



THE PORCH OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH, DORCHESTER,
where the Rev. John White is buried.
The tablet to his memory is on the left.

Photo by]

[W. Pouncy, Dorchester

JOHN WHITE, "THE PATRIARCH OF DORCHESTER."

John White, familiarly known in Puritan circles as "the Patriarch of Dorchester," was a notable man. He was born in 1575. In 1606 he became the rector of Holy Trinity, Dorchester. He married the sister of Dr. Cornelius Burges, whose name is well known in connection with the stormy history of Non-conformity in the seventeenth century. Another sister of Dr. Burges married Thomas Fuller, who was for several years the rector of Broadwindsor, in Dorset. Dr. Thomas Fuller is one of the immortals of English literature. His portrait needs no revivifying touch from our hand, but we pause for a moment to say that he has endeared himself to Methodists by reason of the interest he took in John White's daughter after her father's death. She married John Westley, of Winterbourn Whitchurch, and Dr. Fuller watched over the young people with much affection, giving them wise and witty advice.

In these notes we are chiefly concerned to bring into prominence an incident in John White's life that is in danger of being forgotten. In him we find an illustration of the fact that men who live in quiet country towns and villages, often exert world-wide influence. John White walked about the streets of Dorchester and comparatively few of his neighbours saw in him the founder of a great colony beyond the seas. They greeted him, talked about the weather and the crops, and went on their way. But we cannot so pass him by. We must give him a backward look of profound respect.

The landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in America, in 1620, has so struck the imagination that another supremely important immigration of Puritan Englishmen which subsequently occurred has failed to impress the public mind. That migration is closely connected with Dorchester and John White. In 1623 a private company of Dorchester merchants sent out fishing vessels to the

American coast, we presume from the port of Melcombe Regis, now known as Weymouth. Fourteen men were landed at Cape Ann in order that they might establish a permanent station for the little fleet. The venture was not successful. After three years the settlement was abandoned, but some of the settlers removed fifteen miles to the south west and established themselves at an Indian village called Naumkeag, afterwards known as Salem. John White, who had taken great interest in the mercantile experiment, undaunted by its failure, determined to attempt the founding of "a Commonwealth of Massachusetts." Dr. Fuller, his brother-in-law, says of him, "He had perfect control of two things—his own passions and his parishioners' purses." Refusing to be discouraged he calmly set about his work with sagacity and relentless industry. His control of his "parishioners' purses" was shewn by the success of his daring enterprise. In addition to the help he received from Dorchester men he enlisted the sympathies of supporters in London and the West of England, some of whom offered to furnish funds if fitting men could be found "to engage their persons in the voyage." Among those who were willing to become pioneers in the adventure was the well known John Endicott, who was born in Dorchester in 1588. A patent was obtained from the Council of New England, by which the Council "bargained and sold unto some knights and gentlemen about Dorchester . . . that part of New England lying between the Merrimac River and the Charles River on the Massachusetts Bay." Jeffery, in his *History of the Thirteen Colonies*, says that the land granted extended westward as far as the Pacific Ocean, then believed to be but a short distance from the eastern coast (p. 87). The statesmen of that time being imperfectly acquainted with the geography of the American continent, made prodigious grants of land. In the entrancing books of Francis Parkman, the American historian, some of the effects of these grants are vividly set forth.

On June 20, 1628, Endicott sailed from Weymouth in the *Abigail*, the master of the ship being Henry Gauden. The voyagers arrived at Naumkeag on September 6, 1628. Endicott soon got into touch with the men of the Plymouth plantation. He also sent home favourable accounts of the country in which the new settlement had been made. A stream of Puritan migrants began to flow from the Mother Country to New England. A number of wealthy men in London and elsewhere, seeing that the experiment would succeed, took up the project. They bought of the holders of the patent of March 19, 1628 all their right and

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interest on Massachusetts Bay. On March 4, 1629, a Royal Charter was obtained constituting the new company a legal corporation under the title of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." It is interesting to note that in a letter to John Endicott, dated April 17, 1629, the company says: "For that the propagation of the Gospel is a thing we do profess above all to be our aim in settling this plantation, we have been careful to make plentiful provision of godly ministers, by whose faithful preaching, godly conversation and exemplary life we trust not only those of our own nation will be built up in the knowledge of God, but also the Indians may in God's appointed time be reduced to the obedience of the Gospel of Christ." (Dr. John Brown's *Pilgrim Fathers of New England*, pp. 261, 262, 265). In 1630 a still larger expedition went out to Massachusetts, and gradually the plantation grew into a State. John White's vision of "a Commonwealth of Massachusetts" was realised, and the creation of the State produced decisive effects on the civil and religious history of the world.

The Civil War brought its special calamity to John White. In 1642 a party of Prince Rupert's horse broke into his house in Dorchester and stole his books. He fled to London, where he became rector of Lambeth. When peace was restored he returned to Dorchester. He was chosen as a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, in which he met Dr. Burges, and another John White whose daughter married Dr. Samuel Annesley, the father-in-law of Samuel Wesley, the rector of Epworth. On July 21, 1648, John White died suddenly in Dorchester. He was buried in the porch of the south doorway of St. Peter's Church in that town. Few who enter that porch in order to see the Norman doorway are conscious that beneath its flagstones lie the mortal remains of a man who forged the link that binds this island to the great State of Massachusetts.

JOHN S. SIMON.

