COTTAGE AT WINTERTON IN WHICH WESLEY PREACHED.
METHODIST BEGINNINGS IN BARTON-ON-HUMBER CIRCUIT.

The date-line of Methodist history in this Circuit is 1743. On 27th June, Wesley preached "at Alkborough, on the Trent side, to a stupidly attentive congregation." He was en route from Epworth to Sykehouse. Alkborough is still on the Barton Circuit plan. In the spring of that same year Mr. Wesley was requested by William Blow, of Grimsby, to visit that town, and, being unable to go himself, sent John Nelson. From these extreme points Methodism spread over the wide southern margin of the Estuary of Humber. The present Barton Circuit covers an area of 110 square miles, bounded on the west by the Trent, and on the east by Immingham Dock. It had no separate existence as a circuit until 1796, when it was formed from Grimsby, with Barrow as its head. Barrow, a delightful, prosperous village, 3 miles east of Barton, gave place in 1804 to Winterton, an old-time market-town, 8 miles from Barton on the west. It was not until 1817 that Barton became the Metropolis of the Circuit.

Wesley’s visits were neither frequent nor extensive. The ‘stupidly attentive’ folk at Alkborough do not seem to have attracted him. For sixteen years he leaves them severely alone. When he comes again 13th April, 1759, he describes them as ‘a listening multitude.’ . . . . Many of them were in tears,’ he says, ‘and pressed after me into the house where we met the Society.’ We do not know by whom this Society was founded or in what house it met. From Alkborough Wesley went to Burton-upon-Stather to see Mr. Romley, one of his ‘former parishioners, a lively sensible man of 83 years old,’ by whom he was much comforted. Thence he had an exciting passage by ferry across the Trent. It would be interesting to know if there is any closer connection than mere coincidence of name between Mr. Romley, of Burton, and the antagonistic Epworth cleric of that name. On 8th August, 1761, Wesley preached at Winterton, in front of the cottage of John Glover. This cottage was for some generations the property of the Glovers before it came into the hands of the
Fowlers, of whom more anon. John Glover was later a member of William Fowler's class, who noted against his name: "First good under Mr. Storey." The Rev. J. T. Fowler has placed a stone tablet on the cottage bearing the legend, "Here Mr. Wesley Preached First in Winterton." From Winterton Mr. Wesley went the same day to Barrow, where the mob was in readiness, "but as more and more of the angry ones came within hearing, they lost all their fierceness." From this time Barrow receives fairly regular attention from Mr. Wesley. In 1764, '66, '70, '72 and '82, Wesley preached at Barrow. In 1764 he was 'much pleased with their spirit and behaviour, and could not be sorry for the storm,' which held him there overnight. His interest at this time is divided between Barrow and Alkborough, and in July, 1770, he draws a shrewd distinction between the hearers at each place. Barrow folk he will not "take out of their depth, but explained and enforced these solemn words: 'It is appointed unto men once to die." Alkborough people, he says, were "of quite another kind; so I spoke to them directly of Christ Crucified." Wesley's last visit to Barrow, 16th May, 1782, is of special interest. It was the only time he preached in a chapel belonging to the Methodists in these parts. The first chapel at Barrow was built in 1780, probably on the site of our present excellent premises in that place. It was also memorable as bringing together once more John Wesley and Charles Delamotte, who had been fellow-voyagers to Georgia. Wesley stayed the night at Delamotte's house. What Chas. Delamotte was doing in Barrow is not clear. He may have been attached to the Calvinistic Chapel there, built in 1778 or 9, to which Richard Burdsall, the Yorkshire local-preacher, received a call in 1779. Burdsall came across from Hull and preached in the chapel once, staying the night with Mr. Faulding, 'a friendly Methodist'; but he could not consent to give up itinerant preaching, and declined the proposal, though the friends who invited him wept when they parted from him at Barton Ferry. Against this conjecture is the note in Wesley's Journal as to Delamotte's complaining 'of the infirmities of old age, which through the mercy of God, I know nothing of.' But on the other hand, Wesley wrote to Delamotte, at Barrow, in 1779, 'I am glad you speak a word to your Brethren, on behalf of our Good Master. This is worth living for.'

1. For an article on Charles Delamotte, see W.H.S. Proc., ii, 88-90. When Wesley was at Hull, 13 July, 1759, Delamotte paid him a visit, see Journal under that date. Also see Arminian Magazine, 1789, p. 217; W.H.S. Proc., vii, 19-20.
On 20th July, 1774, Wesley preached a second and last time at Winterton. 'None of the hearers was more attentive than an old acquaintance of my father's—Mr. George Stovin, formerly a J.P. near Epworth, now as teachable as a little child, and determined to know nothing save Jesus Crucified.' [W.H.S. Proc., v., 198-9]. One of Mr. Wesley's hearers would be William Fowler, the antiquarian, who was born in 1761, and may have been imbued with antiquarian tastes by Mr. Stovin. The first chapel at Winterton was built in 1777, and it is remarkable that Wesley never preached in it.

There is an apocryphal story that Wesley once preached in Barton, in the Market Place, and that the farmers passed a wagon-roped round the crowd, and with a horse at each end, gently drew preacher and people out of the Market Place. This may have happened to an early Methodist preacher, but not to Mr. Wesley. His only reference to Barton is on 10th April, 1764, when he took "boat at Barton, with two such brutes as I have seldom seen." It does not follow that "the brutes" were Barton men.

We have found in the Journal references to Alkborough, Barrow and Winterton. In 1757, Alexander Mather was sent with Thomas Hanby, Thomas Tobias and Thomas Lee into the Epworth Circuit, 'which then included Gainsborough, Grimsby, Barrow, Doncaster, Rotherham, Sheffield, and divers other circuits.' This appointment, as Mather was a married man, led to the agreement made with Mr. Wesley that 'the wife should have a fixed allowance of 4/- per week,'—which was raised by collection in the classes, the genesis of the Contingent Fund.

