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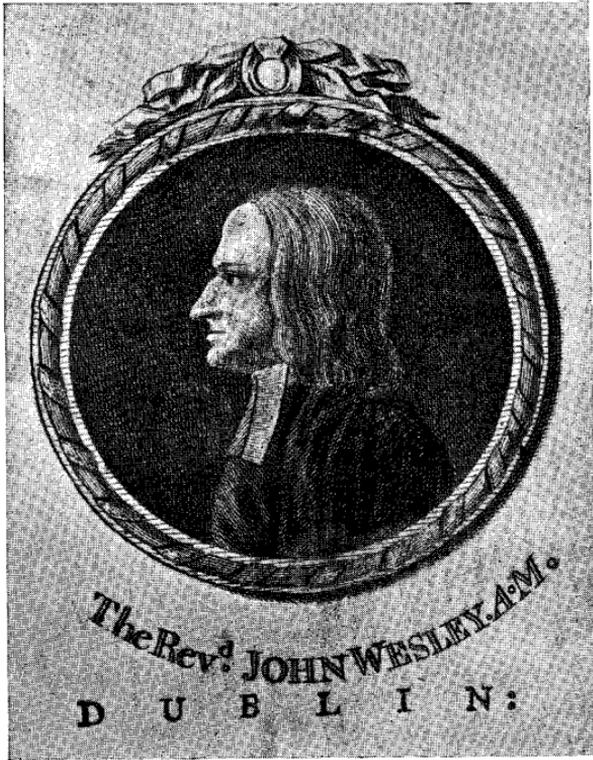
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[See page 57.]

LETTERS TO HENRY BROOKE,
OF DUBLIN.

TWO LETTERS FROM JOHN WESLEY.

As an introduction of these—the chief autographs in Mrs. Rainsford's ownership—some comment seems necessary on Henry Brooke, their original recipient. The authorities consulted (in addition to those already cited¹) include Tyerman's *Life and Times of John Wesley* and Crookshank's *History of Methodism in Ireland*.

Henry was the eldest son of Robert Brooke,² and was born at Rantavan, Co. Cavan, in November, 1738. Choosing to follow his father in the profession of painting, he was trained in Dublin and afterwards in London. Disappointed in his hopes of temporal success, he was converted in London about the year 1762. By 1765 he had returned to Dublin and settled there as a painter and teacher of drawing. In the April of the same year he wrote to John Wesley to report his having committed himself to Methodism, and presently he was received into the Dublin Society by James Morgan. From 1770 onward he exhibited pictures—mostly religious—at the Society of Artists in Dublin and London. "He is also said to have done a number of altar-pieces for Roman Catholic Churches." On more than one occasion he was host to Wesley, and from April 13th, 1783, entertained him three weeks. In the following January the Methodist Missionary Society was established in London, and Brooke's name appears in the first list of subscribers.³ "A man of remarkable piety and worth," he died in Dublin on October 6th, 1806.

1. *Proceedings* xx, 33.

2. *Proceedings* xx, 33-36.

3. It is true that Tyerman: *Life of Wesley*, III, 480, says that the Missionary Society was really founded in 1784, basing the statement upon a document issued by Dr. Coke in that year, entitled "A Plan of the Society for the Establishment of Missions among the Heathen." Crookshank (I 382) repeats the statement and gives the names of Irish subscribers, whose contributions totalled fourteen guineas. But it should be observed that in the first volume of *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society* it is stated that this appeal met with but a slight response, and the abortive attempt had no influence on the constitutional development of Wesleyan Missions. Dr. G. G. Findlay, in *Wesley's World Parish*, says that the 6th of October, 1813, the date of the celebrated meeting in the "Old Boggard House, Leeds," is counted as the birthday of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Many of our readers no doubt took part in the centenary effort of 1913.

From the *Standard Journals*, apart from two Diary notices (14/4/85 and 29/7/89), his name is missing. But he was among the most intimate of Wesley's Irish friends. He is mentioned in Wesley's Will, being appointed—together with Arthur Keane and William Whitestone—"to receive the annuity of five pounds (English), left to Kingswood School." The *Standard Letters* include seven addressed to him. One is a careful statement of the relationship of the Methodists to the Established Church (vii, 331) and of the others two have an interest sufficient to justify more particular mention.

(a). The one (vi, 96) is dated "Hull, July 8, 1774." Henry Brooke's uncle was Counsellor Henry Brooke, distinguished as a man of letters. "Swift prophesied wonders of him; Pope received him with open arms; Pitt paid him marked attention; and the Prince of Wales presented him with valuable tokens of his friendship." In addition to drama and verse, he was the author of two novels, *The Fool of Quality* and *Juliet Grenville*. By both of these last Wesley was attracted, believing that they would be of service to "the religion of the heart." He therefore, by the nephew's good offices, requested the uncle's permission to publish abridged editions:—"I had at first a thought of writing to Mr. Brooke himself, but I did not know whether I might take the liberty. Few authors will thank you for imagining you are able to correct their works. But if he could bear it and thinks it would be of any use, I would give another reading to both these works, and send him my thoughts without reserve just as they occur." Four weeks later the nephew replied, conveying the uncle's most cordial permission.⁴

(b). Wesley, more especially during his later years, had no great regard for mysticism, and was wont to make rather severe strictures upon certain of the mystic writers. Brooke, to whom these—as he confessed—had been "a great blessing," considered some of Wesley's criticism "harsh and unfounded," and wrote to him saying so. Wesley therefore, when he arrived in Dublin in 1783, wrote the following letter (vii 174). It is attractive as displaying Wesley's docility and readiness to acknowledge his mistakes:—"Your letter gave me pleasure, and pain too. It gave me pleasure because it was written in a mild and loving spirit; and it gave me pain because I found it had pained you, whom I so tenderly love and esteem. But I shall do it no more; I sincerely thank you for your kind reproof; it is a precious balm

4. Tyerman, J. W., III 173-4.

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. I am so sensible of your real friendship herein that I cannot write without tears. The words you mention were too strong ; they will no more fall from my mouth."

To these it gives much pleasure to add two other letters, hitherto unpublished.

