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A table of contents for the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* can be found here:

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ADJOINING THIS SITE  
STOOD THE HOUSE OF

JOHN BRAY

SCENE OF

CHARLES WESLEY'S

EVANGELICAL CONVERSION

MAY 21<sup>ST</sup> 1738

[Photo by Mr. H. W. Mansfield, F. Z. S.]

## JOHN BRAY - HIS GUESTS AND HIS VISITORS.

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In December last, following representations made by Dr. A. W. Harrison and myself to the Surveyor of the City of London, the Corporation honoured the memory of Charles Wesley by erecting a plaque over the doorway between Nos. 12 and 13, Little Britain, indicating that "adjoining this site stood the house of John Bray, scene of Charles Wesley's Evangelical Conversion, May 24st, 1738," the actual site of the house being No. 12.

The story of the discovery of the site I related in my article published in *Proceedings*, xxi, 138. It may be of interest to allude to some further facts relative to John Bray and the many interesting visitors who thronged his house during the period in 1738 and 1739, in which John and Charles Wesley both made it their London home.

From a close perusal of the *Journals* of both John and Charles Wesley, the Registers of the church of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, the published letters of Dr. John Byrom, F.R.S., the *Life of James Hulton* by Benham, and the *Minutes of the Moravian Helpers' Daily Conference* (very kindly made available to me by Bishop Shawe), I have been able to piece together all that seems to have been recorded concerning John Bray. In this article I can, of course, only quote a few extracts from Dr. Byrom's letters and from the *Helpers' Daily Conference Minutes*.

John Bray appears to have been a son of a John Bray, who married one Elizabeth Stanbridg, in the church of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, on December 30, 1697. A year later a son, Matthew, was christened, in St. Botolph's, and in 1698 a second son, also Matthew. At this time they were residing in White Horse Yard, Barbican. Soon after this, they appear to have removed from the parish, as no further entries occur in the registers of St. Botolph's. When or where our John Bray was born we know not. We learn, however, from the *Minutes of the Moravian Helpers' Conference*, that the father died on July 15, 1742, and that the mother survived him.

## WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The John Bray in whom we are interested first comes into our view in the spring of 1738 when he, his wife, and his sister, Mrs. Turner,—whose gentle influence had so much to do with Charles Wesley's conversion,—were already residing in the house in Little Britain. Here came Charles Wesley, weak and ill, on May 11, and here ten days later occurred the great experience of Charles Wesley. Another three days and John Wesley is brought along in triumph "by a troop of our friends" after his own epoch-making experience in Aldersgate Street. Both John and Charles continued to make the house their permanent London lodging until well on into 1739, and here came a host of interesting folk to see them. To name only a very few, they included George Whitefield (December 11, 1738).—James Hutton, the friend of both John and Charles Wesley, and later the English leader and organiser (under Count Zinzendorf) of the Moravian Church in London. He is buried in the Moravian Close in Chelsea.—William Holland, who afterwards became prominent in the Moravian Church. He left it later, and died in 1761.—John Edmonds, later a strong pillar of the Moravian Church, died in 1803 in his 94th year and buried at Chelsea,—and Dr. John Byrom, F.R.S. Dr. Byrom was far from being the least of the many who visited the house in Little Britain. Not only was he a noted scholar, poet, hymnwriter and scientist, he was a pioneer in modern shorthand, — a century before the advent of "Pitman's" system. Indeed, John Wesley's own system was undoubtedly based upon that of Dr. Byrom.

Dr. Byrom came to see the Wesleys at John Bray's house many times. Here are three extracts from his letters:—"June 15, 1738. I have dined yesterday and today with Mr Ch Wesley at a very honest man's house, a brazier, where he lodges, with whose behaviour and conversation I have been much pleased." At another time Dr. Byrom was exercised over a tea-kettle his wife wanted him to purchase for her. July 26, 1739: "Oh; the tea-kettle: prithee tell me, for I forget if thou didst, what sort it must be." August 4, 1739: "I called yesterday at Mr. Bray's, brazier, about a teakettle; he says round ones are the most commodious, not with flat tops but raised a little. . . . I found Mr Ch Wesley there and drank tea with him. . . ." So much for Dr. Byrom. After 1739 John Bray began to get unsettled in his religious beliefs, as is very clearly shewn in both John and Charles Wesley's *Journals*. At the time of the withdrawal of the Wesleys from the Fetter Lane Society, Bray stayed on with

## PROCEEDINGS

Hutton, Edmonds, West and others, and continued for a time to identify himself with the Moravians. Before, however, the Moravian Church was officially constituted on October 30, 1742, Bray had ceased to be numbered amongst the Brethren. The following extracts are all from the *Helpers' Daily Conference Minutes*. August 16, 1742: "Br Bray says he will come no more among us till some things are altered. He is a Bro. fallen into a mischief and hurt which any of us can fall into."

Henceforth it is pathetic to read of Bray's rapid decline. August 30, 1742: "Bray goes about from place to place speaking against the brethren saying they are worse than Papists." November 26, 1742: "Br Bray to be thought of before our Saviour." He even forbade his wife to attend the meetings.

On October 9, 1743, Charles Wesley was evidently surprised to notice Bray in his congregation at the Foundery. This is the last reference in either *Journal* to Bray, apart from an incidental reference to happenings of earlier years in John Wesley's *Journal* in 1746.

Towards the close of 1743 Bray removed from Little Britain, —where we do not know. His removal was probably due to business reverses. A minute of June 21, 1744, reads ". . . some time ago he (Mr. Bray) met with Br. Bell and says that the brethren fight against him and that through their means he could not prosper in his business."

October 22, 1744: "Read a very confused letter from Mr. Bray to Br. Hutton."

The last reference to Bray I have found in the *Minutes* is dated November 26, 1744, in which a certain Mrs. Storer suggests that "as Mrs. Turner leads but an uneasy life with her Brother Bray, they might take lodging together."