NOTE.—Inasmuch as John Richard Green, in a well known passage (*Short History*, ch. vii), has linked Presbyterian Puritanism with Methodism, it would be within the scope of these *Proceedings* if Dr. Simon would give us an article on this subject, of which he is a master, and on which it is rumoured he is now writing, in a History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church which is to show the origin and growth of its Constitution. It is true that Wesley did not start with a plan of polity, and that his organised Societies evolved under the stress of circumstances, but it is not surprising that Green, and recent Presbyterian historians should discern striking parallels in the history of Puritanism and Methodism. Among the founders of New England were both

classes of Puritans—the Independent Separatists, and the Presbyterian Church-reformers. The colonists in the *Mayflower* of 1620 under Brewster brought with them the mildly separatist style of Barrowism in which Pastor Robinson had trained them. But the colonies of 1625 and the large company of 1626 under John Endicott, forming the great colony planned by John White, was distinctively Presbyterian and not avowedly Separatist. With them went Samuel Skelton, who had been thrust out of his Lincolnshire parish, and Francis Higginson, who had received similar treatment in Leicestershire. It was Francis Higginson who used the words given in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1762): "We will not say, as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, 'Farewell, Babylon! farewell, Rome!' but we will say, 'Farewell dear England! Farewell the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there!' We do not go to America as separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it. But we go to practise the positive part of church reformation, and to propagate the Gospel in America." These words are said to have been uttered when the emigrants of 1629 enlisted by John White were off the Land's End. Is there not something curiously "Wesleyan" in their tone?
T. E. B.

MORAVIANS AND MILITARY SERVICE.

JOHN NELSON.

The following letters in the *Daily News* are of present-day interest, and the second letter, especially, by the Secretary of the Moravian Board, has references to 1730—1757, of historical value. The statements concerning John Nelson need slight correction.

Sir,—As Moravians were formerly exempted from military service in England it will be interesting to see how this Anglo-German religious community act during the present crisis. Their existence was originally based on an objection to "the oath and the sword," for they preferred the Waldensian view to that of the Hussites who fought so heroically for Bohemian Independence. They have been described as "defenceless and unresisting," and introduced these doctrines into Pennsylvania and South Africa. Under their influence John Nelson, the early Methodist preacher, refused to fight when pressed for service, though England was invaded by Prince Charles Edward, a great war raged in Flanders, and the Protestant religion was thought in danger.

R. C. HAWKIN.

2, Harcourt-buildings, Temple, E.C.,
Jan. 25.

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Sir,—A letter in the columns of your paper to-day refers to the Moravians in a way which might at such a time as the present be taken to reflect upon their patriotism. The Moravian Church in England has at all times been English in its membership and character; though it has had its distinctive usages, and is federated with the Continental branch in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, France, Scandinavia, and Bohemia; and with the American branch in U.S.A. and Canada. The Moravian Church has never laid down any rule for her members as to the bearing of arms or otherwise; but individuals, especially amongst the German colonists who emigrated to America between 1730 and 1760, had conscientious scruples on the point, and on their behalf the privilege of exemption from military service was granted to them by the British Parliament in 1747 and 1749.

In an official circular of 1757, quoted in *The Moravian Messenger* for Sept. 4, 1915, it is stated: "But as to bearing of arms, it properly seems that only our Brethren in America are to be excused." It is doubtful if any instance can be adduced of English Moravians claiming exemption under the Acts.

The reference by your correspondence to John Nelson's attitude is an echo of the eighteenth century controversies, in which many charges of "Quietism" and "Methodism" were brought against the Moravians, as against other workers in the Evangelical Revival; but investigation has shown that these charges had no more foundation in fact than most of the charges that are brought in such controversies.

In the present war, with a connexional total of 6,500, upwards of 800 are enlisted in the forces, including several ministers, and all the divinity students.

J. N. LIBBEY,

(Secretary of the Moravian Board),

32, Fetter Lane, E.C., Jan. 26.

A fairly full account of the circumstances under which special legislation on behalf of the Moravians became possible in the British Parliament is given in G. A. Wauer's *Dissertation* (1901) pp. 95-97. As Mr. Libbey points out, the questions of Oaths and Military Service were first raised in America, where Quakers and Mennonites had joined the Moravians. In 1745 the Assembly of New York passed a law compelling "vagrant preachers, Moravians, and Papists to take the Oath of Allegiance, and to register their Meeting Houses." It was in defence of the individual con-

science, rather than of the community of Moravians, that the successful attempt was made to secure the right of affirmation in place of taking the Oath, and the exemption of conscientious objectors from military service. In 1745 Thomas Penn, the owner of Pennsylvania, and General Oglethorpe, the Governor of Georgia, lent their aid to Zinzendorf, advising him to memorialise Parliament to place the Moravian Church on a secure basis in the Colonies. A Pennsylvanian law had in 1743 allowed affirmation in lieu of oath to Protestants with conscientious scruples. The *Universal Magazine*, 1750, gives a detailed report of the Parliamentary proceedings, more complete, indeed, than the official reports. The petitioners only desired religious liberty. Conscientious scruples led them to plead for exemption of oath and military service. The Bill passed the third reading 18th April, 1749, and was unanimously passed by the Lords on 12th May. The points gained were :—1. The *Unitas Fratrum* was acknowledged as an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church. 2. *Those of its members, who scrupled* to take an oath were exempted from it on making a declaration in the presence of Almighty God, as witness of the truth. 3. And those who had scruples were exempted from military service in American colonies, *under reasonable conditions.* (Spangenberg's *Zinzendorf*, p. 389).

In the 18th century "Rules and Orders of the Brethren's Congregation at London, 1776," of which the writer possesses a copy, there is no rule as to military service. There are two orders "Concerning the relation in which the Congregation stands to the Magistrates." One of these states, "we look upon ourselves as bound in duty not only to love and honour our gracious Sovereign, and all put in authority under him; but also to do all that is in our power to contribute to the prosperity of the land in general, and not to allow our own private interest to sway us from our duty as subjects, or seduce us to seek our own advantage to the detriment of government. And we will submit to the laws of our country and to the ordinances of men, for Christ's sake." (p. 18).

One of the above letter writers assumes that it was "under the influence" of the *Moravians* that JOHN NELSON attained his conviction that he "ought not to fight." This is not supported by Nelson's own *Journal*. It might as well be said that it was under the influence of the Quakers that he held the opinion. He came into touch with both communities. He was repelled, rather than attracted or influenced by both, as his *Journal* shows. It is doubtful if he knew anything of "Quietism" until after his

acquaintance with Wesley. He formed strong, independent opinions, and maintained them with undaunted pluck. The injustice of magistrates who used the press gang as a weapon to stop his preaching, the brutality of the imprisonment and misery of the gaols, did not shake his conviction that he was forbidden to fight—a conviction not shared by his Methodist soldier-brethren Haime, Staniforth, Captain Webb and many others in the British Army.

