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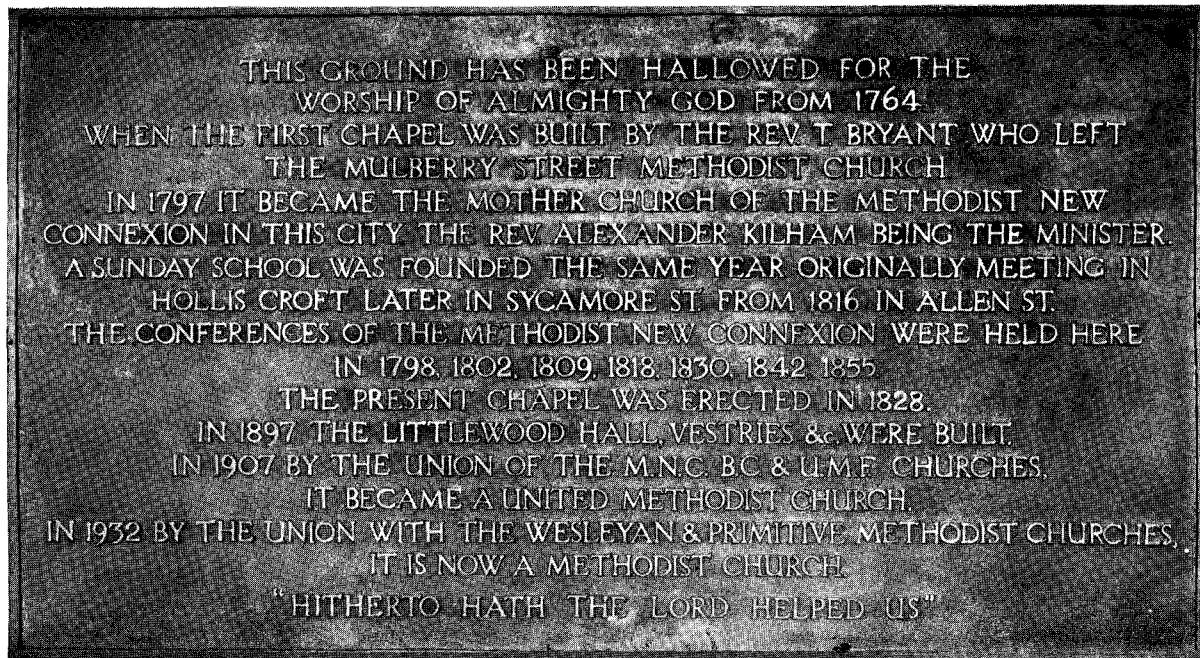
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SCOTLAND STREET METHODIST MISSION
SHEFFIELD



REPRODUCTION OF BRASS PLAQUE RECENTLY FIXED IN THE
VESTIBULE OF THE CHURCH

(By courtesy of the Trustees).

SCOTLAND STREET
 METHODIST NEW CONNEXION
 CHURCH, SHEFFIELD.

The Minister (the Rev. S. Tredinnick) and the Deacons of "The Tabernacle," Albert Terrace Road, (Congregational Church) kindly loaned to Mr. John L. Spedding, missionary of the Scotland Street Methodist Church, on December 5th, 1935, a manuscript entitled "Historical account of this Church."

Mr. Spedding has kindly furnished the following copy. Thomas Bryant was a Methodist itinerant. Myles gives his date of entry as 1759 and says he desisted from travelling in 1763. For particulars about this man, see Tyerman: *John Wesley* II, 487. He was ordained, with others, by Erasmus, a Greek Bishop, in 1763. This is the date given by Bryant himself, *Wesley Letters* IV, 278. The date 1760, as given in *Letters* IV, 252, should therefore be corrected. Mr. Bryant was interred in the family vault, under the pulpit of the Church.

Tyerman says that Thomas Bryant put on a gown and made a rent in the Methodist Society of Sheffield. In a letter of January 13th, 1765, Wesley says: "Thomas Bryant is not now in connection with us."

The whole subject of the Erasmus ordination is very interesting, and it may be said in passing that it might be worth while for some one to review the episode in the light of the references to it in *Wesley's Letters*.

Mr. Spedding has given much attention to the history of Scotland Street Church, and we hope to publish further notes based upon his researches.

The following account of the origin of the Lee Croft Church is extracted from the old Church book.

"For the Glory of God, the information of enquirers, the satisfaction of succeeding generations, and to make known the kind providence of God toward us, we, the Church of Christ, first formed at Coal Pit Lane Chapel and afterwards removed to Lee Croft Chapel, would hereby lay down a brief account of our origin, first formation, proceedings, and the gracious dealings of our Lord with us. As it is necessary to give an account of our origin as a Church, we must take notice of some circumstances that concern us in a relative sense, and which stand connected with our situation individually and in some sense collectively before we became a distinct congregation of Calvinistic Independents.

The first formers of this Church had been for a number of years attenders upon the ministry of the Rev. Thomas Bryant in Scotland Street Chapel, who exercised the office of Pastor in that chapel for above 30 years. On the Lord's Day morning, May 14th, 1797, Mr. Bryant was struck with a paralytic stroke, soon after he got into the reading desk, which affected his speech, and rendered him incapable of filling his station; in this situation assistance was obtained from several neighbouring ministers who manifested a readiness to help a congregation under such circumstances, as also several hearers, who had preached the Word of Life in neighbouring villages assisted in the pulpit.

At this time there was a great discord amongst the Methodist people. The Rev. A. Kilham was labouring to bring about a reformation and amendment in their discipline and government and to give the people that weight in the management of their temporal affairs which he proved reason and Scripture dictated; but instead of succeeding he was expelled the Society by the London Conference held on the 26th, 27th and 28th July, 1796, and at the Leeds Conference, 1797, a division took place in the Methodist Connexion. Mr. Kilham's principles were much embraced at Sheffield, and as soon as Leeds Conference was closed Mr. Kilham came here when a division took place amongst them—application was now made for Mr. Bryant's chapel—and from the public notice which Mr. Kilham gave from Howard Street Chapel it appeared that Mr. Bryant had engaged to let them his chapel.

