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JOHN WESLEY AT OWSTON

THE original of the following letter is in the possession of Mr. Leggett Roberts of Sheffield, whose family comes from Bramley. It has been printed in Samuel Russell's *Historical Notes of Wesleyan Methodism in the Rotherham Circuit* (1910), pp. 33f, but it seems desirable to give it this wider publicity and also to add to the particulars mentioned by Russell.

MRS. A. WATERHOUSE TO MATTHEW WATERHOUSE

Beckingham June ye 15th 1786.

Dear Brother

Unknown to any of my family, I just steal a moment to acquaint you that I received a note this afternoon from Mr Jarvis Woodhouse of Ouston, informing me that Mr Wesley will be at their house on Monday the Twenty sixth of this Month, being a weeke too next Monday, and desires me in the most friendly manner to go over and dine with them—I shewed the Note to your Brother and asked his leave to go, but he would make me no reply, now if you would be so kind as to come, we can go very well together, for both Mr & Mrs Woodhouse desires me I will take any of my family, we have not a double horse but my Galloway carries me very well so that I can go along with you, or if you could bring your Chaise as the Roads are so good that would be better—As you will not travel on the Lords Day I shall hope to see you on Saturday night. I am going with Anne to Retford tomorrow to be confirmed, so shall take an Opportunity of sending this Letter from there, excuse me concluding very abruptly as I write in great haste but am at all times

Yours Affectionately in the Lord

A. WATERHOUSE.

Mr & Mrs Bower & one of the children are all ill of a bad Fever, indeed they have had a heavy Visitation from the Lord, dont forget Monday ye 26 Instant.

The letter is addressed:

Mr Waterhouse
Bramley
near Rotherham
Yorkshire.

The letter was written by Mrs. A. Waterhouse to her brother-in-law, Mr. Matthew Waterhouse (who died on 8th May 1822, aged eighty-one), a man of substance and influence in the village of Bramley which lies midway between Rotherham and Maltby, ten miles to the east of Sheffield. Mrs. Waterhouse and her husband lived at Beckingham, fifteen miles to the east of Bramley, four to the west of Gainsborough, and seven south of Owston (=Ouston).

John Wesley preached at Owston Church on Monday, 26th June 1786, and was entertained by "Mr. Jarvis" (according to *Journal*, vii, p. 174), which this letter would suggest to be an error for Jarvis Woodhouse, who may be the Gervase Woodhouse to whose wife Wesley wrote (*Letters*, iv, p. 240). This family was well known to Wesley, who corresponded periodically with Mrs. Woodhouse and Miss Woodhouse of Epworth (*Journal*, v, pp. 300, 447; vi, pp. 135, 246, 300; *Letters*, vi, pp. 251, 350), and Owston is but three miles south of Epworth.

Mr. Matthew Waterhouse accepted the invitation in this letter, and met John Wesley at Owston, inviting him to come over and preach in his new chapel at Bramley. Wesley agreed to come, and in fact did so only five days later, preaching from the small pulpit still to be seen in the little chapel (enlarged since 1786, but still small). He stood on a stool (also still to be seen), underneath which is written in ink the following record:—

Used by the Rev Joseph Benson at the opening of the Bramley Wesleyan Chapel on Dec 11th 1785, who preached from Haggai 2. 9.

Also used by the Reverend John Wesley in connection with the opening Services of the above chapel on July 1st 1786, who preached from Mt. 7. 24.

This is probably Sermon XXVIII (*Standard Sermons*, ii, pp. 23ff). The tiny chapel was large enough for the congregation, for only the briefest time—certainly not more than four days—was available in which to collect people from the surrounding countryside. "As the notice was short, I had no need to preach abroad. The congregation was deeply serious, while I explained what it was to build upon a rock, and what to build upon the sand" (*Journal*, vii, p. 180)—a sermon obviously suggested by the fact that this was regarded as a second opening of the new building. After the service, Wesley had a meal at Bramley Grange (Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 24), and went on to Sheffield, preaching there in the evening.

The letter suggests that Matthew Waterhouse's brother, the husband of the writer, was either unsympathetic to the Methodists, or undecided, as he would not commit himself to saying whether he would go to Owston or not. However, Mrs. Waterhouse was sure that her husband would raise no effective opposition if her brother-in-law would accompany her, whether in his chaise, as she hoped, or on horseback, she riding her little horse (= Galloway) as they had no animal capable of taking rider and pillion (=double horse).

E. DOUGLAS BEBB.

HEADINGLEY PAPERS

II. A Contemporary View of Methodists in the Diocese of Durham

The extracts from the three letters which are printed below are interesting in that they indicate the official attitude towards Methodism in a northern diocese during the early years of the Revival, and the means which were suggested to control it and, if possible, suppress it.

The writer was Edward Chandler (1668?-1750), Bishop of Durham. Chandler was consecrated Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in 1717, and was translated to Durham in 1730. He had written two books in controversy with Anthony Collins, *A Defence of Christianity from the Prophecies* (1725), and *A Vindication of the Defence of Christianity* (1728), the main point at issue being the date of the Book of Daniel. It has been said that the reputation which he gained by these books secured his translation to Durham, though the *Dictionary of National Biography* states that "he was accused of having given £9,000 for the see of Durham" and was one of the prelates who died "shamefully rich". "On the other hand, it is said that he gave £2,000 for the benefit of clergymen's widows in his diocese, and that he never sold any of his patent offices."

The recipient of the letters was "The Revd. Mr. Archdeacon Sharp, Rector of and at Rothbury, Northumberland", but his identity does not otherwise concern us. The bishop writes to him in terms of considerable affection, and it is interesting to note that in the short interval between the second and third letters "Mr. Archdeacon" becomes "Prebendary of and at Durham". This dignity was no doubt conferred by way of compensation for the failure to achieve higher preferment, for the bishop's third letter ends:

I must conclude with my wishes (but they are in vain) that you could have been promoted to the vacant Bprie of Carlisle, which lies most conveniently for you, but political considerations outway [sic] all others with those in power.

