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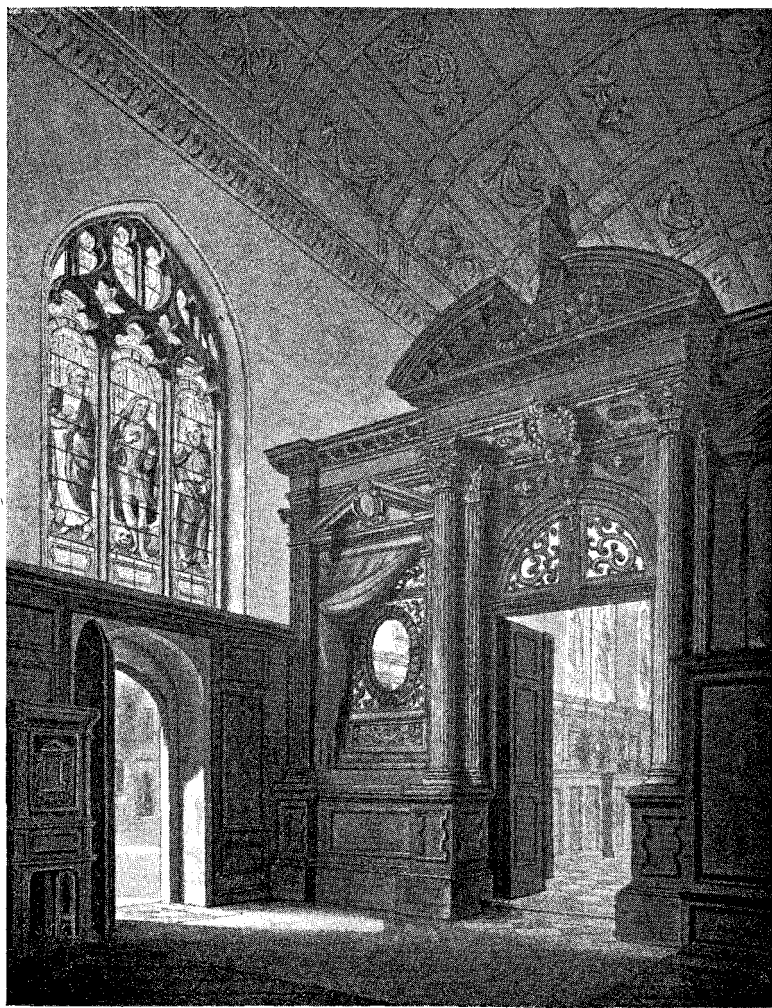
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LINCOLN COLLEGE CHAPEL.

PROCEEDINGS.

W. H. S.
SPECIAL OXFORD NUMBER.
JUNE, JULY, AUGUST.

ILLUSTRATION: The Chapel of Lincoln College, Oxford, and the pulpit from which John Wesley preached, preserved in the ante-chapel. (From a coloured print, F. Mackenzie delt. ; G. Lewis sculpt.)

Publication has been delayed by the difficulties arising out of the industrial disorders, vacations, and the Editor's rambles,—not by any fault of the printer. We hope to publish the September *Proceedings* in due time, and to add a few Oxford notes and queries for which we have not space in this issue. These will include a chronological page continued from one that appeared in Vol. xix, 54, and may, perhaps, be corrected, from some notes from Lincoln College records sent by the unfailing kindness of the Rector, Mr. A. J. R. Munro. We hope to find space also for a valuable Sussex article, sent by Mr. Austin, of Brede, another portion of the curious diary of Viney, from Mr. Riggall, and various notes and queries. We shall be sincerely grateful for any corrections of dates, opinions, or statements, and shall be glad to answer by letter any enquiries, especially those which come to us from Ireland, the Colonies, the United States, Germany and France.

After all the subscribing members are supplied with the *Proceedings* we shall have a few copies for sale to non-members. (See cover).

WYCLIF, HUS, LUTHER AND WESLEY.

The chain of connection between these names is sufficiently close to have interest for the general reader. John Wyclif, as everyone knows, for a few years, was Master of Balliol, a position which he resigned in July, 1361. For the rest of his life, when at Oxford, he lived in hired rooms in Queen's College. At that

time there were, apart from these two, only four other Colleges in existence, viz., Merton, University, Oriel and Exeter. Owing to the marriage, on January 14, 1382, in the Chapel of St. Stephen, at Westminster, of Richard II, with Anne, sister of Wenzel, King of Bohemia, strong links had been connected between Bohemia and Oxford. The Bohemian attendants of Anne, as well as the travelling students, carried home to Prague the writings of Wyclif, and on March 4, 1388, scholarships at Oxford for Czech students had been established by that warm supporter of the Czech national movement, Adalbert Ranconis.

In 1398, Jerome of Prague, obtained permission to go to Oxford. In 1401 he returned, bringing back with him one of Wyclif's important works, *Triologus*, as well as a picture which he hung in his rooms representing Wyclif as the prince of philosophers. According to his enemies he had painted a halo round Wyclif's head, but this at his trial at Constance Jerome denied. The manuscript of Wyclif's important book *de Ecclesia* was written at Kemerton in Gloucestershire by a German-Bohemian student Nicholas Faulfiss, assisted by his Czech friend George de Kynchnicz, and corrected at Oxford in February, 1407 or 1408. In the same year, 1407 or 1408, one of the four manuscripts, now at Vienna, of Wyclif's *de Dominis Divina* was written or corrected by the same two students, partly at Oxford and partly at Braybrook not far from Lutterworth. The manor of Braybrook was at this time held by the ex-Lollard, Sir Thomas Latimer, and his rector, Robert Hoke, continued to be a follower of Wyclif long after Latimer had recanted. No doubt Parson Hoke had shown his hospitality to the Czech students and loaned his copy of Wyclif's treatise to these travelling students. We are sorry to add that about this time Faulfiss behaved like a modern tourist. He chipped off a fragment from Wyclif's tomb, which he took back to Prague. As early as 1398 John had met with certain of Wyclif's treatises. Five of these, written out with enthusiastic marginal notes in Czech by Hus himself, are now in the Royal Library at Stockholm. Between 1403 and 1407, Hus had also translated into Czech Wyclif's *Triologus*.

On Wyclif's influence at Oxford we do not now need to dwell. We pass to his influence upon John Hus. As all the world knows, John Hus enthusiastically adopted Wyclif's beliefs. Wyclif lived again in Bohemia. Hus and Jerome of Prague continued the work which he had begun. Buddensieg tells us that he has seen in a Bohemian Psalter of 1572, now in the

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university library at Prague, a remarkable picture. Wyclif is represented as striking a spark, Hus is kindling the coals, while Luther is brandishing the lighted torch. The picture is correct in its belief in a close connection between the reformers. For though Hus did not embrace all Wyclif's ideas, the doctrines for which he was condemned at Constance were copied by him almost verbatim from the works of Wyclif. The Englishman was right who tells us that as he listened to the guarded answers of Hus before the Council of Constance, he detected the manner of Wyclif. By a strange injustice the doctrine of the plagiarist came to be regarded as almost the original, because Hus was linked with a national movement, while Wyclif, from whom he had borrowed, receded into obscurity. To a great extent this was due to the fact that while Wyclif's works slumbered undisturbed in Continental libraries, the works of Hus were printed at Nuremberg at an early date (1558). Moreover, the burning of Hus placed his relations to the English reformer in a somewhat false light. The flames which rose from the pile at Constance on July 6, 1415, displayed to posterity the form of Hus in clearer illumination than that of his English colleague. Only deep in the background has been discerned, since then, the shadow of that man for whose doctrine Hus went to the stake. Hus in his turn handed on the torch to Luther. In 1525 Wyclif's *Triologus* had been printed at Basel, very badly it is true. Of this work Luther seems to have possessed or borrowed a copy. But he failed to recognize Wyclif's importance or his relation to Hus. For in February, 1529, after pondering the matter over with Melancthon, Luther wrote to Spalatin:—

“I have hitherto taught and held all the opinions of Hus without knowing it. With a like unconsciousness has Staupitz taught them. We are all of us Hussites without knowing it. I do not know what to think for amazement.”