(I)

On September 16th, 1771, Wesley wrote from Bristol to Ann Bolton, telling her the details of a tour upon which he hoped soon to go forth. His letter (V 278) includes the sentence:—"I purpose, if God permit, to be at Wallingford on Monday, October 14." Four weeks later, duly and according to programme, he arrived ; for the Journals of October 1771 give to Monday, 14th, the entry:—"In my way to Wallingford I read Dr. Hodges' *Elihu* I preached at Wallingford in the evening and at five in the morning. Many were moved ; but who will endure to the end?" On the Tuesday, before leaving for Witney, he wrote to Henry Brooke and addressed the letter to 17 Mary Street, Dublin.

Wallingford,

Oct. 15, 1771.

My Dear Brother,

Your Letter concerning our Lad at Kingswood is quite satisfactory. I will enquire farther concerning him. In all things Favour weighs more than Merit. M^r. Williams (a man unknown) is a far greater Genius than S^r. Joshua. He took a better Likeness of *me* in *Ten Minutes* than the other did in *Twenty Hours*.

M^r. Mead means well, but is not to be named either for Sense or Experience with M^r. Goodwin or Winby. These are Workmen that will not be ashamed, when they speak wth. their Enemies in y^e gate.

It is well if M^r. Brooke's retiring from business does not destroy his Health. It surely will, if he does not contrive to use constantly some Exercise equivalent to it: Either Reading loud every Morning, or Walking, or Riding: And all of them as often as may be. Use all the Gifts & all the Life you have. Then you will have more.

Peace be with y^r. Spirits! I am, Dear Harry,

Y^r. Affectionate Brother,

J. WESLEY.

"*Our Lad at Kingswood*"—In the April of 1767 Brooke married Anne Kirchoffer, a Dublin Methodist, who bore him eleven children. Only one son however, William Henry, lived to maturity. Enquiries by Brooke concerning the education of any

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of his children would, in 1771, be merely preliminary and prospective. If the lad was already "at Kingswood" he could hardly belong to Brooke, but was some one else in whom both Brooke and Wesley were interested. The context speaks of artists, which may assist conjecture.

"*Mr. Williams*"—This is the only specific mention that Wesley anywhere makes of either this artist or his work. Didsbury College, Manchester, houses a Wesley portrait painted sometime between 1741 and 1743 by John Michael Williams, R.A. It is usually regarded as the best extant likeness⁵ of Wesley as he was in early life. Concerning this "man unknown" Mr. Strickland has collected a few details. In 1756 he seems to have worked as a scene-painter for Sheridan in Dublin. Subsequently he exhibited in both Dublin and London. His portraits included Beard the actor, Paul Whitehead, and Forde in the character of Hawthorne. "He is supposed to have died about 1780."

"*Sr. Joshua*"—We know from Reynolds' diary that he received a sitting from "Mr. Westley" in March, 1755. In the Wesley Journals there is no contemporary allusion to this, none whatever indeed before the entry of Monday, January, 5th, 1789:—"Mr. Romney is a painter indeed. He struck off an exact likeness at once, and did more in one hour than Sir Joshua did in ten." Evidently Wesley's æsthetic judgment was biased by the length and number of sittings required. Unhappily the portrait by Sir Joshua has disappeared. It is believed to have hung for a time in Dangan Castle, which stood on the Earl of Mornington's estate in Ireland. In the days of Roger O'Connor⁶ the castle was destroyed by fire.

"*Mr. Mead*"—The contents of this paragraph ought to be viewed against a background of restlessness and controversy. This prevailed in the Dublin Society from at least 1767 onward, and will have to be noticed again presently. Mr. Mead seems to have been a lay member, for his name is not included in any list of preachers. But Mr. Goodwin and Mr. Winby were both preachers. Mr. Goodwin is the John Goodwin whom eight months later⁷ Wesley described as "a valuable young man" of "much grace and a good understanding." He began to travel in 1768, was second preacher in Dublin in 1770, and in 1771 became assistant. William Winby⁸ came from Beverley, Yorkshire, and began to

5. cf. *Proceedings*, II 51, III 186,

6. cf. *Proceedings*, III 191, 192.

7. cf. *Standard Letters*, V 322

8. cf. *Atmore's Memorial*, 533.

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travel in 1770. In 1771, as second preacher, he was under Goodwin in Dublin. "A remarkably lively and promising young man," he died prematurely of small-pox in Londonderry in 1772.

(II)

On Monday, August 9th, 1779, according to the Journals, Wesley "set out for Wales," and in the course of a tour favoured with glorious weather he arrived at Bristol on the afternoon of Friday, August 27th. After a swift circuit of the West (including Exeter, Tiverton, Halberton, Taunton, and South Brent) he came again to Bristol on Saturday, September 4th. After preaching on the Sunday to very large congregations, on Monday, September 6th, he wrote to Brooke, and addressed to "No. 12 Clarendon Street, Dublin." The letter bears part of the seal and also the Bristol postmark.

Bristol, Sept. 6, 1779.

Dear Harry,

A line from You is always welcome. Till you wrote, I heard nothing of your Affliction: I must not say, *Misfortune*; because we know every Event is guided by unerring Wisdom. I hope You have now recovered your Strength & are as well as usual.

You can hardly conceive what difficulty there is in procuring Preachers for Ireland: For Dublin in particular. So disadvantageous an account have they received from time to time of y^e Spirit, wch., they fear, still remains there. They are men of peace & are extremely unwilling to meddle with people that seem to love Contention. All over England the Preachers & y^e People are one; Neither choosing to do anything without the other. It is not so in Dublin to this day. Witness y^e late transaction at John Bull's! Who was the Adviser of that step? I have not mentioned it to any Creature. If I did, I know not wch. of our Preachers w^d. trouble them. Indeed I know not whether I shou^d myself take any more trouble about a people that pay so very little regard either my Ease or Judgment! However it is a Comfort that some of you are of another Spirit: And nothing is too hard for God. Possibly we may live to see you all of one heart & of one mind, striving together for the hope of the Gospel.

This is a time for the Exercise of Faith & Prayer: And likewise of deep, universal Repentance. Then we may hope

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God will yet be intreated for us. Peace be with You & Yours!