Here, then, are the three extracts, with explanatory notes appended.

I

Aug. 9, 1744.

... Your relation of the proceedings of the Methodists with Mr. Nailor's letter gives me much satisfaction. I believe this sect will crumble into nothing. Yesterday, to my surprise, Mr. Jo. Westly sent me a new book of his in 12° called *An Extract of his journal from Nov. 1, 1739 to Sept. 3, 1741*—I know not whether it be yet publicly sold. It is writt against the Moravian Brethren, who have drawn off above $\frac{1}{2}$ his disciples in London. He charges them with being unsound in their notion of Faith, with Antinomianism, with quietism, and a contempt of gospel means and ordinances; with ascribing all the pangs of new birth to constitution & proceeded from animal spirits & imagination; with using guile to deceive hearers, & describing things beyond the truth &c. In short, with doing very little good and much hurt in England. I'm so far of his mind; but he could not see it, till part of his

flock were drawn off by them. . . . The Bp. of London was with me at the receipt [sic] of your letter, and I read that part of it to him wherein the Methodists were concerned.

The book referred to was Part IV of the printed *Journal* (No. 53 in Green's *Wesley Bibliography*). "The special interest of this Extract," says Green, "arises from its containing exact accounts of Wesley's relations with the Moravians. In the letter prefixed he speaks with much plainness and openness, not hesitating to tell them, in a fraternal spirit, both what he approved and what he disapproved in their opinions and conduct."

The Bishop of London was Edmund Gibson, who in 1735 had ordained Charles Wesley to the priesthood. In view of the two following letters, it is interesting to remember that he was the greatest living authority on church law. "Although he classed Methodists with papists and deists as 'disturbers of the kingdom of God', John Wesley called him 'a great man', 'eminent for piety and learning'." (*Dictionary of English Church History*, p. 240.)

II

12 May, 1747.

. . . I did hope the Methodists were wearing off in my Diocese, but this mission of *exhorters* under age, and purely Laicks, is a new thing, and may be of dangerous consequence. There is not the same indulgence due to such as to Mr. Wesley, and persons episcopally ordained. If this man teaches in a congregation, without licence, or reads prayers, he should be p[unished?] by the Justices of peace according to the Act of Uniformity: and his Doctrine which he instills should be observed by some one of skill, for he may teach Popery on the wildest [?] under this notion of exhorting. Your having an eye to his doctrine and conduct will be a further instance of your faithful discharge of your office, for which I esteem and honour you. . . .

We have no definite information about this "mission of exhorters under age", but it is not unreasonable to connect "this man" with Christopher Hopper. He tells us in his "Life" that about this time he visited "Newcastle, Sunderland, Durham, and many other towns and villages, ten, twenty, or thirty miles around" and "met with much opposition".

The Act of Uniformity of 1662 contained a clause which stated that any unlicensed person who preached any sermon or lecture was, on proof of the offence, to be committed by two justices of the peace to three months imprisonment in the common gaol. Those interested should pursue this subject in a series of important articles by Dr. J. S. Simon on the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act, and the Toleration Act, and their relation to the early Methodists, in *Proceedings*, xi, pp. 82-93, 103-108, 130-7.

III

15 July, 1747.

. . . The spreading of the Methodists, the age and qualification and manner of preaching of these young teachers, and the remedies proper to put a stop to this wild folly, hath given me some thought. The

Lawyers do not favour our prosecutions, nor our law, and but few of the Justices will stand by us; and considering the temper of the people who are their auditors, every little restraint will be called persecution, and by experience we know that cry is wont to knit them closer, and to encrease their number. However, the method used in Cheshire, if you approve it, may be tryed in one or 2 places at first, where they preach at the market cross. This seems to stand clear of the charge of persecution. But then you must be sure of the protection of the neighbouring Justices and the majority of those who usually attend the Sessions, for if they should oppose it, or the practice be condemned at the quarter sessions, these boys will become very insolent, and their auditors numerous and bold.

I have indeed one doubt, whether a number of people gathered without arms and attempting no injury to any person can be treated as riotous; any more than a mob about a Ballad singer, or a crowd about a mountebank, and therefore I cannot advise it absolutely, but if the Churchwardens or others will make the tryal, they may, but in case the people will not disperse upon the reading, it will not be advisable to go further.

I should have thought, which even the Lawyers here do admit, that divine service performed in an unlicensed house, though the doors were open, will denominate that house a conventicle. But since your Justices are of another opinion, caution must be used to tread gently, when you are sure they will not go along with you. The Act of Uniformity will not reach these miscreants, and concerns only such as do service in Churches, so I fear we are destitute of all legal means to controll their shocking practices.

The bishop was, of course, correct in his statement that the Act of Uniformity concerned "only such as do service in Churches", but the provisions of the Conventicle Act were far-reaching enough, in all conscience. It is surprising that the local justices differed from the undoubtedly correct opinion of the Durham ecclesiastical lawyers. Unlike most eighteenth-century magistrates, they deserve some commendation for their dereliction of duty in failing to enforce the savage provisions of the Conventicle Act against the Methodists.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

The Rev. B. R. K. Paintin has been a worker in the field of local history for many years, and has several booklets to his credit. The latest, *Since Wesley Came to Andover* (pp. 24, 1s. 6d.), is excellent value for money. Andover Methodism dates from the ministry of John Haime, and its long story has found a worthy chronicler in Mr. Paintin. His flair for research is allied to a ready pen, and this booklet should interest readers far from the Hampshire town of its origin. . . . *John Wesley's Prayers* is an anthology edited by Frederick C. Gill (Epworth Press, pp. 102, 5s.), and deserves the highest commendation. The prayers are taken from Wesley's *Collection of Forms of Prayer for Every Day in the Week and A Collection of Prayers for Families*, with some selections from Wesley's abridgement of John Austin's *Devotions in the Antient Way of Offices*. The result is an excellent "manual of devotion", useful alike for private and public use. Mr. Gill's historical Introduction is a valuable addition to a book which reflects great credit on both editor and publisher.