The reader must not assume that by this confession Luther intended to hint that he had become Luther by the help of Hus. His real meaning is expressed when in the same letter he goes on to explain that “Paul and Augustine are Hussites to the letter.” He was feeling his way to a doctrine of evangelical continuity rather than hinting at any relation of cause and effect. But the result of Luther's discovery of Hus and his ignorance of Wyclif was the printing of several of the works of Hus, often with a preface or notes by Luther, and thus the emphasis once more of the importance of Hus at the expense of the English master.

Nearly four centuries elapsed before the right perspective was obtained of the theological output of the two reformers. There is little in Hus which has not been taken over, with acknowledgement and without correction, from Wyclif.

The burning of Hus was not the extinction of his work. We need not enter into the chain of events which connects Hus with the modern Moravians, and all our readers are familiar with the links between Wesley and the Moravians, especially Zinzendorf and Böhler. We shall do better to go back to another link in the long chain.

In 1409 twelve censors were appointed at Oxford to draw up a list of errors in Wyclif's works. Among these censors there was a young man called Richard Fleming, of worshipful family, from Wath, near Wakefield. Lancashire, however, can make some claim to him, for the family owned the manor of Croston. At Oxford, Fleming proved himself a brilliant scholar, but in a disputation held in 1409 he had uttered divers propositions "frankly smelling of heresy." Fleming's sympathy with Lollardy has been much exaggerated, especially by Anthony Wood, and this exaggeration has crept into all books. The matter has now been fully elucidated in *Snappe's Formulary*, a work from the learned pen of H. E. Salter, published by the Oxford Historical Society in 1924. From this it is evident that Fleming's sympathy with Lollardy was simply an attempt to score points in the unreal debates of the day, and that after investigation and an appeal to Henry IV, he was exonerated. In due time Fleming received the preferment of the great prize of the Bishopric of Lincoln. How slight were his sympathies with Wyclif's doctrines is seen in his obedience to the peremptory orders from Martin V, on December 9, 1427,—

"to proceed in person to the place where John Wyclif is buried, cause his body to be exhumed, cast far from ecclesiastical burial and publicly burnt, and his ashes to be so disposed of that no trace of him shall be seen again."

Lest there should be any miscarriage in the matter, letters were sent by Martin to the King's Council, to Archbishop Chichele and to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, requesting them to assist Fleming. A week later (December 16) similar letters were sent to the Mayors of Exeter, London, Winchester, Coventry, Northampton and Leicester. So in the Spring of 1428, Wyclif's bones were disinterred, burnt to ashes, and then cast into the little river Swift, "to the damnation and destruction of his memory." "His

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vile corpse," shrieks Netter, "they consigned to hell, and the river absorbed his ashes." Thirteen years earlier (July 6, 1415), the ashes of Wyclif's disciple Hus, still hot from the fire at Constance, had been heaped in a barrow and tilted into the Rhine.

About the time that Fleming was thus casting Wyclif's ashes into the little river Swift, Fleming also established a little college of theologians at Oxford with the avowed object of suppressing Lollardy. An oath against heresy was exacted from all its fellows, who were bound to take priest's orders. As further evidence of his intentions, Fleming left to its library a copy of Netter's great work against Wyclif, the *Doctrinale Fidei*, the perusal of which is necessary for every student of Wyclif's teaching. Fleming is thus the reputed founder of Lincoln, and as such will be honoured at the coming Quincentenary. But at his death all was still, as Wood puts it, "without any maturity"; there were neither statutes nor buildings. Only through the later munificence of Bishops Bekynton and Rotherham was Lincoln College finally established. By an irony of history, Fleming's college for the perpetual extirpation of Lollardy became the home of John Wesley. In one matter Fleming would have delighted Wesley, and that was in his insistence upon clearness in the pulpit. He urged all preachers to leave their congregations in no doubt as to the object of their sermons.

The above brief outline will make evident the casual chain which binds together the names of Wyclif, Hus and Lincoln College, Luther, the Moravians and Wesley. The words of Thomas Fuller, describing the fate of Wyclif's ashes, have been abundantly verified:—"Thus the brook (the Swift) hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wyclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over." In this dispersion Wesley has been the chief agent.

H. B. WORKMAN.

Bekynton's *rebus*, a tun with a flaming torch, can still be seen on the Walls of Wesley's rooms. 'Through Beckynton also Eton had its start.' He was secretary to Henry VI. His letters were added to the Rolls publications about fifty years ago. Creasy's *Etonians*, pp. 2-8. T.E.B.

RECORDS PRESERVED BY THE WESLEY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE
BICENTENARY CELEBRATION OF THE
ADMISSION OF JOHN WESLEY TO HIS
FELLOWSHIP AT LINCOLN COLLEGE,
OXFORD, 1725-6.

From Saturday, March 27, 1926, to the Monday following, hospitable arrangements were made at Lincoln College, for guests not resident in Oxford. The Rector, Mr. J. A. Ruskin Munro, and the Fellows invited representatives of the College, the University, the City, and the Churches, to a Commemorative dinner in the College Hall on Saturday. Excellent reports by the Rev. W. Bardsley Brash, B.D., B.Litt., appeared in *The British Weekly* and *The Methodist Recorder*. Mr. Brash writes:—

“ John Wesley looked down upon us from two portraits, and also Bishop Fleming (the founder of the College), Dr. John Morley, who admitted Wesley to his Fellowship, Mark Pattison and Lord Morley of Blackburn. The Rector in a most gracious and kindly way welcomed all the guests, and pointed out that Bishop Fleming founded Lincoln College to suppress Lollardy. He reminded his guests that it was Lincoln College that had, by granting Wesley his Fellowship, set him free for twenty-five years to do his great itinerant work. The other speakers at the dinner were the Bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Ashley, Bishop Beauchamp, Dr. Scott Lidgett, Dr. Chown (representing the United Church of

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Canada), Sir Josiah Stamp, and the Sub-Rector (Mr. E. C. Marchant). The speeches were all of interest, and it was good to hear the Bishop of Lincoln pointing out, what more people must one day discover, that Wesley had a great style in writing. The Bishop said that in Wesley's writing there was no embroidery, no irrelevance, and that it revealed lucidity and forthrightness, high characteristics of style. The Bishop was singularly happy and apt in his speech. High tributes were given to Wesley's noble individualism, to that love which made him such a great spiritual and social force, to his catholicity, to his devotion, to his unflagging zeal, and to the great contribution which he made to the life of the English-speaking people."

On Sunday morning (March 28), a service was held in the Chapel of Lincoln College, conducted by the chaplain, the Rev. V. J. K. Brook. The sermon was preached by Dr. J. H. Ritson, President of the Wesleyan Conference. This memorable and "arresting" sermon, we are told, will be published by "The Epworth Press." The Bishop of Lincoln pronounced the Benediction.

