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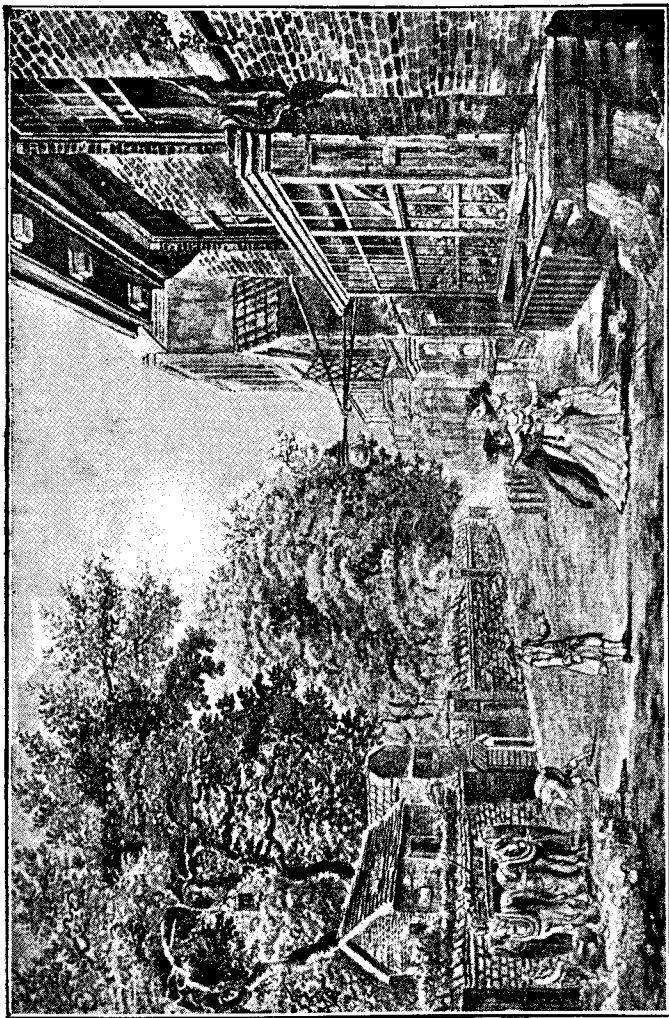
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COLLEGE STREET, WESTMINSTER.
FROM JAMES MILLER'S DRAWING OF 1781.

PROCEEDINGS.

SAMUEL WESLEY, JUNIOR, AND
HIS CIRCLE, 1690-1739.

(Continued from page 38).

III.

SCHOOL : HOSPITAL : HOME.

The deacon and priest, Samuel Wesley, ordained by Bishop Atterbury in King Henry VII's Chapel, never had a parochial cure, and we find no evidence of his preaching in Westminster Abbey or St. Margaret's Church, as his brother Charles did. His school was his parish, though his sympathies overflowed parochial boundaries. In Westminster School (St. Peter's College)¹ he read prayers in Latin and English, devoted himself to instructing the scholars in the Upper and Lower Schools in the Hebrew Psalms and Greek Testament, examined them in the Church Catechism and Wake's *Expositio*, expounded the Gospels on Mondays and Saturdays, went with them to the Abbey Services from 3 to 4 twice a week, where he may have read prayers in his turn. "The under boys translated the Psalms almost daily, and produced a composition from them on Monday mornings." Other portions of Scripture were also appointed for a Bible exercise in verse. The rest of the elaborate time-table was severely classical. If he had been questioned as to his call to work of another type, he would probably have replied as his brother John did in a letter to him, "That I can better serve God and His Church in my present station, I have all reasonable evidence." The "hoarse" voice, of which he wrote to his father, may have been a hindrance to more than occasional offices outside the School. An interesting relic of his Westminster life has been preserved in his Greek Testament, a beautiful little 16° of 1701, with an inscription on the fly-leaf, "Ex libris Sam. Wesley Aed. Xti Oxon. Alum. 1718. Ex Dono Discipuli."

But the man was not lost in the pedagogue. - Opposite St. Margaret's Church, by the side of the Wesleyan Church House, stands Westminster Hospital, the first of the voluntary Metropolitan hospitals built by public subscription, as distinguished from the mediæval charities, hostels and schools represented by the Grey Coat Hospital that stands near. In the "Account of Mr. S. Wesley, by a Friend," prefixed to one edition of his Poems, is the following :

1. Henry VII's Chapel was the School's private Chapel.

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“It is not a little to Mr. Wesley’s honour that he was one of the projectors, and a careful and active promoter, of the first Infirmary set up at Westminster, for the relief of the sick and needy, in the year 1719; and he had the satisfaction to see it greatly flourish from a very small beginning, and to propagate by its example, under the prudent management of other good persons, many pious establishments of the same kind in distant parts of the nation.”

This has been verified by reference to the first *Minutes* of the Hospital preserved in the present Secretary’s room. Samuel Wesley, with John Hutton, a non-juring clergyman who was his next door neighbour in College St., and three or four others whose names are in the *Minutes* had been visiting the sick poor in Westminster. Assisted financially by Henry Hoare the Banker, and the Duchess of Marlborough, they formed a little philanthropic society to carry on the work. Hoare presided at the first meeting held at St. Dunstan’s Coffee House, Fleet Street, on January 12th, 1715. They decided to meet every Wednesday evening to arrange their accounts. At the subsequent meetings sometimes held at the Grey Coat Hospital, Samuel Wesley was most frequently chairman. A ‘Repository of Medicine’ was opened in Bird Cage Walk. Then a house was secured for 30 persons in Petty France. In the Secretary’s room to-day there is preserved, framed and glazed, the original statement, as follows :

“Whereas a charitable proposal was published in December last (1719), for relieving the sick and needy, by providing them with lodging, with proper food and physick, and nurses to attend them during their sickness, and by procuring them the advice and assistance of physicians or surgeons, as their necessities should require; and by the blessing of God upon this undertaking, such sums of money have been advanced and subscribed by several of the nobility and gentry of both sexes and by some of the clergy, as have enabled the managers of this charity (who are as many of the subscribers as please to be present at their weekly meetings), to carry on in some measure what was then proposed:—for the satisfaction of the subscribers and benefactors, and for animating others to promote and encourage this pious and Christian work, this is to acquaint them, that in pursuance of the foresaid charitable proposal, there is an infirmary set up in Petty France, Westminster, where the poor sick who are admitted into it, are attended

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by physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and nurses, supplied with food and physick, and daily visited by some one or other of the clergy; at which place the society meets every Wednesday evening for managing and carrying on this charity, admitting and discharging patients, &c."

