justifies Wesley's strong words. An entry at the beginning relates the burning of the ancient iron-works in the neighbourhood, "the first recorded exploit among his many raids and burnings." Another was the plundering by his troopers of Castle-Car; which stood at the entrance of the beautiful valley of Glencar. How many Irishmen he hung up is not told, but one of his last illustrious victims was Con Tiernan, lord of Castle-Car, whom he hanged on the ramparts of Manor Hamilton. It is some satisfaction to read that the tyrant's castle was destroyed in an insurrection.

Several times, and always favourably, Wesley mentions the Palatines. The following excerpt from the Journal of the Irish Antiquaries is interesting as bearing on the settlement and character of the new colonists. "A matter which this year engaged the serious attention of the Irish Government was the question of the Palatines. A number of Germans, from the banks of the Rhine, tired of being continually harried in the continental wars, had recently decided to come over to England, with the intention of proceeding to the American Colonies. The Queen had given her consent, and orders were issued to allow 5000 Palatines to enter the country. But no preparations appear to have been made for their disposal, and the arrival of so large a number of foreigners in Kent produced a great disturbance, and seriously incommode the English Government. On the 7th of July, the Council of Ireland (Addison among them) proposed that the Queen should send a number of them to Ireland, and a correspondence ensued on the subject between Secretary Boyle and Lord Wharton. As the result, a Commission was appointed in September to settle the Palatines.
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in such a manner as they may not only be able to support themselves, but be rendered capable of advancing the wealth and encouraging the strength of the Protestant interest of this kingdom, the said Palatines being naturally of a strong and healthful constitution, inured to labour and industry, and a great part of them to husbandry. Several large grants of money were authorised for their settlement, and a charitable collection was made in the country.” [Other Notes to follow.]

R. BUTTERWORTH,

MRS. ANGEL ANNA SLACKE:—

For an excellent memoir, see the Rev. C. H. Crookshank's Memorable Women of Irish Methodism, p.p. 180-190; and also H. of M. in Ireland, Vol. I, 343-4. Mr. Crookshank gives the date of Mrs. Slacke's death as Friday, 18th Nov., 1796.

T.E.B.

LETTER FROM REV. JOHN PAWSON TO REV. MR. DALL [ROBERT DALL],

METHODIST MINISTER, EDINBURGH.

Birstal, March 26, 1790.

My Dear Brother,

You must not suppose that I have lost my affection for you because I have not answered your kind letters before now. The reason has been because I had nothing extraordinary to communicate to you, but more especially because of the expence. I should exceedingly rejoice to hear of the prosperity of the work of God in Scotland, and any pleasing prospect of that kind in any part of it gives me real pleasure. I am very glad to hear that you gain any ground at Edinburgh, or in that neighbourhood. It is a work attended with much toile and labour to those who are engaged in it. But if the Lord is pleased to give success then though the body may often be fateagued, the mind will be satisfied. The affairs of Scotland are now a good deal out of my line only as I may interest myself in them at the Conference, as I know something of the country and have still a great affection for the people. But I believe I shall never see Scotland any more, as I am more than satisfied that I am now too old, and my constitution too much broken, to come into that part of
the world. I must leave this work for others who are younger and who have more health and strength to walk to those distant places, which I well know I could not do. I suppose you have had good Dr Coke with you before this time, and Mr. Wesley, I find, intends to visit you soon. I believe Mr. Wm. Thompson will come to Edinburgh along with him, but not to make any long stay there. We expect Mr. Wesley here shortly, and I expect I shall have some conversation with him on the Scotch affairs. If I can be of any service to you, I will. I am now in a land of strife and contension. The opposition we meet with from Mr. Atlay and his friends is very grievous. The work of the Lord is greatly hindered by the astonishing bitterness: railing and evil-speaking of that party. I never met with anything like it in all my travels before. Methodists against Methodists is very distressing indeed. Divisions in the Church of God are attended with dismal consequences. Christ is wounded in the house of his friends. The cause of God bleeds and precious souls are greatly stumbled, and I fear not a few turned out of the way. We expect Mr. Wesley to open the new Chapel at Dewsbury, which will be ready for him against the time he will be here. Time will discover whether we shall be able to do much good in that place or not. As for myself, I cannot say that I have any great expectation, only I know that the cause is God’s, and he has the residue of the Spirit in his hand, and can, and will, pour it forth when and where he pleaseth. The Lord our God is with us in some measure, and good is done in this Circuit, though not so much as we could wish, yet we hope for better days.

