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Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

Editor: Rev. WESLEY F. SWIFT.

Volume XXXII

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EDITORIAL

THIS issue of the *Proceedings* makes a late appearance, for which we tender apologies to our readers. We hope that the size and quality of its contents will compensate for the delay, which has been caused by various technical difficulties beyond our control. Members should be warned, however, that the exceptional bulk of this issue must not be regarded as a precedent. Our finances limit us to twenty-four pages, but those who are particularly observant will have noticed that so far in this volume we are eight pages short of our maximum. The current issue of thirty-two pages is merely a "catching up" on the arrears! Only a large increase in our membership would enable us to achieve the desired result of a "bumper" number every quarter.

* * *

The long-promised Index to the first thirty volumes of the *Proceedings* is now at the proof stage, and we hope that before long we shall be able to give details of its publication. This indispensable "tool for the job" is the work of Mr. John A. Vickers of Ipswich, who (with the voluntary assistance of many of our members in the work of checking the entries) has devoted untold leisure hours to its compilation as a labour of love. Students of Methodist history will discover by its use (as we already have ourselves) that the earlier volumes of the *Proceedings* are rich in suggestive material for research, as well as containing thousands of interesting details and out-of-the-way facts not to be found elsewhere. We regret that we can no longer supply complete sets of the thirty volumes (though many individual parts are still available); indeed, complete sets would be beyond the financial reach of most of us, for the current market price of cloth-bound sets is about £50. Members may be glad to be reminded, however, that any volume of the *Proceedings* may be borrowed from our Library at Wesley's Chapel, London, where we have two sets available for this purpose, as well as a third set for reference in the Library itself. We are glad to say that the Library is being increasingly used by members, both by post and on the spot. The Librarian will be glad to receive gifts of suitable books. Runs of the various denominational *Magazines* will be especially welcome.

RICHARD TREFFRY, SENIOR AND JUNIOR (1771 - 1842 AND 1804 - 38)

SOURCES :

- BOASE, G. C., and COURTNEY, W. P. : *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, 1874-81. For Treffry Family and Bibliography, see II, pp. 737-43; III, pp. 1346-7.
- TREFFRY, REV. RICHARD, SEN. : *Memoirs of the Rev. Richard Treffry, Jun.* (Mason, London, 1839). This includes essays on "On the Apostolical Succession" and "Ministerial Power".
- TREFFRY, REV. RICHARD, SEN. : Manuscript *Journal*, 1802-9, per F. L. Harris, M.A., Redruth. See *Proceedings*, xviii, pp. 30-2.
- TREFFRY CORRESPONDENCE, preserved in the Letter Book of the Rev. Henry Marchbank, per Mrs. E. Jewell, Bude. This correspondence consists of (1) Treffry, jun. to Miss Eliza Baron, of Hull, 1828; (2) Treffry, sen. to Mrs. Eliza Treffry (née Baron), of Penzance, 1831; (3) Treffry, jun. to his father, with essay on "Ministerial Power", 1835.

THE portraits of the two Richard Treffrys, father and son, may be seen in the 1834 volume of the *Methodist Magazine* and in the *Memoirs of the Rev. Richard Treffry, Jun.* respectively. The strong likeness is at once apparent—the large features, firm mouth and wavy hair, no longer combed straight down "in the manner of the ancients" as seen in the portraits of the *Arminian Magazine*. Sartorially, both wear a heavy high-backed coat, revealing a waistcoat and white cravat. The father's coat is obviously a riding-coat, well suited to the life of an itinerant; the son's coat is of a more fashionable cut, with a long lapel and two rows of decorative buttons.

Richard Treffry, sen. lived from 1771 to 1842, and his son from 1804 to 1838, and therefore the ministry of both men was exercised in that interesting transition period, the first three decades of the last century; interesting on account of (a) its nearness to Methodist beginnings, (b) the emergence of democratic Methodism, and (c) the changing relation of Methodism to the Church of England due to Methodism's increasing self-sufficiency and the rise of tractarianism. This period can be illustrated from the writings, published and unpublished, of both Treffrys.

The family came from Cuby, Cornwall, where Thomas Treffry (1739-1812) was a farmer. He joined the Methodists in 1778, and became a class-leader and local preacher. His son, Richard, joined the Methodists while in his 'teens, and entered the ministry in 1792. He was a typical itinerant of the period, and fortunately the outline of his ministry in *Hill's Arrangement* can be filled in by his early *Journal* (1802-9), his surviving letters, and the Conference obituary. He has a niche in Smith's and Stevens's histories, but none in Gregory's or in the *New History of Methodism*. Smith and Stevens both describe him as capable, and in some ways outstanding, but at the same time rough and unpolished. Even the writer of *Wesleyan Takings* paid tribute to him: "With Richard Treffry every thing is noble and open;—nothing curtailed". His capabilities may be judged from the fact that he was called to the chair of the Conference in 1833 largely in appreciation of his wise handling of reform disputes

in the South London societies. In 1838 he was appointed Governor of the Theological Institution at Hoxton. He was firmly attached to the Conference during the disputes of the 1830s, but he was recognized by both sides as not being a party man. His writings include a *Reply* to the Rev. C. V. Le Grice, a critic of the Cornish Revival of 1814, and biographies of Benson, Truscott, Trewavas, and his own son.

Richard Treffry, jun. was born at the Camelford manse in 1804, and was baptized at the beginning of the following year by Dr. Coke, then in the course of one of his missionary deputation tours. After leaving Kingswood, young Treffry was apprenticed to a London printer, and for a time left the Methodists. This was in 1819, but within the next five years he returned to the fold and entered the ministry. After travelling for six years in London and Yorkshire circuits, and always battling against ill-health, he was forced to superannuate. From 1831 until his death in 1838 he lived mainly at Penzance. During these years of decreasing strength he laboured with his pen in the service of Methodism. He was instructed by Conference to write in defence of the Eternal Sonship of Christ—a doctrine which Adam Clarke (in his one theological aberration) had denied. During the Warrenite controversy he managed to get to the District Meeting at Truro, and there drew up an official statement defining the attitude of the assembled preachers. His other publications include biographies of the Rev. John Smith, Mr. J. E. Trezize, and of his mother—all useful source-books today. By his early death Methodism undoubtedly lost one who would have been one of her leading thinkers if not statesmen.

It now remains to show how the writings of the two Treffrys illustrate the three subjects:

(1) Methodism between 1800 and 1840

The itinerants were still largely horsemen at the beginning of the period. Between 1802-6 Treffry, sen. regularly rode round the societies on horseback (often on a borrowed horse). By 1830 Treffry, jun. journeyed mainly by horse-drawn carriage. Throughout the period there were many references to chapel-building. At Sithney, in 1802, a Methodist named (? Thomas) Gundry was brought before the justices for allowing his house to be used for preaching without having licensed it. He promised that the preaching would be discontinued, and the following week Treffry went to the parish to find a new place for preaching. Farmer Penaluna offered him a disused building. In the same year Treffry recorded a visit to the Quarter Sessions to obtain preaching licences for himself and six local preachers.

At the beginning of the century Sunday-schools were still few in number, and in his travels up and down the country the indefatigable Dr. Coke found time to press for their establishment, even offering monetary assistance to those who would undertake the work. On Good Friday 1805 Treffry, sen., who was then at Camelford, called the

society together and informed them of Coke's offer of two guineas to start a school. He reported, too, that the leaders' meeting favoured the scheme, but he evidently felt that the society would need some persuading, for he went on: "You may think that it is a new thing & like many other new things more specious than sound." He pointed out that the purpose of the school was to teach the children "to read, to teach them the principles of religion & pray with & for them & labour to train them up for heaven". The school sessions were to be from 8 a.m. to 10-30 a.m. and for "an hour or two" in the afternoon. The Methodists, he suggested, ought not to be behind the Church of England or the Calvinists in the founding of Sunday-schools.

The elder Treffry lived a busy life, continually preaching, meeting classes, exercising discipline, enjoying the hospitality of his many hosts ("Dined at Mr. Cock's. The first goosberry pye for the season"; "Dined on a fine roasted hare"), even spending a day working in the harvest fields. But he had his days off—his "vacant days", when he tilled his garden or took his wife out in a gig. Books were a problem, at least for those who needed them. The younger Treffry, in Penzance, writing to his father, at Bristol, asks him to forward certain books, Turretin's *Works*, Episcopius's *Works*, Burton's *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, and others. The parcel of books, like another parcel then on its way to him, would travel by sea from Bristol.

Treffry, sen.'s references to the Quarterly Meetings are not very detailed, but it is evident that "increased assessments" were then, as now, recurring items on the agenda. Extra quarterage was sometimes required to send the preachers to Conference. One custom prevalent at the time was for each Quarterly Meeting to be attended by one or more itinerants from the adjoining circuits. Thus we find the Launceston staff attending the Camelford meeting, and Camelford and Plymouth itinerants at the Launceston meeting. It would be interesting to know the origin of this custom and its duration, but it seems to have been a formal arrangement at this period. When the Bodmin circuit was formed, in 1804, representatives from the new circuit appeared at the Quarterly Meeting of the old circuit and claimed a fifth part of the furniture of the Camelford manse. It was agreed that the furniture be valued (by a Camelford man!), and thus the furnishing of the Bodmin manse began. The Quarterly Meetings were invariably accompanied by preaching services, lovefeasts, or sacramental celebrations.

Apart from occasional visits to neighbouring circuits, the itinerants only left their circuits to travel to the District Meeting or to Conference. The District Meeting sessions opened at 5 a.m. (1804), and were attended by travelling preachers and circuit stewards. The stewards had been admitted to District Meetings, with a certain limitation, by resolution of the Conference of 1801. Treffry comments (1802) that "the stewards were admitted after breakfast", and (1804) that "the stewards were with us all the time except for an hour during the morning".

