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SELINA, COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON.

PAMPHLETS, &c., ON METHODISM,
IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

PART II.

[For Part I. of this list, see *Proc.*, Sept., pp. 145-150].

37. An address to the members and friends of the M. SOCIETY IN NEWCASTLE. ? 1792, 8vo.

38. Disinterested advice to the people called Methodists concerning the MISUNDERSTANDINGS WHICH HAVE ARISEN AMONG THEM SINCE THE DEATH OF THE REV. JOHN WESLEY. By a layman of the Church of England. London, 1793. 8vo.

39. Statement of facts from copies of original papers, with an ACCOUNT OF PROCEEDINGS IN THE COURTS OF LAW. Published by the committee chosen by the M. society in LONDON. London, 1793. 8vo.

40. An affectionate address to the members of the M. society in LEEDS and elsewhere, respecting the late transactions. at BRISTOL. By Onesimus. Leeds, 1794. 8vo.
On *Onesimus* see *Proc.* vol. i, p. 88, Joseph Benson, or Kitson, of Leeds.

41. CONSIDERATIONS ON A SEPARATION OF THE METHODISTS FROM THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH. Bristol, 1794. 8vo.
(*Green's Anti-M. Pub.*, 570)

CONSIDERATIONS ON A SEPARATION OF THE METHODISTS from the Established Church, by a member of the *Established Church*. Bristol, 1794. 8vo.

(N.B.—These two pamphlets are identical, but the imprint is slightly different, as follows :

Bristol.

Printed by Bulgin & Rosser.

Sold by Bulgin & Sheppard, Wine Street ; W. Richardson, Cornhill ; G. Kearsley, Fleet Street ; J. Phillips, City Road, London ; Pearson & Swinney, Birmingham ; Harrop, Manchester ; Binns, Leeds ; Nelson & Spence, York ; Hazard, Bath ; and (P)ytt, Gloucester. [price 3d.

The second copy contains these additional names :—Bird, Cardiff ; Owen, Swansea.)

The following is the full title :—

Considerations on a Separation of the Methodists from the Established Church addressed to such of them as are friendly to that measure, and particularly to those in the City of Bristol.

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42. ERRORS IN PART DISCOURSED, AND GOSPEL TRUTHS VINDICATED, CLEAR'D AND CONFIRM'D; IN A PLAIN AND FAMILIAR CONFERENCE BETWEEN MR. JOHN WESLEY AND A MAIDEN, concerning his agitating converts, and the Doctrines of particular Election, Perfection, and the Final Perseverance of the Saints, with

An explanation upon the 32nd and 33rd Verses of the Eighth Chapter of Luke, applicable to the said gentleman, and considered in the Debate by W— D—.

(I John iv, 1; Isaiah viii, 20; Hosea v, 9-10, quoted) Bristol: Printed for the Author, 1746, 6d., or 5/- per dozen, 54 pages.

The author rather chooses 'a Maiden to confer with him than a man, because that sort are for the most part of them the weakest in judgment, and therefore the most suitable to discourse with Mr. Wesley.'

W. D. also says in his 'address to the Reader' that he has 'writ two other Pamphlets.'

The 'maiden' naturally has the greater part of the conversation, J. W.'s remarks being only designed to lead up to lengthy discourses on her part.

There are three hymns at the end:

- I. On Election—6 verses.
(We bless thee, O our Heavenly King).
- II. On Perfection—8 verses.
(The saints, O God, around Thy Throne).
- III. On Perseverance—11 verses.
(Finally, from Grace and Faith
A saint may fall, as Wes—y saith
Which with a witness, false and base
It is a dreadful lie;
The saints shall never fall from grace
Christ he doth testify.)

43. METHODISM VINDICATED FROM THE CHARGE OF IGNORANCE AND ENTHUSIASM. Being a reply to a sermon preached by the Rev. Samuel Clapham, Sept. 2, 1794, by a member of the Church of England. Margate, 1795.

44. THE DETECTOR DETECTED, OR THE PLOWMAN'S defence of Methodism, wherein is shown the conformity of that religious sect to the word of God and the Doctrines of the

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Church of England. In opposition to the many false and slanderous assertions of a profane Pamphleteer self-named The Detector. ? 1796. 8vo.

45. FREE ENQUIRY, mutual deliberation, and liberty of conscience, proved to be the only bonds of lasting union amongst the Methodists. (Impf. at end). Bristol, 1796. 8vo.

46. AN ADDRESS TO THE METHODIST CONNEXION (signed by I. Wolfe and others.) Liverpool, 1797. fol.
(The following are not indexed under M, but under author's name).

47. A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A METHODIST PREACHER and a MINISTER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

(Preface signed N. Manners). 2nd edition. ? 1778. 8vo.
(Osborn's *Wesleyan Bibliog.*, p. 138.)

I cannot find the following indexed. Its shelf No. is G., Pamph. 2873, (10).

48. A SERIOUS AND AFFECTIONATE ADDRESS TO THE JUNIOR PREACHERS IN THE M. CONNECTION, (dated London, Sept, 25th, 1798). ? 1798.
(By Rev. John Pawson. Osborn's *Wesleyan Bibliog.*, p. 154.)

JAMES T. LIGHTWOOD.

CHARLES WESLEY (1762)
AND
DR. ROBERT BRIDGES (1918).

- I. SHORT HYMNS ON SELECT PASSAGES OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, by Charles Wesley, M.A., and Presbyter of the Church of England. Bristol. E. Farley, Bristol, 1767. 2 vols. *Second Edition*. London. Paramore. Vol. i, 1794. ii, 1796.
- II. THE SPIRIT OF MAN, An Anthology in English and French from the Philosophers & Poets, made by the Poet Laureate in 1915 and dedicated by gracious permission to His Majesty the King. Longmans Green and Co. London, 1918.

The Poet Laureate has selected two stanzas from Charles Wesley's *Short Hymns* on Zephaniah ii, 3, and Job xxxiii, 26,

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slightly altered them, and inserted them as No. 94 in the *Yattendon Hymnal*, and in his *Anthology* (under *The Master's Will*), as follows :

YE that do your Master's will,
Meek in heart be meeker still :
Day by day your sins confess,
Ye that walk in righteousness :
Gracious souls in grace abound,
Seek the Lord, whom ye have found.