Nelson's position was similar to that of Peter of Chelcizky, of "The Ancient Church" from which the *Unitas Fratrum* sprang, and whose doctrine bore a striking resemblance to those of Count Tolstoi of our own day. His soldier brothers in Methodism were more of the type of the later leaders of The Brethren, Budowa and Zerotin, "men who could preach in a church one day, and fight for it with the sword the next." Baron Budowa (1603) "collected men and money to be ready for battle if the Emperor should still be obstinate." And it was Budowa who made his name famous in history by setting his seal to the Bohemian Charter, and giving for the first time in the history of Bohemia, full religious liberty to all the Protestants in the country. "Thus at last the Brethren had won their freedom," says the Moravian historian.

Another letter has appeared since the above was written, signed by G. W. MacLeavy, Minister of the Moravian Church, Swindon.

"The query of your correspondent is easily answered. The British Province of the Moravian Church is English to the core, and has espoused the country's cause with heart and soul. Regarding "the oath and the sword" we are now normal in our views; that is to say, you may find in any of our congregations men of various political colours. We belong to no party, but regard it our duty to create the atmosphere in which a spirit of true citizenship may thrive.

As for military service, there has been no hesitation in taking up arms. Already about ten per cent. of our total membership has enlisted, including all our theological students, and some of our ministers have joined under Lord Derby's scheme, and others devote a stated time per week in the manufacture of munitions. We are not militarists, but, like the rest of Englishmen, we have discovered that there is something worse than military service."

These letters are well worth preserving in illustration of the chequered history of an ancient church related at many points to Methodism, with its tolerance of differing personal opinions.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The date of this issue of the *Proceedings*, "March 1," reminds us that on this day in 1756, Wesley wrote to the Honourable James West offering to raise and maintain a body of Methodist Volunteers to be ready in case of invasion, and adding, "If this be acceptable to His Majesty, they beg to have arms out of the Tower, giving the usual security for their return; and some of His Majesty's sergeants to instruct them in military exercise." (See *Standard Journal*, iv., 150-151 note).

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

SELECTIONS FROM LETTERS OF THE
REV. JOHN PAWSON 1762-1806,
PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE,
1793 AND 1801.

From the originals in the collection of Mr. George Stampe.

(Continued from page 108.)

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4. To M^r. Benson, at the Preaching House, Leeds,
Yorkshire.

My dear Brother.

Bristol, May 2, 1782.

I am glad to hear that you and yours are as well as you mention. As to the child, I think, as you do, there is no doubt of her happiness. M^r. Mason, in the Bradford Circuit, refused to take the remaining part of your books, but I got M^r. Green to take them. I sent him 47, and he sold 45, and he told me 2 were imperfect and unsaleable. I believe by some means we have lost 2 or 3 of them, and I do not wonder at it, as I was obliged to employ Bro. Tennant, and he is not the most exact person in the world. We have a very great and unexpected change in this family. M^{rs}. M—— thought good to quarrel with Bro. (Henry) Moore, and from that time either really was or pretended to be very ill. She got M^r. Lewis to write M^r. Wesley and let him know she was at the point of death, and that the family had murdered her. This led M^r. W. to enquire into the matter when he was with us in Bristol, and I believe he was fully satisfied respecting M^{rs}. M. However, he left us as he found us. But it seems as if the Lord was determined to bring her to the light, for one thing followed another till M^r. Wesley consented that she

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should leave the Room, and that something should be allowed her to live upon. She was very unwilling to consent to this, but upon examining her accounts we found very bad work indeed. In the article of () she had overcharged in a year and a quarter last £4 : 10 : 0. In two years farther back still, £7 : 4 : 0. M^r. Lewis had vindicated her against everybody till this discovery was made, but now, being fully convinced of her guilt, was so deeply affected that he went home and died last Thursday, his wife quite sure that he died of a broken heart. M^{rs}. M. has been at the Room 12 years. In that time she has received for wages £120. She has sold M^r. Wesley's books for about 6 years, and has received £73 : 12 : 0, for selling them, notwithstanding she had so good an income, has had the conscience to take $\frac{2}{7}$ - a week of the poor money, which in 12 years comes to £31 : 4 : 0, and after all she owes M^r. Wesley on account of the books, £114 : 12 : 0. and declares she has not a shilling in the world. Pray read this to Bro^s. Mather and Hopper, and tell them M^r. Wesley has consented that there shall be no more housekeepers at the Room, but that for a time to come the assistant's wife shall be mistress of the family, so now the way is open for any of our elder Brethⁿ to come to this House. Since I came to Bristol we have had many trials, which have had a tendency to hinder the work very much. We have had T. N——, W. S——, Ralph W——, John H——, and now M^{rs}. M——, who have acted shockingly indeed, but we hope we shall now see better days as these dreadful stumbling-blocks are removed out of the way. It is said that Mrs. M. is dying. How true it is I cannot tell. But if the Lord is pleased to give her repentance, I really care not how soon, for if she lives I fear it will only be to do more mischief.

This painful letter is an illustration of the internal troubles with which early Methodism had to contend in some places.

5. To Charles Atmore.

My dear Friend,

Manchester, Aug^t 21, 1784

I was not at all sorry that I met with a letter from you when I returned to this place. After I parted from you I made the best of my way to Manchester, where I met with Mr. Murlin, and took my Circuit the next day. In the old places where I have been, my old friends—the few that are left from the ravages of death, etc.—seemed very glad to see me. And my mind was not a little affected at seeing them again, and I have had good times among them. I am most sincerely sorry at parting with you, but

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it must be so, we cannot help ourselves. I love the York people from the ground of my heart, but cannot say I am sorry at leaving that place, as it has been a place of bitter distress to me, and I do not desire to see it again while I live. Not that I blame the place or the people either; they have been kind friends to me always. Notwithstanding, I shall ever remember it was there I was called to give up the choicest temporal blessing that ever the Lord bestowed upon me, and on that account I am inclined to think I shall go mourning all my days. Good is the will of the Lord I know, but yet I sensibly feel the stroke of His rod. O may I learn wisdom thereby. I think I am as comfortably situated as heart could wish, and there is nothing of a temporal nature that I feel a desire for more than I have, but still the loss of her who was my companion in life, in great measure embitters everything to me. Lord, give me entire resignation to Thy holy will, that I may still glorify Thy name. For grace alone can do this.