Gratuitous service was offered by Dr.-W. Teeward, physician to the Queen, Dr. W. Wasey and Dr. G. L. Tessier, physicians to the Household; C. Amynd and Ambrose Dickins, Esqs., Sergt.-Surgeons to the Queen; Mr. Wilkie, surgeon, and others. Two years later it was stated that "108 patients had been received during the year, of whom 52 were cured, 6 incurable, 8 died, 19 discharged for non-attendance, 1 for irregularity, 11 out-patients, and 11 within the infirmary, who received with food and medicines, the exhortation of such clergyman as the society could procure." In 1724 a house was taken in Chapel Street.

At the weekly meetings we find Wesley reporting subscriptions, notably one from Dr. Friend, the Head-Master of Westminster, which must have given him peculiar pleasure. At a later date Anniversary Sermons were arranged. At one of these in St. Margaret's Church, £133 was collected. After the sermon there was "A Feast at the Sun Tavern in King Street" for the purpose of securing further donations. A house was taken in James Street in 1733,² and a hundred years later the present Hospital was built on part of the site of the ancient Sanctuary Church. While we do not call Wesley the 'founder,' we have sufficient evidence to show that he was, as his "friend" and earliest biographer states, "one of the projectors, and a careful and active promoter" of the first of the great Metropolitan Hospitals.

John Hutton, mentioned in the Old Infirmary *Minutes*, was one of those Nonjurors of whom Overton says, "very little appears to be known. Exactly so; that is just the point. Enough is known . . . to show that, though they had abilities, or social position, or other qualities enough to enable them to make a noise in the world, they preferred to submit quietly to their fate without murmuring; their very silence is eloquent." We do not find Hutton's name in Lathbury's *History of the Nonjurors*, and even Overton only gives his name and residence, 'College Street.' From other sources we learn that he was a senior scholar of Eton who entered King's College, Cambridge, in the summer of 1694, graduated B.A. 1698, and M.A. 1702. He became a friend of George Stanhope, whose edition of A'Kempis became so popular. Hutton's name appears as the writer of the essay prefixed to

2. The Congregational Chapel, so long the scene of the Rev. Samuel Martin's labours, occupied this site.

Stanhope's translation of the Greek and Latin *Devotions of Lancelot Andrews*. The best portion of this preface is prefixed to the far better translation in the beautiful Pickering edition. "Pray with Bishop Andrews for one week, and he will be pleasant in thy life, and at the hour of death he will not forsake thee," says John Hutton. We are not surprised to find one of the Religious Societies encouraged by Dr. Horneck's meeting in Hutton's drawing-room. It was at one of these meetings that John Wesley dismayed the assembly by the ill-balanced address reported by Mrs. Hutton in a letter to Samuel Wesley. (*Standard Journal*, I, pp. 479-80), Mr. Hutton, a quiet man of few words, said "Have a care, Mr. Wesley, how you despise the benefits received by the two Sacraments." But Mrs. Hutton⁴ had much more to say, as the sequel shows. We can understand her solicitude for her children. The painful incidents have been well discussed by the Rev. R. Green, the first editor of these *Proceedings*, in his *John Wesley, Evangelist* (pp. 216-226), and he endorses the sober judgment of Dr. Rigg in his *Living Wesley*. All three Wesley brothers gratefully acknowledged the kindness and hospitality of this devout and much-trying family who had suffered for their convictions. Without their seeking, their house became the meeting place of varying currents of religious thought represented by the sincere Nonjuror, the devotional High Churchman; the, as yet, unsettled and fluctuating Methodist; and the pietistic Moravian—for the son, James Hutton, became the Moravian lay leader. Differing in type and opinions, all these five—the Huttons and the three Wesleys—were honest Christians, devout and benevolent, who met under one roof in College Street. On a larger scale we find these same currents of thought, sometimes confluent, sometimes divergent, in the Methodist movement that followed.

College Street, Dean's Yard, in which the Wesley and the Hutton families dwelt, still retains some of its old-world style and atmosphere. The monastery wall, shown in our illustration, has been spared, and a few of the 18th century houses remain. The old school tuck-shop and other houses which were standing a few

3. For a succinct account of these Religious Societies and their distinction from the Moravian and Wesleyan Methodist Societies, see Dr. Simon's *The Revival of Religion in England*, Chap. v.

4. Mrs. Hutton's maiden name was Elizabeth Ayscough. She was second cousin to Sir Isaac Newton. See James Hutton's *Anecdotes of Sir Isaac Newton* in *Annual Register*, 1786, under *Characters*. Brewster's *Life of Sir Isaac Newton* (Murray's edn., 1883, p. 3), and Benham's *Life of James Hutton*, pp. 8, 9.

years ago when the present writer laboured in the neighbourhood, have been demolished. At the end of the street, beyond the trees in our picture, the square tower of Edward III's Jewel House remains. It is on the S.W. corner of 'Old Palis Yard,' where Bryan l'Anson, the legal adviser and friend of the Wesleys lived. There were many vacant sites in Samuel Wesley's day, but building was proceeding and several of the 'new' houses were occupied as "boarding houses" for Westminster scholars. Some of these were under the care of clergymen like John Hutton. Dean Stanley mentions another of the name of Russell, who cared especially for the sons of Nonjuring parents. It was later, in the same street, that Mrs. Porter mothered her delicate nephew, Edward Gibbon; she followed, says he, "the humble industry of keeping a boarding house." In one of the two most pathetic passages in his *Autobiography* he says she became also "mother of forty or fifty boys, for the most part of family and fortune."

Another clergyman who lived near Wesley was the Rev. John Berry, M.A., the son of one of the ejected clergy of 1662. Although he held the Vicarage of Watton, in Norfolk, from 1691 to 1730, he appears to have been for a short time connected with the school, and had some boarders under his care. Samuel Wesley fell in love with his daughter Ursula, and married her in 1715. He describes her in one of his poems—"her stature low, brown hair, and hazel eyes"—

" Though round her hazel eyes some sadness lies,
 Their sprightly glances can sometimes surprise;
 But greater beauties to her mind belong,
 Well can she speak, and wisely hold her tongue;
 In her plain sense and humble sweetness meet;
 Though gay, religious; and though young, discreet."