The rest is silence. We cannot trace when or where Bray finished his earthly life. Probably the exciting days of 1738 and 1739 were too much for his nervous system. Let us not condemn but rejoice for the great awakening that took place in his house in Little Britain.

HERBERT W. MANSFIELD.

This is the second plaque erected by the Corporation of the City of London in memory of a member of the Wesley family. See *Proceedings*, xix, 44, for an account of the memorial placed on the house in which Susanna Wesley was born. F.F.B.

A SOCIETY OF MINISTERS OF THE  
GOSPEL IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND  
IS PROPOSED TO BE ESTABLISHED UNDER THE  
FOLLOWING RULES AND REGULATIONS.

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I.

That they meet at Worcester in the private house of some reputable person, four times in the year ; viz., on the Tuesday next before the Full of the Moon, in the months of April, June, August and October.

II.

That the time of their Meetings in the morning for business be at 10 o'clock, and of dining at 2, and that the expence of the Dinner be defrayed by an equal contribution of the whole Society, absent Members not excepted.

III.

That after the names and number of the first Members are settled, no new Member be admitted, without being ballotted for, and if but one negative appear, this shall be sufficient for his exclusion ; the Proposal of every new Member being at one Meeting, and the Ballotting at the next, that there may be time for deliberation, and if need be Inquiry concerning him : and that no Minister, being a stranger to the Society, be admitted *occasionally* without being immediately ballotted for upon the terms above specified.

IV.

That in case any Member chooses to withdraw from the Society, he give Notice thereof by Letter, or at the Meeting, in which for the last time, he himself is present.

V.

That this Society for the orderly conducting of its business have a Director ; and that each Member execute this Office annually in his turn according to seniority of age ; and in case he is at any time prevented from giving his attendance, that the discharge of his office devolve for that time upon the next in Seniority.

## PROCEEDINGS

INSTRUCTIONS to the Director to regulate himself by in the discharge of his office, when the Society is assembled.

1. That he have a copy of the Rules and Orders of the Society, together with the account of the nature of the business to be transacted, lying before him, and also a Bible, with pen, ink, and paper.
2. That he himself begin and end the business of the Society with Prayer, or request some one or other of the Members to perform that service, the Hymn in the Ordination Office being sung before the last Prayer.
3. That he endeavour in every Meeting to have as much business done as possible, without being superficial ; in order that there may be the greater variety of matter for every Member to gather profit from.
4. That he take care, that only one person speak at a time, and he in Rotation according to the Order of sitting ; and that, if he sees occasion, he desire him, who speaks, to be as *brief* as he will care ; and that no new subject be spoken to, till the first is done with.
5. That he endeavour to keep the Society free from all such conferences, as are attended with disputings, and are void of Christian Love, Peace and Friendship.

An Account of the Nature of the Business to be transacted by the Society in their Meetings.

It is proposed to go upon the following Cases or Heads of Duty.

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### I.

#### PUBLICK PREACHING.

### II.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES, for the Establishment and Growth of Faith and Holiness in their respective Parishes.

### III.

CATECHIZING OF CHILDREN AND INSTRUCTING OF YOUTH.

## WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

### IV.

#### PERSONAL INSPECTION AND PASTORAL VISITING OF THE FLOCK.

### V.

#### VISITING OF THE SICK.

### VI.

#### RULING THEIR OWN HOUSEHOLD.

### VII.

#### PARTICULAR EXPERIENCES OF THEMSELVES.

It is recommended to every Member of this Society, that he always keeps by him in his possession, a copy of the Rules and Orders, together with the Account of the nature of the business to be transacted by the Society in their Meetings; in order that he may know what is allowed to be done by the Members, and see the manner in which the business is to be carried on, and may the better be enabled to make it profitable to himself, and the whole Body. It is recommended also, that he take down brief Minutes, for his own private use, of the business, which is transacted by the Society for his future recollection of it, and Meditation upon it. Every Member of the Society is reminded, that as he is not to form his judgment and opinion from that of others, so he is not to be led and governed by others, but to see and judge for himself, that Liberty of Conscience without Restraint and Violence, may have its due and proper allowance. He is also reminded that in every particular subject, in which he gives his own or takes the opinion and sentiments of others, he endeavour to keep himself and others free from all evil divisions and animosities, both in heart and voice, in temper and conduct, in order that Christian love and unity may be kept up and promoted, and that where there is any *profitable Conference*, there may not be, as a necessary consequence, any *unprofitable Disputings*. He is also reminded, that at Home in private before the Meeting Day, and in the morning of that day in private devotion, he be very earnest in prayer to God, for His direction in and blessing upon the Society, its nature and design, and its several Members.

#### CONCERNING PUBLIC PREACHING.

### I.

The Director or any other Member, after an Inquiry and a Motion made by the Director may speak upon such particulars as these.



## PROCEEDINGS

Whether there be any *particular Subjects* he has been preaching upon lately—any *particular Point* he has been labouring—any *particular Sin* or *sins* he had seen peculiar reason to cry out against—any *particular Duties* he has found occasion peculiarly to enforce—any particulars in laying open new views and deeper Discoveries of the *Fall of Man*, his original sin, corrupt nature and actual transgressions ; and of a *divine Conviction* of this, and *Heart Humiliation* for it—any particulars relating to the All-sufficiency and Freeness of the Redeemer and his Redemption—any particulars concerning the nature and effects of *Faith* in the Redeemer—any particulars relating to a growing Love of *God* in the *Heart*, and a more *close* walking with him in life. Also, whether he has lately been upon, or now is, and is going on with any particular Plan of Preaching, and whether he has anything to observe to the Society or to inquire of them concerning it—Whether he preaches in the Church on any of the week-days and whether he observes any new Method or Manner in such Discourses, the communication of which may edify the Society.