He that comforts all that mourn
Shall to joy your sorrow turn :
Joy to know your sins forgiven,
Joy to keep the way to heaven,
Joy to win His welcome grace,
Joy to see Him face to face.

Charles Wesley's stanzas (the first part in eight lines, and the second in six) appear in Vols. I and II of his *Short Hymns on Passages of Scripture*.

Seek ye the Lord, all ye meek of the earth, which have wrought his judgment, seek righteousness, seek meekness. Zeph. ii, 9.

Ye that do your Master's will,
Meek in heart, be meeker still,
Righteous, still yourselves confess
Seekers after righteousness ;
Gracious souls in grace abound,
Seek the LORD whom ye have found,
Follow on, nor slack your pace,
'Till ye see His glorious face.

He shall pray unto God and he will be favourable unto him, and he shall see his face with joy. Job xxxiii, 26.

Comforter of all that mourn,
Into joy my sorrow turn,
Joy to taste Thy saving grace,
Joy to see Thy smiling face,
Joy, to know my sins forgiven,
Joy to gain a glimpse of heaven.

The second of these hymns has two stanzas, the first of which we omit as it is not used by Dr. Bridges. It connects the hymn with the text, and begins : "To the chastening God I pray." In the *Preface* to his '*Short Hymns*' Charles Wesley says,

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'God having graciously laid his hand upon my body, and disabled me for the principal work of the ministry, has thereby given me an unexpected occasion of writing the following hymns. Many of the thoughts are borrowed from Henry's Commentary, Dr. Gell on the Pentateuch, and Bengelius on the New Testament.' He became well acquainted with the latter in assisting his brother in his version of the New Testament, with its notes. Dr. Robert Gell (d. 1655) was the author of an *Essay towards the Amendment of the last translation of the Bible*. He was inclined to a mystical view of religion, and influenced Charles Wesley in this direction. On John Wesley's criticism of his brother's *Short Hymns* much is said in Jackson's *Life of C.W.* (II, 203-12). Vincent Perronet, the Rector of Shoreham, wrote an affectionate letter to Charles on Jan. 1, 1763, in which he said: 'I have lately read over your last Hymns, with the same pleasure which your former always gave me. Does my friend inquire whether all the verses equally please? Let Horace answer for me:

Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura. (De arte Poetica, 351-353).

Charles Wesley knew Horace well, although, judging by his quotations, Virgil was his favourite. Horace's lines, *with their context*, may be well applied to some of Charles Wesley's overflowing lyrical work, often revised by his more critical brother John, and we will quote the translation from the Pickering edition of the Epodes, Satires, and Epistles of Horace, (1845):—

Yet there occur in almost every book
Specks which the nicest taste must overlook,
For neither always will the minstrel's lyre
Give back the note his ear and hand require;
He asks a grave, the chord a sharp remits:
The archer aims,—the bow not always hits.
If then a poem charm me in the main,
Slight faults I'll not too rigidly arraign,
Which frail humanity has here and there
Let fall from oversight or want of care.

Matthew Arnold, writing of a poet of different order and higher rank in the literary realm than Charles Wesley, dares to say: "In reading Wordsworth the impression made by one of his fine pieces is too often dulled and spoiled by a very inferior piece coming after it. . . . Wordsworth needs to be relieved of a great deal of the poetical baggage which now encumbers

him." May not the same thing be said of Charles Wesley's work? And may it not also be said of him as of Wordsworth, "even after all his inferior work has been cleared away, a great and ample body of powerful work remains to him. He gives us so much to rest upon, so much which communicates his spirit and engages ours."

The poet-laureate of to-day in the preface to his noteworthy anthology, "The Spirit of Man," has a sentence which expresses "the main implication" in the distinct *sequence* in his book,—distinguishing it from all other anthologies we have seen. The volume is not merely a discriminating collection of samples of the best poetry, edited by a classical scholar and keen critic. His essential aim is to demonstrate that "*Spirituality is the basis and foundation of human life.*" And as 'various moods of mind are allowed to play,' Charles Wesley finds his true place.

T.E.B.

THE REV. EDWARD PHILLIPS, B.A.,
 RECTOR OF MAESMYNIS, NEAR BUILTH WELLS

In one of his visits to Wales Whitefield expressed his grateful surprise at the number of preachers, clerical, nonconformist and lay, who were already proclaiming the gospel. A letter from one of them, published in the *Glasgow Weekly History*, gives their number and names, but makes no mention of the young curate of Maesmynis who was soon to be known as a zealous co-worker.

If any apology were needed for a brief account of this worthy Welshman it would be found in Wesley's *Journal*, dated May 3, 1743: "The next morning we came to Builth, just as the Church prayers began. Mr. Phillips, the Rector of Maesmyns, [at whose invitation I came,] soon took knowledge of me, and we began a friendship which I trust shall never end." By the kindness of the present Rector and of the Diocesan Registrar we are able to supplement the entry in the *Alumni Oxonienses* and to give the leading events in the life of Mr. Phillips.

He was born in the year 1716, at the remote village of Llanvareth in the county of Radnor. His father is described as a plebeian. He was able, however, to send his son to Jesus College, Oxford, the Welshman's Alma Mater. On November 8th, 1734, the youth matriculated, and in 1738 took his B.A. degree. In the same year he was ordained deacon in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist within the palace at Abergwli. On April 7,

1740, he was ordained priest in Duke Street Chapel, within the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster; and next day was instituted to Maesmynis, where he laboured first as curate and then as rector for the rest of his days.

Of his early religious impressions nothing is known; but no man could have lived in Brecknockshire in those days without hearing much of the labours of such clergymen as William Williams, Thomas Lewis, Pewrey Baillie, and such Nonconformists as William Williams, John Watkins, and, above all, of that great ambassador of Christ, Howell Harris, who had been the means of establishing twenty Methodist societies in the county. Nor was his native county less favoured, seeing it enjoyed the labours of the apostolic Vavasor Griffith and others.

The first visit of John Wesley to the Welsh parish took place on April 23, 1744, and this was followed by at least eight other visits, the last being on April 9, 1749. Little of interest is recorded in connection with these occasions, save that twice he had to hold the service in the churchyard owing to the size of the congregation, once he heard his brother preach, and he praised Mr. Phillips's flock as "a loving people." On not less than six occasions this faithful minister acted as Wesley's interpreter and guide, some of these journeys being to or from such distant places as Carnarvon, Rhayader, and Wenvoe.