She and her devoted husband experienced much domestic sorrow, as one stone in the south cloister of the Abbey suggests. One child, "Nutty" (from her mother's pet name) died at the age of eight months in 1725. Another, Susanna, lived only eight days in 1726. The next, Ursula, lived about eight months, dying in 1727. And the only boy, Samuel, on whom his grandfather at Epworth built his hopes, was also buried in the cloister at the age of seven months. The last two of these children were baptised in St. Margaret's Church. Under Dean Stanley's direction in 1880, the names of the four were inscribed on a flagstone, with the dates of their death in memory of these

INFANT CHILDREN OF SAMUEL WESLEY,
 BROTHER OF JOHN WESLEY.⁵

⁵. For details, with extracts from the registers, see *Proc.* iv., p. 54, also p. 88.

The Epworth grandfather wrote to his son : June 18th, 1731. "Yes, this is a thunderbolt indeed to your whole family; but especially to me, who am now not likely to see any of my name in the third generation to stand before God. However, this is a new demonstration to me that there must be a hereafter."

One daughter, Phyllis, was spared to the Westminster home. She was twelve years of age when her father died, and she lived to marry a Mr. Earl, an apothecary of Barnstaple. Through her came down much of the family correspondence used by the Rev. S. Badcock, of South Molton, Devon, and Dr. Priestley. (*Stan. Journal*, I, p. 483).

In February, 1733, the Epworth rector urged his son Samuel to be his successor at Epworth. (Tyerman's *Samuel Wesley* (Senr.) pp. 418-419). The offer was declined. In the letter relating to this, his father bears tribute to the strong family affection of his son :—

"You have been a father to your brothers and sisters, especially to the former, who have cost you great sums in their education, both before and since they went to the University. Neither have you stopped there, but have showed your pity to your mother and me in a very liberal manner, wherein your wife joined with you, when you did not overmuch abound yourselves, and have even done noble charities to my children's children."

(To be concluded).

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

We are grateful to the Rev. Alex. Gordon, M.A., for pointing out in *The Christian Life and Unitarian Herald* what he rightly describes as an "inconsistency" in the spelling of Ussher's name (pp. 79, 81). He writes, "Mr. B. has it right once; why has he it wrong twice?"

Because in the first part of his article he followed the bad examples of Archbishop Wake and of Samuel Wesley, whose volume (1693) and letter were open before him. Both spell the name with one "s," which is wrong, as A.G. in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* shows. The end of the article was written much later, when the writer had recovered from the influence of Wake and Wesley, and gave the correct spelling, "Ussher." He laments his oversight, and the more serious blunder of allowing N.D.B. instead of D.N.B. to remain uncorrected, and the ascription of the article on Samuel Wesley in the D.N.B. to Dr. Overton instead of A.G. The quotation should have read, "the Ignatian problem."

WHO WAS SAMUEL WESLEY'S FIRST HEADMASTER ?

A.G., in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, says that Samuel Wesley "entered Westminster School in 1704 under Busby." Dr. Busby died in 1695. The suggestion is uncanny—but see *Proc.* in present Vol., pp. 26 and 27.

THE REPEAL OF THE CONVENTICLE ACT.

On July 19th, 1768, John Wesley wrote a letter in which he examined the charge that the Methodists "acted under a lie" inasmuch as that, while professing themselves members of the Church of England, they licensed themselves under the Toleration Act as Dissenters. From this letter we gather a few serviceable facts. We find that in 1768 the greater part of the Methodist Preachers were not licensed. Those who were may be divided into two classes. The first consisted of Preachers who were licensed as Protestant Dissenters. Some of them were so described against their will. When they made their application they were told by the Clerk, or the Justice, "I will not license you but as Protestant Dissenters"; to which they replied, "We are of the Church; we are not Dissenters; but if you call us so, we cannot help it." The second class was composed of Preachers who were licensed after a more vigorous protest. Wesley mentions Thomas Adams and Thomas Brisco as among them. When the former applied for a licence one of the Justices said to him, "Mr. Adams, are not you of the Church of England? Why, then do you desire a licence?" He answered, "Sir, I am of the Church of England; yet I desire a licence that I may legally defend myself from the illegal violence of oppressive men." Thomas Brisco made his application in London. He was asked the same question, the Justice adding, "We will not grant you a licence." He seems to have been represented by a lawyer who pointed out to the Bench that the licence could not be refused as the Toleration Act was "mandatory." The raising of this legal point caused a flutter among the Justices and they appealed to the Chairman for his decision. He ruled in favour of the lawyer's objection, and the licence was granted although the Bench was aware that the applicant was not a Dissenter. We presume that he was so described in the licence, as Wesley says that the Methodist Preachers, at the time of his letter, were "either licensed in this form or not licensed at all." (*Standard Journal*, v. 278-279).

These cases throw light on Wesley's difficulties, and illustrate the dangers of an anomalous ecclesiastical position. They also reveal the perplexities of the civil authorities in their attempts to understand and administer the provisions of the Toleration Act.

To the latter aspect of the question we must now direct our attention.

The London Justices were surprised when told that the Toleration Act was "mandatory." It is only fair to say they were not the only civil authorities unaware of the fact. Dr. T. Bennett, much to our advantage, has contributed to our *Proceedings* (vii. 148-150) the particulars of a case recorded in Sir. William Blackstone's *Reports of Cases Determined in the several Courts of Westminster Hall from 1746 to 1779*. It related to the duty of Justices to register buildings which had been certified to the Quarter Sessions as places set apart for the meeting of Protestant Dissenters. The case was complicated by the fact that the building in question was to be used by Methodists. The Derbyshire Justices refused to register it, and the applicants therefore appealed to the Court of King's Bench, and sought to obtain a rule for a writ of Mandamus to compel the Justices to register. The building had been certified as a place of worship for Protestant Dissenters, and the last section of the Act of Toleration distinctly says that the register, of the Bishop's or Archdeacon's Court, or the Clerk of the Peace at Quarter Sessions "is hereby required to register the same, and to give certificate thereof to such person as shall demand the same." (See p. 91 *ante*). When the case was argued in the King's Bench, Counsel opposing the granting of the rule pleaded that the parties certifying had not shewn under what denomination of Protestant Dissenters they fell, so as to entitle themselves to the indulgence shewn by the Toleration Act. He suggested they might be Methodists. As they did not dissent from the Church of England, but only pretended "to observe her doctrine and discipline with greater purity than their neighbours" it might be a very serious question how far they were the objects of the Toleration Act and privileged to meet in conventicles. Other pleas were raised; but the Court decided that "in registering and recording the certificate the Justices were merely ministerial." Dr. Bennett explains that "the 'ministerial' functions of Courts are matters of legal machinery in which Courts are bound, on prescribed conditions being complied with, to carry out particular duties . . . and are to be distinguished from the cases where Courts exercise a judicial discretion."