After the service in the Chapel, the worshippers proceeded to the front quadrangle of the College, where the Rt. Hon. Walter Runciman unveiled a bust of John Wesley. It is a bronze copy of a bust in the National Portrait Gallery. Mr. Runciman said:—

"By the permission of the Rector and Fellows of Lincoln College, and on their invitation, we come to celebrate the Bicentenary of Wesley's election as Fellow of Lincoln. Had we come in the early eighteenth century, we should have met with a very different reception. What Wesley did for the world can never be fully assessed. He gave to the Church a new psalmody—widening and deepening the song of the Church. As a man he stood erect, a man with intense human qualities, yet with a profound and fearless grasp of Christian faith—austere, autocratic, warm-hearted, clear-headed, the author and organiser of a great religious and ecclesiastical movement. A fine scholar in his day, he relied not on scholarship, but on the divine inspiration which made him great. Lincoln has reason to be proud of her most distinguished Fellow, and all the Methodist world will rejoice that Oxford can now recognise one of the noblest of her sons."

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Mr. Runciman added that "the British Methodists were providing the bust, and on behalf of the subscribers he presented it the College, "as an outward and visible sign of Wesley's attachment to Lincoln and of the fulfilment by his Methodist children of a filial duty."

Dr. A. S. Peake spoke of the courtesy and kindness of Oxford, and showed how it had grown during the forty years since he came to Oxford as an undergraduate.

The Rector, in accepting the bust, said they had long felt that it was a reproach that the greatest man whose name stood on their roll of graduates had been without a visible memorial there. Nineteen or twenty years ago a pair of American travellers passed that way and encouraged the College authorities to believe that they would raise the money if a design were produced for their approval on their return from their Continental tour. But they never came back.

The dedicatory prayers were offered by "The Visitor," the Bishop of Lincoln. The bust was placed outside one of the windows of Wesley's old room in which the Holy Club met in the early years of the eighteenth century.

On June 10, we were glad to receive the following news, and heartily congratulate the Rector and Fellows :—

"At the recent Bi-centenary held at Lincoln College, Oxford, of the admission of John Wesley to a Fellowship, English Methodists unveiled a bust of John Wesley overlooking the College quad. The American Methodists at the time intimated that they would like to have a part in some work of their own. Dr. Workman, the Secretary of the International Methodist Committee, has now heard that the Methodist Episcopal Church has appointed a Sub-committee, with the venerable Bishop Hamilton at its head, to take up the question of the panelling in oak of John Wesley's rooms. A very beautiful design has been submitted, and it is hoped that the project, which will cost over £1,000, will be carried out during the next long vacation. At present the rooms are occupied by students, the student at present in residence being appropriately enough an American from the Wesleyan University. When the rooms have been panelled they will be occupied, as in Wesley's day, by Fellows."

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LINCOLN COLLEGE.

WESLEY BICENTENARY DINNER, 27th MARCH, 1926.

THE VISITOR (<i>The Lord Bishop of Lincoln</i>)	Mr. A. Denny
THE RECTOR (<i>Mr. J. A. R. Munro, presiding</i>)	MR, H. G. HANBURY
The Rt. Hon. W. Runciman, M.P.	Sir Alfred Hopkinson
The Lord Bishop of Oxford	Sir Ernest Bain
Dr. J. H. Ritson (<i>President of the Wesleyan Conference</i>)	Bishop W. B. Beauchamp (<i>U.S.A.</i>)
Dr. S. D. Chown (<i>Canada</i>)	The Rev. James Lockhart
The Vice-Chancellor	Dr. H. B. Workman
Sir Josiah Stamp	Dr. A. J. Carlyle
Bishop E. S. Johnson (<i>U.S.A.</i>)	The Rev. J. C. Robertson (<i>Ireland</i>)
The Rev. E. B. Cullen	THE SUB-RECTOR (<i>Mr. E. C. Marchant</i>)
Dr. David Brook	Mr. M. Gutteridge
Dr. J. Lineham	Alderman J. H. Salter (<i>Oxford City</i>)
Dr. G. W. Twynham	The Rev. T. E. Bridgen (<i>Wesley Historical Society</i>)
Dr. L. P. Jacks	The Rev. E. D. Green (<i>Superintendent Oxford Circuit</i>)
PROFESSOR G. DREYER	The Rev. W. M. Kelley
Mr. J. Ward	Sir William Ashley
Mr. H. Read	The Mayor of Oxford
The Rev. R. R. Martin	Dr. J. Scott Lidgett
Mr. G. F. Hilder	The Rev. W. A. Grist
The Rev. W. B. Brash	Dr. W. T. A. Barber
The Rt. Hon. T. R. Ferens	Dr. Percy Gardner
The Dean of Christ Church	Dr. J. A. Sharp
Dr. A. S. Peake	THE SENIOR FELLOW
Dr. A. S. Hunt	Mr. G. P. Dymond
Dr. H. Maldwyn Hughes (<i>Cambridge</i>)	Mr. C. W. Early
The Rev. T. Kirkup (<i>Secretary of the Wesleyan Conference</i>)	The Rev. J. H. Hirst
THE BURSAR	Mr. George Knight
Mr. W. E. Morse	The Rev. F. L. Wiseman
Mr. T. H. Morton	THE REV. V. J. K. BROOK (<i>Chaplain of Lincoln Chapel</i>)
Mr. W. Rundle	

(It was regretted that Sir Joseph Cook (High Commissioner of Australia) and Sir Robert Perks, who had hoped to be present, were unavoidably prevented.)

II.

THE TIMES. May 26th, 1926. "It is well indeed, that Wesley should be commemorated in Oxford."

'Though there have been among English religious leaders some who were certainly wiser, and perhaps better, men, there has never been one who made so great a mark upon the history of the country, and, it may be, even more, beyond its shores. Anselm was a much greater man, Joseph Butler a much wiser,

Matthew Parker was much more prudent, much more statesman-like, there was more of the pure saint in Edward Pusey and John Keble and Richard Meux Benson ; but none of them, it is safe to say, moved more men and women to a life of holiness and philanthropy.

To the great religious movement of which he was the leader, Lecky attributes the fact that the doctrines of the French Revolution never took root in England. He is quite right. The sentimentalism (a word Wesley hated) of the French reformers was diverted by his preaching, and by his disciples, into another channel ; and, if its issue in practical philanthropy was delayed, it eventually became more intense and more secure. The influence of his teaching also emerged as the defeat of Calvinism. The history of England proves the success of the smashing blows which Wesley dealt against Calvinism and on behalf of spiritual and moral emancipation.

* * * * *

Unlike so many of the "revivalists" of the century before him, Wesley believed with all his heart in corporate religion. "I am no friend to solitary Christianity," he said ; and the greatest work of his life was to build up an organization which should help ordinary folk to serve God and man in a close companionship of love. That this led to a larger disunion of English Christians was quite contrary to his emphatic and repeated wish ; yet his impetuosity and selfwill, quite as much as a jealous and timid conservatism among Church leaders—*episcopi Anglicani semper pavidi*—were to blame for it. Autocratic, overbearing, imbued to a quite astounding degree with a belief in his own capacity to advise every human being on every conceivable subject, yet he was an eminently lovable man because so full of the milk of human kindness and so absolutely sincere.