In consequence of this unexpected information by which the chapel in which we had met together for years, and to which several of us had contributed towards its erection and support, as likewise two of our Brethren had rendered free service in the pulpit, by which and other means the congregation were kept together and much satisfaction expressed, we felt a capital stroke given to our existence as a people, and a great and distinctive innovation in our times of worship—a few friends upon this matter met together at the house of Mr. James Bartram, when it was agreed that Messrs. W. Smith, Chas. Dixon, James Bartram and Francis Dixon should wait upon Mr. Bryant to know what he had done concerning the Chapel or what he designed to do concerning his own people. It appeared that a written agreement betwixt Mr. Bryant and the Methodists was drawn up and signed, but when Mr. Bryant saw our firmness as manifested in the deputation he readily sent for the Methodist friends and delivered the writing

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to them, declaring his warm and abiding attachment to his own people from which we fully expected the constant and uninterrupted use of the Chapel,—upon the return of the delegates to Mr. Bartram's house, prayer and praise was offered unto God for preserving us together as a people.

Scarcely had one day passed over before a report prevailed that Mr. Bryant had again let the Chapel and it became manifest that either on the very evening on which he made such warm declarations of attachment to his people, or on the next day, he renewed his engagement with Mr. Kilham's friends, and so gave the effectual stroke at his own congregation.

In this state of things, Mr. Kilham occupying the Pulpit and the Methodists engaging the place, a second meeting of a few friends was held in the house of Mr. James Bartram, when, after a mature consideration of our injured situation, it was proposed by Mr. Joseph Slater, that Mr. Francis Dixon be requested to preach to us (he having principally engaged during the indisposition of Mr. Bryant) and that application be made to Mr. John Bennett to obtain Coal Pit Lane Chapel which was at that time unoccupied. Mr. Thos. Wilson warmly supported the motion and a resolution was adopted to carry the (?) if convenient, into practise :—

When the case was laid before Mr. John Bennett, he, like a Christian proposed himself as arbitrator betwixt us and Mr. Bryant but upon trial he found no good could be done with Mr. Bryant, nor no accommodation answerable to the welfare of a distinct congregation could be granted to his own people."

J. L. SPEDDING

(Mr. Spedding has sent us a long and careful list of books, pamphlets and cuttings on Methodist subjects to be found in the Sheffield City Library. The cuttings, which are very numerous, rescue many interesting pieces of local information from the oblivion which might easily have overtaken them. There is amongst the books and pamphlets much that has to do with successive Methodist controversies, especially in their local phases.

Those who are interested in the article published in this issue on Wesley bibliography may note that the Library has a copy of Wesley's sermon on *The Almost Christian* (Green § 28) which was printed in Sheffield. Green gives the printer's name John Garnett. We are able from Mr. Spedding's notes to add his address, Castle-green-head, near the Irish-cross. Incidentally this item illustrates what Mr. Baker says about the occasional erratic numbering of editions. This is called the sixth edition, 1744. But the edition printed by Farley, Bristol, 1747, is also called the sixth.

Anyone who is writing upon any branch of the history of Methodism in Sheffield should consult the Library. Mr. Spedding's notes can be used on application to the Secretary of the W.H.S.).

THE CENTENARY OF THE METHODIST EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

“Methodism, by God’s Blessing, has done a good thing, and a great thing; but it has not done everything.” These words are from a report made to the Conference of 1837, by three ministers, (Revs. Richard Treffry, William Atherton and Samuel Jackson). As a result of the report the first Methodist Education Committee was appointed for the year 1837-38.

The three ministers had been assigned by the 1836 Conference to prepare “an account of our Sunday and other Schools,” and in their Report (republished in the Education Report for 1889-90) they show themselves very concerned for Methodism’s part in education. There were then nine Infant Schools and 22 Day Schools for elder scholars, “immediately connected with our Societies.” They requested the appointment of a Committee to direct the work of establishing Church Schools throughout the country, for they said that the land would not be leavened with religion until the rising generation received a thoroughly religious education.

There was an increasing interest in the whole problem of education at this time. In 1833 the first Government Grant for that purpose had been made, and there were plans abroad for the establishment of a national system. This had occasioned the only objection there was to the opening of Methodist Schools. The three ministers recognised that such a national system would be much better, but urged that we should do what we could pending the establishment of such a system. “It is no reason why we should not immediately attempt such schools as can be closed at any time, without hazard or material inconvenience. Mr. Wesley said he would not neglect the performance of a present duty through the fear of distant and uncertain consequences.”

Thus at the very outset of educational effort in Methodism, the policy urged was that of providing schools until there was a comprehensive national system. There was great need in the country for educational facilities. The Connexion had “commodious buildings” at hand which could be used as school. It was therefore the duty of Methodism to do what it could “to combat Popery and Infidelity.”

Day schools are really as old as Methodism itself, since John Wesley established one at the Foundery in 1739, for the abundance of poor children who had no educational facilities. Individual

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efforts followed elsewhere, as at Ironbridge (1786) and Pitt Street, Liverpool (1802); but the first official record in reference to popular education is found in a resolution of the 1833 Conference which "heard with satisfaction of the founding of weekday schools in immediate connection with some of our Societies, and recommends their establishment wherever the means of supporting them can be obtained." (*Minutes*, 1833, vol. viii, p. 297).

The first Education Committee consisted of the President of the Conference (Rev. Edmund Grindrod), the Ex-President (Rev. Jabez Bunting), nine other ministers, including the three who had prepared the 1837 Report, and seven laymen. It met on December 11, 1837, and forthwith applied itself to the task of collecting information and preparing the ground for a definite plan. The 1838 Conference received the report of the first Committee with much satisfaction, and agreed to appoint a Committee for the ensuing year (*Minutes*, 1838, vol. viii, p. 354). On this Committee appears for the first time the name of the Rev. John Scott.

The 1838-39 Committee was very active. From its Report, called the first Annual Report, which was in manuscript, it is very evident that Connexion was being rapidly prepared for an organized system of day schools "to give to all the children of their own charge, and as many others as are voluntarily placed under their care, a sound and thoroughly religious education." One result of the Committee's activity was the sudden increase in the importance of education in the columns of the Methodist Press, as compared with the isolated references which appear before that year. The *Watchman* of February 6, 1839, urged that the provision of education for its youth was the paramount duty of every section of the Christian Church. Wesleyans, it said, must steer between the Scylla of too much exclusiveness, as represented by the National Society, and the Charybdis of a most latitudinarian system, as represented by the British and Foreign Schools Society. "Not a moment must be lost in giving effect to the recommendations of the last two Conferences."

