

WESLEY'S CONVERSION : TEXT, PSALM AND HOMILY.

Three times during the memorable 24. May, 1738, was there an outside impact on John Wesley's consciousness of such a kind as to leave on him afterwards the impression that he was thereby guided up to and through what is regarded as the most important spiritual crisis of the century. Text, psalm and homily—common constituents of public worship—each played their part.

The words on which Wesley says he opened his Testament can be found in the *Standard Journal*, I, 472, in the Greek. These he translates :

“ There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, even that ye shall be partakers of the divine nature.” (2 Peter, i., 4.)

It is not a habit of Wesley's to quote as extensively as this in Greek in the *Journal*. Only one other lengthy passage can be found in the *Standard Journal*, and this is in a portion not included in the 1831 edition. Thus to all intents this is the only occasion on which he publishes at length a Greek text. One cannot therefore conclude that his omission of two phrases from the *Textus Receptus* is due to any habit of quoting from memory from the Greek New Testament, though he quotes passages from the Classics frequently inaccurately, and gives English scriptural quotations without verbal exactness.

In this case, however, his omission of the Greek equivalent of “wherefore” from the beginning of the verse, and “through those” from the middle, is more noticeable, since it results in a sense differing from any of the known versions. In his translation, Wesley regards *iva* not as signifying purpose, but as a simple equivalent for *ōtu*. He does not even leave it as an ambiguous “that” (as he does later in his own edition of the New Testament) but adds a gratuitous “even” to make no doubt about it. Whether this is grammatically possible is a point which might be debated. Winer says it is not; Mark ix, 12, is the only doubtful instance. No one ever thinks of taking this

particular passage as a case in point, because "through those" referring easily to "promises" makes a final clause the natural meaning. In his own *Notes on the New Testament*, Wesley reads: (the quotation is from the 1757 edition),

"By which he hath given us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these having escaped ye may become partakers of the divine nature."

And in the Commentary he enlarges:

"that sustained and encouraged by the promises"—a translation which accords with the Authorised Version and Winer.

One must therefore assume either that Wesley used a different text from the *Textus Receptus* or that his grammar was temporarily unorthodox. The first is unlikely. An examination of most of the Greek texts published in the earlier years of the eighteenth century nowhere shows such a text, and Bengel, whose *Critical Apparatus* was published in 1734, nowhere mentions such a variant. Probably then Wesley misread the verse, mistranslated it, and misquoted it when he wrote up his *Journal*.

But when, as here, interest lies in a state of mind, such mistakes can be instructive. As often happens, he read what he wanted to—a promise to be made a partaker of the divine nature. Of the first and last portions of the text, he makes no mistakes. The words of its opening vary as regards order in some MSS., but Wesley remembered accurately what every edition in that century at any rate, must have read. Similarly he remembers the Greek of the last in its idiomatic order. His own hopes and prayers supplied the connection. In his *Notes on the New Testament* he explains the last phrase as:

"Being renewed in the Image of God and having Communion with him, so as to dwell in God, and God in you."

In this frame of mind the day opened with a promise, which the words, again found by chance as he went out: "Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God," seemed to bring a little nearer to its fulfilment.

And so he came to St. Paul's for evensong. The Anthem was: "Out of the deep have I cried unto Thee, O Lord: Lord hear my voice, O let thine ears consider well the voice of my complaint. If Thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? For there is mercy with Thee; therefore shalt Thou be feared. O Israel, trust in the Lord: for with the Lord there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption. And he shall redeem Israel from all his sins."

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There is some controversy about the probable setting for this Anthem that Wesley may have heard. For some years Sir Frederick Bridge's answer: "The setting could have been none other than the one composed by Henry Purcell, a former organist of Westminster Abbey," was the only one to the problem. But (as Mr. J. T. Lightwood pointed out in *The Choir* May 1938), there are settings by at least fifteen composers dating from Tudor times that Wesley might have listened to. He argues there very convincingly in favour of one by W. Croft (1677-1727) organist at the Chapel Royal, thirty of whose anthems had been published in 1724, and a copy bought by the Cathedral authorities in 1727. Purcell's setting on the other hand was not printed till 1790. A claim for a setting by H. Aldrich (1647-1710) was made when the Bicentenary Service in St Paul's on May 25, 1938, contained a rendering of this by the Cathedral Choir. But Aldrich's music to this Psalm was not published until 1760, and the likelihood rests strongly with Croft.

Perhaps we can find another clue to establish this, from a consideration of Wesley's mind on that day. Croft's setting emphasises by repeating over and over again the words, "Trust in the Lord," in a persistent and soothing cadence, which can certainly catch the memory and haunt it long after the anthem has finished. Aldrich's setting on the other hand, as rendered last year at St. Paul's, omitted entirely those last verses, which include this phrase.

If it were Croft's setting Wesley heard, the words: "Trust in the Lord" may well have been echoing within him all the way to the Aldersgate meeting. Here, he says, "one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation: and an assurance was given me that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine* and saved *me* from the law of sin and death."

For some years a theory was rife that Wesley made a mistake here, and since it was Luther's Commentary on the *Epistle to the Galatians* that William Holland "was providentially directed to" less than a week before, then it was this that was read to John Wesley. This is conclusively refuted at length by Rev. T. F. Lockyer (*Proceedings* viii, 61-66). Wesley's own entry in the *Journal* for June 15, 1741 (*Standard Edition*, ii., 467) should have been enough to render this extremely improbable at the outset.

