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# Proceedings OF THE Wesley Historical Society

Editor: REV. WESLEY F. SWIFT.

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Volume XXXII

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## THE SLANG AND COLLOQUIAL EXPRESSIONS IN WESLEY'S LETTERS

*(Continued from page 11)*

### V

The mention of Mrs. Wesley suggests a section on the slang terms which are to be found in Wesley's letters to his relatives. We may note in passing that Wesley's father could write in a vivid colloquial way. The slang phrase "as drunk as a wheelbarrow" has been traced to him.

In an early letter to his father John speaks doubtfully of "those who are commonly called . . . good sort of men" (i, p. 172). This phrase was about as ambiguous as our "he's a good sort". Grose states that it could mean, amongst other things, a boxer, a "boozer" or a fornicator, according to circumstances.

Some homely touches occur in John's letters to his mother. For instance, in speaking of the salary offered him as prospective school-master in a Yorkshire village, he says that besides enabling him to pay his debts it would give him "money beforehand" (i, p. 42). The feeling of security which we express by such a phrase as "to have a little money at one's back" was expressed in Wesley's day by the phrase "to be beforehand with the world". Another homely expression is surely the unforgettable sigh of a tired and harassed mother. He has had no word about her health, and so he assumes that she is "only half tired to death" (i, p. 134).

It is to Charles that John writes in his freest, liveliest and most provocative style. What, for example, is to be made of the quip "for a wife and a partner you and I can challenge the world together. But love is rot" (iii, p. 136)? Perhaps it means that anything like love-sickness weakens the itinerancy. If, as appears likely, it is a retort to something Charles had said, and means "great nonsense", it would be a most interesting literary example of this slang term. There is some evidence that the word "rot" was commonly used so in the West Country.

Slang allusions are sometimes cryptic, and the fact that John is at times tantalizingly allusive (as it seems to outsiders) with Charles suggests a veiled meaning in a little parenthesis occurring in a letter dated 8th February 1763 (iv, p. 202). He writes "The answer to the bishop (who has broke his leg) is forthcoming". This phrase "broke his leg" may mean exactly what it seems to mean. But the suggestion here made is that it is slang. If so, in the context it would mean that in this controversy Bishop Warburton has fallen down badly. John, we know, was amazed at his lack of learning. He is, in short, enjoying with Charles a private triumph over his Lordship. This triumph will be a wide one, thinks John, when his *Answer* is published. The Bishop's anti-Methodist tract was extremely "ill-conceived". "To break one's leg" is in fact slang for "to have a child sworn upon one".

In a highly diverting letter, full of allusions, John laments that uncertainty of Charles's temperament which has been noticed earlier. Charles is apt to "take the colour of his company" (v, p. 19)—properly "take colour with", etc. Lord Chesterfield in a letter dated 9th October 1747 advised his son to do just this. The opinion John had of that writer's worldly wisdom is well known.

Charles and John had a way of referring to the latter's wife, after the rift appeared. They called her "our friend". Charles probably bestowed the epithet (cf. iv, p. 107). This use of the word "friend" with a tinge or more of irony, showing reluctance to use the name, is slangy, to say the least. The proverbial "friends agree best at a distance" was almost always used colloquially of relations. Another use of the word "friend", with the adjective "small", meaning an enemy, is given at viii, p. 195. *The Oxford English Dictionary* gives another example of this usage from Wesley's *Journal*. Surely language is here standing on its head.

The short letter to Charles dated 6th March 1763 (iv, pp. 203-4) is full of everyday images, two of which are relevant here. As he thinks of an unpleasant task awaiting him at Norwich, he observes: "I am likely to have rough work there". It is almost our "rough house" in its figurative sense. Lower down he uses the word "peached", which has since become slang. It was colloquial in Wesley's day. It appears to mean that Mr. Neal has informed against or rounded upon his brethren.

Two other slang terms written to Charles may here be mentioned. Some folk believed that the Irish patriots were a threat to England. John says they are "nobody" (vii, p. 272). They have simply "humbugged" the English (vii, p. 270).

Wesley's letters to his wife make pathetic reading, but they afford some interesting slang expressions. At one point he takes up her charge that he had associations with "bad women" (vi, p. 102). This is euphemistically colloquial for "harlots". Along with this, although it is to another correspondent, may be set his quotation from à Kempis given in a letter of 1789 (viii, p. 116), "Avoid all good

women", etc. The last two words are italicized. Why, when he was friendly with lots of good women? Possibly because the phrase was nondescript slang. In giving this advice he is intensely serious, but he softens the blow by a bit of roguishness. So far as preachers go—there are to be no good women. And he must many times have seen public-houses named "The Good Woman", for they were common enough, and doubtless he chuckled at their sign, for the "good woman" was depicted without her head, suggesting the rarity of her existence in the flesh.

Amongst other slang terms used to, or about, his wife are the following: "stood it before my face", i.e. bluffed out a falsehood, "browbeat", and "fishwife" (iv, pp. 76, 77).

The element of slang finds a place even in the controversial letters, which are in some ways the most piquant of all. For example, in letters to the public press we find the following expressions: "lugged in"—of an irrelevancy (vii, p. 7); "dirt thrown"—of scurrility (iv, p. 125); "saucy air"—of the atmosphere's freedom from having been made the subject of a tax (v, p. 353). Two other terms may be commented upon. Wesley had visited Newgate, and was surprised at its clean condition, especially that of "The Pit" (italics). This term was probably prison slang. He notes also the moral tone of the prison and writes approvingly, "nor is any woman of the town" admitted (iv, p. 127). Partridge has nothing to say under this term beyond pointing out that it was originally cant.

The controversial letters relate in some cases to the Episcopal Bench. Wesley's style with them is decidedly salty. When Bishop Lavington is getting nicely under way with some illogicality John cries out "Hold, good Sir" (iii, p. 320, etc.). This is nothing but our "hold on". This reference, 1751, suggests that Partridge's date for the colloquialism is too late.

A few paragraphs farther down he speaks of the bishop's "dirty-pages". Strong though his language is, Wesley is never coarse as the bishop is. He had alluded to Methodist societies as "filthy-jakes"—slang (here surely) for a privy, and Wesley quotes it only to turn the charge back upon the bishop himself (iii, p. 327).

In an earlier letter (iii, p. 263) the bishop is accused of "murdering" John's words. This slangy use is frequent. He uses it of Whitefield's efforts at mending Charles's hymns, and of bad lesson-reading in church. In this same letter the bishop's abuse of Methodists is called "running them down" (iii, p. 271), and his attitude to Wesley's sense of freedom in preaching is summed up in the pure slang term "stuff" (iii, p. 296).

Lavington's literary style is dismissed in the words "To prove your inimitable fairness here you scrape up again all the trash . . . which I had pared off" (iii, p. 328). The term "trash" is strictly slang only when used of money. Here, along with the word "scrape", often used of money-grubbing, and so used by Wesley himself in one

place (vi, p. 149), it is somewhere between slang and standard English. It is used as a *double-entendre* of food and books in a letter to his niece (vii, p. 237).

## VI

Some attempt must now be made to cover the special sections of the field of slang, in so far as they are illustrated in the letters.