The Court, in granting the rule, did not lose sight of the suggestion that the Meeting House might be used by persons who were not, strictly speaking, Protestant Dissenters. It expressed its opinion, "that after a meeting-house has been duly registered,

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still, if the persons resorting to it do not bring themselves within the Act of Toleration, such registering will not protect them from the penalties of the law." Dr. Bennett says that in Burrow's report of the case the judgment contains the following addition: "And if in fact they are not within the qualifications, the Justices may return 'that they are not' if they think proper." The building was registered; but the judgment of the court must have caused strange thoughts to arise in the minds of the Methodists.

Returning to the consideration of the question of the licensing of preachers it is necessary to remember that before a licence was granted the applicant was obliged to take the oaths, make the declarations, and comply with the requirements of the Act of Toleration: that fact, while guarding us against the mistake of a loose interpretation of the word "mandatory"; makes it necessary to say that owing to the influence of the Dissenters two important amendments had been made in the provisions of the Act. One is to be found in an unexpected place. When seeking for signs of the progress of religious liberty we do not instinctively turn to the statute, the tenth of Queen Anne, cap. 2, popularly known as the "Occasional Conformity Act." But in Section IX. we discover a fact which must be welcomed. It was enacted that any Preacher or Teacher, who was duly qualified under the Toleration Act, was in future to be allowed to officiate in any congregation although the same was not in the county wherein he was qualified, provided that the congregation, or place of meeting, had been before such officiating duly certified and registered or recorded according to the Act of Toleration (Gibson's *Codex*, p. 522). The advantage of this concession in the case of an itinerant preacher is obvious. In 1779 a still greater advance was made. In that year the "Dissenting Ministers' Act" was passed. It had a stormy history in the House of Lords, but Sir Henry Hoghton, strengthened by the support of the Commons, withstood and overcame all opposition. Sir Erskine May tells us that under this Act Dissenters were enabled to preach, and to teach as schoolmasters, without subscribing any of the Thirty-nine Articles. No other subscription was proposed to be substituted; but, on the motion of Lord North, a declaration was required to be made that the person taking it was a Christian and a Protestant Dissenter, and that he took the Scriptures for the rule of his faith and practice. (*Constitutional History of England*, 185-186). When we compare this declaration with the compulsory oaths and subscriptions previously enacted from Protestant Dissenting Ministers, we seem to catch sight of the dawn of a better day.

The amendments in the Toleration Act were distasteful to extreme Churchmen, but the Conventicle Act still remained unchastened by the hand of the reformer. As we have previously seen, Wesley believed that it threatened to ruin the Methodists (p. 93, *ante*). In his consultation with Mr. Clulow, his solicitor, he was convinced that, although, as he was obliged to confess, his people had no relief from the Toleration Act, it was absolutely necessary to license all his chapels and Travelling Preachers. As to the latter, he held to his objection against styling them "Dissenters," and suggested that they should be described as "preachers of the gospel." He could not see any other way out of the dilemma.

We will now proceed to show the manner in which deliverance came not only to the Methodists but also to the Dissenters at this crisis in the history of English Nonconformity.

It is well known that during the closing years of his life the storm of bitter persecution ceased to beat on Wesley himself. He was esteemed by the King, trusted by the Government, and venerated by the masses of the people. There were not a few who had arrived at the conclusion recorded, in these latter days, by Sir George O. Trevelyan. They saw that he was a man who was guiding a revolution in creed and practice which would deeply and permanently modify the religion of the English-speaking race. Among the "illuminated" were included bishops, clergymen, members of both Houses of Parliament, judges of high distinction, and a gradually increasing number of Churchmen and Dissenters. But, when Wesley died, it was immediately shown that the respect for him was personal, and did not extend, in many parts of the country, to his people. Once more the Toleration Act and the Conventicle Act were used as weapons of attack, and a contest was commenced which jeopardised the existence of Methodism.

Myles, in the fourth edition of his most valuable *Chronological History of the People called Methodists*, has preserved the record of three cases which were tried in the Courts during the period from 1793 to 1812. The first concerned a riot at Great Barfield, in Essex. The mob assailed the Methodist Chapel and attacked the preacher. Among the instigators of the riot were a clergyman and a parish officer. The principal rioters were tried at the Assizes at Chelmsford, and then the case came up in the Court of King's Bench. The Court found the rioters guilty, and they and their sureties had to enter into recognizances of one hundred pounds each to appear to receive judgment when called for by the Court and for their future good

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behaviour. The strong remarks of the Judge, Lord Kenyon, on the great magnitude of the offence they had committed, "must have made some impression on the clergyman who was one of the sureties." (Myles, 348-349). As the case was reported in the London papers it may also have had a wider influence.

The second case mentioned by Myles arose out of riotous proceedings at Pershore, in Worcestershire. A house, situate in the Newland, had been duly licensed, but it had been frequently attacked. The preachers had been stoned, pelted with mud and dirt, and their lives had been put in peril. On Sunday evening, January 13, 1811, there was a great riot; windows and shutters were broken, stones thrown, and a woman was assaulted and wounded. Some of the mob got into the house. They were led by a man of property who was a tanner at Pershore, who behaved indecently and riotously. He kept his hat on and then extinguished all the candles in the room. The Methodists determined they would seek redress in the law courts, and the case was tried at the Assizes before Justice Grose. As the Preacher on the occasion, as well as the house, was licensed, it is no wonder that the defendants were unable to adduce any evidence either in denial or extenuation of the charge made against them. They were found guilty after the Judge had summed up the evidence in his charge to the jury. One notable sentence which he uttered should be preserved. Myles says, "He commended the wisdom of our ancestors in passing the Toleration Act, and declared that these proceedings were against the well-being of the Establishment, as well as against good order and serious feeling; for that no one proves himself more friendly to the Establishment than he who allows other persons to enjoy their religious worship without molestation." (*Chron. History*, 349-351). That lesson has not yet been perfectly learned, but its truth is undeniable.