### II.

#### CONCERNING RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

The Inquiry may be made, whether he has any in the Parish amongst his people ; and if he has, of what sort and nature ; whether they are governed by settled Rules and Orders, agreed on by the Members, the Schemes proposed and the Intention in view by them ; what Obstructions or Encouragements they have met with ; what difficulties have been got over in the carrying of them on ; who is at the head of them, what business is done in them, and on what days they are held—any advice may be asked and given concerning any particular circumstances attending them, and any difficulties about them either in setting of them on foot, carrying of them on, or repressing of them—any alterations and amendments in them may be proposed, and the opinion of the Society taken thereupon.

### III.

#### CONCERNING CATECHIZING OF CHILDREN AND INSTRUCTING OF YOUTH.

Whether this part of the ministerial labour be made a point of, and much taken heed to ; in what way and manner it is carried on ; how often, at what times, and in what places ? Any scheme may be proposed for the carrying of it on, and the opinion of

## WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

the Society taken upon it, and any alteration and amendment in one already set on foot may be proposed. Whether there be any good schools in his Parish, and what he has to do with them, either the Teachers or the taught.

### IV.

#### CONCERNING PERSONAL INSPECTION AND PASTORAL VISITING OF THE FLOCK.

Whether this is duly attended to and practised ; whether he visits his people more or less from house to house, and takes frequent opportunities of talking with his people in private, as well as preaching to them in publick and instructing and exhorting them in Society ; how he is received by them in his exercise of this part of his ministerial duty towards them ; whether or in what particular he finds himself by this means, the more and the better enabled rightly to divide the Word of Truth, and to give to every one their portion in due season, in his publick preaching or social instructions and exhortations ; whether in this Employment he inquires of the several families he visits, if at all or in what manner they practise the great duty of *Family Prayer* ; also of the religious care taken by parents, masters and mistresses of children and servants ; of the Family's attending as much as possible, on the publick Worship of God in his House, on the Lord's Day especially, and at all other times, as opportunity can be had by good contrivance ; whether he sees and endeavours that all families (and every private individual person, as much as may be) are furnished with *Bibles* and *Common Prayer Books*, and also, if it can be, with *Jenk's Devotions* or *Every Man's Ready Companion* ; and whether other Books are dispersed amongst them, and what those Books are.

### V.

#### CONCERNING VISITING OF THE SICK.

How this Duty is attended to and practised ; in what way it is done ; how often in a week, considering circumstances and situations it is proper to be done ; what the best way of dealing with and talking to sick and dying persons ; viz. : the Careless, Hardened, unawakened Sinner, the blind and ignorant, the Convinced and Distressed Sinner, the Formalist, the Tempted, the Hypocrite and him in *Despair* ; what particular and remarkable cases of souls have been seen on the sick or death bed and whether those who have made vows and promises of turning unto and serving God on the sick bed, have performed and put them in practice, when they have recovered.

## PROCEEDINGS

### VI.

#### CONCERNING THEIR OWN HOUSEHOLD.

### VII.

#### CONCERNING PARTICULAR EXPERIENCES WITH RESPECT TO THEIR OWN SOULS.

We whose names are here under written, being Members and Ministers of the Church of England do agree to meet together as a Society under the above mentioned Rules and Regulations, for the transacting of business, as related in the Accounts of the nature of it, with no other design than to promote the Honour of God, and the success of the Gospel, in the Work of the Ministry.

(The above is copied from an unsigned draft. The paper is not dated, and no indication of the authorship is given. The fact that it is found among papers of Rev. John Fletcher makes it natural to connect it with him, but it may belong to a somewhat later period. In any case the influence of Wesley's Conferences and Rules of Society is evident. It is an interesting sidelight on the Evangelical revival.)

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## THE RE-PRINTING OF WESLEY'S PUBLICATIONS.

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Wesley's first publication was issued in 1733. During the rest of his lifetime he published some four hundred works. The majority of these were original, but a good number were only abridged by Wesley, or recommended in a preface by him. These books and pamphlets were amongst the best-sellers of the century. Some of them ran through an amazing number of editions during Wesley's lifetime, and continued to be printed well into the 19th century, and occasionally into the 20th. During the hundred years following Wesley's first publication, over two thousand editions of his various works were issued. In the following article, however, very few 19th century reprints are included, and those after 1850 are all omitted.

The details of Wesley's amazing publishing record are rather difficult to assess at their true value, but very impressive. Of the "Nativity Hymns" (Green 84) 42 editions are known, and of the "Rules" (Green 43) 37, while at least five more must once have existed. The palm for repeated publication, however, goes

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

to Charles Wesley's sermon "Awake, thou that sleepest" (Green 33), of which 37 editions are known, and of which there must have been at the very least another ten.

Possibly this vagueness as to the actual number of editions may sound puzzling. It must be realised that the printed numbering of the various editions of Wesley's works is not always a reliable guide. Often there are three or more "Third" editions, followed by as many "Fourth" editions. Three "Twenty-seventh" editions are known of "Awake, thou that sleepest," and as many as five "Eighth" editions of Green 17!

Sometimes editions were duplicated in different towns, so that there might be "First," "Second," and "Third" editions for each of the three chief publishing centres, London, Bristol and Dublin. Thus, although the last edition published might be numbered "Third," actually nine editions would have been issued. Usually, of course, the actual situation is rather more complicated than this. Other factors enter in, so that it would not be a valid deduction to say that there must have been at least 81 editions of Charles Wesley's sermon because three "Twenty-seventh" editions are recorded. Undoubtedly there were many *hundreds* of editions of which all trace has been lost, but whose existence cannot be conclusively proved. Many also await discovery in some of our libraries, or on old book stalls, as witness recent articles in *Proceedings*.

