



Engraved by T.W. Hunt.

Ch Wesley

THE RECENT DISCOVERIES OF WESLEY MSS. AT THE BOOK ROOM.

The Standard Edition of Wesley's *Journal* could scarcely have reached its present stage of comparative completeness but for discoveries. Ancient notebooks, letters yellow with age, a few choice men with leisure and inclination to read them and with knowledge of the niches into which they naturally fit, were found. Yet, as some would argue, the books and papers had never been actually lost. By sale, gift or marriage, they had passed from hand to hand, very often the hands belonging to heads that neither understood nor cared for such things, except as curiosities, which, like inscribed stones and Worcester china, were gaining money-value by age. But just because they were old and once belonged to men of note, they were securely guarded in strong rooms, Chubb's safes, or women's treasure-boxes. They were "lost" in "safe places." I once held in my hand a printed book, now fabulously valuable, which when shown to me had risen in price from two-pence to a hundred pounds. It was "found" on a street-barrow by a man who had eyes to see. But of the hundreds of Wesley MSS. which have passed through my hands not one, so far as I know, was ever "lost" in the book-barrow sense. Someone has always known of its existence, though perhaps for fifty or a hundred years no one has realised its intrinsic importance. This is true of nearly if not quite all of the Wesley MSS. found during the last ten years. Yet all the time Richard Green, Thomas M'Cullagh, H. J. Foster, R. Thursfield Smith, and others who, happily, still survive, were working silently, often for the mere pleasure the work gave them, or, slowly and often in strange ways, were being prepared for a share in the task of restoring a great figure to its legitimate place in history. When the set time came, the providential hand unlocked the safes and strong rooms, the Wesley MSS. were "discovered," and so they passed into an interpreter's house. One might write an *Arminian Magazine* article on "The Providence of God illustrated in the discovery and interpretation of Wesley MSS."

I have had occasional access to the Book Room literary treasuries now for many years past, and once was permitted to make a rough catalogue of the contents of the Book Room safe. The contents at that time were much more miscellaneous than now. From generation to generation the safe (or its predecessor) had been a receptacle for all sorts of written or printed documents—notebooks, sermons, curiosities, that enjoyed a reputation for oldness. There was little or no method in the arrangement of the contents. Rapid searches for documents, needed perhaps for a magazine article, tended to make confusion worse confounded. Some of the greatest treasures were buried in masses of manuscript sermons, copied hymns, circulars, and what not. I plead guilty myself to some of the disorder. But mine was a life of rush and drive, my friend the Book Steward was a connexional man, always in haste for a journey or a committee, and, wisely, we had a tacit understanding that only in his presence were the Wesley treasures to be handled. When the present Steward came into power, he asked me to assist him in cataloguing and arranging the contents of the safe. The first volume I touched was Wesley's last account book—337 pages bound in vellum—as strong, though not as white as when in February, 1791, Wesley laid it on one side. For ten years it had been his daily companion. The old Book Steward knew it well. It and another smaller volume (to which I will presently refer) were his favourite show-books when distinguished strangers called. I remember distinctly the first occasion when he read to me the well-known entry:—

“For upwards of eighty-six (he meant sixty-six) years I have kept my accounts exactly. I will not attempt it any longer, being satisfied with the continual conviction, that I save all I can, and give all I can, that is all I have.

July 16, 1790.

JOHN WESLEY.”

How eagerly I published the entry in the Centenary Number of the *Methodist Recorder*, March, 1892. More than once the volume was actually in my hands. Its supreme, and so far as we then knew, its only value lay in the above entry and in a note respecting Wesley's age written by Dr. Adam Clarke on the inside cover. At that time I knew nothing about Wesley's note-book idiosyncrasies. Since then I have learned, that every book in which he has made notes must be examined from both ends. His manuscript hymn-book, for instance, in the Colman Collection, when turned upside down becomes a Sermon Register. Instinctively, after reading the familiar account-book entries, I turned the volume, and to my utter amazement found a shorthand Diary the

PROCEEDINGS.

first line of which read :—

Sunday, December 1st, 1782,

and the last, on page 260 :—

Sunday, 31

4, Prayer, letters, Cheyne (?) 10, Prayers, Psalm 146, 4, Communion, dinner, sleep.

[a line not yet deciphered], supper, prayer 9½.

The date at the top of the last page is January 22, Friday, 1790. The Headingley Diary, of which a photographic copy lies before me, begins the day following the last entry mentioned above, viz.: on February 1, 1790, and ends Thursday [Feb.] 24 [1791]. On the Wednesday morning following, the great Diarist died.

I am now engaged in the somewhat difficult task of deciphering this last discovered Shorthand Diary. It seems to be a complete day by day, and at times hour by hour record of the devotions, occupations, journeys, &c., of the last ten years of his life. If I had turned the volume twelve years ago the discovery would have been of no use to me, and of very little use to anybody else. I could not then have read the shorthand. I did not know that a cipher was in existence. The abbreviated longhand names of persons and places that strew these pages would have been unfamiliar, and practically illegible. Besides I was too much absorbed in the hurly-burly of the present to give days and weeks to the work of deciphering an old man's tremulous and obsolete shorthand. I had to go into the wilderness, and be shut out of everything for a while, until I was ready for the work God had in store for me. And now, on February 24th, 1913, exactly 121 years after Wesley closed the book, I find myself, as Editor of the Standard Edition of Wesley's *Journal*, on the threshold of the very period covered by this mysteriously hidden and now just as mysteriously "discovered Diary." It is exactly the help we need for the closing years and days of the great life of our father in God.

To return to the safe. The next book I handled was also familiar. It used to be shown to visitors and in wondering Centenary meetings as John Wesley's note-book, containing in his own handwriting notes of New Testament studies prepared for the Holy Club. For some years past I have had doubts about this relic. All I can say at present is, that the handwriting is not Wesley's. But a volume which I do not remember to have before seen, I found did contain, beyond a doubt, among other valuable material, Wesley's Holy Club notes.

These are examples of the new John Wesley MSS.