Through the writings of the Treffrys we have glimpses of their contemporaries. "I understand that it is arranged for Mr. Bell to come with Mr. Bunting upon our deputation," writes Treffry, jun. to his father in 1835, "I do not know him, but I should fear it was a considerable falling off from Mr. Scott." In the same letter there is a reference to a financial arrangement with the Schools Committee, of which Treffry, sen. was chairman. The son writes :

Mr. Aver [the Rev. William Aver] begged me to look after some of his affairs after his decease and among others the one I am to state. Some years ago he lent the school at two several periods £100 and £80. For these he had no security but a mere memorandum of Mr. Smith [the Rev. John Smith, 3rd]. He wished me therefore to apply for a legal security for these. Will you be so good as to procure this for me. But if Mr. Smith or whoever else has to do with the thing will not give the security, Mr. A. wished the money to be repaid forthwith.

Then there are the contemporaries who make a brief but interesting appearance—"old Mr. Beard [a trustee at Plymouth] was as stiff as a post and as cross as a pig"; Ben Gregory was objected to at the Conference of 1804 "because he takes different texts in one sermon"; the Lincolnshire preachers were charged with "lying long in bed", even till 8 a.m., at Squire Brackenbury's (Mr. Moore said that the Pauline use of the word "chambering" literally signified lying long in bed). Among the Treffrys' unnamed contemporaries were the Methodists near the Lizard who missed the evening service because a cargo of uncustomed goods had just been landed on the beach; and the dispirited smugglers who had been relieved of their cargo in the Bristol Channel and were journeying back across Cornwall to their home base.

There are several references to William Carne, the wealthy banker of Penzance, who entertained Wesley in 1789 and who was still leading a class in the 1830s. He was steward of the East Cornwall circuit in 1786, and held the same office as late as 1834. He appears to have observed Wesley's rules on the use of money, for it is estimated that he gave away over £10,000. The old man liked to talk to the young Treffry about the early days of Methodism. He mentioned an itinerant in the days before manses were provided who was posted from Edinburgh to Penzance and had to leave his wife behind. After twelve months he wished to pay her a visit, and so rode his horse all the way to Edinburgh, spent a week with her, and then rode back again. The wives of the itinerants deserve more praise than has ever been bestowed upon them. The travelling preachers were sometimes themselves very particular in their choice of partners. The elder Treffry, writing from Garforth in 1831 to his daughter-in-law, describes the virtues of his second wife, to whom he had just been united. He says :

Her natural temper as far as my present observations go is tranquil, even, & serene; I have not seen anything yet that bears the most distant resemblance to turbulence of disposition. Her piety is unquestionable, the judgement of the church in permitting her to have had 3 classes of

about 70 people is sufficient proof that she possesses in no ordinary degree the confidence of the people of God. . . . She is thoroughly domestic, loves home, understands well how to make a pudding or a pie, or knit a stocking, or mend a garment. . . . She is also a rigid economist & knows how to make a little go a great way. Her mental powers, though not above the ordinary rank of mortals, are nevertheless not inferior to common minds. Of her defects I say nothing. . . .

The second Mrs. Treffry, however, was following a great exemplar whose saintliness and self-discipline have been described by Dr. L. F. Church in *The Early Methodist People*.

(2) Methodist Reform

The reform movement had a much earlier origin than the events of 1849, or even of 1797; it had its genesis in the time of Wesley (cf. Wesley's *Letters*, viii, p. 196). During the period covered by the Treffry writings the movement, taking various forms, was slowly gathering force. The signatories to the *Redruth Resolutions* of 1791, of whom one was William Carne, were all devoted Wesleyans, yet their resolutions went quite as far in intention as those of the later reformers.¹ These petitioners were not in favour of the division of the Connexion into Districts, but when this was done they seem to have co-operated loyally in the new order. There were those, however, who, not satisfied with the admission of stewards to the District Meeting, pressed for the admission of "delegates" from the societies. In 1802 the elder Treffry rode into St. Erth, where he met the Redruth District Chairman, William Shelmerdine. As they rode on to the meeting Shelmerdine explained that he was in a strait, not knowing whether to admit delegates from the people to attend the meeting throughout its sessions; he feared that whichever way he decided, he would be censured either by the Conference or by the people. His successor of thirty years later would have known how to act, but the constitution was still developing. Methodism was still coming "down from heaven as it was wanted, piece by piece".

If the composition of the church courts was still undecided, so was the legal settlement of the chapels. A Methodist in the Helston circuit built a chapel about 1824, and was willing to settle it on the model deed. He wished, however, to make certain restrictions, and the District Meeting forbade the preachers to occupy the pulpit until these were waived. It is not likely that this was an isolated case. Ten years later, when the Warrenite controversy spread through the Connexion, the younger Treffry, as already related, framed the declaration of loyalty on behalf of the West Cornwall preachers. Reporting to his father, he says that he "hopes that in general we have little to fear in this county". His hopes were not entirely realized, for there soon followed the disastrous secession in North Cornwall,² and the only less serious ones at Helston and St. Austell.

¹ The Resolutions are printed in Smith's *History of Wesleyan Methodism*, ii, p. 702.

² See *Proceedings*, xxviii, pp. 151 ff.

The issue underlying these disagreements within and secessions from Wesleyan Methodism was of course that of ministerial authority. It was not always the obvious issue, but it was the fundamental one: who should exercise "episcopé"—the itinerants, the stewards, or a democratic combination of both? In 1835 Richard Treffry, sen. asked his son to express his opinion on "Ministerial Power in the Excision of unworthy Members of the Church". It must have been evident to him when he raised the question that if the itinerants were possessed of the power to include and exclude members, then ministerial rule would follow as a consequence. The son's reply took the form of a lengthy, closely-reasoned essay, written on a large sheet of paper which also contained a short covering letter.

After examining the evidence, Treffry states that no one in the New Testament is represented as responsible for the spiritual prosperity of a church except its pastors, and argues that this can only be because they possessed the power to exclude unworthy members. His comment on 1 Peter v. 1-3 is: "If ministers possess no power the exhortation of St. Paul against the abuse of power is impertinent." Diotrephes is censured (3 John 9-10), not for exercising the right to excommunicate, but for misusing that power. Treffry has no difficulty in citing the early fathers as being in agreement with St. Chrysostom that "the power of the keys is possessed in the church by its pastors alone". He then points out that a ministry must exist before the formation of a church, and every missionary must, in the beginning, exercise the power of the keys. If this power

belongs to the minister by the authority of God at the commencement of a religious community, it is clear that by that authority alone the power can be withdrawn from him. But God has never interposed His authority to that effect; the original grant and appointment of ministerial authority therefore remains in full force.

Treffry finally adds a few comments on the law and usage of Methodism up to that time. From Wesley's death until 1797, the power of expulsion had been, without check or control, in the hands of the preachers. In that year Conference agreed to one check on this system: "No person shall be expelled from the society for immorality till such immorality be proved at the Leaders' Meeting." Treffry argues that this does not mean that the leaders' meeting is to be the judge or jury. Pointing out that, at that date, a preacher has the power of withholding a ticket from one who has ceased to attend class, he says that it cannot be the law that a minister has the right to exclude a *negligent* member but no power to exclude an *immoral* one.

Whatever may be thought of this doctrine by modern Methodists, there is no doubt that father Treffry found it both agreeable and scriptural. Perhaps he called to mind his own exercise of the power of the keys at Prospednick in 1802, when he "excluded 2 from the society for being fruitfully intimate without a priestly sanction", and at Tintagel in 1804, when he expelled two members for quarrelling.

(3) Relations with the Church of England

It is a commonplace that there was never a formal act of separation between Methodism and the Church of England, but that was partly because there never was a formal unity. Throughout the period of the Treffrys large numbers of Methodists regarded themselves as being members of "the Church" as well as of "the Society", yet throughout the same period there was a growing sense of being a separate body. This separateness was hastened on the one side by a feeling of self-sufficiency and on the other by a lack of sympathy on the part of the clergy. It was the parson of Sithney who hauled (? Thomas) Gundry before the justices in 1802, and the rector of Lanteglos-by-Camelford who in that same year refused to bury a child who had been baptized by the itinerant, Joseph Robbins. It was in that same year also that the elder Treffry attended Conference and heard Dr. Coke criticized for making a private approach to the bishops with a view to uniting the societies to the Church by the ordination of selected itinerants.

While Richard Treffry, jun. was at Penzance the bishop of Exeter (Phillpotts) made an appeal to the Wesleys in his famous Visitation Charge of 1833. Speaking to the clergy of the Wesleys, he said: "They agree with us almost entirely in doctrine, certainly in all which the most rigidly orthodox amongst us would deem *essential* parts of the Christian Covenant. . . . Would to God that the narrow partition which divides them from us could be broken down." In spite of the eirenic note in this charge, the Methodists read it with some suspicion. Treffry thought that "these attentions from dignitaries of the Church are rather flattering, yet I fear they will be mischievous". He considered that the bishop's proposals were indefinite or impracticable, and in some instances ridiculous. He considered publishing a reply to the bishop, but did not do so. Yet Treffry had no objection to the Anglican Church as such, and during his retirement considered taking orders therein so that he could fulfil his ministry in a quieter sphere than was possible in Methodism. Dr. Bunting advised him against this course, on the ground that he might still become strong enough to resume the itinerancy.

In the year of Phillpotts's Visitation Charge already quoted, Newman issued his famous Tract No. 1, on the Ministerial Commission, which contained an exposition of the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession. This tract naturally provoked fresh thinking on the subject among the Methodist preachers. The fruits of this new thinking can be seen in Alfred Barrett's *Essay on the Pastoral Office* (1839) and in the slighter but hardly less important essay *On the Apostolical Succession*, published in the *Memoirs* of the younger Treffry.

The essay may be summarized by the following quotations:

The most appropriate exposition of the phrase would be a succession of ministers in one degree or another resembling the apostles: apostolic men, & therefore pious, zealous, and faithful. In the existence of such a succession there is strong reason to believe.

There is an obvious incongruity in terming a series of individuals apostolical, who are yet destitute of that which was essential to the character of the apostles. In other words, an unapostolical man cannot form one of an apostolical succession.

But this is not the sense affixed to the phrase by those who are most zealous in its maintenance. They employ it to signify . . . a series of ministers ordained by diocesan bishops, and extending uninterruptedly from the time of the apostles . . . unto the present period.

The ordainers must have been diocesan bishops—if they were only parochial bishops (of the same order as the presbyters) . . . their ordinations were presbyterian.