PHILIP DODDRIDGE (1702-1751)**AND JOHN WESLEY****A Bi-centenary Appreciation**

JOHN WESLEY was rarely disinterested in his friendships. His friends were his helpers. Philip Doddridge was no exception to this rule. When Wesley visited the eminent nonconformist at Northampton in 1745, he had already been in correspondence with him on the question of the theological and general reading of his preachers. But that he should have appealed to the Principal of a nonconformist seminary for such advice, and that he should have been so cordially received, calls for some comment. John Wesley was too strong a churchman to regard nonconformity with any favour, and the leading nonconformists of his day saw little to attract them in Methodism. Then again, the nonconformists had long memories: 1662 and the years of exile were still fresh in their minds, and many of them would recall a certain Samuel Wesley, who not only deserted their cause, but wrote a bitter and scurrilous attack upon the seminaries, at one of which he himself had been educated, in the early part of the century. It speaks much for John Wesley, and even more for Philip Doddridge, that they met with such cordiality on that morning of September 1745, and that the Anglican clergyman sat at the feet of the nonconformist teacher as he lectured to his students.

“Amiability” is a word which was very often applied to Dr. Doddridge. Indeed, some of his critics thought that he suffered from “an excess of amiability”, a failing which, as Dr. Simon caustically remarks, “must have made him conspicuous among the clergy and ministers of his time”. No doubt this friendly disposition had something to do with the readiness with which Doddridge received John Wesley, but we must look a little deeper into his character and aims to find the reasons why he, almost alone of the leading nonconformists, showed such a spirit towards the founder of Methodism.

Philip Doddridge was a nonconformist with a difference. His nonconformity sat very lightly upon him but for the one question of Subscription. There he was adamant, and whether it was the formularies of the Church of England, or those of Salter's Hall, he refused to be persuaded. He believed that the Church in England needed peace, and deeply regretted the combative qualities of nonconformity. Even when his own seminary was attacked, and a serious attempt was made by the authorities to close it—an attempt which it is said that only the personal intervention of the King forestalled—he did not lose heart in the cause of reconciliation. His proposals to the Archbishop of Canterbury for an exchange of ministries between the Church of England and the nonconformists had something in common with the proposals of another Archbishop of that See in our own day. Dr. Doddridge refused to be drawn into the bitter theological disputes that were raging among the noncon-

formists, and in his attitude to Whitefield as well as to Wesley on the one hand, and his many friendships with Anglican bishops and Heads of colleges on the other, he sought to be a peacemaker. "Be an advocate of truth, be a counsellor of peace, do all you can to reconcile the hearts of men to each other", was the advice which he not only offered others, but which he followed himself. Even in writing his *Family Expositor*, he ventured to hope that it might serve the same cause:—"If anything can allay those animosities, which have so long inflamed us, and pained the heart of every generous Christian . . . it must be an attentive study of the word of God."

Such men were all too few in the eighteenth century, and if there had been more of his mind, the history of the Church in England might have been very different.

There was another and perhaps even stronger reason for the friendly relations that existed between Wesley and Doddridge: both men were supremely concerned to revive "personal religion". There is no need to emphasize Wesley's stress upon experimental faith; his whole life was spent in proclaiming the power of Christ to save, ennoble and perfect man's nature. To us such an emphasis is in danger of being taken as a matter of course. But it was not so in the age of Paley, Warburton or Hoadly, or the furiously-disputing nonconformists of Salter's Hall. Locke may have persuaded some men of the "Reasonableness of Christianity", but something more was needed to awaken them to a need of personal religion. Philip Doddridge threw his whole weight into the battle for England's soul. All his best-known books were works of practical divinity. The *Family Expositor* was not intended for the student, but "chiefly to promote Family Religion", while his *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* was a Puritan *Serious Call* to religion which exerted enormous influence within the establishment as well as without. Dr. Doddridge's other "best seller", *Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of Colonel James Gardiner*, has the same theme. Colonel Gardiner's conversion to Christianity was spectacular, a vision of Christ upon the cross and the words "Oh, sinner, did I suffer this for thee, and are these the returns?" called him from a dissolute life to one of joyful obedience to Christ, until the day when he fell fighting at Prestonpans. Dr. Doddridge's biography of the gallant soldier continued to be read and discussed for many years after the author's death.

It is not strange that one so eager to revive the work of Christ in the very hearts of men should have opened his doors and his heart to the man who was doing more than any other individual to carry that message through the land. Whatever the barriers between the churchman and the nonconformist, they were swept away in the common desire to evangelize the men and women of their day.

John Wesley studied the *Family Expositor* and used it in preparing his *Notes upon the New Testament*. An interesting example is given by Dr. Stanley Frost (*Proceedings*, xxvii, p. 5f) of Wesley's preference for a reading of Dr. Doddridge's, on homiletical grounds, and in defiance

JOHN WESLEY AND ROBERT CARR BRACKENBURY

Some Unpublished Letters

[Many Wesley letters remain to be published for the first time. This article deals with a series of letters contained in the "Dodsworth" collection, bequeathed to Wesley's House a few years ago (*Proceedings*, xxv, pp. 113-16). Seven letters are here printed for the first time, and in other cases important alterations and additions are made to letters already printed in the *Standard Letters*.