The Charles Wesley discoveries I suspect to be, from some points of view, still more important. But as yet they have not been exhaustively examined. Moreover there is in them much extremely difficult shorthand. On this subject, therefore, I will not now venture.

I may add that there is proof that Henry Moore knew these documents and could, and did, read the shorthand. And, nearer to our own times, Elijah Hoole knew some of them and had expert knowledge of Byrom's shorthand.

May I express the hope that my fellow-members of the W.H.S., by whose patient researches I am placed under daily obligations, will continue to seek lost Diaries and letters jealously guarded in family archives. They will be glad to know that all those re-discovered documents will, in due time, be published. I need scarcely say that nothing needs to be withheld from the public eye.

NEHEMIAH CURNOCK.

PORTRAIT OF CHARLES WESLEY.

By permission of Rev. J. Alfred Sharp we are able to furnish as frontispiece to Vol. IX. of our *Proceedings*, a steel engraving of one of the portraits of Rev. Charles Wesley. Of these there are several extant; the one reproduced is by William Gush, and in Jackson's *Life of Charles Wesley* is said to be "in the possession of the family." The engraver of the plate in Jackson's *Life* was T. A. Dean; of the present issue the engraver was T. W. Hunt. There is a portrait by Hudson in Telford's *Life of Charles Wesley*, p. 56, and another "engraved by G. Stodart" in Kirk's *Poet of Methodism*, and yet one more by the Canadian artist, J. W. L. Forster, in the *New History of Methodism* (I. 238.) But perhaps the finest portrait of the poet, and the only one published during his lifetime, is the beautiful folio engraved by Spilsbury, of which Mr. George Stampe has an excellent copy. We hope, at some future time, to reproduce this picture.

J. CONDER NATTRASS.

WESLEY AND JOSEPH GALLOWAY,
MEMBER OF THE FIRST AMERICAN
CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

[We are indebted to the courtesy of the Editor of the *Methodist Times* for permission to reproduce the following article from the issue of that Journal for 9 Jan. A few slight changes have been made and the footnotes added by Mr. Bridgen.]

Dr. Augustin Leger, in a letter to the writer, recently asked a question concerning the authorship of one of the most important political pamphlets published by Wesley at the Foundery: *Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Revolution*, 1780. The late Rev. R. Green (*Bibliog.* No. 341), while admitting that "some features of Wesley's style are wanting," concluded that it was written by Wesley. This Dr. Leger rightly doubted. Careful investigation shows that it was written by Joseph Galloway, the member of "the first American Congress," referred to in Wesley's *Journal*. He was one of the clearest thinkers and writers among the American loyalists, and in the opinion of Professor M. C. Tyler, the author of "Joseph Galloway, Loyalist Politician" (New Haven, 1903), he shared with Thomas Hutchinson the supreme place among American statesmen opposed to the Revolution. He attained high standing in Philadelphia as a lawyer, and from 1756 to 1774 was one of the most influential members of the Pennsylvanian Assembly. With his friend, Benjamin Franklin, he led the opposition to the "Proprietary Government" of dominant landowners, and Franklin wrote a preface to one of his published speeches.¹ With the approach of the crisis in the relations between Great Britain and America, he adopted a loyalist course, and while recognising the justice of many of the Colonial complaints, discouraged revolutionary action, and advocated, if one may use modern terms, a measure of home rule and local government. As a member of the first Continental Congress, he introduced (28 September, 1774) his "Plan of a proposed union between Great Britain and

1. Stuber's *Continuation of the Life of Franklin*, vol. i, 249-273. *A Speech in answer to the Speech of John Dickenson*, 1764. 2/-: London. Bigelow's *Franklin*, 10 vols., I have not within reach. Any notes, especially from American readers, will be acceptable.

the Colonies." This, in some respects, resembled Franklin's Albany Plan of Union of 1754, and shared the same fate, "disapproved of by the Ministry of Great Britain because it gave too much power to the representatives of the people, rejected by the Assembly as giving to the President-General an influence greater than appeared to be proper in a plan of government intended for freemen."

Galloway's plan, to which reference is made in several pamphlets published by Wesley, provided for a President-General appointed by the Crown, who should have supreme executive authority over all the Colonies, and for a grand Council elected triennially by the several provincial Assemblies, "having such rights, liberties and privileges as are held and exercised by and in the House of Commons of Great Britain." The President-General and Grand Council were to be an "inferior, distinct branch of the British legislature, united and incorporated with it." The assent of the Grand Council and of the British Parliament was to be requisite to the validity of all general acts and statutes, except that "in time of war, all Bills for granting aid to the Crown, prepared by the Grand Council and approved by the President-General, shall be valid and passed into law, without the assent of the British Parliament." The individual Colonies, however, were to retain control over their strictly internal affairs.

This was debated at great length, and was supported by prominent speakers like John Jay and James Duane, of New York, and Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, and was defeated only by a vote of six counties to five. What is said in an early *Life of Franklin* of his Albany Plan may be well applied to Galloway's plan: "Whether the adoption of this plan would have prevented the separation of America from Great Britain is a question which might afford much room for speculation."

Professor Tyler, however, characterises Galloway's Plan as "a noble minded measure," and says "the sagacious scheme which virtually anticipated the British statesmanship of the subsequent century in the solution of the British Colonial problem, came very near to adoption . . . it was pronounced by Edward Rutledge to be "almost a perfect plan." . . . Had it been adopted the disruption of the British Empire by an American schism would certainly have been averted for that epoch, and as an act of violence and of hereditary unkindness would perhaps have been averted for ever." A copy of the scheme was submitted by the hands of Franklin to Chatham, Camden, and Lord Dartmouth. One of the latest writers on the

Revolution, Dr. Henry Belcher, is of the opinion that "the flaw in the foundation would have been fatal to the superstructure. No resolve of the first Continental Congress in 1774 at which eleven Colonies were represented, could have bound the Colonies not represented; neither in the temper of the people was there any probability that all the Colonies would, each for itself have consented with the intention of granting the scheme cordial assistance."²

