EDITORIAL

T

his year "our brethren in North America" celebrate the bicentenary of the founding of their Church; and our Society, with so many members on that side of the Atlantic, would wish to be among the first to offer congratulations. From that night in 1766 when Philip Embury, stung into action by his cousin Barbara Heck, preached to five people in his house, or from that day when that redoubtable fighter for his Lord and his king, Captain Thomas Webb, struck fear into the hearts of a few Methodists when he appeared at one of their meetings in military uniform complete with sword, it is a far cry to the American Methodist Church of 1966. We cannot but admire the energy and enterprise which first rolled back the frontiers and which still characterizes that progressive Church today.

The birth of Methodism in North America was not painless, especially to Wesley, but in spite of that his name has never been anywhere esteemed more highly than across the Atlantic. Like a wilful child, who nevertheless knew its own mind, the Americans went their own way, but they planned better than they, or even Wesley, realized. A President of the British Conference, Dr. James Dixon, writing in 1843 about Wesley's ideas of ecclesiastical polity, felt that if we mistake not, it is to the American Methodist Church that we are to look for the real mind and sentiments of this great man.1

What is fitting for one side of the Atlantic is not ipso facto fitting for the other. Forces operated over here which were unknown in America, and which have to be reckoned with in trying to account for British and American Methodists working out different constitutions for themselves. Happily we now recognize that unity lies deeper than organization, and that, in Wesley's words, "the Methodists are one people throughout the world".

The Wesley Historical Society cherishes the hope that it is contributing to the building-up of Transatlantic unity, and in this issue we mark the bicentenary in our own way with an article from Dr. Albea Godbold, the editor of our contemporary Methodist History.

On behalf of our Society, we say to our American friends: "God bless your celebrations and prosper your way!"

1 Methodism, its Origin, etc., p. 127.
METHODISM as an organized movement in America began in the 1760s. Before that time, however, there were signs of what was to come. John and Charles Wesley came to Georgia in 1735 with General James Oglethorpe, Charles as secretary to the General and John as chaplain to the colonists and missionary to the Indians. Charles soon became dissatisfied with his work, and returned to England. Though John Wesley proved peculiarly maladroit in dealing with his parishioners, he persevered as a clergyman in Georgia for two years, and then, overwhelmed by a swirl of ill-will and vehement opposition, he too departed.

Perhaps John Wesley wrought better than he and some others realized while in Georgia. We know that he organized his first class there. Also, he prepared and had published in Charleston, South Carolina, his first hymn-book. George Whitefield, arriving in Georgia a few weeks after Wesley’s departure, wrote in his journal that Wesley’s work had not been a failure.

George Whitefield himself was one of the forerunners of Methodism in the New World. Beginning in 1739 and continuing until his death in 1770, he made seven journeys to America, and on each occasion he preached to great crowds up and down the Atlantic seaboard. Though professedly Calvinistic in his point of view, Whitefield preached like a Methodist revivalist, and apparently many regarded him as a Methodist. Unlike John Wesley, Whitefield was not an organizer, and he did little to conserve the results of his powerful evangelistic preaching. Even so, there is evidence that in several places his followers organized themselves for the purpose of mutually strengthening and encouraging each other in the faith. Therefore, the preaching of Whitefield, along with the brief endeavours of the Wesleys in Georgia, may be regarded as preparatory for the organized Methodist movement that was to come to America.

Now in view of the fact that John Wesley quickly launched the Methodist revival in England after his dynamic spiritual experience in Aldersgate Street, London, on 24th May 1738, some may wonder why he waited about thirty years before seizing what admittedly was a great opportunity for Methodism in the New World. Perhaps the main reason for the delay was that Wesley had his hands full, as the saying goes, in Britain. Wesley was always loth to project Methodism in any place where he could not give it adequate supervision and maintain authority over it. When it became evident to him that the Methodist revival was spreading to America apart from his own initiative, he sent over preachers to lead and direct it, and for a time succeeded in keeping it aligned with and loyal to his own authority. In the end it was a great disappointment to him that the Methodist Episcopal Church in America practically severed relations
Methodism as an evangelistic movement was brought to America by lay emigrants from Ireland. Before they departed for America, most if not all of these emigrants had been converted under the preaching of John Wesley or that of his lay preachers. Philip Embury, a descendant of Germans who had gone from the Palatinate to Ireland in 1709, was converted when he heard John Wesley in 1752. He soon became a Methodist local preacher. In 1760 Embury and a number of kinsmen and friends sailed from Limerick for New York. Finding no Methodist society in New York, he at first identified himself with a Lutheran congregation. In time his cousin, Barbara Heck, became concerned over the growing spirit of worldliness among the immigrants, and urged him to preach to them lest they be eternally lost. Reluctantly Embury agreed, and in September 1766 he delivered his first sermon in America to a congregation of five people in his own house. The little group soon rented quarters in which to hold services. Captain Thomas Webb, barrack-master at Albany and himself a Methodist lay preacher, hearing about the Methodist society in New York, came down to lend a hand. Dressed in his regimentals, and laying his sword across the Bible, Webb created a sensation as a preacher. Continuing to grow, the congregation raised money and built Wesley Chapel, now John Street Church, in 1768. Webb was a leading contributor to the building fund.

Letters were soon dispatched to John Wesley in England, telling him about the new Methodist society in New York, the new chapel, and the wonderful opportunity for Methodism in America. They urged him to send over a regular preacher. Particularly impressed by a cogent letter from one Thomas Taylor, Wesley laid the matter before the Conference at Bristol in 1768, saying: "We have a pressing call from our brethren at New York, who have built a preaching house, to come over and help them. Who is willing to go?" Not a preacher in the Conference responded to the challenge of America at that time. When the Conference met at Leeds in 1769, Wesley again appealed for volunteers to go to America. Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor responded, and within three weeks they were on their way across the Atlantic, bearing a gift of fifty pounds for the new chapel in New York which the preachers of the Conference had contributed from their own slender resources.

As indicated above, Wesley did not plan to send missionaries to America in the sense that a present-day denominational board of missions projects a new mission in some distant land. Wesley was faced with a fait accompli; the Methodist revival had spontaneously spread to America; Methodists in the New World were appealing to him for preachers; and he responded to what in effect was a Macedonian call from New York. From that time forward he apparently looked on the work in America as an overseas extension of British Methodism. The appointments of Boardman and Pilmoor were
listed with those of the other preachers as though there was nothing extraordinary about them.

Boardman and Pilmoor arrived at Philadelphia on 24th October 1769. They made their way to St. George's Methodist church, and both delivered their first sermons in America from its pulpit. Wesley sent six more official missionaries within the next few years—Francis Asbury, Richard Wright, Thomas Rankin, George Shadford, James Dempster and Martin Rodda—and all of them landed at Philadelphia and preached their first sermons at St. George's church. Wesley designated Boardman as his "Assistant" in charge in America. Boardman soon departed for New York, whilst Pilmoor remained in Philadelphia. They agreed to exchange pulpits every six months.

Now about the time that Philip Embury was starting a Methodist society in New York, Robert Strawbridge, another Irish immigrant, was preaching and organizing societies in Maryland. Since Strawbridge kept no journal and left no letters, it is not possible to say when he arrived in America, though some historians believe that he came between 1762 and 1766. It is not known just when Strawbridge began preaching and organizing Methodist societies. One entry in Francis Asbury's Journal says flatly that Strawbridge organized the first Methodist society in America on Pipe Creek, Maryland. But the historical statement on the rise of Methodism in America which Asbury had printed regularly in the Discipline until his death in 1816 says only that Strawbridge began work in Maryland about the same time that Philip Embury was labouring for the cause in New York.

Thus the question of when and where the first Methodist society in America was organized remains unanswered. No official attempt has been made to settle the question since a joint effort of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Methodist Protestant Church in 1912-16 ended with a majority and a minority report. American Methodism observed its centennial in 1866. The 1960 General Conference of the Methodist Church voted that the bicentennial should be celebrated in 1966. By common consent it is to be a celebration of all Methodist beginnings in America.

In 1771 Wesley sent over Francis Asbury and Richard Wright as missionaries. Asbury surveyed the situation, and concluded that the preachers ought not to stay in the cities. He wanted them to form large circuits, travel constantly, and preach whenever and wherever even a few would gather to listen. Wesley appointed Asbury as his "Assistant" in place of Boardman. Losing no time in taking charge, Asbury put local preachers as well as itinerants in motion, and organized a large circuit in and around Baltimore which he himself travelled. Furthermore, he insisted on discipline, requiring the preachers and the members of the societies to observe the rules laid down by Wesley. Not all the preachers and laymen were pleased
with Asbury's drive and discipline, but under his vigorous leadership the movement began to grow.