Your affectionate Brother,

The Rev. Mr. Dall,
Methodist Minister,
Edinburgh.

J. Pawson.

[Communicated by Rev. George Byron.]

For references to Robert Dall see W.H.S. Proc. V. 91, Tyerman III, 225, 532: for Wesley’s last visit to Edinburgh, in 1790, see W.H.S. Proc., ii, 215-216; vii. 166-167.
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SPANGENBERG'S CONFESSION IN HIS TREATISE ON MISSIONARY METHODS, 1780.

I have found a copy of a book by August Gottlieb Spangenberg from the old library of Cheshunt College from which I also obtained his *Idea Fidei Fratrum* : (Proc. VI. 143). It reveals the candour and humility of the old Professor of Halle whose “spirit” was so quickly appreciated by Wesley when he conversed with him at Savannah. It is entitled *An Account of the manner in which the Protestant Church of the Unitas Fratrum . . . preach the Gospel, and carry on their missions among the Heathen.* Printed by H. Trapp. London. 1788. (Trans. from the German). Preface dated 1780.

Spangenberg describes the argumentative and logical method at first used by the brethren, following the lines of the systematic theology of the University of his day, and says, “This method of teaching they continued for a long time, but without any success, for the heathen became tired of such discourses.” This fact is stated in histories of Moravian missions, but the frank confession that follows is not, perhaps, well known. He writes:

“If it be asked: How happened it that the brethren fell upon the said method? I must confess, that I am apprehensive, I was my self the cause of it. The first brethren who were destined for Greenland, went to Copenhagen by way of Halle where I, at that time, lived. They tarried a few days with me, and conversed with me, relative to their intentions. Upon this, I gave them a book to read, (for I knew no better at that time) in which a certain divine treated, among the rest, of the method to convince and to bring the heathen to Christ. The good man had probably never seen an heathen in all his life, much less converted any, but yet he imagined he could give directions how to set about it. The brethren followed them, but without success.”

Then follows an account of how “more insight” was given to the Congregation at Herrnhut “into the word of atonement through the suffering of Jesus,” of their translation of those parts of the Gospel which relate to this, and of the reading of this to the heathen. It proved to them “the power of God.”

Further Spangenberg says, “Above thirty years ago, when I lived in North America, I sometimes got the brethren, . . . . to come together in order that I might converse with them about their labours.” And there follows the interesting testimony of “Johannes, an Indian of the Mahikander nation” to the power of the evangel, which is given in Hutton’s *Short History of the Moravian Church.*

T.E.B.
22 November, 1789. This morning I met the Sunday School children at Pensford. I believe there were near seventy. Most of them had just received new coats and gowns.

18 February, 1790. This morning a few of us met together to entreat the Lord for Miss Durbin, who has long been deranged in her faculties. Two persons, Mr. Lane and Miss Fanny Boyle, brought her in a coach. The Revd. Mr. Easterbrook, Mr. Adam Clarke, Samuel Hodgson and myself with Miss Johnson and my wife, attended them in my study. We had a very profitable time, and enjoyed the divine presence. We prayed with perfect submission to the will of God that she might be healed. After prayer we dined together, and she seemed very solid and for the most part reasonable. I believe the Lord will restore her.

1 March. This evening Mr. Wesley was expected to preach in Bath according to an advertisement in the newspapers. Finding afterwards that he was not to come, I was much pained in my mind, as it was to devolve upon me to take his place. But the Lord graciously provided me a curate.