Those who visit the colleges where, in the language of the time, he was bred, will look upon three interesting portraits—two at Lincoln College, one at Christ Church. Those at Lincoln show him in youth and in old age ; that at Christ Church, charming, gracious, smiling, best expresses the beauty which those who loved him saw as they looked through the face to the soul within. More beautiful still are the pictures of him in extreme old age—such as Hamilton's, in the National Portrait Gallery—which show strange, wistful air of expectation, such as illumined the faces of John Keble and Edward King. His sermons, when they are read, no more explain, than do Mr.

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Gladstone's speeches, the influence of the man. His letters, simple, sometimes humorous, always direct, written with unresting pen, show what he was. And the overwhelming evidence of contemporaries establishes him as "a man of great views, great energy, and great virtues."

Lincoln College is, in many outward respects, what it was in Wesley's day. He was, in some ways, a typical Lincolnshire man, conscientious, sturdy, sensitive, and independent. All those qualities he showed as a college tutor, a Christian minister working in Oxford among the poor, and as the founder of a little society which should actively carry out the principles of the Church. It is well, indeed, that he should be commemorated in Oxford. He was almost a typical Oxford man—a student of the classics and of the literature of his day, a very neat, well dressed person, a highly emotional person, a very determined and obstinate person, keen and heart-set upon the practical issues of life. While Bacon, the Cambridge man, took all knowledge for his province, Wesley, of Oxford, took the whole world for his parish.

As Oxford honours her great son, there are many who will echo the last words of Southey's *Life* as they think of that re-union among Christians which the commemoration may well prefigure:—

The obstacles to this are surely not insuperable, perhaps not so difficult as they may appear. And, were this effected, John Wesley would then be ranked, not only among the most remarkable and influential men of his age, but among the great benefactors of his country and his kind.'

III.

THE CHURCH TIMES.

In an excellent article in *The Church Times*, April 1, 1926, headed, *The Vicissitudes of English religion*, we are reminded that "next year Lincoln College will keep the quincentenary of its foundation," and there follows a skilfully compressed sketch of Rectors and Fellows from the days of Fleming its founder, to the election of Mark Pattison as Rector in 1861. Confining our extract to the Wesley period, and wishing that space had been found for fuller reference to the influence of Robert Sanderson, to whom Wesley was indebted in his *Logic* and *Sermons*, and the ejected Nonjurors George Hickes and others who contributed to his devotional ideals and manuals, we read with pleasure:—

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“John Wesley was resident, off and on, for ten years. His greatness as a missionary has obscured his high attainment as a scholar; he was an indefatigable student and an excellent tutor. He had not long been elected when he began to gather his little company of those who lived by the Method of the Church, keeping her neglected fasts, communicating on all Sundays and holy days, showing themselves austere in life and charitable to the poor. Lincoln is properly mindful of her one Fellow whose name is known throughout the world.”

IV.

IN THE CITY OF OXFORD.

In the afternoon of Sunday, March 28, a united service was held in the Wesley Memorial Church. The Vice-Chancellor, and the Mayor and Corporation attended in full state. The Rt. Hon. T. R. Ferens presided. Dr. Scott Lidgett delivered an intensely interesting address on Wesley and Newman which appears in its full form in the *London Quarterly Review*. He reminded us that Wesley covered nearly all the eighteenth, and Newman the nineteenth century. Both made God the supreme reality, both had uncompromising courage and sincerity, both searching insight and unsparing logic; the style of each was lucid and forthright; both men had poetic feeling and power, both had intellectual interests and culture, both were dissatisfied with the spiritual condition of the Church of their day, both had masterful independence of their immediate surroundings and influences, both appealed to earlier precedents; both men joined, yet made and personified movements; both sought assured acceptance through faith. For Newman, Faith meant assent that Christianity is true, and readiness to act upon it. For Wesley, Faith was the trustful self-committal of the whole personality to the personal approach of God in Christ. Newman distrusted Reason; Wesley appealed to Reason. For Newman full assurance was the goal; for Wesley the starting point. For Newman there was fear and trembling hope, for Wesley trust and confident hope. Newman appealed to external and universal agreements; Wesley relied upon the inner witness. Newman turned to the Church as formulating this agreement; Wesley to the Living Spirit. Newman set himself to idealise and restore the past; Wesley to create a more ideal, and yet more primitive future. Newman was driven apart and inwards as recluse; Wesley was set free and driven outwards as apostle and evangelist. Can there be a synthesis or reconciliation? Not by means of

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logic. But as the differences spring from differences of emphasis, there may come a time when the birth of a new and more comprehensive spirit, informed by fuller knowledge and with a wider outlook, may transcend the contrasts of spirit and authority, and on a higher plane may harmonise them both.

Bishop Beauchamp referred to the Holy Club, and showed what an immense influence it had exercised upon the human family. We need men with the same vision, and with the same sublime leadership as Wesley. Samuel Wesley was right when he pointed to the inner witness. We must be true to Wesley's wide evangelism—"The world is my parish." The test of religion is not in "creeds," but belief. We must adapt ourselves to our age at this hour and day—we need the temper, spirit, and devotion of Wesley.

WESLEY MEMORIAL CHURCH.

WESLEY'S APPEAL TO EXPERIENCE.

Excellent arrangements were made by the superintendent of the Oxford circuit, the Rev. E. D. Green, M.A., for visitors to conduct services in various chapels at evening services. Dr. H. B. Workman, at Wesley Memorial Church preached from 1 John iii, 2, "Beloved, now are we the sons of God." He maintained that the great doctrine which Wesley proclaimed to the world was the doctrine of conscious assurance of sonship in Christ Jesus. This was the fundamental contribution of Methodism to the life and thought of the Catholic Church.

A brief historical review showed how this had arisen. The eighteenth century was an age of triumphant Deism which had eliminated all sense of mystery and reduced God to an unrelated and irresponsible being who could not and would not interpose in the affairs of men. This unrelatedness expressed itself in religious life in the denial of a possibility of all the acts and processes whereby the individual soul can establish relations with his Creator and Redeemer.

In a reaction against this Deism, Methodism had one of its roots. Wesley destroyed Deism, not by his pen, but by his deeds. The Deist had appealed to logic; Wesley, leaving the more logical issues to Butler and Berkeley, appealed to the heart. In place of a frozen theology he gave us a living experience, in which God was not hidden, neither far off, but very nigh. God, said the Deist, is unrelated. Wesley taught once more the great

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Pauline truth: relation "in Christ Jesus," the redeemed soul conscious of its sonship to the Father through the Holy Spirit. Prayer, said the Deist, is illogical and absurd; God is not a man that He should change. Wesley's answer was to teach men how to pray, and so to pray that whether God was changed or not, their relations to God were for ever changed. There is nothing mysterious, the Deist claimed, in Christianity. Wesley brought men face to face with the mystery of the Cross. Miracles, the Deist added, are impossible, a manifest contradiction. Wesley appealed to experience itself, and adduced the supreme miracle of life, the break of all continuity exemplified in every conversion of a sinner into a saint; that right-about-face of all the forces of a depraved character, the explanation of which is beyond the ken of any merely natural system of ethics.