There is so much confusion in the numbering of the various editions that we shall never know the *exact* number. *Minimum* figures, however, can be arrived at. The following table has been compiled after careful study of the editions described (often insufficiently) in Green's *Wesley Bibliography*, the *Catalogue of Wesleyana*, and various W.H.S. articles, as well as other minor sources.

First edition consisting of	First editions Mr Green	Total editions recorded	Editions deduced
1-25 pages	190	802	67
26-100 pages	121	528	37
over 100 pages	112	444	33
	423	1774	137

The grand total of undoubted editions is thus 1911, and there can be no reasonable doubt in the minds of those who have studied Wesley's publications that the actual number was well in excess of 2000. It is quite probable that the *known* editions will yet reach that number.

## PROCEEDINGS

Perhaps a word should be said about the "Editions deduced." That these 137 actually existed is almost demonstrable, though in view of the warning issued earlier, not absolutely so. In the case of the second *Journal* extract (Green 18), for instance, the editions so far recorded are the "First," "Second," "Third," "Fifth," and an unnumbered edition of 1797. It is practically certain that a "Fourth" must have once existed, although it has not yet been recorded, and may never be. If the "Fifth" edition were subsequent to 1797, of course, the argument would fall through, as the 1797 edition would be counted as the fourth, though not so numbered; but the "Fifth" edition is dated 1775. Similarly if there were two "Third" or "Fifth" editions it might be suggested that one of them should really have been numbered "Fourth," and the argument would be weakened. As it is, however, the existence of the lost "Fourth" edition can hardly be doubted. This is so of the rest of the 137 "Editions deduced," though obviously one cannot go into the pros and cons of each case. In some cases these deductions are supported by the mention of, say, an otherwise unknown "4th ed." in a contemporary book catalogue.

One surprising feature of the above table is the comparatively uniform rate at which small, medium and large publications were reprinted. One would naturally expect that the small and cheap pamphlets would pass through more editions than the more bulky and expensive works. Yet the total number of editions of the larger works is practically four times the number of original publications, a ratio only slightly smaller than that of the medium and small publications. It should be borne in mind, of course, that the pamphlets were naturally more perishable than bound books, and that in the case of the "Words" many separate editions cannot be distinguished; thus the actual number of editions of small works must be well in excess of the numbers quoted. Even so, the figures help to correct the impression that Wesley was a publisher almost exclusively of cheap and small pamphlets. He also kept up a steady supply of more bulky literature. In fact many of the works classed as "Over 100 pages" were in reality very large. The "Notes on the Old Testament" filled three quarto volumes, a total of 2613 pages, while the "Christian Library" occupied 50 volumes (16,000 pages), and the collected "Works" of 1771-4 32 volumes. If the actual *volumes* were to be counted in as separate publications, a further 182 would have to be added to the total of large works.

## WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Of these large publications eleven passed through more than ten editions, and five saw over twenty. The latter consist of three hymn-books (Green 30, 165 and 396), the *Christian's Pattern* (Green 26), and *Primitive Physick* (Green 101).

Eleven medium-sized works reached ten editions, but only one passed the twenty mark,—“Awake, thou that sleepest.” “Redemption Hymns” (Green 105) reached at least nineteen, and probably more.

As far as the smaller pamphlets are concerned, thirty were issued ten or more times, and eight of them over twenty times. The latter were two sermons (Green 8 and 28), two small collections of hymns (Green 84 and 90), the *Rules* (Green 43), *A Collection of Prayers for Families* (Green 74), *The Nature and Design of Christianity* (Green 17), which was an extract from William Law's writings, and *The Character of a Methodist* (Green 34). As has been suggested, some of the small “Words” must also have run into many editions, but details have not been preserved.

Generally speaking, the publications in most constant demand were the hymns, with sermons running a close second. With one or two exceptions, the more controversial works and the defences of Methodism against various attacks were not often reprinted. Neither did the majority of the educational publications see more than one or two editions. The same is true of Wesley's pamphlets on political and social questions, with the exception of *Thoughts on Slavery* (Green 298), which saw seven editions, and the *Calm Address to our American Colonies* (Green 305), which created quite a *furor* at the time, and was issued at the very least eight times. Referring to the “Calm Address” in a letter to Rankin, dated October 20, 1775, Wesley said, “I suppose above forty thousand of them have been printed in three weeks, and still the demand for them is as great as ever.”

As might be expected, the annual *Minutes* appear never to have been reprinted in separate form. The only Minutes of any kind published by Wesley to be reprinted in the 18th century were the last *Large Minutes* (Green 404). Of this volume Green says “Several editions were issued after his death, but since 1835 it has not been reprinted separately”; he gives no details, however. The *Catalogue of Wesleyana* notes an edition dated 1802. The *Minutes* of the 1791 Conference, however, which had to discuss the situation created by Wesley's death, saw two editions in that same year.

## PROCEEDINGS

A note to Green 166 says that "The several numbers of the *Journal* were not often reprinted separately." Fuller knowledge of the various editions shows, however, that one (Green 203) was reprinted five times, while the first six *Journal* extracts all ran to four or five editions each. The next eleven averaged three each, including one (Green 318) which was apparently never reprinted separately, while the last three extracts were issued only twice each.

When one considers the widespread dissemination of Methodist literature that these facts imply, and realises that in many poor homes the total library consisted of one or two Methodist pamphlets and a copy of *Primitive Physick*, it is not surprising that an awakening of England spread through the lower classes to the upper classes; nor is it surprising that the Methodist people are still what Wesley called them, "a reading people."

FRANK BAKER.

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# WESLEY'S PRINTERS AND BOOKSELLERS.

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## I. INTRODUCTION.