I am,

Dear Harry,
Your Affectionate Friend & Brother,

J. WESLEY.

"*Your Affliction*"—In the January of 1779 Brooke, while he was walking in a frosty Dublin street, slipped and suffered a compound fracture of the leg. This kept him in bed for several months, and a year was to pass before he could walk outside the house. The fall was followed by certain nervous disorders, which depressed his spirit and ultimately brought him to his death. The interval between the accident and the date of this letter provokes little surprise when one remembers Wesley's prolonged touring in 1779. The winter found him in the Midlands and Yorkshire, the spring in Scotland, and the summer in Wales.

"*People that seem to love Contention*"—For Wesley's candour there was ample justification. Between 1767 and 1779 no more than three years occurred in which the Dublin Society was exempt from open and obvious strife.⁹ This for the sake of convenience may be classified in three stages:—(i) Between 1767 and 1771 the subject of quarrel was chiefly disciplinary; (ii) between 1771 and 1774, chiefly doctrinal; and (iii) by 1777 it had become both. To stage (i) it will be necessary to return in a later paper. A few sentences must suffice in explanation of stage (iii).

The Widows' Almshouse—a Methodist charity in Dublin—had as its treasurer then a Mr. Martin. While absent from home he was accused by two kindred spirits, Geoghegan and Hall, of embezzlement and fraud. The charge was duly investigated, and was found to rest upon a series of false entries deliberately introduced into the books by one of the accusers. John Hampson, who was then assistant, resolved to administer discipline, and expelled four leaders. In the storm that followed, Wesley was almost submerged by letters of expostulation and appeal. He made a hasty visit to Dublin, arriving on Saturday, October 4th, and for three days strove to reconcile the contending parties. To some extent he succeeded. But the thirty-four persons who had either left or been expelled from the Society would not forgive their opponents and did not return to it.¹⁰

Little wonder, therefore, that sometimes Wesley speaks of Dublin Methodism with warmth! The present allusion is more

9. cf. Crookshank, *passim*.

10. The *Journals*, 6/10/77.

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prolonged and more candid than any other, for evidently Wesley believes that to Brooke he can unburden his mind with safety. As early as in 1747 he writes¹¹ of the Society that they "in general are of a more teachable spirit than in most parts of England: but, on that very account, they must be watched over with the more care, being equally susceptible of good and ill impressions." In 1758 he uses¹² more asperity, applying to them the description of Reuben "unstable as water" and emphasizing their need of discipline, they "in general being so soft and delicate that the least slackness utterly destroys them." Finally¹³ in 1790 he complains of "the unjust, unkind behaviour" lately shewn him in Dublin, and continues:—"Many a weary journey have I had to Ireland; I seem now to be fairly discharged."

On the other hand, he refers to them twice in terms of praise. The one passage¹⁴ is dated 1762:—"There were none of them headstrong or unadvisable; none that were wiser than their teachers; none who dreamed of being immortal or infallible, or incapable of temptation; in short, no whimsical or enthusiastic persons. All were calm and soberminded." The other¹⁵ is dated 1785:—"I never found it in such a state before; many of them rejoiced in God their Saviour, and were as plain in their apparel, both men and women, as those in Bristol and London." Similarly of the Irish character in general he balances praise and blame. His most sweeping eulogy¹⁶ is made in 1748:—"So civil a people I never saw, either in Europe or America." Subsequently, however, he may have pondered that this was written on April 1st.

"*A time for the Exercise of Faith*"—This is a general reference to the complex warfare in which, by the sullen stupidity of George III, England was then engaged. Among her enemies she had to count not only the American colonies, but also France and Spain. Chatham, her most potential deliverer, was dead; and 1780 was to witness Holland brought against her and the outbreak of the Gordon riots. Appropriately Lecky¹⁷ designates the moment "one of the most terrible in English history."

R. E. KER.

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- 11. *The Journals*, 17/8/47
 - 12. *The Journals*, 30/3/58 and 7/4/58
 - 13. *Standard Letters*, VIII 216
 - 14. *The Journals*, 26/7/62
 - 15. *The Journals*, 12/4/85
 - 16. *The Journals*, ad loc.
 - 17. cf. his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, IV 453

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LETTER OF MRS. MARY FLETCHER
TO REV. GEORGE LOWE.

Madeley

Jan 26. 1809

My dear Brother,

As I suppose we shall not see you till the Weather grows better I wish to give you a line just to assure you we have you still in remembrance : and do bear your Burden before the Lord.

Your trials in many respects are *great* but this is a mark of *peculiar favor*, the Lord will have you among His *Brightest* jewels & doth therefore put you onto a more than Comon furnas—well we will leave all in His hand that now shall prove true in yr behalf—

from all his afflictions my glory shall spring,
& the deeper his sorrows the louder he'll sing.

When you were here Miss Tooth (who sends her love) borrowed a penny of you & we forgot to pay it please to receive it from my hand with interest—& may the Lord fill you with all good both for soul & body prays

Your sincerely affectionate

inclose one pound

friend in the Lord

(Addressed to Mr Lowe

M. FLETCHER

per favor of Mr Hopkins)

The Rev. John Heaton sends this letter, written by Mrs. John Fletcher in her old age. In transcribing he follows, as nearly as possible, the spelling and punctuation of the original.

Mr. Heaton found the letter pasted into a copy of Henry Moore's *Life of Mrs. Fletcher*. This book belonged once to Mrs. William Stonehewer, of Congleton, and subsequently to her daughter, Mrs. Heaton's grandmother.

The family name was Stonehewer; in earlier times it was frequently spelt Stonier or Stanier. In the *Standard Journal*, IV, 445, reference is made to a Mr. Stanier or Stonier, of Biddulph. He belonged to an earlier branch of the family from which Mrs. Heaton's grandmother was descended. Wesley occasionally stayed with this gentleman at Biddulph, and probably the letter headed Congleton, recently printed in the *Proceedings*, was written from his house. Mrs. Heaton possesses a table cloth which was used in this gentleman's family on the occasion of one of Wesley's visits.

The Congleton association of this letter make it practically certain that it was addressed to the Rev. George Lowe, who entered the ministry in 1788, and died in 1839, having spent nearly thirty years at Congleton. In the *Minutes* for 1809 he is appointed as a supernumerary to Congleton; in 1808 he is a supernumerary at Shrewsbury, Robert Hopkins being the assistant.