Another glance at the Oxford period reveals the presence of the terms "Gaudy-days" (i, p. 148), "brasier" (i, p. 147), and "finishing" (vii, p. 381). The two former are not Wesley's own, but like the third, they relate to the Holy Club. Richard Morgan petulantly charges its members with insincerity by saying that they have a free blow-out on "Gaudy-days". "Gaudy" is standard English, but Johnson states that it was a term used at the Universities, and the compound "gaudy-day" sounds like University slang. The term "brasier" is a poser. A brazier is, of course, one who works in brass, but why should a student speak of "my brass-worker"? Perhaps the word was a slang name for the man who brought in fuel for the braziers. The term "finishing" here is Holy Club jargon, to express the temptation to delay devotional exercises because of the desire to complete some piece of study.

Next may be noted several slang terms which have definite literary associations. To Joseph Benson he wrote (v, p. 119), saying that English books (probably contemporary) were "whipped syllabub" beside the Latin and Greek works he had recommended. This rich, frothy dish, a mixture of wine, ale or cider, and cream of milk, sweetened and flavoured with lemon juice, etc. had given its name to a certain type of literature, i.e. amongst literary men. The use persisted well into the nineteenth century. Charlotte Brontë, for example, makes Shirley disclaim interest in poetry in the words "When did I whip up syllabub sonnets?"

John thought that some of Charles's verses came too near this category, using however another slang term about them. They were "namby-pambical" (iv, p. 166, ital.). This was how Swift, who coined the phrase, described the short-lived verses addressed by Ambrose Phillis to the children of Lord Carteret.

A writer who deals with sacred things "with the spirit and air of a merry-andrew" is referred to in a letter to Bishop Lavington (iii, p. 47). The term has been traced back to Andrew Borde, a much-lionized medical wag of Henry VIII's reign. It is conjectured that it gained currency as meaning a facetious fellow because men-servants were at one time commonly named Andrew. Pratt, writing in 1797 on *Modern Theatres*, seeks to rouse Sheridan in the lines

O! would he prove again that Drama's friend,  
Soon would the reign of Merry Andrews end.

The *Letters* contain two slang phrases which relate to the Scriptures. In a letter to Susanna Wesley in 1735 (i, p. 178), John uses the phrase "to the end of the chapter". Originally that meant the

reading of the appointed lesson in church to the end. It came to carry a hint of the dourness of the reader or the weariness of the congregation, according to the point of view. Partridge's date, 1840, would seem to be much too late. Wesley's allusion is clearly of a familiar kind.

The second is in origin a bad translation of Ezekiel xiii. 18, "Woe to the women that sew pillows upon all elbows . . . to hunt souls". The reference is to the practice of women fortune-tellers of attaching magic bands and amulets to the arms of their clients. Wesley sums up the soporific effects of William Law's doctrine in the words "As soon as you have sewed this pillow to his soul, he sinks back into the sleep of death" (iii, p. 364). Partridge states that the phrase was colloquial up to the seventeenth century;—should it not be eighteenth? It meant "to give a false sense of security".

A few Latin tags have become slang, amongst them "cui bono". As a colloquialism it is often misused to mean "to what advantage" instead of "to whose advantage". Wesley, even though a Latin scholar, sometimes falls into colloquial misuse of the phrase (e.g. viii, p. 224), and in other places his correspondent could quite easily read it ambiguously (e.g. vi, p. 149). Rightly or wrongly used, it was slang.

An item of bookseller's slang occurs, appropriately, in a letter to James Hutton (vi, p. 66). Knowing that books are sometimes written-up, he speaks of one such advertisement as "a puff [italics], as the booksellers call it". Two further slang references to books may be mentioned here. A book written by Romaine is called "such a hotch-potch as I have seldom seen" (v, p. 266). Of his own *Compendium of Natural Philosophy*, he is confident that it will have a great "run" (vi, p. 256). That is a slang term from the theatre world.

There are a few examples in the *Letters* of slang terms of religious origin, and of terms pressed into the use of religion. We gather from Grose that the word Jesuit (Jesuitical) was frequently used in his day. Wesley wrote (iii, p. 57) that one who has drunk of the Moravian spirit will in argument have "as many turns and fetches as a Jesuit".

A true Methodist, Wesley maintained, was distinguished clearly from a "moral-man" (jargon?) and from the "world" (jargon?). Nevertheless some who bore the name Methodist tried to make the best of both worlds. For such Wesley found a word, "trimmers" (i, p. 176, cf. trimming, iv, p. 352). Besides its obvious meaning, the term was a colloquialism for agility in the ring, and thus was doubly uncomplimentary.

In a letter to Ebenezer Blackwell we read of a slangy use of the phrase "Doctor of Divinity". Some preachers thus contemptuously spoke of the rest (iii, p. 83). This is just one example among many of the "living-language" of the Revival. However, it never took on, and is no more than an ephemeral cant term, as Wesley called it.

A slang term common in politics is brilliantly used of and to his wife. She plied her tongue to make him smart even in public. Wesley puts it thus: "You could not refrain from throwing squibs at me", etc. (iv, p. 62). Grose's entry under this word "squib" is perfect—"A jeu d'esprit, which like the firework of that denomination sparkles, bounces, stinks and vanishes."

When endeavouring to raise a large sum of money, Wesley aptly selects a business slang-term to express the need for enterprise. In five letters on this subject he urges preachers to "make a push" (v, 68, etc.). In the *Journal* for 11th January 1767 he writes "I made a push for the lending stock." "Push" is standard English, but "make a push" has clearly a slangy ring.

Wesley advocated indoor exercise by means of his "wooden-horse" (e.g. vii, p. 281). This term was, so Grose informs us, military slang for a form of punishment. The "horse" was made of nine-foot planks formed to a ridge and supported on four legs about six feet high. Offenders, often with firelocks hung to their legs, lest the horse kick them off (!) and with hands tied behind, were forced to sit on the ridge for as long as two hours at a stretch. Grose states that there was a "wooden-horse" on Portsmouth parade ground up to 1750. Wesley was a genius at adaptation. It would not be surprising if the origin of his contrivance, and its name, lay in this instrument of torture.

## VII

The following slang and colloquial terms and phrases are of special interest from the standpoint of literary history.

1. "Chew upon" (i, p. 65 and v, p. 345). The word "chew" had a standard English sense of examine. But these references are in the intimate style and suggest that there was a slangy use in the eighteenth century.

2. "Flowers" (ii, p. 275 and v, p. 55). Partridge states that the term "flowery language" was colloquial before 1893 for obscenity and blasphemy. In these letters Wesley speaks of the "flowers which the clergy strewed upon the Methodists". In the second letter these "flowers" are plainly identified with Billingsgate language, and examples are given. They are blasphemous, if not obscene. Perhaps "to strew flowers" had a more generally satirical sense in the eighteenth century. The former letter antedates Partridge's reckoning by nearly one hundred and fifty years.

3. "Have it out with" (iv, p. 62). According to Partridge this phrase has been colloquial from about 1850. Wesley's use of it here in 1759, relating to his wife's attitude, runs in an everyday kind of way, and indicates that Partridge's date is too late.

4. "Sick of". This phrase, of persons and of situations, is found in several places (e.g. iv, p. 217, v, p. 108) in the senses noted by Partridge, who dates it as slang from 1853. Wesley's use of the

phrase has the characteristics of slang—and nearly one hundred years earlier.

5. "Chimney-sweepers" (v, p. 192). These words describe the "coxcomb" Augustus Toplady. He is so "dirty a writer" that Wesley is loth to fight with him. "Chimney-sweeper", states Partridge, was slang for a clergyman from about 1870. It may be no more than a coincidental anticipation on Wesley's part. But if, in fact, clergymen were so "slanged" in the eighteenth century, Wesley's figure would be the more telling.