The foregoing cases show that the sharp weapons of the Toleration and Conventicle Acts were double-edged and dangerous to persecutors who wielded them unskilfully. The third case mentioned by Myles reveals more careful procedure. On Sunday evening, October 21, 1810, William Kent, who is described as a "member" of the Methodist Society, conducted a service held in an uninhabited house in Berkshire. For so doing he was brought before a Justice of the Peace and fined £20 "for preaching and praying in a meeting, or Conventicle, in other manner than according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, where five persons or more were present." He appealed

against the conviction, and the case was tried at the General Quarter Sessions for the County of Berks, held at Reading, on January 16, 1811. The Jury brought in the verdict "Guilty of Teaching or Preaching." Dissatisfied with the verdict an application was made to the Court of King's Bench, with the result that the conviction and judgment were quashed; the penalty of £20 being afterwards returned to Mr. Kent by the convicting Magistrate. A full report of the whole proceedings, taken down in shorthand by Mr. W. B. Gurney, was published. Its fortunate possessors can avail themselves of information on points of law which Myles's condensed description leaves in uncertainty. (*Chron. History*, 351).

The action of the Court of King's Bench, in these cases, must have disappointed those who were determined to suppress the Methodists. It was clear to them that so long as the Acts remained in their original form it was possible for the persecuted people to discover methods by which they could escape their penalties. They waited for a chance of increasing the stringency of the Acts, and the opportunity was soon given them.

JOHN S. SIMON.

[To be continued.]

"A VOYAGE TO GEORGIA: BEGUN IN THE YEAR 1735."

In addition to John Wesley's account of his voyage to America, there are at least three other published accounts by those who sailed at the same time; one by Ingham, described by Charles Wesley as "magnificent," a second by Baron Von Reck who sailed in the "London Merchant," and that of Francis Moore¹. The last, though fruitfully used by our Methodist historians, has not been so fully and frequently quoted as to render superfluous further references to its pages. The fact that Moore voyaged in the same craft as the Wesleys should secure a welcome for such references on the part of those who have not seen his little book.

At the outset it may be remarked that this was not our author's first publication, he having already sent forth his *Travels*

1. Charles Wesley's Journal begins with the landing in Georgia.

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into the Interior Parts of Africa, "a valuable work, introducing the reader to many parts and tribes of Africa even yet but little known." (Lowndes). Probably it was the experience and fame gained in these travels that led the Trustees of Georgia to select him as storekeeper to the expedition. *The Voyage* was printed for Jacob Robinson, Ludgate Street, London, and bears the date 1744. A second title page describes at length the author's design: "An account of the Settling the Town of Frederica, in the Southern part of the Province, and a Description of the Soil, Air, Birds, Beasts, Trees, Rivers, Islands, &c., with the Rules and Orders made by the Honourable the Trustees for that Settlement including the Allowances of Provisions, Cloathing, and other Necessaries to the Families and Servants which went thither. Also a Description of the Town and County of Savannah, in the Northern Part of the Province, the manner of Dividing and Granting the Lands, and the Improvements there; with an account of the Air, Soil, Rivers and Islands in that Part." Readers of the Standard edition of Wesley's *Journal* will find proof that he read the accounts of the voyage by Ingham, Von Reck and Moore. and the influence of the last-named is seen in the description of the Country and the Indian tribes. It may here be said that Moore sailed again for Georgia in 1738, probably with General Oglethorpe, that he remained in the province until 1743, and that he kept a journal of his second voyage and sojourn; but whether this was published or not is not known to the writer of these notes.

In the early part of the *Voyage* much is said about the Trustees and the settlers of the new colony. Large families and people of decayed circumstances were to have preference; but all must be of good character, "no drunkard or other notoriously vicious person will be taken." "Any who were able might take over a male servant or apprentice of 18 years and upwards, an allowance of clothing and bread being found for them." Before embarking all were to enter into the following covenants: "That they will repair on board such ship as shall be provided for carrying them to the Province of Georgia, and during the voyage will quietly, soberly and obediently demean themselves." The Trustees further told those whom they had chosen that "they must expect hardships, live upon salt meat and drink water, that thunderstorms were frequent in the colony, &c." Temperance was strictly enjoined as the condition of health. These conditions proved too serious for certain of the candidates, and they gave up the design, but others filled their places.

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The storekeeper gives a detailed account of the rationing of the passengers, whom he divided into four classes, men, women, children and infants. To-day it is interesting to read that they had four beef days, one pork day, one fish day, and a meatless day in the week. Dr. Burton, in the letter mentioned in *Wesley Studies*, p. 79, says that "the Trustees have been careful to provide all manner of stores for the temporal necessities and conveniences of the people," and the list given by Moore confirms the statement, though his distribution would not commend itself in every item to the Food Director of the present war time.

On October 14, 1735, our traveller set out from Parliament Stairs and proceeded to Gravesend, where next day he went on board the "Symond," as he calls the good ship. On the 21st the "London Merchant" joined up at Gravesend, and on the same date "Mr. Oglethorpe, Mr. Johnson, son of the late Governor of South Carolina, and several other gentlemen came on board." Moore gives 227 "heads" as the total of the embarkation in the two ships, the "Symond," 220 tons, Capt. Joseph Cornish, and the "London Merchant," about the same burden, commanded by Captain John Thomas. The passengers included "the German Protestants under the conduct of Mr. Vonreck and Captain Hermsdorf, "those whom bigots chase from foreign lands," the missionaries to the Indians, beside Mr. Oglethorpe, the gentlemen with him, and his servants." "One of His Majesty's sloops" was ordered to assist the Colony and to carry over Mr. Oglethorpe; but he chose rather to go on board one of the ships that he might be able to take care of the people on their Passage." In his *Shorter History* Wesley says that those on board his ship numbered eighty English and twenty six Germans. These were disposed by families, and constables were appointed to preserve order. The men were exercised with small arms and the women expected to knit, etc. Moore never mentions the Wesleys or their companions by name; but he describes the duties of "the missionaries" (so he always calls them), as being to conduct prayers twice a day, expound the Scriptures, catechise the children and administer the sacrament on Sundays². He adds that Mr. Oglethorpe invited the missionaries to his own table. Indeed every mention of the philanthropist is most favourable. The reader of Wesley's *Journal* will remember how there was a dispute among the passengers as to the distribution of water, and how he was deputed

2. "The Dissenters, particularly the Germans, sang Psalms and serve God in their own way."