References to Robert Carr Brackenbury in the *Proceedings* are not numerous. The interesting question of the validity of his election to the Legal Hundred was settled by Dr. Simon in *Proceedings*, xi, p. 12; and in xiii, p. 69, the names of the members of the Raithby Society in 1784 were given, with Brackenbury at the head of the list. —EDITOR.]

NO student of the beginnings of Methodism can be oblivious of the wondrous way in which God not only led John and Charles Wesley, but also raised up with them men who were able to be leaders in succession in the great Methodist movement. On the wall of the apse of Wesley's Chapel are six memorial tablets, to John and Charles Wesley, John Fletcher, Thomas Coke, Joseph Benson and Adam Clarke. Men of varied gifts and temperaments and of diverse social upbringing, they came from scattered parts of the British Isles. The Wesleys had their upbringing in Lincolnshire, London and Oxford; Fletcher, a Swiss, laboured in the Midlands; Coke was a member of a well-to-do Welsh family; Benson came from Cumberland, and Adam Clarke from Ulster—but always rejoiced in his Scottish ancestry on his mother's side. Worthy to be associated with the above was Robert Carr Brackenbury, a wealthy Lincolnshire gentleman, who became an itinerant preacher and consecrated himself and his means to the work of God. Beloved friend of John Wesley in his old age, intimate with Dr. Coke and Benson and fellow-labourer with Adam Clarke, Robert Carr Brackenbury was the eldest son of Carr Brackenbury and was born in 1752. From his youth he was of a serious turn of mind and entered St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, with the intention of becoming a clergyman. He apparently met Wesley for the first time in July 1776, for an entry in the *Journal* tells us that Wesley was at Spilsby with Brackenbury and that the latter had felt it his duty to join with the people called Methodists. There is no further reference to him for over two years, so that we can only surmise that he spent his time as a country squire looking after his estates in Lincolnshire. He accompanied Wesley on an evangelistic tour through Scotland, and on two occasions to Holland, and was also instrumental in establishing Methodism in the Channel Islands. He had a place on the Stations in the *Minutes of Conference* from 1786 till his death in 1818.

There are numerous references to Brackenbury in Wesley's *Journal*, and in the *Letters of John Wesley* there are twenty-one addressed to him. The Dodsworth bequest to Wesley's House contains the originals of eighteen of these letters, and from them it is possible to correct some of the published letters and to add to the collection. For many of the letters given in the Standard Edition it would seem that Mr. Telford was dependent on those printed in the *Collected Works*, vol. xiii, edited by Jackson, and on those given by Mrs. Smith (daughter of Dr. Adam Clarke) in *Raithby Hall*. As will appear later, the latter source is unreliable for exact copies, as Mrs. Smith selected passages and sometimes combined them from more than one letter and is sometimes inaccurate in the dates given.

I

The first letter of the bequest has not before been published :

London.

Feb. 24. 1779.

Dear Sir

I have desired Mr Olivers, who understands everything of the musical kind, to put our brother Langham in the way of having everything done with the greatest expedition and the least expense. Unless he had one of experience to direct him in every step he would be grievously imposed on. I hope he will save himself harmless; and I do not think he will do much more.

It gives me pleasure to hear you are fully employed. At the Conference I hope you will not fail to be in town; and as much sooner as you please. Perhaps you would like to go with me thro Scotland. I expect to be at Leeds in the latter end of April: at Newcastle the middle of May: if you met me at either of those places we might go on together. I commend you to Him that is able to save you to the uttermost, and am

Dear Sir, Your very affectionate Brother

JOHN WESLEY.

On Sunday night I am to set out for Bristol.

The letter was addressed to Raithby near Spilsby.

II

The next letter of the collection has not been published hitherto :

London. Janu. 4, 1780.

Dear Sir

Doubtless you may say, "A dispensation of the Gospel is committed to me: and woe is me if I preach not the Gospel." But no necessity is laid upon you with regard to this or that particular place.

I commend you therefore for preaching less frequently where you find less liberty of spirit; and for spending most time in those places where you find most probability of doing good. I think you are in the right not to undertake a long journey in the depth of winter: especially as Mrs Brackenbury is mending & it would very probably impair her health.

If it should be convenient for you to repay me about Midsummer, (should we live till then) it will be soon enough. But rather than put

yourself to any inconvenience, I would wish you to stay till the Conference. That God may give you and Mrs Brackenbury many happy years is the prayer of Dear Sir, Your affectionate friend & Brother

J. WESLEY

Addressed to Robert Brackenbury Esq.
at No. 14 in Bennet Street, Bath.

III

In *Letters*, vi, p. 377, Telford gives a letter dated 23rd January 1780, whereas Jackson and Mrs. Smith both date it as 23rd June. The latter date is clearly wrong as Mr. Wesley was actually at Raithby on 15th June and the reference to the visit to Ireland in the next letter of the collection, also new, bears this out.

Whitehaven. May 8, 1780

Dear Sir

I am glad you are so far recovered from your late disorder. As I have laid aside the thoughts of visiting Ireland, I intend (with God's leave) to pay a short visit to Scotland & shall probably see you in the way. I expect to be at Newcastle on or about Wednesday the 17th instant and at Alnwick on Friday the nineteenth. Then we may settle our further journeys.

I commend you to the grace of God and am, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend and brother

J. WESLEY

Addressed to Robert Brackenbury Esq.
at the Orphan House, Newcastle upon Tyne.

Wesley was a week earlier than he expected as owing to the unfavourable weather he was unable to make his visit to the Isle of Man, and it does not appear that he saw Brackenbury till they met at Raithby on 15th June.

IV

The next letter of the collection, also new, is given herewith:

London. Nov. 5, 1780

Dear Sir

It is exceeding clear to me, first, That a dispensation of the Gospel is committed to you and secondly, that you are peculiarly called to publish it in connexion with us. It has pleased God to give so many and so strong evidences of this that I see not that any reasonable person can doubt it. Therefore what I have often said before I say again, and give it under my hand, That you are welcome to preach in any of our Preaching houses in Great Britain or Ireland whenever it is convenient for you. Only it would be expedient for you to act in union with the Assistant in every place. Wishing every blessing to you and yours, I am, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate brother

J. WESLEY

Addressed to Robert Brackenbury Esq.
at Mrs Stone's
in Bath.