Charles Wesley's visits to Maesmynis almost equalled in number those of his brother, and he also enjoyed the services of Mr. Phillips as guide on half-a-dozen journeys. Mr. Phillips shared with his friend the joys and discomforts of this itinerancy, and at Coleford his friend records: "What would I not have given to escape preaching! . . . but five or six received forgiveness, and testified it. We rejoiced with joy unutterable. My body was quite spent. Mr. Phillips did not much commend our accommodations. Our chamber looked very ghastly, scarcely affording a prophet's furniture: Our bed had but a thin quilt to cover us." (*C.W.'s Journal*, Oct. 24, 1748). An unfortunate incident separated for a little while these "very friends." Mr. Phillips was on intimate and confidential terms with the Gwynne family, and there is reason to believe that he was their chaplain. When the match was being arranged between the poet-preacher and Miss Gwynne, Mr. Phillips appears to have raised some difficulty¹ for Charles Wesley writes in his *Journal* (Dec. 8, 1748): "I was a little tried by the brutishness of my friend Phillips." Mrs. Gwynne, however, said of C. Wesley that he "had acted like a

1. See Wesley's *Journal*, July 22, 1745.

gentleman in all things." On December 12, he writes, "I took a cheerful leave and set out with Harry and Mr. Phillips, somewhat milder. His only concern now was for the people. Them also I told him I had taken into the account, and I had taken no one step without my brother's express advice." (See also C.W.'s *Journal*, Nov. 11, 1748).

The present Rector of Maesmynis supplies the following facts and traditions. "The present church and rectory are not those in which the Rev. Edward Phillips ministered and lived. The church was re-erected or restored in 1878, and the rectory is an entirely new foundation built sometime in the fifties. The old rectory had a straw thatch and was situated about sixty yards lower down the field. There is a local tradition that Mr. Phillips used to stand by the side of Wesley when he preached and interpret his sermons in Welsh to the people. A constable stood guard on the other side of Wesley to keep order, for the people were sometimes turbulent and prejudiced. The stone on which Wesley stood when he preached in this churchyard is said to be the one lying flush with the ground on the north-east corner of the church (outside). There are no records of Wesley's visits in the church books, which, I regret to say, have many lacunæ." In a P.S. Mr. Thomas adds, "I have been told that Edward Phillips was a county magistrate."

The Diocesan Registry contains the following entry:—"16 July, 1777, Thomas Williams was instituted to Maesmynis, vacant on the death of Edward Phillips." So the good parson passed to the more abundant life when 61 years old.

The argument from silence would lead to many unjust conclusions if applied to Wesley's *Journal*; but after expressing the hope that the friendship with Mr. Phillips which began in May, 1743, would never end, it seems strange that the perilous ride on March 22, 1756, was their last meeting. It is true that Wesley never visited Builth after the year 1749, (though the friends met in 1750 and 1756); nor does he seem to have visited Garth from that date until 1777, the year when Mr. Phillips died, but we find him a dozen times at Brecon, a distance which true friendship would consider small. It will be remembered that Wesley at one time mourned the loss of friends, and there seems to be reason to fear that Mr. Phillips, as well as his acquaintance, Mr. Hodges, of Wenvoe, had a place in the sad list of the loved and lost.

R. BUTTERWORTH.

THE TREVECKA LETTERS.

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HOWELL HARRIS AND THE WESLEYS.

- 1740, July 16—H. Harris to J. Wesley.
See Hughes' *Life of Harris* p. 127.
- " " 29—J. Wesley to H. Harris.
(See Wesley's *Works*, xiii, letter 906.)
- " Oct. 10—H. Harris to J. Wesley *re* Doctrine of Election.
- 1741, " 19—H. Harris to J. Wesley.
(See *Standard Journal* iii, 30 note.)
- " " 24—H. Harris to J. Wesley *re* Doctrine of Perfection.
- 1742, Endorsed—Isabella Johnson to Charles Wesley.
- " " " " to John Wesley.
- " " " " to Charles Wesley.
- " August 6—John Wesley to H. Harris.
(See *Standard Journal* iii, 30 note, where this letter is given in full).
- " " 28—H. Harris to Charles Wesley.
- 1743, May 27—H. Harris to John Wesley.
- 1744, " 25—H. Harris to Charles Wesley.
- 1745, July 16— " to " "
- 1746/7 Feb. 14— " to John Wesley.
- 1747, May 25— " to Charles Wesley.
- 1748, Feb. 28— " to John Wesley.
(There is a letter of this date from Wesley to Harris, see *Works* xiii, letter 908.)
- " April 8—H. Harris to Charles Wesley.
- " August ?— " to John Wesley.
- 1753, January 1— " to " "
- 1755, Feb. 14— " to " " Ditto to Charles Wesley.
- 1756, (no date)— " to " " Part of a letter.
- 1757, Dec. 21— " to Charles Wesley.
- 1761, June 26— " to John Wesley; with a postscript to Charles Wesley.
- " " 20—H. Harris to John and Charles Wesley.

OTHER LETTERS.

- 1760, July 10—W. Lunell to Charles Wesley.
(For William Lunell, see *Standard Journal* iii, 312 note).

M. H. JONES.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

THE CALVINISTIC METHODIST CHURCH OF WALES.

The Rev. M. H. Jones, B.A., who has contributed valuable lists of letters to our *Proceedings* has been selected by the General Assembly of his Church to deliver the Davies Lecture in 1922. This lectureship is something similar to the Fernley Lecture, and includes the printing of the lecture within a year after its delivery at the Assembly. It was the wish of the Assembly when electing him that he should undertake to do research work in the Trevecka MSS and embody the "findings" on the origin of Welsh Calvinistic Methodism in the lecture. With this object in view he has commenced the study of the 5,000 letters at Trevecka, and has already completed an Inventory of them in chronological order. This Inventory will be published, probably, at the beginning of next year as a Supplement to the Journal of the C. M. Historical Society. Mr. Jones writes:—"I am anxious to make this Inventory as complete and accurate as possible and so would like to examine other collections of letters more or less associated with those of Trevecka. There are many gaps in our collection, and there are, of course, letters or references to letters, written to John and Charles Wesley as well as to letters received from them."