3 March. I was obliged this evening to take Mr. Wesley's place at Bristol.

13 March. I have been engaged with Mr. Wesley and the Assistant in giving out tickets the best part of this week. If this work was continued for some weeks I believe I should soon be in my grave. I thought the people seemed to be in a dull state.

31 March. This day at the particular desire of the Trowbridge friends, I set off from Pensford to that place. They were in confusion about the settlement of their House. I went
with a heavy heart. Three of the principal trustees gave me the meeting, and after a short conversation, came to an agreement. I acquainted the society with this after preaching, and they seemed very happy in the information.

3 May. Yesterday (Lord’s Day) I opened their new House at Trowbridge. Many, both in the afternoon and evening, were obliged to stand in the streets for want of room. It seems the people found it better than I did. After the latter preaching, we had a solid, comfortable Lovefeast. This evening I preached again, but through affliction of body I had a very dull time. The House did not contain the people. The devil had well nigh ruined this Society by a contention about settling the House, but the Lord blessed my endeavours to the promoting peace.¹

7 May. Yesterday and to-day I attended the unfortunate McNamara, condemned to die this day. After singing, praying and receiving the Sacrament with him in Newgate, I rode with two clergymen in a coach to the gallows. We then spent an hour in the cart with him. Mr. Easterbrook’s curate exhorted the people, as I also did. I suppose there could not be less than 20,000 people present. I never saw such a concourse in my life.

9 July. This morning I spent above an hour in Newgate with poor Wm. Hungerford. Four clergymen were present and some more serious persons. The time was most agreeably spent both before and after sacrament. Singing, prayer and suitable discourse was our employment. About 12 o’clock we set out for the place of execution. Two friends went in the cart with the prisoner and sung hymns on the way. Two clergymen, Bro. Bundy and myself, went in a coach. A great congregation was assembled to see the poor man die. When we came to the place we left the coach and went into the cart. Mr. Rimbran gave a short exhortation and several of us prayed. The prisoner prayed three times in the cart and I believe as many times before we left Newgate. I felt much faith and power under the gallows, and I believe it was a time of instruction to several. This man had been some time ago a member of our Society for a little time, but was, I believe, put out for sin or neglect. He seemed to be very careless during his respite in prison, but when he received a message a fortnight ago to prepare for death, which he was to suffer as to-day, he began to be in great distress. While he was in very great trouble crying unto the Lord last Tuesday se'-

¹ See W.H.S. Proc. VI, 115. The date given by Joseph Sutcliffe in EMP., vi, 130, viz., 11th May, is evidently incorrect.

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night, he said the Lord delivered him from his burden, and he has enjoyed peace ever since, except now and then that he was tempted to doubt the reality of the work. Last night he never laid down, but spent all the night with Bro. Bundy in singing and prayer. He told me that he had frequent doubts and fears, but that in general his soul was stayed upon God. All the time that we were with him he would not suffer us to be idle, but called upon us to sing and pray. When the rope was brought in he soon turned pale, and seemed at the fatal tree to put off his death as long as he could, and seemed reluctant to let the signal handkerchief drop. Upon the whole, we all seemed to entertain very lively hopes that he went to Abraham’s bosom. After we had left the cart he addressed the people in a way of warning, and then prayed for some time. I trust his sorrow is turned into joy, and that he is now happy in his Redeemer.

20 JULY. This morning our dear Father in the Gospel attended by Mr. Rankin came to my house in order to be retired that he might prepare his papers for the Conference. May his coming be a blessing to us all!

24 JULY. This morning Mr. Wesley left my house. I accompanied him with some others in the coach to Bristol. Thanks be to our gracious God, everything was conducted with peace and satisfaction.