6. "By-the-by" (v, p. 225, etc.); "By-and-by" (v, p. 164, etc.). The colloquial character of Wesley's style is well indicated by the frequent use of these phrases. Concerning the latter, Partridge states that it was standard English (but not so dignified) after c. 1700. The former he states was colloquial and used in conversation only. This needs qualification. Wesley's use is the more remarkable because it occurs in a letter to the press.

7. "Cramp her . . . talents" (vii, p. 241). This is an excellent example of the feel of Wesley's style. The phrase "to cramp one's style" is registered as colloquial only in this century, but he almost got it as far back as 1784.

8. "Roll in money" (vii, p. 276). Partridge says that this phrase is colloquial in England from about 1905, and in America from about 1880. Wesley thus speaks of American Methodists in 1785. Is it possible that he heard the phrase amongst colonists in Georgia in the period 1735-8?

9. "Blessed" (preachers, vii, p. 291). Here we have an instance of the principle that slanginess resides often in some hint or allusion suggested but not carried in the face value of the term used. Wesley here makes an ironic reference to four preachers who had defaulted in some way. It indicates, perhaps, that the colloquialism should be dated earlier than the nineteenth century, which Partridge gives.

10. "Spinning-out" (vii, p. 369). This is used here of sermons, and is a clear condemnation of pulpit loquaciousness. We gather from Partridge that the term is a lower-class colloquialism which established itself about 1887. Wesley used it of speech one hundred years earlier. Even in 1758 he used it of a long letter (iv, p. 8), and it is moving away from standard English then.

11. "Never hear the last of it" (viii, p. 143). The reference is to an exception he once made to his rule about the length of a preacher's stay in one circuit, and he thus alludes to the trouble it caused him. Partridge simply takes over the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* date for this colloquialism—1854, and gives Dickens as an instance. Wesley's letter antedates this by sixty-five years.

### VIII

It remains now to draw attention to several robust and homely



phrases which are unmistakably stamped with the hall-mark of the common herd.

1. "Take full swing in" (i, p. 209). This occurs in a letter to his brother Samuel, and expresses the idea of taking delight in heathen poets. Hotten notes that "to have one's swing" is to have a full turn at anything, but he offers no example. Partridge's entry is vague; he dates "full swing" from sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, but does not state whether it was slang or colloquial. The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* dates the phrase "in full swing" from 1894. Wesley's letter takes us back over one hundred years before Hotten.

2. "Break your head" (iii, p. 226; iv, p. 130). In the first of these instances, the phrase means that ill-repute and opposition will not "kill" a Methodist. In the second it is used of the embarrassing effect of a certain argument. Is not this the eighteenth-century antecedent of the phrase "to knock on the head", i.e. to kill or put an end to? Partridge dates this as low colloquial from about 1870.

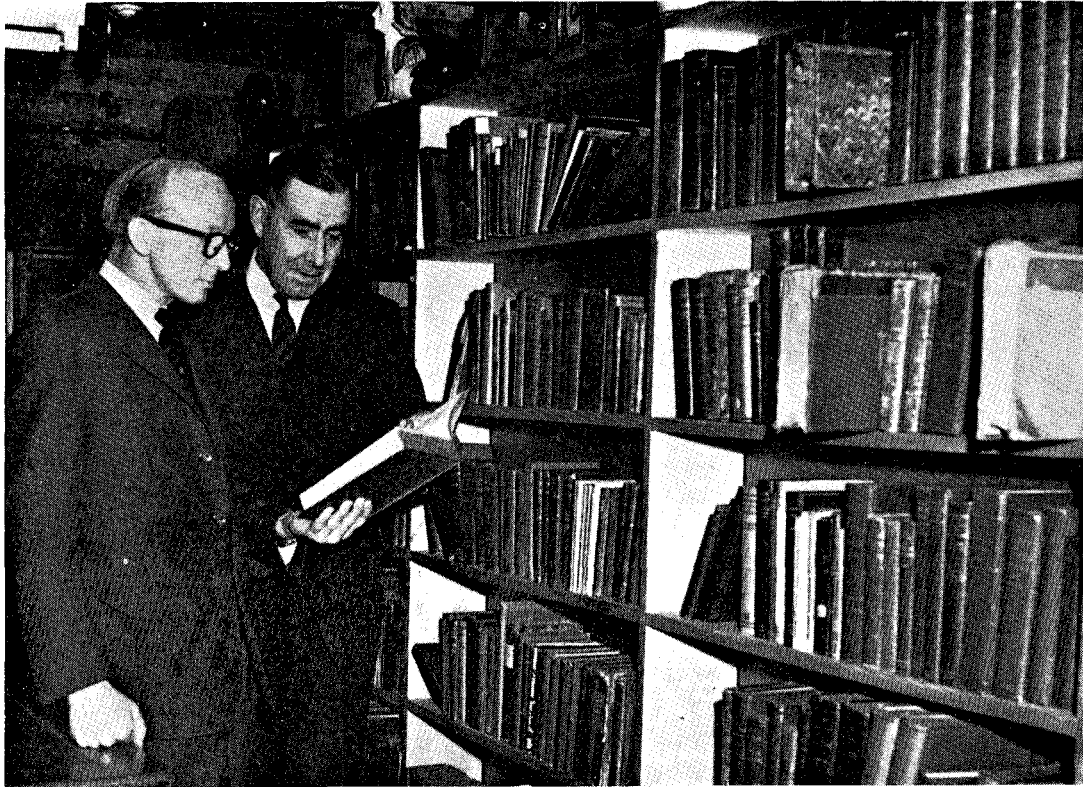
3. "Stay your stomach" (iv, p. 85, etc.). The literal meaning is to stave off hunger. Here it may mean either that his correspondent must content himself until he hears further, or that he must suspend judgement on the matter in question.

4. "Talk like an Empress Queen" (iv, p. 143). This is how he describes his wife's ravings after he had recaptured his papers from her bureau. This reads like an equivalent of "fish-fag". A "Quean" (*sic*) was "a slut, a drab, a whore, a scold". The conjecture may be offered, though tentatively, that Wesley has by some means written "Empress" when he meant "Abbess"—a Lady Abbess was a brothel-keeper. This is unpleasant, but Wesley was never squeamish over foul language. At any rate, by such apparent tautology he refers to a tongue of no ordinary variety.

5. "Young twigs of the ministry" (iv, p. 326). So a London rector spoke of the Wesleys during their University days. The term "twig" is part of a coarse slang allusion to infancy, and there is little doubt that one who did not hesitate to call the Methodists "filthy dreamers" would be likely to use low speech in the filth he threw at them.

6. "Love you less than their dinner" (vi, p. 192). There are modern colloquialisms similar to that, yet the slang dictionaries do not give this particular phrase. Wesley thereby expresses the shallowness of political appraisal. It may be that the remark is so colloquial that its literary use has not been noted.

7. "Lick up Mr. Toplady's spittle" (vi, p. 193). A "lick-spittle" is a "toady". The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* dates the term 1818. Partridge reckons it to be not eligible as slang. But in this letter and elsewhere (e.g. vii, p. 300) we see its pre-dictionary status, maybe, but we see it all alive.



MR. LESLIE E. S. GUTTERIDGE (Hon. Librarian) and MR. FRANK O. BRETHERTON at the opening of the Wesley Historical Society Library in the crypt of Wesley's Chapel on 3rd April 1959.

Photograph by courtesy of *The Northern Echo*.