Concluding that the work in America needed more seasoned leadership, Captain Webb made a trip to England and pleaded for more mature preachers. In 1773 Wesley sent Thomas Rankin and George Shadford, the former being seven years older than Asbury and having a reputation as a good disciplinarian. Clothed with the title of "General Assistant" to Wesley, Rankin called the first conference of the preachers in America to meet in Philadelphia in July 1773. As the new leader, Rankin made a good start, but soon all was not well. For one thing, he and Asbury did not like each other, and they did not work well together. Rankin found fault with the American Methodists: they were too emotional to suit him. Contrary to advice from both the Wesleys, Rankin spoke out on the political situation in America, urging the Methodists to be loyal to the Crown as the Revolution approached. Finding his usefulness greatly restricted as the war progressed, Rankin returned to England in 1778.

As the Revolution came on, Asbury, though under suspicion as an Englishman, determined to remain in America no matter what might happen to him. For a time he was subjected to some harassment, and his movements were restricted. But before the war was over, the authorities became convinced that he was in sympathy with the American cause, and he was able to resume travelling and preaching. He was soon accepted and widely recognized as the leader of the Methodist movement in America, though he received no official appointment in that capacity from Wesley until late in 1783. By Wesley's appointment and the election of the preachers, Asbury was made General Superintendent or Bishop when the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1784, and thereafter, though there was some dissatisfaction with the way he directed the movement, no one, not even John Wesley, was able to supersede him as the leader and the governing mind of American Methodism as long as he lived.

The American Methodist societies had 1,100 members when Thomas Rankin arrived in 1773. When the Church was organized in 1784 there were approximately 15,000. At the time of Asbury's death in 1816 the number approached a quarter of a million; today it is over ten millions.

The theme of American Methodism as it approaches its bicentennial is "FOR EVER BEGINNING". The Church will not only look backward; it will also face the future, accept the challenge of the atomic age, and try to offer a relevant ministry to the minds and hearts of men.

Albea Godbold.

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The Wesley Family and Its Coat of Arms

Stevenson in his Memorials of the Wesley Family (1876) gave a family tree back to the year 938. In his Historic Heraldry of Britain (1939) Mr. (now Sir Anthony) Wagner, the present Garter Principal King-of-Arms, referred to John Wesley "who has been provided with a lengthy pedigree [presumably Stevenson's], but, alas untenable..." The question of the Wesley genealogy is thus of great interest to Methodists, since only by proving the family descent can it be ascertained whether Wesley was entitled to bear arms, and if so, what they were.

For a hundred years at least Methodism has been displaying several different—if related—arms as those of the Wesley family, and many Methodist institutions have used, without authority, one or other of these arms in the construction of their own bogus arms. It is time therefore that Methodism set its house in order heraldically.

The first step is to establish the genealogy of the Wesley family. Articles on various aspects of this subject are scattered through a dozen volumes of the Proceedings, but none deals critically with the whole matter. It is therefore very helpful that one of the members of our Society, Mr. Malcolm A. Pinhorn, editor of the genealogical magazine Blackmansbury, has included in the December 1964 and February 1965 numbers of this periodical an article on the Wesley family which summarizes all that is proved of the ancestry of John and Charles Wesley. It would appear that Mr. Pinhorn has carefully examined and collated all known printed sources. He carries the line back to the Rev. Bartholomew Westley of Dorset (c. 1596-1671), but beyond this there is no proof. It has often been assumed that through their father John and Charles Wesley were connected with the Wellesleys, and through their mother with the noble family of the Annesleys, but Mr. Pinhorn quotes Mr. Charles Evans ("The Ancestry of the Wesleys" in Notes and Queries, June 1948), who comes to the conclusion:

Certainly the relationship both of the Aneleys [the original name of Susanna Wesley's family] to the Annesleys and of the Wesleys to the Wellesleys, seems neither proved nor probable.

In his useful bibliography of books and articles on the Wesley family Mr. Pinhorn includes a long letter from Mr. R. P. Graham-Vivian (Windsor Herald) published under the title "Is there a Wesley Crest?" in the October 1961 and January 1962 numbers of Wesley's Chapel Magazine. Reference to this confirms that there is no proof of the line beyond Bartholomew Westley, whose father was supposed to be Sir Herbert Westley, but of whom no trace can be found.

1 The reference is, of course, not to our "Notes and Queries", but to an independent publication of that title.—EDITOR.
All future investigation must take notice of and spring from Mr. Pinhorn's study, and we of the Wesley Historical Society owe a special debt of gratitude to him since he willingly accepted a suggestion of our Editor that he should look into this matter.

The present writer has long been interested in this subject from the point of view of its effect upon the use—and particularly the misuse—of coats of arms purporting to be those of the Wesleys. In 1963, at the request of the Editor, investigation started, but was seen to be dependent upon genealogical research, the present position of which is now so well given by Mr. Pinhorn.

Let us go on to look at the heraldic position. It seems best to sum this up by quoting from a memorandum submitted to the Archives Commission through our Editor, the Archivist:

In recent years, when inquiries were made as to the correct form of the Wesley arms, the Book Steward and later the Archivist provided a copy of the article on “The Wesley Coat of Arms” in the Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society for 1898 by the Rev. L. H. Wellesley Wesley. The form of arms used on Newsnotes, on various Book-Room publications, on the plaques supplied by the Book-Room, and, for example, at the World Methodist Council at Lake Junaluska, has resulted from this article. (Heraldic description: Gules on a cross argent five escallops azure; for crest a cockatrice—the shells are sometimes shown as gules.)

Earlier another form of arms had been preferred. This had been used on the cover of Memorials of the Wesley Family by George J. Stevenson (1876), and referred to in the text as “Argent, a cross sable, in each corner three escallops of the last (i.e., sable). Crest, a Wivern proper. Motto: God is Love.” This form of the shield has been used on the official badge of the Vice-President of the Methodist Conference.

However, there is no evidence that John Wesley or his immediate ancestors used either of these forms or any other arms. The fact that an incorrect form of the second arms was used on Fittler's engraving of the Hamilton portrait of Wesley published three years before his death is no proof that these were ever borne by Wesley or that he was entitled to bear them. . . .

It is felt that, in view of continuing interest, not least in the United States of America, in the arms of John Wesley, the time has come for the Church to take such steps as shall establish once and for all the truth concerning such arms and then to attempt to regularize the use by Methodist institutions of arms, based upon what were variously thought to be the Wesley arms, but not granted by the College of Arms as of course they should have been.

This latter point needs emphasis: it is established heraldic practice that all arms designed to be borne either by individuals or corporations must be granted by the College of Arms in England or the Court of the Lord Lyon in Scotland and by the appropriate one of these authorities in the case of individuals or corporations in the Commonwealth originating in one or other of these countries. Armorial bearings are honours, and although application may be made for them they may only be used

2 Proceedings, i, pp. 97-100.
if granted by these royal officers; otherwise there is an usurpation of the Sovereign's prerogative.

At the same time, the difference between display for ornamental and historical purposes and the actual use of arms should be noted. The establishing of certain arms as being those of John Wesley would not thereby entitle the Church or any Methodist institution to use these arms or any part of them as their own. There would be no objection to them being merely displayed—not as the arms of Church or institution but as the arms of John Wesley.

Further, the relation between the arms variously alleged to be those of Wesley and the coats of arms so far properly granted to Methodist institutions needs to be examined. For example: Culford School, Westminster College, and the Board of Trustees for Methodist Church Purposes have all received Grants of Arms in recent years, and each one contains what might be called a "remembrance" of what were thought to be the Wesley arms, especially an escallop shell. But, as Sir Anthony Wagner carefully explained to me, the Grant of any arms associated in any way with an historical figure does not thereby confirm that those were the arms of that person. The last-named arms are a case in point. Dr. Benson Perkins has expressed this very fairly when in his autobiography he states concerning the shield that it was "based on one of the arms of a Wesley family in the fourteenth century" (present writer's italics). The Heralds allowed such a reference to ancient Wesley arms without thereby pronouncing on whether they were in fact the arms borne by John Wesley. To make this quite clear, and on the principle that no former Grant may be exactly duplicated, they altered the colours of the old shield and charges from silver and black to silver and purple, and further added the castle to the cross. The resulting arms are those of the Board of Trustees for Methodist Church Purposes and of that corporation only. It was in order for them to place these arms over the doorway of the Epworth Old Rectory, since they were the appropriate Methodist body to carry out the business of the acquisition of this building for the World Methodist Council. But it is a misunderstanding of the matter to describe these arms as "the oldest Coat of Arms known to belong to the Wesley family... which... has been officially recognised as such by the College of Arms". In any case the connection of John Wesley with the family which bore the original silver and black shield is nowhere proven...

It might be noted also that the following Methodist institutions, apart from those mentioned above, bear properly-granted arms: Didsbury College, Hartley Victoria College, Wesley House, The Leys School, Ashville College, East Anglian School, Farringtons School and Rydal School. But throughout the world there are many unauthorized Methodist arms drawn up in the first place with the best of motives, but alas, falling into the category "bogus"!