In 1760 we find traces of a Society in Barton, meeting in a house in King Street. Of the origin of this Society we know nothing, save that local tradition maintains that the Independents and Methodists worshipped together. In 1788 a piece of land

2. Since writing this I have found the following interesting letter in The Lindsey Observer, 15th June, 1854 (published by C. Ball, Barton-on-Humber): "About 100 years since, the Rev. John Wesley, accompanied by a friend, came to preach at Ferriby. That both of them might be usefully occupied, this friend came over to try to get a hearing at Barton. Finding no place was open to him, he took his stand in the Market-place, near to where the Town's pump now is, and began to preach. My informant and a friend were among the hearers; when suddenly they were interrupted by a party (some of whom ought to have known better), who pelted the preacher with rotten eggs. When this barbarous sport had been carried on for a while, the leader of the mob, who, had he better understood the functions of his office, would have been exhorting the people to peace and
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was bought in Cottage Lane, and a building erected. In 1798 the character of the Society is unmistakably Wesleyan, and the chapel became our possession by deed of conveyance. That deed is now in the hands of Mr. Richard Hudson, solicitor, of Barton, our present chapel steward, and a member of the Wesley Historical Society, to whom we are indebted for the photograph of the old building. The deed is dated 30th June, 1798, and states that “in consideration of £200, there was conveyed to the Trustees that newly-erected building, now used as a place of Divine worship by the people called Methodists, situate etc., etc. And all that piece of ground lying on the South side thereof, all which premises contain in length 42 feet 4 inches, and in breadth 32 feet 4 inches, bounded by a lane called Sandy Lane on the West.” The name of Thomas Watson (father of the Rev. Richard Watson), late of Barton, but then of Lincoln, saddler, appears as one of the vendors. The new trustees were Edward Young, shopkeeper, Barrow; William Blackburn, farmer, Barrow;}

Mr. H. W. Ball identifies R.G. as George Robinson, a well-known Independent of that date. That Wesley preached at Ferriby is news, and I am disposed to question whether it is not a mistake for Barrow; although he would pass through Ferriby and also Barton between Winterton and Barrow on 8th August, 1761. If Mr. Wesley stayed at Ferriby while his companion came on to Barton, there would have been no need to go to Ferriby to consult him, as in all probability he would have reached Barton (to pick up his companion and proceed together to Barrow) before the mob had finished their eviction of the preacher. Ferriby lies 3 miles west, and Barrow 3 miles east of Barton.

On his next visit, 9th April, 1764, Wesley was storm-bound at Barrow, and not on the west side of Barton at all.

On 18th April, 1766, we read that Wesley “set out for the eastern part of Lincolnshire, and after preaching at Awkborough and Barrow in the way, came the next day to our old friends at Grimsby.” He makes no mention of either Ferriby or Barton, though he would pass through both, and by this time the Society, such as it was, must have been established in Barton. Apparently he slept at Barrow.
William Barton, jr., tailor, Goxhill; Thomas Patchitt, farmer, Ulceby; Thomas Horn, farmer, Ulceby; John Davy, miller, Ulceby; George Houghton and George Houghton, jr., farmers, Killingholme; John Smith, jr., farmer, South Ferraby (sic); Thomas Waddingham, farmer, South Ferraby; Thomas Couzen, farmer, Whitton; William Fowler, carpenter, Winterton; and William Gibson, carpenter, Barton. That only one Barton man should be on the trust speaks of the feebleness of the local society; and he failed in business in 1801, having built with insufficient capital the mill now in the hands of Mr. C. H. Kirkby, one of the pillars in our Barton Society. The building was “conveyed in special trust that they shall permit such preachers as are appointed by Conference, and no other persons to preach and expound the scriptures.” No preacher shall use the Chapel for more than one year, unless a majority of Trustees petition Conference to re-appoint him. The Trustees may displace a preacher guilty of immoral conduct, and if Conference appoint such a man (!), or appoint for more than one year without a petition, as above, the Trustees may themselves appoint—but only a man who will hold to Mr. Wesley’s “Notes.”

The Independents continued to worship with the Methodists in Barton until their present chapel was built in 1806. The Methodists used the Cottage-lane Chapel until 1816, when they built a new one in Chapel-lane, which served with several enlargements until 1861, when the present noble edifice was erected on the same site. After 1816 the old chapel was used as a

On 16th July, 1770, having slept at Barrow, and probably preached there in the early morning he rode straight through to Alkborough where he preached at 9-0 a.m. The same course was taken on 24th July, 1772. Two years later, 20th July, he went from Grimsby to Winterton and would not touch Barrow, Barton or Ferriby. On 16th May, 1782, Wesley preached in the New House at Barrow. He may have passed through Winterton, Ferriby and Barton, and doubtless took boat at Barton for Hull after leaving Barrow, but no mention is made of Ferriby, and in any case the date is too late for the incident referred to in R.G’s. letter. I am bound to believe that Ferriby is a mistake for Barrow.

The “room in Old-Market-Lane (now a cooper’s shop),” has been identified, with the help of Ald. Tombleson. The street is now called King-street and the shop is a green-grocer’s. This entirely agrees with the tradition that in 1760 there was a Society in Barton, meeting in a house in King-street. The building in Cottage-lane (see illustration) is the barn referred to by R.G., which however the Deed mentions as, “that newly-erected building.” When R.G. says that a “second, third, and fourth” chapel followed he is not strictly accurate. The second chapel was built in 1816, and was several times enlarged, but the present chapel built in 1861 is only the third.
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school, kept by Thomas Brown, a dominie who loved the rod. It was sold in 1825 to Mr. Usher, of Saxby, for £130. Sad to say, it has since been used as a slaughter-house, and is now a dilapidated warehouse. Some of the floral ornamentation of the ceiling is still to be seen. Mr. H. W. Ball (a member of the W.H.S.) has a copy of a sermon preached in it by the Rev. J. Wilson, "by request," on 3rd July, 1791, "on account of the lamented death of Selina, Dowager Duchess of Huntingdon, who expired on 17th June, 1791, in the 84th year of her age." The text was 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.'