Led by the Committee, the Connexion offered strenuous opposition to the proposals of the Government, contained in a Minute of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, April, 1839. This was to establish a non-sectarian State Training College, in which all denominations should be placed on the same level. Strong protests resulted, chiefly because the scheme involved "the training and employment *by the State* of Romish (among others) teachers,—a monstrous attempt to smuggle Popery into England." Methodists were urged to send petitions, and a

form was printed in the *Watchman*. On June 12, three weeks after the appearance of this form, it was announced with joy that the scheme had been abandoned, as a result of opposition from all sides; the issue of July 3 maintained that the two great religious communities of the land, Churchmen and Wesleyans, had "coalesced in the defence of the Protestantism of the empire."

The 1839 Conference saw the Centenary of Methodism, and a Centenary Fund was raised, out of which £5,000 was granted for educational purposes. The 1839-40 Education Report revealed a considerable increase in the number of schools, there being then 101, as compared with 31 in 1837; and regular returns from the District meetings were instituted at this time. The 1840-41 Report contained the Plan of Education which had been maturing for three years, and it was formally adopted by the Conference. The schools were to be distinctly religious in character, and the Bible was to be the basis of all the religious instruction. Thus the education movement was undertaken in a devout and religious spirit, and it took a strong hold on the mind of the Connexion at large.

The Rev. John Scott, whose name is inseparable from the history of Methodist Education, was President of Conference in 1843, and he was authorised to convene a meeting to give effect to the resolutions in favour of establishing day schools wherever practicable "for the children of the labouring classes" (*Minutes*, 1843). Great enthusiasm and unanimity pervaded this meeting, and its resolutions, aiming at the establishment of 700 schools in seven years, were adopted by Conference. As to financial arrangements, a special collection was authorised in all chapels on the last Sunday in November, 1844, the first Education Collection, and a special fund was to be raised. To this over £20,000 (the aim) was subscribed by 1846. Furthermore for seven years commencing with 1845, the Education Committee was to receive half of the income of the General Chapel Fund, to be henceforth known as the United Chapel and Wesleyan Education Fund. When this scheme came to an end in 1851, the two funds were separated, and Conference directed that Public Collections for the purpose of promoting Day School Education should be made in the month of April, in each year.

In the meantime, the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, having burnt its fingers once again in attempting to deal with the religious question, abandoned its desires to establish a national system of education, and determined merely to continue

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giving grants to the voluntary agencies at work. In 1847 the Wesleyans first received Parliamentary Grants, for the Education Committee did not agree with those extreme Nonconformists who held that state interference in education was anathema; but one of the conditions on which they accepted grants was that the Government should make no attempt to render education merely secular, but recognise religion as an essential element.

One other realm in which the Education Committee has always been active is that of the training of teachers. The Report of 1839-40 urged the training of a few first-rate masters "as the best means of laying a firm foundation for efficient proceedings in the future." They used the interest on the £5,000 from the Centenary Fund and entered into an agreement with Stow's Normal Seminary at Glasgow. There they had over three hundred teachers trained. But they looked forward to the time when "the students, instead of being trained on the distant banks of the Clyde, should receive their training under the immediate cognizance and oversight of the Committee, on the banks of the Thames," (Report 1848-49). A site was obtained in what was then a very poor part of Westminster, and a letter from the Committee of the Privy Council, March 2, 1849, expressed interest and satisfaction that the Wesleyan Education Committee had deliberately selected an area which really needed the schools that were to be attached to the Training College. The foundation stone was laid on February 27, 1849, and the College was opened on October 6, 1851, with the Rev. John Scott as Principal. He had been Chairman of the Committee for the past seven years.

This marks the end of the first stage in the history of Methodist Education. The Committee was now strongly established, with a permanent Fund of its own. Under its control were nearly 400 schools, together with a Training College for both men and women. The Methodists were thus playing their part in the voluntary educational efforts of the age.

NOTE.—The first report was made by the three ministers in 1837. The Committee of 1837-39 made a report to Conference, but it was the Report of 1838-39 which was designated the "First Annual Report." The Sixth Report was published in 1844, then the Seventh was not until 1846, but it was called the 1845 Report. Henceforth the Reports were usually named after the previous year to that in which they were published, until 1876 (called the 1876-77 Report). Besides 1846, there was also no report published in 1852, (both these years fell in the midst of general advances in Methodist Education), thus the 1936-37 Report was the 97th and not the 99th Report.

FREDERICK JEFFERY.

WESLEY'S WIFE IN WESLEY'S LETTERS.

(MARRIED 18TH FEBRUARY, 1751. DIED 8TH OCTOBER, 1781)

The object of this article is to do justice to John Wesley's wife in view of the fresh evidence which has become available through the publication of the "Standard Edition" of Wesley's Letters.

The Methodist historians have not been gentle in their treatment of her. Southey has placed her alongside of Xanthippe and Job's wife as the three outstanding examples of the world's bad women, and in the place where Southey put her the historians of Methodism have been content to leave her. The reading of Wesley's surviving correspondence with her, with the help of the very fine annotations in the *Standard Letters*, has convinced me that Wesley himself would have been the first to protest against this verdict of the historians. He had suffered so much himself from unmerited abuse, and was by nature such a fairminded man, that we cannot conceive him acquiescing in Southey's verdict, though his own final verdict was a hard one.

The historians say that she was a very jealous woman. No doubt she was. We have no reason to doubt Southey when he says that she frequently travelled a hundred miles for the purpose of watching from a window to see who was in the carriage with him when he entered a town. It was Wesley's letters of spiritual advice, which some of his friends thought were indiscreetly worded, which were the main source of their domestic differences. One of these letters was to Mrs. Ryan¹ and contained the words "The conversing with you is an unspeakable blessing to me. I cannot think of you without thinking of God. Others lead me to him, but it is as it were going round about: you bring me straight into His presence." Wesley subscribed himself "Your affectionate brother."

We who know how affectionately Wesley addressed all to whom he wrote, even when they were in controversy with him, and who also know the transparent "singleness" of his eye and purity of his heart, can understand, and I was going to say forgive, but we do not conduct our pastoral correspondence in quite the same way, even though our wives may not be jealous women.

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Mrs. Wesley had a violent temper, say the historians. Tyerman² calls her "his termagant wife," and says that mourning for such a wife would have been hypocrisy. He writes of her ungovernable temper, and states that in no sense was she a help-mate for Wesley. As a rule, he states, she was a bitter unmitigated curse. At home she was suspicious, jealous, fretful, taunting, twitting and often violent; abroad it generally happened that nothing could please her. There is also the story of how in Ireland she was found in a rage so uncontrolled that she was pulling his hair out by the roots.