What should now be done? In the considered opinion of the present writer there are three things: (1) to establish by original genealogical research the arms, if any, John Wesley was entitled to bear, and then to display these and no other as the Wesley arms; (2) to apply for a Grant of Arms for the Methodist Church, asking for

reference to be made therein to the arms to which John Wesley was entitled if any are established; (3) to encourage Methodist institutions which at present make use of bogus arms to relinquish these and to make application for a Grant of Arms which would include some "remembrance" of the Wesley arms (if any). In any case the cross and escallop associated for so long (if indeed mistakenly) with Methodism could be continued in one or other arrangement.

Now, how is this to be done? The first task is surely to submit the research to the highest genealogical authority—Garter King-of-Arms himself. Sir Anthony Wagner in a letter to the present writer has said:

If work on Wesley's ancestry is decided upon, I should be most disappointed if anyone but myself were asked to undertake it. Naturally I cannot now personally give the time I used to give to the searching, but I have a research staff who are, in my opinion, unequalled, and who would, I know, take the greatest interest in this particular problem.

The second step should not be undertaken until the first is completed—either by the discovery of genealogical connexion with an armigerous family or by establishing the fact that our Wesleys were not entitled to arms. The process of education implied in the third stage could begin now. Schools and colleges (which are the worst offenders) might begin to look into the fascinating subject of heraldry: a good way would be to join the Heraldry Society. However, it might be preferable to delay applications for arms until step (1) is completed.

All this, of course, calls for money. It is impossible to forecast the cost of the genealogical research, but this would be expensive. An informed guess put it at £300, but it could be a good deal more. Then there are the fees payable on the grant of arms. Some saving in these could be effected by making a joint application for related institutions. For example: the Board of Management for Methodist Residential Schools could make application for all schools not now bearing authorized arms. The Ministerial Training Committee could likewise make application for those theological colleges which have no right to the arms they use at present.

Each institution concerned would be responsible for raising its own share of the fees, but the basic research should be financed on a broader basis. It is realized that whilst the Church, through its properly-constituted authority (presumably the General Purposes Committee on behalf of the Conference), would naturally pay for its own grant, yet it could not be expected that ordinary connexional funds should be used for the basic research. Could the cost of this be raised by private means? Surely interested individuals in this country, in the United States of America, and indeed in many lands, would be willing to contribute if the need were made known. Would the Archives Commission and the Executive Committee of our own Society be able to launch such an appeal?
If there were no interest in these matters except on the part of a few antiquarians then there would be nothing more to be said. But there is a tremendous interest shown throughout the world, even if it has been at times rather misguided. An instance of this is the recent "flag" proposed for the World Methodist Council, which makes use of the incorrect Fittler drawing to which reference has already been made. If there is all this interest, then surely the need for correct and honest arms will be seen, and therefore the need to raise the necessary funds to put things right.

The present writer will be glad to hear from anyone who has interest in this matter or has comments or queries.

ARTHUR W. SAUNDERS.

[The Rev. Arthur W. Saunders, whose address is Wesley House, 62, The Causeway, Fort, Bombay, I, India, is a Methodist minister with a lifelong interest in heraldry. In Jamaica the Governor, Sir Hugh Foot (now Lord Caradon) invited him to make suggestions for the West Indies coat of arms. He has also been associated with other grants made by the College of Arms. He is a member of the Heraldry Society, and was formerly Honorary Heraldic Adviser to the Institute of Jamaica.]

THE FORMATION OF A WESLEYAN THEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

IN more recent years the interest in Wesley studies, more especially theological, but also historical, has quickened at a greater pace in America than it has in Britain. From time to time works resulting from this Wesleyan or "neo-Wesleyan" (as our American friends are often wont to express it) quickening have been helpfully reviewed in the Proceedings.

Since 1963 this interest has so increased that it is hardly surprising that several interesting books have escaped notice on this side of the Atlantic.

Dr. Franz Hildebrandt has done much to strengthen this interest by the creation of the Wesley Society in America, with its special emphasis on doctrine and worship. Other British exiles, such as Professors Frank Baker, Philip Watson and John Lawson, have given added strength to this renewal in things Methodist and Wesleyan.

The most recent development is the creation of the Wesleyan Theological Society. Formed a few months ago, it already promises to provide an agency for stimulating research. It is the outcome of several conferences and seminars within the last year or two under the auspices of the National Holiness Association. This theologically conservative body includes in its membership several entire denominations, including the Free Methodists, the Wesleyan Methodists, the Evangelical Methodists, the Church of the Nazarene, and
the Salvation Army. The largest section of the individual membership, however, still rests with the Methodists, and especially those who closely adhere to Wesley's teaching.

Whilst the newly-formed society obviously has a strong evangelical flavour, the books so far published under its aegis are worthy of close attention by all schools, and serve as a healthy reply to the dominant Calvinism that has reigned so long in American conservative Protestantism.

Three symposium volumes on aspects of Wesley's teaching have so far appeared. The titles are *Insights into Holiness* (1963), *Further Insights into Holiness* (1963), and *The Word and the Doctrine: Studies in Contemporary Wesleyan–Arminian Theology* (1965), and all are published by the Beacon Hill Press. In addition, there are no fewer than three series of Commentaries at present in course of publication written from the distinctively Wesleyan standpoint.

It could be claimed that to have three such ventures at the same time when we have to go back to Adam Clarke's great work for the last similar venture is a little too much. Zondervan began the trend some years ago with the *Evangelical Commentary* series. Thus far only three volumes have appeared. The late Dr. W. E. Sangster served as the original advisory editor of this undertaking.

Eerdmans meanwhile have produced the first two of their projected six-volume *Wesleyan Bible Commentary*, and Beacon Hill (Nazarene Publishing House) are well under way with their *Beacon Bible Commentary*. All these works seek to be devotional, expository and critical within the boundary of the set conservative policy. Scholars associated with these ventures are predominant in the newly-formed Wesleyan Theological Society.

The third type of publication which has gained momentum is the theological monograph. Dr. G. Leo Cox's *John Wesley's Concept of Perfection* (Beacon Hill, 1965) was reviewed in the last number of the *Proceedings*.

Other studies include *The Vision which transforms*, by Dr. G. Allen Turner—a study in the scriptural basis of Wesley's doctrine of holiness, and *The Theology of Christian Experience: Interpreting the Historical Wesleyan Message*, by Dr. Delbert R. Rose (Bethany Fellowship, 1965). All these works were the product of Ph.D. theses.

The Society intends to publish a regular bulletin in the near future. Meanwhile *The Asbury Seminarian*, the splendid twice-yearly publication of Asbury Seminary, has helped to meet the need for a publishing outlet.

Without doubt British interest would be welcomed by the Society, and inquiries may be sent to Dr. William Arnett or Dr. Delbert R. Rose, Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky.

*William Parkes.*
A HISTORY OF THE ORIGINAL METHODISTS

[In a recent article on this subject (Proceedings, xxxv, pp. 63-4) the Rev. William Parkes referred to the work of Mr. Donald Grundy. Mr. Parkes's article forms an excellent introduction to the series now beginning.—EDITOR.]

I

At the December 1838 Quarter-day in the Belper Primitive Methodist circuit a serious dispute arose. A few days before the meeting, John Tomlinson, one of the local preachers, made some conditional engagements (which he had explained in a letter to Hugh Bourne) relative to removing to a neighbouring circuit. At Quarter-day everything was remarkably peaceable until the subject of increased ministerial stipends was reached. Upon that matter there was considerable division of opinion, since there were some who felt that in the Belper circuit it was uncalled for, and that except in special circumstances the usual salary was sufficient, for wages in the district were low, provisions dear, members poor, preachers a good deal from home, and the circuit nearly £50 in debt. In addition, chapel debts amounted to £2,000.

These considerations caused many to feel unwilling to saddle the circuit with the increased stipend for two married travelling preachers, as the ministers were then called. However, the case of the superintendent, William Carthy, was given special consideration, and on account of his wife's delicate state of health it was proposed and carried that he should have £3 10s. allowed him for the previous six months over and above his regular stipend, which sum added to it, together with the allowance for children, house-rent, furniture, and board from home, made a total of about 4s. a day for 365 days in the year, or something more than £70 per annum.

When this motion was passed, Carthy declared that he would not accept a farthing less than the full advanced salary, and spurned the meeting's offer with disdain. He threatened his opponents that he would call in a General Committee delegation and have the characters of several of them investigated. Of John Tomlinson in particular he spoke very harshly, but Tomlinson did not allow himself to be unduly distressed, since he hoped by the following quarter to be serving in another circuit. He therefore requested his credentials, and a motion that these should be given him was carried. A little later in the meeting Carthy told him that he had no business to be there. Tomlinson promptly informed him that he was waiting for his credentials, according to the resolution of the brethren, and that at the same time he was equally as much a member of the meeting as himself, for he had not withdrawn either from membership or from office.

Thereupon Carthy moved "That John Tomlinson be no longer a
member of this meeting or Connexion". The meeting appeared shocked, and would not allow the motion to be put; and in this position matters stood at the close of Quarter-day.

Shortly afterwards a change in Tomlinson's personal affairs caused him to relinquish his intention to remove; yet he retained in his possession a credential which warranted him a member and local preacher in that or any part of the Connexion. Nevertheless he received eleven days later the following note:

At a meeting of the Circuit Committee last night, it was decided to send a note to Mr. John Tomlinson informing him that he is not a member of the Primitive Methodist Society.