It is evident from the above that the Countess of Huntingdon preachers were in close touch with Barton in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, and it is more than probable that what is locally regarded as a united Independent-cum-Methodist Society, meeting from 1760, in King Street, was really a Countess of Huntingdon Society that developed Independent tendencies, as many such societies did to her discomfort; and that later the Society came into the sweep of the evangelical movement under Wesley's preachers. This may possibly explain why Mr. Wesley left Barton alone. His opinion is frankly expressed in his Journal on the occasion of his visit to Grimsby, 3rd July, 1779: "I reached Grimsby, and found a little trial. In this and many other parts of the kingdom, those striplings who call themselves Lady Huntingdon's preachers have greatly hindered the work of God. They have neither sense, courage, nor grace to go and beat up the devil's quarters, in any place where Christ has not been named; but wherever we have entered, as by storm, and gathered a few souls, often at the peril of our lives, they creep in, and, by doubtful disputations, set every one's sword against his brother, etc." The Barrow Society does not seem to be without some tincture of this same 'persuasion,' and a 'split' in that Society probably explains the synchronous building of our first chapel in that place in 1780, and the erection of the old Independent Chapel, already mentioned, which even now by the oldest inhabitants is called 'the Calvinistic Chapel.'

Before we leave the old Cottage-lane Chapel in Barton let us glance at the names of some of the original Trustees in 1798. Edward Young, shop-keeper, Barrow, was the first Circuit Steward, when the Barrow Circuit was formed in 1796. Barrow at that time, and for years afterwards, despised Barton. When the new chapel was to be built in 1816, Mr. Hardey, of Barrow (father or brother of the two missionaries, Samuel and Edward
Jonathan Hardey, deprecated spending money on Barton, saying: 'Barton Methodism will never be aught.' George Houghton, senior and junior, farmers, of Killingholme, deserve notice. The name is later spelt Houlton, and a memoir of George Houlton is to be found in the *Methodist Magazine* for 1814. To him is due, if not the founding, at least the establishing of Methodism in Killingholme and East Halton (then by a curious inversion of nomenclature spelt 'East Houghton'). Mr. Houlton had been first brought into touch with Methodism at Winterton, in his youth. The good impressions were deepened by contact with the Society at Ferriby, and conviction finally came under a Methodist sermon at Elsham. The next step was to take a room at Wrawby, and invite the Methodist Preachers thither. This led to the introduction of Methodism into Brigg also. These things happened in about the year 1765. Some time subsequently he removed to Killingholme, where there was very occasional preaching, but no Society. He immediately took steps to form a Society both where he lived and at East Halton, and was not satisfied until chapels were built. The Killingholme Chapel was built in 1800, and the whole expense met by Mr. Houlton, with the exception of £7 obtained from Conference towards legal costs. A chapel was also built by his efforts at East Halton shortly afterwards.

Another name in the list is that of Thos. Waddingham, farmer, of South Ferriby, one of the first Methodists in that place, and great-grandfather of the four Tombleson brothers who for half-a-century have been the leading spirits in Barton Methodism. The first chapel at Ferriby was built in the latter part of the eighteenth century, but no date can be given. The young men of the village bought wood in Hull and brought it to Ferriby by water; other materials they obtained as cheaply as possible and did most of the work with their own hands. The whole cost in money was about £40. They held the property as joint tenants. One can only guess at the date by the fact that in 1839 when the present chapel was built, all the builders of the old chapel were dead, with the exception of the son of the Thos. Waddingham aforesaid, and he conveyed the site to the new Trustees, with the understanding that he should sit rent free for life. The Waddingham's house was the preacher's home, and the grandsons of Thos. Waddingham attended to the preacher's horse and cleaned his boots. One of them took the liberty—but no, though it is a good story, it belongs not to the period of our Proceedings, and I fear the Editor's blue pencil.
The last name we can look at in this interesting deed is William Fowler's. It is a name famous in the early annals of the Barton Circuit, and far beyond the history of Methodism. All we know about him we have learnt in reading with great delight his "Correspondence"—privately published by his grandson, the Rev. J. T. Fowler, to whom our thanks are due. William Fowler was the son of Joseph Fowler, who had a great reputation as a singer of merry songs, and who had a friend named Thomas Ramsey famed for amusing stories. They were in great request for harvest suppers and the like. Once on the way home from such a feast at Roxby they had qualms of conscience as to their conduct pleasing God—so they knelt down and prayed by a certain bush, and soon after joined a class of godly people, who met at the house of one Katy Keyworth, a member of the Methodist Society. He joined the Church choir, and was a bell-ringer. In later life, under Methodist influence, he became more seriously disposed, and gave up bell-ringing, lest his sons should get into bad company. For many years he was a class-leader, and died in 1822, aged 88. His son William was born in 1761, and died in 1832; an obituary notice may be found in the Methodist Magazine for April, 1834. "He was an ingenious and laborious self-taught draughtsman; the engraver and publisher of various Roman tesselated pavements, subjects in ancient stained glass, and architectural antiquities, which introduced him to the favourable notice of several of the most distinguished literary and scientific characters in the English and Scotch Universities and other eminent societies, of most of the principal nobility, and of the Royal Family of Great Britain." The first Methodist preacher he could remember hearing was Mr. Benjamin Rhodes, under whose preaching his mind was divinely impressed. This was in 1771; and the same year he was taken to a class-meeting. In 1777 the chapel was built at Winterton, and he gave every penny he had saved towards its erection. In 1790 he married Miss Rebecca Hill, opened his door to the Preachers, and continued to entertain them to the day of his death. In 1795 he became a class-leader and remained one all his life. He was several times Circuit Steward. In public and private charities of the Connexion he cheerfully assisted, as also the Bible and Missionary Societies. He was a special favourite of "good old Isaac Brown." William Fowler was a staunch Methodist, with a strong love for the Anglican communion. When he could no
longer go to Church or Chapel he held his class in his own house, and had private celebrations of Holy Communion, particularly requesting the Vicar to wear his surplice, and that the clerk should attend, ‘that it might be more like Church.’ Owing to a gable-cross from Holy Trinity Church, Hull, that he had set up on his garden wall, the neighbours said that they could not tell whether he were more of a Methodist, a Churchman, or a Catholic. He possessed a personal charm that won him favour with all men, whether born in palace or cottage. Of his devotion and fidelity to Methodism, and his generous support of the various societies in their early chapel-building efforts, his correspondence bears humble but eloquent witness. One son was for a while a member, and even a local preacher, I believe, among the Methodists, but his heart was not with us, and after his father’s death he ceased all connection. His daughter married Wilkinson Stephenson, a Methodist minister. But so far as I know none of William Fowler’s descendants have remained Methodists. It is only the very early letters in his correspondence that belong to the period we are considering. One from John King, who was one of the first two preachers appointed to the Barrow Circuit when it was formed in 1796, refers to the “good work that was then in the Circuit,” and also to the “great clamour raised since (i.e. 1797-9) by an opposing party, not only against individuals of the preachers, but the whole body.” This undoubtedly refers to the Kilhamite movement. Another letter from John King says: “Your lovefeasts were always good times to me. . . . I know not when we shall see again such a work as we had in your Circuit. I am glad that you are chosen Steward. I only wish it had been sooner, even when I was with you, then had I never had any trouble with the Steward.” A letter from Wm. Harrison, who was twice in the Circuit at the end of the century, and who removed to the Ashby Circuit, describes his new flock at Ashby as “downright dissenters, for they look to their preachers to baptize their children, administer the Sacrament, and bury the dead.” This is a “new mode,” which Harrison thinks William Fowler will not like at all. The later “Correspondence” is of great interest, but is outside the province of our Proceedings.