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Now the Preface to the *Epistle to the Romans* can be consulted in German, Latin or English, and two English versions at least would have been extant in 1738. The earlier is by Tyndale, and forms the bulk of his own Preface to the Epistle, which was first published in 1526. The other exists in the British Museum (3266 A1) in a 39 page pamphlet, with the words "now newly translated out of Latin into English by W.W. student," 1632. The Latin is that of Justus Jonas who in 1523 translated Luther's original preface (published in 1522). This exists both as a separate pamphlet (1524) and in the Complete (1554) Edition of Luther's works.

In 1838 Thomas Jackson (also called Didymus in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*) wrote: "The preface in question was published in English in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign." T. F. Lockyer also says in *Paul, Luther and Wesley* (p 257): "As some writers give 1575 for an English translation of the Preface, this (the 1632 translation) may be a later edition of the same work." But no such Elizabethan translation can be traced to-day, and in 1838 Jackson confessed his inability to find a copy. In 1575 an English translation of the *Commentary on Galatians* was published, and probably this has caused the mistake. At any rate, W.W. implies that his translation is new.

The Preface to the *Epistle to the Romans* is the longest of all Luther's prefaces. It contains sectional essays on the main topics of the Letter by way of definition, and these form just the stimulating reading that Wesley implies. Several passages have been favoured by various writers as the one Wesley referred to as being the accompaniment to his heart's warming.

But there is one passage in the section headed "Sin," that stands out, for not only in the compass of two sentences does it answer to Wesley's brief description, but it seems to have a verbal reminiscence and to supply the mode of expression for his spiritual experience. Dr. Bett fastens on it in *The Spirit of Methodism* (1937) but Thomas Jackson quotes it among other pieces as far back as 1838. In W.W.'s translation it runs:

"Wherefore let us conclude that faith alone justifies, and that faith alone fulfilleth the Law. For faith through the merit of Christ obtaineth the Holy Spirit, which spirit doth make us new hearts, doth exhilarate us, doth excite and inflame our heart, that it may do those things willingly, of love, which the Law commandeth."

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The phrase "inflare our heart" is especially interesting, though one can find other passages that evoke echoes in Wesley's own words, "I began to pray with all my might for those who had in any more especial manner despitefully used me and persecuted me"—this may in some way correspond to Luther's "Therefore man becomes joyfully willing without constraint, to do good to everyone, to serve everyone, to bear all kinds of suffering for God's love and praise." One might also find in Luther's dictum: "Therefore Christ calleth only unbelief sin" a companion voice to the anthem's counsel of "I trust in the Lord,"—an invitation answered by his: "I felt I *did* trust Christ alone for salvation, and an assurance was given me that he had taken away *my* sins, even mine," a more pointed phrase, if he did think on lack of trust as his sin.

But in no case is there so vivid a parallel as with the most striking phrase in the *Journal*. "I felt my heart strangely warmed." If we stress that "my" as all the other occurrences of that word are stressed in the passage, the warmed heart sounds even more like an echo of another's phrase. There may then be a case for thinking that Justus Jonas' "Hic Spiritus cor novat, exhilarat, et excitat et inflammat" or its English version may have given Methodism its most famous phrase.

But if so, an interesting light falls on the question of what version of the three or four likely ones, may have been read at the meeting. It so happens that there is no such sentence in either the Tyndale Prologue, or the second (1525) edition of Luther's German New Testament. Either Luther himself altered his phraseology to a more precise and theological mode in his second edition, or Justus Jonas is responsible for that vivid touch which W.W. faithfully translates. And the choice is definitely narrowed to either the Latin of Justus Jonas or an English version of it.¹

Of the two perhaps the former is the more likely. For one thing "I felt my heart strangely warmed," is more like an independent and happy translation of "cor inflammat" than a conscious correction of W.W.'s more literal "inflames the heart." And then John Wesley was in the habit of corresponding at any rate

1. There is a similar discrepancy between the German of the first (1522) edition of Luther's New Testament and Justus Jonas' Latin. Mr. James Holt of Westminster College, after a rapid examination, reported that the Latin could hardly be termed even a free translation of the German. Rather it takes the main phrases and ideas, and stresses them in vivid and popular terminology, while following closely the scheme of the whole.

with the Moravians in Latin. Add to which that, if so few traces of English versions remain, there is but a small likelihood of one chancing in so small a society.

The question of the edition of the *Commentary on Galatians* might also have a bearing. For the society to have one rare translation might be a lucky chance: to have two, and only to have stumbled on them in a week of each other, is less likely. On the other hand there was an "Omnibus" Luther in existence since 1554 with both treatises in Latin, bound together. There is a probability then that it was this book that William Holland found about May 17, took to Charles and later had read out to larger audiences. It was, in fact, the book of the week. It would be a substantial folio volume, and in saying he "carried" it to Charles Wesley at Mr. Bray's, he may use a more appropriate word than a mere "took." If it were in Latin Charles might have been needed to translate, and he could hardly have been as well suited wherever he found the book. His own narrative implies that he left Mr. Bray's without it: "When I afterwards went into the street, I could scarce feel the ground I trod upon." And hence perhaps, it was carried from Charles Wesley's sickbed to the meeting. If we believe the latest researches, the site was but a few doors away, and from the meeting, they carried back to Charles, not the book, but John himself.

R. KISSACK.

THE EPWORTH FIRE.

WHO WAS THE RESCUER?