Treffry concludes the matter by reference to New Testament and patristic texts supporting the view that bishops and presbyters are of the same order. Thus the apostolic succession, in the form defined by the tractarians, "is a mere figment". Yet Treffry certainly believed in an apostolic succession which was more than a mere figment, as can be seen when the above quotations are placed alongside those on "ministerial authority" already quoted. Against the Methodist reformers he asserted that they were emptying the ministerial office of the authority which belonged to it by reason of the true apostolic succession; against the Anglican reformers he asserted that they were substituting a mechanical succession for a spiritual one. Nevertheless he himself was quite certain both of the succession and of its accompanying authority.

THOMAS SHAW.

The 1959 edition of *Bathafarn*, the Journal of the Historical Society of the Methodist Church in Wales, contains only one brief article in English, on "Edward Phillips, Maesmynys", by Griffith T. Roberts. The rest of its contents is in Welsh, and therefore completely unintelligible to most of us. An article on Welsh hymns looks as though it might be particularly interesting! We are glad that our sister Society continues to make good headway, and note with interest that its treasurer bears the admirable name of "Proffitt".

The Epworth Press has republished as a "paper-back" in its Wyvern series Leslie F. Church's *Knight of the Burning Heart* (pp. 127, 2s. 6d.). No better book than this can be found to introduce John Wesley to children and young people. Our only criticism is that it takes the author 68 pages to arrive at the 1738 Aldersgate Street experience, leaving him only another 60 pages in which to crowd the remaining fifty romantic years of Wesley's life. There are some minor errors of fact, such as the confusion between Stanton Harcourt in Oxfordshire and Stanton in Gloucestershire as the home of Varanese.

A new church has just been opened at Kirkham, in the Lytham St. Annes circuit, Lancashire. This is the third Methodist church in the village, the first being built in 1844. But the cause goes back to 1811. These and other well-illustrated facts are briefly given in a souvenir brochure obtainable (1s. post paid) from the Rev. Clifford W. Chesworth, 15, Derbe Road, Lytham St. Annes.

A JOURNEY TO CONFERENCE IN 1794

"THERE is nothing new under the sun"—a saying to which this letter supplies abundant proof: the solicitude of a preacher for his wife during his long absence at Conference, ministerial friendships—and gossip, and the traditional Methodist hospitality. The letter was written by Charles Atmore to his wife after a week's journey to Bristol for the 1794 Conference.

Charles Atmore was stationed at Halifax, which had recently been the scene of a great revival¹ in which 700 members had been added to the circuit. He was one of the outstanding preachers of his day, had been ordained by Wesley for Scotland in 1786, and became President in 1811. His biography was published in serial form in the *Methodist Magazine* in 1845, and some of the letters he received from his great friend John Pawson were printed in volumes x-xii of the *Proceedings*.

When Atmore left home for Conference his wife was seriously ill. He wrote in his diary:

Wednesday, July 16. About half-past ten a.m. I took a sorrowful leave of my dear Betsy, and set off for the Conference. I never left her with such reluctance before. I would gladly have stayed at home and sent Mr. Lomas [the second preacher] in my place; but she would not consent. She said, it was the Lord's work, who would not only preserve me, but keep her in my absence.²

When he arrived home on 13th August, after a month's absence, he found his wife critically ill, and she died a week later, after only seven years of married life. The letter, printed below, contains many terms of endearment and expressions of concern about her health which we have deemed it unnecessary to reproduce.

CHARLES ATMORE TO HIS WIFE

Bristol, July 24, 1794.

My dearest,

By the good providence of God we arrived safe in this city last night. Surely the Lord is good—is good to us. I do feel it in some measure. May I feel it more.

Wednesday we got safe to Manchester. I called upon Mrs. Barker, who rejoiced to see me and she says she will come to see us when she comes to Huddersfield, were it 12 miles out of the way. Thursday we reached Burslem. I cannot tell you how glad poor James was to see us. He is an excellent lad indeed in every respect—longs to see you and will rejoice to be near us. As Friday was so very hot and we were much fatigued, we accepted the kind invitation of our friends and stayed another night. I preached to the people, I hope not in vain.

Saturday morning we set off early, and reached Dudley, where we were kindly received by Mr. & Mrs. Lessey. There we spent the Sunday. I read prayers & Mr. Q preached in the forenoon, and then I preached at 2 and 6. Monday we came to Worcester. Mr. Joseph Taylor was just gone that morning, but Mrs. Taylor received us gladly. In the evening

¹ Walker: *History of Wesleyan Methodism in Halifax*, pp. 188-96.

² *Methodist Magazine*, 1845, p. 318.

I was much persuaded to preach, but as William Collins was in town before us both Mr. Q and I thought he would expect to preach, and would be highly displeased if he did not. Such a preaching I never heard before either in Church or Chapel in all my life. So much consummate nonsense I do believe was never heard in an hour before. My very soul was pained, and had I not been in the pulpit I certainly should have gone out. Some of the people supposed him beside himself. After he had done I told him I wished to say a few words, which he submitted to, and I endeavoured to do as well as I could to make matters up by informing them of the glorious work of God in Yorkshire. Mr. Walton from Wakefield was there and desired his kind love to you.

Tuesday we came to Stroud. Mr. & Mrs. Cousins were glad to see us and I preached in the evening to a tolerable company, but religion in this country, indeed all the way after we left Manchester, seems to be at a very low ebb. Mr. Cousins wished me to stay another day at Stroud, but Mr. Q wished to get to Bristol, and I did not think well to let him go by himself as he was a perfect stranger. We therefore came here yesterday. My mare performed her journey remarkably well, and they both seemed as hearty when we reached Bristol as when we left Halifax.

Mr. Q and I found it very profitable to pray together, and indeed the whole journey has been the most profitable and agreeable of any I almost ever travelled, for we have had no company all the way, so that we could converse and pray without interruption from any one.

If you are no better I certainly will return again as soon as possible. Mr. Pawson and Mr. Q join me in kindest love to you all.

I am, my dearest, your own

C. ATMORE.

The Delegates did not meet yesterday, several were not come in, so that I can say nothing yet. I quite forgot to mention to Mr. Emmet & Mr. Hance the cleaning of the chapel in the time of Conference. It certainly ought to be whitewashed and painted before winter, and this will be the best time to do it if they think proper. Mr. Lomas may speak to them about it.

THEOPHILUS LESSEY was the Assistant of the Wolverhampton circuit, and became President in 1839. JOSEPH TAYLOR was the Assistant of the Worcestershire circuit, and JONATHAN COUSINS of the Gloucestershire circuit. The identity of "MR. Q" remains obscure. The only itinerant preacher with that initial on the stations at that time was John de Queteville. His ministry was spent in the Channel Islands, where he was an heroic Methodist pioneer. What could he be doing in Halifax? But Atmore's travelling companion was obviously a preacher. MR. EMMETT was presumably either Robert or Richard of that ilk, both of whom were trustees of the Halifax chapel. WILLIAM COLLINS was the second preacher at Epworth.

The 1794 Conference followed hard upon the famous (or infamous!) Lichfield Meeting, and was largely occupied with the sacramental controversy which led to the Plan of Pacification the next year. Wrote Atmore: "I was greatly tried by the spirit which was manifested by several of the brethren in the disputes respecting the sacraments, and separation from the Church. It was to me the most painful Conference I had ever attended." WESLEY F. SWIFT.

BISHOP FRANCIS ASBURY (1745-1816)

[The boyhood home of Francis Asbury at Great Barr, West Bromwich, has long been a place of Methodist pilgrimage. It has become the property of the Corporation of West Bromwich, and after restoration is now open to visitors as a Methodist shrine. The official opening ceremony was performed on 27th November 1959 by Sir Roger Makins, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., a former British Ambassador to the United States of America, in the presence of a distinguished company, which included the President of the World Methodist Council (the Rev. Dr. Harold Roberts), the Secretary (the Rev. Dr. E. Benson Perkins), and Bishops Ivan Lee Holt and Fred P. Corson, of the American Methodist Church. A full report appeared in the *Methodist Recorder* on 3rd December 1959.

The following article by Dr. E. Benson Perkins, and a later one on pages 83-5 by the Town Clerk of West Bromwich (J. M. Day, Esq., LL.B.) are reprinted with their kind permission from the official brochure issued in connexion with the opening. These articles, and the accompanying photographs, will serve as a permanent record of an historic occasion which gives equal pleasure to both British and American Methodists.—EDITOR.]