We must now retrace our steps and gather up some stray gleanings of Methodist history that strew the path of the eighteenth century in these parts. We have noticed some of the beginnings in Barton, Barrow, Alkborough, Winterton, Ferriby, Wrawby, Brigg, Killingholme, and East Halton. From Robert
Costerdine we learn a little more of the extent of Methodism. In 1764 he was appointed to the Epworth Circuit, "which was then 600 miles round, and required twelve week's travelling." He goes on to say: "I laboured there two years with some success. I had long rides and very bad roads; but the good that was done more than counterbalanced all my difficulties. Sometimes a mob followed me with volleys of oaths and curses for a mile together. . . . . I laboured one quarter in the Epworth side of the Circuit, and then went to the Grimsby side, and called at a place called Elsham, where they had been preaching before. . . . ."

[It may have been under Costerdine's preaching at Elsham that George Houlton was led to definite decision. It was about this time]. "I do not remember to have preached at Burton Stather without some being either awakened or made happy in God. At Fereby (sic), the people came like roaring lions when I was at prayer; but, notwithstanding the opposition made by Satan and his servants, I have reason to believe that three souls were awakened on that occasion. I went from thence to Barrow, and preached to a large congregation, and held a lovefeast afterwards, at which seven were brought to the knowledge of the truth. . . . Near the end of the sermon which I was preaching at Killingholm, the Lord so accompanied the word with power that many dropped down, six of whom were shortly after enabled to rejoice in God their Saviour. After I had had three months on this side of the circuit I went to the Epworth side." From this memoir of Costerdine's we learn definitely that the whole of what is now the Barton Circuit was in the Grimsby section of the great Epworth Round. He makes no mention of Barton, thus confirming the opinion that the early society meeting in King-street was not Wesleyan, but probably the Countess of Huntingdon's. This is the earliest definite mention of Burton-Stather, Ferriby and Killingholme. Societies may have been formed at the two former places by Costerdine, but there was no Society at Killingholme until Houlton went there to reside.

In 1765 the Grimsby Circuit was formed from Epworth, and for the next thirty years Grimsby was the "mother" of Methodism in N.E. Lincs. Many of the preachers who laboured here in those thirty years bear honoured names: Richard Boardman (1765), who four years later volunteered with Pilmoor for work in America, and was one of the pioneers of Methodism in the west; Thomas Mitchell (1766 and 67), who had previously travelled in

the Lincolnshire Round in 1751, when he was more cruelly ill-treated than possibly any other early Methodist preacher, and also in 1755; Isaac Brown (1770, 77, 98, 99),—chairman of the District while living at Barrow,—a man well-known and greatly beloved of Mr. Wesley, who spoke of him as 'honest Isaac Brown'; Benj. Rhodes (1772) who thus speaks of his experiences—'I stayed two years among a poor people, who received the word gladly: we got into some new places, and in other respects God gave me some fruit of my labours'; Joseph Garnet (1772), whose wife had been the nursing-mother of the infant society in Barnard Castle; Thos. Westall (1772), who was one of the very earliest lay preachers to assist Wesley; William Thom (1774 and 78) by whose influence Squire R. C. Brackenbury was won for Christ and Methodism, and whose impress was later left more indelibly than that of any other man on the Methodist New Connexion, which owed its very constitution and stability to his judgment and genius; Alex. Kilham (1785) who never lost the evangelical fervour he had caught from R. C. Brackenbury while in this Grimsby Circuit, and whose great-grandchildren are loyal members of the "Old Body" in Barton to-day; George Shadford (1780), who with Thos. Rankin had been sent out west, "let loose on the great continent of America" by Wesley when Capt. Webb, in 1772, had come to England to plead for Mr. Wesley's personal presence or at least the appointment of a good experienced preacher, and who with Boardman was one of the ten preachers at the first American Conference, July 14, 1773; Wm. Warrener (1780), who in 1786 was ordained by Wesley and sailed with Dr. Coke for Antigua; Charles Atmore, of the interesting Methodist Memorial, who was ordained in 1786 for Scotland; James Wray (1782 and 86) who in 1788 was appointed Superintendent of the Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia; Thomas Wride (1782), the 'eccentric' brother to whom Wesley had to use 'the very plainest language'; Thomas Vasey (1795), whose name is ever fragrant; and many others whom we cannot mention.

No record of Barton Methodism would be complete that made no mention of the birth of Richard Watson, who first saw the light in a small house at the corner of the Butchery and the Market-place in 1781. The parish register shows that Richard, son of Thomas and Ann Watson, was baptised in the parish of St. Peter on 5th March, 1781. The last entry of the baptism of

5. Author of the well-known hymn "My heart and voice I raise."
a child of Thos. and Ann Watson here is 9th March, 1789. His early schooling was obtained in the St. James' Aisle of the old parish church of St. Mary of which the Vicar was dominie. Here he got the rudiments of English, Latin and Greek, and a love for the Prayer Book that was life-long. The family removed to Lincoln when Richard was eight years old. A tablet to his memory adorns the wall of our Barton chapel.