8. "Take care that the knave does not steal his teeth" (vi, p. 347). An assistant had been so unsuspecting as to allow the book money to be stolen under his very nose, as we should say. This phrase "to steal one's teeth" has a slang flavour. It is not a quotation, and is not noted amongst the common "tooth" phrases by e.g. the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. The writer can recall hearing it used of a "skinflint" about 1920, along with the similar "he'd steal your eyeballs and come back for the sockets". Wesley uses the phrase here as a jocular—but at the same time "serious"—warning to Andrew Dunlop to be more watchful in the future.

9. "Those sermons may stop bottles" (vii, p. 296). This is written to Thomas Wride, but whose sermons are thus classified is not certain. Much earlier, according to Ray, there was current a proverbial phrase which ran "What are you good for? To stop bottles?" But whether Wesley means that these manuscripts should be rolled up to make bottle-stoppers, or that the sermons may serve a turn as stop-gaps is not clear. But what *is* clear is that these sermons were anything but first-rate.

10. "Bonny dust" (viii, p. 52). That is written of the remains of those Methodist worthies which were interred at City Road. The term is full of feeling and intimacy, and yet is manly and wholesome. By its use Wesley tacitly repudiates sentimental ideas about "consecrated" ground, and yet asserts something which the heart cherishes. "Bonny" is doubtless rightly classed as dialect, but it was common in the north of England as well as in Scotland.

## IX

This paper may conclude with some observations upon the slang and colloquial material here assembled. First, whilst an attempt has been made to give a balanced picture, covering the whole correspondence, many homely and forceful phrases have not been touched upon. Next, the colloquial element in the *Letters* increases, naturally enough, as the years pass. It is noticeable that far the largest proportion is addressed to men, particularly to the preachers, and to intimate friends.

It is noticeable, further, that by the use of slang and colloquialisms Wesley is in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred absolutely unambiguous. Moreover, by this means he communicates his mood as well as his mind. And sometimes the feeling-tone is as important as the ideas expressed, if not more so. Hence banter, irony, sarcasm, wit, satire, and so on all radiate from the warm centre of his heart. There are three main reasons for his colloquial style: the vivacity of the man, the intensely personal nature of his mission, and his determination not to fail in the use of language. Slang was an instrument often consciously selected, always used with ease. One clear proof of this is the fact that few men who have written so much that is colloquial have had a wider "standard" vocabulary than had Wesley.

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## NON - WESLEYAN CLASS TICKETS

CLASS tickets of Wesleyan Methodism have been carefully studied, first in a notable article in volume V of *Proceedings* (1906), pp. 33 ff; and more recently in *Proceedings*, xxxi, pp. 2 ff, 34 ff, 70 ff; and these two articles bid fair to remain standard and authoritative studies.

But all the other sections of Methodism used class tickets as well; and, so far as the present writer is aware, these have never been described. This article is an attempt to draft a classified list of tickets of all the other Methodist bodies. If it is not destined to be definitive, at any rate it will provide a starting-point for a later and fuller study, and may help to bring other early non-Wesleyan tickets to light.<sup>1</sup> The writer will be glad to know of the whereabouts of other tickets, particularly early ones. It seems fairly clear that unfortunately class tickets were not treasured as widely among the smaller Methodist bodies as in parent Methodism, and very few seem to have survived the first thirty years or so of their existence; this is especially true of the New Connexion. In point of fact, the use of class tickets was not universal; local circuits or societies seem to have used them or not according to their own custom.

It will be simplest to deal with the branches in chronological order; and in each case there may be all or any of the following categories: Class, Band, On Trial, and Junior tickets.

### Methodist New Connexion

**1797**—The first MNC ticket appeared in September 1797. In size and style it was a close imitation of the contemporary Wesleyan ticket, with text, reference, and index letter (A) inside a slender ornamental border, the date printed above the border at the top, and the member's name written below the border at the bottom.

**c. 1803** (earlier?) **to c. 1820** (?)—Tickets were horizontal, approximately  $1\frac{1}{2}$  by 1 in. (All measurements of early tickets are approximate, as the tickets were cut by the preachers from the complete sheet.) The border of a July 1803 ticket in the Rev. J. H. Verney's collection is similar to that of the Wesleyan tickets of c. 1760-5; the border of two later tickets in the same collection—July 1814 and April 1818 (index N)—is similar to that of contemporary Wesleyan tickets. But by 1803 the quarters had been changed to January, April, July, October, and they remained so to the end of the chapter. By these months MNC tickets can be distinguished.

**By 1831** a new design had appeared. The ticket measured  $2\frac{1}{2}$  by 2 ins. (approx., horizontal; all henceforward are horizontal), had a neat border, and was headed "Methodist New Connexion. Established 1797", after which followed date, text, reference, and bold index-letter. There was no space below the index-letter, and little in the outside margin, for the member's name, and the two tickets of this type in my possession—July 1831 (M) and April 1832 (P)—have the name written in the space above the date (Fig. 1 on the plate facing page 36).

**By 1859** the type has again changed (I have seen none between 1832 and 1859; there may have been intermediate changes). The paper is now blue, and all MNC tickets from now on are printed on various intensities of stiff blue ledger paper. Size 3 by 2 ins. approx., with border of scallops, broken in the bottom centre to accommodate the index-letter. The material

<sup>1</sup> Except where otherwise indicated, all the tickets specifically referred to in this article are in the writer's own collection.

<sup>2</sup> Illustration in the *New History of Methodism*, i, p. 506.

is arranged "Methodist New Connexion / Established 1797", followed by two rules, for the member's name and the minister's initials respectively; then comes the date, the text and the reference, the latter not on a separate line as previously, but "running on". January 1859 has the letter V. This border continues at least till January 1861 (D), but changes by July 1862, which has index-letter K, and this design goes on till at least January 1867 (C) (Fig. 2).

**By July 1877** there is another change, though slight. The general layout is the same, but the border is clearly different, and the words "Methodist New Connexion" are printed from a different fount. The tickets are now regularly  $3\frac{1}{2}$  by  $2\frac{3}{4}$  ins., being no longer issued in sheets, but ready cut, as today.

**October 1879 (D) to July 1881**—A new series in that the border is again changed. Otherwise identical, except that from October 1880 "Established" is replaced by "Founded".

**October 1881 (L) to July 1883**—No change apart from being the beginning of a new series on pale blue paper.

**October 1883 (T) to July 1884 (W)**—The paper is a pale greyish blue.

**October 1884 (X) to July 1885 (A)**—A new and slightly simpler border, on a greenish blue granite paper.

**October 1885 (B) to July 1886 (E)**—Reverts to blue ledger paper, with a new border.

**October 1886 (F) to July 1887 (I)**—Again a new border, in which the broken ornamental border encloses an unbroken black line. The two rules (for name and initials) are made of rows of black dots instead of continuous lines. Title in a new type-face.

**October 1887 (J) to July 1889 (Q)**—No change apart from a slightly different border outside the black line.

**October 1889 (R) to 1898 (?)**—Again a new border, not unlike the recent border before 1953, with index-letter centred below the bottom line. The shade of blue varies from year to year: by 1892-3 it is intense, by 1897 paler greenish blue.

**In 1898 (?)** quarterly tickets were given up and replaced by a large annual ticket on stiff card,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  by 3 ins., printed decoratively in gold, blue and red, and bearing the words "Methodist New Connexion. Founded 1797. Annual Church Certificate. This is to certify that . . . is a Member of . . . Church. . . Minister. . . [for the date]". By 1903 the card measured  $5\frac{1}{2}$  by 4 ins., the design was different, but the wording the same, apart from the omission of the word "Annual" and the addition, at the foot, of the text "The Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth. 1 Tim. iii. 15." It could serve as an "On Trial" ticket by the insertion in ink of those words after "Member".