JOSEPH COOKE AND HIS FOLLOWERS. 1806.

THE METHODIST UNITARIAN MOVEMENT,

By H. McLachlan, M.A., B.D., Manchester University Press,
pp. 12 and 151.

The "Methodist Unitarians" are very little known, and the student of Methodist History may search far and wide amongst the ordinary works of reference without finding anything about them. This is not surprising, as, of course, they were entirely outside of Methodism as ordinarily understood. The story consists, says the author, of the religious and political history of a few societies of simple folk in North East Lancashire, a history containing no great names, but worthy, he thinks, of being rescued from a threatening oblivion.

These societies owed little to the propaganda associated with Priestley and his school, and were in many ways apart from the organised Unitarianism which at the beginning of last century inherited the prestige of a cultured Dissenting interest.

The founder of the movement was Joseph Cooke, an itinerant preacher who was admitted into full connection with the Conference in 1799, after the usual probation.

The theological controversies, which resulted in Cooke's removal from the Methodist ministry in 1806, are fully dealt with

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in this book. When his connection with the Conference terminated, Cooke betook himself to Rochdale, where a number of people, who had formerly known him as their circuit minister, joined him in the erection of Providence Chapel in High Street.

Cooke's first officer was John Ashworth, a local preacher in Newchurch-in-Rossendale, and a chapel was soon built there also, bearing the name Bethlehem. Cooke died at the age of 35 in 1811. Whatever may be thought of his his opinions and actions, it is pleasant to read one of his last utterances, "God is my record, I have no other end in view than that of truth." The history of the Cookites after their leader's death is set forth in the book under review, and details are given of work at Oldham, Bury, Padigham and other places.

Mr. McLachlan's book throws sidelights on the political and social movements of the last century. The last chapter in the book links up this local movement with the main stream of the nation's history.

The followers of Joseph Cooke were as radical in their politics as in their theology, and took a keen interest in the constitutional and economic agitations of the first half of the nineteenth century. The Reform Bill of 1832 found in them earnest supporters. Many of them were actively allied with the Chartists and early Co-operators. John Fielden, the Methodist Unitarian of Todmorden, threw himself with great ardour into the crusade for factory reform. He was returned as M.P. for Oldham three times.

The book is excellently printed and indexed. To the very full Bibliography might be added Dyson's *Methodism in Congleton*, wherein is a good deal of information about Cooke.

F. F. BRETHERTON.

The volume follows one of the offshoots of Methodism, but there never was a "Methodist Unitarian Movement." The whole history shows the utter incompatibility of Unitarianism with Methodism. The movement had no sort of connection with or acknowledgment by Methodism. "They went out from us because they were not of us." Mr. McLachlan evidently thinks that Joseph Cooke was not treated fairly. His subsequent career is ample justification of the action of the Conference. The plain fact is that the Conference could not trust his denials, explanations, or promises. I have a pamphlet or two on the subject. There can be no question that Cooke, at best, so spoke of the divinity of our Lord and of the Atonement as to render him unsuitable for the Wesleyan Methodist Ministry.

It is quite impossible for those who do not know the Conference from the inside to gauge its action, especially in the absence of sufficient records. This applies to other cases than Joseph Cooke's.

The movement ended in formal Unitarianism. It was narrowly local, and had no effect upon our church generally.

(The late) J. ROBINSON GREGORY.

[For a brief account of Joseph Cooke and the action of the Conference in regard to him. see Smith's *History of Wesleyan Methodism*, ii, 431-434.]

THE EARLY HISTORY OF METHODISM IN CHELTENHAM, 1739-1812.

[The development of spas, watering-places and general health resorts is regarded by Lecky as one of the marked features of the social history of England in the eighteenth century, and Mr. W. C. Sydney in his *England and the English* has devoted a whole chapter to the subject. Wesleyan Methodists and Anglican Evangelicals have not neglected efforts to meet the spiritual needs of these centres and to solve the new problems they raise. The letters and journals of Wesley, the biographies of Lady Huntingdon, the second Lord Dartmouth, and Whitefield; the history of the evangelicalism of which Cheltenham became a 'strategic centre' in the next century (especially from 1826 to 1856, when Dean Close 'ruled Cheltenham from his pulpit throne,' fought the local magnates and stopped the races); the proposal of union of evangelical forces first made in Wesley's and Lady Huntingdon's day; the ethical questions raised by ostentatious fashions and feverish amusements connected with the pursuit of physical and mental health, and regarded as essential to local "prosperity"; the strained conditions under which housing and lodging are carried on in fitful "seasons"; the long hours of domestic labour for the multitude of residents who 'cater' for visitors;—all these historical and practical points suggest important questions, and would form material for a volume. Wesley emphasised and provided for the methodical cultivation of the devotional life and the exercises of spiritual worship and personal Christian service. Lady Huntingdon the Countess, Lord Dartmouth the statesman, Penelope Newman the bookseller, Samuel Wells the schoolmaster and Oliver Watts the ironmonger.

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were lay pioneers of a movement for the "saving health" of Cheltenham. How far was the spiritual and ethical force of their 'evangelical' piety successful in maintaining a high type of character in the environment of a fashionable spa? The careful paper which follows, by the Rev. G. H. Bancroft Judge, helps us to an answer, and is of more than local interest.] T.E.B.

In sketching the history of Wesleyan Methodism in Cheltenham, it is necessary to note the earliest planting of our Church in the broader area of the County of Gloucester.

To begin the narrative in 1739, it is no surprise to find that George Whitefield, himself a native of Gloucester, led the way of Methodist advance in the northern part of the shire, to which he belonged. He first took to field-preaching in Bristol in February, 1739, as the churches of that large city had been closed against him. He sent for John Wesley to help him in addressing the eager multitudes that gathered in the open air. With considerable fear and hesitation, Wesley joined him and consented, as he tells us, to become "*more vile*" by preaching in the fields and on the hillsides, in market place and public square. Whilst John Wesley was carrying on this fresh venture in Bristol, Whitefield was set free to visit Wales on an Evangelistic Tour; but in April, 1739, he returned to Gloucester, where thousands thronged to hear his fervent message. On the 17th of April, he set out for Cheltenham, only six miles distant, and which was then but a "poor, straggling hamlet with a few thatched cottages," not the famous and fashionable spa which it afterwards became. He applied for the use of the Parish Church, but his request met with a blank refusal, and so he tells us he preached to "near 2,000 people,"¹ gathered, no doubt, from far and wide, on the Plough Inn large bowling green, and many were convicted of sin under his pointed sermon. "One woman wept greatly because she said I was crazy, and some were so filled with the Holy Ghost that they were unable to support themselves under it."