We have no "account of the societies" in the Barton Circuit earlier than 1800. There is an old book containing the names of the members for that year. But we have the Steward's Account Book for the year 1797, the year after the circuit had been formed. From this we learn that the income of the Michaelmas quarter was £18 os. 7d., contributed by the following Societies: Horkstow, Bigby, Goxhill, Ferriby, Barton, Barrow, Flixbro', Aulkbro', Whilton, West Halton, Brigg, Scawby, Burton, Winterton, Bonby, Elsham, Rawby, Ulceby, Habor (i.e. Habrough), Killingholm and Halton. The places in italics are still in the Barton Circuit. The disbursements amounted to £17 18s. 6d. In 1798 Thinton (i.e. Thornton) and Grasby are added and East Halton appears as distinct from Killingholm. In 1799 Barnaby (i.e. Barnetby) and Broughton appear, and in the same year we find mention of Winteringham in a letter from J. King to W. Fowler, though no contribution is paid until 1800. We have no very definite knowledge of how or when the societies were formed in many of these places. Whilton, where even to-day we are content to worship in a farm kitchen, may possibly owe its Methodism to Ann Penrose, who in 1790 or thereabouts, came from Welton on her marriage to the grandfather of Alec Spilman, Esq., J.P., of Kirmington Vale, an honoured member of our church to-day. She is described as having been a 'bigotted' Methodist, and as a girl used to walk from her house to Brough, and to Hull, where she frequently heard Joseph Benson preach in 'Pig Alley.' The Spilman's home has been the preaching-place in Whilton all down the years, in one house or another.

Thus far does the voice of the eighteenth century speak to us of Methodist beginnings along Humber-side.

B. A. HURD BARLEY.
No complete list of John Wesley's translations from the German has hitherto existed in print. At the request of the Editors, I propose to supply one, with a few notes and comments, for the benefit of future students.

John Wesley translated thirty-three German hymns. He found them all in the Herrnhuth Gesang-Buch of 1735, and the various supplements (Anhänge), which were issued during the next three or four years. My own copy of the 1737 edition has all these supplements bound up with it.

It used to be thought that Wesley had gone to several sources for his German originals. But (as I shewed in an article in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for June 1910) this is not so. He had Freylinghausen's Gesang-Buch in his possession, but this was merely his tune-book,—the musical companion of the Herrnhuth hymnal. There are no tunes in the latter, but references are given to suitable melodies in Freylinghausen. I have proved beyond doubt that the Herrnhuth Gesang-Buch was the sole source of Wesley's versions, and thereby, of course, have established the precise text of his German originals—for many of these hymns vary largely in the text given in different hymnals. All the thirty-three hymns are found in the Herrnhuth Gesang-Buch, many of them are found nowhere else, and in the three cases where Wesley attached numbers to his translations, in the Diary for 1736, (Standard Edition of Journal, I, 299) they are the numbers of the pages in the Herrnhuth hymnal,—despite the fact that two of the three numbered hymns are found in Freylinghausen also.

Every line, therefore, that Wesley translated from the German is found in the Herrnhuth Gesang-Buch,—with possibly one small
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and interesting exception. Spangenberg's hymn, "Der König ruht und schauet doch," is found in one of the supplements, but the following lines of Wesley's version do not correspond with anything in the German—

"He prospers all His servants' toils
But of peculiar grace has chose
A flock, on whom His kindest smiles
And choicest blessings He bestows;
Devoted to their common Lord,
True followers of the bleeding Lamb,
By God beloved, by men abhorr'd;—
And HERRNHUTH is the favourite name!"

In his copy of the "Hymns and Sacred Poems," 1742, preserved at Richmond College, Wesley afterwards annotated this last line:

"It was! But how is 'y' fine gold become dim!"

Only two explanations are possible, I think. Either Wesley deliberately varied from the German, and introduced this reference to Herrnhuth himself,—which does not seem likely, since the rest of the hymn is a pretty close and regular translation,—or Spangenberg wrote something of the kind originally, which was modified before being inserted in the Herrnhuth Gesang-Buch. In that case, it must be supposed that Wesley saw Spangenberg's manuscript hymn while in Georgia.

The first lines of the English and of the German of these thirty-three hymns are as follows:

Extended on a cursed tree,
O Welt sieh hier dein Leben,
Jesu, Thy boundless love to me,
O Jesu Christ, mein schönstes Licht
Commit thou all thy griefs,
Befiehl du deine Wege
To Thee with heart and mouth I sing
Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund,

1. This hymn was never published by Wesley. It is found in the Diary for 1736 (see facsimile in Standard Edition of Journal, I, 216, and note on page 299). It was first printed by the late Rev. Richard Green, W.H.S. Proc., 1, 52. When writing a review of the first volume of the Standard Edition of the Journal, I was struck with Mr. Curnock's note to the effect that this hymn might be original, but, if it were a translation, the source of it had not been traced. Being convinced that it was a translation, I began to seek the German original, and speedily made the discovery that it was a close version of the first six stanzas of Paul Gerhardt's "Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund." A few weeks later I got my copy of the Herrnhuth Gesang-Buch, and, as I expected, found it there on the page corresponding with Wesley's number.
Proceedings.

Thee will I love, my strength, my tower,
Ich will dich lieben, meine Stärke, (Scheffler)
O God of good the unfathom'd Sea,
Du unvergleichlich Gut,
Thou, Jesu, art our King,
Dich, Jesu, loben wir,
Jesu, Thy soul renew my own,
Die Seele Christi heil'ge mich,
Thou hidden love of God, whose height,
Verborgne Gottes Liebe du, (Tersteegen)
Lo! God is here, let us adore,
Gott ist gegenwärtig, 
O God, Thou bottomless Abyss,
O Gott, du tiefe sonder Grund, (Ernst Lange)
O God, what offering shall I give,
O Jesu, süßes Licht, (Joachim Lange)
Jesu, whose glory's streaming rays
Mein Jesu, dem die Seraphinen, (Dessler)
Shall I, for fear of feeble man,
Solll'tich aus Furcht vor Menschenkindern, (Winckler)
Thou Lamb of God, Thou Prince of Peace,
Stilles Lamm und Friedefürst, (Richter)
My soul before Thee prostrate lies,
Hier legt mein Sinn sich vor dir nieder,
O Jesu, source of calm repose,
Wer ist wohl wie du, (Freylinghausen)
Monarch of all, with lowly fear,
Monarch aller Ding,
Jesu, Thy blood and righteousness
Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit (Zinzendorf)
O Thou, to whose all-searching sight
Seelen-Brautigam, O du Gottes Lamm²
Jesu, to Thee my heart I bow,
Reiner Bräut'gam meiner Seele
O God of God, in whom combine,
Herz, der göttlichen Natur
Eternal depth of love divine
Du ewiger Abgrund der seligen Liebe
O Thou whom sinners love, whose care,
Verliebter in der Sünderschaft,

² The fourth verse of Wesley's version of this hymn is from Freylinghausen's "Wer ist wohl wie du." 