Galloway declined a second election to Congress in 1775, and joined the British in 1776. During the British occupation of Philadelphia he was superintendent of the port and police. On the British evacuation of Philadelphia, in 1778, he came to England. After he left America his life was attainted and his property, valued at £40,000, was confiscated, though later he received a partial recompense in the form of a small parliamentary pension. An account of his examination before a committee of the House of Commons was published in England and America.³

John Wesley appears to have met Joseph Galloway for the first time on 13 November, 1779. Wesley's *Journal* records: "I had the pleasure of an hour's conversation with Mr. G., one of the members of the first Congress in America. He unfolded a strange tale indeed! How has poor King G. been betrayed on every side!" His opinion of Galloway is expressed in a letter to the "Monthly Review,"⁴ in reference to some later pamphlets, "As to scurrility I see not the least trace of it in anything Mr. Galloway has published. He is above it. He is 'no venal instrument of calumny.'" In a letter to his niece Sarah, Wesley says, "I shall be right glad to see Mr. Galloway. A few such acquaintances as him and Miss Galloway I wish you to have."⁵ Miss Sarah Wesley acted on her uncle's advice, as some of her letters show.⁶

2. *The First American Civil War*, by Rev. Henry Belcher. Macmillan. 2 vols., 1911. Dr. Belcher says "Galloway was nine years Speaker of the Legislative House of Pennsylvania; he was of the best type of American. . . He was a strenuous opponent of the Stamp Act." The quotation from Prof. Tyler's *Literary History of the American Revolution* is borrowed from Dr. Belcher's first volume, p. 26.

3. *The Examination of Joseph Galloway, Esq.* Published for J. Wilkie in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1779. Also published in Philadelphia, 1855. See also Burke's *Annual Register*, 1779, pp. 149-153. The enquiry related to the *Conduct of the War*, by Lord Howe and Sir William Howe. See also other pamphlets by Galloway, published by Wesley. (Green's *Bib.*, Nos. 340-353).

4. *Works*, vol. xiii, p. 349.

5. *W. H. S. Proc.*, iv, p. 72 and p. 114.

6. Stevenson's *Wesley Family*, p. 482.

The result of this acquaintance appears in several of Wesley's publications. In 1780 Galloway wrote "Historical and Political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion." This is the pamphlet referred to above: it was republished by Wesley in the same year with the omission of the first three words of the title. It was printed by J. Paramore, at "The Foundery," and it appears in Wesley's catalogues. Wesley also published an abridgment of Galloway's "Letters to a Nobleman on the Conduct of the War in the Middle Colonies," and several other of his pamphlets in criticism of Sir William Howe and Lord Howe. These were "sold," as the title-pages show, "at the Rev. Mr. Wesley's New Chapel, in the City-road, and at all his preaching houses in town and country, 1781." Some footnotes appear in these publications, apparently added by Wesley.

As Wesley observed, Galloway's pamphlets were free from the virulence that characterised so much of the writing of this period. Galloway was a loyalist, but he held that "force will not answer our present purpose." He advocated thorough constitutional reforms—too thorough to be then accepted by King George III. at least. He would "remove, as much as possible, all distinctions in respect to the power, rights, and privileges, which have too long subsisted between a subject in Britain and one in America, and carry over the Atlantic the same fundamental rights and powers, the same constitutional privileges, the same general laws and maxims of polity, under and by which the habits and manners, the passions and attachments of the subject in Britain have been formed, directed and governed." He argues that "it is this policy alone which can form a solid and permanent union between the two countries, making them one people of one mind in respect to their common interest and safety." He sums up his ideal as, "An American legislature, incorporated with the British Parliament, in which the Colonists shall be represented and in which they shall be capable of giving validity to no Act but what shall be approved by Parliament." He thought it "much to be regretted that *neither country* seemed to approve of an American representation in Parliament." He asks why there has been so much provocative "procrastination of remedy," and inquires with much acuteness, "Is it because a seditious faction within the bowels of the State, by their intrigues and cabals, so incessantly engrosses the time, and distracts the councils of Parliament, that it cannot pursue those means which the dictates of reason and common-sense point out as necessary to the safety of the Empire?"

And all this was published by Wesley in the pamphlets to be sold at City-road Chapel, and "at all his preaching houses in town and country." Mr. Green remarks, in one of his Bibliographical notes, that very little is said by Wesley's biographers concerning his publications on the war. He thinks "the great event of his ordination of ministers for the American Churches seems to have drawn all attention to itself." But this great ecclesiastical event did not monopolise Wesley's own interest, and he could not have edited Joseph Galloway's pamphlets apart from a conviction that keen interest in national affairs and politics was quite consistent with devotion to the evangelisation of the world and the building of the City of God upon earth.

Joseph Galloway, in his later years, published two books on prophecy. He died at Watford, 29 August, 1803. Two months earlier another member of the Philadelphian Congress, Samuel Adams, died, who was one of the first to see that under the conditions of the British Government of his day, there was no resting place in the struggle short of independence, and who considered Galloway's Plan for continued union under more reasonable conditions to be impracticable.

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

"THAT FRIENDLY MAN, MR. SPOONER."

In the *Journal* for Tuesday, 17th January, 1769, Wesley says: "I rode to Chesham. Our own room being neither so large nor so convenient, Mr. Spooner, the Dissenting Minister, gave me use of his meeting. There was a great number of hearers. They were very attentive, and I doubt that was all." He makes a similar entry on his next visit (17th October, 1771): "Our own room being too small, that friendly man, Mr. Spooner, willingly gave me the use of his meeting-house. I found the little society much alive. . . ."

There are three other references to visits paid by Wesley to Chesham, which is a market town in Bucks., and it is permissible to expect that the portion of diary recently discovered at the Book Room, which covers the period between December, 1782, and January, 1790, will reveal visits not at present named paid to this and other places in the counties around London, and else-

where. On four of the Chesham visits Wesley apparently stayed there for the night, and on the next day "returned to London." A reference to the Itinerary in Vol. VI. of the *Proceedings* shows that for many years it was his custom in the month of October to make journeys through Oxfordshire, Bucks., Hunts., and Beds., visiting the societies, and this continued more or less to the end of his life. The "little society" at Chesham does not seem to have been long-lived. If one may believe the account given in a rather scurrilous pamphlet, of 1792, entitled "A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Coke, L.L.D., and Mr. Henry Moore . . .," by "An Old Member of the Society," a scandal arose there in connection with one of the preachers, and this may have hastened its end.