The dramatic rescue of the youthful Wesley from the fire at Epworth Rectory has been depicted in a well-known painting. Many most interesting particulars about the picture, and also about the event portrayed are given in the following pamphlet:

*H. P. PARKER'S CENTENARY PICTURE, DESCRIBED
BY THE REV. JAMES EVERETT, 7th Edn., LONDON,
1862, 16 pp.*

Everett's original letter is dated 13 May, 1839.

The pamphlet gives a sketch of the picture, the most prominent figures bearing numbers. The strong man standing under the window is numbered 3, and named John Brown.

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Number 4 just behind is named Robert Brown. The man standing on John Brown's shoulders to receive the child is unnamed.

"It appears from some recent details, as well as the family account, as related by an elderly lady at the Epworth Centenary meeting, held in the early part of the year [1839] that a human ladder was employed upon the occasion. The person in question observed, that it was her great-uncle, John Brown, who saved 'little Jackie' from the fire—that when it was found that the whole of the family had escaped except him, attempts were made to save him; that her relative being a strong tall man, finding that no entrance could be made from below, and no ladder was near, hit upon the expedient of stooping and requesting a second person to mount upon his shoulders, upon which he stood, and so reached the chamber window Thus little John was providentially saved by big John, as the athletic John Brown was designated by the inhabitants."¹

This reference to Watson's Works has been verified for me by Dr. Shepherd.

I have Watson's *Wesley*, 6th edn., London C.O. 1839.

Also in my collection is *Vie du Révérend Jean Wesley* par le Révérend Richard Watson traduit de l'Anglais sur la quatrième édition, Paris 1840. 2 volumes, pp 375 and 360, bound in one. Neither of these editions of the *Life*, makes any mention of the rescuers.

The French book has a picture of the fire entirely different from Parker's. It has a name at the bottom, S. P. Blundell. Also, Ch. Bazin lith. Im. Lemercier, Benardel et Ce.

Everett goes on,

"One of the most prominent and interesting figures in the group immediately beneath the window from whence 'Jackie' issues, is the celebrated John Brown, who from the manner of placing his feet, the aid of which he receives from the buttress position of his hands against the wall, and the support of those around him with the partial horizontal inclination of the head, like another abutment, assumes the appearance of a rock, or of another Hercules."

1. The Rev. J. Fowler has directed the artist's attention to a note appended to the *Life of Wesley*, by the late Rev. Richard Watson, from which it appears that the name of this individual was Barnard, and that his son, William Barnard, Esq., afterwards resided at Gainsborough. See Watson's *Works*, v. 303.

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(Here follows discussion as to whether the man faced the wall or placed his back against it.)

Footnote refers us to *Armin. Mag.* i 32, and Whitehead's *Wesley* i, 357, [should be 377.] Both these references are to Mrs. Wesley's account of the rescue and do not help us as to names,

Everett further speaks of the inhabitants encircling John Brown, the base of so many hopes, and of the person mounted on the shoulders of John Brown.

A modern Methodist has taken up the subject in :
FACES IN THE FIRELIGHT by Sir Walter Essex.
(Epworth Press 6d., recent.)

This booklet reproduces the key already mentioned and accepts the name John Brown without reference to any other.

In *Proceedings* xix, 207, I asked, whence did Sir Walter Essex get the name John Brown. If I had then been acquainted with the statement in Everett's pamphlet I should not have asked the question. As it was, I went on to say that in view of various claims brought forward there seemed little room for the name Brown.

I have received from the Rev. W. A. Rugby Pratt, F. R. Hist. S., a long article contributed by him to *The Press*, Christchurch, New Zealand. He was acquainted with my reference to Brown, and pointed out that Sir Walter Essex had produced no evidence in favour of that name. That is so, but Everett, from whom Sir Walter evidently borrows, cannot be dismissed so summarily. Mr. Pratt goes on to say that he took up the matter in correspondence and is satisfied that he should have written John Barnard. I think, however, that the names John Brown and John Barnard may both stand.

It should be borne in mind that there was one man standing on the ground under the window, and another mounted on his shoulders. The evidence for John Brown as given by Everett seems reliable. There is also much evidence for Barnard. Let us look at it. Mr. Pratt has been in correspondence with the Rev. E. H. Maggs, whose reference to an old letter bringing forward the name of Barnard was mentioned in *Proceedings* xvii, 148.

This old letter, though the fact was overlooked when the note in *Proceedings* xvii, 148, was written, is apparently the same as the extract from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1802, printed in *Proceedings* v, 223. John Wesley's father was entertained to dinner at Temple Belwood by a gentleman who was a strange blend of

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avarice and of oddity. The Rector composed some curious verses impromptu by way of grace. In the 1802 paragraph it is said that the authenticity of the grace may be relied upon, being given "on the authority of the late William Barnard, Esq., of Gainsborough, whose father, the preserver of John Wesley from the fire of 1707, was present at the time it was spoken at Temple Belwood after dinner." One would like to know whether the note by Mr. Watson referred to above had independent foundation, or is merely a repetition of what is said in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*. Mr Pratt says that this casual but definite statement that one of Wesley's rescuers was named Barnard has abundant confirmation. (By the way, this form of putting it is a recognition by Mr. Pratt that there were two rescuers.) In evidence he quotes a letter written in 1841 to the missionary secretaries in London by the Rev. John Aldred, the first resident Wesleyan Missionary at Port Nicholson. It says:—

"One Captain Rhodes, formerly of Epworth has got a town section on the mission land (at Te Aro) on which he has built a large warehouse. His great-grandfather, he tells me, was the person who rescued John Wesley from the flames."

The gentleman referred to by Mr. Aldred was Captain William Barnard Rhodes who was born at Epworth, May 8, 1807, and removed to Wellington, N.Z. in 1840.