Dr. Workman also pointed out the influence of eighteenth century Philosophy on Wesley's position. This philosophy was in itself an appeal to experience. Hobbes and Locke had, however, twisted the whole matter into one of deductive psychology endeavouring to find the grounds of validity of thought and being in the contents of the mind and feeling. Wesley's appeal to experience was not, as Warburton and other writers of the eighteenth century urged, mere "enthusiasm," much less was it the outcome of mysticism. In this appeal he was at one, however unconsciously, with the English school, with an important difference. The philosophers had confined themselves too strictly to intellectual and sensational factors. Wesley pleaded, though not of course in so many words, for an enlargement so as to embrace spiritual phenomena of the content of the mind to which the philosophers applied their method of introspection. In modern terms, Wesley claimed that spiritual phenomena have a reality of their own which neither the scientist nor the psychologist can safely ignore.

In this appeal to experience—especially by his doctrine of Assurance, taken in the main, without undue stress upon mere detail—we believe that Wesley has made a lasting contribution to the life and thought of the universal Church. In this appeal we find the historic work and place of Methodism. To this appeal we trace the outburst of exultant song which revolutionised the worship of all English Churches. Once let Methodism as a Church lose this note, and its historic justification has perished. This consciousness has given to its preaching its greatest power, is the explanation of its fervid evangelistic

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appeals, lies at the root of its special institution of the Class-meeting, is the essential qualification demanded from all candidates for its ministry, and is one of the secrets of its hold upon the masses.

V.

WESLEY'S HYMNS AND TRANSLATIONS USED AT THE COMMEMORATION.

A most impressive feature in the worship on Sunday at the services was the excellent selection from the above. The Psalms and Hymns linked the commemoration with the Early Methodist revival of Sacred Song. Two of the worshippers, one from the University and the other a distinguished layman, expressed this to the writer of these notes with much feeling. On the Sunday morning and afternoon, John Wesley's fine rendering of Gerhardt, Tersteegen, Scheffler Spangenberg, and Wesley's version of The Lord's Prayer, with Watts's Psalm 147, (John Wesley's death-bed Hymn), were sung with fervour—the last named finding its place in the Lincoln College Chapel service. We invite notes on these great hymns and hope for a revival of their use in our services. None of Charles Wesley's hymns were used, but it must not be forgotten that the occasion of the celebration was the admission of his brother John to the Fellowship of Lincoln. From an international standpoint the *translated* hymns link us with the lands of Hus and Luther, and with Wesley's experiences in Georgia where his work of translation was developed. T.E.B.

VI.

THE HOSPITALITY OF CHRIST CHURCH, 1926.

On Monday morning, March 29, the Dean, Canons, and students of Christ Church entertained the guests at breakfast. The Dean, in welcoming the guests, said that the whole tone and spirit of this celebration differed from fifty years ago. Then more stress was laid on points of difference. Now we think first of the things in which we agree, and find that they are many. We are not unmindful of differences, but we lay the emphasis upon our common heritage. We rejoice in this privilege of doing honour to one of the greatest sons of Christ Church. Dr. Workman and the Rev. W. A. Grist thanked the Dean, Canons, and students of Christ Church for their kind hospitality. Hearty gratitude was expressed to Dr. Workman for his skilful assistance in the arrangements of many details.

For notes on the three brothers, Samuel, John, and Charles Wesley, at Christ Church, see the *Wesley Historical Proceedings*, Vol. XI.

VII.

WESLEY'S PERIOD AT LINCOLN COLLEGE.

A just estimate of the government, Fellows, and scholars of Lincoln may be found in *Oxford and its Colleges* by J. Wells, M.A., of Wadham College. In his record of "the better period beginning for Lincoln under the government of a succession of strong and good Rectors," Mr. Wells says, "The period of decline which befell most colleges in the eighteenth century was postponed at Lincoln, but came at the close of the period during the long Rectorship (over forty years) of Tatham" of whose eccentricities many stories were told. Gibbon's strictures on Magdalen and the Oxford of his youth (1752-3) need not be quoted here. "The unsparing denunciation of the great historian" says Stedman (1887) "seems to have been merited. . . One fact, however, redeems the history from insignificance, and re-asserts the ancient importance of Oxford—the Wesleyan movement . . . and rightly, for the traditions of Oxford are the traditions of an academical Iona." From the standpoint of a Fellow and Lecturer, after 1726, Wesley severely criticised the condition of his University. But he was entirely free from the bitterness of Gibbon, and the "fierce antipathies" which Dean Church thought, "warped the judgment of Mark Pattison" (*Church, ii. 351*), though this famous Rector took a leading part in the great changes and educational reforms which have revolutionised Oxford since Wesley's day. (Pattison: *Oxford Essays*, pp. 251-79).

In 1741 we find Wesley writing of Oxford University as—
my tender parent, by whom I have been nourished for now more than twenty years, and from whom, under God, I have received those advantages of which I trust I shall retain a grateful sense till my spirit returns to God who gave it.

Forty years later he writes, 'I love the very sight of Oxford,' and in view of the 'neap' tide which it had reached by this time, we understand why he adds, 'but my prejudice in its favour is considerably abated; I do not admire it as I once did.'

But Wesley did not regard his university solely from the acedemical standpoint. The serious view of life which came to him in 1725, when he was facing ordination, convinced him that disregard of the statutes, slipshod methods, and purely secular ideals in study and tutorship were not only discreditable to the university, but from a Christian ethical standpoint, *immoral*.

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This was scoffed at in the first printed attack on the Holy Club as a distinctively *Methodist* view.¹ He maintained this standpoint, not only while he was at Oxford, but to the end of his long life. In preparing a university sermon in 1741, he wrote :

Know ye not then so much as this, you that are called moral men, that all idleness is immorality ; that there is no grosser dishonesty than sloth ; that every voluntary blockhead is a knave ? He defrauds his benefactors, his parents, and the world ; and robs both God and his own soul.

The ethical principle penetrating his dictum that all idleness is immoral, every voluntary blockhead a knave, Wesley applied to the whole of life from the year of his awakening at Christchurch in 1725, under the influence of his mother, and his reading of á Kempis, Taylor, and Norris. His later personal and "epoch-making" experience did not lower his ethical standard or impoverish his educational ideal. Letters written thirty years later teach that to every man to whom the opportunity is given, it is a religious duty to seek an expansion of all the mental and spiritual powers which make for the beauty and worth of human nature. His mystical experience in London in 1738, as Dr. Dale affirmed in 1891, "had a relation to all that has given the name of John Wesley a place in the history of Christendom." It has a relation also to the pressing questions of our day, asking for dynamic motives and ideas. The first practical effect upon Wesley of his vital spiritual experience, when his heart, as he says in his own brief way, "was strangely warmed," was ethical. His thoughts turned, with deep compassion to some who had 'despitefully' used him. All through his itinerant career we find him habitually studying such theories of economics and statistics as were available in his period "The present scarcity of provisions" was the subject of one of his widely circulated pamphlets, and he wrote trenchantly on slavery, war, and social wrongs. T.E.B.

VIII.

METHODISM, ECONOMICS, AND ETHICS.

"A BOOK OF THE MOMENT."

At the celebration of the Bicentenary of Wesley's Fellowship one of the foremost of living authorities on the science of Economics was present. Had Wesley been there he would have

1. Fog's *Weekly Journal*, Oxford, December 9, 1732. William Law was probably the defender of the men 'in derision' called Methodists.' Charles Wesley says the term referred 'to the strict conformity to the method of study and of practice laid down in the *Statutes of the University*, at which they professed to aim.'