This letter shows the high regard that Wesley had for Brackenbury,

for it has to be remembered that he was not an ordained clergyman, nor had he been received as an "Assistant".

This letter and the earlier one of 4th January are taken together and almost verbatim from the last paragraph of the letter dated 9th March 1782 in the *Standard Letters*, vii, p. 113, and as the latter part of the letter of that date in the *Works*, xiii, p. 3 and by Mrs. Smith in *Raithby Hall*, pp. 16-17. The latter lady says the letter "is presented entire to the reader", but Telford gives a whole paragraph that is not to be found in either of the other two. That Mrs. Smith exercised her own judgement in editing the letter is very probable and as there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the two Dodsworth letters we can only wonder what was the source from which Telford got the letter as printed by him.

V

The next letter of the collection is dated "Leeds, Aug 12, 1781", and is given in exactly similar terms by the three above-mentioned editors, but in a slightly different form in the Dodsworth MS. The latter MS. has an opening line: "It is all one. Suit your own convenience and I am satisfied." which the others omit, and omits the line: "Who is so great a God as our God? To His care I commit Mrs Brackenbury and You."

VI

The Standard Edition has some letters written from 1781 to 1783, but there are no originals of these in the Dodsworth collection. The next letter to be found there is dated 4th January 1783, but it would appear as if the aged writer, so early in the New Year, had made a slip of the pen and that the date should be 4th January 1784, as Telford gives it. Mrs. Smith has been strangely misled by this error in date and lands Brackenbury in Jersey a year too soon! In Telford there are two letters dated 10th January, one in 1783 and one in 1784. Both Jackson and Mrs. Smith have combined part of the latter letter with the one they assume to be 4th January 1783, apparently being misled by the allusion to "the poor sheep scattered abroad". The letter of real date 4th January 1784 is:

Dear Sir

I rejoice to hear you have had a safe passage and that you have preached both in Guernsey and Jersey. It will not, I think, be long before a more commodious Preaching house is procured. But we must not expect many conveniences at first. Hitherto it is the day of small things. From the account you give I learn that there is a fair prospect. It is a good circumstance that the Officers are friendly. And I nothing doubt many of the people of the Island as well as the soldiers will be glad to join in the Society.

I should imagine the sooner you begin to preach in French the better. Surely you need not be careful about accuracy. Trust GOD and speak as well as you can. I wish you many happy years and am, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant

J. WESLEY.

Your brother will send your Box speedily and abundance of letters.
Addressed to Robert Brackenbury Esq.
at St Heliers, Isle of Jersey.

VII

The next letter in the collection is dated 15th February 1785, and here again the three other authorities give a letter of that date in which they all agree, but the original before us has two additional passages. The full letter is as follows:

London. Feb. 15, 1785.

Dear Sir

Your having the opportunity of giving them a few discourses in Dover and then travelling with so pious and friendly a person as Mr Ireland I could not but look upon as clear instances of a gracious Providence. I cannot doubt but the mild air which you now breathe will greatly tend to the re-establishing of your health; and so will the suspension of your public labours till you are better able to bear them.

You was reduced before you left England almost to the condition of Mr Valton who (as I am informed by his last letter) is absolutely forbidden by his physician to speak in public at all, but it is well if that prohibition does not come too late if his health be now re-established.

With regard to the perfecting yourself in the French language, it is certain this may be done more speedily and effectually in a family where French than in one where English is constantly spoken. And undoubtedly you may learn the purity of the language far better in Languedoc than in Normandy.

It is clear you are not called at present to any public labour. But should you not be so much the more diligent in private to redeem the time? to buy up every opportunity? Should not you be instant 'in season and out of season'? That is to *make* the opportunities which you cannot *find*? Surely the all-wise and all-merciful Saviour of men did not send you into France for nothing! O no! you are at least to pluck one brand (perhaps several) out of the burning. "Two or three years in Jersey!" I had almost said God forbid! Has He no more work for you to do in England? I have no objection to your staying there two or three months so that you may be present at the Conference in London. May the God whom you serve in all things direct your paths! So prays, Dear Sir,

So prays

Your affectionate friend and servant

J. WESLEY.

Addressed: A Monsieur Brackenbury
Chez Monsr Ferrier Junr
A Ganges en Languedoc.

VIII

Mr. Brackenbury did not get to the Conference in 1785, as the following letter (hitherto unpublished), written two days before Conference-began, shows:

London.

July 23, 1785.

Dear Sir

Yours of June the 15th I received this morning: that of July 10th a day or two since. It seems the Protestants in France are full as far

from true religion as the Romanists: or rather farther—for some of the latter have even lately wrote some truly spiritual books: the Jansenists in particular, some of whose writings breathe a truly Christian spirit.

You have surely done well in taking a house. It will give you more influence. And although I should have been glad to see you here at this important season yet I could not have wished you to leave the poor people in so critical a situation. In great haste, I am,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend and brother

J. WESLEY.

On Monday Aug 8 and Thursday the 11th I expect to be at Portsmouth: on Friday 11th [sic] at Winchester.

Addressed to Robert Brackenbury Esq.
at St Heliers, Isle of Jersey.

The Conference that year was important, for there were seventy preachers present and the Deed of Declaration was approved. The entries in the *Journal* show that Wesley was at Portsmouth and Winchester on the expected dates.