Our Plan I fear will fall out exceeding cross. It is as follows:—

Sunday, Aug. 20	Stockport	Sunday, Sept. 19	} Manchester
M.	Middleton	M.	
T.	Oldham	T.	Oldham
Wed.	Delph	W.	Redhall
T.	Ashton	T.	Ashton
F. & Sat.	Manchester	F.	Bungs
S., Sep. 5	Daveyhulme	Sunday, 26	New Mills
M.	Stockport	M.	Stockport
T.	Daveyhulme	T.	Smithy Green
W.	Sinderland	W.	Quebeck
T.	Rungey	T.	Levenshulme
F.	Morley Green	F.	Manchester
S. Sept. 12	} Manchester	Sunday, Oct. 3	} Manchester
M.		Monday	
T.		T.	Daveyhulme
W.		W.	} Manchester
T.		T.	
F.	F.		

This will be the whole.

You will have a vacant day, Monday, Oct. 4. Can you come that day to Manchester? How far is Barafore from Rochdale? It was on that day you came to Rochdale last. I have spare days more than enough, but you are always at too great a distance, or I would certainly come to see you, if the Lord should spare me.

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I am to begin at Manchester to-night. 'Tis a prodigious large and magnificent House.* How I shall manage I cannot pretend to say, but I fear for myself, and am afraid of the people. I hope that we shall be better acquainted in a little time. I do not often find my mind comfortable among strangers, nor do I often preach to my own satisfaction till I get acquainted with the people. This we know, that we and the work in which we are engaged are in the hand of an infinitely powerful, wise, and gracious God, and therefore it is our wisdom as well as our duty to trust in Him at all times, and on all occasions. He cannot and He will not disappoint our hopes, and, in the general, is better to us than our fears. Indeed, fear does us no good that I know of only as it drives us nearer to Him. Let us, my dear Brother, build our whole upon Him. He is that Strong Foundation that never did and never can fail. In the simplicity and integrity of our heart let us walk before Him, and surely goodness and mercy shall continually follow us, and we shall find Him to be our all-sufficient Friend. I have no better advice to give you or myself than this. Watch in all things, stand fast in the faith, be strong in the Lord, and He will be all in all to you.

To His most gracious protection and blessing I commend you. May He ever have you in His keeping prays your ever affect. Friend and Bro.,
J. Pawson.

To Mr. Atmore, at the preaching House,
Coln, Lancashire.

[To be continued.]

LETTERS FROM SAMUEL BRADBURN TO JOHN PRITCHARD.

We are indebted to the Rev. Richard Butterworth for the opportunity of taking copies of the following interesting letters, which Mr. Butterworth has now deposited at the Book Room. For John Pritchard's *Autobiography*, see *E.M.P.*, vi, 249 et seq.

(Continued from p. 113).

III.

Frome,¹ May 10. 1796

My dear Brother,

It gave me real pleasure to hear that you and your dear good

* This House would be the Oldham St. Chapel, opened by Mr. Wesley, Mar. 30, 1781.

1. Bradburn was at this time Superintendent of the Bath Circuit of which Frome was a part.

wife were well. You will never be better than I wish you both. I am pleased that you have talked about me, and I cannot delay your kind letter, though I have nothing to say that is worth the postage. But your money will not be thrown away, for Mr. Blunt is to write on the other side.

I endured a good deal of pain for some weeks, as the sprain brought on a touch of gout. However, I am well repaid, for I never was better in health than at present. Thus infinite Goodness, guided by infinite wisdom overrules all events, and from circumstances most unpromising educes the most desirable effects. Nature is ever changing, and like a vast machine, which is in constant motion; while the sovereign Ruler so disposes every wheel, that nothing but good can result from the whole, however apparently complex in the combination of its various parts. Death is the gate of life;—order and beauty arise from deformity and confusion;—confirmed health and regular habits are produced by temporary afflictions;—and, shall I say, that even sin and wickedness shall subserve the purposes of our adorable Redeemer, so as to effectuate that holiness which qualifies men and angels for the enjoyment of God. Thus out of evil He brings forth Good, and the burden of our triumphant song in glory will be—“He hath done all things well!” I know the doctrine may be abused, but what of that?—What good has not been abused? Is not the supreme good itself abused every day? The mind of man must be conducted in a way consistent with its nature and with its relative situation. And as it is various in its size and physical, as well as moral quality, it must be wrought upon in different ways, in order to attain freely the dignity and rectitude which distinguished it when first infused into the organised vehicle designed for its reception. Hence then, we learn a useful lesson:—To wait in patient silence when under afflictions, *labouring to be still*, that we may hear the small, soft music of peace and love in our harmonious passions.—I forget myself!—and am getting into the clouds,—so no more!—

Our District-Meeting is over. We held it the 4th & 5th instant. We had no accusations against any preacher's character. Mr. Grant² and I had a little altercation about his imprudence in being a tool for Kilham, and causing some disturbance thereby in Bath. But as he denied having any design to make uneasiness, we admitted his own testimony, and all was peace. I view Kilham in a very bad light. He seems to have no regard to the peace of the Connection, but scatters fire-brands, arrows and

2. John Grant, Bradburn's colleague in the Bath Circuit.

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death, like a Fool in sport. And a few young men, like Mr. Grant, Miller, Jon. Crowther, &c. &c. encourage him in his folly. I hope the Conference will do them good.