26 JULY. Our Conference begun.

4 AUGUST. This evening our Conference ended. I cannot but observe we had the greatest harmony and good nature together, and I believe the Lord was with us indeed. Glory be to His Holy Name. One evening this week we continued in prayer after Mr. Wesley had done his sermon. As we were going out two young persons in distress got hold of me. When we got to the bottom of the gallery stairs I gave out a verse with one in each hand crying for mercy. I then earnestly called upon the Lord for them. One was taken into favour, the other left for the present. Most of the evenings during Conference I visited the sick. One woman and a young girl were both dying in a consumption. At the first their case was dismal, but at last I left them in a comfortable situation. Without any solicitation, Mr. Wesley was pleased to appoint me again Supernumerary in the Bristol Circuit. Mr. Wesley was pleased to desire me to go and spend some time in Cornwall, visiting the societies. The length of the journey and my being an entire stranger to them made my spirits very low, but with the blessing of my God, I shall proceed on my journey.
PUBLISHED LETTERS OF WESLEY

Some of which are not referred to in Vols. I and II of the Standard Edition of his journal: when and where written, and where they are to be found; and also Letters referred to, especially in the Diaries, without information as to their whereabouts.

1736. Nov. 23.* To Samuel W. Works XII, 27, Letter XIX.

1737. Feb. 16.* " Mr.—, of Lincoln Cottage, Works XII, 45, Letter XXX.

" Mar. 28.* To Wm. Wogan, Tyerman I, 138.

" Sep. 8.* " Friends at Oxford, Tyerman I, 142.


" May 14, " Wm. Law, Works XII, 51, Letter XXXIII.

" Jul. 7.* " Samuel W. " 31, " XXI.


" Oct. 13.* " Dr. Koker, Whitehead II, 89.

" " 14. " Zinzendorf " 91."


" Apr. 4. " Works XII, 156, Letter CX.

" May 10. " Samuel W. " 30, " XX.

" June 23. " Charles W. " 105, " XLV.


" Sep. 21.* " Charles W. Works XII, 106, Letter XLVI.

" Dec. 6.* " Nathaniel Price, Works XIII, 156, Letter DCCCV.


1741. April 28.* " Works XII, 157, Letter CXI.

Those marked with an asterisk do not appear to be referred to in the Journal: the others do.

CHARLES H. CROOKSHANK.
My Dear Bro.:

At the same time when yours came to hand I also received one from Mr. Moore, who gives a very different account of this disagreeable affair than that which you have received from some other person. As to my own part, you will (I think) believe me when I say that I most sincerely wish for peace; and therefore I think that I should not have acted the part which my very highly-esteemed friends, Mr. Taylor and Mr. Moore, have done, had I been present, yet I dare not say they have done wrong. I leave this to themselves. Were we preachers only united, did we but agree in judgment, our way would be quite clear, and we should have nothing to fear. But alas for us, we are strangely divided. We think very differently respecting persons and things, so that there is too much reason to fear we shall soon be divided one from another. How it is that any of our preachers can take the part of these Trustees against their brethren, I cannot see, or how it is that they seem so desirous to put their neck under this yoke, I cannot understand at all. We were all in a very different way of thinking not long ago, when we, as one man, contended with the Trustees of Dewsbury, who were very far from claiming any such power as the Trustees of Bristol do. There are, I think, several particulars which you should seriously consider (viz.), 1st, our prosperity greatly depends upon our continuing united as the heart of one man. 2ndly, the avowed design of the Trustees is to divide us, as they well know that they cannot bring us under their yoke so long as we continue united. 3rdly, You cannot but see that the trust deeds of those Chapels in Bristol gives the Trustees a very improper degree of power, especially respecting choosing their own preachers. Supposing all the Trustees throughout the kingdom possessed of the same power, what then becomes of the itinerancy plan? It is destroyed root and branch for ever. If then you wish that this plan should be continued, I do not see how you can countenance the proceedings of those Trustees for one moment. 4thly, Submit to these Trustees and they will rejoice over you, and they will be as kind to you as the Trustees of Dewsbury were to J. Atlay, and perhaps their joy and their kindness may last nearly as long. I know all the men very well, and I know too that Mr. Wesley himself could not govern them. They gave him infinite trouble,
and he was obliged to give them up. I know that Mr. Pine and Mr. Roberts are by far the best men among them, but take them altogether, and the richer part of the people who are their principle friends, and you cannot think that they are the most deeply pious among the people, or that they ought to govern the Preachers. You may depend upon it, whoever they are who may put themselves under the power of the Trustees, whether at Bristol or elsewhere, if they live long, they will have cause more than enough to repent it. Although I believe I should not have acted as Mr. Moore has done (and you know that I advised him to the contrary), yet I am obliged to acknowledge that I am heartily sorry to hear that poor, simple Jerh Brettle should have acted as he has done. He may take part with the Trustees against his best friends, against his brethren the preachers, but they will soon be as fully acquainted with his weakness as we are. You should (I think) go to Bristol, according to your appointment, and if you and the rest of the Preachers are only determined to abide the Conference, and to act in consort with each other, then you will break the power of the Trustees at once, and you will have nothing to fear. You will have all the leaders and the bulk of the people on your side, and you will soon be able to raise a new Chapel, much larger and better than the old one. But if you take part with the Trustees, then a division, both among the preachers and the people, must take place, and this will not only be the case at Bristol, but in several other places. Here in Liverpool the disaffected Trustees will soon hear what is done, and will be encouraged to hope that if they separate they will soon have a preacher to join them, and therefore may do very well. May the good Lord direct you, for you surely stand in a very critical situation at present, and very much depends upon the part you act when you come to Bristol. We all unite in kindest love to yourself and Mrs. Benson, most heartily wishing you a prosperous journey, and that God may make you the happy instrument of restoring peace to that distracted Society.