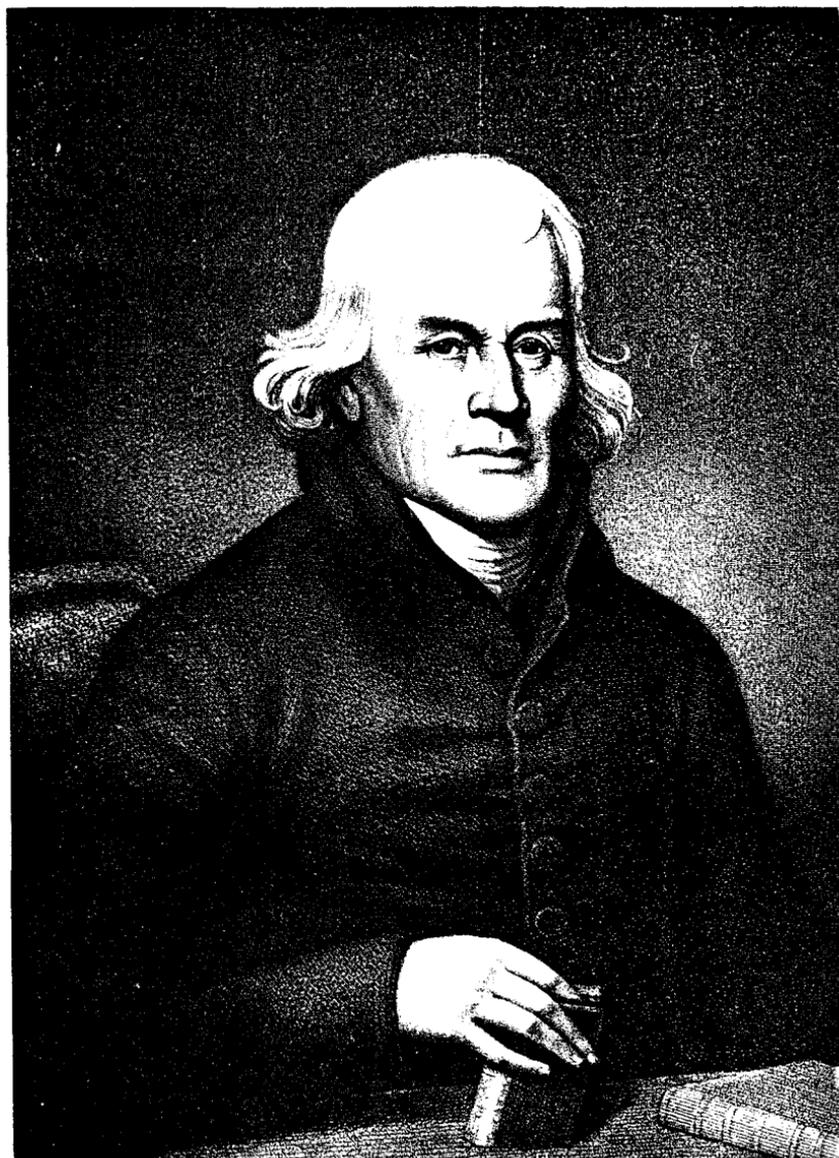
A builder of the Nation

WASHINGTON, D.C. was the scene of a particularly interesting ceremony on 16th October 1924. The occasion was the unveiling of an equestrian statue of Francis Asbury, and the principal speaker was the President of the United States. The statue is on Mount Pleasant, at the junction of Sixteenth Street N.W. and Columbia Road, and on the plinth of the statue Francis Asbury is described as "The Prophet of the Long Road". President Calvin Coolidge paid a great tribute to a great man. He said: "This Circuit Rider spent his life making stronger the foundation on which our Government rests, and seeking to implant in the hearts of all men, however poor and unworthy they may have seemed, an increased ability to discharge the high duties of their citizenship. His outposts marched with the pioneers, his missionaries visited the hovels of the poor that all might be brought to a knowledge of the truth . . . Who shall say where his influence written on the immortal souls of men shall end? . . . How many temples of worship dot our landscape! How many Institutions of learning, some of them rejoicing in the name of Wesleyan, all trace the inspiration of their existence to the sacrifice and service of the lone Circuit Rider! He is entitled to rank as one of the Builders of our Nation."

So a permanent memorial to this pioneer churchman who did so much to strengthen the foundations of the great American people stands in Washington, and there are words addressed to the observer which say: "If you seek for the results of his labours you will find them in our Christian civilisation."

His citizenship

President Coolidge spoke of Asbury's "citizenship", though curiously enough he never became an American citizen in the legal sense



FRANCIS ASBURY
Portrait by John Paradise at New York, 1812. From the
steel engraving by B. Tanner, 1814.

of that word. He left England in 1771 at the age of twenty-six, and never returned. For forty-five years he lived and toiled for the American people, "serving his God with a heart ever young", as might be said of him in words used of his leader, John Wesley. Why he never took up American citizenship none can say, but his love for America and his loyalty through the War of Independence and to the Republic are unquestioned. He said: "If I were to leave America I should break my heart," but he went on to say also, "If I stay I shall perhaps break my constitution, but here I must die."

He was, first of all, a preacher of the gospel, but he was thereby concerned with the true well-being of the community. He was indeed a social reformer, recognizing the degrading effects of poverty, the fundamental wrong of slavery, and the evils that arise from the traffic in alcoholic liquors. On two occasions Francis Asbury, with Dr. Coke, visited George Washington. The first was to offer felicitations to the victorious General and to invoke his aid in dealing with slavery. The second occasion, in 1789, was to visit the first President of the United States. Asbury took with him a message of congratulations, loyalty and prayer on behalf of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as it was then known. This was the first religious community to present such a greeting to the new President of the United States, and it evoked from George Washington a gracious reply in which he spoke of seeking "the assistance of Divine Providence" in the great task which was laid upon him.

His churchmanship

The Methodist Church had its beginning some ten years before Asbury went to America. Emigrants from Ireland, principally, had brought together Methodist societies in New York and in Maryland. Thus he went out to join a little band of Methodist preachers who were already at work. Seven years later the Revolution began, and ultimately all the Methodist preachers from England returned home but Asbury. He remained, and through those years greatly did he serve. In 1784 he was elected the first Bishop of what was known for many years thereafter as the Methodist Episcopal Church. The story of his travels almost entirely by horseback and over country where there were no roads is the story of an endurance of constant hardship and intense loneliness. Time after time he crossed the Allegheny Mountains, penetrating much further west from the coast-line than most, if any, of his contemporaries in such work. During the forty-five years of his ministry he is said to have travelled 275,000 miles, an almost unbelievable figure when the conditions are remembered. When he arrived in America there were but ten authorized Methodist ministers and some five hundred members. When he died he left a Church with over six hundred ministers and nearly a quarter of a million enrolled members.

His greatest work was that of a preacher of the gospel, and to that end he schooled himself. With nothing more than an elementary

education, he had studied Greek, Hebrew and Latin before he left England, and carried through those studies amid his arduous labours in America. His saddlebags were occupied mostly by books, and in founding a Book Concern and in the establishment of the Cokesbury College he sought to provide for preachers and people that education without which the best work could not possibly be done.

His home

Through the greater part of his life Asbury never had a real home. He never married, but he retained vividly the memory of the home he had in his early years spent within the area of the County Borough of West Bromwich. Soon after he was born, his parents moved into the little cottage with its four tiny rooms which was the home of Asbury throughout his boyhood and youth. His actual birthplace was about a mile away, near Great Barr, but that dwelling was destroyed many years ago in the development of new roads. He went to a school at Snails Green, and at thirteen was apprenticed to a blacksmith at Forge Mill. His parents were associated with the parish church at Great Barr, but young Asbury came under the influence of the Rev. Edward Stillingfleet, who was the incumbent of the parish church of West Bromwich, and himself greatly influenced by the Methodist movement. Francis Asbury became a local preacher in connexion with the extending Methodist societies before he was quite out of his 'teens, and when he was but twenty-one was an accepted preacher in "Full Connexion", as the Methodists phrase it. He travelled to various parts of the country as directed, and then in 1771 when the appeal came from America he offered himself and was chosen by John Wesley for the great service to which his life was given.

As we dedicate to perpetual remembrance this tiny home of so great a man, we should remember his parents, who made a great sacrifice and made it willingly that their son should go to the New World. His father lived on for another twenty-seven years; his mother a little longer, for she died in 1802. When he was leaving for America, Asbury thrust into his mother's hand the only thing of value he possessed—his silver watch—and through succeeding years, out of his very small resources, he did not fail to send money home to help his parents, particularly his beloved mother in her later years. We do well to remember too that his parents carried on Methodist services in that tiny cottage, which is therefore associated not only with the home of Asbury but with the very work in the Methodist Church to which he gave his life.

St. Vincent de Paul said once: "God as a rule uses people of little consequence to effect great things." There could be no better illustration of this than the story of Francis Asbury; but the "people of little consequence" become great in the work to which God calls them and the achievement that He makes possible. So it was in the case of Francis Asbury.

E. BENSON PERKINS.

STORMY SCENES IN ABERDEEN IN 1816

THE following statement occurs on page 23 of Mr. C. Diack's *Sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen, 1747-1900*, published in 1901 :

M'Allum's successor, in 1815, was Rev. Joshua Bryan, who quarrelled with his members over certain matters of church government which were then in agitation, and did his best, though without success, to dissolve the Society. He collected all the class papers, which were then used instead of class books and had to be renewed every quarter; and, on a Sunday evening, in the chapel in Queen Street, after denouncing in a sermon of fierce invective the doings of the members and their treatment of him, he tore the class papers to shreds and tatters, exclaiming, "There is no more a Methodist Society in Aberdeen, and I shall start one on Connexional principles". A minor District Meeting was held in Aberdeen, when members of the church gave evidence, and Mr. Bryan stated his view that the Society was not based on Methodist principles. Mr. M'Allum was one of the meeting, and, in replying to Mr. Bryan, clinched his arguments by saying, "I have been travelling up and down the country for forty-one years, but never was accused of being anti-Methodistic till the great Joshua Bryan arose". The result was Mr. Bryan's suspension as a minister.

I do not know the source of Mr. Diack's information. He may have gathered it from contemporary local press reports, for it would certainly make what journalists call "good copy".

JOSHUA BRYAN was received "on trial" in 1808. After a year in the Whittlesea Mission, he spent eight years in Scotland, where he formed a close friendship with Robert Melson.¹ In 1815 he was appointed to Aberdeen and re-appointed the following year, becoming at the same time the Chairman of the Aberdeen District. Then occurred the events recorded by Diack.

The Sheffield Conference heard "with the highest displeasure" of Bryan's conduct, and ratified, in part, the findings and disciplinary action of the District Meeting. It declared, however, that "the District Meeting has pronounced (although from the best motives) a sentence more severe than the facts of the case could altogether justify". It was pointed out how seriously a suspension of nine months (during which period the Connexion was responsible for the offender's maintenance) affects both the individual and the funds of the Connexion, and therefore should only be resorted to in extreme cases. One can understand the concern for Connexional funds in the light of the following figures, taken from the *Minutes* of 1817 :

Joshua Bryan's journey to the Conference	...	£3	0	0
Bro. Bryan's board, lodging, etc.	£51	12	7
Additional board, postage etc. to Bro. Bryan	...	£12	9	4

—a total of £67 1s. 11d.

¹ See *Proceedings*, xxvii, p. 122.

There were also the travelling expenses of those who attended the special District Meeting, amounting to £19 17s. od. Up to date, therefore, the case of Joshua Bryan had cost the Connexion £86 18s. 11d.—a very considerable sum for those days.

From this financial statement we learn the names of some of the ministers who attended the District Meeting :

WILLIAM WEST (1779-1822). In 1815 he had been stationed at Arbroath, where he had preceded J. Bryan in the chair of the Aberdeen District. The following year (1816) he moved to Perth, in the Edinburgh District. In 1817 he retired to London, and about 1821 removed to Aberdeen, where he died in September 1822.²

WILLIAM CLEGG (1808-48). He was at Dundee, where he remained for three years.