**Band Tickets.** The Rev. J. H. Verney has one, similar to the contemporary Wesleyan tickets, for July 1803, index letter Zb. I am unable to say how long they continued to be used.

**On Trial Tickets.** I have seen two only. The first was issued in July 1864; it is identical with the contemporary class ticket, but has "Pro-bationer's Ticket" above the words "Methodist New Connexion", and the date is *written* above the name. There is no index-letter, and the same ticket was clearly issued over a period of years without change of text, which ran: "Yield yourselves unto God. Rom. vi. 13". It was used at least as late as 1871.

I have seen no Junior tickets.

**Primitive Methodist**

**May 1811 (A) to May 1826 (?)**—The first ticket bears this date, though it would not be issued till later, as Hugh Bourne notes in his Journal: "Thursday, May 30, 1811. I ordered Tickets to be printed for the first time."<sup>3</sup> It bore the words "May 1811", text and reference Acts xxviii. 22, index-letter A, and the printed initials "H.B.", the whole enclosed in a simple border consisting of a double rule with a conventional wild rose at each corner.<sup>4</sup>

The early tickets were slightly oblong and vertical; Kendall illustrates one, letter C, without a date—November 1811? The borders vary from quarter to quarter, many of them similar to the Wesleyan ones up to 1821. Size approximately 2 by 2½ ins., though there is a good deal of variation. The general arrangement is similar to the first, though the printed initials "H.B." disappear early (on the first only?). Paper similar to the Wesleyan tickets up to 1821. Throughout the whole of their history, PM tickets bore the months February, May, August, November.

**August 1826 (J) to May 1829**—The tickets are similar to the foregoing, borders changing from quarter to quarter (perhaps more than one border in each quarter, as with Wesleyan tickets up to 1821?), but are now horizontal instead of vertical.<sup>5</sup>

**August 1829 (V) to May 1843 (?)**—The tickets are large and squarish, with a border composed normally of a series of whorls. They now are headed "Primitive Methodist Connexion. First Camp Meeting held May 31, 1807. First class formed in March, 1810", followed by the date, text, reference, and index-letter. The paper is similar to the preceding, and the tickets measure from 2½ ins. square to 3 by 2¾ ins.

Very occasionally the border varies: I have four examples of such, from August 1835 to May 1838; in the first case the border of one ticket is the same as the contemporary Wesleyan border.<sup>6</sup>

**August 1843 (E) to May 1847 (?)**—As last, but the title is now in Old English lettering, and the historical note in italics with a short rule above and below; the month is in capitals, and there is a new border.

**August 1847 (?) to February 1851 (I)**—As before, but the paper is more or less blue-tinted.

**May 1851 (K) to May 1853 (?)**—As last, but a new border of scrolls. Paper more deeply blue. (Fig. 3.)

**August 1853 (T) (?) to May 1855**—As last, but title in a slightly different and larger Old English lettering.

**August 1855 (C) to November 1868 (X)**—As last, but smaller (3¼ by 2¼ ins.). There is now a rule for the member's name. Paper a pale greyish blue, to grey. From May 1858 the index-letter is smaller. From November 1863 the paper is no longer blueish, but various shades of "off-white".

**February 1869 (Y) to November 1875 (Z)**—As before, but a plainer border with conventional trefoil in the corners. From about this time the text tends to become much longer.

**February and May 1876**—As last, but no index-letter henceforth.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in H. B. Kendall: *History of the Primitive Methodist Church*, i, p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Illustration in Kendall, op. cit., i, p. 112, and the *New History of Methodism*, i, p. 562.

<sup>5</sup> Illustration in Kendall, loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Illustration in Kendall, loc. cit. and *New History of Methodism*, loc. cit.

METHODIST  
NEW CONNEXION,  
ESTABLISHED 1797.

*Ely. Jones*  
JULY, 1831.

Being now justified by his blood, we shall  
be saved from wrath through him. Rom. v. 9.

M

1

METHODIST NEW CONNEXION.  
ESTABLISHED 1797.

*Mary F. Walker*  
OCTOBER, 1860.

Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed  
lest he fall. — 1 Corinthians x. 12.

C

2

Primitive Methodist Connexion.

First Camp Meeting held May 31, 1807.  
First Class formed March, 1810.

MAY, 1851.

"The glory of the Lord shall endure  
for ever: the Lord shall rejoice in his  
works."  
Psalm civ. 31.

*John Holder*

3

Wesleyan Methodist Association.  
ESTABLISHED 1836.

PROBATIONERS CERTIFICATE.

No man, having put his hand to the  
plough and looking back is fit for the  
Kingdom of God. Luke ix. 62.

*Wm. Perkins* Candidate.  
Quarter, 1854  
*George Smith* Preacher.

4

December, 1828.

Wherefore, my be-  
loved brethren, let  
every man be swift to  
hear, slow to speak,  
slow to wrath.  
James i. 19.

W

*M. Biggsman*

5

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIETY.  
Established 25<sup>th</sup> Decr 1835.

QUARTERLY TICKET FOR MARCH, 1836.

*Oh that thou wouldst bless me indeed and en-  
large my Coast and that thine Hand might be  
with me and that thou wouldst keep me from evil.  
And God reward him that which  
he requests. 1 CHRON IV 10.*

*John Anderson*

6

Bible Christian Society.  
Instituted 1815.

MICHAELMAS TICKET. 1839.

Honour the Lord with thy substance, and  
with the first-fruits of all thine increase: so  
shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and thy  
presses shall burst out with new wine.  
Prov. iii. 9, 10.

*Ely. Jones*

7

United Methodist Societies  
OF THE  
Wesleyan Association and Wesleyan  
Reformers.

Quarterly Ticket for March 1857.

Behold how good and how pleasant it is for  
Brethren to dwell together in unity. — Psalm  
cxviii, v. 1.

*Ann G. Taylor*

8



PRIMITIVE METHODIST  
**ANNIVERSARY 1870**  
 FIRST CLASS FORMED  
 FEBRUARY 1870  
 FIRST CLASS FORMED  
 MARCH 1870  
 MAY 1870  
 THE LORD HAS DONE  
 GREAT THINGS FOR US AND WE  
 ARE GLAD TO PRAISE HIM  
 IN HIS OWN HOUSE  
 IS AT THIS DATE A MEMBER OF THE ABOVE  
 CHURCH. BY *Wm. W. W.*





MISSIONS COLLEGE  
 THE BOARD OF  
 THE BOARD OF

9

Bible Christian Society,  
 ESTABLISHED 1870.  
*March 25<sup>th</sup> 1870*  
*Wm. W. W.*  
 Admitted on Trial.  
 W. W. W. MINISTER.

10

**United Methodist Free Churches,**  
 Printed by the Wesleyan Book Concern, No. 24, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C. 4.  
**MARCH QUARTER, 1888.**  
 F  
 Oh ye also, love the stranger and stranger is right?  
 will give you - Luke, xii. 4.  
*Wm. W. W.*

11

14

UNITED  
**Methodist Free Churches.**  
 → **DECEMBER QUARTER, 1887.**  
 And thou shalt rejoice in every good thing  
 which the Lord thy God hath given unto thee,  
 and unto thine house, Deut. xxvii. 11.  
*Wm. W. W.*

13

**BIBLE CHRISTIAN SOCIETY.**  
 INSTITUTED 1870.  
**CHRISTMAS, 1870.**  
 THIS TICKET CERTIFIES THAT  
*Wm. W. W.*  
 is a full Member with us, and thereby entitled  
 to all the ordinances of this Church.  
 "Thou shalt rejoice in every good thing which the Lord thy God hath given unto thee, and unto thine house." - Deut. xxi. 11.  
*Wm. W. W.* Minister.