The Mr. Spooner referred to in the *Journal* was the Rev. Thomas Spooner, the minister of the Congregational Church at Chesham from 1748 to 1779. According to the account of him given in the *New Congregational Magazine* for 1818, he was a man of classical attainments, and "said to have been well versed in the Hebrew language." He published several works, including a volume of three hundred original hymns; a *Paraphrase* of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, in four octavo volumes; and a volume entitled *The Interpretation of the Old Testament*, besides a volume of sermons. "As a preacher," says the exceedingly frank account referred to, "he was not popular; but sound in faith, of a mild and catholic spirit, and in life and conversation devout." In the middle of life he succeeded to a handsome fortune; but this circumstance was regretted by his friends, because his active benevolence did not keep pace with his ample means.¹ He died rather suddenly on 11th November, 1779, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.

A copy of Mr. Spooner's hymn-book may be seen in the British Museum. The pieces therein are rather reflective poems than hymns in the usual sense of the term. Eight of the hymns are on the Beatitudes, eight on the Lord's Prayer, and four on the "Qualifications of Bishops." None of the other works of Mr. Spooner are in the Museum.

It seems fairly probable that Wesley, who, as we have seen, usually stayed the night at Chesham, would do so as the guest of Mr. Spooner. He appears to have been possessed of such

1. W. H. Summers' *Hist. of Congregational Churches in Berks., Oxon., and South Bucks.*, however, says that on his death it came to light that he had left £1000 to six members of his church, £100 to two others, and £10 each to all the rest! He also gave a piece of land to enlarge the burying-ground.

attainments as would make him a congenial host ; and one cannot but wonder whether Wesley may not have been present at, and even taken part in, the funeral ceremony over "that friendly man," for he was in London at the time.

A. WALLINGTON.

THE REV. JAMES ROUQUET.

Among the many fugitives who escaped to our shores during the religious persecutions in France there were some undesirables. The *Journals* of the Wesleys and other contemporary literature have made us familiar with the ravings of the prophets whom oppression had made mad. But most of the refugees justified their welcome by their skill, industry and good behaviour. The numerous foreign congregations formed in London proved their piety, and the many French names in the annals of early Methodism suggest that certain of these gentle strangers entered our communion. Anthony Rouquet was one who fled his country ; and that with strong cause for his father was condemned to the horrors of the galleys. Of his settlement in the capital and his position nothing is known beyond the mention of him in the *Alumni Oxonienses* as a plebeian, which in that official record usually means a tradesman. It is little more that we know of his home life. In 1730 there was born to him a son whom he named James, and whom, at an early age, he sent to the Merchant Taylors' School, off Cannon Street. Entrance into this famous school was secured by the favour of one of the forty members of the Court of the Assistants who each nominated in turn ; and the rules permitted a boy to enjoy its benefits until he completed his eighteenth year. It was during his school-boy days that young Rouquet heard George Whitefield, who was then filling all London with his doctrine, and happily faith came by hearing. With the heart he believed unto righteousness and soon made confession unto salvation.

On 16 July, 1748, he matriculated at St. John's College, Oxford, he being then eighteen years old. The transition from the Merchant Taylors' School to St. John's was easy, inasmuch as the chief benefactor of the school was the founder of the college, and out of the fifty fellowships of the college thirty-seven were reserved for men who had come up from the foundation in London. His position at Oxford was, like Whitefield's, that of a

servitor. Four days after his matriculation he was introduced to Charles Wesley (then on a visit to his Alma Mater), who makes this record in his *Journal*: "Met a poor servitor of St. John's, James Rouquet, who is not ashamed to confess Christ before men." The *Alumni Oxonienses* does not mention his taking the usual degrees, though these should not have been impossible to one who had been trained in a school wherein Hebrew, Greek and Latin were then the most prominent subjects. While at Oxford he became known to John Wesley, who asked him to become head master of the school at Kingswood, and the invitation being repeated more than once he accepted it as the call of God. In his list of masters "for the classics," Myles brackets together the first five (Mr. Rouquet being the third) and simply says "from the year 1748 to the year 1760." The present Headmaster thinks it probable that Mr. Rouquet succeeded John Jones in 1751. This does not enable us to state precisely the length of his stay at Kingswood; but it was not beyond three or four years. In this period he availed himself of the opportunity of preaching the gospel in the neighbourhood, and his success led him to follow the example of his predecessors in the head mastership, the Revs. Walter Sellon and John Jones, by seeking orders in the Church of England. Whether the short term at Kingswood was due in part to the fact that "the masters required no pay" is not disclosed. He was ordained deacon by Dr. Johnson, Bishop of Gloucester; but his Methodist fervour and zeal gave so much offence that he was dismissed from his curacy on the charge of preaching in houses and in the gaol at Bristol. This injustice was, however, soon recompensed by the Lord Chancellor, who offered him the living of West Harptree, a hamlet eight miles from Wells. He was now ordained priest by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Wills, who was so satisfied with Mr. Rouquet's examination as to appoint him to preach at the next ordination. But the sermon, based on "Feed my sheep," drew on the preacher's head such censures that his lordship desired a copy to be sent to him. Having read it the Bishop wrote him a most affectionate letter, entirely approving of the doctrine of the discourse, and assuring the preacher of the continuance of his friendship.

Mr. Rouquet, after a short ministry in the Somerset parish, returned to Bristol as curate (or rector) of St. Werburgh's, lecturer of St. Nicholas's, and chaplain of the fine old St. Peter's Hospital. It was then that he became better known to the religious leaders of the day. He is described in Lady Huntingdon's *Life* as "one

of her most valued and intimate friends," and he often occupied the pulpit of her Ladyship's Chapel in Bath. He maintained his first love and was the means of introducing Captain Webb to the Methodists of Bristol; but his benediction rested on all who loved the Lord Christ. He accepted the invitation to preach the opening sermon of the Tabernacle at Trowbridge, founded by Mrs. Joanna Taylor, a gracious lady mentioned by Wesley. and, remarkable to say, Mr. Rouquet preached the anniversary sermon of this Congregational sanctuary up to the last year of his life, without official condemnation of the irregularity.