Signed on behalf of the meeting,

A. Kirkland, President.
John Wombell, Secretary.

Belper, 15th December, 1838.

The persons who moved, seconded, and passed this extreme measure were the three travelling preachers. Although the superintendent was planned at Cromford that night, and the second minister at Heage, they contrived to do without preaching in order to expel a local preacher before he even knew that he was charged with any crime. Yet the credential was given to John Tomlinson by a full Quarter-day, the only authority in the circuit that could make or unmake a local preacher, whilst the other note was sent by an authority which, at most, could only suspend a local preacher until the next Quarter-day.

On the 29th December a Leaders' Meeting was held which Tomlinson attended. Contrary to their usual custom, all three travelling preachers were there. William Carthy said that John Tomlinson had withdrawn himself from the Connexion by taking his credentials, although he knew that Tomlinson had positively declared after he had asked for them, but before he received them, that he was not leaving the Connexion. He also with much emphasis declared that he knew of only two cases in which credentials would be given: one, in the case of a member leaving the Connexion and joining another denomination, the other, on removal to another circuit. Now Carthy, as an experienced superintendent minister, must have known that there was no law in the Connexion authorizing a credential in the first case, but that there was a law authorizing a local preacher to demand a credential in case of either a temporary or a permanent removal to another circuit. This law may be found in PM Consolidated Minutes, 1836, page 57, under the heading "Credentials". In the 47th question it is asked:

What is the order regarding credentials or certificates?

Answer 2 says:

A local preacher travelling on business or removing to another circuit may have a Certificate from his Quarter-day board or Circuit Committee but there is no intimation that this dis-members him. By the
pledged faith of Conference, it is solemnly guaranteed to him that instead of being separated from the Connexion he is in fact given additional evidence that, go where he may, he is a member and a local preacher. The Leaders' Meeting viewed the matter in this light, and a majority decided that he had not forfeited either his membership or his offices. But Carthy would not allow the resolution to be minuted, as he objected to the votes of local preachers who were only assistant leaders. By this manœuvre the three travelling preachers, with the assistance of only two leaders, formed what he called a majority. John Tomlinson delivered what accounts and moneys he held, and received a note of which the following is a copy.

Belper, 29 Dec., 1838.

This note is to certify that John Tomlinson has given up all monies [sic], books, etc. in his possession belonging to the Primitive Methodist Society, to a Leaders' Meeting sitting at the above date.

W. CARTHY, President.
JOHN WOMBELL, Secretary.

In this meeting no local preacher would vote as the superintendent wished. His only lay supporters were the son of a travelling preacher—a young man just out of his 'teens, whom he had put into office only a few weeks before over the heads of his senior brethren—and a man who was later expelled from the Connexion for immorality.

How great had been the services of this John Tomlinson to Methodism? He was a native of Belper, born 4th February 1792, and therefore nearly 47 years of age at this time. He was a Wesleyan Methodist for twenty years, becoming a Primitive Methodist about 1827. For seven years he resided in the Retford circuit, which during this time increased and strengthened. He had been three times delegate to District Meetings and once to Conference. He took an active part in the affairs of the Belper circuit before the appearance of the travelling preachers William Carthy, Ambrose Kirkland and John Wombell, and it generally prospered, particularly the Belper society itself.

Mr. Tomlinson therefore appealed to his fellow local preachers to protest at their next Quarter-day on 4th March 1839

1st—Against the conduct of the plan-maker in leaving his name off the plan without the authority of Quarter-day;

2nd—Against the proceedings of the Circuit Committee in taking up his case in a judicial way without giving him an opportunity of making any defence;

3rd—Against the Committee's proceedings to dis-member him as a local preacher in opposition to the resolution of the previous Quarter-day, which the Committee had not the power to annul.

This appeal was made in a letter written on 4th February 1839. Readers will appreciate the importance of the foregoing facts as the history of the Original Methodists is gradually revealed.
As soon as John Tomlinson had published his appeal to the members of Quarter-day, William Carthy began to prepare for the March meeting by creating a number of new officials—inexperienced men with apparently an implicit belief in the infallibility of the travelling preachers. He next suspended until Quarter-day two of the oldest and best-informed local preachers in Belper, without giving them an opportunity of properly defending themselves, evidently for no other cause than their having refused to denounce John Tomlinson. When Quarter-day arrived he placed three of his newly-constituted officials at the door, two inside and one outside, thus by brute force debarring Tomlinson and the two suspended local preachers from the meeting. They waited outside for eight hours, vainly requesting admittance.

These three ill-used individuals then appealed to the General Committee of the Connexion. A delegation visited Belper, the matter was fully investigated, and all three were reinstated as members and local preachers. The expense thereby occasioned should, according to rule, have fallen upon Carthy, but this liability he evaded by an unexpected manoeuvre, though the meeting of investigation did not break up until three o'clock in the morning. This indefatigable minister produced a number of written charges against each of the three men. They were presented to them about eight o'clock the same morning by the General Committee Delegate, who required an immediate answer to each separate charge for him to forward to the General Committee.

One charge in particular preferred by Carthy against John Tomlinson was that he had left the Retford circuit in debt. He stated in his answer that he did not pay every debt he owed before he left the circuit, but he believed he had since paid every sovereign he owed. By these means Carthy contrived to leave the matter in an unsettled state. The General Committee then referred it to the next District Meeting, to be held at Sutton-in-Ashfield, and at this meeting Tomlinson, conscious of the justice of his cause, accordingly appeared.

Upon entering the meeting he first knelt in prayer, yet even before he could rise from his knees there was demanded of him the payment of some expenses which had been incurred in postage, etc. since the investigation at Belper. When he had finished his prayer, he asked whether it was not a fact that every shilling demanded at the close of the previous meeting had been honourably paid, and if so, why this new and unusual course was being taken. But all the answer the ministers gave was a renewal of the demand.

Tomlinson, seeing that the intention of these men was to sacrifice him in order to vindicate their brother, would then have left the meeting, but a few friends prevailed upon him to remain. A number of charges were then preferred against him by the ministers, some of which he had never heard of until the moment he was required to answer them. They allowed him five minutes to defend himself.
The chairman sat with his watch before him, and when the fifth minute had expired he stopped the defendant by shouting: "It's up! It's up! It's up!"

One charge preferred against him by a travelling preacher (and which he had never before heard of) was that he had said: "Primitive Methodism cost me seventy pounds during the seven years that I resided in the Retford circuit." He was required to prove it there and then; and it was intimated that if he failed he would be dismissed for lying! After having done so to the satisfaction of the meeting, he requested leave of the chairman to ask two of the travelling preachers present, who had made his house their home for a considerable length of time, and had been acquainted with his everyday life, whether they had ever seen anything in his conduct inconsistent with his Christian profession. A travelling preacher rose immediately, saying: "I move the meeting does not allow either of them to answer." Another seconded, and the motion was carried.

After he had cleared himself of a host of charges, among them such trivialities as that of borrowing an old empty glass bottle, they renewed the charge of owing money in the Retford circuit. The travelling preachers had raked that circuit through, and eventually had found one individual who said that John Tomlinson owed him something. Tomlinson replied that he could not positively contradict it, but was not conscious of it. A travelling preacher immediately moved, and another seconded, "that J. Tomlinson told a lie" in saying he did not know that he owed anything. As this was a point which could be known only to himself and his Lord, he told the meeting that if it entertained the motion he should decline making any further defence. They did entertain it, and in consequence John Tomlinson told them that from that moment he left the Connexion for ever, and withdrew from the meeting.

It is interesting to note that at this District Meeting delegates from the Selston society were deeply moved by Tomlinson's defence and strongly resented the proposed increase in ministerial stipends. The importance of this fact will be appreciated when the formation of a new connexion is discussed. Tomlinson himself returned home, and without attempting to entice any individual away from the South Normanton PM society, he began peaceably to worship with another branch of the Methodist family, by whom he was gladly received, after it seemed that William Carthy had done all he could to injure him in the estimation of the religious public.

DONALD M. GRUNDY.

(To be continued)

[Mr. Donald M. Grundy, B.A. is society steward and a trustee of the Portland Row Methodist church, Selston, Notts. He is also a trustee of the "Middle Chapel", Selston, which was built in 1839 for the Original Methodists.]
Acknowledgements

The writer would like to express his gratitude to the following people for their help in making possible the writing of this history of a forgotten branch of nineteenth-century Methodism:

Mr. Ronald Storer of Selston, whose discovery of a few badly-damaged copies of The Original Methodists' Record at the bottom of an old tin trunk in a disused barn made the writer anxious to learn more of their activities.

The late Mr. C. S. Tomlinson, B.Sc. of South Normanton, who was a descendant of John Tomlinson, one of the most prominent leaders of the Original Methodists. Mr. Tomlinson kindly furnished the writer with documentary evidence on the first sixteen years of their existence as a connexion.