Although Wesley also visited Gloucester on July 14th, 1739, he did not travel farther north. But on August 23rd to 25th Charles Wesley was labouring in Gloucester, and on October 6th his brother rode there from Evesham. It is more than probable

1. This may seem incredible after what has just been said about the smallness of Cheltenham, but in the Gloucester Journal of 1739, April 24th, we read:—"Last Tuesday (having first baptised an aged Quaker) Mr. Whitefield set out, by appointment, for Cheltenham and Evesham." His visit was thus expected and crowds would flock to hear him from all the country side.

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that he passed on horseback through Cheltenham; but there is no record of his staying to preach in its midst.

There are several entries, however, in his *Journal*, to show that he skirted the locality in the years 1742-3. Thus we find the following record, on Friday, June 25th, 1742:—"I rode to Painswick, where, in the evening, I declared to all those who had been fighting and troubling one another about rites and ceremonies, modes of worship and opinions, 'The Kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.'"

Again on Tuesday, October 18th, 1743, he writes:—"I preached to a little earnest company at Gutherton (now Gotherington) near Tewkesbury, and in the evening at Evesham, on the happiness of him "whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered."

Now we come to the first mention of Cheltenham in his *Journal*. In 1744 under date of 7th May (Monday), we read, "I set out (*i.e.* from Bristol) for the north. I preached in the evening at Painswick, and at five next morning. About eight, Tuesday 8th, I called at Gloucester, designing only to speak with a friend; but finding an house full of people, I would not disappoint their expectation, but stayed and preached on the form and power of godliness. This made me somewhat later than I intended at Cheltenham, where I preached on "By grace are ye saved through faith," to a company who seemed to understand just as much of the matter as if I had been talking Greek. I found a people of quite another kind at Gutherton to whom I preached on "Repent ye, and believe the Gospel." And many called upon God for Grace so to do even with strange cries and tears. We had a remarkable blessing again at five in the morning.*

Wednesday, 9th. "About noon I preached at Stanley (a mile from Gutherton), at three at Tewkesbury, and in the evening at the Abbey in Evesham."

Although further visits to Evesham and Stanley are recorded in Wesley's *Journal* during the years 1745—1756, he makes no further mention of Cheltenham until 1766.

Meanwhile Whitefield had been actively engaged in Evangelistic labours in the county; for after his return from America in 1755, he set out on a three weeks' tour to the West of England, where he says we had "a most blessed season. Thousands and thousands I trust heard, saw and felt."

2. In Goding's *History of Cheltenham*, 1863 edition, J. Wesley's first visit is stated to be on August 4th, 1744. There is no such visit recorded in his *Journal*. The year should be 1774. The details recorded refer to this later visit.

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By this time Whitefield had definitely embraced Calvinistic doctrines, and no longer laboured in conjunction with Wesley. Each still pursued his Evangelistic labours, however, and Whitefield, who had now become Chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon, found a valuable ally in this remarkable lady. She was a frequent visitor to Cheltenham and sent Methodist clergymen at different times to "spread the evangelistic Truths of the Gospel throughout the county and the West of England." In this good work she was aided by her friends Lord and Lady Dartmouth (then resident in Cheltenham), who had embraced "Methodism" through Whitefield's influence. The Earl had engaged as private chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Downing, a zealous Methodist clergyman.³ This good man from time to time occupied the pulpit in the Parish Church until the rector was so displeased with his doctrines, and the crowds who flocked to hear him that he excluded him from the pulpit. Lord Dartmouth, therefore opened his own house for preaching twice a week, and sometimes the seminary of Mr. Samuel Wells⁴ was used for a similar purpose.

In 1757 we find his Lordship writing to the Countess of Huntingdon "I wish your ladyship would use your influence with Mr. Whitefield to pay us a visit." In response to this request Whitefield came to Cheltenham, and Lord Dartmouth hoped to obtain the use of the Parish Church. An immense crowd had assembled. "Finding the church door closed, Whitefield mounted a tombstone outside and preached from "Ho, every one that thirsteth come ye to the waters." A singular spectacle was it—the closed church, the graves covered with thousands of the people, and such churchmen as Madan, Venn, Talbot and Whitefield, ordained and gowned, and yet proscribed for preaching the Gospel to the famishing multitudes."⁵

Henry Venn describes the scene in a letter to Lady Huntingdon.

"Under Mr. Whitefield's sermon many among the immense crowd, who filled every part of the burial ground, were overcome

3. George Downing, M.A., was at Lady Huntingdon's house, 27 March, 1729, when John Wesley preached there. He was Rector of Ovington, Essex, from 1764 to 1803. In January, 1765, Wesley rode from London, about sixty-five miles, to see him at Ovington, and an unpublished letter shows that he did this more than once. Charles Wesley tells his wife of a pleasant half-hour he spent 'with humble, loving, zealous Mr. Downing,' in 1759. (C. W. *Journal and Letters II*, 260). T.E.B.

4. Father-in-law of Rev. Hugh Williams, Minister of Bethel Baptist Chapel, 1797. 1809.

5. A. Steven's *History of Methodism*, p. 184.

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with fainting. Some sobbed deeply ; others wept silently ; and a solemn concern appeared on the countenance of almost the whole assembly. When he came to impress the injunction in the text, his words seemed to cut like a sword, and several in the congregation burst out into the most piercing cries. Mr. Whitefield at this very junction made a pause, and then burst into a flood of tears. During this short interval, Mr. Madan and myself stood up and requested the people to restrain themselves as much as possible from making any noise. Twice afterwards we had to repeat the same counsel. O, with what eloquence, energy and melting tenderness did Mr. Whitefield beseech sinners to be reconciled to God ! When the sermon was ended the people seemed chained to the ground. Mr. Madan, Mr. Talbot, Mr. Downing, and myself⁶ found ample employment in endeavouring to comfort those broken down under a sense of guilt. We separated in different directions among the crowd, and each was quickly surrounded by an attentive audience, still eager to hear all the words of this life."