IX

The work in Jersey was meeting with much opposition and persecution, and on 24th September 1785 Wesley wrote a letter of encouragement to Brackenbury. Both Jackson and Telford print a letter of that date, but the original letter in the Dodsworth collection has an additional lengthy paragraph. Continuing from the last sentence in the already-printed letter (*Standard Letters*, vii, p. 291), we have:

It is not improbable but your answer to that scandalous libel may be one means of abating his prejudice. If it is not published yet it would be easy to find friends in London who are perfect masters of the French language.

The varnish used by the cabinet maker seldom fails to cure the piles in a day or two, I mean the blind piles so called: but the bleeding ones are not so easily removed.

I almost wonder that you have not yet a fair opening into the Isle of Guernsey. An invitation from a pious man, who is able and willing to entertain you, I judge to be a providential call.

In the Isle of Man the work of God continues to flourish in an extraordinary manner. I do not know that there are above thirteen or fourteen adults [sic—? thousand omitted] in the whole island and there are already upwards of two and twenty hundred in our societies.

I commend you to Him who is able to preserve you both in soul and in body, and am

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend and brother

J. WESLEY.

Addressed to Robert Brackenbury Esq.
in St Heliers, Isle of Jersey.

CHARLES POLLARD.

(To be continued)

THE ANNUAL MEETING

ON Wednesday, 18th July 1951, about forty members were present at Wesley Church, Fulwood, Sheffield. All appreciated the kindly hospitality at tea of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Ibberson. The Annual Meeting followed under the chairmanship of our President, the Rev. F. F. Bretherton, B.A.

Standing tribute was paid to the sixteen members who had passed away during the year. In spite of these heavy losses, there has been a net gain of thirty-three during the year, so that our membership stands now at 669.

The financial statement revealed a balance in hand, but Dr. Coomer pointed out that this did not imply that all was well, since we had large outstanding liabilities to those who had subscribed in advance. Actually there was a loss of £30 on the year's working. It is hoped that this will be in part offset by the increased subscriptions, but the real solution to the difficulty is a greatly-increased membership. With this in view a new prospectus has been printed, and members who can place these in the hands of interested people are asked to apply to the Secretary for copies.

The Editor pointed out that we were anxious as far as possible to retain our present number of pages and illustrations, though printing costs are a continuous menace. Mr. Swift also underlined our present policy of maintaining a popular touch as well as presenting articles on more abstruse points of Methodist history.

The Officers of the Society were all thanked and re-appointed. The following were appointed to deliver the Conference Lecture:

1952—The Rev. E. Benson Perkins, M.A., on "Methodist Preaching Houses and the Law: the Story of the Methodist Model Deed."

1953—The Rev. Dr. R. Newton Flew, M.A., on "The Structure of Charles Wesley's Hymns."

The meeting warmly welcomed the recommendations of the Executive for the formation of a Wesley Historical Society Repository and Lending Library at the Methodist Book Room, through the kind offices of the Rev. Frank H. Cumbers, the Book Steward. The Secretary will be glad to receive offers of books, periodicals, and documents for this purpose. Those members who have hitherto experienced difficulty in knowing what testamentary arrangements to make for such items might consider bequeathing them to the Society, with the knowledge that they will thus be continuing to serve the purpose for which they were purchased. Detailed arrangements for students who wish to borrow from the Library will be announced in future *Proceedings*.

A welcome was extended to the Rev. E. W. Hames, President of the New Zealand Branch of the Society, who is visiting Great Britain with his wife. Mr. Hames outlined the methods adopted by the 150 to 200 members of this Branch in fostering the study of Methodist history.

Many of the arrangements for the Annual Meeting, including the provision of a first-class historical exhibition, were in the hands of the Sheffield Branch of our Society, the first local branch to be formed. Dr. Bebb gave an account of its first full year's working. It is hoped that other populous areas will feel able to commence similar branches, which could follow Sheffield in compiling lists of the historical treasures of the area, in addition to meeting for talks, exhibitions, or pilgrimages.

FRANK BAKER.

BOOK NOTICES

Howell Harris, by Griffith T. Roberts. The Wesley Historical Society Lectures, No. 17. (Epworth Press, pp. 88, 3s. 6d.)

The complexity of Howell Harris' personality is a long-standing problem to students of Welsh Methodism, and as the author of this excellent little monograph notes (p. 9), a formidable task awaits the historian who will some day attempt a full-scale study of his life and work. The Rev. Griffith T. Roberts, in his lecture, has undertaken the task of indicating, within a brief compass, Harris' contribution to the development of Methodism in general. During the last fifty years much has been written on Harris, in English and in Welsh, and many extracts from his extensive diaries and letters have been published. Mr. Roberts has delved, not only in the printed sources, but also in the Harrisian MSS. now kept in the National Library of Wales. The English reader may be assured that the very latest information is embodied in this lecture, and Mr. Roberts, with generous sympathy and much critical acumen, has delineated fairly the varied spiritual moods and mental aberrations of the Welsh reformer's personality.

Howell Harris, with his tremendous vitality (which his portrait shows), performed a remarkable task in Wales. He roused the whole nation with his fiery eloquence, and the spiritual lethargy of the centuries came to an end. The virile force of his passions drove him unrelentingly for fifteen years (1735-50), and left him at last weak in body and spent in mind. He was on the verge of a mental collapse, but his task was accomplished. Mr. Roberts has rightly assessed not only his capability as a preacher but also his genius as an organizer. He was, to an extent, a Wesley and a Whitefield combined. The tragedy of his life, perhaps, was the refusal of the Bishop to ordain him. In ability and force of character he was equal in stature (if not taller) to the Welsh Methodist clergy, but his lay status enforced upon him a subordination incompatible with his talents.