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by them to bring this wrong to the notice of Oglethorpe. It might seem as if this would bring Wesley into collision with the storekeeper ; but as Moore does not mention the incident we may conclude that as the "strong beer" was under his charge he had no objection to allow Wesley to undertake the new duty which was laid upon him.

Our author has little to say concerning the voyage itself. In the early stages he mentions the falling overboard of a boy and his rescue, the joining up of the "London Merchant" at Gravesend, the detention by fog in the Downs, the sending ashore of a servant who had the itch, the death of a child, the putting in at St. Helens (Isle of Wight) to meet the convoy which failed to appear, the contrary winds forcing them back twice, and the departure of Mr. Johnson because of a fever ; but after the ship had cleared our shores the duties of storekeeper seem to have so much occupied his thoughts that he leaves no room in his pages for any other matters. That four children were born on shipboard, is one of the very few facts stated. On landing, Moore proceeds to give much information concerning the colonists and the settlement. The supply of tools to each man, for carpentry, gardening, and cooking, and also weapons of defence, and the continuance of the rations for a year, including a pint of strong beer a day to a man when he works and not otherwise—these are some of the items that are mentioned. Twelve pounds of sugar per annum may seem little for a man, but an equal quantity was allowed to his wife, sister, and child above twelve years old, and half the quantity for an infant. Soap and oil were dealt out on the same frugal scale. For twelve months after landing, the men were to work at the clearing of the lands, making habitations, etc. After this term they were to be recognised as settlers and owners, those in the towns each receiving a lot of 60 ft. in front and 90 ft. in depth, while those in the villages were to have 50 acres each. "Negroes and rum are prohibited in the said colony."

Some of the places mentioned in Wesley's *Journal* are to be found in Moore's *Voyage*, e.g. Darien, with its settlement of Highlanders under Ensign Mackay, and the little village of Italians with their silk-worm industry. He also mentions Spangenberg, Colonel Bull (one of His Majesty's Council in Carolina) Norton (to whom the Trustees made a grant of 500 acres) and the Indians who brought presents to the missionaries.

R. BUTTERWORTH.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS OF THE
REVD. JOHN PAWSON. 1762—1806.

PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE, 1793 and 1801.

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

(Continued from p. 54).

Glasgow, March 30, 1786.

My very dear Friend.

It always give me real pleasure to hear of your health and happiness and that the great and good work of God prospers in your hands. This is far beyond anything this world can boast of, and while the Lord honours us in this respect we have abundant reason to praise His holy name.

Somebody has been kind enough to send me the Pamphlet you mention (who I cannot tell). Let who would be the author of it, it appears to me to be a very weak thing indeed, and might be fully answered by a child in understanding. As to what Mr. Wesley says in the *Magazine* for January, I think but little of it : as in my judgement he has said a great deal more than that long since in various parts of his *Journals*, but more especially in letters to the Rev^d Mr. Walker of Truro, in Cornwall, published in the *Magazine*. I think that I can see far greater difficulties which would attend a separation from the Church than any mentioned in the Pamphlet. To pass by every other how will these be got over? Every Circuit would want more Preachers than they have at present in order that we might have the church service at the proper time in all the large places. But where shall we find, or how shall we provide for them? I do notice we have not a sufficient number of Preachers who are proper to be ordained ; very far from it. I am well assured that there are not a few in our Connexion who pass tolerably well upon our present plan, who if they were set to read the prayers and the scriptures in a public congregation, would make but poor work. I ever found it exceedingly difficult to read the scriptures well, and altho' I may perhaps be able to read as well as some who travel, yet I never could please myself, setting aside other people. What miserable readers are nine in ten (not to say ninety nine in a hundred) of the Clergy with all their learning ! Indeed, altho' I do really believe that to separate from the Church would be much the better for our people, and therefore I wish it from the ground

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of my heart, yet at the same time I do not see how it can be done all at once, but by degrees. I could wish that Mr. Wesley would ordain preachers this next Conference for those places where the bulk of the people greatly desire it, and so go on from time to time as providence may open the way, and let those places remain upon the old plan, who wish to be as they are.

Your good woman has given you an unkah deal of trouble, and after all to come to nothing. However the Lord is the wise disposer of all events. You must still follow providence, and wait the Lord's time. I feel for you, but cannot help you. The Scotch women in general are not very agreeable, yet there are a few that are well enough. Only they one and all dress quite gay. Bro. Johnson's intended is what we call an unkah duce Scotch lassie, but she dresses too : far beyond the Band Rules. I intend to go to Edinboro' in about three weeks when it is agreed I am to marry them. The form of marriage is taken from the Directory for Worship. The parties are to be published three times in the Kirk. If they want to be private, the minister will go to the Kirk and publish them when no one is there but himself. This you see is very wise ! Then all marriages are solemnized in private houses, when the Minister is ordered to pray with and to instruct them in the duties of the Married state, to join their hands, and to repeat a form of words very near like that of the Quakers, to which each party makes a bow by way of consent you know, and the whole concludes with a short prayer. This then is our form of Marriage, and truly I think it full as good as yours. On the day of burial a few neighbours are called together. They lay the coffin across three long poles, and away they carry it to the grave, put it in and cover it up at once, without even a word of singing, prayer or anything else ; just the same as you would bury a dog. My very soul abhors it ! In Baptism the father of the child presents it to the Minister in the public congregation. The Minister asks him if he believes the Scriptures, and tells him we have an excellent summary of them in the two Catechisms and the Confession of Faith. The man bows his head, and the Minister baptizes the child in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and prays half a minute perhaps.

We cannot yet fix upon a piece of ground for building our new intended Kirk upon, nor do I know when we shall. It is indeed very much wanted, but we are all so very poor that I begin to despair of seeing one stone laid upon another on this side of the Conference. The people crowd to hear very much, and we fill the place till it can hold no more, and the rest are obliged to

return home again, and I make no doubt that many have given up all thought of coming any more until we can get a better place. There seems to be a greater revival here than there has been for many years, and I believe that we are the talk of the whole City at present. The Devil seems to be exceedingly angry with us, and sets his Calvinist Servants to do his work for him, and accordingly they are unwearied in their endeavours to strangle every soul in the birth, and are but too often unhappily successful.