The Rev. T. A. Seed in his useful little book, *John and Mary Fletcher, typical Methodist Saints*, describes the exemplary widowhood of Mary Fletcher, and refers to "her invaluable friend and nurse, Miss Tooth." F.F.B.

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JOHN WESLEY IN DUBLIN.
MEMORIAL TABLET IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

A tablet to the memory of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., was unveiled on June 18, 1935, in St. Mary's Church, Mary Street, Dublin. The music of the service was sung by the Rathgar Methodist Church choir.

The presentation of the tablet was made by the President of the Dublin Methodist Council, the Rev. James M. Alley. He said that if the Church of Ireland to-day was a great and noble example of evangelic faith, it was in no small way due to the fact that there came to this country a man sent by God, named John Wesley. It was particularly fitting that in the old church of St. Mary, which had played a great part in the days gone by in the spiritual life of Dublin, and which had opened its pulpit to Wesley, when he landed in Ireland, they should erect this tablet to his memory.

The tablet was then unveiled by the Rev. William Younger, the President of the Conference.

The tablet is inscribed as follows:—

REV. JOHN WESLEY, A.M.

preached for the first time

in Ireland

in this Church,

on Sunday, August 9th, 1747.

This Tablet is erected to the

Glory of God

by the

Dublin Methodist Council,

June, 1935.

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The Rector of St. Mary's Church (the Rev. N. D. Emerson, LL.D.), in accepting the tablet, said that he was very grateful on behalf of the people of the parish of St. Mary in doing so. It was a matter of pride that there should be such a large gathering of members of the Episcopalian Church and their Methodist brethren under the same roof that night. It boded well for the future. St. Mary's was the only church standing in Dublin to-day in which John Wesley had preached, and Methodists always would be welcome there.

At the conclusion of the service the Rev. R. Lee Cole, M.A., B.D., gave a short address, an abridged report of which we reproduce.

"It is fitting that in this place where the Rev. John Wesley first stood to speak to Irish people, there should be a memorial saying that on August 9, 1747, he preached here his first sermon on Irish soil. The Methodist people in Ireland are not unresponsive to the compliment that is conveyed by to-day's event, and they feel gratified by the kindness of the Trustees of this Church, and by the genial co-operation of its Rector and Church-wardens. Such actions as this help to build a bridge, and cement a friendship between our two Churches, which indeed have much more in common than the things which divide them.

On Sunday morning, August 9, 1747, a little before ten o'clock, the Rev. John Wesley landed at St. George's Quay, after a passage of 26 hours from Holyhead. In his *Journal* he says, 'Soon after we landed, hearing the bells ringing for church, I went thither directly. Mr. Lunell came to the Quay just after I was gone, and left word at the house where our things were, he would call again at one. He did so and took us to his house. About three I wrote a line to the curate of St. Mary's, who sent me word he should be glad of my assistance: so I preached there (another gentleman reading prayers) to as gay and senseless a congregation as ever I saw. After the sermon Mr. Roquier thanked me very affectionately, and desired I would favour him with my company in the morning.' Mr. William Lunell, who is mentioned in this passage, was a banker resident in Francis Street, which at that time was one of the good residential streets of the city. He was a Moravian, and had been brought into contact with the Methodist movement through the preaching of Thomas Williams.

I have not been able to find any information about Rev. Moses Roquier, who is described as having been the curate of this church. It is probable that the incumbent of the church had

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other parishes in his care, and that St. Mary's was in charge of a curate.

For a fortnight Wesley remained in Dublin, preaching and visiting. He went to Newbridge to visit Dr. Charles Cobbe, the Archbishop of Dublin. He delighted in Phoenix Park, and described the phoenix monument which two years previously the Earl of Chesterfield had erected in the Park. He read Sir John Temple's account of the Irish Massacre of 1641. He thought St. Stephen's Green to be in a shocking condition of neglect, and he compared Trinity College with New College, Oxford. He was disappointed that he met so few persons of Irish extraction. Almost all whom he met were English Protestants, but he thought their removal to Dublin had "much mended" them, and that they had lost their Saxon surliness and roughness. He adds the observation, 'At least ninety-nine in an hundred of the native Irish remain in the religion of their forefathers . . . Nor is it any wonder that those who are born Papists generally live and die such, when the Protestants can find no better ways to convert them than Penal Laws and Acts of Parliament.'

There are several questions that one would like to be able to answer in connection with this historical record, but I am afraid they remain unanswerable. Why, for instance, did Wesley come first of all to St. Mary's? Was it the bells of St. Mary's¹ he heard from the quays, and did he follow the sound of the bell? That would be unlike the man with his precise plans, and his definite decisions about things. It might, of course, be that the link is to be found through his host, Mr. Lunell. Mr. Lunell was a Huguenot, and so also, one surmises, was Rev. Moses Roquier. The Huguenots in Dublin were a compact community on intimate business terms with one another, and it might be safe enough to infer that the arrangement was made between Mr. Lunell and Mr. Roquier. I have searched for any evidence as to the text on which Wesley preached on this occasion, but there is no reference in his sermon-record or elsewhere.

There was then, as now, a very considerable amount of coming and going between Dublin and England, and one may be sure there were many people who knew about the Rev. John Wesley,

1. Mr. David Bradshaw has called my attention to the fact that Wesley's entry in the *Journal* does not say he heard the bells of St. Mary's, and he does not say he attended St. Mary's on the earlier occasion. St. George's Quay is quite near to another parish church, St. Mark's, and it is possible Wesley attended there.—R.L.C.

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of Lincoln College, Oxford, before he appeared in the pulpit of St. Mary's. Some of these links of connection with Dublin can, however, be recalled. At Oxford, he and his brother, Charles, had been the centre of a little group of religiously-minded students. They crystallised into a sort of club; they undertook to live by rule; and to meet frequently for the purpose of studying the Greek Testament, and of prayer. This little group of ordered lives quickly drew public attention. They took all their duties seriously, the law of God, the rules of the Church, the statutes of the university—all were to be kept, and kept with exact precision. This was something new in Oxford. Bright lads soon invented nicknames for this cluster of oddities! They were called "The Holy Club," "Bible-Moths" (because they devoured the Bible), but their usual nickname was "Methodists," because they had rules for everything—eating, drinking, sleeping, working, praying, visiting; and so this historic name came into use as the joke or gibe of undergraduates' wit. There were some five or more members of the original Holy Club, three of them were tutors in the colleges, and the others were graduates and undergraduates.