I have not fixed where to go next year.—Go where I will, it must be for the worse in many respects. However, I am not very anxious about it.—I know—“God is ever present, ever felt, in the void waste as in the city throng,—and where he vital breathes there must be joy.” Your son is very well and very promising. Mr. Bradford^s deserves well of us all. Honourable mention shall be made of his services in our Grand Assembly. Never was Kingswood anything till now. Keep Joseph there and all will proper.

My family (which is increased with a young Sophia) are all well, except Maria, who is very delicate. With love to my old friend your Wife, and Mr. & Mrs. Gibbons,

I am, My dear Brother,

Your truly affectionate

S. Bradburn.

The remainder of the sheet is filled up with the following letter, to which reference is made in the first paragraph.

My Dear Friend,

I suppose by this time you have concluded I have forgotten you, but that's not (Believe me) the case. You know I have a diffidence about me to write, and especially to great men, which I consider you and my friend Bradburn in that class : however I have ventured. I rec^d your Letter in Cornwall, and have sent the cloth 6 weeks since. It stay^d some time at M^r. Whitefield's before he sent it. I think M^r. B. told me in your last to him that you shou^d be our way in the course of the summer. I can only say I shall rejoice to see you, and more so, if ever Providence shou^d throw you on Bath Circuit. But why shou^d I say Providence, you Elect few can go where you please. However I can venture to say for all the Circuit I believe we shou^d be glad to hear that J.P. was appointed for Bath, as we Despair of keeping S.B. another year. My wife joins with me in kind love to you and your dear spouse and remⁿ very affectionately

R. & S. Blunt.

Addressed to

M^r. Pritchard
Methodist Chapel
Halifax
Yorkshire

3. Joseph Bradford, now stationed in Bristol. He was President at the Conference of 1795.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

IV.

Birmingham, Mar 17, 1798

My Dear Brother

About half an hour ago, and not before, I received your letter of the 3^d inst. with the Hymn-book. For both of which, as well as for your kind attention to my poor George, and for all favours, you have my very sincere thanks. My most amiable Sophia and Maria join me in much love to yourself and Mrs. Pritchard. May all that is good be the portion of you and yours!

I have just looked through the Hymns, and think them very suitable, and well chosen, I am heartily glad that you have begun the glorious, heavenly work of meeting monthly in all the Chapels in rotation for mutually showing your love to each other, and to the Redeemer's Kingdom. May God hear your prayers, and prosper your undertaking!

I am sorry that the latter [part] of your letter is so different from the former. The Preachers whose minds are *uneasy*, as you say, about the character which I give the Doctor in the Minutes are not deserving of my notice. Let them shew themselves, and see if I do not set them forth as such poor creatures merit! I do not forget that true greatness, manifesting extraordinary talents, must pay a tax to little minds by allowing them to "mutter in dark places of the earth" since they have neither sense, grace, nor manliness enough to stand forth when and as they ought! This tax I have paid to a few, at whose hands I have deserved better treatment! To suspect, and be jealous of my "setting up the Doctor at our head, that on his shoulders I may raise myself," demonstrates to me how deeply human nature is degenerated, that it should be capable of such meanness, meanness deserving at once, my Christian pity and supreme contempt!!! And it has both! If you know any of these jealous-pated would-be-some-things, tell them from me, Samuel Bradburn is well able to settle matters with any fifty of them, or twice that number of such godly Boobies!!!

Seriously, my Dear Brother, I am surprised at your mentioning anything of the sort. You know the Addresses were read in the open Conference exactly as they are printed. 1. They were corrected and read again: I defy any one living to prove the contrary. Nay, I was so scrupulously exact, that though I could have altered a sentence or two for the better, when arranging the papers for the press, I would not, and did not touch them. Hence everything, right or wrong, is the act of the Conference—the act of *you* and of *all there*—as much as it was mine! For any

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of these to insinuate their evil surmisings into the minds of others or to listen to the foolish as well as wicked insinuations of any who were not present, places all such in a light I should be grieved to view them! The absentees, some of whom, I suppose, must have begun this nefarious business, ought to have considered, that, by charging me with what you mention, they intimate that all of you who composed the Conference were either of my mind, or were a pack of fools to sanction what they did not understand—or downright knaves to sanction what they believed to be wrong! However let them appear (in their proper names) and you shall see, please God, how I'll handle them!

The real sentiments of my soul I never disguised for one moment: I thought, and still think, that Mr. Wesley's plan would have been the best we could have adopted; so thought a majority of the senior Preachers of any weight, so that I cannot be blamed, who was not born when some of them were Preachers, without blaming them also! But how did I conduct myself when this plan was set aside in the last Bristol Conference? I submitted with cheerfulness that did me credit with all of the opposite party who spoke to me on the subject. And when the President was mentioned last Conference as having too little power &c., I said so little that some of your side were astonished! The truth is, I have not the smallest thought of setting up any one, much less myself; but am determined, as much as you can be, to go with the Body agreeably to our last Rules or Minutes. It is true, I did what I could fairly to get the Doctor to be President, because I believed he deserved it, as a small reward for his labours and spending his money for the Missionaries; and because I believed he was well qualified for the office.¹ And when I found that *my*

1. In the Address to "Mr. Francis Asbury, and all the Conference of the people called Methodists in America," (*Minutes* 1797) after a reference to the "violent convulsions" of the Kilhamite secession, is the following: "It is on this ground that we must request the return of our friend and brother the Reverend Doctor Coke. He has often been a peace-maker amongst us, and we have frequently experienced the salutary effects of his advice and exertions in behalf of this part of the Connection. He has informed us of the engagements he has made to you. But you must spare him to us for a time, at least while these convulsions continue in our Societies, and the sooner you permit him to return, the greater will be the favour. In this we address you, as your elder brethren; and therefore we had almost said, we will not be denied: and if, when our affairs are in a settled state, he must return to you, to devote the remainder of his days to the work of God upon your continent, he shall return with our blessing and thanks. And at all events he shall visit you, if God preserve his life, at your next general Conference." . . . Signed in behalf, and by order of the British Conference in Leeds, Aug. 10, 1797.

vote alone had decided in his favour *against myself*, I was exceedingly pleased. But I verily believe the D^r intends to return to America, and has not a thought of being anything among us after next Conference, at least I know and expect nothing else! For the last *four years* the Doctor's sentiments and mine being the same, a *particular friendship* has subsisted between us, which I sincerely hope and believe, will be *eternal*. I believe he has told me his whole heart, and I declare, he has not even hinted at his not going back to spend his life on the [American] Continent. I confess I would rather he remained among us now, as I think he may be very useful. But which of you all ever talked to him as I did in times past?—Not one soul of you! When I thought him wrong, I *told him so*. Now I think him right, I *love him*. With love to Messrs. Bradford, Jenkins, Griffith, and Mayor,² I am, as ever, My Dear Brother,

Your truly affectionate Brother,
S. Bradburn.