Mr. Roberts gives space to Harris' relations with Whitefield, the Wesley brothers, and the Moravians in his lecture. His role was that of a peacemaker. Beneath his turbulent spirit there was a loving heart, and that heart went out in love and sympathy to all those who adhered to the evangelical faith. This, perhaps, was Howell Harris' greatest contribution to British Methodism. He failed in his efforts to unite the evangelical forces of the eighteenth century, but was not the effort worth while? I commend this study of one of John Wesley's warmest friends in Wales to all the members of the Wesley Historical Society.

GOMER M. ROBERTS.

Oxford and the Evangelical Succession, by Marcus L. Loane. (Lutterworth Press, pp. 300, 15s.)

This recently-published volume by the Vice-Principal of Moore Theological College, Sydney, is a useful addition to the general literature of the eighteenth-century religious awakening in England, and, more particularly, of Anglican Evangelicalism. The title is perhaps a little misleading. We might justifiably expect an account of Evangelicalism in the University of Oxford, stemming from the Holy Club. Such a

work is an obvious desideratum, but Canon Loane has not set out to fill that particular gap. Instead he offers five biographical studies by means of which the spiritual descent of the Evangelical Revival is traced through a period of some one hundred and fifty years. The leaders thus linked in an Evangelical chain of succession are George Whitefield, John Newton, Thomas Scott, Richard Cecil and Daniel Wilson. The fact that neither Newton nor Scott were Oxford men gives further cause to query the aptness of the title. Canon Loane does not hesitate to place Whitefield at the head of the Church Evangelicals, although he is aware that some would dispute the claim. The sketches are vividly presented in an eminently readable style, and their subjects are wisely allowed to speak for themselves. A real service has been done in keeping green the memory of men whose influence is all too easily forgotten. These brief biographies are based on the standard sources and, for the specialist, have little fresh light to shed upon the men concerned or the period in general. The references to Wesley and Methodism are only incidental. Canon Loane is not altogether immune from historical inexactitude.

A. SKEVINGTON WOOD.

Bibliography of British History: The Eighteenth Century 1714-1789, edited by Stanley Pargellis and D. J. Medley. (Oxford University Press, pp. xxvi. 642, 42s.)

A Directory of Dealers in Secondhand and Antiquarian Books in the British Isles, 1951-2. (Sheppard Press, pp. 130, 8s. 6d.)

Who's Who in the Free Churches. (Shaw Publishing Company, pp. xxxvi. 500, 40s.)

Each of these three books is in its own way important for the members of our Society. The first is a massive volume issued under the direction of the American Historical Association and the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain, and its compilation has taken seventeen years. The Bibliography is exhaustive in its scope: every possible aspect of eighteenth-century life is covered by the 4,558 main entries, which are supplemented by numerous subsidiary entries and cross-references; and the entire contents are made readily available by an Index which occupies more than two hundred columns. This book confers a tremendous boon on all students of the period, for it is a clear and unmistakable guide to scores of unfrequented by-paths of political, constitutional, social, economic, and religious history. Having said this, we have regretfully to record that under the heading "Methodists" the Bibliography is somewhat "thin", and some of the entries (to say nothing of the omissions) arouse a curiosity about the method of selection which is only increased by the mention of the assistance given by Dr. A. W. Harrison. However, perfection in a book of this kind is probably unattainable, and we are grateful for the many blessings which it bestows upon present and future generations of students; and not least for entry 821 under "Methodists: Later Works":

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings. [Burnley.] 1896-7+. Index for v. 1-16.

The next book is as slim as the first is fat, but equally valuable in its own field. The connoisseur, the collector, and the student are all dependent upon the dealer in second-hand books (*not* the "second-hand

bookseller", pleads the Preface!), and many of us with an hour to spare in some strange town have wished we knew the whereabouts of what we must no longer call a second-hand bookshop in which to browse away the time. A long-felt need is at last supplied, for this admirable book lists over eight hundred such shops with full descriptions of their special interests. Indexes of "Towns and Villages" and "Specialities" enable the prospective buyer to find exactly the dealer he wants in any given locality — though there is no guarantee that the said dealer will have in stock the book he seeks! We have nothing but praise for this volume, and only one small grouse, though not against the publishers: no bookseller, so far as we can see, lists "Wesleyana" as a speciality—not even Epworth Secondhand Books. Why this totally unnecessary modesty, Messrs. Cumbers and Gutteridge?

Methodism has often had its own *Who's Who*, but a *Who's Who in the Free Churches* is a new venture and deserving of success. It is both instructive (the introductory historical articles could not be bettered) and entertaining. Even the random reader will learn much about his brethren that will surprise and perhaps startle him. It is a pity that our Society finds no place in the "Denominational Directory", though surely of equal importance with, say, the Methodist Medical and Dental Fellowship; but it is pleasing to note that many of our members include membership of the Wesley Historical Society among their "special interests". A wealth of material has been packed into five hundred pages with a surprising degree of accuracy, and the result is a reference book of great usefulness.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

The Early Cornish Evangelicals, 1735-60, by G. C. B. Davies.
(S.P.C.K., pp. 229, 16s. 6d.)

This book draws out of an undeserved oblivion some of the first generation of Cornish evangelical clergy—George Thomson, John Bennet, and Samuel Walker—whose names will be familiar to readers of the *Journal*. The amount of matter surviving is rather meagre in the case of Thomson and Bennet, but what there is builds up into an attractive picture of two good men, newly-inspired, making the most of their opportunities in a bleak age and a bleak countryside.

The greater part of the book, however, is a careful assessment of the life and influence of the better-known Samuel Walker, curate of St. Mary's, Truro. The last full-length study of Walker was first published in 1835, so that such a book as this is long overdue. Walker's closely-reasoned theology is well-displayed, as are his firm loyalty to the parochial system and the unwavering sincerity of his devotion. The chapter on the Clerical Club may come as a surprise to those who have not realized the extent of the revival going on in Anglican circles in eighteenth-century Cornwall. But it must be confessed that great though Walker's influence was on his friends and their parishes, after his death the evangelical flame died down—such at least is the evidence of the Penrose Letters. A full discussion of Walker's correspondence with the Wesleys over church connexion adds even greater interest and importance to Mr. Davies' book, in which he has given us a clear exposition of a fresh service, independent in origin of other springs, in the evangelical flood.