The minister of St. Werburgh's was one of the "forty or fifty clergymen" to whom Wesley sent his *Proposal for Union* on 19 April, 1764 (see the *Journal* under this date). It will be remembered that the number of answers was a grievous disappointment, but Mr. Sellon, who did reply, was not alone in the opinion, "I am an infidel as to the success of it." Other proposals of similar character met with the same fate. As a slight defence of the manners of these silent brethren, it may be said that Wesley's appeal was a printed circular, and not a letter in the proposer's own hand. It could hardly be that Mr. Rouquet's silence was due to a lack of sympathy with the aims and teachings of Wesley. The extent of his agreement with our Founder may be seen in the epistle which he wrote to him a year before the circular was issued. "To me it (perfection) is the one thing needful. Therefore I cannot avoid being explicit on this head, in the meetings especially, and to the Sunday morning congregation, and I find an unspeakable blessing in my own soul in so doing as also in pressing the present now." (*Arminian Mag.*, 1782, p. 105). A more immediate proof of the good understanding between the two friends is that Mr. Rouquet was made by Wesley the trustee of his manuscripts.

The great Evangelist preached at St. Werburgh's on 21 March, 1777, and in the record says that it was the first church he preached in at Bristol. On Wesley's visit, Mr. Rouquet had not received the living; on the visit in 1777 he was dead. The church was removed from the centre of the city about twenty years ago, and rebuilt in Minar Road.

Two incidents only remain to be mentioned, one pleasing and the other painful. Two days after being ordained on 6 June, 1773 by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Rowland Hill preached his first sermon in his friend Rouquet's church. In 1775 occurred that unfortunate episode in Wesley's life, when he was charged by the Rev. Caleb Evans, Baptist Minister of Bristol, with

deliberate falsehood in denying that he had recommended or even seen the pamphlet "A Defence of the exclusive right claimed by the Colonies to tax themselves." Mr. Rouquet was dragged into the dispute as being one to whom Wesley had certainly recommended the "Defence." Old men are often most confident of the fidelity of their memories when they begin to fail: and Wesley, then 72 years old, admits his infirmity in a letter to Mr. Rouquet, beginning, "Dear James (*Tyerman*, iii, p. 189), I will now simply tell you the thing as it is."

Twelve months after this explanation was received the good Bristol parson lay on his death-bed. He passed to bliss eternal on 16 November, 1776. Just before his spirit escaped he exclaimed thrice, "I want to go home." His funeral sermon was preached by his ever faithful friend, Rowland Hill. Whether he left behind him any kindred or not is not certainly known: but in the *Alumni Oxonienses* is the entry: "Rouquet, James, S. James of St. James's, Bristol, cler., Magdalen Hall, matric., 2 April, 1781, aged 19; B.A. from Hertford Coll., 1785, vicar of West Harptree, Somerset, 1789, until his death, 22 March, 1837."

RICHARD BUTTERWORTH.

NOTE.—St. Werburgh's was a small parish of forty-six houses, then in the heart of the city. The Rev. Richard Symes, whose name appears with Rouquet's in the list of sympathetic clergy in Wesley's *Journal*, 19 April, 1764, was Rector, and to him Walker, of Truro, wrote in 1755: "I greatly rejoice that God hath introduced into your large city the purity of the gospel doctrines by your means in a regular way."

In his *History of the Evangelical Party in the C.E.* (1908) p. 90, the Rev. G. R. Balleine says that Mr. Symes' curate, James Rouquet, was one of the most attractive of the minor characters of the period, "with all a Frenchman's vivacity." He horrified the Bristol merchants by his ultra-Radicalism and his outspoken sympathy with the revolted colonies, but the poor almost worshipped him—some of his best work was done as chaplain of the hospital and gaol—and his funeral was a sight that Bristol long remembered; his friends from the slums turned up in their thousands to follow him to the grave.

This reference to Mr. Rouquet's view of the American Revolution accounts for his interest in the pamphlet by Caleb Evans noted by Mr. Butterworth. T.E.B.

OUR MANUSCRIPT JOURNALS.

On the cover of the *Proceedings* it is stated that I have charge of the manuscript Journals of the Society. Now those amongst whom these circulate are a small company in comparison with our entire membership, and as accessions to the ranks of the

PROCEEDINGS.

working members are very infrequent, I have been led to wonder whether all our members are fully aware of this system of work. The Society originated in 1893, and its foundation consisted in the circulation of a journal in manuscript among a small group of enthusiasts with the Rev. Richard Green at their head. Mr. Green, with whom of course the idea originated, attended most carefully to the circulation for more than twelve years, at the conclusion of which period failing health led him to hand the department over to me. In the very last communication I received from him he said: "Go on! the work has been very fruitful in the past, and I think it may still be so."

There are four Journals in circulation, the working members being grouped in sections of about a dozen each. It is difficult to secure entire regularity, but each member should receive a Journal about once a quarter. At the end of each round the Journal is inspected by the Editors, and any pieces suitable for publication are extracted. Arrangements are made as far as possible for each of the working members to see all that is written.

If there are any in our ranks who would like to receive the Journals in the future I shall be pleased to hear from them at once.

Mr. Green also appointed me the custodian of the unpublished papers of our Society. The work of indexing and arranging these has been carried out so far as relates to the earlier years, and is still proceeding. The papers are available for members to peruse. I shall be glad to correspond on this point.

I may further say that I have at hand a complete set of the *Arminian* and *Methodist Magazines*, and I shall be pleased to look up any definite reference for members who may be unable to do so themselves.

F. F. BRETHERTON.

EARLY AFRICAN PREACHERS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, AMERICA.

HARRY HOSIER, RICHARD ALLEN.