THOMAS YATES. In 1816 he followed William West at Arbroath. His inclusion among the "judges" of Joshua Bryan is of special interest because he himself was a "difficult" brother. Finally, in the records of the Conference of 1826, we read of his having "exposed his wife and the cause of religion to great reproach by publishing, without just cause, in a Liverpool newspaper, an advertisement warning the public against trusting her". It was therefore decided that his name should not in future be printed in the *Minutes*, and at the same time arrangements were made for assisting him and his family financially.

JOSEPH KITCHEN (1799-1818). He was appointed to Brechin in 1816. He died in July 1818, at the age of 48.

JAMES SUGDEN (1809-44). He was at Banff in 1816. His colleague was James Miller (1812-53), for whom see below.

Five of the eleven ministers stationed in the Aberdeen District were therefore present, apart from Bryan himself.

So far, we have been presented with the case for the prosecution and nothing more. Now, after a silence of 140 years, as a voice from the grave, we hear Joshua Bryan in his own defence. This is set forth in a letter written by him to his friend Robert Melson, then at Malton, which I found recently among the papers left by the latter.

JOSHUA BRYAN TO ROBERT MELSON

Edinburgh. 9th Feb. 1817.

My dear Melson,

If you have not been informed, you will not be a little surprised when I tell you that your old friend Bryan is suspended from his ministerial office till the ensuing Conference, and from what I know of the friendship you have shewn me, together with your constitutional warmth, that your indignation will arise when I inform you of the particulars of my distressing case—but remember we are commanded to be 'angry and sin not'.

I need not occupy this paper or detain you by commenting on the base letter which the Leaders of Aberdeen sent to the Conference,

² See *Methodist Magazine*, 1822, p. 686.

though the circumstances connected with it would give you to understand more of the iniquitous conduct of my enemies. Let it suffice to say that I went to Aberdeen determined to take no notice of it and accordingly, when at the first Leaders' Meeting after Conference, when they mentioned it to me, I said I would not defile my lips by speaking on so dirty a subject. The following week Mr. Miller came through Aberdeen on his way to Banff. He preached and met the Society, took his leave of his friends and said that they who wrote the letter to Conference, which was the cause of his remove, had acted a '*Judas and hypocritical part*'. At the next Leaders' Meeting they all began to censure me for suffering Mr. Miller to preach, and asked me if I approved of what he said in the Society Meeting. I considered this a very artful question, and that I could not disapprove of what he said without justifying their conduct, which I considered repugnant both to reason and conscience. I therefore said I approved of all that he said, for it was true. They all therefore, except one, threw down their class papers; said that the Society were all against me; that I did not preach the Gospel and that they would have no more to do with me. John Thomson ordered me to have ready the money that was in the chapel, for he and A. Singer would from that moment give up their trust. And to prove what they asserted they went to a lawyer next day to try to demand the money immediately.

I had long been concerned for the state of the leading men in the Aberdeen Society; and believed that no good could be done without a reformation. I therefore thought it a good opportunity to make the attempt; and therefore, in the fear of the Lord and a pure desire to promote the prosperity of His cause, I publicly dissolved the Society, and the two following weeks lectured upon our Rules, explaining the nature of Methodism in its Doctrines and Discipline, and endeavoured to form the Society anew. The classes were filling up fast and prosperity was seemingly before us. But while I was doing good, others were doing evil. The trustees and leaders who had long domineered over the Preachers felt themselves mortified because I did not court their favour. They therefore wrote to the President and stated circumstances in such a light that Mr. Yates was authorised by him to call a District Meeting; he, as if glad of the opportunity, summoned the Meeting before I got either charges or accusers, and invited Ward, West and McAllum to the Meeting, who all, as if determined to [cut?] me, boarded at the houses of my enemies and never spoke to me upon the subject.

Without detaining you any further, I was sentenced to suspension and to leave Aberdeen. I remonstrated against leaving the town, both to the Meeting and to the President, but all in vain.

I left it by the advice of my friends, who thought it would be the best. I had entered a student in the College, as I had done the year before, and this was one reason of my unwillingness to leave, but I have entered in this University and am studying as hard as possible.

I am tied down to half a guinea a week, which in this very dear place makes it very trying to us, as it took all the money I had to pay the fees of the College. The friendship of the Edinburgh Methodists is very small. None of them has been to see me! I am forced to receive my paltry support through the hands of Ward, which mortifies me not a little, seeing that he said to the brethren, I understand, when they

were considering in my absence what was to be done, that—He had not an atom of respect for me!!! What think ye of that, Robert?

Mrs. Bryan, poor thing, laid it so much to heart, insomuch that I thought it would have proved her death, but we have both got thus far over it pretty well, only, sometimes, we have been pushed for want of money. I hope you will write some time and tell me if my case is known in your quarter and what are the sentiments of the people upon it.

I hope your dear Betsy and children are well and that you are prospering in your soul, in your family and in your circuit. I would have written to you much sooner but I have had so much writing concerning this business that I have scarcely been able to attend to anything.

When the decision of the District was known the friends in Aberdeen who considered me all along in the right made an offer of buying me a Church which is soon to be disposed of, and proposed giving me a salary if I would consent to settle, but I declined accepting of their offer. As I am unjustly treated by the District I intend to see what the Conference will say on the business, and if I die, *I will die like a man.*

I hope to see you at Sheffield and from the few hints I have given you and from what you know of me, I hope you will be able to deliver a long and pointed speech on the occasion.

Ward and West will not be so great in the Conference as they were in the District, for their presence overawes the others, so that they could say nothing.

I need not apologize for writing so much, for I know you would not be weary reading it much longer.

I therefore, with love to you and Mrs. Melson, remain

Yours affectionately,

JOSHUA BRYAN.

So, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, what is your verdict?

Bryan was appointed to Norwich, but seems never thereafter to have settled down to the normal life of a Methodist minister. At the Conference of 1822 he was censured for the publication of pamphlets which were said to contain "gross libels on several excellent characters"—probably members of the Conference—and was suspended for a year. A somewhat unsatisfactory report was presented to the following Conference, but he remained quite obdurate, and was excluded from the Connexion.

JAMES MILLER (1812-53) moved from Aberdeen to Banff in 1816, having had one year as Bryan's colleague.

VALENTINE WARD (1801-35) was then at Edinburgh, where he was Chairman of the District. For an account of this minister, who figured so prominently in Scottish Methodism, see W. F. Swift's Wesley Historical Society Lecture, *Methodism in Scotland*, pp. 72 ff.

DUNCAN McALLUM (1775-1834). Probably no minister has had more intimate associations with Scottish Methodism.⁸

W. L. DOUGHTY.

⁸ See W. F. Swift, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

THE FRANCIS ASBURY COTTAGE

THE West Bromwich Council have for a long time appreciated the importance of this building, and have been concerned as to its preservation. Special statutory significance was given to buildings of architectural or historic interest with the passing of the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, by Section 30 of which the Minister was empowered to designate buildings which appeared to him to fall within these categories. When the first provisional list of buildings for West Bromwich was prepared and submitted for the observations of the Council early in 1949, representations were made to the then Minister of Town and Country Planning for the inclusion of the Asbury Cottage. In June of that year the Ministry replied to the effect that the cottage appeared to be of sufficient interest to justify inclusion in the statutory list, and the Ministry stated that in due course the listing of the building would be considered. The building was "listed" on 23rd September 1955.

While the matter was very fresh in the memory of the Town Planning Committee, a letter was received, dated 10th January 1950, from the Secretary of the International Methodist Historical Society, drawing the attention of the Council to the fact that the cottage is without doubt the most important Methodist site in the Black Country area, and that it could be made one of the most attractive in England, particularly for American Methodist visitors. The letter suggested to the Council that if the cottage were to be for sale at any time it might be bought and restored and furnished.

The Town Planning Committee were able to pursue the matter very rapidly, and by February 1950 the Mayor at the time (Alderman Mrs. Grace Wilkes, J.P.) and the Town Clerk had interviewed the Joint Managing Directors of Darby's Brewery Limited, the owners of the building. They too had appreciated the importance of Asbury Cottage, and largely due to the efforts of their father, the late George Darby, the premises had been kept in useful repair although not conforming to modern housing standards.

As a result of that first meeting, the Council decided to pursue negotiations for the acquisition of the Asbury Cottage and also the adjoining premises known as Malt Shovel Cottage, both cottages having been attached at one time to the adjoining Malt House (now demolished). Happily the Council had a number of points to pursue with the owners, and as a result of the outcome of discussions the transfer of the two cottages to the Council was effected on 6th April 1955.

The Asbury Cottage was at that time occupied, and it was realized that no useful scheme of restoration could be undertaken until possession of the premises had been obtained. Naturally this took time, and it was not until towards the end of 1957 that arrangements had been concluded for the existing occupiers to move to a house in the near vicinity. Mrs. Randles and her family deserve the highest

praise for the understanding way in which, over many years, they had been prepared to receive visitors into their home, often at times when it must have been quite inconvenient for viewing. Many tributes have been received by Mrs. Randles from American visitors who had had the opportunity of seeing this historic place.

Since the acquisition of the premises, the closest liaison has been maintained between the Council, through the Town Planning Committee, and the World Methodist Council, through the Secretary, the Rev. Dr. E. Benson Perkins, at Birmingham. The Town Planning Committee were grateful to have the opportunity to study a report made upon the cottage by Mr. Thomas Rayson, an architect who had been specially chosen by the World Methodist Council to deal with the restoration of Epworth Old Rectory in Lincolnshire. The report was very valuable and made far-reaching suggestions, but it was felt that in the long run a simpler scheme of restoration would be suitable in the circumstances, having regard to the numerous architectural changes which had taken place in more recent times. The Council were pleased to receive an intimation that financial assistance towards the restoration might be available from the World Methodist Council. A scheme was ultimately devised and agreed, to restore the basic features of the living-room in the cottage, and particularly the original ingle-nook fireplace which was known to exist behind a more modern kitchen range. Happily the complete restoration of this feature has been possible, and the whole scheme achieved as a result of the most sympathetic treatment by the Council's Architect coupled with the competence of the Public Works Department of the Council.