It is obvious to anyone who has studied Wesley's amazing publishing record that much of his time (and patience!) was taken up with printers and booksellers. As far as possible he used Methodist labour, although it was often unsatisfactory. He frequently complained about William Pine's slipshod printing; for instance, when preparing Young's *Night Thoughts* for publication, he wrote to Charles Wesley, December 17, 1768, "I shall run the hazard of printing it at Bristol." Nor, in many cases, were the Methodists who were supposed to superintend the printing, or to correct the proofs, much better. Especially was this true of the well-known preacher and hymn-writer, Thomas Olivers, so that on August 15, 1789, Wesley wrote to Dr. Bradshaw:

"I cannot, dare not, will not suffer Thomas Olivers to murder the *Arminian Magazine* any longer. The errata are intolerable and innumerable. They shall be so no more." Olivers was relieved of his duties, and James Creighton was appointed "corrector of the press." Apparently booksellers also

## WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

caused Wesley some trouble. In Nightingale's *Portraiture of Methodism*, which is often a malevolent caricature rather than a true portrait, the following passage occurs (p. 373):—

“It is said, Madam, that Mr. W. declared, he never could retain a bookseller in his society for any length of time.”

There is usually some basis for Nightingale's assertions, and it is certainly true that in several instances Wesley's booksellers only sold his publications for a short time, and then sold pamphlets criticising Methodism.

A number of printers were members of Methodist societies. George Paramore, who looked after Wesley's London printing during his last years, was a local preacher for thirty years. He is to be distinguished from John Paramore, who had been Wesley's printer previously at the Foundery. Felix Farley and William Pine of Bristol were members of Society. Bennett Dugdale, William Kidd, and William Whitestone all of Dublin, were also Methodist printers. Another printer, Matthias Joyce, who was a fellow-apprentice of Bennett Dugdale, became an itinerant preacher in Ireland, and was later appointed to take charge of all Methodist printing in that country, as Book Steward.

As for booksellers, it is a well-known fact that Wesley's preachers also filled the rôle of colporteurs. It is not so well known that most societies were book-depots, where Methodist literature might be purchased. At the Foundery, and later the New Chapel, in London, this book-trade became a great undertaking. At the New Room, Bristol, and also for a time at the Orphan House, Newcastle, there was a considerable bookselling business carried on. The rank and file of Methodism sometimes assisted the professional booksellers and the preachers in dispersing literature, looking upon it as a valuable means of proclaiming their Methodist witness. At the very beginning, in 1739, John Bray, the devout brazier of Little Britain, was advertised as selling Wesley's first collection of *Hymns and Sacred Poems*. Much later, 1759-60, one of the Methodists selling books was “W. Watkinson, Linen-draper, Leeds.”

In addition to Methodist tradespeople, of course, Wesley's various publications were also handled by such well-known firms of the time as the learned printer William Bowyer, the bookseller James Hutton, and the famous publishing house of Rivingtons. For Wesley was a good seller, in spite of, or perhaps partly because of, the many and abusive criticisms of Methodism. In



## PROCEEDINGS

Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*, for instance, a bookseller crushes Parson Adams' hopes of having his sermons printed thus :—

“Sermons are mere drugs. The trade is so vastly stocked with them, that really, unless they come out with the name of Whitefield, or Wesley, or some other such great man as a bishop, or those sort of people, I don't care to touch ; . . . I am no enemy to sermons, but because they don't sell : for I would as soon print one of Whitefield's as any farce whatever.”

Already in 1742, when *Joseph Andrews* was published, the pamphlet war between the Methodists and their opponents was raising the sales of Methodist literature.

In thinking of printers and booksellers of Wesley's day one general fact should be borne in mind. In the early 18th century tradespeople in general had a higher social standing than now. Indeed, it deteriorated during the century. Thus the printer of a book was usually regarded as of just as much importance to the public as the publisher, so that his name was boldly printed as an integral part of the title-page, instead of being relegated to an obscure corner, and being printed in small type, as in modern books. Similarly, the names of comparatively unimportant booksellers or newsagents were often printed on the title-page.

For this reason the imprints of early books are often interesting, as well as valuable from a historical point of view. Sometimes, also, they are really picturesque, such as one noted in Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications*, No. 142 :—

*Edinburgh : Printed for and sold by David Duncan, at his House in the Grass Market, opposite to the Corn Market, South-Side of the Street, the second Door up the Timber ravel'd Fore-Stair. 1742.*

In this example, of course, the imprint is that of the *publisher* ; since the printer's name is not given, in all probability he was what was called a “jobbing printer,” and had made no name for himself.

The imprints of Wesley's publications are seldom quite as detailed as that above, although they often convey a wealth of information, as in the following, being from three successive editions of *Haliburton's Life* (Green 10) :—

*London : Printed for John Oswald, at the Rose and Crown in the Poultry, near Stocks Market, 1739, (price, bound in plain sheep, one shilling) (As given by Green, original not seen by author).*

## WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

*London: Printed by W. Strahan: And Sold at the Foundry near Upper-Moorfields: at James Hutton's, Bookseller, at the Bible and Sun without Temple-Bar: and at John Lewis's in Bartholomew-Close. 1741, (Price stitch'd Sixpence).*

*Bristol: Printed by Felix Farley, in Castle-Green, and sold at the New School in the Horse-Fair: Also at the Foundry, near Upper-Moor-Fields; by T. Trye, at Gray's-Inn-Gate, Holborn; and at the several Societies in England and Ireland, 1747.*

Complete and detailed information about all the printers and booksellers whom Wesley employed will probably never be obtained. Imprints like the above are one of the chief sources of such information. About many of the hundred-odd names very little can be discovered. (A list of the chief authorities is given below). It is hoped in following articles to give a sketch of the better-known of Wesley's printers and booksellers, and as much as can be gathered about the lesser-known. While hundreds of volumes, large and small, have been utilised for this purpose, one of the smallest and most interesting clues may well be given here in full. It is to be found after the title-page of Green 72, the 1st edition:—

“September 9, 1745.