In Mr. Booker T. Washington's recent *Story of the Negro* (1912), there is the following reference to Harry Hosier: "The negro seems from the beginning to have been very closely assoc-

iated with the Methodist Church in the United States. When the Rev. T. Coke was ordained by John Wesley as superintendent or bishop of the American societies in 1784, he was accompanied on most of his travels by Harry Hosier, a coloured minister who was at the same time the bishop's servant and an Evangelist of the Church. Harry Hosier, who was the first American negro preacher of the United States, was one of the notable characters of his day. He could not read or write, but he was pronounced by Dr. B. Rush, the greatest orator in America. He travelled extensively through New England and the Southern States, and shared the pulpit of the white ministers whom he accompanied. But he seems to have excelled them all in popularity as a preacher.

Methodism had started in England among the poor and outcast; it was natural therefore that when its missionaries came to America they should seek to bring into the Church the outcast and neglected people and especially the slaves. In some parts of the South the Methodist Meeting Houses were referred to by the more aristocratic denominations as the "Negro Churches." This was due to the fact that the Methodists often began their work in a community with an appeal to the slave."¹

From various sources, mentioned hereafter, we learn that Harry Hosier was at first Bishop Asbury's attendant, and was afterwards "loaned" to Dr. Coke (1784). He is described as "a short and intensely black negro, whose eyes were of unusual brilliancy." His sermons were appreciated by audiences without distinction of colour. Bishop Asbury used to say that experience had taught him that the best way for him to attract a crowd was to announce that "Black Harry" would preach. Dr. Coke declared, before a fortnight had passed, that in spite of ignorance of book learning, Harry Hosier "was one of the best preachers in the world!"

In August, 1786, Dr. Coke and Harry Hosier were together in New York. *The New York Packet's* notice of "this very singular black man" is said to have been the earliest notice of New York Methodism in the city press. Dr. Benjamin Rush agreed with Dr. Coke as to Hosier's preaching, and said "that making allowance for his illiteracy (he was unable to read) he was the greatest orator in America." There does not appear to be any evidence that he became a "minister," though he was certainly a powerful "preacher."

1. The Rev. J. W. Sells has called attention to this quotation in the MS. *Journal* of the W.H.S.

PROCEEDINGS.

RICHARD ALLEN appears to have been the first "ordained" coloured Minister of the Methodist Church in America. He was ordained by Bishop Asbury, 11th June, 1799, as a *deacon* under a *white* elder, and appointed to Bethel Church, Philadelphia—a church dedicated by Asbury for the special use of the coloured race.²

In 1800 the General Conference gave permission for Bishops "to ordain local deacons of our African brethren in places where they have built a house or houses for the worship of God, provided they have a person among them qualified for the office, and he can obtain an election of two-thirds of the male members of the society to which he belongs, and a recommendation from the minister in charge and his fellow-labourers in the city or circuit." This seems to have been done as a belated sanction of Bishop Asbury's ordination of Richard Allen a year previously.

Richard Allen had been a slave. He bought his freedom, grew rich and influential, and erected a church on his *own* land, for the people of his race,—the Church Bishop Asbury dedicated. Allen was elected Bishop of the first General Conference of the *African Episcopal Church*, April 1816. He died in 1831.

According to the *Minutes of the M.E.C.* in 1800, "Whites" numbered 407, and "Coloured" 257, in the membership returns for Philadelphia. The presiding Elder is Joseph Everett. Lawrence McCombs is stationed at Philadelphia as Elder,—presumably a "white" one. Allen's name does not appear. Perhaps it was on the "Journal," but not on the printed Minutes, for the brethren were proceeding cautiously in view of the racial difficulty. Dr. Buckley (*Amer. Ch. Hist., M.E.C.*, p. 310) says, in relation to the rule quoted above concerning ordination of Africans: "When this rule was formed, many of the preachers were opposed to it, especially those from the Southern States. Some of these moved that it should not be printed in the 'Form of Discipline,' and a vote of the Conference was obtained to enter it only on the *Journals*; and most of the preachers were not willing that it should be made public."

On the formation of the *African Methodist Epis. Ch.*, of which Allen was the first Bishop, see *A New Hist. of Methodism*, vol. ii, p. 512-13. (Art. by Dr. James Mudge). Reference may also be made concerning Hosier and Allen to Bang's *Hist. of the Meth. Epis. Ch.*; Buckley's *History of the Meth. Epis. Ch.*, 1896; McTyeire's *Hist. Methm.*, 1885; Steven's *Hist. of the M.E.C.*, 1884; Hurst's *Hist. Methm.*, vol. v (illustrated), 1903, and the *Minutes of the M.E.C. Conferences, 1773 to 1813*, and the *Lives* of Asbury and Coke.

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

2. *Richard Allen's* name does not appear in the American Minutes of 1799. There was a *Thomas Allen*.

DR. COKE'S EDITION OF WESLEY'S HYMNS.

There is a period of upwards of two years between Dr. Coke's eighth and ninth voyages to America, included roughly between 1800 and 1803. Little is said by his biographers of his movements during that time, except that part of it was spent in Ireland. It was during this period that he seems to have come to the decision to issue a new and considerably altered edition of the Hymn book then in use amongst the Methodists. In the preface to his work we read that in his opinion it was "defective in Hymns of Praise," and needed "for its improvement the addition of many Hymns sung in other congregations." "To remedy these defects" Coke took as his ground work the "General Hymn-book hitherto used in Ireland," which appears to be the same as the one used in England at that period.

The new hymns that were thus introduced consisted chiefly of selections from the two Wesleys, Watts, and Cowper, and included the following :—

- "Come, ye sinners, poor and wretched";
- "When I survey the wondrous cross";
- "There is a land of pure delight";
- "O for a closer walk with God";
- "Hail, Thou once despised Jesus";
- "From all that dwell below the skies";
- "Salvation, O the joyful sound";
- "Worship and thanks and blessing"; &c., &c.