I know but very little of what is going on in the Methodist world, therefore am greatly obliged to you for anything particular that you may hear of. Should a separation from the Church in whole or in part take place the next Conference, I should be unkaht well pleased to come into my native land again, for altho' I am exceedingly happy in Scotland, and believe I shall never repent coming here, yet I cannot help preferring England to Scotland, and chiefly for the life and power of godliness. We expect to see our good old Father and Friend here about the middle of May if all is well with him, and shall then see further how he likes the order of our Scotch Churches. I hope that he will never think of bringing us to comply with the English forms, as that would make sad work among us. I trust that he will come to us full of faith and love, and only preach Christ and Him crucified. That is all the Gospel we want.

Through the mercy and love of God both I and the partner of my life are in good health, happy in the Lord and in each other. We seem to want, or to wish for, nothing for ourselves but an increase of divine grace. I think that I never felt more of the power and presence of the Lord in His ordinances than I have done since I came to Glasgow, and have generally been favoured with much freedom and liberty in my own mind in speaking to the people.

I still live in hope of seeing you at the Conference if all be well with me. However, let us improve the time while we have it, as we know not how soon our part of it will be clean gone for ever.

My wife joins me in kindest love to you and to Mr. and Mrs. Jackson and all friends. May the God of peace and love be ever present with you.

Your most affectionate Bro,

J. Pawson.

To Mr. Atmore,
At the Preaching House,
Colne, Lancashire.

MORE ANTI-METHODIST
PUBLICATIONS AND REPLIES
THERETO.

Now in the Wesleyan Conference Office Library, and not
included in the Rev. R. Green's *Anti-Meth. Publs.*

[Continued from *Proc.* xi, 72.]

Taylor, Dr. J.—A Reply to the Rev. John Wesley's Remarks on the Scripture-Doctrine of Original Sin. By John Taylor, D.D., London: M. Waugh . . . 1767.

For this pamphlet see *Proc.*, viii, 53.

Much Ado About Nothing: or, Arminian Methodism turned out Rank Popery at last: An Address from Candid Protestants to the Rev. Mr. Fletcher on his Fourth Check against Antinomianism London: M. Lewis. 1773.

It begins: "To the most High and Mighty, Self-righteous, Self-sufficient, Self-potent, Self-important, Self-sanctifying, Self-Justifying, and Self-exalting Medley Minister, Mr. J. F."

Anon ("W.Y.").—A Serious Answer to Mr. Wesley's Calm Address to our American Colonies. By W.Y., Bristol: 1775.

Twenty-seven pages of close argument on the question.

Anon ("Juniolus").—Fallacy Detected: in a Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, Master of Arts; wherein his "Free Thoughts on the State of Public Affairs" and his "Calm Address to the Americans" are Considered and Compared. . . . 1775. (no imprint).

A rather abusive pamphlet of 40 pp. Wesley is charged with "gnashing his teeth at Mr. Wilkes," and with writing "idle, impertinent stuff."

Letters.—In the *Public Ledger*, Nov. 16, 1775, signed "Englishman"; in the *Gazetteer*, Dec. 7, signed "Caleb Evans"; in the same paper on the same date, signed "Observator"; in the same paper (Dec.) signed "Caleb Evans"; in the *Public Advertiser*, Dec. 30, signed "Irenæus" (defending Wesley); in the *Public Ledger*, Dec. 29, a poem, "The Weathercock Politician" [Wesley], signed "An Old Fox"; in the *Morning Chronicle*, Nov. 30, unsigned; in the same paper, December 26, signed "Jack Backstay"; in the *Gazetteer*, Jan. 1776, signed "W.S."; in the same paper, Jan. 23, 1776 (to Mr. Thomas Olivers), signed "Another Americanus"; in the *Public Ledger*, Feb. 9 (to Mr. Toplady),

signed "Anti-Probus"; in the same paper, Feb. —, signed "Probus."

All these letters deal with the "Calm Address," and with the controversy as to Wesley's alleged inconsistency and plagiarism in connection with its issue (see Tyerman, iii, 186-91).

Olivers, T.—A full Defence of the Rev. John Wesley, in answer to the Several Personal Reflections cast on that gentleman by the Rev. Caleb Evans. . . . London, 1776.

Written in the form of a letter addressed to Evans.

Anon.—A compleat Answer to Mr. Wesley's Observations on Dr. Price's Essay on Civil Liberty, wherein the Fatalism and Infidelity of Mr. Wesley's Principles are confuted. . . . By a Gentleman of Northumberland. Newcastle: T. Robson, n.d. [c. 1776]. 32 pp.

See Green's *Bibliog.*, No. 310.

Goodenough, M.—The Snake in the Grass Discovered: in a Friendly Epistle to the Vicar of Broad Hembury. London, 1777.

Defends Wesley against the vituperation of Toplady and the Hills.

Anon.—A Word to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley on account of his great enmity to Behmen. . . . 1783.

An answer to Wesley's article on Behmen in the *Arm. Mag.* April, 1782.

Whittingham, J.—To the Public [a Broadsheet] n.d. [1780].

This is the broadsheet referred to by Mr. Green in his *Bibliography*, No. 342, which called forth Wesley's reply.

Anon.—A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D., and Mr. Henry Moore to which is added An Appeal and Remonstrance to the People called Methodists. By an Old Member of the Society. London, n.d. [? 1792].

The letter is signed "Verax." For full title, etc., see *Prox.*, vol. iii, pp. 207-8.

Anon [? S. Wesley (nephew) see *Wesley Banner*, iii, 370].—Vindex to Verax; or, Remarks upon A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D., and Mr. Henry Moore. . . . London, 1792.

A reply to the preceding pamphlet.

Anon.—A Blister for Methodism, from an Indifferent Spectator, into whose hands a Controversy between the Methodists has accidentally fallen. 1792.

The "controversy" was that between Rev. W. E. Edwards and Samuel Bradburn after the opening of Portland Chapel, Bristol, *Abuses the Methodists*.

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Tatham : *Sermon* (see Green's *A.M. Pubs.*, No. 565).—This was not only answered by Hinton, but by Benson, as follows : *A Defence of the Methodists, in Five Letters addressed to the Rev. Dr. Tatham.* . . . By Joseph Benson. Three eds. 1793-4. Paramore.

Benson, J.—*A Further Defence of the Methodists, in Letters addressed to the Rev. W. Russel, curate of Pershore, in answer to his "Hints to the Methodists and Dissenters."* 1793. Paramore.