No doubt she had a bad temper, which led her into many inexcusable excesses; but Wesley, so calm and self-controlled himself, so stubborn in holding on to what he thought to be his liberty or his duty, so armour proof in his own righteousness, must have proved at times most exasperating to a woman prone to be jealous and quick to be angry. Certainly her first husband seems to have known how to manage her. There is no suggestion that they did not get on well together.

Mrs. Wesley was also at a disadvantage when their differences were discussed in writing, for she had to dispute with one who was her superior in education, whose mind was well stored and well trained, and who was a master of logic and most familiar with controversy. To a woman of Mrs. Wesley's disposition it must have been doubly galling to know that she would always be out-argued, and out-written, however just she felt her own case to be.

The historians say that Mrs. Wesley went away and refused to live with Wesley. She did, and more than once, but she did also try to live with him, also more than once. The *Letters* provide material which helps us to disentangle the confusion of her goings and comings. Mrs. Wesley seems almost to have left him on January 20, 1758, for writing a week later to Mrs. Ryan he says "Last Friday after many severe words my wife left me vowing never to return."³ But after two days they were reconciled. and all further allusions (except for one uncertain one on June 12, 1759)⁴ suggest that they lived together till March, 1760. Between March and July of that year they must have parted, for in March Wesley writes⁵ to her complaining about her storing a bed in his study, thus implying that they were living together, while in the following July he writes to her saying "If it please God we meet again, let us meet for good."⁶

Evidently they were soon re-united, for a letter written to

James Rouquet from Manchester on March 30, 1761, describes how he forcibly opened her bureau and reclaimed his letters, and that they were living apart.⁷ On this occasion it was upon his initiative, and it could only have been for a brief period, as by December of the same year they were once more together.⁸ All further references⁹ indicate that they were together till December 18, 1768, but in that month they separated yet again. In a letter to Miss Bosanquet from London on December 28, Wesley writes:¹⁰ "To hear from you is always agreeable and at present there is no hindrance. In this house we have no jarring note. All is peace and harmony." Again on the 18th of the following March he writes from Chester to Mrs. Crosby¹¹ (a lady of whom his wife was particularly jealous) "As soon as you have time write more particularly and circumstantially. There is now no hindrance in the way." While the words "There is now no hindrance" could imply that Mrs. Wesley was still living with him in London, yet a letter Wesley wrote to Christopher Hopper¹² on November 20 decisively proves that his wife was not living with him and did not intend to return. "If she will return of her own accord I will receive her with open arms, but I will not hire her to return." Further, a letter written from London to Mary Bosanquet¹³ in January, 1770, reveals that his wife was still away. "She is there still; and likely so to be unless I would hire her to return, which I dare not do. I will not buy a cross though I can bear it."

Hence when Mrs. Wesley left him at the end of 1768, the *Letters* suggest that she remained away till January, 1770. Some time between that date and January 23, 1771, she must have returned once more, for on the latter day she abruptly left him to go to her house at Newcastle "proposing never to return."¹⁴

Nevertheless on June 15 Wesley and his wife returned together from Newcastle to London, and his wife made a determined and prolonged effort to make married life go smoothly and well. In a letter to his brother dated July 10, 1772,¹⁵ Wesley says, "In these fifty years I do not remember to have seen such a change. She is now 'one full of graces,' 'honey quite unmixed,' finding fault with nobody, but well pleased with every person and thing." That this effort of his wife was prolonged as well as determined, is indicated by the nature of a postscript which Wesley attached to a letter to Christopher Hopper¹⁶ in October, 1772, which says, "My wife sends her love. She has her old companion the gout." While in May, 1774,¹⁷ he writes his wife a quite affectionate letter from Edinburgh, giving her instructions about

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the managing of book affairs, and a more affectionate one from Newcastle¹⁸ on June 10, the same year. But the long letter Wesley wrote to her within five weeks from York shows that the breach of sympathy between them was getting beyond repair, though he still declares that he loves her, and appeals to her to let him govern her with gentle sway.

They parted finally in September, 1774,¹⁹ when Wesley tells Mrs. Crosby "My best friend . . . has hired part of a house in Hoxton, professing she would never more set foot in Bristol house or in the Foundery."

So Mrs. Wesley lived with her husband for eighteen or nineteen of the thirty years of their married life. They lived together from the day of the wedding (excluding the two days breach in January, 1758) to 1760, a period of $8\frac{1}{2}$ years; also for a period of at least $7\frac{1}{2}$ years between 1761 and 1771; and for $2\frac{1}{2}$ years between 1772 and 1774. During this period she returned to him four times, viz., between July, 1760 and March, 1761, between March and December, 1761, in 1770 and in June, 1772. And we can say more than this: two last letters of Wesley to her reveal her again seeking a re-union.

Now justice demands that while we make no attempt to deny the substantial truth of the charges brought against her, and allow that her extreme jealousy and hot temper betrayed her into many sins, and led her into untruthfulness and deceit, disloyalty and disobedience, yet, it is our duty to say all that is good about her as well as what is not.

These are some of the things we can say:—

Mrs. Wesley was an able business woman, and spent much of her time supervising affairs at the Bookroom while her husband was on his itineraries. Even in 1774, just before their final separation and twenty-three years after their marriage, Wesley writes to her²⁰ giving instructions about book affairs, and commends her for her admirable behaviour over a money transaction.

Mrs. Wesley was a splendid nurse. Wesley pays a beautiful tribute to her in a letter which he wrote to her from Newlyn in 1758²¹ a few days after he had dashed 228 miles from Conference to London where she was lying dangerously ill.

"My Dear Love, I can make allowance for faintness and weakness and pain. I remember when it was my own case at this very place, and when you spared no pains in nursing and waiting upon me, till it pleased God to make you the chief instrument in restoring my strength."

Mrs. Wesley was a staunch Methodist, even when so many

from her own household mistrusted, and from her point of view misjudged her. Even Tyerman admits²² that "she appeared to be truly pious and was very agreeable in her person." The Editor of the *Letters*²³ declares that she was in many ways a generous hearted woman, and that her home and heart were open to ministers. Wesley in one letter²⁴ tells her that he could make abundant more use of her if she would only obey him. Also writing within two years of the wedding, and referring to her visit with him to Newcastle he says²⁵ "Your name is precious among this people. They talk of you much and know not how to commend you enough." That she maintained her interest in the religious life of Methodism is proved by an entry in Wesley's *Journal* in June, 1772.²⁶ "Calling at a little inn on the moor, I spoke a few words to an old man there, as my wife did to a woman of the house." The epitaph on her tomb describes her as a woman of exemplary piety, a tender parent and a sincere friend.