The mother of Captain Rhodes was a daughter of Robert Heaton of Epworth, who married Mary Barnard, daughter of Peter Barnard of the same place. Peter Barnard was the son of William Barnard of Gainsborough, whose father was said to be one part of the living ladder at the fire.

In *Proceedings* iv, 216 (1903) the Rev. R. Green published a statement contained in a letter written by Rev. Dr. E. J. Watkin of Australia:—

"When I was a boy in Wellington, N.Z., from 54 to 60 years ago, there lived near the Mission House an elderly retired sea captain named Rhodes who told my father that his grandfather was the man on whose shoulders another stood who rescued John Wesley from the burning parsonage at Epworth. This Captain Rhodes became a wealthy cattle and sheep station owner.

It will be noted that Mr. Watkin refers to the grandfather of Captain Rhodes, whereas Mr. Aldred spoke of the great-grandfather. It is far more likely that Mr. Watkin imperfectly remem-

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bered something said to him many years before than that we have in the differing statements a real discrepancy.

Neither Mr. Aldred or Mr. Watkin mention whether it was through his father or mother that Captain Rhodes derived from the alleged rescuer. There seems to be no reason to doubt that it was through his mother. But the Rev. R. Green in his volume entitled *John Wesley, Evangelist*, 1905, failing, I fear, to maintain his usual standard of accuracy, says that the man who fixed himself against the wall was "a Mr. Rhodes." As indicating the supposed ground for this statement a foot-note says, "His grandson, a retired sea-captain in Wellington, New Zealand, preserved the tradition of the name." Mr. Green seems to assume that the name of a man's grandfather must necessarily be the same as his own, which of course is not the fact.

To show how persistent is the family tradition, it may be mentioned that Joseph Rhodes of Hawke's Bay, a brother of Captain Rhodes, is reported to have said at a meeting held in Napier in 1876 that one of his ancestors saved the illustrious Wesley from the fire at Epworth.

In the light of all that I have been able to ascertain I reach the conclusion that there is good ground for believing that John Brown was the name of the man who took another man on to his shoulders on the eventful night and that the man who used this human support was named Barnard. The name Rhodes I think, may be put on one side.

There is, however, a further name to be considered. In *Wesley Studies* (1903) the Rev. Nehemiah Curnock quotes a letter, dated 11 May, 1903, written to the *Methodist Recorder* by the wife of Rev. A. E. Rowson, a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, then residing at Minnesota, U.S.A. In the course of it she said:—

"I am proud to inform you I am a descendant of the man who stood on the shoulders of another, and took the boy from the window of the burning house. My sainted and honoured father (the late William Kirk of Retford, Notts.), was born at a village in the Isle of Axholme just a few miles from Epworth, and this man, whose name was Clark, was his great-great-grandfather."

The bona fides of the writer was vouched for by the Rev. George Holbrey, a retired Wesleyan Minister, who lived at Retford.

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Now Mrs Rowson on her marriage went with her husband to America. She left behind with Mr. Holbrey a bell-clapper, and also a friendly domestic, Miss Elizabeth Fowler, who was with them fifty years. Miss Fowler was a staunch Wesleyan and told the Holbreds and Mr. H. D. Howard (who was her executor) that the clapper was from the bell which sounded the fire alarm. She testified to the fact of Clark being the rescuer.

The clapper is now in the museum at Wesley's House. From the oak bell frame on which the bell may have hung, two beautiful offertory plates have been made, and presented recently to the Trustees of Wesley's Chapel City Road, by the Rector and Churchwardens of Epworth Parish Church.

Mr. Curnock tells us that he found in the Churchyard at Epworth two grave-stones on which were mentioned the Clark family of Epworth, one member of which, as the left-hand stone testified, died in America.

What are we to make of the claims of this third candidate?

A solution of the problem seems to be within our reach.

Mr. James Laver in his *Wesley*, p. 13, "three men formed a human ladder by clambering upon one another's shoulders, and the highest of them, whose name, Clarke, deserves to be recorded, drew John from the window at the very moment when the roof fell."

I do not recollect that any one else has made the suggestion of a three-storey human ladder in precisely this form; but it appears to me that Mr. Laver's view may guide our thoughts into the right direction.

In Parker's picture there is a man standing on the ground supported by a figure on either side, with a man on his shoulders and yet another man is holding up his hands to steady the upper rescuer. Just behind them is a man, said to be Robert Brown, holding up his hands as if in readiness to receive. It is obvious that the man perched so precariously on another would have to dispose of the child before he could get down! The picture emphasises the fact that many persons were concerned and the correctness of Mrs. Rowson's story, in its main contention, does not seem to me to be negatived by the facts relating to Brown and Barnard, though possibly in the course of the long period which had elapsed the family tradition had gone a little astray in detail.

In connection with the Wesley Day celebrations at Stourport a contribution was made "in memory of Samuel Brown, the

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person who had rescued John Wesley, when an infant from the fire at Epworth Rectory" I have made inquiries about this, without result. I take it that there is here something which may be regarded as in some measure a confirmation of the Brown claim, though the Christian name has been changed by some mistake of memory or transcription.

Since writing the foregoing I have had another family tradition brought to my notice. Though it has persisted in the family concerned it has no documentary confirmation, and is so indefinite that my informant cannot tell me whether the name of the man thought to have been one of the rescuers was Kilham or Topham. The fact mentioned above, that many persons were concerned, forbids us to discredit this tradition dogmatically, and when one remembers that Alexander Kilham, founder of the Methodist New Connexion, was a native of Epworth, especial interest attaches to it.