Mrs. K. Holland, widow of the late Alderman Matthew Holland, C.B.E., J.P. Mrs. Holland gave the writer many copies of The Original Methodists' Record dealing with the middle period of their history. She had also preserved a copy of the Rules of the Original Methodists.

Mr. J. T. Simons of Selston. Mr. Simons kindly permitted the writer to make use of his copies of the Record dealing with the closing years of the connexion's history in the 1860s.

According to your Faith, by T. S. Gregory (Epworth Press, pp. 110, 6s. 6d.) was published for Lenten reading, but will appeal at all seasons to lovers of Charles Wesley's hymns. Although the author is now a Roman Catholic, he still claims to be a Methodist (depending, of course, on what you mean by that word!), and certainly his knowledge of "Wesley" puts to shame many avowed followers of our founder. This essay is primarily concerned with prayer and meditation—a country with which most of us are less familiar than we should be. With Mr. Gregory to guide us we can walk its paths with confidence and have our eyes open to its wonders and beauty. The old Wesley's Hymns would form a fitting companion to this book.

The Christian Year with Charles Wesley, by John Lawson (Epworth Press, pp. 126, 12s. 6d.) is an entirely different presentation from that of T. S. Gregory, for this is simply a selection of Wesley's verse arranged, without comment, for the Christian year. Its sub-title is "A devotional companion to the Book of Common Prayer". Anglicans tend to forget that Charles Wesley's hymns belong to their own history as well as to ours—in fact they fit as well into the development of Anglican hymnody as into ours, if ours can be said to have a development at all. Methodists who follow the Christian year, with or without the aid of the Prayer Book, will find this a welcome companion to their devotions.

We are always pleased to notice contributions made by our members to local historical societies, and we welcome a copy of Andrew Kinsman's Churches at Plymouth, by C. E. Welch, M.A. This appeared in the Transactions of the Devonshire Association, No. xcviij (1965). Copies of the article may be obtained from the author at the Civic Record Office, Southampton (no price quoted). For Kinsman, see John Wesley's Journal (Standard edition), v, p. 523, and these Proceedings, xiii, p. 118.
The Reasons for the Dispute
(Continued from page 87)

The Brunswick trustees who wanted the organ did not accept the decision of the Leeds District Meeting that the installation of an organ in Brunswick chapel was not desirable. As sincerely as some believed it would impair the quality of the worship so they believed that it would assist the congregational singing in a large chapel like Brunswick, and that it would be an attraction to the younger members of the families of the congregation, who were not so much enamoured of the traditional forms of worship. There was nothing in the “organ law”, or in the resolution of the District Meeting, which prohibited an approach to the Conference. Their intention to apply to the Conference had been intimated to the District Meeting and entered in the minutes, which by the due process of connexional regulation would eventually be presented to the Conference.

The momentous Conference of 1827 was held in Manchester, attended by about three hundred ministers. A Leeds local preacher, who happened to be in Manchester on business at the same time, encountered the Rev. George Marsden, who divulged that the Conference had decided to receive the Brunswick trustees’ application and had appointed a committee to report thereon. Mr. Marsden advised him to return to Leeds at once, recommending that the local preachers and the leaders should meet in their respective meetings and send memorials and deputations to the Conference in protest.

The local preacher complied, and the leaders and local preachers acted quickly. Marsden had met the local preacher on Tuesday, 31st July; the local preachers met on Friday evening, 3rd August, adopted a memorial of protest, and appointed Matthew Johnson and Thomas Simpson to proceed at once to Manchester. The leaders met on the 4th, adopted a memorial, and appointed Joah Mallinson to join Johnson and Simpson, which he did on Monday morning, 6th August. Only two leaders and two trustees had dissented from these actions.

The local preachers’ memorial contained the gist of the whole case that was to be pertinaciously pressed in the controversies that were to follow: (1) the application of the trustees was contrary to the overwhelming voice of the Leaders’ Meeting; (2) the District Meeting had negatived the application, so its reference to the Conference was illegal; (3) the introduction of organs was a serious evil; (4) serious consequences would follow if the organ were installed. The intimation is given, rather surprisingly, that the Conference had already given its sanction to the erection of the organ.
The leaders' memorial recited their resolutions of 13th November 1826 which had been presented to the trustees and the District Meeting, and added the claim that as, under the provisions of the 1795 Plan of Pacification, leaders and stewards were concerned in the introduction of the Sacrament administered by their own ministers and the holding of services at their own times, so, by analogy, they had the same concern in the introduction of organs, as "parties to the dispute".

Both petitions were signed by lay chairman. The Rev. John Walmsley had returned early from the Conference, owing to indisposition, but he declined to take the chair at or to attend either of the meetings.

On arrival in Manchester, the deputations tried for several days to obtain a hearing of their case, but without success. They were then surprised at the appearance of four leading trustees from Leeds who had come in haste, by chaise, in response to a letter from Jabez Bunting, the Secretary of the Conference. It was said that the four had ignored seventeen of the other trustees in appealing to the Conference; that the occasion was seized upon by Bunting to "teach these Yorkshire Methodists a lesson"; but Benjamin Gregory thought it also not unlikely that James Sigston and his friends were themselves not indisposed to a conflict with the Conference. In that case Bunting was certainly not the man to shirk a trial of strength.

The Conference acted on the whole with discretion, and strictly according to rule. A first committee had met, and had approved the application of the trustees; but to meet the wishes of the deputations a second committee was appointed. The constitution of this second committee has been much criticized, but it is probable that critics have failed to distinguish between a "Special Conference Committee", appointed under the 1820 organ law, and a "District Committee Meeting".

Isaac Keeling said that the Conference rejected the precedent of Leaders' Meetings deciding questions of the conduct and manner of public worship as "unauthorized interference". To correct the situation, the Conference added eight or nine ministers of its own nomination, and directed the same District Meeting to sit and report only on the "facts of the case".

If Keeling's account is correct, then Matthew Johnson is confirmed in his argument in the Wesleyan Association Magazine, 1849: (1) The Conference directed the District Meeting to assemble when its proper functions had ceased. (2) The District Meeting was instructed to re-consider a question already decided at the May meeting, when it had all the relevant information before it. (3) The Conference, to achieve its purpose, added to the District Meeting persons committed to its measures and who had no right to be there. Kirsop, Baxter and others were justified in describing the committee as "packed", "improvised", and calling it a "pretended" District Meeting.
On the other hand, if the committee was a "Special Committee", appointed under the 1820 organ law, then the Conference cannot be faulted in appointing its own nominees, with the Leeds ministers who were still at the Conference. The dissentients claimed that the sitting of the committee was delayed until towards the end of the Conference, when many Leeds ministers had left. But there was a rule which specifically denied any right of complaint if ministers left the Conference before the business was finished and the journals signed.

The committee met under the chairmanship of the Ex-President, Richard Watson. The Leeds deputations were admitted, and the case for the objectors was put by Thomas Simpson, supported by Thomas Stanley. But the result was probably a foregone conclusion. The recommendation of the first committee was confirmed, and permission was granted for an organ to be erected in the Brunswick chapel.

In order to establish the position according to Methodist rule and usage, in announcing the decision of the committee the chairman said that the Conference had decided that the superintendent alone had the right to judge the propriety of worship (as had been stated in the Minutes of 1808). No other person had the right to interfere. "This," he said, "we wish to be promulgated."

From this time secession became inevitable; but the reasons for the secession form an entity of incident and argument quite distinct from the reasons for the dispute, and require separate treatment.

JOHN T. HUGHES.

[The above article consists of Parts I and II, much abbreviated, of a longer and more detailed study of the subject. We hope to deal with further Parts in a future issue.—EDITOR.]

A Wesley bicentenary which should not pass unnoticed among Methodists in this quarter of 1966 is that of the birth of Charles Wesley’s younger son Samuel—Samuel Wesley the Musician, as he is called, to distinguish him from his grandfather and uncle of the same name—which occurred on 24th February 1766. (For various references to Samuel in our pages, see, inter alia, Proceedings, xxi, pp. 42-4; xxvi, pp. 63-4; xxxii, pp. 140-1.)

The February 1966 number of The Musical Times carries his portrait on its cover, and gives pride of place to a biographical article by Nicholas Temperley, who has also edited for publication by Novello & Co. a musical setting by Samuel Wesley, dated 1807, of the two stanzas beginning

Might I in Thy sight appear
As the publican distressed,

which are known to present-day Methodists as verses 4 and 5 of Charles Wesley’s hymn “Saviour, Prince of Israel’s race” (MHB 348). One is surprised to find these lines described on the newly-published copy as being of anonymous authorship. The hymn, which originally had eleven stanzas, first appeared in Hymns and Sacred Poems, published at Bristol by Charles Wesley in 1749.

A.A.T.
A Rejoinder

I REPLY to Dr. Skevington Wood’s criticism of my book *John Wesley and the Christian Ministry* in his article “John Wesley’s reversion to type” in the last number of *Proceedings* (xxxv, pp. 88-93).