Proposal For Printing by Subscription, Three Volumes of Sermons, By John Wesley, M. A. Fellow of *Lincoln-College*, Oxford. Conditions. I. Each Volume will contain at least Ten Sermons, on the same Paper and Letter with these Proposals. II. The Price of each Volume will be 2s. 6d. 1s. 6d. to be paid down, the rest on Delivery of the Book in Quires. III. Each Volume may be subscribed for single. IV. The first Volume will be in the Press about *Michaelmas*, and will be delivered to the Subscribers (if GOD permit) at or before *Christmas*. V. Booksellers subscribing for Six, will have a Seventh *gratis*. Subscriptions are taken in by *T. Trye*, near *Gray's Inn Gate, Holbourn*; *H. Butler*, in *Bow-Church-Yard*; and at the *Foundry* in *Upper-Moor-Fields*, London;—In *Newcastle upon Tyne*, by *R. Akenhead*;—In *Bristol*, by *Felix Farley*, in *Castle-Green*; *J. Wilson*, and *T. Cadel*, Booksellers, in *Wine-Street*; and by *P. Brown*, in *Christmas-street*:—In *Bath*, by *Mr. Leake* and *Mr. Frederick*:—And in *Exeter*, by *Mr. Thorn* Bookseller.

The Subscribers are desired to send in their Names and Places of Abode, as soon as possible.”

### *Principal Authorities, with abbreviations.*

- Anti-M. Green's Anti-Methodist Publications.
- D.B.P. Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1726-75.  
ed Plomer, Bushnell, and Dix. O.U.P. 1932.
- D.B.P. 1668-1725. Ditto, previous volume, ed. Plomer.
- D.N.B. Dictionary of National Biography.

## PROCEEDINGS

- G. Green's Wesley Bibliography 2nd edition.  
J. Wesley's Journal. (Standard edition).  
L. Wesley's Letters. (Standard edition).  
O. Osborn's Outlines of Wesley Bibliography.  
Stevenson's City Road Chapel.  
Timperley's Dictionary of Printers and Printing.  
T. Tyerman's Life and Times of John Wesley.  
Welch. The City Printers.  
Welford. Early Newcastle Typography.  
Wells. History of the Bristol Times and Mirror  
W.H.S. Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society.

FRANK BAKER.

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## METHODISM IN THE ISLE OF MAN. AN EARLY VENTURE.

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According to Rosser's *History of Wesleyan Methodism in the Isle of Man*, the traditional date for the beginnings of Methodism in the Isle of Man is 1775, when a Mr. Lawry persuaded John Crook, of Liverpool, to visit the Island. It at once made rapid advance, so rapid that one suspects there must have been considerable unofficial missionary work beforehand. There had been in 1758 an abortive visit from John Murlin, 'the weeping prophet,' whom the caprice of a sea captain carried over from Whitehaven, and Myles' *Chronological History* speaks surprisingly of a chapel built at Dawby in 1763, though probably this is either a mistake or arises from a confusion of two places of a similar name.

There is, however, a much earlier figure of whom official notice has not yet been taken. He is the Rev. John Meriton (1698-1753) who figures in the records of both the Wesleys and George Whitefield. His chief claim to historical fame is that he was one of the six Church of England clergy at the first Conference in 1744, on the print of which he is probably the bulkiest of the figures. The *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1900, p. 495, gives the fullest account of him possible, by the late Rev. R. Butterworth. Another reference is in *Proceedings*, x, p. 226. He was not a very potent personality, as could be gathered from Charles Wesley's epitaph on him, which includes the words:

"He wandered through this vale of tears  
And rather died than lived."

John Wesley first met him in August, 1741, at Wapping, having written to him in February of that year. Wesley was just then collecting his team, and Meriton was an ordained deacon without a cure. Tyerman's *Life of George Whitefield* quotes letters to Meriton in 1742, dealing with the opposition he was feeling in the Isle of Man, and a suggestion (that did not materialise) that he might go out to Georgia. The interesting thing is that both Whitefield and Wesley refer to him as 'a clergyman from the Isle of Man.' Actually from identifiable allusions to him in Cruttwell's *Life of Bishop Wilson*, Meriton only came to the Island in early summer 1740, and his native county and diocese were centred in Norwich. He had given up a Norfolk living six or seven years before, and though it is not impossible that he went to the Isle of Man on Whitefield's instructions, the likeliest reason is that he hoped to find a sphere of service there in the dearth of clergy in the Island just at that time. Why then he is referred to as "a clergyman from the Isle of Man," when his connections were of the slenderest (he was never licensed to preach there)? May it not have been because Wesley planned as early as 1741 to evangelise the Island, and was in the first place interested in him because of his connection, however slight, with the Isle of Man?

At any rate his visit was a fiasco, and he left without a friend in 1742. But previously, as a juxtaposition of the relevant passages in Cruttwell's *Life of Bishop Wilson* and Tyerman's *Life of George Whitefield* will show, he had interested one of the Manx clergy, who can be easily identified with Philip Moore, the Chaplain of Douglas (whose name Cruttwell suppresses, because he was rebuked by the Bishop for his championing of Meriton, and was still living when Cruttwell wrote). Of him Whitefield writes to Meriton in 1742: "I marvel not that your brother's love has grown cold. It is hard for one in his station, unless he be thoroughly inured to contempt, to withstand a whole body of lukewarm, prejudiced, envious, malignant clergy." (This, it should be remarked, is very far from a just estimate of the clergy). And in this identification lies an irony of Methodist history, for in 1776, when Crook had begun to organise Methodism in the Island, the centre of an opposition, which included an attack by schoolboys with lampoons and brickbats, was this same Dr. Philip Moore. Crook wrote to Wesley who was then, as he said in a return letter, "near the seat of power," Wesley replied, "If I appealed to them, it would bring much expense and inconvenience on Dr. M— and others." The end of the persecution was strangely

## PROCEEDINGS

enough another rebuke for Philip Moore, this time from the Governor and his wife over a friend's dinner table. But for all that, Philip Moore was really one of the saintliest and most scholarly men of his age, and next to Bishop Wilson, probably did more than any other man to build up that happy religious atmosphere in the Island which struck Wesley so forcibly in his visits.