At the same time, the Council have been able to effect alterations to the Malt Shovel Cottage adjoining, to bring it more nearly up to present-day housing standards, and it is hoped that a satisfactory arrangement will be made whereby the caretaking and cleaning duties can be undertaken by the tenant of Malt Shovel Cottage. The Council have commenced a scheme for the tidying-up of the gardens surrounding the buildings, and it is hoped that suitable joint arrangements will be made between the Parks Department and the occupier of Malt Shovel Cottage for the future upkeep of the gardens to give a setting in keeping with the importance of the premises.

The re-opening of the Cottage for public viewing marks a further milestone in the Asbury story, and it is to be hoped that the fullest possible opportunity will be taken, especially by American friends, to visit West Bromwich to recapture for a brief spell the atmosphere surrounding this great man.

West Bromwich is proud to number amongst its past citizens several local historians, and of these Mr. Joseph Reeves deserves a special mention. Fortunately for posterity, Mr. Reeves prepared notes on local families, and a manuscript dated 1834 reveals some details concerning Francis Asbury believed not to have been published previously.

He writes that after leaving school "he was bound an apprentice



THE FRANCIS ASBURY COTTAGE, GREAT BARR, WEST BROMWICH (EXTERIOR).
(The property to the right of the picture is part of the adjoining cottage.)



THE FRANCIS ASBURY COTTAGE, GREAT BARR, WEST BROMWICH. INTERIOR, SHOWING INGLE-NOOK.
(Contemporary furniture given by the World Methodist Council. The sideboard, date 1780, was presented by the Foundery Church, Washington, D.C., which was dedicated by Bishop Asbury in 1814.)

to John Griffin his trade was chape filing". This trade had to do with the making of portions of the scabbard (sword-holder) and also the fitting for attaching the scabbard to the belt. This information ties in with that previously available that Asbury worked as a blacksmith. Reeves refers to Asbury's house as being about forty yards from the house where he was apprenticed, and, although no description is given, this house may well be the one now used in conjunction with an adjoining nursery garden. It is known that this house dates back a long way. Reeves also records an interesting detail concerning the departure for America. He writes: "Before going to America he (Asbury) preached his farewell sermon at his Father's house which is about 40 yards from the house he was apprenticed, the house was crowded and old T. Blocksidge now living was a lad and cried because his parents would not let him go." (Mr. Blocksidge was then aged 78, and the date of writing 1835.) Reeves refers to letters which came from Bishop Asbury, and states: "I remember one expression. He enquires how the Church goes on at Barr and says 'I should like to subscribe something annually to keep the lamp burning'!"

It is appropriate to link the restoration of this historic building with other examples of this nature which have been undertaken by the Council, and when visitors come to the Borough for the purpose of seeing the Asbury Cottage, the opportunity should also be taken to visit two other examples of restoration and preservation of old buildings. These are the Manor House, a thirteenth-century medieval Hall of the greatest possible significance, being perhaps one of the most complete examples existing in the whole of Great Britain, and the Oak House, a sixteenth-century yeoman's dwelling.

It is fitting to end this short note on the Asbury Cottage by a reproduction of the wording which appears on the commemorative plaque provided by the World Methodist Council. J. M. DAY.

THIS COTTAGE

—NOW THE PROPERTY OF THE COUNTY BOROUGH OF WEST BROMWICH—

· WAS THE BOYHOOD HOME OF

FRANCIS ASBURY

(1745 - 1816)

"THE PROPHET OF THE LONG ROAD"

WHO WAS SENT TO AMERICA BY JOHN WESLEY IN 1771

AND BECAME THE FIRST BISHOP OF THE

AMERICAN METHODIST CHURCH

DEDICATED TO PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE

IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE

WORLD METHODIST COUNCIL

AFTER RESTORATION

27th NOVEMBER, 1959

DID LORD PETER KING RECANT?

IN "Notes and Queries" (*Proceedings*, xxxi, p. 22) the Rev. Robert Haire raises the question of a reply by a non-juring clergyman called Sclater to Lord Peter King's *Enquiry* (which so influenced Wesley), and recalls the assertion (by Hockin on the basis of certain lectures by a Dr. Oldknow in 1864) that King read this reply and was convinced by it. The passage in Dr. Oldknow's book reads (page 24):

The book by which Wesley professed to have been led to a change of principle was so effectually replied to by a clergyman named Sclater, in a modest publication called *An Original Draught of the Primitive Church*, that Lord King himself was not only convinced by its arguments but is said to have offered its author a living, which he was unable to accept because he could not conscientiously take the oath of allegiance to a Sovereign of the House of Hanover.

Oldknow gives no authority for his statement, but it is also found in the article on Sclater in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which refers to the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1792, where "W.C.", writing to the editor, says:

There is a circumstance, relating to that book of Lord King's and Mr. Slaughter's [sic] answer to it, very little known, but which to me comes vouched with unquestionable authenticity. Before Mr. Slaughter's book was published it was read in MS. by Lord King himself, having been seized, among other papers, in the house of Mr. Nathaniel Spinkes, a Nonjuring bishop and carried to Lord King then Chancellor, who very politely returned it, confessing that it was a very sufficient confutation of those parts of his book which it undertook to answer; that it was written with equal Christian temper and moderation and unanswerable strength in argument; and desiring or consenting that it might be published.

But, notwithstanding his Lordship thus candidly renounced the fallacious arguments of his own book on this particular topick, such was the modesty of the Dissenters of those days that they several times re-printed it without his Lordship's privity or consent and that without the least attempt to reply to Mr. Slaughter or any notice taken that such a book existed, as far as I could learn.

I who write this, knew Mr. W. well . . . But love of dominion was so prominent a feature in his character, that he would submit to no human authority *in sacris*.

A little later "Scrutator" made the necessary correction: "The answer to Lord King on the primitive church is noticed by Zachary Grey in p. 67 of his *Review of Neal's History of the Puritans* and its author is called Sclater not Slaughter. By this answer Dr. Grey says 'I am informed the Lord Chancellor King was himself fully convinced.'" Zachary Grey's *Review* was published in 1744, and makes the above statement in passing with no attempt to indicate the nature of Sclater's reply.

The story is also repeated by Charles Daubeny in his *Eight Discourses* (1804), p. 91, where he merely remarks that Sclater's work was such "as to bring over the Enquirer [King] to that author's [Sclater's] opinion". In his book *On Schism* (1818), p. 236, he elaborates this to:

This book [Sclater's] the author did not live to publish. It happened however that the author's manuscript, after his death, came into the hands of the Lord Chancellor; who was so perfectly satisfied by its

contents that the ground which he himself had previously taken was untenable, that he published Sclater's manuscript at his own expense, as the strongest proof that could be given to the world, of the alteration of his own sentiments.

Lathbury, *History of the Nonjurors* (1845), says King was "convinced and offered Sclater a living".

Overton, *The Nonjurors* (1902), also records the story of the offer of a living, and adds: "One fondly hopes that it may be true, but it must be owned that the evidence is not strong".

Lord Campbell, *Lives of the Chancellors*, iv, p. 369, goes further and rejects the story, which he describes as "without authority".

Conclusions

It is significant that in all this the story is weakest and plainly inaccurate when any details are given. Sclater died about 1717. King became Chancellor in 1725. The first edition of Sclater's work was in 1717. Hence the story (or stories) suggesting that King received the book in manuscript when Chancellor, offered Sclater a living, or published the work at his own expense (though without a note that he was convinced by it) are simply unhistorical. The strongest piece of evidence that King changed his mind is Zachary Grey's *Review* (1744), which merely says in passing and with no attempt at substantiation "I am informed the Lord Chancellor King was himself fully convinced". The subsequent elaborations of this are mere fables, and this original statement in a controversial work on the word of an unnamed informant is hardly a fit basis for historical conclusions.

VICTOR E. VINE.

Our Irish brethren have recently celebrated one hundred years of continuous Methodist publishing in Ireland. In October 1859 the first issue of the *Irish Evangelist* was edited and produced in Ballymoney by the Rev. William Crook, proclaiming itself "A Journal of the Present and Herald of the Future". It was a monthly publication which continued without competition until January 1883, when a new weekly paper appeared, the *Irish Christian Advocate*. A year later the two journals amalgamated, and the *Irish Christian Advocate* has continued its weekly publication ever since. The *Advocate* is a most readable little paper: its news, of course, is of interest mainly to Irish Methodists, but its general articles, its book reviews, and its column for preachers are of the highest quality, and will stand comparison with those appearing in any denominational newspaper. The pages of the *Advocate* are frequently enlivened by articles from one of our Irish members, the Rev. R. Lee Cole (who is the President of our Irish Branch), under the general heading "Fragments of Methodist History". These "fragments" deserve to be collected into permanent book form.

Irish Methodism has also celebrated the centenary of the 1859 Revival, which has been chronicled by the Rev. Robert Haire in *The Story of the '59 Revival, with some Methodist sidelights* (pp. 36, 1s. 4d. post paid from the author at 54, Princetown Road, Bangor, Co. Down). This evangelistic revival left a permanent mark on both Irish Methodism and Presbyterianism, and we heartily commend Mr. Haire's booklet, whose narrative is not only history but a spiritual inspiration, even to those who do not know Ireland.

NON - WESLEYAN CLASS TICKETS

*(Continued from page 51)***United Methodist Free Churches**

September 1857 (A) to September 1862 (V)—The first ticket is approximately 3 by 2½ ins., bearing within a symbolic border of plaited ribbons the wording "United Methodist Free Churches. Formed by the Amalgamation of the Wesleyan Association and Wesleyan Reformers, in 1857. September Quarter 1857. Text and reference. A". The index letter is close to the bottom border, and the member's name is often written either side of the letter. The first ticket aroused some criticism among the non-amalgamating Reformers, cf. my *United Methodist Free Churches*, pp. 46-7; for the Annual Assembly had yet to confirm the name of the new denomination, and the reformers still held that they were true Wesleyan Methodists. As with the earliest tickets of most branches, the letter J was omitted in the series of index letters. The date is printed in a different fount from December 1860.