Dr. Wood, I readily concede, has a perfect right to express his own views, and to make fair criticism. Equally fair is my assessment of the opposing views of those who hold that Wesley’s conversion caused a complete change from his High Church ideas and those who assert that only a partial change was made, and a very gradual one at that. In the distinguished company of J. E. Rattenbury, R. Denny-Urlin, F. Hockin and John C. Bowmer, I still adhere to the latter decision, which I feel has been well proved.

Secondly, the relation, novel as it is, between Wesley’s teaching on Justification by Faith and his conception of the ministry, is difficult to demonstrate, much as Dr. Wood may think he has done so. Were his view correct, then Wesley indeed should have renounced all his High Churchmanship by 8.46 p.m. on 24th May 1738. Again we say he did not.

However, my next point is not a reply to a criticism but a definite complaint of deliberate misrepresentation of my book in order to prove the point just mentioned. The imperception of which he accuses me is his own. A good Methodist preacher knows that he must never tear a text out of its context, but Dr. Wood cheerfully does this very thing, and thereby makes me say something I have no intention of saying. "Mr. Lawson asserts that Wesley’s conversion involved no change of doctrine." Anyone who reads page 20, on which Chapter 2 begins, knows that I am (without unnecessary detailed qualification) talking about one doctrine, namely that of the Christian Ministry. (Did I not set out to write solely about this doctrine, and should it be an occasion of surprise if I keep to my subject?) The paragraph next-but-one previous to the offending sentence shows clearly that I am talking about the very doctrine from which the title of my book is taken. In any case it is doubtful whether Wesley’s conversion (that is, if 1738 is regarded as conversion—not all agree) really did result in a change of doctrine generally. Wesley appears to have held before 1738 what were later the great teachings of Methodism, though afterwards there is obviously greater emphasis on these. However, after two and a half years since publication and a fairly wide circulation, it is most surprising that no one else has read my words in this way. Maybe the majority began to read at the top of page 20.

I wish Dr. Wood well in his task—late though I feel he is—of proving Wesley a Nonconformist. He will, I am confident, stand as good a chance of success as he would of proving me a Conservative Evangelical!

ALBERT B. LAWSON.
READERS of the Proceedings will find the first volume of this new official history of Methodism peculiarly congenial, for it deals with their favourite period—the eighteenth century. They will find, inevitably, much that is already familiar—Maldwyn Edwards on John Wesley, for instance, and John Lawson on "Our Discipline"; Dr. Frank Baker on Methodist polity, and Raymond George on the eighteenth-century Methodist attitude to the means of grace. Less familiar will be the attempts of Professors Jean Orcibal and Gordon Rupp to probe more deeply into the background of John Wesley's spiritual development, whilst John Walsh, in a concluding essay on Methodism after Wesley's death, throws new light on the relationship between Wesleyan Methodist and Anglican Evangelical, a subject too often obscured by the necessities of present-day propaganda. The contributors maintain a high standard of readability and scholarship, and the whole marks a great advance on the old New History of 1909, in which Anglicanism still suffered Methodist persecution, and in which the divisions of Methodism, already apparent in the 1790s, were never properly examined.

Readers of the Proceedings, however, will expect criticism as well as praise. Such criticism would deal, I think, more with the form than with the actual content of the book. Professor Herbert Butterfield's background chapter on England in the eighteenth century, for instance, contributes little at all to the volume, and would have been better replaced by something on the economic and social factors which directly influenced the origin and development of the Wesleyan societies. Although four chapters are headed "The People called Methodists", we are not really told enough about either the people or the preachers. Christopher Hopper and John Nelson are mentioned briefly once, and John Haime is not mentioned at all.

This leads on to another point: that there is a tendency to assume that the piety of the eighteenth-century Methodists can be adequately defined in terms of what John Wesley said; the tension, always present in the development of the doctrine of holiness, for example, between Wesley's theology and popular Methodist experience, does not emerge clearly enough. Admirable as Rupert Davies's summary of Wesley's theology is in many ways, and fascinating as is Jean Orcibal's search for contacts between Wesley and seventeenth-century French Catholic writers (the mysticism of those never-to-be-canonized saints Molinos, Madame de Guyon, and Fenelon), one would have liked a more chronological—perhaps a more historical—analysis of Wesley's teaching—an analysis which would have taken into account the role of the Methodists in shaping their own doctrines. Mr. Davies's article has an historical appendix on the controversy with antinomianism, but by itself, unrelated to the essay which precedes it, this is more puzzling than enlightening.

This all goes with a certain tendency to exaggerate a little the importance of the Wesleys in the development of Methodism and in general history. The worst examples of this come in W. F. Lofthouse's unfortunate essay on Charles Wesley, which is little more than hagiography, and of which it is sufficient to quote the end of a disastrous comparison between Charles Wesley and two other hymn-writers, Watts and Newman: "They thought, he felt." Dr. Edwards's essay on John Wesley is written in much more sober tones, but even here the wretched Mrs. Vazeille (few Methodist writers seem to be able to bear to call her Mrs. Wesley) has to take all the blame for the failure of a marriage to which John, after all, was also a partner, and the assertion that at the time of Wesley's death the national press "knew that it was John Wesley, supremely, who made England conscious of its social obligation" is pitching it rather high.

On reflection, one wonders whether another narrative of John Wesley's life was really necessary. It might have been more useful to have asked Dr. Edwards to review the historical literature about the Wesleys which has appeared since 1909. Non-Methodist historians simply do not accept the traditional Methodist picture of Wesley: Dr. V. H. H. Green is only the latest to indicate his doubts about the importance of Wesley's Aldersgate conversion experience, for instance. And when Dr. Green writes of Wesley's diaries that "they form one of the most consistently complacent documents ever written", or again, "ultimately John Wesley, like so many of the Christian saints, was self-regarding", he was not just being gratuitously unkind. Dr. J. H. Plumb's version of Wesley in his eighteenth-century volume in the Penguin History of England is another example of outside reaction. Something more combative was needed to defend the Methodist view of Wesley than a biographical essay.

However, the editors have succeeded in achieving an ecumenical point of view, though one could go further. A thoroughly ecumenical approach to eighteenth-century church history would mean trying to see how far one could delineate a common history of a single Christian community, and this would mean bringing together a wider mass of material than was possible in a denominational history. Once one turns to this wider canvas one is faced with the problem of the proper definition of church history itself. Does one assume that the history of the People of God is the clue to the meaning and purpose of history, so that it must always be in the foreground, the touchstone of the significance of everything else that happened? Or does one assume that by the eighteenth century, at any rate, one is obliged to subordinate the story of the Church, and so of Methodism, to the account of the wider cultural influences which were steadily dissolving its classical theology? If one looks at the history of eighteenth-century Methodism from this second point of view, then Wesley's Connexion looks a little like Singapore in World War II—a gallant fortress, but with its guns pointing the wrong way.

John H. S. Kent.
THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE CHRISTIANS

(Continued from page 104)

VII. Hymn-books

[?First Bible Christian Hymn-book], published c. 1819, according to Julian.


2. A Collection, etc. Second enlarged edition, MDCCCXXXVIII. (Langtree, 3rd April 1838) (published by James Thorne, Shebbear, Devon). 625 hymns (i.e. 575 + 37 Miscellaneous Hymns + 13 Additional Hymns); Indexes. pp. c. 582, 24mo, 3½ by 2 ins. W. C. Williams, Pool, Redruth

2a. ditto, 12mo.

2b. A Collection, etc. Sixth enlarged edition (James Thorne, Shebbear, Devon, 1851). 625 hymns; Indexes. pp. 592, small 16mo, 3½ by 2 ins.

2c. A Collection, etc. Seventh enlarged edition, 1859, otherwise as last.


3a. A Collection, etc. As last, 1873. Smaller format, pp. 160.

3b. A Collection, etc. As last, but London, 1874. Pages not numbered.

3c. A Collection, etc. As last, but London, 1885. pp. 160.

3d. A Collection, etc. As last, but London, 1887. pp. 192.


4a. A Collection, etc. As last, but London, 1892.

5. A Collection, etc. (L: BC Bookroom, 1889) (1st January 1889). As last, but one paragraph extra in Preface. pp. xvi. 304.

5a. A Collection, etc. As last, but pp. xvi. 832.

5b. A Collection, etc. As last, but pp. xvi. 880. Pulpit edition.

5c. A Collection, etc. As last, 1890.


5e. A Collection, etc. As last, bound with Bible. (B—Ordination Bible of Thomas Scantlebury Neal.)


6a. The United Methodist, etc. As last, but no mention of edition (printer's imprint dated "8.16.10") (L: UMC Publishing House, n.d.).


7a. The United Methodist, etc. As last. pp. xvi. 304.

1 The date in parentheses appearing after the date on the title-page refers henceforth to the date of the Preface.

2 The date written e.g. "8.16.10" is the date of the printer's imprint in editions otherwise indistinguishable. (8.16.10 = 16th August 1910.)
### SUNDAY-SCHOOL HYMN-BOOKS


3. **The Child's Hymnbook, Selected from various Authors.** New edition, 1863. 272 hymns (advertised in 1879 to 1881 BC magazines).