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All glory to the Eternal Three,
Schau von deinem Thron,
I thirst, Thou wounded Lamb of God,  
Now I have found the ground wherein,
Ich habe nun den Grund gefunden,
Holy Lamb, who Thee receive,
Du heiliges Kind,  
What shall we offer our good Lord,
Der König ruht und schauet doch,
Regardless now of things below,
Eins Christen Herz  
Meek, patient Lamb of God to Thee,
O stilles Gottes Lamm
O Thou who all things canst control,
Ach, triebe aus meiner Seele
High praise to Thee, all gracious God,
Sei hochgelobt, barmherz'ger Gott,

It should be noted that the bulk of the writers are Pietists and Moravians. Freylinghausen (1670—1739) was the son-in-law and successor of A. H. Francke, the Founder of the Orphan House at Halle. C. F. Richter (1676—1711) was the physician of the Orphan House. Joachim Lange (1670—1744) was Professor of Divinity at Halle. J. J. Winckler (1670—1722) was a Pietist clergyman. Gottfried Arnold (1666—1714), a distinguished ecclesiastical historian, was a disciple of Spener, the founder of Pietism. Ludwig Andreas Gotter (1661—1735) who was Hofrat at Gotha, had relations with Pietism. Sigismund Christian Gmelin (1679—1707) was a Separatist who had a variegated career, but was in touch with Pietists all his life. Maria Magdalena Böhmer (1677—1743) was a Pietist who contributed three hymns to Freylinghausen’s collection.

Then, in addition to Zinzendorf, there are three other Moravians whose hymns Wesley translated. J. A. Rothe (1688—1758) was appointed by the Court to the pastorate of Berthelsdorf, the parish in which Herrnhut was situated. Anna Dober (1713—39) née Schindler, was the wife of Leonard J. Dober, one of the Bishops of the Brethren. And A. G. Spangenberg (1704—

3. This hymn is a cento from four German hymns, Zinzendorf’s “Ach, mein verwundeter Fürste!” (verses 1—2 of the English), J. Nitschmann’s “Du blutiger Versühnert!” (verses 3—4—5—6), Zinzendorf’s “Der Gott von unserm Bunde” (verse 7), and Anna Nitschmann’s “Mein König! deine Liebe” (verse 8). All these four hymns are in the same Supplement (Anhang) of the Herrnhuth Gesang-Buch.
1792) who had been Assistant Professor of Divinity at Halle, was the most learned and lovable of the Moravians, and became also one of their Bishops.

Thus, excepting the classical hymns of Gerhardt (1607—1676), Scheffler (1624—1677), and Tersteegen (1697—1769), practically all the rest of the hymns that Wesley translated were the product of the two great and closely related spiritual movements that had their headquarters at Halle and at Herrnhut.

The translations from the German were all published between 1737 and 1742. They were probably all written by 1739. Apparently Wesley disused German after his breach with the Moravians in 1740. In November, 1745, when many German troops were encamped on the Town Moor at Newcastle-on-Tyne, in consequence of the Rebellion, he wrote in his Journal: “I observed many Germans standing disconsolate at the skirts of the congregation. To these I was constrained (though I had discontinued it so long) to speak a few words in their own language. Immediately they gathered up close together, and drank in every word.” This, of course, refers to disuse of the spoken language, but it is significant that no German books are mentioned in the Journal after the earliest period, while French books are often referred to. Yet, on the other hand, he read Bengel’s “Erklärte Offenbarung Johannis” as late as 1754, for use in his “Notes on the New Testament.” It is probable, however, that this was merely a case of furbishing up his German to read a book of which he was in special need. In his knowledge of German, as in so much else, Wesley was a pioneer. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century, at the time when the fame of Goethe and Schiller was filtering through into England, that Englishmen began to regard German as a language worth learning. It would be possible to count on the fingers of one hand the distinguished Englishmen who knew German in 1740.

John Wesley’s versions of German hymns are amongst the very finest examples of translated verse in the language. They stand the supreme test of a translator’s art, for they are as vigorous and as poetical as the originals. They read as if they had been written in English. His own standard of translation varied. Sometimes his version is as literal as it could be, to retain freedom of poetical movement, as for example, in the stanza—

“O Love, Thou bottomless abyss,
My sins are swallowed up in Thee!
Covered is my unrighteousness,
Nor spot of guilt remains on me,
While Jesu's blood, through earth and skies,
Mercy, free, boundless mercy! cries."

which renders the German verse—

"O Abgrund, welcher alle Sünden
Durch Christi Tod verschlungen hat!
Das heisst die Wunde recht verbinden,
Da findet kein Verdammten statt,
Weil Christi Blut bestandig schreit,
Barmherzigkeit! Barmherzigkeit!"

In other hymns, again, the English does little more than express the central thought of the German, as in the lines—

"Through Thy rich grace, in Jesu's blood
Blessing, redemption, life we find.
Our souls wash'd in this cleansing flood,
No stain of guilt remains behind.
Who can Thy mercy's stores express?
Unfathomable, numberless!"

which are a version of the German stanza—

"Du segnest uns in ihm, dem Herrn,
Mit überschwenglich reichem Segen,
Und gehest unser Armut gern
Mit deiner theueren Gnad' entgegen,
Was sind wir doch, du allerschönstes Gut
Dass deine Lieb' so Grosses an uns thut?"

HENRY BETT.

4. Members of the W. H. S. will be glad to know that the writer of the preceding article, the Rev. Henry Bett, after some years' research, has completed a series of studies on The Hymns of Methodism in their Literary Relations. His book, shortly to be published, will trace the indebtedness of the hymns of the Wesleys to the Scriptures, to the Fathers and the Mystics, and to the English poets. His introduction will deal with the general relation of the hymns to literature, and note the source and date of the earliest hymns. The Appendices will include some of the careful notes on the "Archaisms" contributed to these "Proceedings." Students of hymnology will welcome this volume from the pen of a careful student and lucid writer.