Wesley himself bears witness to this better side of her nature in a letter which he wrote to her in 1760. After enumerating her faults, this letter²⁷ continues, "I still love you for your indefatigable industry, for your exact frugality, and for your uncommon neatness both in your person, your clothes, and all things round you. I value you for your patience, skill, and tenderness in assisting the sick."

Let us then conclude our appraisal of Wesley's wife by imagining she is writing a letter to him in reply to the long, and we must admit rude, letter which he wrote to her on October 23, 1759, and in which he told her under ten heads, and with much emphasis, the things he disliked in her.²⁸ It will perhaps be sufficient to transcribe the outline of this letter here before giving the imaginary reply that Mrs. Wesley might have made in her defence. Wesley's letter commences, "Dear Molly, I will tell you simply and plainly the things which I dislike," and then proceeds in numbered paragraphs, the gist of which are:—(1) I dislike your showing anyone my letters and private papers without my leave. (2) I dislike not having the command of my own house. Not being at liberty to invite even my nearest relations,²⁹ without disobliging you. (3) I dislike the being myself a prisoner in my own house and having my chamber door watched continually. (4) I dislike the being a prisoner at large and having to give an account of every person I see and place I go to. (5) I dislike not being safe in my own house. And Wesley charges her with plundering his papers, and says he misses money too. (6) I dislike your treatment of my servants. You browbeat, harass, rate

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them like dogs. (7) I dislike your talking against me behind my back, making my faults (real or supposed) the standing topic of your conversation. (8) I dislike your slandering me. (Detailed particulars follow). (9) I dislike your common custom of saying things not true. (Again detailed particulars follow). (10) I dislike your extreme immeasurable bitterness to all who endeavour to defend my character.

Side by side with this letter may be put an *imaginary reply** that Mrs. Wesley might have made to it.

My Dear John,

I will tell you simply and plainly the things which I dislike in you.

(1) *I dislike your neglect of me. You are away over long periods, and when you are at home you are so thronged with visitors and company and meetings that I should live a very lonely life if I depended on you for my social intercourse. I have tried hard to do my part, and have travelled many weary miles, and put up with much rough accommodation, much inconvenience and and privation. I have left my family over considerable periods, neglecting other claims to be with you, but what have you neglected to be with me?*

(2) *I dislike your slighting me. As you did when you set off for service in the chaise³⁰ without me, because I was a few minutes late in being ready. Had you waited you would still have been in time, and what motive could you have in doing it but to make me feel small. As you also did that day³¹ when I entered the house and found you sitting at supper with friends and asked you to have a room ready for me on Tuesday, and before them all you said "It happens very contrary, for I am going off for Yorkshire early on Monday morning." You put me in a most humiliating situation.*

(3) *I dislike your forcing my bureau open on 2nd March, 1761.³² and taking papers out. You say you only took your own papers back. Yes, but it was without my consent. You know, John, the cause of our miserable quarrel is all over stolen papers. If my deed was wrong so is yours, we are on a level here. Indeed I am above you, for you once told me³³ "If any letter comes to you directed to Rev. John Wesley open it, it is for yourself," and I never said any such thing to you.*

* We print this letter in italics to emphasise the fact that it is an *imagined* letter, expressing Mr. Mills' view of what might well have been in the mind of Mrs. Wesley.

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(4) *I dislike your accusing me of marrying you for your money.³⁴ You know I have enough of my own without taking any of yours. You talked differently from this when you suggested borrowing money from me.³⁵*

(5) *I dislike the manner in which you write to your converts, Mrs. Ryan, Mrs. Crosby and many others, using terms of affection which are unseemly to be used to any but your wife.*

(6) *I dislike your assumption of male superiority. I find it insufferable to be told that when I married you I promised to obey you and that every act of disobedience was an act of rebellion against God and the King as well as yourself.³⁶*

(7) *I dislike your irritating self-righteousness. It is always I who am wrong, always I who must give way, I who must restore and repent and give restitution. Oh, John, if you could be but once a little more human and imperfect, and give me less logic and more heat I could fly to your arms.*

(8) *I dislike your gullibility. You are so easily taken in, so easily poisoned against me by those who know how to get the right side of you. Do you think of Mrs. Ryan as you did? If so, what made you tell her you suspected she monopolised the affections of all who fell into her hands.³⁷ Others more than suspected this some time ago*

(9) *I dislike your contempt of me. If my character is of no importance to mankind, it is of importance to me, and to that Redeemer who died for me as well as for you, and to be told by you that if I had never lived it would have been no loss to the cause of God³⁸ is hard for me to hear and bear.*

(10) *I dislike your hardness of heart about me. Four times I have come back to you and am prepared to come back again and try once more. But always the coming back is on my side, not yours. Again your terms always get stiffer;³⁹ at first your condition was that I returned your papers, but now I must recant in writing, and destroy the consequences of all that I have done wrong before I can live with you again.*

The "Good terms" seem more important in your eyes than the re-union.

Now, John, strive to remove these ten things that I dislike and you will yet find me to be

Your affectionate wife,

MOLLY.

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The references are to the Standard Edition of the *Letters*, the Standard Edition of the *Journal*, and Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, in 3 volumes.

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|---|---|
| <p>1. <i>Letters</i> iv, 4 2. Tyerman ii, 110-115 3. <i>Letters</i> iv, 4 4. do. iv, 65 5. do. iv, 89 6. do. iv, 102 7. do. iv, 143 8. do. iv, 166 9. do. iv, 169, 172, 200, 245; v, 10, 11, 19, 21, 105 <i>Journal</i> v, 281 10. <i>Letters</i>, v, 120 11. do. v, 130 12. do. v, 161 13. do. v, 176 14. <i>Journal</i> v, 399; Tyerman iii, 126 15. <i>Letters</i> v, 329f 16. do. vi, 49 17. do. vi, 87 18. do. vi, 90 19. do. vi, 98f</p> | <p>20. <i>Letters</i> vi, 90 21. do. v, 105 22. Tyerman ii, 142 23. <i>Letters</i> iv, 74 24. do. iv, 101 25. do. iii, 91 26. <i>Journal</i> v, 474 27. <i>Letters</i> iv, 101 28. do. iv, 74 29. See paragraph 6 in <i>Letters</i> vi, 99 30. <i>Letters</i> iv, 74, see note 31. do. iv, 75, do. 32. do. iv, 142 33. do. iii, 65 34. do. vi, 102 35. do. iii, 154 36. do. iv, 89 37. do. v, 17 38. do. vi, 102 39. do. vi, 273</p> |
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FREDERICK H. MILLS.