P.S.—I congratulate you all on the downfall of the Men of Sin at Room! I gave thanks here on the occasion in public. Glory be to God in the highest!

So Mrs. Rankin and Miss Hurrell are *dead*!
Addressed to

M^r. Pritchard
Methodist Chapel
Bristol.

A LETTER FROM SAMUEL BRADBURN TO RICHARD RODDA.

FROM THE COLLECTION OF MR. GEORGE STAMPE.

Birmingham, June 23, 1792.

My Dear Brother & Friend,

Not knowing whether you have seen Mr. Taylor's book¹ or not, I lose no time in sending you one, which must stand for part of my answer to your last obliging letter. The reason of my not answering it sooner, was, I wished to know something of the

2. Pritchard's colleagues in Bristol.

1. "Mr. [Thomas] Taylor's book." *A Defence of the Methodists who do not attend the National Church, but avail themselves of Liberty of Conscience.* Liverpool 1792. 12mo., pp 72.

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people here, that I might tell you freely what I thought of them. I have been here about five weeks². I have preached often, and conversed freely with many of the people. They appear to be, in general a loving Society, and very respectful to the Preacher ; but they are quite unacquainted with religious liberty, and of course, are very narrow-minded bigots. This is what I think of them at present ; and I exceedingly blame Mr. Benson³ for their being so. He preached near three years in Church hours (as they are vulgarly called) and yet cried out *for the Church !*? Last Sunday I told them all my heart. Many were pleased, and many were griped a good deal. To-morrow, please God, I intend preaching for Kingswood School, when I shall speak out about the obligations our people are under to the Preachers. I have never yet given the Lord's Supper anywhere, nor made any use of the Ordination. I told you *part* of my reasons for submitting to it, part of them I have never told anyone, but I will tell them to you when we meet ; and I think they will satisfy you fully, at least, I hope so, as I should be sorry to lose your esteem in anything. As I shall be the Deputy for this District to the *Stationing Committee*,⁴ if all be well, I shall see you early in the week preceding our general meeting. I believe we shall have a very blessed Conference, notwithstanding the evil predictions of many. God will be with us, and bless us.

You have heard of the Ordination at Newcastle⁵ ! You have

2. Bradburn was appointed to Birmingham and Joseph Benson to Manchester by the Conference of 1791, but the change was not made until May 1792 : see Blanshard's *Life of Bradburn*, p. 145.

3. Benson's attitude. "On the 4th of May—less than two months after Wesley's death—eighteen laymen of Hull issued a protest against the allowance of the sacrament in Methodist chapels, and against any further deviation from the Established Church. Similar declarations were made at Birmingham, Sheffield and other important places. . . . Benson promoted the circulation of the Birmingham resolutions." Stevens' *Hist. Meth.*, iii, p. 12.

4. Stationing Committee. The Conference of 1791 divided the Connexion into Districts, and also decided upon the formation of a Stationing Committee. (*Minutes*, 1791, Vol. i, p 256).

5. The Ordination at Newcastle. "At the close of the District Meeting held in the Orphan-House, May, 1792, John Pritchard, John Gaultier, and Alexander Kilham received ordination at the hands of Messrs. Cownley and Atmore, after which the preachers united in the celebration of the Lord's Supper." (Stamp's *Orphan-House of Wesley*, p. 169). There was another Ordination Service at the Manchester District Meeting, when Thomas Taylor, Samuel Bradburn and George Snowden were ordained by Pawson, Hanby and another (? Henry Taylor). These and similar proceedings were severely animadverted upon at the ensuing Conference. In answer to the question, "What rules shall be made concerning ordinations?"—it was enacted : 1. No

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heard what a very hero Mr. Wrigley is for the Church, and yet he has service in Sheffield every Sunday in the Forenoon! I think to print my little pamphlet in about a fortnight. It will only be an abridgment of the Book I first intended. I keep to the one point *Religious Liberty* on a *Methodistical Foundation*. Mr. Taylor has forestalled me in many things.

Mr. Clarke tells me that Salford Chapel is likely to prove too small. Mr. Benson was quite astonished at finding things in Manchester so different from the expectation he had. I believe he will soon be convinced of the absolute necessity of letting the people have the Lord's Supper. Mr. Smith⁶ from Ireland is going to build a New Church, just by Mr. Yates's New Warehouse. If they let him get under way before they embark, he will *cunnavogle* them!!

I gave the Society here the account, in detail, of your popular meeting in the New Chapel. I really was quite charmed with it. Upon such a foundation our Fort is impregnable. *Vox populi* should be our motto. The *Leaders, not Trustees*, are the representatives of the people. I would sooner lose the whole premises belonging to the New Chapel than submit to be governed by that tyrannical Aristocratical Faction. Their defeat does you all great honour. The Conference is much in your debt, for doing your duty so well.

My wife is now She is wonderfully strengthened by our journey, and seems better than she has been ever since y^e Conference. She joins me in cordial love to Mrs. Rodda and yourself. Blessed be the Lord we are all well and happy.