December 1862 (W) to September 1866 (L)—As last, but index letter printed below date and above text; dotted line for member's name at bottom. J is now used. (Fig. 11 on the plate facing page 36 of the June 1959 *Proceedings*.)

December 1866 (M) to September 1869 (X)—As last, but a new border of beads and minute scrolls. From December 1867 the dotted line gives way to a plain rule. Up to this date few tickets are initialled.

December 1869 (Y) to September 1871 (F)—As last, but reverts to the earlier border. Date in a new fount. From December 1870 the historical note is omitted.

December 1871 (G) to September 1874 (R)—As last, but a new border—a conventionalized chain, again symbolic of the "churches" held together by the connexional tie.

December 1874 to September 1877—Larger, 4 by 2½ ins., perforated (sheets of six?—certainly only two tickets wide). A new border of entwined flowers and leaves. Wording as before, but no index letter.

December 1877 to September 1883—As last, but no longer perforated. From December 1879 onwards, a thin card rather than paper. Approximately 3½ by 3 ins.

December 1883 to September 1886—Wording as last, but new founts for all parts; more decorative border.

December 1886 to September 1891—Same wording, but again new founts; simpler, geometrical border. There is, either side of the date, a small decoration which varies from time to time; date between wavy lines.

December 1891 to September 1894—As last, but very slightly different border.

December 1894 to September 1901—Wording as last, but new, simpler, fleur-de-lys border and new founts. A different wavy line, which changes again in December 1895. The corner ornament changes in December 1900. (Fig. 14.)

December 1901 to September 1907—Again new founts throughout and new border of conventionalized leaves.

Band Tickets. I have seen none.

On Trial Tickets. Issued at least as early as September 1867. Identical with the current class ticket, save that the index letter is missing and is replaced by "Probationer's Ticket". For that quarter at least, the date appears in two distinct founts.

By June 1890, it is again identical with the current class ticket, with the addition of "Probationer" in capitals below the line for the member's name.

I have two makeshifts: an ordinary June 1866 class ticket with, written on the back, "Admit the Bearer, Susanna Taylor. J. Nield, Secy. 1866 June Quarter". This covered admission to the class meeting rather than the Sacrament, I suspect, the Sacrament being available to "All who love the Lord Jesus"; the other is a June 1871 class ticket issued as usual, but with the word "Probation" written on the face.

Junior Tickets. I have seen none; and from the fact that I have two Probationer's tickets issued to my father when a boy of ten, I suspect that those whom we should now class as junior members were then listed as "On Trial".

United Methodist

December 1907 to September 1910—Thin card, 3½ by 3 ins. approximately, bearing within a border of conventionalized leaves: "The United Methodist Church. Founded 1907. December Quarter 1907. Name. Text and reference. . . . [for preacher]". This first ticket bears the appropriate text "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity! Psalm cxxxiii. 1". (Illustrated in *New History of Methodism*, i, p. 506.)

December 1910 to September 1915—As last, but historical note omitted.

December 1915 to September 1925—Historical note restored. From December 1918 to September 1920 the thin card is replaced by an inferior grey stiffish paper.

December 1925 to June 1932—The historical note again disappears.

No **Band** or **Junior Tickets**.

On Trial Tickets. These were printed, in the early years at least. I have two—for June and September 1911. They are identical with the contemporary class ticket, save that "Probationer" is printed in the left-hand bottom corner outside the border. Did they continue until 1932?

Annual Tickets. These also were issued, presumably to circuits of the MNC tradition. A glossy card, 5½ by 4 ins., is very similar to the second MNC Annual Certificate (*vide supra*), with the same colours and similar border, but the heading is now "The United Methodist Church", and the text at the foot 1 Peter i. 17. Was this ticket uniform for the whole of the period 1907-32, or were there others?

Independent Methodist

Whilst this branch dates from 1806, the only tickets I have seen are the recent ones. They have serial numbers instead of letters, that for June 1955 being 614. The tickets are large, the four quarters being printed in one sheet and serrated.

Various

There are extant a number of tickets of local interest. In Leeds—as occasionally elsewhere—there was a union of Wesleyan Reformers and Wesleyan Methodist Association some time before 1857, and they issued their own tickets. Inside the usual decorative border, which apparently

changed frequently, there is printed "United Methodist Societies of the Wesleyan Association and Wesleyan Reformers. Quarterly Ticket for March 1857. Text and reference. G". Clearly the first ticket was issued in September 1855. (Fig. 8.)

When union took place in September 1857, they continued for a time to issue their own tickets; and their ticket for September 1857 reads: "United Methodist Free Churches. Quarterly Ticket for September 1857. Text and reference. I", in sequence with their preceding index letters.

Much earlier on in Leeds, at the time of the Warrenite controversy, a small group seceded and ceased to use the name "Methodist" as part of their title. I have what is their first or second ticket. On a borderless, stiff card is printed "The Christian Society. Established 25th Decr. 1835. Quarterly Ticket for March, 1836. Text and reference (1 Chron. iv. 10)", with the name Jane Sanderson and the initials "R.A." (Fig. 6.) Any further information about this offshoot would be welcome.

The Louth Free Methodist cause started in 1852 and perhaps issued their own tickets from that date, as they were so independent that they did not join the rest of the Reformers. Certain it is that they continued to issue their own tickets after their amalgamation with the UMFC in 1859.¹ I have two of their tickets; they read: "Free Methodist Church. Louth Circuit. Established A.D. 1852. Date. Index. Text and reference", with a space for name, all in an ornamental border. These two are for March 1871 (D) and December 1873 (O).

Wesleyan Refugee Society

I have one ticket with this heading. The type and border in every respect are similar to those of the contemporary Wesleyan ticket, though the shape is square. After the title, appears "Established June, 1834. Quarterly ticket for June, 1860. Text and reference (1 Thess. iii. 12—in italics). U. Name". Even if tickets were not issued from 1834, the index letter shews that they were issued from at least 1864. Is anything else known of this branch? It will be noted that it stemmed from the time of the Warrenite controversy.

In conclusion, may I repeat what I said at the beginning—that I should be glad to hear of, and see, any other early tickets, and tickets of small local dissident bodies. May I add my appreciation of the help given me by the Book Steward and by the Rev. J. H. Verney.

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

¹ See my *United Methodist Free Churches*, p. 71 and (for an illustration) p. 65.

The latest Bulletin of the Society of Cirplanologists is full of interest. A helpful article by Dr. Beckerlegge gives practical advice on the best way to restore and preserve old circuit plans, whilst K. F. Bowden gives some interesting information on "distinctive plan-fronts", which seem to present as varied an appearance to the world as do those persons whose names are printed on them. The Society's census of old plans has already located nearly a thousand dated pre-1861, most of them in four private collections, and two-thirds of them Wesleyan. Only one Methodist New Connexion plan has been discovered, and very few from the West country. This is a most valuable piece of work, for old plans are very useful when local histories come to be written.

THE WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL LECTURES

THE eleventh and last item in the minutes of the Wesley Historical Society's annual meeting on 15th July 1933 reads thus:

Resolved to ask Dr. T. Ferrier Hulme to give a lecture to the Wesley Historical Society at the next Conference.

In the event Dr. Ferrier Hulme's lecture was postponed for a year, and the first Wesley Historical Society lecture was delivered by Dr. Henry Bett—an important study of the character and learning of Wesley's lay preachers. This lecture, revised and enlarged, was published the following year by the Epworth Press. At the Conference of 1935 it was found "not practicable to follow the precedent exactly", but instead a series of brief luncheon-interval talks was arranged at the New Room, Bristol, in conjunction with the Warden, Dr. Frederic Platt. These talks were given by Dr. A. W. Harrison ("The Historical Setting of Methodism"), Dr. Platt ("The Wonder of the New Room"), the Rev. F. Luke Wiseman ("Charles Wesley's Home and Hymns"), Dr. T. Ferrier Hulme ("Bristol influences on American Methodism"), and the Rev. John Telford ("John Wesley, the Evangelist, as Letter-Writer"). These talks were not published singly or collectively by the Society, but the material therein found its way into other publications of the lecturers. For the 1936 Conference Dr. Leslie F. Church was invited to lecture on "The Rank and File of the Early Methodists", a memorable lecture which was in later years greatly expanded to form the Fernley-Hartley lecture for 1948, published as *The Early Methodist People* (1948) and *More about the Early Methodist People* (1949).

From 1936 onwards the Society has arranged for an official lecture in connexion with each Methodist Conference, and (with one exception) these lectures have all been published by the Epworth Press. The subject-matter has varied greatly, but the officers have tried to ensure as far as possible both that a genuine contribution was made to Methodist scholarship, and that the work was attractive to the general reader. It is quite obvious that these aims are not always easy to reconcile, and just as obvious that our published lectures cannot by any means be regarded as all on an equal level of historical excellence or popular appeal, no more than they are all equal in length. We may claim, however, that through the last quarter of a century we have provided a medium whereby many facets of Methodist history have been illuminated. Nor is there any lack of suitable scholars and themes for the years ahead.