T. E. BRIGDEN.
DR. AUGUSTIN LEGER ON THE NEW EDITIONS OF THE WESLEY JOURNALS
[SARAH AND BETTY KIRKHAM.]

The Revue Germanique for the current quarter contains an article, from the pen of the author of La Jeunesse de Wesley, on the first two volumes of the Standard Edition of John Wesley's Journal; with references also to the new edition of Charles Wesley's Journal. After calling attention to minor mistakes in the former—remarkably few, he acknowledges, in a work of such importance—he challenges the editor's identification of "Varanese" with Miss Betty Kirkham and seeks to sustain the position he takes in La Jeunesse de Wesley p. 197, that it was Sarah, the eldest daughter of the rector of Stanton, to whom Wesley refers by that pseudonym and who exercised so great an influence upon him at the critical period of his life at Oxford, 1725. Betty, he contends, is precisely the only one of the rector's three daughters who could not have been "Varanese." Miss Betty without doubt married a Mr. Rich. Wilson and died in 1732. This the parish registers of Stanton puts beyond dispute. "1732, Mary Elizabetha uxor Richardi Wilson, sepulta xxx." (W.H.S., Proc. v, 54—58); and Mary Granville, writing to her sister 28 June, 1732, says: "I am sorry for the shock her death must have given to Sally . . . but I hope . . . she will be reconciled to the loss of a sister, etc." (Life and Letters of Mrs. Delaney, I, 360). But Wesley continued to correspond with "Varanese" in 1735—6 (see Standard Journal, III, p. 182), and Charles Wesley reports having seen her at Stanton, 30 Mar., 1737, on his return from America. Varanese was certainly a Kirkham, and Dr. Leger is confident that she was Sarah, who married John Capon (or Chapone) Christmas, 1725, and that it is almost certainly to her Emilia Wesley refers in her letter to John, 13 Aug., 1735, "If you had not lost your dear Mrs. C——n, etc."

It is Mary Wesley's letter to her brother, 20 Jan., 1726, where she rallies him on his tender attachment, which Dr. Leger thinks has led to the identification of Betty with "Varanese." "Ask, I pray you, Miss Betsy to buy me a little silk to knit you another pair of gloves and I am sure the color will doubly please you because of the buyer."
But may not Mary have been mistaken as to which of the Rector's three daughters was the favoured one? Or might not the letter have been a feeler written with the purpose of finding out whether it were indeed Miss Betsy or another? Sisters are proverbially curious in such matters.

E. OMAR PEARSON.

THE MUTUAL FRIENDS OF WESLEY AND GOLDSMITH.

The Journal of John Wesley does not afford any proof of his acquaintance with Goldsmith, either as a poet or as a man; but it contains many interesting notices of distinguished people and books of the day, whose names and titles are also to be found in Forster's Life of the Irish genius. Both knew and admired Dr. Johnson and Sir Joshua Reynolds; but this brief paper deals with less brilliant men than these. Goldsmith was often the guest of Wesley's early patron, General Oglethorpe. On one of these occasions, when Johnson and Boswell were also present, Boswell "fired up" the brave old General by making a question of the moral propriety of duelling. . . . After this,—the General poured a little wine on the table, and at Johnson's request described with a wet finger the siege of Belgrade. At a later date, "the three" dined with the benevolent old soldier. "After taking a prominent part in the after-dinner talk and maintaining a discussion with Johnson, Goldsmith sang with great applause, on joining the ladies at tea, not only Tony Lumpkin's song of the 'Three Jolly Pigeons,' but a very pretty one to the tune of the 'Humours of Ballamagair,' which he had written for Miss Hardcastle." Shortly afterwards the same company, re-inforced by Reynolds, Langton and Thrale, met under the same hospitable roof, when there was much discussion on Garrick, and "the custom of eating dogs at Otaheite, which Goldsmith named as also existing in China, adding that a dog butcher was as common as any other butcher, and that when he walked abroad all the dogs fell on him."

It is well known that Wesley entertained a very high opinion of the wit and valour of the Corsican patriot, Pasquale de Paoli—an opinion seconded by the rank and fashion of the Metropolis.
So much was Boswell charmed with the popular foreigner, that he appeared abroad "in a Corsican habit, with pistols in his belt, and a musket at his back, and in the front of his cap, in gold letters, these words, 'Paoli and Liberty.'" In this masquerade he appeared before the Prime Minister, as the representative of the Corsican. Lord Buchan said "Mr. Pitt smiled, but received him very graciously in his pompous manner." One day the three met at General Paoli's. There was some talk about 'She stoops to conquer.' In the feast of reason Johnson, forgetting for a moment the position of his host, quoted the couplet—

For colleges on bounteous kings depend,
And never rebel was to arts a friend
‘Nay,’ said Paoli, ‘successful rebels might.’ ‘Happy rebellions,’ explained Martinelli. ‘We have no such phrase,’ said Goldsmith. ‘But have you not the thing?’ asked Paoli. ‘Yes,’ the other answered, ‘all our happy revolutions.’ Subsequently in this encounter of wits, Goldsmith was faring somewhat badly when Paoli hastened to relieve him with an elegant metaphor.

“Monsieur Goldsmith est comme la mer, qui jette des perles et beaucoup d'autres belles choses, sans s'en apercevoir.” “Tres bien dit, et tres elegamment,” said Goldsmith, highly pleased.

Of Wesley's many medical friends two at least were known to Goldsmith. In a letter, dated May, 1753, he describes Munro as "the one great professor, and the rest of the doctor-teachers as only less afflicting to their students than they must be to their patients.” In a later communication he expresses his pleasure in his medical studies, and the hope of hearing Munro for another year. No doctor held the confidence of Wesley so completely as the famous Dr. Cheyne. In the Life of Goldsmith it is related that "the great fat doctor of Bath told Thomson that, as you put a bird's eyes out to make it sing the sweeter, you should keep poets poor to animate their genius."