I am,
Most affectionately yours,

To Mr. Benson.

J. Pawson.

Thorner, Aug. 27th, '94.

My very Dear Brother,

About 9 o'clock, last night, Mr. Pawson arrived here, having walked from Leeds. We have conversed upon and endeavour'd to view your situation (on account of Bristol) in every light we
could, and have come to the following conclusion, viz., as "you are determined not to go unless I go with you," so I am determined not to go, except Mr. Pawson accompany me. To this he has agreed if I will defer coming to Manchester till after Sunday; as he cannot settle his affairs here before that time. Our present purpose is to meet at Leeds, on Monday, and come in the Mail to Manchester, on Tuesday, set off for Birmingham on Wednesday, get into Bristol on Friday night. To Mr. Thompson we have also agreed to write by this post, to meet us there. It appeared to us unnecessary to write to either side our intentions, lest in a way of asking their consent; for various reasons. But, chiefly, to prevent altercation, or even a seeming prohibition. As you are aware, the nature of our Constitution (if we have such) admits of no interference in another District. Should any demur of this sort arise when we come there, you must base us harmless; as invited by you. Yea, compelled to come by your intreaties. If their District Meeting is over, and anything decisive has taken place so as to render our journey unnecessary, all the better. This, the best plan we could devise in Mr. Pawson's circumstances. I left York with a design to have come forward im'y. If you agree to it, you should let me know by return of post, that I may order my journey accordingly. As you easily see all these things disconcert every plan of mine. We are in love to Mrs. Benson and yourself. Your affect* Friends and Brethren,

A. MATHER, J. PAWSON.

P.S. I open this now to say, you should, by all means, send me an answer by return of post, informing me of your judgment of this plan: whether you perceive in it any probability of usefulness, equal to the expence, to say nothing of the loss of our time and fatigue. I would also add that you should not incommode Mrs. Benson, as I could leave my family here without any greater difficulty than that of coming to fetch them when I returned, which will probably be the case with you, if you leave Mrs. Benson, &c., at Manchester. Mr. Pawson says Mr. Atmore does not leave Halifax, but has taken a family into the house with him. Whether (as you are so averse to going unless we go with you) Mr. Brettle (who has been in the affair) could not continue in it. And as it is more than probable little will be done to purpose before Conference, even if we all go, would it not be far less expence and trouble for him to pack up his things and return with his family, and for us to go into his house,
and you and your family to remain where you are? Do think of this and consider it well, we can be happy and useful (I doubt not) together. It is your going they seem to dread, and his returning would, in all likelihood, answer every end. The expense of his return would be no more, if so much, as yours going.