The next day a like scene was witnessed when Whitefield preached to a prodigious congregation from Isaiah lv, 6. In the evening Mr. Talbot preached at Lord Dartmouth's to as many as the rooms would hold. Hundreds crowded round his lordship's residence anxiously expecting Whitefield to preach. Exhausted as he was from his exertions in the morning, when he heard there were multitudes without, he stood upon a table near the front of the house, and proclaimed the efficacy of the Saviour's blood to cleanse the vilest of the vile.

"Intelligence of the extraordinary power attending the word soon spread, and the next day we had Mr. Charles Wesley, and many friends from Bristol, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Rodborough, and the villages in the neighbourhood, but all loud weeping and piercing cries had subsided, and the work of conversion went on in a more silent manner. For several days we had public preaching which has been well attended and much solid good has been done."

Such was the glorious "mission week" held in Cheltenham, in 1757 and there is no doubt that as an outcome Methodism was permanently established, and "Societies" formed in the

6. All these names appear in the letter on the Union of the Clergy which John Wesley sent to Lord Dartmouth, Lady Huntingdon, and the evangelical clergy in 1764. For the full text, and notes on this letter, see *W.H.S. Proc.*, xii, 29-33. T. E. B.

7. Letter of Rev. H. Venn quoted in vol. 2 p. 401 "Life of G. Whitefield," (E. Tyerman.)

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town and neighbourhood, for when John Wesley next visited Cheltenham again in 1766, we read of the meeting house or chapel and the society.

Under March 17th of that year he says :—

“At seven I preached in the room at Painswick, and about ten came to Cheltenham. Here I was in a strait; the House would not hold half the people, and the wind was keen enough. However, I thought this the less evil of the two, and so preached abroad, where we were tolerably sheltered, and I did not observe that any, rich or poor, went away till I concluded.”

Again under October 10th, he says :—“I took a ride to Cheltenham, it being too cold to preach abroad, at six I preached in the chapel, and fully declared the whole counsel of God. Afterwards I examined the little Society, and found the greater part of them lively believers, and quite free from the bigotry which is common among Churchmen, and still more among Dissenters.” The Chapel here spoken of was in Albion Street on a site nearly opposite Pate’s Alms Houses. “It had been built as early as 1723 by a Mr. Millett who passed as a Presbyterian. Here he had preached for some time, but interest flagged, and at his death the place was closed. It was not used again for public worship until in 1764 the School-master, Mr. Wells, who had earlier opened this school for Methodist Services, appealed to the Trustees for permission to occupy it in the interests of Methodism.”⁸ This permission was freely granted, and here, for some years, Methodist Services were held and the work carried on by Mr. Wells, himself a preacher of some ability. During this period; the Cheltenham Methodists were cheered by occasional visits from the great Evangelists as they pursued their itinerant labours. Under March 16th, 1768, J. Wesley writes :—“About nine I preached at Cheltenham a quiet, comfortable place, though it would not have been so if either the Rector or the Anabaptist Minister⁹ could have prevented it. Both these have blown the trumpet with their might, but the people had no ears to hear.”

In 1769, Whitefield, in passing through the town, had what he describes as a “golden season” at Cheltenham, and in 1771, on August 1st, John Wesley tells us that he rode to Cheltenham and preached near the market place to a large and quiet congregation. Again on August 4th, 1774, he says, “I went

8. See “Origin and Growth of the Local Free Churches,” by T. Whittard, J.P., in Cheltenham “Free Churchman,” 1904-6.

9. Rev. Samuel Dunscombe, then Minister at Bethel.

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to Cheltenham. As it was the high season for drinking the waters, the town was full of gentry; so I preached near the market-place in the evening, to the largest congregation that was ever seen there. Some of the footmen at first made a little disturbance, but I turned to them, and they stood reproved."

Goding in his "History of Cheltenham" describes the market place as a rude structure, open on all sides, and supported by stone pillars, situated in front of the present Plough Hotel (in High Street).

Up to this time Gloucestershire and part of Worcestershire had formed part of the Bristol Circuit, and it is interesting to note that the name of Samuel Wells¹⁰ appears as one of the three preachers stationed in this wide area. It is evident that by this time he had become one of Wesley's recognised preachers; for in 1774 his name again appears as one of the two travelling preachers in the then recently formed Gloucestershire Circuit, which was separated from Bristol in 1770. Until his death in December 1779¹¹ he continued as one of Wesley's helpers, and in the "Minutes of Conference" of 1780, there is the following obituary notice of this zealous man under the question: "What preachers have died this year?" Ans. "Samuel Wells, a sensible, honest, upright man, who put forth all his strength in every part of his work. He was particularly zealous in observing discipline and in exhorting believers to go on to perfection."

That this doctrine of "Christian Perfection" was dear to the heart of this good man is confirmed by a letter he wrote to John Wesley, on October 10th, 1772, urging him to lay greater stress upon it in his preaching and teaching. He says: "I sometimes thought that you, Sir, might do more than you do in promoting the cause of Christian perfection. I do not remember that in conversation or by letter, you ever pressed me to expect deliverance from all the carnal mind, except once in a letter, and once when you met the class at Cheltenham, though you have exhorted me to press others to it. And yet I think you have given me, one way or another, far more encouragement than any other preacher in your connexion: though some of them have not been altogether neglectful of their duty neither. But dear Sir, would it not animate us exceedingly, if you encouraged

10. Wesleyan Minister, 1769—1779. See Atmore's *Methodist Memorial* 1871, p. 242.

11. This date is confirmed by Wesley's letter on December 4th, 1779, (W.H.S. *Proc.* ix. 87): "Sammy Wells died last Sat. Live to-day!!"