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been intensely interested to hear Sir Josiah Stamp say that he became a Methodist because the message of Methodism appealed to him and claimed him. He pointed out that no Church can live merely by its traditions; it must ever adapt itself to the needs and movements of its day. It must be ever the same, and yet ever changing. Lincoln College was founded for the propagation of the Christian faith, and we may say that its greatest son is its greatest exponent of this purpose. No man lived nearer to the centre than Wesley.

During the recent Wesleyan Conference held at York, Sir Josiah Stamp delivered a lecture for the "Social Service Lecture Trust," under the title of *The Christian Ethic as an Economic Factor*. It is not published as an authoritative pronouncement of the Wesleyan Church, but as an intensely interesting treatise on questions which are arresting attention to-day. We quote one passage from the Lecture, and hope that members of the W.H.S. will secure a complete copy from *The Epworth Press* (1/- in paper, 2/- in cloth), and send us notes for our *Proceedings*. The lecturer says:—

"The more ardent amongst you, full of reforming zeal, may possibly say that I have belittled the power and scope of the Christian ethic, have backed it into an obscure corner, so to speak, and dare it to meddle with the world's affairs. But this would be far from my intention or my real view. It should not be necessary before this audience for me to touch upon the reforming and vitalising power of the Christian message. . . . I yield to none of you in recognition that moral forces are the only forces that finally count in human well-being and progress, without which any civilization worth sharing must fall to irretrievable ruin. Mazzini said, 'The true instrument of a progress of a people is to be sought in the moral factor. This was the galvanic spark in the philosophy of Lincoln. He stripped every question of its political and economic aspects laying bear its moral character.' . . . I firmly believe that only by a general raising of human sentiment to deepen spiritual quality and to carry it over a wider field, can the factor of human motives and mutual trust be sufficiently changed to have an economic result. Long before it reaches that point, it will have abundant fruits in individual character, and even if its influence in economic betterment were negligible, it would still be the worthy aim of human effort."

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In the *Spectator*, dated August 7, the late Editor—J. St. Loe Strachey—devotes a whole page to an article on Sir Josiah Stamp's Lecture. The following are some paragraphs from the article which Mr. Strachey headed "A Book of the Moment."

"Sir Josiah Stamp's book is one of the wisest and most carefully thought-out works on a special section of *Political Economy*—I use the old phrase advisedly—which has appeared in recent years. It is timely—nay, *actual*—for the duty of the good citizen and Christian towards the present industrial crisis perturbs us at every hour of the day. It 'lies in our beds, walks up and down with us,' and will take no excuse for an answer. It is written by a man of wide experience, deep thought and feeling, and, above all, by a man who takes up his high theme as a public duty. He is a true knight of science, one sworn to the service of the Truth, but yet one who realizes that we live in a world of men and women. . . .

But because Sir Josiah desires as ardently as any Socialist to reach the goal of amelioration and of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, he is not going to attempt to reach it through a quagmire in which he and those he guides will be engulfed. . . .

This little book is of the best intellectual and spiritual enlightenment, and full of help for those who wish to keep in the straight way at such a crisis as the present. It will be equally unwelcome to the full blown Socialist and to the brutal makers of the claim that economic laws must not be controlled or made useful to man's service, but must be allowed to work their iron will. Neither of these two schools will get any comfort here. Men of great possessions will go away as sorrowful from it as did he who in the Gospel challenged our Lord with his self-righteous question. The self-righteous Socialist will be equally depressed or angered by being reminded so to be a philanthropist as not to forget that he cannot obliterate facts by painting them over with the pale, pellucid, pigments of sentiment. . . .

We did not say to the inventors in the field of aviation that because the Law of Gravity exists they would be doing something impious, something deserving censure, if they tried to fly. Yet people often deal with the laws of Economic Science as if it were blasphemous to limit or

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avoid their consequences. The whole matter is really contained in passage after passage in which Sir Josiah Stamp points out that it is no good to consider economic laws except in relation to human society."

"A general reader," who does not claim to be an "authority" on economics, has found assistance in *Outlines of English Industrial History* by Drs. Cunningham and McArthur, (Cambridge University Press). *Elements of Economics*, and *Principles of Economics*, by Marshall, (Macmillan). Modern Wesleyan Methodist literature includes Davison's *Christian Conscience* (Fernley Lecture), Findlay's *Christian Doctrine and Morals* viewed in their connexion, Lofthouse on *Ethics and the Family*. Sir Josiah Stamp, quoting from Archdeacon Cunningham's *Christianity and Social Questions*, says: "In my judgement this is the sanest and best-balanced book on the whole subject."

THE PRESIDENT OF THE WESLEYAN CONFERENCE, (DR. J. H. RITSON), AT OXFORD, MARCH, 1926.

"THE MANY-SIDEDNESS OF WESLEY."

Dr. J. H. Ritson was the guest of the Oxford Luncheon Club in March. The chairman was Bishop Shaw, and amongst others present at the luncheon were Sir Michael Sadler, Canon B. H. Streeter (Queen's College), Professor Coupland, Dr. W. B. Selbie, and the Rev. E. D. Green. There were about a hundred members of the Club present. The President was welcomed by Bishop Shaw, who said that the conferment of the degree of D.D. upon Dr. Ritson had given pleasure to all.

Dr. Ritson spoke on the subject upon which Sir Michael Sadler had asked him to speak—John Wesley. He said that Wesley was not perfect, he had faults, but that he was the more endeared to us all because we knew his frailties. The President then showed the many-sidedness of Wesley. "He was a great educationalist," said Dr. Ritson, and turning to Sir Michael Sadler, said, "He was the Sir Michael Sadler of the eighteenth century." This happy reference was greatly enjoyed by the audience, for Sir Michael Sadler is the life and soul of the Oxford Luncheon Club. Dr. Ritson then showed the work which Wesley did in giving good and cheap literature to the people. He produced the "Everyman Library" of his age. He then spoke of his large-heartedness and his deep social sympathies, his support of Wilberforce in the early days of the Abolition of Slavery movement, his passion for social reform, his untiring zeal

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in helping poor and broken people. Dr. Ritson then said that no one could understand Wesley unless he realised that the great day in his life was May 24, 1738, the day of his evangelical conversion, when there came to him a vivid sense of his sonship in the family of God. Dr. Ritson showed the rise of the Methodist Society, and its relation to the religious Societies of the early eighteenth century. He paid a warm tribute to the great work of Dr. Simon, and said that he had brought to the study of Wesley an intimate knowledge, and deep understanding, and that all students of Wesley and the Evangelical Revival owed to him an immense debt. Dr. Ritson showed the love which Wesley had for the Church of England, and how by the needs of the times he was compelled to ordain ministers for the swiftly growing work of the Methodist Societies. He then, in conclusion, traced the growth of Methodism, and showed that its lines have gone out to the ends of the earth.

Dr. Ritson's speech was listened to with great interest, and was warmly applauded. He was heartily thanked by Bishop Shaw for the great service which he had rendered to the Luncheon Club. Dr. Ritson had a difficult task, for he was speaking to an audience in which there were Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Free Churchmen—men of all schools. Amongst recent speakers at the Club there have been Professor Soothill, Sir Richard Redmayne, Professor Gilbert Murray, and Mr. Pett Ridge, but no one has been received with greater pleasure than our President. This address was a sort of prelude to the Lincoln College bicentenary celebrations, held at the end of the month.

WESLEY'S READING AT OXFORD.