R. KISSACK.

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## ALEXANDER KNOX.

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When Southey's *Life of Wesley* was published in 1820, Alexander Knox wrote a letter to Mrs. Hannah More, in which he expressed his pleasure that "the work had been done by no obscure writer"; nevertheless, Knox severely criticised certain statements in it about John Wesley's motive and aim in life. Southey's imputations that ambition and love of power was the secret spring of John Wesley's conduct, was to Alexander Knox "the greatest matter of annoyance in the whole work." When this criticism was made known, Southey requested Alexander Knox to offer such remarks as had occurred to him in reading the *Life*. He scarcely could have asked a more competent person to do this work, and it is a tribute to Southey's generosity that the reply was incorporated in the second edition. It was a carefully prepared statement, and Knox admitted that he "never wrote anything with more thought or greater care."

Alexander Knox was undoubtedly one of the most original theologians of his time, and yet he is scarcely known to-day, and his influence is almost unrecognised. It is impossible in a brief article to deal with the many factors which account for this otherwise inexplicable obscurity, but one must be mentioned. He occupied a middle position between the Evangelicals and the High Churchmen of his day, with the result that both parties were suspicious of him. He emphasised the converting grace of God, and at the same time found the heart and centre of his religion in the Eucharist; he stressed personal holiness, but never neglected Church principles. Thus he was too much of a High Churchman to be the hero of the Evangelicals, and too much of an Evangelical to be the idol of High Churchmen. He is a connecting link between the two Oxford Movements, namely the Evangelical Revival of the 18th century, and the Anglican Renaissance of the 19th century. While the latter was, in the

## WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

main, a revival of institutionalism, and therefore apparently quite different from the former, yet there are fundamental points of agreement between them. They both emphasise the need for devotion and the thirst for holiness. Knox clearly anticipated the leading principles of Tractarianism, and undoubtedly deserves a place of honour in the development of English theology.

He was born at Londonderry on March 17, 1757. In the early years of his life, he became acquainted with John Wesley, who exercised a strong influence upon his life and thought. His father, who was of Scottish descent, was a man of some standing and influence in Londonderry, and was the first to welcome John Wesley on his first visit to this town on Saturday, May 11, 1765. Wesley writes in his *Journal* for this date: "When we drew near it, a gentleman on horseback stopped, asked me my name and showed me where the preacher stopped. In the afternoon he accommodated me with a convenient lodging at his own house. So one Mr. Knox is taken away, and another given me in his stead." (The gentleman here referred to as having deserted him was Knox of Sligo). Mr. Knox senior was a professed Methodist prior to Wesley's visit, and to his death remained a strong and steadfast supporter of the Society. Alexander speaks highly of his parents, and acknowledges the advantage he felt from having a Methodist father and mother.<sup>1</sup>

The house of these pious people became the home of Methodist preachers at Londonderry. Wesley always stayed with them, and a very warm friendship developed between them. The letters of Wesley, in which he gives sound common sense advice on matters of health, are written with his characteristic briskness of style. Alexander was an invalid from the cradle, and missed the advantages of having a regular course of education. Wesley saw in Alexander's physical weakness the overruling hand of Providence using it to keep him humble amidst the advantages of a luxurious home and the possession of mental abilities above the average. Wesley stressed the value of daily Bible reading and of prayer, and was undoubtedly the most potent influence upon him in his youth. It is true that they did not agree on all matters, and before Alexander was twenty years of age he broke away from the Methodist Society and joined the Church of England, yet the influence of John Wesley and the Methodist Society at Londonderry was deep and lasting.

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1. *Remains of Alexander Knox*; vol. iv, p. 143.

## PROCEEDINGS

Alexander's health improved considerably when he was about twenty-three years of age. He then interested himself in the local political affairs of his home town, and became one of its prominent leaders, and an associate of Lord Castlereagh. His lordship discovered and appreciated Alexander's character and abilities to such an extent that when Castlereagh took over the office of Chief Secretary of Ireland, Knox became his private and confidential secretary. His political career, however, was not of long duration, though he showed much promise in politics. He was a powerful advocate, both on the platform and with his pen, but his ideas were too speculative and his character far too refined for the rough and tumble life of a politician. He became weary of this kind of public life and was greatly relieved when the opportunity came to tear himself away. He found the political arena an unhealthy sphere for his soul, and had become greatly troubled by the fact that he was losing his hold on religion. He therefore welcomed the opportunity rendered by a breakdown in health to withdraw and return to a cloistered life.

Alexander Knox passed through an evangelical experience of conversion in 1797. It was preceded by a period of nervous disorder, insomnia and spiritual unrest. That Alexander had been deeply impressed by Wesley is evidenced by the fact that when he was in despair he went to a Methodist preacher for council and comfort. He found both, for he found peace with God. This was the turning point in his life which led to a diminishing desire for worldly ambition, and an increasing quest for a satisfying religion.

He spent the rest of his life in quiet seclusion, broken only by occasional visits to a few friends. He came over to England, where he became acquainted with leading Evangelicals, among whom were Dr. Adam Clarke, Mrs. Hannah More and the Clapham Sect. He loved fellowship with them, but was always glad to return to his lodgings in Dublin, where he could pursue a studious and devotional life. He became so attached to this kind of life, and to his study of religion, that nothing could drag him away from it. He found his greatest happiness in cultivating a life of holiness, and in exercising an influence upon a circle of sympathetic friends, including John Jebb who became Bishop of Limerick.