F. F. BRETHERTON.

GLEANINGS FROM AN OLD WHITEHAVEN SOCIETY BOOK.

Laycock: *Methodist Heroes in the great Haworth Round*, p. 261, refers to a society book containing the first extant list of members in the Round, written by Mr. W. Fugill in 1763. Whitehaven, with 114 members, is grouped with the following places: Cockermouth, 19 members; Workington, 11; Lorton, 6; Branthwaite, 11; Coldbeck, 9; Brackenhill, 10; and Wigton, 8. (*Proceedings* xix, 7). To W.H.S. *Proceedings* xviii and xix the Rev. G. H. Bancroft Judge contributed a series of articles on this subject, references to which in this article are given in brackets.

A later society book has recently been submitted to us for investigation. It is defective, the front page evidently dealing with part of the record for 1783. Some notes from the old book are given herewith.

The volume bears on the first page the name, probably a signature, John Wilshaw, twice, in one case followed by the address, Cow Head.

It is now in the possession of a descendant of John Wilshaw

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who was appointed the second preacher in the Circuit in 1788 and again in 1797. Of him it is said that his manners were eccentric: but his talents as a preacher were generally acceptable; and in the course of his ministry he was instrumental in the conversion of sinners. He died in 1818. (For further particulars see *Proceedings* xix, 53).

COUNTRY SOCIETIES, 1784.

Wigton 6	Widopendikes 18
Ashton 2	Carlisle 15
Brampton 21	(Four removed to America).

(Three removed to America).

A number are dropped. "All these put themselves away, having first contracted a party spirit, and then guilty of evil speaking, a quarell was y^e concequent, so in resentment they all left us."

Cockermouth 12	Clifton 11
(Two removed to Isle of Man).	Maryport 14
Larton 5	Workington 23
Brathwate 11	Penrith 5

We have five in number but have not got their names.

Temple Sowerby 6

Died at Branthwat this year Ann Fox, Mary Sewer.

Only one marrage this year.

Our number in Whitehaven amounts to	110
In the Country	149

Total	269
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During his frequent visits to Whitehaven, Wesley used to stay with Mr. Thomas Hodgson, a boot-maker and dealer, in Duke Street. A manuscript by Mr. Briscoe, quoted by Mr. Judge, says: "He had a bed something like unto Joseph's sepulchre, whereon never man lay but Wesley." Wesley's chair, an arm chair, in which he usually sat when staying with his host, is now in the Whitehaven manse. Thomas Hodgson was one of the leading Methodists in the town, a local preacher and chief steward at Michael Street Chapel. (*Proceedings* xix, 27-28).

In view of these facts it is rather remarkable that Hodgson is not mentioned anywhere in the text of the *Journals*. In the *Diary*, however, his name is given though in an abbreviated and misleading form:

April 20, 1784, Whiteh[aven] at T. Hodge's [Hodgson's].

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The name is carried forward to the Index in this disguise.

The book we are now considering contains an expressive obituary notice, as follows :

June 7th, 1785.

All flesh is as grass. By a short illness . . . Honiest Thomas Hodgson Died. . . . His answers to a few Questions were, I am in perfect peace with God. I am built upon the Rock. Thus an honiest warm man ; a stanch friend to the Methodists, a Great Benefactor to the poor, one who was much beloved, feared and hated, has in peace and quietness slipped a way from us all.

His enemies cannot produce his like. His friends fear we shall not find his fellow, and the Poor mourn.

(This notice has at the top a quaint little drawing of an angelic head with wings. At the bottom, skull and crossbones, with the words, Memento Mori).

The record for 1785 mentions as Stewards of the Whitehaven Circuit, Joseph Brownrig, Dan Jenkinson, John Stephenson. The first two were trustees of the original chapel in 1761. (*Proceedings* xix, 5). There was a membership of 99 at Whitehaven, divided into 9 classes.

Branthwait. This place was given up at Conference 1785.

Bolton Gates appears with 5 members.

Instructions how to make Pop and to cure "Rumitism" are strangely interpolated in the register. Of one member in 1789 it is stated, "Calvinistically Enlightened: and left us to our Blindness."

In July, 1791, J. Crosby records :

We have lost Cockermouth altogether, they thought the expense of man and horse too great, and had spoke of giving [up] the preachers for some years.

At Maryport, which Society has always been as unstable as water, Matthew Elliott left us because he was nor allowed to have all his own way, and half the little flock went with him. As this has been his practice year after year it is not likely he will do good amongst them.

At Brampton some little differences they have amongst them hinders the work of prospering.

At Carlisle they are peaceable and lively, their former animosities are happily subsided. In this place many blunders have happened in time past, and a very grievous one this year for which T.W. and his accomplice were excluded the Society.

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In July, 1794, there is an entry :

When we came into this Circuit the No. was 300. I believe we have added about 100 New Members. The Backsliders, Removals, Deaths, &c. amounts to between thirty & forty & what remains for No. now is 366, and I give into the Conference Fifty of those.

The last entry in the book is signed by Robert Dall, who was in the Circuit 1797-8. He records membership as follows :

Whitehaven	193	Cockermouth	13
Workington	43	Clifton	15
Mary Port	7	Harrington	7
Carlisle	39	Moorhouse	15
Joicetown	7	Bride	4
Brampton	41	Boltongate	3
.....	6	Wigton	7
Lorton	7		
			406

JOHN TREGORTHA.

Notices of this brother in Methodist records are but few. There are, however, matters of some interest associated with his life and work which may well be recalled.