Among the early members of the Club were Mr. William Morgan, and Mr. Richard Morgan, sons of Mr. Richard Morgan, of Dublin, a Remembrancer to the Court of the Exchequer. The sad death of Richard Morgan, junior, had brought Mr. Wesley, who was his tutor at Oxford, into close correspondence with this Dublin family. There were other ties between the Epworth Rectory in which John Wesley was born and Ireland. Mrs. Susanna Wesley, his mother, was an Annesley, and on his father's side there were ties of family connection with the Irish family of the Wesley name, out of which sprang Lord Mornington and the great Iron Duke, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington.

It was not, however, to visit Irish relatives that John Wesley had come to Dublin. Methodist influences had been at work in the city for two or three years. There was an unnamed soldier who had been converted under the Wesleys, and came to Dublin in 1745. Here he formed a small society, probably in the Royal Barracks, and began to preach regularly. Soon after, John Cennick, who had been a preacher of John Wesley's in England, arrived in Dublin, and joined the Moravians. It was Cennick who was responsible for the one Irish nickname given to the Methodists. He preached a sermon on the infant Jesus "wrapped in swaddling clothes, and lying in a manger." The crowd which

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heard him was highly amused at the unusual word, and promptly nick-named the Methodists "Swaddlers." Early in 1747 Mr. Thomas Williams came to Ireland as a preacher. He had been a curate in Worcestershire, and had been converted in 1738 under the preaching of Charles Wesley. He was an attractive preacher, with great zeal and enterprise, and when he preached in Oxmantown Green considerable numbers of people attended his services. A society was formed in which several persons of wealth and influence were soon enrolled. An old Lutheran church in Marlborough Street was leased by Williams, and a large congregation became connected with it. Williams, therefore, wrote inviting Wesley to come over, and without delay the Methodist Evangelist made his way to Dublin.

When Wesley came to St. Mary's on the summer Sunday in 1747, I venture to think he carried with him a hymn book, and it is not unlikely it was the first hymn book that ever was inside these walls. Whether he dared to use it, I do not know, but I scarcely think he did. Before the year 1736 the Church of England had no hymn book, and it was more than half a century later before the ordinary parish churches in Ireland could be brought to adopt anything in the way of singing beyond Tate and Brady's version of the Psalter.

Therefore, when the Methodists came with their lively hymns and tunes it made a great appeal to the populace. The ordinary people always love a good song tune, but these hymns and tunes had other more solid attractions and influences than that. Charles Wesley's hymns were all steeped in Biblical language and imagery. Consequently, those who sang them were unconsciously learning by heart the great evangelical doctrine, and learning them with a lilt and a rhythm that made them haunting and unforgettable."

In connection with this celebration a leaflet was published on which was reproduced an Irish engraving of Wesley.

By the courtesy of Mr. D. B. Bradshaw we are able to use this block. It is enlarged from a vignette on the title page of the following publication :—

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE EXPERIENCE OF SOME
OF THE MOST EMINENT
METHODIST PREACHERS,
THEIR CALL TO, AND SUCCESS
IN THE MINISTRY. IN A
SERIES OF LETTERS WRITTEN BY
THEMSELVES TO

[VIGNETTE]

THE REV^D JOHN WESLEY, A.M.,
DUBLIN: PRINTED BY BENNETT
DUGDALE, No. 150 CAPEL
STREET. 1783.

Those who are able to consult Mr. Telford's volume, *The Sayings and Portraits of John Wesley*, will find that this Irish engraving very much resembles the engraving drawn and published by T. Holloway in 1776, and used in 1791 as the frontispiece to Hampson's three volume *Memoirs of Wesley*. There it is stated to be published by J. Johnson, St. Paul's Churchyard. In the Irish engraving the face is reversed.

Bennett Dugdale is referred to in Crookshank's *History of Methodism in Ireland* as an acceptable local preacher.

WESLEY'S LETTERS TO EDWARD
JACKSON.

In one of the letters written by Wesley to Miss Tindall, of Scarborough, published for the first time in *Proceedings*, xx, 191, the following sentence occurs:—

“Edward Jackson, although he is now only received upon trial, is a solid weighty man much devoted to God, and I believe will be profitable to the people wherever he comes.” His obituary notice states that he was a “person of most

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exemplary conduct, and of a mild and amiable spirit." He acted for some time as leader of a class and an approved local preacher in the neighbourhood of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and cheerfully relinquished a lucrative trade and comfortable situation to enter upon the life of an itinerant.

He was received on trial in 1777, and fully admitted in 1779. He died at Burslem in 1806, aged 65.

There are three letters addressed to him in the Standard Edition of Wesley's Letters. By the kindness of Miss Jackson, of Altrincham, daughter of the late Mr. F. M. Jackson (whose services to the W.H.S. our older members will recollect), and great-granddaughter of the Rev. Edward Jackson, we are able to add another. Our thanks are due to Mr. P. A. Rainer, of Altrincham, for interesting himself in this matter.

Bristol

July 22, 1786.

My Dear Brother,

It is quite proper for those that live in the House to have the management of the Sale of Books, wch is of more importance as to the . . . assuring the work of God than one can easily imagine. Both your fellow labourers (Samuel Bardsley and James Ridal) are not only stout active men but also are alive to God & will go on with you hand in hand. I advise you to read over carefully y^e large Minutes of the Conference, & to observe them in *every part*.

Then the work of y^e Lord will surely prosper in your hands.

I am, Dear Neddy,

Your affectionate friend & Brother,
J. WESLEY.

To Mr. Jackson
At the Preaching House
In Coln
Lancashire.

JOHN WESLEY'S DEFENCE BEFORE BISHOP BUTLER.¹

Once and only once did the two most remarkable religious personalities of the eighteenth century meet, when in 1739 Joseph Butler, as Bishop of Bristol, interviewed John Wesley to enquire into the propriety of the latter's new 'field-preaching' at

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Kingswood.² The meeting is justly a famous one, because of the dramatic touch with which Wesley's account brings out the way in which these two geniuses, each earnestly striving to serve the same Church, completely misunderstood one another. A minor point of interest in connection with it is the matter which I wish here to discuss, namely, the very curious mistake in Church law made by Wesley at the climax of the interview.