12

**Primitive Methodist Connection.**  
**First Class Meeting held May 31, 1867.**  
**First Class formed March 1870.**  
 "And thou shalt rejoice in every good thing which the Lord thy God hath given unto thee, and unto thine house, Deut. xxvii. 11."  
 AUGUST, 1878.  
 "And thou shalt rejoice in every good thing which the Lord thy God hath given unto thee, and unto thine house, Deut. xxvii. 11."  
*Wm. W. W.*

**August 1876 to November 1881**—As last, but the tickets are now perforated to facilitate division; size hence more uniform. The rule for the name disappears. I am unable to say how many tickets there were in a perforated sheet—at least nine. (Fig. 12.)

**February to August 1882**—As last, but now ready cut (4 by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins.)

**November 1882 to November 1895**—As last, but after text and reference “. . . is at this date a Member of the above Connexion. . . . Minister”.

**February 1896 to February 1901**—As last, but a new, simple border.

**May 1901 to February 1902**—Slightly different border, title in a simpler fount.

**May and August 1902**—A more decorative ticket: border of double rules, flanked by sprays. Title in slightly decorative fount; the two historical notes printed on either side of a scroll; text as before, but lettering in a heavy type. Size  $3\frac{3}{4}$  by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins.

**November 1902 to November 1916**—As last, but “Primitive Methodist Church”.<sup>7</sup> From February 1910 the lettering is no longer in heavy type.

**May 1910**—In the middle of the above series a special commemorative ticket was issued for this quarter. Printed on a stiff card,  $5\frac{3}{8}$  by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins., in black, red, blue, grey, yellow and gold, it celebrates the centenary, and is a highly elaborate affair. The lettering is so arranged that “Primitive Methodist” precedes “Church”, “Sunday School”, “Temperance”, “Missions” and “College”. The text is appropriately Psalm cxxvi. 3: “The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.” On either side are portraits of Bourne and Clowes, and at the bottom a vignette of Mow Cop. The corners bear the letters GR and ER, for May 1910 was of course the month of the death of Edward VII and the accession of George V. (Fig. 9.)

**February 1917 to November 1925**—A new and decorative design, 4 by  $2\frac{3}{4}$  ins., impossible to describe! The wording is as before, but the whole is arranged in the panels of the floral design. From 1922 to 1926 the texts are almost invariably taken from Moffatt—were they the choice of the Rev. Edward McLellan, who was Connexional Editor during that period? From February 1924 onwards the reference precedes the text.

**February 1926 to May 1932**—Again the same wording in a new decorative design flanked by classical pillars. Printed on thinnish glossy paper.

**August 1932**—Methodist Union was celebrated by a special ticket for this quarter, printed in blue and gold on a stiff card,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. There is a plain border of gold and blue, the rest being in blue. The wording is as before with, at the foot, “Methodist Union September 1932”. The text is Hebrews x. 9: “He taketh away the first, that He may establish the second.”

**Band Tickets.** I have one for November 1828 (Sb); and the Rev. J. H. Verney has one. I am unable to say how long they continued.

**On Trial and Junior Tickets.** I have seen neither, and have heard from a lady born in the 1880s who has a full set of PM class tickets dating from within a year or so of her birth.

**“Continuing” Primitive Methodists.** A circuit in Hull and neighbourhood did not enter the Union in 1932, and has continued to this day to issue its own tickets, identical with the last PM issue (1926-32) but with the word “Continuing” after the title. OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

*(To be continued)*

<sup>7</sup> Illustrated in Kendall, loc. cit.

## THE OPENING OF THE WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY

**I**N our last issue the Editor summarized the processes leading up to the opening of the Wesley Historical Society Library, but it is certainly desirable that the event itself should be recorded in our *Proceedings*.

At 3 p.m. on the Friday of Easter week, 3rd April 1959, a long-cherished but often-frustrated dream reached its fulfilment. The company assembling in the crypt of Wesley's Chapel, City Road, London, for this occasion included not only members of the Society, but representatives of Con-nexional Departments, and also several members of the national press.

Although a large area in the crypt has been placed permanently at the disposal of the Society free of rent, there was sufficient space between the Library and the outer entrance to the crypt for forty or fifty people, for whom seats had been brought from the Benson Room of Wesley's Chapel. The Secretary introduced the chairman, Mr. Sydney Walton, C.B.E., M.A., B.Litt., who thereupon announced the opening hymn—a parable of the wondrous results possible from small beginnings—"See how great a flame aspires". The choir of Wesley's Chapel had made special tape-recordings for the purpose of leading our singing on this occasion. The minister of Wesley's Chapel, the Rev. Max W. Woodward, led the gathering in prayer.

The chairman's address was what one would expect from Mr. Sydney Walton—imaginative in thought, choice in language, but keeping closely to the point. In his report of the event for "Pilgrim Paragraphs" in the *Middlesex Quarterly and London County Review* he writes of the "strangely beautiful ceremony", and quotes a passage from Dr. Gordon Rupp which he himself used on that occasion: "There is in the end no substitute for archives. . . . We must have the local historians, the local records; we need more men and women, laymen with a hobby, working parsons with a concern, to be aware of, interested in, and working at, these things." To render such tasks simpler and more fruitful the Library had been founded.

Mr. Walton spoke appreciatively of our late President, the Rev. F. F. Bretherton, B.A., whose collection forms the nucleus of this important Library. He then called upon Mr. Bretherton's son, Mr. Frank O. Bretherton, to open the Library. After the cutting of the ribbon and the opening of the Library door, Mr. Leslie E. S. Gutteridge, the Honorary Librarian, was called upon to produce the first volume. This was a specially-bound volume containing contributions of the Rev. F. F. Bretherton to the *Proceedings* of the Society. On behalf of the Bretherton family it was received by Miss Constance M. Bretherton, who for many years helped her father as Assistant Secretary. For this notable occasion Mr. Bretherton's aged but remarkably-alert sister, Miss A. Dorothy Bretherton, emerged from her retirement at Tunbridge Wells to address a few challenging words to the gathering on the subject of her late brother's dreams for the Society. Thanks by the Secretary, the singing of "Captain of Israel's host", and the Blessing by the President of our Society, the Rev. W. Lamplough Doughty, B.A., B.D., brought the ceremony to a close.

The guests were then able to inspect the Library, and were greatly impressed by the wealth of material already amassed from various sources in addition to the F. F. Bretherton Collection. Some worthy specimens of Wesley pottery, and other items, have come from the collection of the

Rev. John Heaton, and Mr. Mooring Aldridge of Bournemouth has donated a valuable life-size bust of Wesley, about which we hope to say more on another occasion. Sharing the hospitality of Mr. F. O. Bretherton at a tea served by the ladies of Wesley's Chapel in the Benson Room, all agreed that the Wesley Historical Society Library had made an auspicious beginning in its new and permanent home. It will be some months before a complete catalogue is available, and more gifts both of money and of books are needed before the Library can function with the highest efficiency, but the Officers of the Society are deeply grateful to the Bretherton family and other friends for their generosity in making the Library possible, and to Mr. Gutteridge, whose many hours of arduous toil behind the scenes were chiefly responsible for translating the possibility into an actuality. We trust that the Library may be greatly used to the glory of God.

FRANK BAKER.