Tregortha was born in Cornwall. The date is not stated definitely, but the age mentioned when his portrait appeared in the *Arminian Magazine*, April 1790, is twenty-three. His birth, therefore, would be about 1767.

In 1786 he was admitted on trial as a travelling preacher, and continued on trial by the Conference in 1787, 1788 and 1789. His successive appointments were Pembroke, Burslem, Macclesfield and Liverpool. In the *Minutes* of 1790 his name disappears, though his name is not included in the list of those who desisted from travelling. Myles: *Chronological History of Methodism*, gives his dates as 1786-1790. From his career after he ceased to be a travelling preacher it may be inferred that it was not any moral failure which removed him from the itinerant ranks.

Whether he commenced to reside in Burslem immediately after he ceased to "travel" cannot be stated with certainty, but according to *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis* he started business in 1796.

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The Rev. Theophilus Lessey the second, after leaving Kingswood School in 1801, was apprenticed to him. His father, the Rev. Theophilus Lessey the first, thought the opening a very favourable one for his son. "The Master is a Methodist and a preacher." In the *Memorials of the Rev. Theophilus Lessey*, 1842, whence this information is derived, the description is "John Tregortha, Printer, Druggist, &c., once a travelling Preacher in the Wesleyan Connexion. The father deemed himself favourably treated when he paid thirty guineas for his son's apprenticeship. "If I had put Theophilus apprentice at Bristol, or to many other persons of the same trade, the money wanted with him would have been more than I could raise.

He appears in the *Staffordshire General and Commercial Directory*, 1818:

Tregortha, John, bookseller, stationer, printer, druggist, and periodical publisher, Market Street.

Tregortha was the publisher of about 89 works, it is stated, and 28 of them are in the Burslem Reference Library. These publications, with which he took great pains, were some of them considerable productions, such as Dr. Fleetwood's *Life of Christ*, with the *Lives of the Apostles*; an illustrated Family Bible, containing the Apocrypha; the *Battle of Waterloo*, with portraits of commanders, 1816; the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

The Rev. John Hugh Beech, in a *Centenary Pamphlet* of the Burslem Wesleyan Circuit, 1883, says:

"J Tregortha, who lived in Burslem many years after his retirement from the itinerant work, favoured the public with a book concerning apparitions, some parts of which are sufficiently frightful, and the title of it is, *News from the Invisible World*. Some still living in the town remember Mr. Tregortha, who kept a bookseller's shop, and was an acceptable local preacher till his death. The godless youth of Burslem took pleasure in annoying him, and on Sunday evenings after service, and when he was known to be at home, would collect near his house and hold a burlesque service. One of them mounted a chair, and gave out what he called a hymn, which his companions sang to a well-known solemn Methodist tune. The first verse of this production will be more than enough. It ran thus:

'Old Tregortha's dead and gone,
We ne'er shall see him more,
He used to wear a long black coat
All buttoned down before.'

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The book Mr. Beech mentions has the following elaborate title-page :

NEWS
from the
INVISIBLE WORLD;
or
INTERESTING ANEDODOTES
of
THE DEAD.
containing a particular survey of the most
remarkable and well authenticated
ACCOUNTS OF
APPARITIONS, GHOSTS, SPECTRES,
Dreams and Visions,
With some
Valuable extracts from the works
of the
Rev. JOHN WESLEY, The Rev. DAVID SIMPSON
and others.

BY JOHN TREGORTHA.

There appeared Moses and Elias talking with him.—Matt.

BURSLEM :
Printed by John Tregortha
1812.¹

1. Transcribed from a copy in my possession.—F.F.B.

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The Rev. H. J. Watts supplies the title-page of another work :

THE
CHRISTIAN OECONOMY
TRANSLATED FROM THE
ORIGINAL GREEK

OF

An Old Manuscript, found in the Island

of

P A T M O S

where St. John wrote his book of the

R E V E L A T I O N .

BURSLEM

PRINTED BY JOHN TREGORTHA.

A contemporary portrait of Tregortha shows that he wore a long *blue* coat, a red waistcoat and a slouched hat. Mr. J. F. Maddock, whose great grandfather painted the portrait from life, says that the rhyme originally ran, 'He used to wear a long blue coat.'

Tregortha was active in Sunday School work. The Burslem Sunday School claimed to be undenominational, but it met on the premises of Burslem Wesleyan Church. For many years his name appeared as printer on most of the school documents. The Report of 1808 shows him as a visitor (a kind of assistant superintendent) of the school. He may have held this office previously, but this is the first Report giving a list of officers. He seems to have been a member of the Committee from 1812 to 1818. The school had at one time 1700 scholars.

The following account is taken from the *Centenary Souvenir* of Wesley Place Sunday School, Tunstall.

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Hugh Wood, Sunday School at Tunstall
to John Tregortha, Dr.

	£	s.	d.
1799			
Aug. 20			
25 Reading		7	0
100 Child first Book		9	4
3 Bibles		6	9
100 Spelling, Dyches	2	15	0
	3	18	1
Paper			5
A Memo Book			2
	3	18	8
3 Paste Boards			7
	3	19	3

Settled the above.

J. TREGORTHA.

(Tregortha helped this school by a gift of fifty small books and credit for various requisites).

The *Bibliotheca Staffordiensis*, 1894, has an article on Tregortha which requires correction in some details in the light of what is written above. It is stated in the article that Tregortha had large dealings with Hugh Bourne, the Primitive Methodist pioneer, and that there was in existence at the time (1894) an account book recording the transactions. There are five columns of references to works published by Tregortha, the first being *The Christian's Guide to Holiness*, 1796.