Amongst the hymns deemed unnecessary by Coke, and therefore omitted, are

- "Jesus, Thou all-redeeming Lord—the blessing";
- "Ah, lovely appearance of death";
- "Drooping soul, shake off thy fears";
- "Surrounded by a host of foes";
- "Cast on the fidelity";
- "Into a world of ruffians sent";
- "He dies, the friend of sinners dies."

A notable omission from Coke's edition is the hymn headed "For the Heathens,"

PROCEEDINGS.

the first line being

“Lord over all, if Thou hast made.”

Considering the good Doctor's missionary enthusiasm, it is somewhat surprising that he should not have included this. It is, however, probable that he hoped to introduce his collection into America, and possibly he took objection to the celebrated lines :

“The dark Americans convert
And shine in every Pagan heart.”

Coke has got over his difficulty about long hymns by dividing those with several verses into two parts. He omits a large number under the the heading “Believers interceding” and substitutes several for the great Festivals. Coke retains the old reading

“Thy *causeless*, unexhausted love”

though Wesley had already approved the change of the second word to *ceaseless*.

When Coke prepared this Collection he was staying with his friend, R. C. Brackenbury, at Raithby Hall, Lincolnshire, whence he dates his preface in 1802. The following is the title page of the edition before me :—

A
COLLECTION
OF
HYMNS
FOR THE
USE OF THE PEOPLE
CALLED
METHODISTS.

By the REV JOHN WESLEY, A.M.,
Late Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford.

A NEW EDITION
Much improved and enlarged
By the REV. THOMAS COKE, LL.D.

DUBLIN :
Printed by R. Napper, 140, Capel Street,
For the Methodist Book Room,
No. 13, Whitefriar St.

1819.
Price, bound in Calf, 5s. (5d.)*

* Added in Ink.

The name of a tune is affixed to each hymn, and the tune book Coke had in view was probably William Smith's *Sacred Harmony* published at the Methodist Book Room, Dublin, in 1810.

In a few cases Coke has modernised the spelling, e.g., he gives "A deeper *displacence* at sin" for the older *displeasance* as used by Wesley. He also adds explanatory notes on archaic or uncommon words, e.g., Deprecate, "to pray earnestly for averting any evil. This was also done by other editors."

A portrait of the Revd. Thos. Coke, LL.D., is inserted.

JAMES T. LIGHTWOOD.

ANTI-METHODIST PUBLICATIONS.

The first six are in the collection of Mr. George Brownson, of Teignmouth.

(1) Mr. Brownson sends an old advertisement. From it we learn the name of the author of 425 in Green's *Anti-Meth. Publications*. Mr. Green gives the first edition as—"Anon, The Perfections of God,"—&c. The 4th edition adds: "BY THE LATE MR. T. GURNEY." Gurney's "*Poems*" appear as No. 551 in Green, and were published in 1790, at Sudbury, by W. Brackett, price 6d. The above poem does not appear to be included.

From the advertisement we learn that a J. Gurney, was a "Bookseller in Holborn, opposite Hatton Garden," and that T. Gurney, this "poet," possibly his father, wrote a book on "Brachygraphy, or Short-writing made easy to the meanest capacity. 7th edition. Dedicated to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, by the late Mr. T. Gurney. Price, bound 8s. ∴ The Book is a sufficient instructor of itself."

(2) T. Gurney was also the author of the following, probably Anti-Methodist: "Grace Triumphant; a Sacred Poem, wherein the utmost Power of Nature, Reason, Virtue, and the Liberty of the human Will to administer comfort to the awakened sinner, are impartially weighed and considered. Sold by J. Gurney, Bookseller, in Holborn, and J. Robinson, Bookseller, at Dockhead."

Toplady's letter to Wesley (424 Green) is also advertised as sold by the same.

(3) Add to Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications*, 565: A Defence of the Methodists in Five Letters, addressed to the

PROCEEDINGS.

Rev. Dr. Tatham; containing sundry remarks on a Late Discourse preached by that gentleman at four of the Churches in Oxford, and entitled "A Sermon suitable to the times."

By Joseph Benson.

"I say unto you . . . fight against God."—Acts v., 38, 39.
London: Printed by G. Paramore, North Green, Worship Street, and sold by G. Whitfield, at the Chapel, City Road, and at the Methodist Preaching Houses in Town and Country, 1793.

(4) Add to Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications*, 605:

A Farther Defence of the Methodists, in Letters addressed to the Rev. W. Russell, Curate of Pershore, in answer to his Hints to the Methodists and Disenters. By Joseph Benson.

"Truth is great and will prevail."—*Apoc.*

"If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God."—John vii., 17.

"Study to shew thyself approved unto God, but shun profane and vain babblings, for they will increase unto more ungodliness."—II. Tim. ii., 15, 16.

London: Printed by G. Paramore, North Green, Moorfields, and sold by G. Whitfield, at the Chapel, City Road, and in the Methodist Preaching Houses in Town and Country, 1793.

(5) A Dialogue, Between one who calls himself
A Churchman, And one who is called
A Methodist.

"Thus saith the Lord: Ask for the Old Paths, the good Way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your Souls."—
Jer. vi., 16.

"Be not carried about with every Wind of Doctrine."—
Eph. iv., 14.

London: Printed and sold by M. Lewis [No. 1] in Pater-noster-Row. M.DCCLXX. [Price Two-Pence. 8vo. PP. 12.]

Note at end. . . Shortly will be published a Second Dialogue between a Clergyman and one who is called a Methodist.

Not in Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications*.

(6) GORDON RIOTS.—Considerations, on the late Disturbances, by a Consistent-Whig.

London, Printed, for J. Almon, opposite Burlington House, Piccadilly. MDCCLXXX. 8vo. PP. 30.

Page 13. Among forty thousand, who are said to have subscribed it, [the Petition] do we find more than one arch-deacon, reprobated in this by all his brethren, and a few, very few of the inferior clergy, notorious for Methodism, with Westley as their head. The rest are taken from the very dregs of the people, from

the frequenters of tabernacles, and mighty conventicles, from the fanatic followers of Westley and others like him, and from the scum of the Scotch fanatics, whom that nation has thrown out in such numbers upon this country. &c., &c.