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us more?"¹²

Among others converted during one of Wesley's visits to Cheltenham from 1766—1774, was a Miss Newman, who kept a bookseller's shop in the town. Her conversion, (1766-8), led her to be very careful as to books she allowed upon her shelves. "Plays and Novels" were henceforth banished. She was a woman of deep piety, and occasionally gave public exhortations. Under her preaching, her own mother was brought to God, and also Jonathan Coussins, who afterwards entered the ministry in 1780.¹³ On hearing of the conversion of the latter, Samuel Wells wrote to him urging him to go on to perfection. In a letter dated June 1st, 1777, he says:—"I am glad to understand that you have already experienced redemption in the blood of Jesus, the forgiveness of your sins; and I hope you are continually feeling after that perfect love, which casts out fear and expels the carnal mind," and again in August 1778, he writes:—"I am glad your heart longs for a deeper communion with God Walk in the light, as He is in the light so shall you dwell in God, and God will dwell in you, and you shall feel yourself freed from inward and outward sin."

For some years Miss Newman was a devoted Leader in the Cheltenham Society; and she also made visits to Tewkesbury and the surrounding villages. She corresponded frequently with John Wesley with regard to the progress of Methodism in the district. In 1776 he evidently replies to a complaint that he had not recently visited Cheltenham, although the *Journal* shows that he was in the neighbourhood several times and visited Gloucester, Stroud, Painswick, Tewkesbury.

London,

December 13th, 1776.

To Miss P. Newman, Cheltenham, Glos.¹⁴

My Dear Sister,

You do well in giving me as particular account as you

12. Arminian Magazine, 1785, page 394. For a characteristic letter of Wesley to him, on *The Toleration Act*, dated 28th January, 1799, see WORKS, vol. xiii.

In some notes by the Rev. J. E. Winter, (*Proc.* v. 14) relating to Castle Cary, is the following:—"Coming into the town by the road from Yeovil, on the right hand, soon after passing the Church, is the horse-pond in which Samuel Wells was plunged when he was seeking to introduce Methodist preaching into Castle Cary. (See John Prichard's account, 1783). (E.M.P. vi, 270).

13. See Meth. Mag. 1806, account of Mr. Jonathan Coussins. July and September.

14. See "Wesleyan Methodist Magazine," 1834, p. 902-3.

can of the blessed work in and about Stroud. And surely the very same work, if the Preachers are zealous, will spread through the whole Circuit; especially if they are diligent in visiting from house to house and so watering the seed sown in public. But do not you see what a temptation you have been under? Who is it told you poor Cheltenham would be forgotten? Tell him "Thou art a liar from the beginning, I will not hearken to thee."

"I will hearken what the Lord
Will say concerning me."

How soon can He make Cheltenham as Stroud, and Mr. Wells as Mr. Valton?¹⁵ Look up! Prizzy! Look up! Is not the cloud bursting?

I am, my dear friend,

Yrs. Affy.,

John Wesley.

Later this good woman wrote again to Wesley expressing a hope that he will soon visit Cheltenham again. His answer is as follows¹⁶:—

Near Leeds,

August 2nd, 1778.

To Miss P. Newman in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire.

My Dear Sister,

I just snatch time to write a few lines. I had designed to go through Gloucestershire to Bristol, but I am disappointed. It will be necessary on several accounts that I should go round by London. After spending two days there, and one at Bristol (if God permit), I must hasten forward to Cornwall.

Keep the people at Gutherton (i.e. Gotherington), if you can, in that lovely simplicity. I must if possible save poor Mr. Valton's life.

I am, dear Penny,¹⁷

Yr. affectionate brother,

J. Wesley.

It was not, however, till 1784, after an absence of 13 years that Wesley again visited the town. On March 17th he makes

15. It is interesting to note that Mr. Valton who was stationed at Stroud, in the Gloucestershire Circuit, in which Cheltenham was then situated, was urged on to enter the Ministry by Samuel Wells. In exhorting Mr. Coussins to follow a like course and to devote himself to the Preaching of the Gospel, Mr. Valton says:—"Do you not remember how they thrust me out, God working with them, while I fought even against conviction till conquered by the words of dear Brother Wells 'Preach or Perish.'"

16. Original letter in possession of Mr. J. Pilley, Cheltenham.

17. Abbreviation for "Penelope."

this entry in his Journal:—"We went to Cheltenham, which I had not seen for many years. I preached at noon to half a houseful of hearers, most of them cold and dead enough." This was his last visit and he was then 81 years of age. From this it would seem that the cause had seriously declined. Mr. Wells, to whom Cheltenham Methodists owed so much in its early beginnings, had died in 1779, and Miss Newman, the devoted Class Leader; had left the town, having married the Rev. Jonathan Coussins in October 1782 while he was stationed in the Circuit.¹⁸

The Services at the Chapel in Albion Street were continued however, by the Methodist student preachers under the direction of the Countess of Huntingdon; for there seems to have been, as yet, no distinct cleavage between the Calvinistic and Arminian Methodists in the town, owing largely to the influence of Mr. Wells who was a friend of both Wesley and Whitefield. In consequence the work of Methodism in the town had been carried on in a spirit of broad charity and liberality of feeling. When these student preachers were withdrawn several years later "the Ministry of the word was undertaken on alternative Sundays by the Baptists, and the Methodists, who came over from Winchcombe, then in the Gloucester Circuit."¹⁹

A revival of the cause took place shortly after 1800, on the arrival of Mr. Oliver Watts, another earnest Methodist who set up in business in the town, which had begun to progress rapidly since the visit of George III. in 1788, to drink the waters. Mr. Watts was a preacher of some ability, and a man of amazing energy. He soon became the leading spirit in local Methodism, and remained so for many years, serving the interests of the cause with both devotion and generosity. According to Goding's History he combined piety and business in a remarkable degree.

In the previous letter, according to Rev. Robert Newstead, "Prizzy" is used; but probably in the absence of the original, this is an error of copying. For further reference to Miss Newman, see Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, II, 560, and for other letters to her by Wesley, see *Works* xii, August 9th, 1776, xiii, October 23rd, 1772, October 1st, 1782. In this last he refers to her approaching marriage.

In Z. Taft's *Biog. Sketches of Holy Women*, Vol. I, 1825, pp. 290-5, Miss Newman finds a place. We are told that after her marriage she did not do much public work except in class and prayer meetings, for her health began to decline, and her husband was much afflicted. He was called away in the midst of his usefulness. They left an only daughter, Philadelphia, who was residing at Cheltenham when Mr. Taft wrote.—T.E.B.