Christian perfection was Knox's favourite theme. It recurs again and again in his writings, and he dwells upon it with great delight. He forsook politics primarily in order to devote his time to

## WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

the pursuit of holiness. This was the ideal which beckoned him onwards and upwards, and of which he never lost sight. This ideal coloured all his thoughts and determined his attitude to every doctrine and ecclesiastical system. He brought them all to the bar of Christian perfection. This was the criterion that measured the value of all theories, "does it aid a Christian in the exercise of holy living?" The answer to this question greatly influenced his acceptance or rejection of all religious practices. He maintained that it was the duty of the Church to call its members to pursue a life of holiness, and if it failed in this, it failed in the one thing needful. This brings to mind John Henry Newman's letter to his Bishop consequent upon the publication of Tract 90, in which he emphasises that the mark of the true Church is holiness.

Knox's high estimation of John Wesley was largely due to the latter's teaching on Christian perfection. In a letter to Rev. John Jebb in 1804, he says: "In John Wesley's view of Christian Perfection, are combined, in substance, all the sublime morality of the Greek Fathers, the spirituality of the Mystics, and the Divine philosophy of our favourite Platonists, Macarius, Fenelon, Lucas, and all their respective classes, have been consulted and digested by him; and his ideas are essentially theirs." John Wesley's great merit according to him was in popularising these ideas.

Knox had many points of agreement with John Wesley on this doctrine, and Dr. Brilioth was unquestionably right in maintaining that he inherited the idea from his early teacher. He was, however, too much of an original thinker to follow anyone slavishly, and his teaching on this subject shows some advance on Wesley's doctrine, particularly in his treatment of sin and his attitude towards wealth.

Knox laid great stress upon personal religion, and although he did not renew his connection with the Methodist Society, he calls himself a Methodist; "I place myself among those who are deemed Methodists . . . because I conceive the present definition of Methodism, in its generic sense, to be, that spiritual view of religion which implies an habitual devotedness to God, both of the heart and conduct, so as to indispose for all fashionable pleasures and gaieties,—to lead to habitual self-denial,—and to aim, not only at rectitude and peace, but at joy in the Holy Ghost, from a consciousness of what St. Paul calls the "Spirit of adoption."<sup>2</sup>

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2. *Remains of Alexander Knox*, vol. iv, p. 105. The quotation is from *Romans* viii, 15, and is given by Knox in the original Greek.



## PROCEEDINGS

While he was a true Methodist of the kind defined above, he was at the same time a High Churchman. He differed from the Evangelicals of his day, whose over-emphasis of individualism led to a comparative neglect of church principles. Knox was the one great exception among Wesley's immediate successors to hold like himself an exalted view of the Church, for while he stressed personal religion he had a corresponding recognition of the Church. It was in the fusion of these two ideas that the importance of Knox lies in the development of English theology.

G. WYNNE HUGHES.

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## THE CONFERENCE LECTURE.

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The Society was fortunate in securing for its annual Lecture at Conference time one whose knowledge of the eighteenth century has been so well revealed in his recent book entitled *Wesley's England*.

Dr. J. H. Whiteley took as his subject *Wesley's Anglican Contemporaries: their Trials and Triumphs*.

The lecture has been published at the moderate price of 1/-, so that it is not necessary for any digest of it to be made for the *Proceedings*. It is independent in its outlook; it challenges many superficial conclusions, and does much to place Wesley's work and character in relationship to their background. Especially illuminating is the account of eighteenth century hedge-preachers, whose vagaries the lecturer thought did much to prejudice genuine Methodism in the eyes of respectable people. The confusion seems to reappear to-day in some modern novels, wherein the Methodism depicted recalls rather the hedge-preacher than the accredited disciple of Wesley.

The beautiful Trinity Methodist Church at Southport was well filled for the Lecture; the Chair was taken by the Rev. H. L. Gibbs, Vicar of St. Philip's, Southport, who made a kindly and neighbourly speech. An impressive order of service was furnished by Mr. Duncan Coomer, and conducted by the Rev. Dr. Harrison.

We hope to include in our next number a full report of the Annual Meeting of the W.H.S., with some reference to our branches and overseas connections.

F.F.B.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

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791. DR. JOHNSON AND MRS. HALL.—In Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* it is recorded that on Easter Sunday, 1781, "Mrs. Hall, sister of the Reverend Mr. John Wesley, and resembling him, as I thought, both in figure and manner, was one of the company at dinner."

Boswell mentioning the fact that the text in St. Matthew recording the re-appearance in Jerusalem of many bodies of the saints was to be discussed that evening at Coachmaker's Hall, Mrs. Hall said it was a very curious subject, and she would like to hear it discussed. "Johnson (somewhat warmly): 'One would not go to such a place to hear it—one would not be seen in such a place—to give countenance to such a meeting.' 'But Sir,' (said she to Johnson) 'I should like to hear *you* to discuss it.'" Dr. Johnson did express his views, but left the question in obscurity, to the disappointment of Mrs. Hall, who seemed desirous of knowing more.

In a later passage Boswell calls the good lady, "lean, lank, preaching Mrs. Hall."

There recently appeared in an auction catalogue two volumes of *The Idler*, bearing a note on the fly-leaf: "These Books were presented to Mrs. Hall by the Author, Dr. Johnson, and left to her Niece S. Wesley." The signature, "Miss Wesley" is on the titles.—*F.F.B.*

792. WESLEY AND ARMINIUS.—In the late Dr. G. C. Cell's book, *The Rediscovery of John Wesley* (p. 9, line 16-18), the following statement appears: ". . . Wesley never refers to the Anglican Arminians in support of his own position but only to Arminius himself . . ." Where, in reference to the latter part of this statement, do we find in Wesley's works, letters, &c., any direct admission of his having consulted the works of *Arminius himself*?—*Rev. A. H. S. Pusk.*

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CORRIGENDUM.

In Mr. Bradshaw's article on Belfast in the *June Proceedings*, page 27, line 27, "I suspect it was in the preacher's desk," "preacher" should read "precentor."