H. MILES BROWN.

NOTES AND QUERIES

910. THOMAS MAXFIELD AND THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON.

In an article attempting to date the beginning of official Methodist lay preaching under Thomas Maxfield (*Proceedings*, xxvii, pp. 7ff), I quoted a passage from a letter by Lady Huntingdon included by Whitehead in 1741, but ascribed by her biographer to "1739, or beginning of 1740". I showed reasons for distrusting this dating, which has helped to confirm the too-early date assumed for Maxfield's first sermon.

It was a joy to find in the Lamplough Collection this very letter from the Countess, badly written and badly spelt as most of hers are, so that Whitehead's version needs correcting in a few details. The letter is addressed: "For The Revd Mr Wesley /at the Foundery /near uper Moorfiels / London", and its date is "Jan: 31 1741/2". John Wesley dispels any possible doubt about this date by his endorsement:

"L.Hu. Jan. 31. 1742
of b Maxd. I come."

The "I come" refers to some of Lady Huntingdon's closing words: "if the Lord permit make B— in [your?] way home Monday the eight". (Wesley did arrive at Bath on Monday, 8th February 1742.) This letter therefore seems to remove any possibility of the early date assigned to Maxfield's preaching.

FRANK BAKER.

911. A CIRCUIT TRAVELLING PROBLEM IN 1876.

The following letter, addressed to the Rev. Alexander McAulay (President of the Wesleyan Conference in 1876) is in my possession:

Brynyffynon,
Llanasa,
via Holywell,
Flintshire. N.W.
3 November 1876.

Mr. President.
Rev. & Dear Sir,

I beg to inform you that I am to change on one Sunday in every six weeks with the Ministers of the Holywell Circuit, and I want to know who is to pay for feeding my Horse in that Circuit, (not on the way), but in the Circuit. Am I to pay, or the Llanasa Circuit, for feeding my Horse in the Holywell Circuit? The Ministers of Holywell Circuit have no Horses to come to Llanasa Circuit. To pay the travelling Expenses for going from one Circuit to another is quite different thing in my humble opinion. I use to think always that it is the duty of the friends in the place to accommodate the preacher, and feed his Horse. A word from you in this case will be greatly obliged. I am sorry to trouble you, but I am very anxious to be in the light on the subject. With very kind regards to you.

I remain, Rev. & Dear Sir,
Yours very respectfully,

ROBERT JONES (C).

The President's reply was dated 4th November. It contained *in extenso* all the regulations in the *Minutes of Conference* relating to preachers and their horses, commencing with the famous instruction to the preachers to see with their own eyes their horses rubbed, fed and bedded. To this regulation the President adds: "N.B. I am afraid that this rule is not always observed." Mr. McAulay's reply ends as

follows: "I cannot find any law that renders the Holywell people liable for your Horse-Keep. I daresay you may think you may find usage in your favour, but I fancy *that* is reducible to the law of love. You may show your Chairman this note, and ask his opinion on the point."

We are left with three impressions: amazement at the speed with which letters travelled from a remote North Wales village to London seventy-five years ago; admiration for the business-like efficiency of the President, who as General Secretary of the Home Mission Fund was able to send a lengthy and detailed reply in his own hand to a distressed brother by return of post; and sympathy with Robert Jones (C), who was apparently left to find a solution to his own problem by invoking the "law of love".

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

912. AN HISTORIAN'S APPRAISAL OF BEAU NASH.

Readers of Wesley's *Journal* are familiar with the famous interview between Beau Nash, the sarcastic worldling, and the evangelist. The following comment by a distinguished historian, Dr. G. M. Trevelyan, gives the poor fellow an item on the credit side! It is extracted from Trevelyan's *The England of Queen Anne*, page 66:

It was the privilege of all gentlemen, from a Duke downwards, to wear swords and to murder one another by rule. As soon as men were well drunk of an evening they were apt to quarrel, and as soon as they quarrelled they were apt to draw their swords in the room, and, if manslaughter was not committed on the spot, to adjourn to the garden behind the house, and fight it out at night with hot blood and unsteady hand. If the company were not wearing swords, the quarrel might be slept upon and forgotten in the sober morning. Fortunately, the wearing of swords, though usual in London, was not common in the depth of the country, among the uncourtly but good-natured rural squires, whose bark was often worse than their bite. And even at Bath, Beau Nash employed his despotic power to compel the fashionable world to lay aside their swords when they entered his domain: in this he did as good a service to the community as in teaching the country bumpkins to discard their top boots and coarse language at the evening assemblies and dances.

During his long supremacy as Master of the Ceremonies, nearly covering the reigns of Anne and the first two Georges, Nash did perhaps as much as any other person even in the eighteenth century to civilize the neglected manners of mankind. F. F. BRETHERTON.

From the Association of Methodist Historical Societies, New York, there comes *The Warm Heart of Wesley*, by Elmer T. Clark (pp. 78, \$1). This little book by one of the most distinguished of our American members is a contribution towards the observance of an annual Aldersgate Sunday as a Methodist World Fellowship Day. Wesley's preparation for Aldersgate Street, the experience itself, and its meaning and consequences, are all carefully expounded, though no new facts emerge. This is an interesting book which will do much spiritual good. Dr. Clark reverts to the respectful (and respectable) Victorian custom of referring to our founder as "Mr. Wesley". We wonder if this is merely fortuitous, or is it a portent? The book is marred by four appalling illustrations which are quite unworthy of its subject and of the resources of the Association which sponsors the publication. We are bound to add that the book is expensive at seven shillings in English money.