18. An original letter of John Wesley's, to Jonathan Coussins, dated 1785, is in the possession of Miss Gibbons, Cheltenham.

19. Rev. R. Newstead, *Methodist Mag.*, 1834, page 902-3.

Therein we are told that he made it his custom after the benediction to inform his hearers that during the week he had been successful in producing something necessary to support their physical wants at a moderate rate, which the brethren may obtain on coming to 118, High Street.²⁰ This may be dismissed as false to fact, considering that he was furnishing Ironmonger; moreover it is altogether opposed to the spirit of the man as revealed in the Circuit Records.

Wesleyan Methodism was progressing rapidly at this time throughout the County with the result that the large "Gloucestershire Circuit" was divided again and again. The "Gloucester Circuit" was the first to be formed in 1795. Beside the Cathedral City, it included Stroud, Dursley, Cheltenham, Tewkesbury, Winchcombe, and surrounding villages; but Stroud became a separate Station in 1797 and Dursley in 1800, leaving the other towns in the County remaining in the Gloucester Circuit.

Early in the century the first division of Methodism took place in the town when the followers of Whitefield, popularly described as Calvinistic Methodists, took steps to erect a separate building for themselves, with the result that in 1809 they opened what was known as the Cheltenham Chapel. The Wesleyan Methodists continued in the Albion Street Chapel, which they rented, until it became too dilapidated for further use and was abandoned. The building was then allowed by the owners to fall to decay, and was ultimately pulled down to make room for the erection of private dwellings.

The services were now transferred to a Meeting House, which was situated in a passage between High Street and Albion Street and upon the site of which part of the buildings in Pitville Street now stand. Here the congregations grew so greatly with the progress of the town that a scheme was set on foot to erect a more suitable place of worship. A subscription list was opened in 1811 by Mr. O. Watts, and a site purchased by him in King Street for £199/10/-. After much perseverance and many trials, the foundation stone of the new Chapel was laid in 1812.

The "Cheltenham Chronicle" of September 24th, 1812 thus describes the event. "Tuesday last the Foundation stone of an intended Chapel was laid by the Wesleyan Methodists in this town, which is to be discriminated by the appellation of 'Ebenezer Chapel.' The ceremony was conducted with suitable decorum, and an appropriate hymn was sung on the occasion "

20. Goding History of Cheltenham, page 273.

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A year later the opening services were conducted by the Revs. Jonas Jagger (Superintendent minister), Joseph Entwistle (President of the Conference), and Dr. Robert Newton. The "Cheltenham Chronicle" of September 16th, 1813, reports:—"Yesterday the spacious and tasteful New Methodist Chapel, in King Street, was opened for Divine Worship. The singing was rendered with scientific and melodious mastery, particularly the anthem "O Sing unto the Lord, sing praises to His name!"

G. H. BANCROFT JUDGE.

A continuation of Mr. Judge's record up to 1912, appears in his *Methodism in the Cheltenham Circuit*, printed by S. R. Grove, Cheltenham. It contains facsimiles of one of Wesley's letters and of a "license for John Clee's house at Toddington, 1824."—T.E.B.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

561. WESLEY'S SERMONS.—Dr. E. H. Sugden, Queen's College, Melbourne University, asks for the sources of the following QUOTATIONS. Replies can be sent to Mr. Bridgen.

Serm. XXII, iii, 6. That rule of the ancient Heathen, "I am so far from lightly believing what one man says against another," etc. (This is somewhere in Seneca. Where?)

XXII, iii, 8. Good breeding is "A continual desire to please, appearing in all the behaviour." (This is from Addison. Where?)

XXV, iv, 12. "Against example singularly good" ? (Reminiscent of Milton P.R. iii, 57 and P.L. v. 896; but reads like a complete line of blank verse).

IV. "Damned for Company?" (Source?)

XXIX, 6. So the ancient Father; "Optimus Dei cultus imitari quem colis" ?

XXXVII 28. "Deus praesidet universis tanquam singulis," etc. (Somewhere in Augustine. Where?)

LI, ii, 7, "All these shadows which for things we take Are but the empty dreams which in death's sleep we make"

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LII, 1, "There are who faith prefer,
Though few, and piety to God."

LIV, 10. Who is the "late writer?" (on Eternity)
Where in Cyprian's works is this passage to be found?
I cannot discover it in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* edn.

LIV, 17. The veil "which hangs 'twixt mortal and
immortal being?"

LIV, 18. "Beyond the bounds of this diurnal sphere"
Where is the story of Socrates and Alcibiades to be found?
"Boundless, fathomless abyss?"

LV, 5. What is the first occurrence of the proverb,
"Athanasius contra mundum?"

LVI, i, 4. "Bore imprest Fair Nature's image on
their placid breast?"

562. A CHARLES WESLEY RELIC AND HIS HYMNS AND SACRED
POEMS.—The following appear in a recent bookseller's
catalogue.

WESLEY (Charles) Note Book, written entirely by REV.
CHARLES WESLEY, CONTAINING THE LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS
TO THE "HYMNS AND SACRED POEMS," 2 vols, of 1749;
within the front cover is lightly fastened his "PROPOSALS FOR
PRINTING BY SUBSCRIPTION TWO VOLUMES OF HYMNS AND
SACRED POEMS." An interesting note regarding this sub-
scription is found in Green's "Wesley Bibliography." The
work was published by subscription in order to raise money
for the author's marriage, and to enable him to commence
housekeeping. It is with interest, therefore, we find that
each member of the Gwynne household subscribed, including
"Miss Sally," who had so vital an interest in the success of
the venture. Although Mr. John Wesley did not entirely
approve of some things contained in the Hymn Book, he did
much to assist the venture, his name appearing amongst the
subscribers, and occasionally a note showing his help, as
"Recd. by J. W. for 64 Rects., £8." There are some
comments in shorthand throughout the book. THE VOLUME
IS IN ITS ORIGINAL HALF CALF, M.P. SIDES, AND IS IN A
PERFECT STATE OF PRESERVATION.

WESLEY (Charles) Hymns and Sacred Poems, in two vols.
The Second Ed., *Bristol*, 1755, 2 vols., 12mo, ORIGINAL
BOARDS, UN CUT, IN REMARKABLY FINE STATE.

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