It is possible that Wesley met Worgan, the eminent musician who took such a generous interest in the training of his nephews, the two young Wesleys. In Forster's Goldsmith there is an interesting note relating to this composer. "Smart was again at large at the close of the year, and on the 3rd of the following April [1764], a sacred composition named 'Hannah,' with his name as its author, and music by Mr. Worgan, was produced at the King's Theatre. The effort connects itself with a similar one by Goldsmith, made at the same time. He wrote the words of an oratorio in three acts on the subject of the "Captivity in Babylon.”
An entry in the Journal of Wesley might seem to suggest a distant literary connection between himself and Goldsmith. It runs: "I wrote a second letter to the authors of the 'Monthly Review'; ingenious men, but no friends to the Godhead of Christ." Goldsmith's orthodoxy was never questioned, or we might suppose that he was one of these "ingenious men," he being for a time on the staff of the Monthly Review; but attention to dates brings this conjecture to naught. Wesley wrote as above on 5 October, 1756, whereas Goldsmith did not become the poor hack of Griffiths, the editor of the Review, until April, 1757. He must also be acquitted of any part in the attacks made in that serial on Whitefield in 1759, and on the good Vicar of Bradford in 1789, seeing that in the former period he had left Griffiths, and in the second he had left this weary world. "Goldsmith never publicly avowed what he had written in the Monthly Review, any more than the Roman poet talked of the millstone he turned in his days of hunger." Whether Wesley's entire silence as to the writings of Goldsmith is due to the whilom connection of the unfortunate genius with the Anti-Methodist Review is an open question: but probably must be answered in the negative since the connection terminated before the one year's engagement closed.

RICHARD BUTTERWORTH.

EXCERPTS FROM

JOHN VALTON'S M.S. JOURNAL.

(Continued from page 119).

10 August, 1790. This day I came safe to Wrington on my way to Cornwall, whither I am going to spend some weeks by desire of Mr. Wesley.

13 August. This morning I called and baited at Mr. Norton's in Wellington. In the afternoon I arrived safe, but tired, at Collumpton. I had many hearers, we had a most comfortable time. As the Society was much divided among themselves, and prejudices prevailed, I stopt the Society and most lovingly pointed out to them their errors and duly endeavoured to raise their expectation of a revival. After I had done the people began to shake hands in a most affectionate manner, and gave proofs of
their brotherly love returning. Surely the Lord owned my endeavours.

14 August. This day I arrived at Exeter, and had rest in the evening.

15 August. I preached this morning at 7 o'clock, and the people found it a better time than I did. At 10 I attended the Church Service at the Cathedral and had the satisfaction of partaking of the Lord's Supper with the Bishop.

16 August. This evening I came to Oakhampton and lodged at the White Hart. It is a poor mean town, where there is no reception of Methodists.

17 August. This day the Lord brought me safe to Launceston.

19 August. This morning Mr. Maybin accompanied me part of the way to Port Isaac. It is a seaport village situated in a bottom between two high hills and rocks, and mostly inhabited by fishermen. Soon after I got in Mr. Warwick the preacher, [Rev. Thomas Warwick] and I went to bathe in the sea.

20 August. This day a guide attended me a great part of the way to Bodmin. I found there was no notice given of my coming, so I can expect but few people. How was I disappointed when I found a room full of people. I think I never saw a more solemn, attentive congregation. Surely the Lord was present among us!

23 August. This evening I preached to a very large congregation at Truro. Truro seems to be one of the largest and best towns I have seen in Cornwall.

24 August. This day I came to Redruth, and was comfortably and kindly entertained at Bro. Roskrow's. In the evening I preached to a crowded house. It was the largest congregation I have seen since I left Bristol. I think I hardly ever saw such a loving people.

25 August. This morning I set off for Penzance, where I safely arrived about ½ past 1. I had the most uncomfortable journey to-day that I have had since I set out. I had a heavy rain for near three hours, and lost my way a little once, and my horse cast a shoe. But all is well. My spirits were very low when I heard the harm that Calvinism was doing among us here.

27 August. This morning I walked about a mile to Newlin and preached to a very serious congregation. As it is a fishing town, and the most plentiful year for pilchards that they have known for several years back, the men were engaged in fishing, and the women in salting the fish; [thus] it much lessened my
29 AUGUST. I preached this morning at 11 and again in the evg. at Penzance, and was dull and stupid in the morning, but I had liberty at 6 o'clock, and many were affected. Dr. Boaze and several friends were here from Redruth, with whom I conversed comfortably.

30 AUGUST. In the evg. I was enabled to preach a discourse on my darling subject: "Jesus Christ the same yesterday, etc." Heb. 13, 8. We had a large, brilliant, Sunday's congregation. It was a precious season indeed!

31 AUGUST. This day I went to Marazion—vulgarly called "Market Jew." Several of our friends came over from Penzance. In the morning I went to the poor house, and exhorted them with some satisfaction.

2 SEPTEMBER. This evg. I preached at St. Ives, and a large congregation seemed to drink in the Word.

5 SEPTEMBER. My complaint was far from being removed to-day, but in the evg. the Lord enabled me to preach and meet the Society. This place, like Redruth, is most highly favoured of the Lord. They have a large House, large Society, and large congregation. They have no persecution nor any Calvinists to spread sour leaven among them. They have well-attended prayer meetings every night. There are two rooms for the preacher adjoining the preaching house. The situation is the most retired and pleasant in the town; out of one window I could see the sea as I sat up in my bed, and the fruitful orchard from another. Oh happy people! And yet the people were formed into parties, and many ready to leave the Society through the late Election that had corrupted six of its members.

7 SEPTEMBER. This morning Bro. Carne and I went to the Land's End. Having left our horses with two children, we went on to the High Cliff, and had an extensive sea prospect. We could see the Islands of Scilly very plain. We then went down the vast rocks as far as we could, and then fell down upon our knees, and worshipt that Great God who holdeth the waters in the hollow of His hand. We then went to St. Ives where I was to preach at night. In the aftn. we walked about a mile to view the sea from another high cliff that hangs over the sea, called Cape Cornwall. The rocks have an awful appearance at this place, and we had a fine view of the Atlantic ocean. In the afternoon several ladies came to drink tea at Bro. Thomas's. I spoke closely and lovingly to them, and they afterwards attended the preaching. Happy for this Society and country near they have no Calvinists. They are a bane to holiness, and a scourge, in general, to the Methodists.