I am, My Dear Brother and Friend

Your truly affectionate

S. Bradburn.

I suppose the price for carrying two, will be the same as for one. I therefore enclose one for Mr. Rogers. Will you please to let him have it? He will gladly pay half the carriage. I would send more, only I suppose they will be sent by and by to

ordination shall take place in the Methodist Connexion without the consent of the Conference first obtained. 2. If any brother shall break the above mentioned rule, by ordaining, or being ordained, without the consent of the Conference previously obtained, the brother so breaking the rule does thereby exclude himself." (Stamp's *Orphan House*, p. 169).

6. Mr. Smith from Ireland. The Rev. Edward Smyth, concerning whom see Wesley's *Journal*, Tyerman's *Wesley*, and W.H.S. *Proc.* ix, 136, 189, 190.

all. I hope you will tell me what you think of it without delay.
Adieu!

Addressed to

The Rev.⁷ Richard Rodda

No 11 Weststreet Seven Dials
London.

THE LETTERS OF JOSEPH SANDERSON.

In Mr. George Stampe's Collection there are several letters written by Joseph Sanderson. They shed light on the condition of Methodism in Scotland, and on other important and interesting matters. They were addressed to Samuel Bardsley. He was a loving and lovable man. The Conference, in its obituary notice of him, says: "On his heart was deeply engraven the law of kindness; and his evenness and sweetness of temper were proverbial. From Divine love, which not only reigned in, but filled his heart, glowed his unfeigned love of his brethren, and of the whole family of mankind." In those days the Conference was somewhat parsimonious of praise, and the testimony borne to Bardsley's loving-kindness may be accepted as absolutely sincere. Not much is said about his "talents"; they were "respectable," that is all; but it is certain that his power to love his neighbour better than himself made him conspicuous. He lived to be the oldest travelling-preacher in connection with the Conference. He entered the ministry in 1768 and died in 1818. The story of his death never fails to touch a tender chord in our heart. He had journeyed from Alford to Leeds to attend the Conference which closed on August 12, 1818. He stayed for a week in Leeds, and then, on August 19, he left the town and turned his face towards his new circuit, Manchester. His old friend Francis Wrigley, who entered the ministry in 1769, accompanied him on his journey. They were bound together by ties of affection that had resisted the weakening influences of distance, silence, and the rough experiences of many years. Wrigley had been stationed by the Conference at Banwell, in Somerset, and had a long way to go, but he lingered by the side of his old comrade and determined to see him safely housed in Manchester. We can imagine the talk

7. Observe that Bradburn gives the title of "Rev." to Richard Rodda: See W.H.S. *Proc.* x, p. 74, note 3.

between the two men as they travelled over the roads and moorlands of the West Riding. One subject would be uppermost in their minds. In the morning of the day after the Conference closed the news was spread in Leeds that William Bramwell was dead. It was true. He had attended the Conference, and seemed in vigorous health; but, suddenly, the call came for him in the early morning as he was making his way to the coach that was to carry him home. He had been appointed the Chairman of the Manchester District, and the President therefore called together the preachers who had not left Leeds to consult them as to the arrangements necessary to supply the Salford Circuit and the vacant chair. At this consultation Bardsley and Wrigley must have taken some part. As they crossed the moors they would speak of Bramwell and his sudden death, and wonder when the clear call would come for them. Bramwell had been in the ministry since 1786, and the veterans must have looked on him as a man cut down in the midst of his years.

The August afternoon was wearing away when the two travellers paused on the hill-side near the border-line of Yorkshire and Lancashire. They looked at a little town lying in the valley. It was a quiet place encompassed by hills. Scattered over the mountain-side were houses in which the hand-loom weavers carried on their work. And round and about the houses were fields lovely with "living green." It was the town of Delph, near Saddleworth. The travellers descended the hill and determined that, in the little town, they would rest for the night. They went to the inn, had tea, and then sat in the doorway watching the departing light. Bardsley feeling unwell said that he would go to bed. His friend went with him towards his room. But, as he climbed the stairway, his strength failed. He sat down on the topmost step, put his arm round Wrigley's neck, whispered, "My dear, I must die," and passed away into the land of perfect peace.

We have told once more the story of the close of Samuel Bardsley's life-journey in order that we may see the man to whom Joseph Sanderson wrote. Seeing him, we can understand the affectionate tone of the letters. His sweetness of temper charmed those who were closely associated with him; his colleagues had a chance of acquiring a liberal education in kindness.

Instead of simply printing the Sanderson letters and allowing them to speak for themselves, we shall supplement them with notes explanatory of references to the persons, places and incidents mentioned in them. We have taken the liberty to correct a few

mistakes in spelling which occur in them, and to make up some of their more glaring deficiencies in punctuation.

For the spelling of the name Sanderson, see *Proc.* x, 95, *footnote*.

LETTER I.

[Undated]

My Dr. Brother,

Grace be ever with you. This morning I received a letter from Mr. Thompson with the following lines transcribed from Mr. Wesley's letter to him, "As we have no preacher to spare, Certainly while you are in Edin^h Settling your affairs and selling your furniture, One of the Preachers in the Edin^h Circuit must go to your place at Dundee. Let M^r. Sanderson know directly." This order will be attended with some disagreeable circumstances at Edin^h I fear through the prejudice of a few, yet I think it my duty to obey Mr. Wesley and am willing Mr. Thompson should be served in this. If you chuse to go to Dundee I will come to Glasgow, or if you chuse to stay a week or a fortnight longer than I mentioned in my last I will take the trouble of going to Dundee. Mr. Thompson says three or four weeks at most will serve his turn, and he is to be in Edin^h the 2 or 3 of April so that towards the latter end of April we shall get into order again. You see my purposes are broken already; however I would not lay a Cross upon either of my fellow Labourers, take that part which is most agreeable to yourself and God willing I will labour to execute the rest. Dr. Hamilton is got better but does not attempt preaching. I think it is a Temptation (he thinks it would kill him) and I hope he will soon see it so to be. Let me have a line from you soon.

Yours affectionately

J. Sanderson.

Mr. Wesley wrote from Bristol. My kind love to Mr. Mackie and inquiring friends.