METHODISM IN THE CHANNEL ISLANDS

(A FURTHER NOTE)

I was not able to include Guernsey in my trip (though I had an enjoyable day in Sark, where Methodism has a chapel). But this seems an appropriate place to record a ceremony which took place there not long ago.

On December 1, 1935, a tablet was unveiled by Mr. P. Gallicune, Dean of the St. Peter Port Douzaine (Town Council), above a riding block at the estate of Mon Plaisir, which at the time of Wesley's visit to Guernsey belonged to Mr. Henri de Jersey. The inscription runs:—

This riding-block is believed to be the stone upon which John Wesley, stood, when he delivered his sermons during 1787. The Rev. John Wesley twice visited Guernsey staying at Mon Plaisir (house adjoining) the home of Henri de Jersey. Mr. Wesley and his companions at first preached in the house but later took services outside as the dwelling

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would not contain the congregation. The history is recounted in his *Journal* September 2nd, 1787.

Thanks were expressed to the municipality for taking charge of the site, and to Mr. G. F. Peek, the present proprietor, for the gift of the riding-block and site. There are few direct descendants of Henri de Jersey in the island, but one of them was present, Mrs. E. J. Collas, President of the Women's Work Department of the Guernsey (French) Circuit.

Wesley visited Guernsey on his way to Jersey and on his way home, and the *Journal* entries are more extensive than indicated in the inscription. As a matter of fact the entries August 15-19, 30-31, September 1-6 deal with Guernsey.

Methodism in the Channel Islands has been well documented. The following list may be found useful.

"The Town of St. Helier," by E. T. Nicolle.

Francois Guiton: "Histoire du Méthodisme Wesleyen dans les Isles de la Manche, 1846"

Rev. H. Arnett: "History of Methodism in Jersey," 1909.

Rev. J. Richard Hargreaves: "Methodism in the Channel Islands, its introduction and growth," 1884.

"One Hundred Years at Saint Martin, Jersey French Circuit," 1929 (compiled by Mr. C. W. Binet).

"History of the Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School, Les Capelles, Guernsey, 1828-1928."

Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1817, Memoirs of Matthew Galichan.

ditto. 1820, Memoirs of Mrs. Arrivé of Guernsey

ditto. 1870, articles by Rev. J. S. Simon.

Rev. Matthieu Lelièvre: "Histoire du Méthodisme dans les Isles de la Manche," 1885.

Henri de Jersey: "Jean de Queteville," 1847.

"Vie d' Amice Ollivier" (a pioneer of Methodism in Jersey).

W.H.S. *Proceedings*, see vols. iv and vii for notes on *Journal* entries of 1787.

Lives of Coke, Kilham and Clarke may be consulted as well as those of Wesley.

F. F BRETHERTON.

JOHN LEWIS THE PRINTER AND HIS FAMILY.

The religious periodicals issued by John Lewis, "Printer to the Religious Societies," have been described in vol. xi of the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* by Roland Austin, M. H. Jones and T. E. Brigden, and by M. H. Jones in a series of

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contributions to the *Journal of the Calvinistic Methodist Historical Society*, volumes ii, iii and iv,—further, in volumes iv and v of that *Journal*, M. H. Jones printed all the facts of John Lewis's life which he had been able to garner. Actually, beyond the fact that John Lewis was a Radnorshire man, little seemed to be known about him. But in a letter of his to Howell Harris, of April 8, 1743 (numbered 853 in M. H. Jones's *Inventory*) he says: "my daughter belongs to the Moravian Brethren, and my wife closely adheres to them."

When, recently, I was working in the Archives at Fetter Lane, a reference to John Lewis reminded me of this letter, and I took occasion to note, in passing, any allusion to Lewis or his family which came under my notice. The information thus collected was indeed concerned rather with his wife and daughter than with Lewis himself, but as will be seen, we do learn something about John Lewis himself as well. I have ventured to blend the references into a continuous narrative rather than to print them in the raw.

John Lewis was certainly in London by 1728 at the very latest, for in December of that year his daughter Catherine was born "in London." His wife's Christian name was Mary; her surname I do not know; she was born at Wollaston in Northamptonshire, in 1703. Lewis was quickly drawn into the Society movement; indeed, so his daughter's obituary notice says: "a Society Meeting was kept at his house, which gave [his daughter Catherine] a serious turn," so that "she was one of the first children we [i.e. the Moravians] had in class."

We have already noted Lewis's letter of April, 1743, and thus we are not surprised to read in the Fetter Lane Elders' Conference minutes, under October 5 of that year, that "Mrs. Lewis wants to come in Band . . . , she hath left Mr. Whitefield this good while; no body hath any thing against her." The increasing tension between the Brethren and the Whitefieldian Methodists is exemplified in a note in the Provincial Pilgrim House Diary under July 22, 1745: "Mr. Lewis wrote a letter to Br. Hutton, wherein he desires his leave to put his name in the *Weekly History*, which Br. Hutton refused, it being not for him to lend his name for things which he does not approve" (so also, in almost identical words, Benham's *Life of Hutton*, pp. 179-180); still, John Lewis's daughter Martha, born on August 26 of that year, was baptised by the Brethren on September 15.

Before the end of 1748, Mrs. Lewis's unofficial adherence to Moravianism passed into the more formal stage of "reception";

in January, 1749, she was "confirmed," and in February admitted to Holy Communion among the Brethren. Oddly enough, though her daughter Catherine (as it would seem), had been associated for a longer period with the Moravian cause, she had to wait till 1750 for formal admission to the Congregation. It would seem too that this definite attachment of his wife and daughter to Fetter Lane led to John Lewis himself being once more patronised by the Brethren, not indeed as printer but as bookseller; we read in Benham's *Hutton* (p. 265) that *A Consolatory Letter*, printed by John Hart in 1752, was "sold by J. Lewis in Paternoster Row."

And it is the Fetter Lane Register that informs us of the death of John Lewis, on May 13, 1755, and of his burial "in Bloomsbury." His daughter Catherine's obituary tells us that "he departed this life leaving a numerous family in strait circumstances; she, by good management and working at the business, helped her mother so far that they got out of debt." Catherine, however, seems to have been estranged from the Brethren for a while, for we learn that in 1758 "after staying away, she was readmitted." She married, in 1762, Br. William Immyns, but died "of consumption" in 1767. Her mother, too, had "stayed away," but had "returned to Holy Communion" in 1766. Mary Lewis lived till 1791.