For our knowledge of Wesley's reading at Oxford, we are dependent on the extracts from his earliest Diaries given in Vol. I. of the Standard Edition of the *Journal*. This means that we have no exhaustive account, but the selection Mr. Curnock gives is sufficient to show us the diligent student laying the foundation of the solid structure of a truly cultivated mind. There are signs of greater discursiveness in his reading than we find at a later date when he has ceased to be the mere student and has become also the man of action. This variety does not yet reveal the line along which he will travel later, but the main interests of his life are already clearly marked out.

Soon after he came up to the University (at the end of 1721) his life took a more serious outlook and he turned to his duties with that methodical and exact temper which was to remain a characteristic throughout his life. He laid down a time-table for his studies for 1722 and continued to follow it and revise it from time to time. The basis of his work was his reading in the Classics, with some Hebrew, philosophy and ethics added. In the earlier years Latin and Greek would predominate and Horace seems to have been a favourite author at that time; by 1727 when he had taken his M.A. degree his time-table had become more comprehensive.¹ "Mondays and Tuesdays he devoted to the Greek and Roman classics, historians and poets; Wednesdays, to logic and ethics; Thursdays to Hebrew and Arabic; Fridays, to metaphysics and natural philosophy; Saturdays to oratory and poetry, chiefly composing; and Sundays, to divinity. In intermediate hours, he perfected himself in the French language, which he had begun to learn two or three years before; sometimes amused himself with experiments in optics; and in mathematics studied Euclid, Keil and Sir Isaac Newton." Two years later when "The Holy Club" began to meet regularly, the basis of their studies was the Greek Testament and from 1729 the Bible continued to be the foundation of all Wesley's study. The books that influenced him most deeply in the direction of an intenser religious life were *The Imitation of Christ*, Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying* and William Law's *Serious Call*. These were read at the end of 1725 about the time when he was beginning to preach.

It is natural, therefore, that a little later we find him reading Bishop Bull's *Companion for the Candidate of Holy Orders*. Sept. 18, 1725. This had been published in 1714 at the low price of sixpence and contained a visitation sermon of the Bishop of St. David's, a charge to the clergy of his diocese and a pastoral letter. It is full of good practical advice on reading public prayers, preaching, visiting the sick, catechizing the young and administering the Sacraments. He advises the clergy in preaching to imitate early masters and especially Tillotson. He reminds them that a priest of the Christian Church needs not only large knowledge and much prudence but exemplary holiness. In his pastoral letter he has much to say about family worship and the

¹ See *Tyerman* I, 55-56. (See also Chris. Wordsworth's *Scholæ Academicæ*, p. 337, and the new Oxford ed. of Southey's *Life of Wesley*, p. 30.—T.E.B.)

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oversight of charity schools in the parishes. Young married people should be endowed by their parents with a small library to the value of three, four or five pounds for the promotion of Christian knowledge. They are referred to a list of suitable books called *The Young Christians' Library* published by J. Downing at Paternoster Row. Surely we may see here the germ of an idea which Wesley was to develop at a later date. The reference to the S.P.C.K. should also be connected with an appendix in which the magistrates of Carmarthen enforce the the Queen's Proclamations for suppressing vice: here is a clear reference to the kindred society for the Reformation of Manners which sprang from the same circle at the end of the 17th century. *Mr. Russell's Sermon* which was read the same day as Bishop Bull's *Companion* is probably a sermon preached to the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, on Luke ix, 62, by the Rev. John Russell, Rector of St. John's, Wapping, in 1697.

Church History and the controversies it provoked do not yet loom so large as at a later date, nor has Wesley yet come under the spell of the Non-Jurors as he seems to have done by the time his Oxford career came to an end. We find the beginning here in a study of Dr. Hickee on *Schism*, published 1716. This is the posthumous work of the sturdy old opponent of that unlawful monarch William III, in which he proves that it is unlawful to pray for an usurper and that all who obeyed the bishops appointed by such a monarch were in schism and their prayers were an act of sin and their sacraments a sacrilege. He defines Schism as a refusal to obey the rightful bishops. Syngé on *Toleration* is a more reasonable book. It is good to find on the list under the heading of Church History, both Burnet's great book on the *Reformation* and his *History of his own times*.

General History is represented by a book described in the *Journal* as Vertôt's *Revolutions of theme* and another called Salmon's *Review*. The latter is a manual of English history and the former a survey of the history of the Roman Republic down to Augustus. Its author's name should be René Aubert de Vertot d' Aubeuf and the English translation appeared in 1732. *Clarendon* also is probably the History of the Great Rebellion.

General Literature is represented not merely by such books as *The Gentleman's Library* and the *Spectator* and a good deal of poetry (including several plays) but controversial matter such as

the attack made by Dennis on Alexander Pope, satire emanating from the Tory school like *Gulliver* and *Hudibras* and a book with a fascinating title, *The History of Pyrates* which we have been unable to trace.²

Philosophy is represented by Berkeley and Locke with Lee's reply to the latter. But the aspect of philosophy that appealed most to Wesley at this time seems to have been the borderland between philosophy and science. He read the life of Wm. Lilly, the 17th century astrologer, but he seems to have derived more profit from the works of Halley the famous astronomer who gave his name to a comet. Halley's inquiries into the meaning of gravitation were closely akin to the studies of Sir Isaac Newton which also attracted Wesley in his student days. We meet with similar themes in a book called in the *Journal Keil's Principia*. This is probably the collection of lectures given at Oxford in 1700 by the Sairian Professor of Astronomy, Dr. John Keill. They were published in English with the title, *Introduction to Natural Philosophy* and discuss many principles of mechanics as well as the subject of gravitation. Similar themes are found in a book he read during vacation at Wroot, the *Philosophical Principles of Religion* by George Cheyne, M.D., F.R.S. This writer wrote also on medical subjects and seems to have been one of Wesley's favourites.³ He studied his book on fevers also at this time. In his philosophical work he uses both his knowledge of physics and of anatomy to build up an argument for the existence of God based on design in nature. In the latter part of the book, even mathematics is made to yield its tribute to the same argument. In the same class we should place a book which is strangely disguised as "Ditton of Matter's Thinking, the Souls of Brutes," *Journal* i, 66 2. This is apparently a work published in 1712 by Humphrey Ditton a mathematical master of Christ's Hospital. Its title is (in part) *A discourse concerning the Resurrection of Jesus Christ with an appendix on the impossibility of producing thought from matter,—the Nature of Human Souls and the Nature of Brutes*. It was the appendix which seems to have

2. Probably Defoe's three volumes: *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719); *The further Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (published four months later); and *The life, Adventures and Pyracies of the famous Captain Singleton* (1720), a story of buccaneering in the southern seas, with surprising anticipations of subsequent African discoveries.

T E. B.

3. For a good account of Cheyne and his influence of Wesley, see Dr. Augustin Leger's *L'Angleterre Religieuse et les origines du Methodisme au xviii, Siecle*. 85-7, 89, 102, 105, 117, 151. Hachette, Paris, 1910.

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appealed most to Wesley and in his *Sermons* we find that he agreed with Ditton concerning animals; they are not mere machines, nor are they merely acted on by the common soul of the universe (*anima mundi*); no one can prove that they do not survive bodily death. It is an attack on the Materialism and Pantheism. Another book that is described as "Drake and Le Clerc's Physics" is a very curious and learned effort. It is *The History of Physick* by Daniel Le Clerc, M.D., translated by Dr. Drake and Dr. Baden with notes. The first book carries the history of medicine down to the Trojan War and the story ends a little beyond Hippocrates, who occupies most of the space in the latter books. There are extraordinary lists of the Greek names of the diseases that he diagnosed and the herbs he used. Wesley's interest in medicine remained with him throughout life. The only book on pure theology that we find in this list is Watts on *Predestination*.