The relevant passage runs :

B.: 'You have no business here ; you are not commissioned to preach in this diocese. Therefore I advise you to go hence.'

W.: ' . . . Being ordained as Fellow of a College, I was not limited to any particular cure, but have an indeterminate commission to preach the word of God in any part of the Church of England. I do not therefore conceive that, in preaching here by this commission, I break any human law. . . . '

Now this is an astonishing claim on Wesley's part ; so astonishing that one must look for some plausible explanation of his mistake, unless we are to suppose that he dealt disingenuously with a Bishop of his Church.

I. The usual explanation given is that Wesley was mistaking the *ius ubique docendi*, which was conferred on him when he took his M.A. at Oxford, with the totally different *ius ubique praedicandi*.³

In favour of this explanation, one may say that the *ius ubique docendi* would be more familiar to Wesley than to a modern M.A. Wesley was nearer to the mediæval times, when the very essence of the M.A. was this *ius ubique docendi*. In the later Middle Ages the mark of a University in the full sense (*i.e.*, a *studium generale* founded by Pope or Emperor, or, as Oxford, by custom acknowledged the equal of such—and not merely founded by the

1. I am indebted in this article for certain references and information to my friends Miss L. E. McLean, B.L.I., and the Rev. K. V. Ramsey, M.A., B.D.

2. *Journal of John Wesley*, Standard ed., ii, 237 n., 256-7 n.; John Wesley, *Works*, xiii, 470; J. S. Simon, *John Wesley and the Religious Societies*, 312-5. (The identity of the then Bishop of Bristol with Joseph Butler was curiously enough not noticed till Thomas M'Cullagh's article 'The Biographers of Wesley,' in *The London Quarterly Review*, January, 1902, p. 139.

3. *A New History of Methodism*, i, 323, n.; S. G. Dimond, *The Psychology of the Methodist Revival*, 113. (Only G. Eayrs, *John Wesley*, 72, seems implicitly to dissent.)

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charter of a local king), was that the degree, *i.e.* licenses to teach, of such a *studium generale* would be recognised as valid in the *studia generalia*, and, *a fortiori*, in lesser Universities.⁴ Now it is true that this right of interchange was not, even in the Middle Ages, very generously acknowledged:⁵ but it was both in mediaeval times and, if not in Wesley's time, then at any rate just before it, far more general than it is to-day in Britain, where Oxford, for example, will only incorporate *ad eundem* graduates of Cambridge and Dublin. I am not versed in the full evidence for the old system and interchange; but some time ago I came across remarkable evidence of the way in which throughout the 17th. century both Oxford and Cambridge freely admitted *ad eundem* graduates from the then provincial and very young Harvard College.⁶ One may therefore assume that Wesley would be familiar with the fact of the universality of a Master's teaching rights.

But there are four strong objections to the current view that this is really the confusion which Wesley was making;

(a) The *ius ubique docendi* is very obviously distinct from a licence to preach, being merely, for an M.A., a licence to teach arts in any Faculty of Arts.

(b) Wesley must have known that the two rights were distinct, for if they were not, then, with most of the clergy M.A.'s of Oxford or Cambridge, no Anglican Bishop's right of granting and withholding licences to preach would have been effective except as regards a fraction of the clergy.

(c) He does not in fact appeal to his supposed rights as M.A., but to his supposed rights as Fellow of a College.

4. Hastings Rashdall, *History of the Mediaeval Universities in Europe*, i. 1-22, and *passim* (*v.* Index s, *v.* *ius ubique docendi* and *licentia docendi*.)

5. Rashdall, *op. cit.*, i. 16-7

6. *V.* Prof. S. E. Morison's article 'Harvard Degree Diplomas,' in *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, May, 12, 1933, pp. 804-6. I do not know when this custom was dropped at Oxford: Harvard was liberal with *ad eundem* degrees from 1714 to the early 19th century (*v.* *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, March 12, 1931, p. 726): its present practice is to grant graduates of approved Universities equal status with its own, without formally incorporating them *ad eundem*—though a phrase in the form of presentation to higher degrees still survives from the old *ad eundem* days.

7. I recall having seen this suggested somewhere, but cannot recollect the reference.

8. *A Pocket Companion for Oxford* (1759), 57. Cf. *New History of Methodism*, i. 177-8. I regret I have not had access to more original authorities.

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II. Can we then suppose that Wesley was appealing to supposed special rights as Fellow of Lincoln?⁷ Lincoln College was by its founder 'designed . . . to be a seminary of learned men to preach and write against 'Wickliffe's Doctrine.'⁸ Its Fellows, in fact, had special propagandist duties. And Wesley may have confused this with the fact that the members of the Begging Orders had the special propagandist right of the *ius ubique praedicandi*: 'the members of the orders were allowed to preach without special permission from the Bishops.'⁹

This, I think, is a better explanation than the usual one; but it too has grave difficulties:

(a) It seems unlikely that Wesley would have appealed to so Romanistic a right.

(b) The Foundation Fellows of Lincoln, though obliged to be Scholars in Theology, were not Regulars, but Seculars.

(c) Wesley very carefully dissociated himself from the duties of the original Foundation of Lincoln. The twelve Foundation Fellows at the time had to proceed to their B.D.: Wesley was originally elected to one of these Fellowships, but soon, rather than proceed B.D., he exchanged it for the one Fellowship which did not entail taking the B.D. (It was one which strictly entailed proceeding D.C.L., but this requirement was a dead letter.) Wesley's determination not to proceed B.D. seems to have been very strong, since it caused him to hold for twenty-five years a Fellowship which was usually held for brief periods only, so that a Fellow in genuine difficulties over his B.D. could be helped by being elected into it for a few years: Wesley's continued tenure of it was therefore a nuisance to his colleagues, as well as condemning Wesley himself to the continual status of Junior Fellow.¹⁰ To find out why Wesley took this attitude would entail an interesting enquiry both into Wesley's mind, and into the state of the Oxford Schools at the time. But the fact that Wesley did take this attitude so definitely makes it difficult to believe that he can have appealed to any supposed rights attaching to the Foundation Fellowships at Lincoln.