In August, 1925, there was a considerable correspondence in the *Staffordshire Sentinel*, relating to Tregortha. It is revealed that at one time Tregortha had become almost a symbol of antiquity. Old Burslem people used to say of anything out-of-date, "Why, it's as old as Tregortha!" Mr. Rupert Simms stated that Tregortha's first wife, Mary, was buried at Burslem on January 28, 1791. His son Joseph, aged 29, was also buried at Burslem, in 1819. Tregortha married a second wife, Elizabeth, about 1793. There were children of this marriage, including Charles Gorst Tregortha.

A writer quoted in *Proceedings* v, 191, says that an examination of directories of Staffordshire shows that John and Charles Tregortha were in business as printers in the Market Place in 1828. The 1835 edition of Pigot and Co's. Directory mentions only Charles Gorst Tregortha, in Swan Square, but the name does not occur after 1835. John Tregortha died in January, 1821;

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this was, presumably, John Tregortha, junior, who composed a four page 12mo pamphlet, *Verses on the late Mr John Tregortha, of Burslem, Staffordshire, who died on 9 January, 1821*

Writing in *Proceedings* v, 191, the late Mr. R. Thursfield Smith, of Whitchurch, Salop, said :

“In reference to J. Tregortha, Burslem, it would be well to have his history cleared up. In my early days I used to hear a good deal about him, as Whitchurch is only about 20 miles from Burslem. He was always highly spoken of, and did much preaching in this part of the country amongst the Wesleyans. His portrait appears in the *Arminian Magazine*, February, 1790, so I do not think for a moment that he was expelled. In those early hard times numbers of worthy men had to desist from travelling. I have seen many Methodist books printed and published by Tregortha, some not very good specimens, but some very well executed, I have just met with a copy of Hervey's *Meditations, &c.*, which is a credit to the Burslem Press, with a very fine portrait of Hervey. At foot of title-page is: Burslem, Printed by J. Tregortha, 1820.”

Since writing the above I have found an old record of Methodist beginnings in this locality. “The latter end of 1790 missionaries came at different times and preached on the borders of Wales and Shropshire, on the Commons, in the open air. During that period there was one John Tregortha, from Staffordshire, preached about the country.”

(This article is based mainly upon notes supplied by the Rev. H. J. Watts, who has been stationed in Burslem for a number of years; notes sent some years ago by the Rev. Joseph Williams have also proved helpful, and the information printed in *Proceedings* v, has been used. F.F.B.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

784. DR. ADAM CLARKE'S SUN DIAL.—The Rev. R. H. Gallagher, B.A., writing about this relic in the *Irish Christian Advocate* (12 August, 1938) hopes that the W.H.S. will keep its eyes open lest someday it become mere scrap. In part fulfilment of the task thus suggested we are giving to the information he brings forward the greater permanence of our *Proceedings*.

Not far from Portstewart, in the region associated with the early days of the great commentator, are situated the lovely

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gardens of J. M. C. Montague, Esq., J.P., Cromore. Therein may be seen a sundial presented by the doctor to Mr. John Cromie, former owner of the estate. Mr. Gallagher recently examined the dial by the courtesy of the present owner. The dial is evidently made of brass, and the writing and figures on it are as legible as when new. The months of the year and the signs of the Zodiac are marked as well as the hours and minutes. From the numerous writings and drawings on the dial the following are selected :

To John Cromie of Port Stewart, Esq.,
(May his shadow be extended for ever)
This Astronomico-Geographical Dial,
Dr. Adam Clarke, his grateful affecte.
Countryman

in P.P.R.M., P.D. in Jul. 1830, D.D.D.

Underneath this follows in Greek "Every gift that is good and every perfect boon is from above, and comes down from the Father, who is the source of all light."

Then follows a quotation from Virgil, which may be freely translated : "Therefore the golden sun runs a course marked out in fixed stages through the twelve starry signs of heaven."

Another inscription reads thus :

"Go about your business. This Astronomico-Geographical Dial was projected and executed by the Rev. Phillip Garrett V.D.M., under the direction and auspices of Adam Clarke, F.S.A., M.R.A., etc., etc., A.D. 1830. Sol tibi signa dabit, solem quis dicere falsum audeat. We are time's subjects and time says—Begone."

Mr. Gallagher quotes from a biography of Dr. Clarke a statement that he was never expert at figures, but that his father put him under the care of an eminent mathematician in Coleraine, and that under him he learned dialling. His last secular activity before becoming a travelling preacher was the making of a horizontal brass dial, for which he charged the modest sum of five shillings.

The present owner of Cromore estate is under the impression that Mr. John Cromie gave Adam Clarke considerable financial assistance during his early years in England. Mr. Gallagher has found no evidence for this, but the dial witnesses to a friendship which undoubtedly existed.

Mr. Cromie was a great helper of Methodist enterprises

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in his locality. Mr. Crookshanks mentions a visit which Dr. Clarke paid to him at Cromore in 1830, and calls him "a gentleman for whom he entertained the highest esteem and Christian affection."—*F.F.B.*

785. **VERSES BY CHARLES WESLEY.**—Lord Stamp sends us from *The Westminster Magazine* for October 1774 Charles Wesley's verses to his sister Martha when Westley Hall transferred his affections to her from her sister Keziah. They are to be found in Adam Clarke's *Memoirs of the Wesley Family*, pp. 518, 519 with the statement that they were "certainly never designed to be made public: for he was afterwards convinced that he had received a very imperfect account of the transaction and even justified the conduct of his sister" in marrying Westley Hall.