To Mr. Benson,
Manchester.

The late R. THURSFIELD SMITH.

[See W.H.S. Proc., ii. 40-43.]

NOTES ON WESLEY’S JOURNAL.
Continued from page 104.

18 Feb. Wesley’s first visit to Chatham.
14 March. Letter to a Member of Society, xii, 283.
16 March. Worcester: “We went to a friend’s whose barn”; see W.H.S., Proc. iii. 178. “A commodious house”; such a house was built four years afterwards. It lasted until 1812, when James M’Kee Byron and the Worcester Methodists built the old Pump Street Chapel at a cost of upwards of £8,000, the great bulk of which was left to be paid by their successors. See W.M. Mag., 1825, p. 622; 1829, p. 585. The present beautiful Church and Schools stand on the same site.
19 March. Birmingham: There is a tradition preserved in the family of Mr. R. K. Dent (who have been associated with Methodism for several generations), that about this period or a little later Wesley preached from the steps of the Canal Office in Paradise Street, then newly erected. Meth. Recorder, 21 Feb., 1901.
20 March. Letter to John Fletcher, xii, 161. West Bromwich: here a small society of about twenty members had been kept together by Francis Asbury, Tyerman iii. 7.

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28 March. Letter to the Rev. Dr. Rutherford, xiv. 347; Green’s Bibliography, No. 249.
30 March. New Mills; “large new chapel,” see W. M. Mag. 1812, p. 534; 1843, p. 89.
7 April. Liverpool: Address to the Reader of An extract of Miss Mary Gilbert’s Journal, xiv. 260; Green’s Bibl. No. 250. 10 April—the collection amounted to £1 4s. 9d., Tyerman iii. 9.
19 April. Glasgow: three years before this time Thomas Taylor had been sent to the city, and formed a society there. (Tyerman iii. 9-10.) Wesley had visited Glasgow several times, but little permanent fruit had been gathered through his labours. “Mr. G”: the Rev. Dr. Gillies.
27 April. Aberdeen: Wesley’s first will executed, Tyerman iii. 15-16.
23 May. Letter to Rev. Mr. Plenderlieth, xii. 245.
25 May. Elizabeth Hobson’s remarkable narrative; see Tyerman iii. 11.
7 June. South Shields: see W.M. Mag., 1813, p. 441; Tyerman iii, 18.
17 June. Wesley preached at Osmotherley, W.H.S. Proc., iii, 93.
WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

5 July. Letter to a Member of Society, xii. 283.
9 July. Wakefield: letter to Rev. Walter Sellon, xii. 44.
19 July. The letter printed in Journal was written to Rev. Thomas Adam: see Tyerman iii. 18, where it is given in an abridged form.
31 July. Wesley's second visit to Fletcher, Tyerman iii. 19.
23 Aug. Taunton: see Tyerman, iii. 27. 27 Aug.: "Dear Lawrence"—Lawrence Coughlan, ibid. 25.
6 October. Kingswood: letter to his sister, Patty (Mrs. Hall), Tyerman, ii. 590.
8 October. Bristol: letter to Miss Hilton, xii. 372. 14-18 October: Dr. Wrangel, see Tyerman, iii. 66-68. 18 October: "The new room"—Broadmead Chapel, see Pawlyn, Bristol Methodism in John Wesley's day, p. 63.
24 October. See Dyson, Methodism in the Isle of Wight, p. 77.
5 November. Hertford: "Mr. Andrews" gave "in 1777 to Wesley's Chapel in City Road the pulpit which has been used from then until now," W.M. Mag., 1825, p. 454.
7 November. Wycombe: letter to Joseph Benson, xii. 409.
10 December. Lewisham: letter to Mr. Merryweather, of Yarm, xii. 271.
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17 December. London: letter to Charles Wesley, xii, 136,

"Young's Night Thoughts": see W.M. Mag., 1842, p. 974; 1848, p. 976; W.H.S. Proc., iii. 210; Standard Journal, iii. 147 (note), 162 (note).