Addressed to Mr. Samuel Bardsley at

Mr. Mackie's,
Bridge Street,
Glasgow.

The letter is undated; but from internal evidence we judge that it was written soon after the Conference of 1782. The Conference began in London on August 6 and closed on August 13, as Wesley was obliged to leave a little sooner than he intended. He took coach for Bristol in the afternoon. When he awoke the

next morning he was told that three highwaymen were on the road, and had robbed all the coaches that had preceded them. Before the coach reached the spot where "the gentlemen of the road" had been so busy the robbers had been taken; so Wesley went on in peace to Bristol arriving there early in the afternoon of August 14. His stay was short, he left Bristol the next day for his Western journey. Sanderson, in his postscript, says that the letter to Thompson was written from Bristol. Sanderson's letter may be safely dated some time in August.

There are several interesting points in Sanderson's letter. Wesley's method of stationing and of changing the stations of the Preachers between the Conferences is brought to light. The stations in the *Minutes* cannot always be relied on as showing that the Preachers appointed to the Circuits travelled in them during the year, or even went to them. Wesley frequently changed the appointments to meet pressing necessities.

If we examine the stations of 1782 we shall find several cases of re-arrangement of appointments after the close of the Conference. Pausing at Bradford (Wilts), we know that Edward Rippon never went there. John Wesley sent Adam Clarke to supply his place. Dr. Clarke was rather sore because the editors of the *Minutes* failed to note the fact. He says, "By a blunder of all editors since that time Rippon's name stands in that year as a travelling Preacher in the Bradford Circuit though he never travelled an hour as a Methodist Preacher in his life." (*An Account of the Life of Adam Clarke*, i, p. 167). We presume that the much criticised editors would have said that they printed the stations as they appear in the *Minutes* and were not responsible for changes made by Wesley and, after him, by the Conference. Their defence is strong, but it does not satisfy our desire to know the names of the men who have actually travelled in the several Circuits.

Sanderson's letter reveals other changes in the stations of 1782. In that year there were three Circuits in Scotland, Edinburgh, Dundee, and Aberdeen. The Edinburgh Circuit included Glasgow, and spread to Dunbar and Berwick-on-Tweed. Peter Mill and John Ogilvie were appointed to Dundee. They seem to have gone there; but, after the Conference, Wesley removed them to England, sending William Thompson, who had been stationed at York, to take charge of the Dundee Circuit. Thompson had been the Superintendent of Edinburgh for two years, and Sanderson had been his colleague in the City for one year. Wesley, for reasons which we will afterwards explain,

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decided that Thompson should go to Dundee instead of to York, and thus created an extensive disturbance of appointments. It is clear that the stations of 1782 must be read with caution.

William Thompson's fame is supposed to rest on the fact that he was chosen as the first President of the Conference after the death of Wesley. But there must have been some reason for the choice. That reason will be found in the fact that he was the man for the crisis. His services have never been estimated at their right value. In our opinion we are mainly indebted to him for his skilful leadership at a time when the Methodist Societies were threatened with destruction. He was an Irishman, and had made a special study of Presbyterianism as an ecclesiastical system. He possessed "remarkably strong sense, a fertile genius, a clear understanding, a quick discernment, a retentive memory, and a sound judgment." Charles Atmore, who knew him well and does not hide his faults, declared that "he was supposed by many to be one of the closest reasoners, and most able speakers that ever sat in the Methodist Conference." (*Methodist Memorial*, p. 420). When Wesley died in 1791 Thompson was travelling in the Halifax Circuit. He took a leading part in the deliberations which resulted in the issue of the famous "Halifax Circular" which contained a plan for dividing the kingdom into Districts and for supplying Wesley's place as the overseer and chief administrator of the affairs of the Societies in the intervals between the annual meetings of the Conference. In 1795 Thompson thought out and sketched the "Plan of Pacification" which brought peace to Methodism when it was distracted by the controversy concerning the sacraments. The perils that threatened the Methodist Societies in the years that followed Wesley's death are known to few persons in the present day, but those who know them recognise the obligations of our Church to William Thompson.

There is a sentence in Joseph Sanderson's letter that is puzzling. Wesley speaks of Thompson being in Edinburgh settling his affairs and selling his furniture. But Atmore's "torch doth light the way." Mrs. Thompson's mother lived in Edinburgh. For several years she was so infirm that her daughter had to live with her and could not travel about with her husband. (*Methodist Memorial*, p. 420). If the early *Minutes* are examined to find out Thompson's appointments it will be seen that from 1767 to 1781 his Circuits are all in Scotland and the North of England. He was stationed six times in Edinburgh, five times in Newcastle-on-Tyne, thrice in Leeds, and once at Glasgow when it was a separate

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Circuit. Wesley did his best to accomodate him, and it was out of the kindness of his heart that he sent him to Dundee. Atmore says that Mrs. Thompson's mother died in December, 1782. After that year William Thompson's appointments were in England.

Dr. James Hamilton is well-known. In 1790 he was seen in the streets of Edinburgh walking in the company of John Wesley and Joseph Cole. A swift sketcher "took" them as they passed on their way, and his picture has been familiar to some of us from our childhood. Dr. Hamilton was a physician who had a practice in Dunbar, but he often came to Edinburgh for consultations. He was a local preacher for many years. It was fortunate for him that he resisted the temptation of which Sanderson speaks. If he had not done so he would have missed a great honour. At Leeds, in 1789, he preached what may be called the Conference Sermon. Tyerman thinks that Dr. Hamilton is the only local preacher to whom that honour has fallen. The sermon was published with the following title: "A sermon preached at Leeds, July 29, 1789, before the Methodist Preachers assembled in Conference, and a large body of the people in connection with them; and now published at the request of many of the Hearers." (Tyerman's *Wesley*, iii, p. 584).

JOHN S. SIMON.

(To be continued).

The Members of the W.H. Society express their deep sympathy with the Rev, J. Conder Natrass in his great sorrow. Mrs. Natrass died on Sunday, February 6th, after an operation on the previous day.