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**WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY**  
**Wesley's Chapel Crypt, London**

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**RULES**

1. The Library is for the use of members of the Society only.
2. Rare books and manuscripts shall not be permitted to leave the Library premises.
3. Other volumes may be lent to members for not more than one month on the following conditions:
  - (a) The borrower shall pay postage both ways, the outgoing postage to be returned with the volume(s).
  - (b) The borrower shall refund the cost of any volume lost or damaged in transit, and agrees to accept the Librarian's valuation.
4. The maximum number of books to be borrowed at one time shall be three, and no further books will be lent until those already issued are safely returned.
5. The Librarian has the right to refuse to lend a book to any member without giving the reason.
6. Fees shall be charged for any research undertaken by the Librarian for non-members.
7. The Society reserves the right to alter or amend these rules at any time, and their interpretation of any rule is final and binding.

N.B.—Members are reminded that it is desirable, in their own interests, to make an appointment in advance with the Librarian should they wish to visit or use the Library in person.

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The above Rules were agreed at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Wesley Historical Society on 2nd April 1959.

The Librarian is Mr. Leslie E. S. Gutteridge, c/o Epworth Secondhand Books, 25-35, City Road, London, E.C.1.

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ERRATUM

Vol. XXXI. Page 176, line 20. For "3rd edition" read "4th edition"

## NOTES ON DUPLICATE WESLEY LETTERS

**I**N *Proceedings*, xxxi, p. 103, Dr. T. F. Glasson draws attention to two letters from John Wesley to his brother Charles which are identical except for the year, and shows that the later date must be the correct one.

There are other duplications in the Standard *Letters*, three of which are noted below. There may be more still.

**I.** In vii, p. 247, there is a letter to Henry Moore dated 4th November 1784. On page 349 of the same volume, but under date 4th November 1786, there is a letter to Moore which incorporates the whole of the earlier one, with additional matter. The latter is assuredly the correct one, for the following reasons:

(a) It is obviously addressed to Moore when he was in Dublin. He had received the appointment at the Conference of 1786, having spent the two previous years in London.

(b) The reference to Mr. Smyth, who built the Bethesda chapel in Dublin for the Lady Huntingdon Connexion. See Crookshank's *History of Methodism in Ireland*, i, p. 421, and *Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon*, ii, pp. 201-2.

(c) Moore followed James Rogers that year, who went to Cork.

(d) The reference to Methodism and the Church of England "at the last Conference" must mean that of 1786. See *Minutes*, 1786.

(e) Annadale is in Ireland.

It is hardly surprising that, with an apparent interval between the letters of two years, Telford failed to notice this duplication. The 1784 letter must have been an imperfect copy which he saw, possibly in the pages of the *Magazine*, which was one of his sources. The 1786 letter which he saw may have been either a perfect copy or the original. It is to be regretted that he did not indicate, for every letter in the collection, whether it is taken from a copy or from the original, and, in either case, the location.

**II.** In vii, p. 263, there is a letter to Mrs. Wren, dated "Birmingham, March 26, 1785". On page 302 of the same volume there is a letter to Mrs. Pawson, dated "London, Nov. 26, 1785", but otherwise identical with the foregoing, save for a very slight and quite negligible change of phrasing at one point.

In this case the places of writing and the dates are quite different, which seems to indicate that there were actually two letters. A more curious point is that they are both addressed to the same lady. Mrs. Wren was born in 1737, and lived in York; her maiden name was Frances Mortimer. There is much about her and her family (in addition to what occurs in Methodist literature) in *Papers and Diaries of a York Family, 1764-1839*, by Mrs. Edwin Gray (1927). She became the wife of a Mr. Wren, and after his death married, on 12th August (not 14th, as Telford says) 1785, John Pawson, who had become a widower. This marriage took place between the dates of the two letters.

What is the explanation? Can it be that Wesley kept "stock" letters of advice and exhortation to meet similar cases of spiritual need, and that he overlooked the fact that he had already sent this letter to Mrs. Pawson as Mrs. Wren? Or did he forget that they were the same person? The letter seems to suggest something of this kind, for there is nothing really personal in its contents; it might have been written to anyone in a similar spiritual condition. As against this, there appears to be no other example

of this letter, such as one would expect to find on this theory. If there were others, they appear to have been lost; but all this is mere speculation. Can any member suggest an alternative theory? We note that the second letter is addressed to Mrs. Pawson's husband, but begins "My dear Sister".

**III.** In viii, p. 188, there is a letter to Adam Clarke, dated "London, Nov. 26, 1789". Except for a very slight difference of phrasing, almost certainly due to faulty copying, it is identical with the letter on page 249, save for the year, which is given as 1790. We note, however, that internal evidence indicates that Adam Clarke was in Bristol. He had received that appointment at the Conference of 1789, but remained only one year. Hence the letter of the earlier date is the correct one.

Instead of doing crossword puzzles, members might look for other duplicates!

W. L. DOUGHTY.

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## THE ANNUAL LECTURE

in connexion with the Bristol Conference, 1959,

WILL BE DELIVERED IN

**The New Room, Broadmead, Bristol,**

**On Wednesday, 8th July, at 7-30 p.m.,**

BY THE

**Rev. Dr. ROBERT F. WEARMOUTH, M.A., B.Sc.**

*Subject:* "METHODISM AND THE TRADE UNIONS."

The chair will be taken by THE LORD LAWSON, P.C.,  
supported by MR. SYDNEY WALTON, C.B.E., M.A., B.Litt.

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**The Annual Meeting** of the Society will be held in the Common Room of the New Room at 6 p.m.

Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Ibberson kindly invite any members of the Society to **Tea** at 4-30 p.m. in the Y.M.C.A., Colston Street, Bristol—just above the Colston Hall, ten minutes by bus from the Central Hall, and ten minutes' walk from the New Room. Those who wish to accept this invitation to tea should inform the Rev. Donald Streat, 94, Reedley Road, Stoke Bishop, Bristol, 9, by Monday, 6th July, at the latest.

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The *Handbook of the Bristol Conference, 1959* (pp. 110, 2s. 6d.) is the first Bristol Conference Handbook since 1935. Its historical pages cover a much wider field than its predecessor, and there is much valuable information about the history of Methodism in Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire, and South Wales, as well as Bristol itself, and, of course, Didsbury College. This Handbook is definitely one to be bought—and kept.

It is not often that a local history comes to us from Scotland. For that reason alone *Methodism in Dundee, 1759-1959*, by A. N. Cass (pp. 25, 2s. 6d. post free from the author at Airlie Hall, Dundee, Angus), is particularly welcome. The author has ransacked the records with great thoroughness, and the result is a story packed with information and interest. We congratulate this northern station on its bicentenary, for which it has found such a worthy historian.

## BOOK NOTICES

*Pray for a Wind*, by Morwenna R. Bielby. (Epworth Press, pp. 77. 4s.)

The inclusion of this, the latest "Wesley" play, in the Proscenium series of plays published by the Epworth Press suggests that it is of more than ordinary merit. And so it is. I think it is quite possibly the best of all the plays about Wesley and his work.

I hope neither Mrs. Bielby nor Mr. T. S. Eliot will be upset if I say that in some of its cadences, and its ironic humour, the play reminds me of *The Waste Land*, and that Mrs. Bielby has either learnt from *Murder in the Cathedral*, or discovered for herself, what a useful thing a chorus can be. In her skilful hands it not only reduces the multiplication of characters, but keeps the narrative moving and itself becomes an essential part of the drama.