[The Rev. Oliver A. Beckerlegge, M.A., Ph.D. is a Methodist minister at St. Mawes, Cornwall. He was Wesley Historical Society Lecturer in 1957, and is at present engaged as a member of the editorial staff of the new (American) critical edition of Wesley's *Works*, especially with relation to the 1780 Hymn-book.]

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We acknowledge, with many thanks, the receipt of copies of the following local histories:

- **The Evolution of the Windsor Circuit**, pp. 12, 1s. 3d. from Mr. N. P. Nickless, 4, Chapel Lane, Stoke Poges, Bucks.
- **Beston Methodist Chapel** (Beds)—Centenary Handbook, pp. 16 (no price or author given).
- **"What mean these Stones?"**, the story of a Dales chapel—Hurst in Swaledale, Yorks (no price or author given).
- **John Wesley in Monmouthshire**, by the Rev. E. Whitford-Roberts, pp. 12, 2s. from the author, Berwyn, Ffrwd Road, Abersychan, Mon.
- **The Bi-centenary of Methodism in Shaftesbury**, pp. 16 (no price given), from the Rev. James R. Hunt, 11, Grosvenor Road, Shaftesbury, Dorset.
- **Stocksbridge (Sheffield) Centenary Handbook**, pp. 26, 2s. 6d. from Mr. F. Hampshire, 17, Linden Crescent, Stocksbridge, Sheffield.

The Wesley Historical Society Lecture for 1966, in connexion with the Wolverhampton Conference, will be delivered by the Connexional Editor, the Rev. Gordon S. Wakefield, M.A., B.Litt., whose subject will be "The Spiritual Life in the Methodist Tradition from the death of Wesley to the Second World War". The date is Wednesday, 6th July, and the place St. John's Methodist church, Parkfield, Wolverhampton.

A fuller notice will appear in our June number.
NEWS FROM OUR BRANCHES

The Cornish Branch has issued Journal II.4, with an article by the Rev. Michael S. Edwards on "Clerical Attitudes to Methodism in the Episcopal Visitation Returns".

Next Meeting: Wednesday, 27th April, in the Camborne Community Centre, when Mr. John C. C. Probert will lecture on "The Architecture of Cornish Methodism". This event is being organized in cooperation with the Cornwall Archaeological Society.

Secretary: Rev. Baynard P. Evans, The Manse, St. Keverne, Helston.

The autumn meeting of the East Anglian Branch was held on Saturday, 16th October, in the new Diss (Norfolk) chapel, some forty members being present. Mr. W. J. L. Garrod, speaking on "The story of Diss Methodism", sketched the development of Methodism in the town from its turbulent beginnings, when Thomas Lee arrived in 1770, to the present time. John Wesley’s only visit was in October 1790, when he preached in the parish church.

Next Meeting: Saturday, 14th May, at Chapel Field Road, Norwich.

The Rev. John C. Bowmer will speak about the Connexional Archives.

Bulletin: No. 4 received.

Secretary: Mr. W. A. Green, 5, The Avenues, Norwich, Norfolk, NOR.27G.

Membership: 104.

The Annual General Meeting and autumn lecture of the Lancashire and Cheshire Branch was held on Saturday, 16th October, at the Central Hall, Manchester. The Rev. George W. Dolbey gave an illustrated lecture on "Early Methodist Architecture". From Journal No. 3 we notice with pleasure the mention of "Working Groups"—an idea which could well be emulated by other branches. A Photographic group will aim at a pictorial survey of Methodist buildings, and an Archives group will assist in arranging and cataloguing documents in our larger chapels.

Next Meeting: Saturday, 14th May, at Bolton, with the Rev. Dr. John T. Wilkinson as the speaker.

Secretary: Mr. E. A. Rose, 18, Glenthorne Drive, Ashton-under Lyne, Lancs.

The Annual Meeting of the Lincolnshire Branch was held in Lincoln in October. The Rev. Frederick C. Gill of Prestatyn was the visiting speaker, and his subject "Charles Wesley". During the week-end Mr. Gill visited the old Raithby chapel, famed for its associations with Robert Carr Brackenbury. This historic shrine continues to be a source of great anxiety to local Methodists because of its dilapidated condition, its very depleted membership, and the fact that it is impossible to secure it as a Methodist trust property. The branch continues to publish a Journal twice yearly, combined with the well-established Epworth Witness.

Journal: Vol. I Part 5 received.

Secretary: Mr. William Leary, Woodlands, Riseholme Lane, Riseholme, Lincoln.

Membership: 90.

The London Branch held its second meeting at City Road on Saturday, 9th October. The afternoon was spent in Wesley’s House and Chapel, and after tea there was a general discussion on "The tasks that await us".

Next Meeting: Saturday, 4th June, at Hartlip (Kent).

Bulletin: No. 1 received.

Secretary: Rev. Brian J. N. Galliers, 21, Upper Shirley Road, Croydon.
From the **Plymouth and Exeter** Branch we have received Proceedings No. 7, with an article by Alderman Horace Hird on "A Glasscott Teapot" and another, unsigned, on the sculptor John Adams-Acton.

**Next Meeting**: Saturday, 2nd April, in the Muniments Room of the Exeter City Library.

**Secretary**: Mr. W. R. West, 8, Redvers Road, Exeter.

**South Wales** held their autumn meeting at Trinity chapel, Cardiff, on Tuesday, 23rd November. The Rev. J. Leonard Waddy spoke on "The Wednesbury Riots", and the first instalment of his address is printed in Bulletin No. 4.

**Next Meeting**: Saturday, 7th May, at Fonmon Castle, where Sir Hugo Boothby, Bart. will lecture on "The Methodist associations of Fonmon Castle".

**Secretary**: Rev. W. Islwyn Morgan, 15, King Edward Road, Brynmawr, Brecon.

**Bulletin** No. 3 of the **West Midlands** Branch reprints the lecture given by the Rev. G. Ernest Long last September, together with notes on Francis Asbury and the Macdonald family. At the Annual Meeting on Saturday, 12th March, Mr. Barrie Trinder is to speak on methods of studying local history.

**Forthcoming Events**: Commemorative Service at Asbury Memorial church, Handsworth, Birmingham, on Sunday, 27th March, at 6.30 p.m., when the Rev. Dr. E. Benson Perkins will be the preacher.

The Lofthouse Lecture in Handsworth College on Thursday, 31st March, at 7.30 p.m., when the Rev. Dr. John T. Wilkinson will speak on Francis Asbury.

Summer Pilgrimage to Madeley, Saturday, 11th June.

**Secretary**: Mr. John A. Vickers, 5, Benson Avenue, Goldthorn Park, Wolverhampton.

**The Yorkshire** Branch had an excellent outing to Haworth in October. Alderman Horace Hird lectured on "Some Portraits in Pottery", and arranged an exhibition of items from his own collection. The text of Alderman Hird's lecture is published in Bulletin No. 8. The Branch has also issued its second Occasional Paper, listing Methodist material in the Leeds Reference Library.

**Next Meeting**: Saturday, 21st May—visit to Epworth Old Rectory.

**Secretary**: Rev. W. Stanley Rose, 1, York Road, Knaresborough, Yorks.

No reports or further Bulletins have been received from our **Irish** and **North-East** Branches.

**Methodist History** for January 1966 is devoted to the Bicentennial of American Methodism. Among the contributors is Mr. John A. Vickers, who writes on "Thomas Coke (1747-1814)—his Personal Background". Dr. Frederick E. Maser deals with "Robert Strawbridge, Founder of Methodism in Maryland" and also gives a pre-view of the celebrations. Our readers in Great Britain who would be interested to receive this quarterly journal, published by the American Association of Methodist Historical Societies, should write to the Rev. William Parkes, 279, White-chapel Road, London, E.1.
BOOK NOTICES

The Dramatic Story of Early American Methodism, by Frederick E. Maser. (Abingdon Press, pp. 112, 75c.)

Dr. Maser, who is pastor of Old St. George's church, Philadelphia, was asked to write this book to mark the bicentenary of American Methodism this spring. It is intended for use by individuals and study groups during the 1966 celebrations on the other side of the Atlantic, but deserves to be widely read over here. Beginning with the Conference of 1769, at which Boardman and Pilmoor responded to the appeal for preachers to go out to the American colonies, Dr. Maser gives us a series of flashbacks—to the Wesleys in Georgia, to Whitefield's preaching tours, and finally to the first native pioneers, Strawbridge, Embury, and the colourful "Captain" Webb. He wisely refuses to pronounce on the much-debated question as to which was the earliest Methodist society in America, which, as he says, "must await further research and information". (Philadelphia is, after all, midway between the rival claimants, New York and Maryland!)

Inevitably Francis Asbury looms large in the later part of the story. There is a good though necessarily brief account of the reasons for his dominant role in the formative years of American Methodism, of his influence among the itinerants, and of his relations with Rankin, Wesley, and Coke.