During this month Wesley sent out "a manuscript circular" seeking help in the liquidation of the debts resting upon the Methodist chapels throughout the country; Tyerman, iii. 31.

C. H. CROOKSHANK.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

469. Wesley at Bingley.—A Correction.—Copying from Wesley's Journal, Mr. Ward, in his History of Methodism in Bingley, states that Mr. Wesley, on Sunday, 18th July, 1784, preached twice in the Parish Church, and visited the Sunday School which was superintended by the Curate. He then goes on to state that Mr. Wesley stayed preaching in Bingley for nearly a week. But Mr. Wesley's Journal is defective at this point, and hence Mr. Ward's mistake. Mr. J. W. Laycock, of Keighley, has in his possession a Diary of Mr. Allan Edmundson, which gives a more detailed account of Wesley's doings during this week. These are published in his Methodist Heroes of the great Haworth Round, on page 370.

From this record it would appear that Mr. Wesley's programme was as follows:—

Sunday, 18th July, 1784,
Bingley, Morning.
, Afternoon at 2. Text, Psalm xc. 12.
Keighley, Evening at 5. , ii. John 8.
Monday, 19th July,
Keighley, Morning at 5. , Judg. 1. 2.
Baildon, Afternoon at 1. , Matt. xv. 28.
Otley, Evening at 6-30. , Matt. iv. 10.

Thence to Leeds.

This account will necessitate a correction being also made in 'Wesley's Itinerary' for these dates, W.H.S. Proc. vi. p. cxxi.

GEO. SEVERS.
470. **Renton, Wesley's Journal, 6 April, 20 April, 1747.**—The correct spelling is Rainton. There are three villages of this name, adjoining each other on the highway between Durham and Houghton-le-Spring, viz., West Rainton, Middle Rainton and East Rainton. It was at West Rainton that Mr. Wesley preached, tradition says on a piece of rising ground immediately opposite an old Hall which is now in a very dilapidated state. West Rainton is the native village of Rev. John W. Crake, the Secretary of the W.H.S.—J.C.N.

471. **Stanhope, Journal, 6 June, 1788.**—Wesley preached in the wooden shed or covered market. The next morning at five he preached "in a large upper room": this room was situated in the N.E. corner of the Market Place, and was the regular meeting place of the Methodists at that time. The preaching in the open air is believed to have been from a "benk" near the Red Lion Inn. On the occasion of this visit, Wesley "drove" up Weardale (see 5 June). Tradition says that the first post-chaise which went up Weardale contained John Wesley.—W. M. Egglestone, *Stanhope and its Neighbourhood*, pp. 103—4.—J.C.N.

472. **Barnard Castle, Journal, 9 June, 1788.**—"Mr. Wesley's last journey to Barnard Castle took place 9 June, 1788. In his published Journal the name of Barnard Castle is omitted where it ought to have been inserted. He says 'Monday, 9 June, I preached at Durham about eleven, to more than the house could contain. Even in this polite and elegant city we now want a larger house. In the evening I preached near our preaching-house to a large multitude; I think, as numerous as that at Gateshead Fell. Many of the Durham Militia, with several of their officers, were there: and all of them seemed to receive the word not as the word of man, but as it is indeed, the word of God.' Mr. Wesley has omitted to say where he preached in the evening. Unquestionably not at Durham, but at Barnard Castle. The Society Book bears evidence of the payment of his expenses: Barnard Castle, not Durham, was the headquarters of the Militia, and the recollections of the most aged of the friends harmonize with this explanation."—Steele's *History of Methodism in Barnard Castle and the Principal Places in the Dales Circuit*, pp. 160—1. (Published in 1857). Wesley preached to the Durham Militia at Barnard Castle, on 3 June, 1768, vide *Journal.—J.C.N.*