The play has power and pace, and gives as true and clear a picture of Wesley's life and character as any I know—and it is all here: Epworth, Oxford, Georgia, Aldersgate, Cornwall, Newcastle, London. That is only possible, in a play running for just over the hour, by the use of words with remarkable economy and admirable precision. Well rehearsed and imaginatively presented, this play might well lead many to *Pray for a Wind*—such a wind as came at Pentecost and again in England two hundred years ago. Mrs. Bielby has done a first-rate piece of work. F. H. EVERSON.

*Howell Harris, Reformer and Soldier (1714-1773)*, transcribed and edited by Tom Beynon. (Caernarvon: The Calvinistic Methodist Bookroom, on behalf of the Calvinistic Methodist Historical Society, pp. x. 259, 12s. 6d.)

This volume, the second in the Trevecka Records Series, consists of selections from the voluminous diaries of Howell Harris, together with brief introductory notes by the editor. The extracts from the diaries include an account of two visits to London (in 1742 and 1743), and of journeys with the Brecknockshire militia (1759-62) which took Harris to Yarmouth, Bideford, Plymouth, etc. Later extracts also refer to other visits to various parts of England, including London, Bristol, Bath, Birmingham and parts of Yorkshire, and they all contain valuable information concerning eighteenth-century Methodism and Methodists. The references to John and Charles Wesley and their friends are numerous and often informative, and the volume also includes an account of both the 1760 and the 1763 Conferences. (The index, s.v. "Wesleyans, Conference", should have included a reference to pp. 78-83.) Every student of Methodist history will be grateful to Mr. Beynon for making available the selections printed here, and a perusal of them should send him to Aberystwyth in search of further information!

One cannot, however, refrain from expressing some degree of uneasiness on one point. One brief portion of the diaries appears twice in the volume (on pp. 83 and 247), but the two transcripts do not correspond to each other in every detail. The variant readings do not appreciably affect the meaning of the passage, but they ought not to have occurred at all. It is only fair to add that only those who have themselves grappled with the almost indecipherable handwriting of Harris can realize the amount of patient labour that has been expended in the preparation of this useful selection. Once again the Rev. Tom Beynon has placed us heavily in his debt.

GRIFFITH T. ROBERTS.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### 1020. A CARLYLE BORROWING FROM WESLEY?

A celebrated passage in Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (Book II, chapter 8) draws out the absurdity of war by describing thirty men from an English village facing thirty men from a French village on the battlefield, and at the word "Fire!" blowing the souls out of one another. They are complete strangers and have no quarrel, but all this happens because their rulers have fallen out.

There is a similar passage in Wesley's treatise on "Original Sin" written eighty years earlier. Wesley's words are as follows:

Here are forty thousand men gathered together on this plain. What are they going to do? See, there are thirty or forty thousand more at a little distance. And these are going to shoot them through the head or body, to stab them, or split their skulls, and send most of their souls into everlasting fire, as fast as they possibly can. Why so? What harm have they done to them? O none at all! They do not so much as know them. But a man, who is King of France, has a quarrel with another man, who is King of England. So these Frenchmen are to kill as many of these Englishmen as they can, to prove the King of France is in the right. Now, what an argument is this! What a method of proof! What an amazing way of deciding controversies! What must mankind be, before such a thing as war could ever be known or thought of upon earth?

Carlyle speaks of the two parties coming into juxtaposition:

... and Thirty stands fronting Thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word "Fire!" is given: and they blow the souls out of one another; and in place of sixty brisk useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury, and anew shed tears for. Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the Devil is, not the smallest! They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; nay, in so wide a Universe, there was even, unconsciously, by Commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! their Governors had fallen out; and, instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot.

Not only is the main concept the same, but the same two nations are involved, and there appear to be verbal echoes. Carlyle's "How then?" corresponds to Wesley's "Why so?" It seems probable that Carlyle had consulted the treatise on "Original Sin" (a subject he would have found highly congenial), and consciously or unconsciously reproduced Wesley's vivid picture. It is known that Carlyle was interested in Methodism. Letters in the *Methodist Recorder* some years ago from the Rev. J. H. Maddock and Mr. A. Potter spoke of his visits to Justice Walk Methodist church in the Chelsea circuit. He used to listen to the sermon from the vestibule, and once remarked, "Those Methodists talk sense."

T. FRANCIS GLASSON.

### 1021. EAST ANGLIAN BRANCH.

A meeting of the East Anglian Branch of the Wesley Historical Society was held at Chapel Field Road, Norwich, on 23rd May, with the Rev. H. J. Martin in the chair. There were about twenty-four present. Dr. John H. S. Kent of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, gave a stimulating lecture on early nineteenth-century Primitive Methodism in the light of its hymns. He sought to show that the influence of Lorenzo Dow's hymn-book was far greater than generally realized, and illustrated the difference between



hymns of the early nineteenth century and those of the "genteel revivalism" of Moody and Sankey in the 1870s. The lecture gave rise to a lively conversation.

In the business meeting that followed, Mr. W. A. Green of Norwich was appointed to act as secretary in conjunction with Mr. J. A. Vickers. It was agreed to levy a membership fee of one shilling, and to issue two duplicated bulletins annually. Bicentenary celebrations of John Wesley's visit to Hempnall, near Norwich, to be held at 1 p.m. on 4th September 1959, were mentioned. The following arrangements for further meetings were made:

Saturday, 17th October, at Museum Street, Ipswich: 3-30 p.m., Mr. W. D. Warren on Ipswich Methodism.

Saturday, 21st May 1960, at Great Yarmouth.

The desirability of a central repository for local church and circuit records was discussed; it is hoped to compile lists of MS. and other historical material bearing on East Anglian Methodism.

Thirteen members were enrolled at the meeting. Afterwards, tea was served by the ladies of the Chapel Field Road church.

JOHN A. VICKERS.

#### 1022. A NINTH VOLUME OF JOHN WESLEY'S "JOURNAL".

When the eight volumes of John Wesley's *Journal* were reprinted in 1938 in a bicentenary edition, the promise was made that "all *errata* and *addenda*, together with some newly discovered material, will be issued subsequently as a supplementary volume, which will take its place as volume 9 of this series".

Various difficulties have hitherto prevented the implementation of this promise. However, the Connexional Editor has now asked me to undertake the task of preparing the ninth volume of the *Journal* along the lines indicated. Various correspondents have from time to time supplied me with items of *errata* and *addenda* with a view to their ultimate publication in the *Proceedings*. I now propose to use these items in the new volume. There must, however, be many of our members who in the course of their reading of the *Journal* have discovered printer's errors, errors of fact, or additional points of elucidation and interest. I should be grateful if any such information, however trifling, would be sent to me at 45, Kingsway, Lytham St. Annes, Lancs.

The preparation of the ninth volume is a long-term project, and no estimate can be given at this stage of the probable date of publication. But the members of our Society have the chance to make the new volume as complete as possible, and their prompt and willing help will be much appreciated.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

*The Faiths men live by*, by Charles Francis Potter (World's Work, Ltd., Kingswood, Surrey, pp. 320, 6s.), devotes one-third of its pages to an account of the non-Christian religions, and the remainder to a description of the beliefs and practices of all the main Christian denominations in America, including, of course, the Methodists. Side by side with this must be placed *The Small Sects in America*, by Elmer T. Clark (Abingdon Press, pp. 256, \$1.25), whose sub-title is "an authentic account of almost 300 little-known religious groups"—a truly amazing book. These two books taken together give a fascinating picture of the religious life of our sister nation across the Atlantic, and illustrate the saying that "truth is stranger than fiction".