(d) Wesley in point of fact did not appeal to supposed rights as Fellow of Lincoln, but to supposed rights as Fellow of a College.

(9) *New Schaff-Herzog*, ix, 163. I regret that, not being an archivist, I can find no first-hand evidence whatever about the *ius ubique praedicandi*: the ordinary authorities, even the Catholic encyclopaedias, are silent on the matter.

10. On this B.D. question, v. J. Telford, *The Life of John Wesley*, 47.

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III. It remains to suppose that Wesley thought any Fellow (all Fellows were then ordained) of any College could legally preach in any diocese without episcopal license.

I do not know of any evidence on this matter: but is it possible that there was at the time special *de facto* latitude allowed to Fellows of Colleges as regards preaching without license? I understand that the present position in the Anglican Church is that, though episcopal licence to preach is strictly required for all who are not incumbents in the diocese concerned, it is never requested or required, when the preacher is in Orders except for work of some permanency (though of course the negative of this right, that that of inhibiting incumbents from preaching in the diocese, is occasionally exercised by Bishops.) Is it possible that this deviation from the strict letter of the law was in the 18th century allowed in special measure to Fellows of Colleges, since they were men of known standing, and would be frequently available to take services outside the dioceses of Oxford and Ely? If there was a well-established custom to this effect, it would explain Wesley's misapprehension. It would, of course, be only a custom, and not a right, and therefore could not avail if the Bishop chose explicitly to object, as Butler did. But in any case Wesley was mistaken on the point of law; and this to my mind is the most plausible explanation of his mistake.

J. F. BUTLER.

The author of this article is a student at Didsbury College, whose researches in this somewhat out of the way subject the Editors are pleased to note. It is highly desirable that Wesley studies should be taken up by the younger generation. Comments upon the "plausible explanation" here given of Wesley's claims before the Bishop of Bristol are invited. It is interesting, but perhaps the last word has not been spoken.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

As the Conference met in Bristol, which is so full of Methodist associations, it was natural that the Wesley Historical Society should be in evidence there. The many Conference visitors who visited the oldest Methodist chapel in the world, the beautifully restored "New Room" in Broadmead, were informed about the W.H.S., not only by bills and circulars, but by the interesting series of mid-day talks arranged by the Society, through the courtesy of the Warden, Dr. Platt. These talks were

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given by Dr. Platt himself and Dr. Ferrier Hulme, who spoke on the New Room and Bristol influences in American Methodism respectively; by Mr. Wiseman on Charles Wesley's Home and Hymns; by Mr. Telford on John Wesley as a letter-writer, and by Dr. A. W. Harrison on the 18th century back-ground.

The Annual Meeting of the W.H.S. was held in the upper room on Monday, July 22, the Rev. John Telford presiding. Pressure of Conference business reduced the attendance and gave little time for detailed reports. The Society has suffered a severe blow through the sudden death of its treasurer, Mr. B. C. Stampe. Mr. Stampe was to have been at Conference as a representative, but died just before the sessions began. The Vice-President of the Conference and of the Society (Mr. E. S. Lamplough) spoke in the highest terms of Mr. Stampe's character and services. The general secretary, who has not missed an Annual Meeting for many years, was absent owing to the serious illness of his wife. Votes of sympathy were passed with Mrs. Stampe and with Rev. F. F. Bretherton.

Mr. Herbert Ibberson, of Barnsley, was invited to be the new treasurer, and Mr. Leslie T. Daw, M.A. the index secretary in place of Rev. R. S. Armsby, B.A., who has prepared the indexes for the *Proceedings* for thirty years. The other officers, including Rev. J. Telford, B.A., as president, Mr. H. Ward as auditor and Rev. F. F. Bretherton, B.A., as secretary were thanked and re-elected.

The membership and finances of the Society continue in a sound and healthy state. There is a balance of about £200 in invested funds and at the bank. The membership of 356 shows an increase of 8 on the year, though among the names of the members who have died during the year are those of Bishop Hamilton, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Sir Robert Perks, Rev. George McNeal and Mr. Michael Guttridge. A suggested memorial to Rev. J. Richardson (Wesley's clerical assistant at City-road), to be placed in Ewhurst Church, was referred to the International Methodist Historical Union. A.W.H.

Writing to supplement Dr. Harrison's report, I am pleased to say that Mr. Herbert Ibberson has kindly consented to take up the duties of the Treasurership. This appointment, admirable in itself, is to be welcomed also as an indication of the desire of those responsible for the work of the W.H.S. to gather into its fellowship Methodists who were not Wesleyans.

Mr. B. C. Stampe was appointed Treasurer on the death of his father, the first Treasurer. He regarded the work as an act of

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filial piety, and carried it out with painstaking regularity. It was at the annual meeting in Newcastle in 1919 that he received appointment. The same meeting appointed me as General Secretary, and it has been one of the privileges of my position to work in association with Mr. Stampe.

The Rev. George H. McNeal was present at our annual meeting last year. His death is a great loss to us. He was a good friend of the W.H.S., and his help was forthcoming in most valuable fashion when we held our "Wesleyana" Exhibition in 1932.

The work of the Index compiler, though carried on in the background, is of great value. I am sorry Mr. Armsby wishes to be relieved from his labours. But Mr. Daw has had valuable experience in drawing up a general index for the first sixteen volumes, and as he is a young man we may look for the continuity which is desirable in work of this kind.

F.F.B.

THE IRISH BRANCH.

The Annual Meeting was held in Dublin on June 21, in the unavoidable absence of the Rev. William Corrigan, the Rev. R. C. Crawford presided. The finances were stated to be in a satisfactory condition. The present membership is 90.

The Library and Repository, now at Edgehill College, Belfast, has been enriched during the year with several books, pamphlets and pictures illustrating Irish Methodist history.

The chief event of the year for our Irish brethren was the celebration at Ballingrane, commemorating Barbara Heck, one of the founders of American Methodism.

The unveiling of a tablet in St. Mary's Church, Dublin, where Wesley preached his first sermon on Irish soil, is recorded in another page of this issue.

It is good to note that Mr. Robert Morgan, to whom, as Secretary, this branch owes so much, has been able to resume work, after his recent illness.

THE NEW ZEALAND BRANCH.