The book closes with an epilogue, briefly outlining the fortunes of the Methodist Episcopal Church since its inauguration at the "Christmas Conference" of 1784. Dr. Maser has succeeded in presenting the results of recent scholarship in an eminently readable manner. There has been no popular treatment of the subject since Richard Pyke's Dawn of American Methodism in 1933, so that for those who find the recent three-volume history of American Methodism both too detailed and too expensive Dr. Maser's little book is to be welcomed as filling a gap.

JOHN A. VICKERS.

The History of Methodism in Cambridge, by Frank Tice. (Epworth Press, pp. 143, 35s.)

This newly-published volume is the work of one who knows and loves the city of Cambridge—for which, strangely enough, John Wesley had so slight a regard. Mr. Tice's book is more than a local history, though such it undoubtedly is. It deals with Methodism in the University, also with the rise of Wesleyan and Primitive Methodism in the city and neighbourhood, and then gives what is surely the best account available today of the "Two Educational Establishments in Cambridge"—The Leys School and Wesley House.

The last chapter reminds us of how many Presidents Cambridge has given to the Methodist Conference. This is a book which ought to find its way on to the shelves of all whose love for Methodism and whose interest in its development in general (as well as locally) are equalled by a regard for that lovely city in which Wesley appears never to have preached, yet which played no small part in the development of the movement which he founded.

JOHN C. BOWMER.
1143. "John Wesley's" Sermon "On Grieving the Holy Spirit".

This sermon, based on Ephesians iv. 30, which has been attributed to Wesley, was published posthumously in the Arminian Magazine, 1798, pp. 607-13, with the sub-title "Written in the Year 1733". It was included in the Jackson edition of the Works (vii, pp. 485-92) as Sermon CXXXVIII without further comment.

I have found no reference to the fact that the sermon was an extract from a University sermon, with the same title and text, preached by Dr. William Tilly on 25th May 1708. Tilly's sermon appears as the eleventh in the volume Sixteen Sermons, All (except One) Preach'd before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's, upon Several Occasions (London: Bernard Lintott, 1712), pp. 312-44. Upon collating Wesley's edited version with the original, I found the structure and reduced content to be identical.

William Tilly was a Fellow of Corpus Christi College and rector of Albury in Oxfordshire. Wesley made one reference to his sermons:

Dr. Tilly's sermons on Free Will are the best I ever saw. His text is, 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling.'

These sermons are numbered VIII and IX in the above volume. The copy used is housed in the New York Public Library.

Lawrence D. McIntosh (Drew University, USA).

1144. Two Adam Clarke Lovefeast Mugs.

It is not unknown for lovefeast mugs to have a portrait of John Wesley, though these appear to be rare; but of greater rarity are those with a combination of portraits—Wesley on the one side and Adam Clarke on the other, and I count myself fortunate to have two mugs with this feature.

In the case of one the portrait of Adam Clarke is the conventional one which appears with some regularity on the many varieties of plaques made by Dixons of Sunderland in the 1840s, and which has the inscription below the bust—a bust which is facing three-quarters to the left—

Adam Clarke, L.L.D., F.S.A.

Wesleyan Minister

and the words of that popular text He that believeth shall be saved in a half-circle around the portrait. A similar transfer appears on a handsome jug which is moulded with six flutes and again is Sunderland ware.

The second lovefeast mug is undoubtedly of earlier date, and has a very different portrait of the learned doctor: it is an almost facing portrait, and the inscription in script lettering and divided by the head is simply Dr Adam Clarke. To have a portrait which is almost facing and for the name to be spelt Clarke are most unusual features—but are they unique? I should be pleased to hear from any other pottery-collecting enthusiast who has met with these peculiarities previously.

Horace Hird.

1145. A Wesley Relic in Wales.

Dr. Leslie Davison informs us that, during a recent visit to Wales, he came across an interesting Wesley relic in the possession of Mrs. M. Truscott, of 13, Dorstone Walk, Llan-yr-Avon, Cwmbran, Monmouthshire. It is a malacca cane, of West Indian origin, which John Wesley, on a visit to Cornwall, gave to his host, Mr. George Seccome, in return for some

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personal kindness. Mr. Seccome passed the cane on to his son-in-law, William Tremayne. William Tremayne then gave it to his son of the same name, who in turn passed it on to his daughter who married into the Truscott family. The cane is still a treasured possession of this family, whose forebears were associated with early Methodism in Cornwall.

EDITOR.

1146. AN UNUSUAL PREACHERS’ PLAN.

I have come into possession of a preachers’ plan with the heading “Peterborough and Stamford Congregational Home Missions Preachers’ Plan”. The year is 1889, and the dates 14th April to 7th July. The following places are on the plan: Whittlesea, Yaxley, Castor, Glinton, Millfield, Pipe Lane, Deeping, Maxey, West Deeping, Langton, and Talvington. It does not appear to be a Methodist plan, as the minister, the Rev. W. J. Butler, who resided in Westgate, Peterborough, cannot be identified in any of the Methodist records of the period. The references at the foot of the plan are similar to those on any Methodist plan, and there is intimation of the next Quarterly Meeting to be held at Westgate church. Our familiar ”Preachers from other circuits” is here replaced by “Assistants from other churches”. Can anyone identify this unusual plan?

WILLIAM LEARY.

1147. A WESLEY PLAQUE IN IRLEAND.

In Mr. Fred Jeffery’s note under the above heading in Proceedings, xxxv, p. 80, Killyman rectory has been misplaced in County Armagh.

The name Killyman has three contiguous uses: (1) a townland from which the parish takes its name; (2) an Electoral District in County Tyrone; (3) an Electoral District (in which this writer resides) in County Armagh.

Killyman rectory, church and townland are in County Tyrone, some three and a half miles from the town of Dungannon. The rectory is a fine building in a most beautiful setting. The parish, being almost entirely in Tyrone, has only a little corner across the River Blackwater in Armagh.

Mr. Wesley never travelled through number (3) above, but St. Patrick —whose route can still be traced on ordnance maps but, regrettably, not on the ground—often passed through to his retreat on Coney Island, Lough Neagh. Methodism was established in this area after the 1859 Revival, Derrylee church being built in 1860. The late Johnny Jackson, of Derryane, served this church as honorary sexton for 67 years.

JAMES A. GRAHAM.

1148. EAYRS ESSAY PRIZES.

The subjects of the essays, and the prize-winners, for the past three years, are as follows:

First prize—No award.
Second prize—Rev. John P. Horner, B.D.

First prize—No award.
Second prize—No award.

30. 1964-5. “Methodism and the Chartist Movement.”
Second prize—Rev. Norman J. Goreham, B.A. EDITOR.
NOTES AND QUERIES

Articles of Methodist Historical Interest.

Since the last list was published in Proceedings, xxxiv, p. 24, the following articles of Methodist historical interest have appeared:

In the London Quarterly and Holborn Review:

January 1963—“Ordination in the Methodist Church”, by M. Wesley Earl.


October 1964—“The Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper”, by Oliver A. Beckerlegge.

January 1965—“The Service Book—Are we ready for Revision?”, by B. Kingston Soper.


In The Choir:

March 1963—“The Music at Wesley’s Conversion”, by Francis B. Westbrook.

July 1963—“Samuel Wesley”, by Francis B. Westbrook.


October 1963—“A little body of experimental and practical divinity”, by J. O. Hoskins.


December 1964—“Primitive Methodist Psalmody”, by W. L. Taylor (from The Choir, 1910).
MONUMENT TO A METHODIST PREACHER.

The following is a transcript of a tablet on the wall of the parish church at Lastingham, near Helmsley (Yorks), which I discovered while on holiday in the neighbourhood last year:

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 six years,
in the two Kingdoms of England and Ireland,
after which
He returned to this village,
wear out in his Master's service,
where he resigned his soul to God,
in the full triumph of faith,
on the twelfth day of April, MDCCLXXXVII
in the forty-third year of his age.

[Then follows (in Hebrew) Psalm cxii. 6; Daniel xii. 3; Psalm cxvi. 15.]
Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.

Rev. xiv. 13.
OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

ACADEMIC THESSES ON METHODIST HISTORY.

The following have come to our notice since the list appearing in Proceedings, xxxv, p. 55:


"The Renewal of the Covenant in Methodism, especially during the Nineteenth Century"—Mr. David H. Tripp (Leeds M.A., 1965).


"Wesleyan Methodism from 1850 to 1900 in relation to the Life and Thought of the Victorian Age"—Rev. Philip C. Pearson (Manchester M.A., 1965).


EDITOR.

The Proceedings of the Leatherhead and District Local History Society (Volume 2, No. 9, 1965) contains an article by Mr. F. E. Benger entitled "John Wesley's Visit to Leatherhead". The visit which is the subject of this article is, of course, that which Wesley paid on 23rd February 1791, and from which he returned to City Road to die on 2nd March. There is a photograph of Kingston House (where Wesley stayed), taken before its demolition in 1934. Copies of the issue containing this article could be obtained from Mr. J. G. W. Leware, 69, Cobham Road, Fetcham, Leatherhead, Surrey (no price quoted).