We have here a window let into Wesley's mind during a small part of his Oxford career and we can readily conjecture the type of mind of the man who set out for Georgia in 1735. He knew the classics both of Rome and Greece and the best poetry of his own country well. He was not ill informed in history and had read some philosophy, a little science and mathematics and knew enough about a doctor's craft to be ready to lay down the law. He was very familiar with his Greek Testament and not unfamiliar with the Hebrew of the Old Testament but he was becoming settled in the prejudices of Oxford High Anglicanism.

A. W. HARRISON.

A useful bibliographical catalogue of books mentioned in Wesley's *Journal* appeared in the *W.H.S. Proceedings*, Vol. iv. The eight articles were contributed by Mr. F. M. Jackson, (1903-4). A catalogue of the Pamphlets, &c., on Methodism, found in the Bodleian Library, was prepared by Mr. J. T. Lightwood for Vol. xii. The fifteen volumes of the *Proceedings* are in the Bodleian and other libraries in this country and overseas. For the skilful index in each volume we are greatly indebted to the Rev. R. S. Armsby. I have some notes on the Ballard M.S.S., the Rawlinson M.S.S. and others, made in 1909.

T. E. B.

AN UNPUBLISHED LATIN LETTER
TO ZINZENDORF
BY CHARLES WESLEY.

NOVEMBER 26TH. 1737.

Some years ago I paid a very interesting visit to Herrnhut, the little town fifty miles or so from Dresden which is the headquarters of the Moravians. There I made the acquaintance of Dr. Müller, the Archivar, who showed me over the Archiv, where many interesting documents bearing upon the history of the *Unitas Fratrum* are preserved. I noticed some Latin correspondence between Wesley and Zinzendorf, which I thought had not been published. My time was short, and I could not transcribe the letters, but I made notes of the dates, and the beginnings and endings. When I returned to England, I made sure that the letters had not appeared in print, and then wrote to Mr. Curnock, who was at that time engaged upon the Standard Edition of the *Journal*, and was proposing to follow that with a collection of Wesley's Letters, suggesting that he ought to procure copies of the correspondence, and giving him an introduction to Dr. Müller. The Moravian authorities most kindly sent the letters to London, where Mr. Curnock photographed them.

Then, a few weeks ago, Mr. Telford sent me the photographic copy of one of these letters, addressed to Zinzendorf, unsigned, but supposed to be from John Wesley, and asked me, in collaboration with Dr. Lofthouse, to give him a transcript of the Latin, an English translation, and any comments that occurred to us. I deciphered the Latin with the aid of a magnifying glass and much patience, and managed to make out the text, though with a number of dubious points. Then I passed it on to Dr. Lofthouse, whose finished scholarship settled the doubtful details, and supplied one or two defective words. He also wrote a translation. A German note, apparently in pencil, at the foot of the letter, I had given up as hopeless, because the writing was so faint, but Dr. Lofthouse managed to make most of it out.

The letter deals with the spiritual state of the writer, and with the first beginnings of the Evangelical Revival in England. It is dated from London, November 26, 1737. This made me sure, to begin with, that it could not be by John Wesley, who was in Georgia at that time. In the course of the letter the writer says :

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"When you have leisure to write, let the letter, please, be addressed to the Revd. Mr. Kinchin, Fellow of Corpus Christi College in Oxford." This suggested to someone that the letter was by Kinchin, and the German note is to this effect. But that conclusion is impossible, for the letter speaks of returning to Georgia, and Kinchin was never in Georgia at all.

The letter is manifestly by *Charles Wesley*. There cannot be the smallest doubt about this. My reasons are as follows:—

1. The letter is dated London, November 26, 1737. Charles Wesley was in London at this time. According to his *Journal* (I, p 80), he was at Mrs. Hutton's, College Street, Westminster, November 25, 1737, the day before the date of the letter.
2. The letter is addressed to Zinzendorf. Charles Wesley had been in touch Zinzendorf in London in January of this year.
3. The letter deals with his own spiritual state. He had written to Zinzendorf on these lines before. In his *Journal* (I, p. 66) he says:—"I wrote and delivered my own state in a letter to the Count." This was on January 20, 1737.
4. The letter refers to Anglican and Moravian orders. He had been interested in Zinzendorf's negotiations with the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Potter) and the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Secker) as to the recognition of Moravian orders. (*Journal*, I, p. 66. Jackson's *Life of Charles Wesley*, I, p. 113).
5. The letter refers to Ingham's preaching in Yorkshire. Charles Wesley was in correspondence with Ingham, hearing about his work in Yorkshire, in October, 1737, a few weeks before the date of the letter. (Jackson's *Life*, I, p. 103).
6. The letter says: "I return to Georgia". He did not return, but it was his settled intention at this time to return. (*Journal*, I, pp. 69, 73. Jackson's *Life*, I, p. 111).
7. His uncertainty as to where he would be in the immediate future is enough to explain the detail about letters being addressed to Kinchin. He was repeatedly in touch with Kinchin in Oxford and in London, about this time. (*Journal*, I, pp. 73, 77).
8. The letter says that he takes George Whitefield with him to Georgia. Whitefield was at this time expecting to accompany Charles Wesley to America. He wrote to John Wesley (who was in Georgia) on March 17, 1737, that he was expecting to sail in a few months, and that "Your brother intends returning with me." (Tyerman, *Life of Whitefield*, I, p. 75).

9. The letter says of Whitefield's preaching "*The churches will not contain the hearers. For indeed his word and his preaching is not in persuasive words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power.*" Charles Wesley wrote in his *Journal* (I, p. 79) on Nov. 5. 1737, three weeks before the date of the letter, that he "Went to hear Mr. Whitefield preach, *not with the persuasive words of man's wisdom, but with the demonstration of the Spirit and of power. The churches will not contain the multitudes that throng to hear him.*"

I may add that the letter is a copy, as indeed it says,—it is headed *Copia von Wesley*—evidently by a German copyist; and that there are a couple of errors—*faciem* for *faciem* (*super faciem aquarum*) and one in a Greek quotation from 1. Cor. I, 4.

I thought that these details, which I give by Mr. Telford's permission, would be of interest to students of early Methodism.

HENRY BETT.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

665. WESLEY'S REVISED VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.—Referring to Mr. Brigden's footnote on p. 119 of the present volume, Mr. W. H. Surtees writes, "I possess a copy of the beautiful little pocket volume of 1790,"—without the notes. I picked it up on a threepenny volume bookstall some years ago.
666. THE BRISTOL ELECTION OF 1756.—(See *Proceedings* for March, p. 135). Dr. J. S. Simon kindly corrects an error in our account of this election. I was misled by Pawlyn's *Hist. of Methodism in Bristol*, and have now found a report of the election in the *London Magazine*, 1756, as follows:—

"Bristol Election, 16th March

The Poll : Smith 2418. Spencer 2347. Majority for Jarrit Smith, 71."—*T.E.B.*

ERRATA.

In present volume, p. 130 for Piper, read *Pike*; p. 130 for Dec. 1779, read 1778; p. 131 for Barker, read *Baker*.