This Branch is carrying on a useful work, with a membership of about fifty. The members receive a copy of our *Proceedings*, in which is inserted an inset printed in New Zealand. As time goes on these local pages will constitute a valuable record of Methodist enterprise in that country, and of the influence of Methodism upon the wider life of the community in its earlier days.

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We wish every encouragement to Rev. Dr. C. H. Laws, (President) and Rev. George Frost (Secretary), and their fellow-members. One of the difficulties experienced by the officials of this Branch is the unfavourable rate of exchange with England.

OVERSEAS CONNECTIONS.

Mr. Eggleston sends from Philadelphia a notice of the annual meeting of the Association of Methodist Historical Societies held on May 24 in New York.

In the morning there were reports and an address followed by a luncheon.

In the afternoon papers were read on early Methodist history in Baltimore, Philadelphia, the Delaware Capes and Boston.

In the evening, at a meeting held at the old John Street Chapel, the subject of Methodism and Education, from the initiation of Cokesbury College onwards, was under consideration.

We congratulate our American friends on the widespread interest revealed by such a programme.

We continue to send the *Proceedings* to the Rev. F. R. Swynny, the Secretary of the Australasian Methodist Historical Society, Sydney, and we receive their *Journal and Proceedings* in return. A good deal of useful activity is revealed therein, and many interesting episodes of the early days have been rescued from threatened oblivion.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

748. "THE REV. MR. GILPIN"—In a note in the *Proceedings* numbered 737, mention is made of a letter written by Wesley to a correspondent bearing this name. The question was asked, Who was this Mr. Gilpin? There is no mention of anyone of that name, other than the celebrated Bernard Gilpin of an earlier day, in the *Standard Journal* or *Letters*. Mr. Telford points out that the desired information may be obtained from Tyerman's *Wesley's Designated Successor*. Therein is mentioned the Rev J. Gilpin, Vicar of Wrockwardine, Salop, as the translator of a poem written in French by John Fletcher to celebrate the conclusion of peace with France and Spain in 1783. The English translation was published a few days after the death of Fletcher. A little later another work was published, entitled as follows:

The Portrait of St. Paul; or, the true Model for Christians and Pastors: translated from the French

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Manuscript of the late Rev. John William de la Flechere, Vicar of Madeley. To which is added, Some Account of the Author, by the Rev. Joshua Gilpin, Vicar of Rockwardine, in the County of Salop. In two volumes. Shrewsbury, 1790.

749. WESLEY AT GAINSBOROUGH.—We have received an interesting letter from Mr. Robert Moss Collingham calling attention to a misprint in the article we published in 1907 on Early Preaching Places in Gainsborough. On page 68, *Proceedings* vol. vi, for Robert Moor read Robert Moss. This unfortunate mistake disguises an interesting personality. Other particulars in the article require correction also. R. Moss did not die in 1849, as stated. In a long memoir printed in the *W. M. Magazine* for April 1856 it is said that he died on 18 September; the year is not stated, but in all probability 1855 is meant. The *Magazine* writer gives great prominence to an illness of Mr. Moss in 1849, and this, together with the lack of precision about the year of death, evidently misled the writer in the *Proceedings*.

Mr. Robert Moss was at his death one of the last surviving fruits of Wesley's personal ministry. He heard Wesley preach at Misterton 11 July, 1779, and at a Lovefeast held at Gainsborough on 11 June, 1780. He considered himself too young then to become a member of Society, but he wrote thus of that memorable place and occasion: "Here I solemnly covenanted, in the presence of God, angels, the Rev. John Wesley, and the church there assembled, that I would be a Methodist as soon as I was old enough. From that day to this, I have been a Methodist in principle, design, and endeavour, though in ten thousand instances I have come short. But, O, what a privilege I have ever felt it to have received my first principal impressions under the ministry of the Founder of Methodism."

The dates are taken from the *Standard Journals* and appear to be in harmony with the facts. The writer in the *Proceedings* gives other dates and has to tamper with Mr. Moss's own statement to make them fit.

It would, perhaps, hardly have appeared necessary to call attention to inaccuracies in an article published so long ago; but the subject opens out in a most interesting fashion. Mr. R. M. Collingham is the grandson of Mr. Robert Moss. He was born in 1851, and well remembers sitting upon his grandfather's knee. One of

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our members therefore was personally acquainted with one who came to religious decision in Wesley's presence. There are other people living who in infancy came into contact with people who had known Wesley. But a link so definite and circumstantial is seldom to be met with.—*F.F.B.*

- 750.—SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON METHODIST TOPICS, BY MEMBERS OF THE W.H.S.—The Rev. E. D. Bebb, M.A., Ph.D., writing on *Nonconformity and Social and Economic Life, 1660-1800*, includes matter relating to the period preceding the Methodist Revival. But students of Methodist history will find much to interest and inform them in his pages. They will note especially his treatment of the oft-repeated statement that England was saved from revolution in the eighteenth century, and in the period following, by the Methodist Revival.

Methodist Good Companions, by Mrs. A. W. Harrison, has enjoyed, we are glad to note, what journalists call a "good press." Mrs. Harrison has made a special study of the Grace Murray episode in Wesley's life, and recounts it with charm and insight. John Nelson, Jabez Bunting, Thomas Adams and others are characterised in an arresting manner. Mrs. Harrison reprints the beautiful sketch of her father, Rev. Dr. Simon, which was given first in the last volume of his work on Wesley. The chapter on the Brontës, of Haworth, makes use, in a way not fully worked out previously, of the influence of the early Methodist Magazines, and the Methodist associations of the Haworth parsonage, on the writings of Emily Brontë.

We called attention recently to several University theses on Methodist subjects. It is gratifying to note that the London University has conferred the degree of Doctor of Philosophy upon the Rev. Robert F. Wearmouth, M.A., B.Sc., for a thesis on *Methodism and the Working Classes of England, 1800-1850*.

Mr. E. R. Taylor, B.A., chose as his subject for the Thirlwall and Gladstone Prize Essay of 1933, recently published in book form, *Methodism and Politics, 1791-1851*. The book claims to fill a gap in historical research in respect to the relations between religion and politics. No one has, as yet, says Mr. Taylor, attempted to find reasons for those alliances between Dissenter and Whig, and between Anglican and Tory, which have played so important a part in the history of English politics. A wide field of great interest is treated in this book.