R. T. JENKINS,

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METHODISM IN THE BANGOR DIOCESE IN 1811. SOME REFLECTIONS.

(As promised in our last number, opportunity is here afforded for Mr. Williams to assess the significance of the records published in recent numbers).

The records speak for themselves, but one or two reflections may not be out of place here:

(i) It is clear that in several parishes Wesleyan Methodists continued to attend at the Established Church although they were now, in theory and in practice, Nonconformists.

(ii) The same remark holds good for the Calvinistic Methodists, as one would expect. But here and there—at Ruthin for example—Wesleyan Methodists attended Church, while

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Calvinistic Methodists did not. At other places the reverse was the case.

(iii) The name by which the denomination was known differed in different places and with different writers. In some returns its members are referred to as Wesleyans, in others as Wesleyan Methodists, in others again as Methodists, and in still others as the followers of Wesley, while some clergymen styled them Arminians or Arminian Methodists. There was no uniformity.

(iv) It is also evident—and the returns for 1814 confirm this—that there were still in Bangor Diocese several neglected spots, parishes untouched as yet by the native Methodists and/or the old Dissenters. Such places naturally afforded greater scope than others for the Wesleyan Methodists.

(v) On the other hand, it is equally clear that Calvinistic Methodism had already taken possession of some parishes to an astonishing degree. The extract for Penmon, for example, has not been printed, for there were no Wesleyan Methodists there; two-thirds of the inhabitants were Calvinistic Methodists.

(vi) Not much can be gleaned from the returns about the social status of Wesleyan Methodist members of Society, but those for Llangristiolus and Penmachno—if they are to be believed—show that the newcomers were true to type, and that the early missionaries proclaimed with Charles Wesley, “Outcasts of men, to you I call.”

(vii) The value of itinerant preaching is also brought out very clearly by the Rev. Harry Williams of Trefdraeth. There can be no doubt from this return, and from others for 1811 and 1814, that the itinerant system of Methodist preachers was a strong factor in their success.

(viii) Wesleyan Methodism taught Welsh Nonconformity the value and importance of adequate places of public worship. Interesting, therefore, is the fact that so many parishes in 1811 were without chapels. Equally interesting and significant are the parishes in which the only chapel belonged to the Wesleyan Methodists.

(ix) In the 18th century Methodism in England and Wales was fluid; the early years of the 19th century in Wales saw it crystallise into two, often mutually hostile, denominations. But the example of parishes like Llanfachreth and Llanelltyd should help to remind us of the danger and fallacy of rash generalisations.

A. H. WILLIAMS.

MORE "ADDITIONAL NOTES TO WESLEY BIBLIOGRAPHY."

In *Proceedings* iii, 123-30, appeared some valuable additions to the knowledge of Wesley bibliography. These were embodied in an Appendix to the second edition of Rev. Richard Green's great work, in 1906. Since that time still more bibliographical material has come to light. The *Catalogue of Wesleyana* at the Book Room, published in 1921, reveals a host of editions not in Green. Unfortunately, the barest details are given, so that in many cases it is impossible to be sure whether one has discovered a different edition or not. Wesley employed so many printers that sometimes several editions can be found printed in the same year, or bearing the same number, yet quite distinct. Usually it is desirable to note the number of the edition, the town of printing, the name of the printer, and the date, or as many of these details as are given. In cases where the *format* has been altered it is best to note this, also. A few notes of fresh editions have also appeared at intervals in *Proceedings*, including thirty-one new items discovered by Rev. E. H. Sugden, in the Queen's College Library, Melbourne. (*Proceedings* viii, 8).

The items noted in the following list have been discovered by me (with few exceptions) in the Didsbury College Library, where I was kindly permitted to pursue various researches. Many other editions which must have existed have not yet been noted. Possibly they await discovery in other Methodist libraries.*

The initial numbers refer to Green's sections. W. indicates *Wesleyana*; W.H.S. indicates *Proceedings*.

2. Fifth, London: Whitfield, 1797. (Green, Appendix, has "Fifth, 1797").
8. Bristol: Pine, 1768.
- Tenth, London; Hawes, 1778. 12mo., pp. 12.
17. Eighth, n.d. (W). This may be Green's "Bristol: Farley," n.d.
- Twelfth, London: 1795. (W has "Twelfth, 1795").
21. Ninth, London: Conference Office, 1830. 18mo., pp. 71. (W has "Ninth, 1830").

* Mr. Baker has made a complete schedule of all the editions unnoted by Green which he has found in *Wesleyana* and in *Proceedings*, viii, as well as those which we are here recording. To insert all these notes would require a great deal of room; we include, therefore, only those which are not mentioned in *Wesleyana* and *Proceedings* except in cases (such as Green § 21) where the edition referred to in *Wesleyana* is not described in sufficient detail to make it plain whether it is the same as Mr. Baker has discovered or not. The complete schedule prepared by Mr. Baker is in the hands of the Secretary and can be consulted by any member specially interested. F.F.B.

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23. Tenth, London : Hawes, 1775. (Green gives "Tenth, 1775").
24. "Newport, Rhode-Island, reprinted and sold by S. Southwick, 1774." This is the description of a volume sold in 1935, and reported in *Book-Prices Current*, 1935, p. 744, and in *Book Auction Records*, 1935, p. 146.
26. London ; Hawes, 1774. 24mo., pp. vi, 7-306, and 11 pp. contents, unnumbered. (P viii, 8). (W has "1774").
28. Thirteenth, London : Hawes, 1774. (W has "Thirteenth, 1774")
London : J. Paramore, 1784. "This sermon is not to be sold, but given away" (W has "1784").
London : G. Paramore, 1792. (W has "1792").
33. Twentieth, Dublin : Powell, 1764.
London : Printed 1742 ;—Re-printed 1788. ("This to be given away").
Twenty-eighth, London : New Chapel, 1789, pp. 16.
London : Printed 1742 ;—Re-printed 1793. ("This to be given away").
Thirtieth, London ; G. Paramore, 1794. (W has "1794").
49. Fourth, London ; Conference Office, 1803.

FRANK BAKER.

(To be continued).

GEORGE WHITEFIELD AND GEORGE WHITFIELD.