Not mentioned in Green's *Anti-Methodist Pub.*

For Lord George Gordon, see Life of Peard Dickenson. At the request of Mr. Wesley, Dickenson visited Lord George Gordon whilst he was in Newgate Gaol. See also *W.H.S. Proc.*, viii., 161-162.

(7) JAMES RELLY. (*Green's Anti-Methodist Pub.*, No. 231).

"Remarks on a pamphlet entitled 'A Dialogue between a True Methodist and an Erroneous Methodist, 1751,' Signed at the end 'Philadelphus.'" From Wilson's *Hist. of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses in London*, 1808, it appears that "Philadelphus" was James Relly (1720 and 1778). Another of his pamphlets is named by Green, No. 328. Wilson gives a complete list of Relly's fourteen publications, and an account of his conversion under Whitefield, whom he assisted at Bristol in 1747 (Tyerman, *Life of Whit.*, II., 161). See also Tyerman's *Wesley*, I., 536; II., 240, 400. He separated from Whitefield. Joined the Universalists. Preached at Coachmaker's Hall; Bartholomew Close Meeting House; and after, 1769, at Crosby-Square Meeting House. His preachings and writings "created no small stir in the religious world." Universalist-Antinomian.

T. E. B.

THE FOURTH VOLUME OF THE NEW EDITION OF WESLEY'S JOURNAL.

"The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M." Enlarged from original MSS., with notes from unpublished diaries, annotations, maps, and illustrations. Edited by Nehemiah Curnock, assisted by experts. (Six volumes, £3 3s.) Vol. 4. Kelly.

This Fourth Volume of the "Standard" Edition of the *Journal* relates to eleven years in Wesley's life, from 1751 to 1762. A few hitherto unpublished passages from the MSS. in the Colman collection, and many names heretofore partly concealed under initials, have been inserted. Mr. Curnock has made good use of Wesley's Sermon Register from 1747-1761, also from the Colman collection. Dates have been corrected, gaps filled, and the astonishing activity of Wesley during years of broken health

more fully illustrated. About one-hundred-and-sixty of the well-compressed notes are based on articles and paragraphs in the *Proceedings* of the W.H.S. Of course these could be expanded, and many more notes might be suggested. Readers who have not been members of the W.H.S. will find it necessary either to enquire at the Public Libraries for the volumes of the *Proceedings*, or to purchase such parts as are now in print, from the Secretary. Mr. Curnock's long editorship of *The Methodist Recorder* has put him in possession of material of value relating to local Methodist history. Some of the well-produced illustrations are facsimiles from MSS., some from photographs by Mr. Curnock, and many from old prints in Mr. Brigden's collection.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

481. BENTLEY HALL.—W.H.S. *Proc.*, VI, 117. After writing the above brief note I discovered that the view of the Hall there reproduced from Shaw's *Staffordshire*, 1801, is really of a date more than a century earlier, having originally appeared in Dr. Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire*, 1686. The inscription shews that it was "humbly presented by R.P., L.L.D." to Thomas Lane, the son of the Colonel who assisted in the escape of Charles II, and father of the magistrate of Wesley's *Journal*.

Anyone standing at the front of the house and looking out upon the landscape cannot but marvel at the power and control in the hands of Justice Lane if he had been minded to exert them in the interest of order and protection. "Staffordshire seems to be the seat of war," says Charles Wesley in February, 1744; and here, from the terrace of his house, is the battlefield spread out in full view. From no point have I seen so complete a panorama of the South Staffordshire "Black Country." Standing on high ground, it overlooks a shallow valley, backed at a distance of six or eight miles by a range of hills, commencing on the extreme right at Wolverhampton with its conspicuous church tower; extending through Sedgley to Dudley, with its ruined castle on the sky line directly opposite; thence along the ridge through Rowley and Oldbury, and on to Birmingham, whose position is only indicated by the denser atmosphere, the valley being shut in on the extreme left by the tree-

clumped mound of Barr Beacon. Not all this area came under the sway of Justice Lane, but he dominated "the seat of war" which lay within it. Commencing again at a shorter radius, on the right is Bilston, to the left of and below Wolverhampton. Darlaston is a little nearer in the right middle distance, neighboured by Wednesbury in the left middle distance, Tipton in the centre between and beyond them and below Dudley. Walsall is to the left of Wednesbury, with Aldridge over its shoulder at the foot of Barr Beacon. All these places except the last named were, so to speak, at the feet and under the eye of the Bentley magistrate.

A much-enlarged photograph of Bentley Hall, inset with a copy of the contemporary Williams portrait of Wesley, and suitably annotated, has been placed in the vestry of Wesley Chapel, Walsall, by the aid of Mr T. Griffith Withers, of Sutton Coldfield, since deceased, the "descendant" referred to, *Proc.* vi., 117.—*Mr. W. C. Sheldon.*

482. SUSANNA WESLEY'S LETTER, 11TH OCT., 1709.—In the volume of the *New Congregational Magazine*, 1818, to which reference is made on p. 10, there is also printed *in extenso* the long letter from Susanna Wesley to her son Samuel, written on 11th October, 1709. Extracts from this letter have been given in Clarke's *Wesley Family* and Miss Brailsford's *Susanna Wesley, the Mother of Methodism*; but I cannot find that the whole has ever been printed elsewhere. The original of this letter was then (1818) in the possession of the editors of that Magazine; but it is now (see *W.H.S. Proc.* v. 228) in the Headingley College Library.

—*Mr. A. Wallington.*

NOTE.—In our June issue we shall publish a valuable article by Rev. Dr. Simon on the question of the number of the Standard Sermons of John Wesley. We shall also commence the publication of a lengthy paper by Mr. A. M. Broadley on the Correspondence of Brian Bury Collins. The article, which will extend to three issues of the *Proceedings*, will contain a large number of hitherto unpublished letters of the deepest interest from John Wesley, Charles Wesley, Sarah Wesley, Walter Sellon, John Newton, the Bishop of Chester, Rowland Hill, and many others, which have recently come into Mr. Broadley's possession, and by him have been kindly prepared and annotated for our use.