In the *Westminster Magazine* they appear in a letter which begins—To the Editor of the Westminster Magazine:

Sir, I send you an original poem, by Charles Wesley, never before printed; the occasion of which was as follows:

"One Mr. H—ll, a clergyman, paid his addresses to Miss K. Wesley, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Wesley, Rector of Epworth, in Lincolnshire, and sister of the late Samuel and the present Mr. John Wesley, the famous Methodist Preacher [of the family, see some account in the *Westminster Magazine* for May 1774]. After the most solemn vows of love and constancy, the Rev. Inamorato changed his mind, and courted Miss Martha Wesley, sister of the fair-forsaken. When Mr. Charles Wesley was brought acquainted with the perfidy of H—ll's conduct, he addressed the following Poem

To Miss Martha Wesley
An Epistle 1735.

While want, and pain, and death besiege our gate, etc.

The reference in the first line is to the death of Samuel Wesley, senior, which had just taken place.—*A.W.H.*

786. **A WESLEY LETTER.**—We are indebted to Mr. H. Bisseker, of Exmouth, for his kindness in letting us see an excellent photograph of a letter from Wesley to John Cricket, 10 February, 1783. The recipient was a very eccentric but very effective travelling preacher. The letter is printed in the seventh volume of the Standard Letters. Comparison of the rendering there with the photograph reveals some slight differences. The advice was to keep a day of fasting and prayers. Telford reads "prayer." The difference between

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the two words, though only of one letter, is not without significance. "Prayers" probably meant meetings for prayer; "prayer" on the other hand would refer to the lifting up of the individual heart. Wesley desired the reproof to be administered on Sunday evening. Telford prints "morning," probably misled by a previous transcriber, for the word is plainly written. In the striking phrase about "resuming *ye form* of a Methodist Society" the words *ye form* are underlined by Wesley, but the transcription does not indicate his emphasis. The photograph reveals that the postscript was not printed in full, possibly due to the fact that some words were damaged by the seal. The omitted words are, "Name a Steward likewise. Give those books away. Any of us if you desire it will pay b. Thackwray." I have not been able to ascertain anything about Thackwray. This is not the place for controversy, but we believe it to be beyond dispute that the development of Methodism would have been truer to its original genius if more heed had been paid, especially during the last fifty years, to Wesley's injunction that a travelling preacher should not be a class-leader. In this letter he says in his forthright fashion "I positively forbid you, or any Preacher, to be a Leader: Rather put the most insignificant person in each Class to be Leader of it."

787. "MINISTERS AND PROBATIONERS."—This useful reference book includes, in addition to the names of those in the active work, with the Circuits in which they have travelled and their stations at the time of compilation, a list of those who have died in the work. Mr. R. F. Gatenby of Leyburn points out the fact that some very valuable early preachers left the work when they were no longer able to cope with its strenuous demands, and were not retained on the stations as they would have been to-day. Consequently their names are not in the list. He instances Nicholas Manners, John Bakewell and Richard Burdsall as examples, and suggests that a place should be found to include their names.

This might present some difficulty, but we commend the suggestion to the consideration of those responsible for the compilation. In the meantime we should be pleased to receive such a list for our *Proceedings*, carefully drawn up, and confined strictly to the early period.

788. HENRY FOSTER, OF LASTINGHAM.—I was persuaded a few weeks ago, whilst staying in Scarborough, to visit a small

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picturesque village in the heart of Yorkshire, called Lastingham. It has been called "the prettiest village in "Yorkshire," but as there are many claimants to that honour I simply state it without comment. The ancient Parish Church stands in the centre of the village, and bears on its outside eastern wall a brass or bronze tablet, about 12 by 18 inches, with the following inscription :

"Near this place are deposited the remains of Henry Foster, who by a solemn covenant dedication of himself to God manifested that he was an heir of Life. He travelled as a preacher in the connexion of the Rev. John Wesley for 6 years in the two Kingdoms of England and Ireland, after which he returned to this village worn out in his Master's service where he resigned his soul to God in the full triumph of Faith on the 12th day of April MDCCLXXXVII in the 43rd year of his age. Psalm 112, 6 [quoted in Hebrew] "The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance" Daniel 12, 6 [also in Hebrew]. "They that turn many to righteousness (shall shine) as the stars for ever and ever." "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord," Rev. 14, 13.

John Russell, FÆCIT.

It would be very interesting to learn more of this faithful personality, and may be some of the readers of the *Proceedings* may be able to supply this.—J. M. LAWSON, Birtley.

(Henry Foster was admitted on trial as a preacher in 1780, and appointed to Cornwall East. He remained on trial in 1781, at Charlemont. In 1782 he was fully admitted and appointed to Belfast. Subsequent appointments were 1783, Belfast; 1784, Sussex; 1785, Bradford. In 1786 his name is not on the stations, but he received £12 from the Preacher's Fund; it may be presumed he was ill. In the Minutes of 1787 appears his brief obituary: Henry Foster: an excellent young man, wholly devoted to God. Atmore's *Methodist Memorial* p. 144 tells us that Henry Foster was a native of Lastingham. "He had a weak body, but a strong mind; he was well beloved by the people, both as a Christian and as Minister, and was calculated for great usefulness in the Church" Another distinguished native was the well-known Methodist portrait painter, John Jackson, R.A., concerning whom the Rev. P. J. Boyling has written an informative article in the current number of *Wesley's Chapel Magazine*—F.F.B.).