The first was the great evangelist born in 1714, associated with the earliest days of Methodism. He died in America in 1770. The second was born in 1753, commenced to travel as a Methodist preacher in 1785, and died December 24, 1832. For some years after his admission to the ranks he travelled with Mr. Wesley as his companion, after which he filled, for fifteen years, the office of book-steward, a responsibility he took up by Wesley's particular desire. He appears in Claxton's picture of Wesley's death-bed, and was one of the executors of Wesley's literary property.

Confusion sometimes arises with respect to these brethren, confusion which is rendered easier by the identity of Christian names, and by the fact that both were associated with Wesley. But it is to be noted that the names are not spelt in the same way, though they are pronounced alike—a further snare for the unwary.

Whitfield is buried at City Road Chapel, and the late Mr. McNeal told me that visitors have frequently to be informed that

it is not Whitefield who lies there; he was interred at Newburyport, Mass., U.S.A.

It is a common thing, however, to meet with the name of the evangelist spelt as Whitfield. (Indeed I have a small *Life of the Rev. George Whitfield (sic) A.M.*, published in Edinburgh, 1826). In most cases where this occurs it is to be feared that mere inattention is the cause. I do not think it is wrong to assert that Whitefield is the standard form for the name of the great preacher. But the spelling without the "e" seems to have some authority. In *George Whitefield, the Awakener*, by Rev. A. D. Belden, B.D., there is a footnote (p. 11) to the effect that the name is spelt in both ways. At Tottenham Court Road Chapel, says Mr. Belden, there are MSS. bearing Whitefield's own signature in both styles. (The form reproduced by Adam Clarke in a page of autographs issued with his *Wesley Family* has the "e"; Tyerman apparently gives no recognition to the form "Whitfield"), I have not observed any departure from what I have ventured to call the "standard form" in Mr. Belden's book; the writer describes himself as the Superintendent, "Whitefield's," London, and dedicates his book to "The Order of the Companions of Whitefield's."

The "standard form," so far as I have been able to observe, invariably appears on the title-page of the numerous publications issued by Whitefield in his life-time.

There is a reference to Whitefield in *Standard Letters* (viii, 49) where Whitfield should be read. Mr. Telford agreed with my suggestion to this effect. Writing on March 20, 1788, to his niece Sally, a letter which is evidently a reply to something which has been said about the health of his brother Charles, Wesley says, in the opening sentences of his letter:

"Mr. Whitefield had for a considerable time thrown up all the food he took. I advised him to slit a large onion, and bind it warm on the pit of his stomach. He vomited no more. Pray apply this to my brother's stomach the next time he eats."

A reference to one who was at the time his companion, on his journeys is much more natural than one to a man who had passed away nearly twenty years before, and had not been closely associated with Wesley in the later part of his life. Mr. Telford had, I think, seen only a transcript of the letter, and the transcriber may have gone astray in this detail.

There is an instance in our *Proceedings* (x, 184) where a work written by Whitfield is attributed to Whitefield. It is item 50 in Mr. Roland Austin's excellent bibliography of George Whitefield.

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The pamphlet is as follows :—

Remarks on the Injustice and Immorality of Slavery. In Eight Letters by the Rev. George Whitfield, some time travelling companion of the Rev. John Wesley, London, 1830.

There seems no doubt that the spelling of the author's name is correct, and that the pamphlet should not be included in the list of Whitefield's works. The pamphlet is a rare one, and is not mentioned in Dr. Osborn's *Records of Methodist Literature*.

The only instance I have come across of the spelling Whitfield where "Whitefield" might be expected, in a case where the matter is likely to have received proper consideration, is on the memorial in the Church of St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester. This gives support to Mr. Belden's statement that the form was a permissible variation. But writers will surely do well to follow, as Mr. Belden does himself, the general usage.

Everett in his *Methodism in Sheffield* uses the spelling Whitfield in every reference to the great evangelist. It would be interesting to know whether he had given definite consideration to the alternatives. He quotes from Seymour's edition of Dr. Gillies' *Life of Whitfield* (*sic*). But in describing the book I feel sure he mistranscribes the name. I have the second edition of Seymour, and the original book by Gillies, 1774, and in both of them I find Whitefield.

F. F. BRETHERTON.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

771. VERSES ATTRIBUTED TO JOHN WESLEY.—Dr. Harrison noted these verses in *English Sacred Lyrics, 1884*, in which volume they are attributed to John Wesley. Nothing appears to be known of them, and we reproduce them by kind permission of Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., the publishers of the *Lyrics*. Information welcomed.

GOD'S LOVE AND POWER.

I felt my heart, and found a chillness cool
Its purple channels in my frozen side ;
The spring was now become a standing pool,
Deprived of motion and its active tide.
O, stay ! O, stay !
I ever freeze if banished from Thy ray :
A lasting warmth Thy secret beams beget ;
Thou art a Sun which cannot rise or set.

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Then thaw this ice, and make my frost retreat,
But let with temperate rays Thy lustre shine :
Thy judgment's lightning, but Thy love is heat ;
Those would consume my heart, but this refine.
Inspire ! Inspire !
And melt my soul with Thy more equal fire ;
So shall a pensive deluge drown my fears,
My ice turn water, and dissolve in tears.

After Thy love, if I continue hard,
If sin again knit and confirmed be grown ;
If guilt rebel, and stand upon his guard,
And what was ice before freeze into stone ;
Reprove ! Reprove !
Thy power assist Thee to revenge Thy love.
Lo Thou hast still Thy threats and thunder left ;
The heart that can't be melted may be cleft.

Arrangements for Wesley Day are so numerous that it is not possible for us to mention them in detail. We intend to give some review of what has been accomplished in our next issue. We have to defer notice of several books and booklets called forth by the bi-Centenary celebrations, including Dr. Rattenbury's valuable work on the conversion of the Wesleys.

The Director of the Usher Art Gallery, Lincoln, writes to say that arrangements are in hand for an exhibition of Wesleyana in May. The word "Wesleyana" is used in a very elastic sense, and includes not only portraits and relics of Wesley, but also pictures, manuscripts, and books relating to persons and events associated with him. Will any member able to help please communicate direct with the Director.

The Annual Meeting of the W.H.S. will be held at Beverley Road, Hull, on Friday, July 15. Special arrangements are being made and will be announced in our June issue.

A Lecture, under the auspices of the Society, will be given on the evening of the same day in the same Church by the Rev. R. Lee Cole, M.A., B.D., on Wesley's 'Journal'. Mr. Herbert Ibberson will preside.

It is with deep regret that we record the serious illness of Mr. E. S. Lamplough, President of the W.H.S., and we assure him of our prayerful sympathy.