Mr. Russel had issued the "Hints" as a reply to Benson's "Defence of the Methodists." A second ed. of the "Further Defence" was published in 1794.

Haddock, Theophilus.—*Error Detected, and Fiction Rebuked ; in a Letter to Edward Tatham, D.D., so-called.* . . . London, 1794. 44pp.

Another answer to Dr. Tatham.

Polwhele, R.—*Anecdotes of Methodism : to which is added a Sermon.* . . . London. 1800.

A pamphlet full of vile stories against the Methodists. It was answered by Samuel Drew as follows :—

Drew, S.—*Observations (on behalf of the Methodists) on a Pamphlet lately published by the Rev. R. Polwhele, vicar of Manaccan, Cornwall.* . . . Falmouth, 1800.

A 70 pp. pamphlet, in which the writer completely refutes most of the "Anecdotes" from personal inquiry as to their truth or otherwise.

Anon (Cursitor).—*A letter to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln respecting the "Report from the Clergy of a District in the Diocese of Lincoln."* . . . London. 1800.

See Green's *A.M. Pubs.*, No. 591.

A. WALLINGTON.

METHODIST CONTROVERSIAL PAMPHLETS.

The collation and systematic cataloguing of the Wesleyan Conference Office collection of these is now being done. Mr. A. Wallington, 25, City Road, London, E.C., would be glad to hear from anyone possessing collections, with a view to exchange duplicates, or to correspond for further mutual information. The three principal Agitations—Leeds, Warren, and Reform—are at present being dealt with.

LETTERS OF THE REV. JOHN WESLEY
THE REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD AND
MR. WILLIAM SEWARD,
WRITTEN TO MR. JOHN OULTON, OF LEOMINSTER
IN THE YEAR 1739.

In the Standard Edition of Wesley's *Journal* under date Monday, July 9, 1739, it is recorded that the Founder of Methodism wrote a letter to Mr. Oulton, who resided at Leominster.

To this letter Mr. Oulton replied, on July 13, 1739, a copy of which is to be found in the *Arminian Magazine* for 1797. In his singularly able and eloquent reply Mr. Oulton says:— "Yesterday I came off on journey and met with your kind letter in conjunction with Mr. Whitefield's and Mr. Seward's, adding the words "my soul was much refreshed and encouraged in reading each of them." The letter is too long to be here transcribed, it is simply referred to by the writer. If copies of the letters of Mr. Wesley, Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Seward here mentioned by Mr. Oulton are in existence, also the further letter of Mr. Wesley's, dated July 28, 1739, and Mr. Oulton's reply (if there was one), I think they should be printed together in an early number of the *Proceedings*, as they are among the earliest letters relating to the Methodist Revival and would be of historic value and local interest. It would add to this enquiry if it could be ascertained what was the occasion or origin of this correspondence. How did it arise and were Wesley, Whitefield, and Seward personally known to Mr. Oulton, except by correspondence? It will be observed that a singular coincidence exists in the date of Mr. Oulton's letter to Mr. Wesley and the date of Mr. Whitefield's preaching his farewell sermon before embarking for Georgia. The date in each case is July 13, 1739.

From this correspondence it is clear that Mr. Oulton was in full sympathy with Wesley and Whitefield at the beginning of their great work. Where did he meet them, or did he ever meet them?

The writer of these notes, at various times has endeavoured to ascertain who Mr. Oulton of Leominster was. He was the Rev. John Oulton. He came from a pastorate in Cheshire to be pastor of the Baptist Church at Leominster in 1731 and after a term of

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17 years as pastor there, he removed to Liverpool in 1748. Little is recorded of him but that he was a godly man and a very acceptable preacher. Perhaps one of our contributors will be able to answer the query whether there were two John Oultons, as a pamphlet was written and published by a person of this name in 1760, and intended to be an answer to Wesley's Sermon on Free Grace. The pamphlet is entitled "A Vindication of the Seventeenth Article of the Church of England, from the Asperities Cast on it in a sermon lately published by Mr. John Wesley, By John Oulton 1760," 8vo pp. 55. The doctrines contained in the Seventeenth Article are those of Predestination and Election, which were held by Baptists of that period, and this being the case the pamphlet in question may have been from the pen of John Oulton formerly of Leominster. A clue to this might be found if the pamphlet was printed at Liverpool, to which place Mr. Oulton of Leominster had removed.

WILLIAM PARLBY.

TWO WESLEY LETTERS.

1. From John Wesley to Miss Ford in Blackman St., No. 6, Southwark, London.

Newcastle, June 7, 1772.

My dear Sister,

Do I flatter myself in judging of *you* by Myself? Am I mistaken in thinking we *feel* alike? I believe we do. I believe in this, your heart is as mine. But if so, it is not so easy for you to part. Indeed I judged before, this was only a sudden start, arising from a misapprehension of my meaning. That was really the case. I did not, could not, compare one I so tenderly love (with a love of esteem as well as complacency) with Him. Only with regard to one Circumstance. Well, now you have made me amends for ye pain you gave me before. And see that you make me further amends by swiftly advancing in Lowliness, in Meekness, in Gentleness towards all men.

So fulfill the joy of, my dear Nancy,

Yours affectionately,

J. Wesley.

From the collection of Mr. Geo. Stampe, Grimsby.

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2. From Chas. Wesley to Miss Perronet, at Shoreham,
Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent.

London, Nov. 28, 1778.

My very dear Sister,

Fear not, only believe. Believe, and you shall see the Salvation of God, and entirely acquiesce in His most blessed will, Tomorrow we shall present you and our dear Father at the Altar, and pray, I trust according to His will, whose Spirit helps our infirmities. If the time for your Father's Translation were fully come, I should think he would have had some warning or presage of it. Tho' he is always ready. I carried yr. letter as soon as received to my Brother, who thinks with me that it is best not to bring back your Brother, which a letter would surely do. Let your Father determine it.

Next Saturday my Brother hopes to find our dearest Friend better than you fear or hope. I join in all your prayers and afflictions, as in love and duty bound. So does my sympathising partner.

A fall I had on Wednesday night brought ye breath out of my body. But my work is not quite done. Tomorrow's service may scatter the pains in my side. I trust with you that your Blessed Father will be lent you a little longer. But whenever he is taken up you will be equally unwilling to part with him. That our Will may be swallowed up in the Divine is the healthy prayer of my dear Sister, your faithful Servant,

C. Wesley.

From the collection of Rev. W. J. Marris.