There follows a list of the first twenty-five lectures:

- *1. Henry Bett: *The Early Methodist Preachers*. (Leicester, 1934; published 1935)
- 1a. (Bristol, 1935, a series of brief talks, unpublished)
2. Leslie F. Church: "The Rank and File of the Early Methodists" (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1936: expanded for the Fernley-Hartley Lecture, 1948, published as *The Early Methodist People* and *More about the Early Methodist People*)
- *3. G. Elsie Harrison: *Haworth Parsonage: A study of Wesley and the Brontës*. (Bradford, 1937)
- *4. R. Lee Cole: *John Wesley's Journal: an Appreciation*. (Hull, 1938)

- *5. J. H. Whiteley: *Wesley's Anglican Contemporaries: their trials and triumphs*. (Liverpool, 1939)
- *6. F. F. Bretherton: *The Countess of Huntingdon*. (Sheffield, 1940)
- 7. Richard Pyke: *The Early Bible Christians*. (Leeds, 1941)
- *8. Maldwyn L. Edwards: *Adam Clarke*. (Manchester, 1942)
- 9. Wilbert F. Howard: "John Wesley in his Letters". (Birmingham, 1943) (This lecture was never published, though Dr. Howard was working on an expanded manuscript for publication. The first chapter was printed in *Proceedings*, xxix, pp. 3-11.)
- *10. W. L. Doughty: *John Wesley: His Conferences and his Preachers*. (London, 1944)
- 11. A. W. Harrison: *The Separation of Methodism from the Church of England*. (Nottingham, 1945)
- *12. J. Henry Martin: *John Wesley's London Chapels*. (London, 1946)
- 13. Wesley F. Swift: *Methodism in Scotland: The first hundred years*. (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1947)
- 14. Frank Baker: *Charles Wesley as revealed by his letters*. (Bristol, 1948)
- 15. E. C. Urwin: *The Significance of 1849: Methodism's Greatest Upheaval*. (Liverpool, 1949)
- 16. W. E. Farndale: *The Secret of Mow Cop: a new appraisal of Primitive Methodist Origins*. (Bradford, 1950)
- 17. Griffith T. Roberts: *Howell Harris*. (Sheffield, 1951)
- 18. E. Benson Perkins: *Methodist Preaching Houses and the Law: the story of the Model Deed*. (Preston, 1952)
- 19. R. Newton Flew: *The Hymns of Charles Wesley: a study of their structure*. (Birmingham, 1953)
- 20. E. Gordon Rupp: *Thomas Jackson, Methodist Patriarch*. (London, 1954)
- 21. John H. S. Kent: *Jabez Bunting: The Last Wesleyan*. (Manchester, 1955)
- 22. Frank H. Cumbers: *The Book Room: The Story of the Methodist Publishing House and Epworth Press*. (Leeds, 1956)
- 23. Oliver A. Beckerlegge: *The United Methodist Free Churches: a study in freedom*. (Nottingham, 1957)
- 24. A. Wesley Hill: *John Wesley among the Physicians: a study of 18th-century medicine*. (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1958)
- 25. Robert F. Wearmouth: *Methodism and the Trade Unions*. (Bristol, 1959)

FRANK BAKER.

The Lectures marked * are now out of print.

Our sister Society, the Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of Wales (the "Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church") has completed the 44th volume of its *Journal* with an issue which contains two articles in English—"Lady Huntingdon's request for Daniel Rowland's portrait", by K. Monica Davies, and "Articles of Agreement between Dorothy and William Williams, Pantycelyn", by D. Emrys Williams. The Society is in a healthy condition; its finances are sound, and it still has a balance of over £635 on its "Pilgrim Trust Fund" for the publication of the Trevecka Records Series, the third volume of which is due to appear in 1960. We congratulate our Welsh friends on their excellent work.

BOOK NOTICES

Charles Simeon (1759-1836): Essays written in Commemoration of his Bi-Centenary, ed. Arthur Pollard and Michael Hennell. (S.P.C.K., pp. vi. 190, 21s.)

Simeon is emerging as one of the pivotal figures of the nineteenth-century Church. His formative influence during his fifty-four years as vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, is seen to have been much greater than was previously realized. Indeed, in the Foreword to this collection of commemorative essays by members of the Evangelical Fellowship for Theological Literature, Canon M. A. C. Warren claims that the nineteenth-century contribution to the Church of today "enshrines the workmanship of Simeon" (page 2). Successive chapters relate Simeon to the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century and consider his doctrine of God, of Scripture, of the Church and Ministry, and of the pastoral office. A fitting tribute to an outstanding Christian leader is presented in this well-produced volume.

Methodists will be especially interested in Simeon's strictures with respect to "the grand depositum" of Christian Perfection. "I love and honour Wesley," said Simeon, "yet the Wesleyans are under a delusion as to perfection. The Scripture word *perfect* (*teleios*) is the idea of full growth, and not their view. I once heard a man say in the presence of Wesley and others, 'I have known God for about thirty-six years: for twenty-eight years I have never known an evil thought, and have loved the Lord with all my heart, and soul, and mind, and strength.' Another man acknowledged himself (like me) a sinner; but Wesley and all the rest praised the former man. I said it was delusion; but it was not my place to argue there and then" (page 97). However, much of what Simeon urged regarding the possible abuses of this teaching had already been anticipated by Wesley himself. But so greatly did our founder rejoice in the testimony of God's people that he was sometimes ready to accept in the class-meeting what he would question in the study.

Simeon wisely refused to be drawn into the Arminian-Calvinist dispute. He believed that each party was right in what it affirmed but wrong in what it denied. He passed the interesting comment "that whilst Calvinists complain of Arminians as unfair and unscriptural, in denying *personal*, though they admit *national* election, they themselves are equally unfair and unscriptural in denying the danger of *personal* apostasy, whilst they admit it in reference to churches and nations. It is lamentable to see the plain statements of Scripture so unwarrantably set aside for the maintaining of human systems" (page 80). It is surely in this broad evangelical catholicity that Simeon's real greatness lies, and because of it he will continue to hold the attention of Christian historians. A. SKEVINGTON WOOD.

The Rev. Gomer M. Roberts draws attention to *Select Sermons of George Whitefield* (Banner of Truth Trust, pp. 120, 6s.), which in addition to six of Whitefield's sermons contains a foreword by Dr. D. Martyn Lloyd-Jones, Bishop Ryle's account of Whitefield and his ministry, and R. Elliot's summary of Whitefield's doctrine. Dr. Ryle incorrectly states that Whitefield's marriage "does not seem to have contributed much to his happiness". The dust-cover is illustrated with a copy of the well-known painting of the Watford Association of 1743.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1027. GENEALOGICAL INFORMATION WANTED.

George Osborn, father of Dr. George Osborn (President of the Wesleyan Conference in 1863 and 1881), was born in 1764. His father (James) and mother (Sarah Hodges) were married on 28th November 1762; the place is not known, though it may well have been Rochester. James Osborn was born 3rd February 1729, his parents being Francis Osborn and Dorothea Atterbury. It is understood that he, and probably she also, came from Northampton, but little further is definitely known about them, except that Dorothea was not (as had been surmised until recently) the daughter of Bishop Francis Atterbury of Rochester.

If any members can throw further light on the life of George Osborn's grandfather, or his, or his wife's, antecedents, I should be very grateful if they would let me know, at 14, Divert Road, Gourrock, Renfrewshire.

(MRS.) MARGARET F. OSBORN.

1028. EAST ANGLIAN BRANCH.

The branch held its second public meeting on Saturday, 17th October, at Museum Street church, Ipswich. Attendance was disappointing, but the two dozen present were keenly appreciative of the detailed and lively account of Methodism in Ipswich given by Mr. W. D. Warren. An interesting conversation on the origins of Methodism in Suffolk followed, and tea was served at the close of the meeting.

It was announced that membership had grown steadily to forty, and that the second issue of the Bulletin would appear shortly. We shall be pleased to send a copy to anyone interested, whether living in East Anglia or not, on receipt of the shilling membership fee by me at 71, Beechcroft Road, Ipswich.

We are glad to announce that at our next meeting, at Great Yarmouth on 21st May 1960, the Rev. Wesley F. Swift will speak on Wesley's *Journal*.

JOHN A. VICKERS.

1029. DR. THOMAS COKE.

I am engaged in collecting material for a study of Thomas Coke, and would be glad to hear from members who either possess or know of the whereabouts of MS. material such as letters. For bibliographical purposes, I would also like full details of the title-pages of any of Coke's numerous publications. Any material loaned will be carefully and promptly returned, by registered post if desired.

JOHN A. VICKERS.

1030. DUPLICATE WESLEY LETTERS (1).

Mr. Doughty's conclusion (*Proceedings*, xxxii, p. 40) that the letter to Adam Clarke (*Letters*, viii, p. 188) is the correct one is fully confirmed by the fact that the Rev. A. Raymond George checked on the original at Headingley College, Leeds (see *Proceedings*, xxvii, p. 159), and noted the superscription: "To Mr. Adam Clarke at the New Room in Bristol".

THOMAS SHAW.

1031. DUPLICATE WESLEY LETTERS (2).

May I offer a possible solution to the problem of the duplicate Wesley letters dated 26th March 1785 (from Birmingham to Mrs. Wren) and 26th November 1785 (from London to the same lady, now Mrs. Pawson). (See *Proceedings*, xxxii, p. 40.)

I think the clue to the mystery is to be found in the note to the *Journal* under the March date: "He wrote from Birmingham to Mrs. Pawson

thanking her for a circumstantial account of her justification and sanctification. This was the second Mrs. Pawson, formerly Mrs. Wren, of York. (New Ed. Wesley Letters.)"

The "New Ed. Wesley Letters" must be the Standard Edition, for which material was accumulating but which of course had not been published when volume seven of the *Journal* came out. This *Journal* note suggests that Curnock knew of a copy of a letter addressed to Mrs. Pawson under the March date. But, as Telford appreciated, that was impossible because she only became Mrs. Pawson in August. Telford therefore (I suggest) "corrected" the name and added the note at the head of the "March" letter explaining his correction. This reconstruction suggests that (a) the November date is the original; (b) Telford subsequently saw the original letter and published it under its correct name and date; (c) the error substituting "March" for "November" occurred in copying for the projected "New Ed." (Perhaps the copy had badly-formed Roman numerals for the month, i.e. XI looking like III.)

There remains the mystery of the divergent place-names. Perhaps the copy omitted the place and it was assumed by Curnock from Wesley's location at the date in question. Telford then followed Curnock without realizing that both of them were using the same defective copy.

VICTOR E. VINE.

1032. ROBERT HOPKINS'S GRAVE IN ROTHERHAM PARISH CHURCH.

Robert Hopkins was born at Devizes in 1758, and twenty-three years later, when Wesley was in the town, he was invited to join the ranks of the travelling preachers. For forty-five years he served Methodism in circuits ranging from Cornwall East to Whitby, and in the earlier years he received several letters from Wesley—letters which he must have opened in some trepidation, for the writer was in the habit of dealing plainly with his correspondents. At Whitby in 1784 he suffered much from ill-health and was inclined to blame the local climate. Wesley wrote to him from London (*Letters*, vii, p. 207):

... You cannot infer that the air of this or that place does not agree with you because you have a fever there. But if there be a necessity, Christopher Peacock will change places with you.

When Hopkins came to Rotherham in 1826 he found a virile circuit, at the hub of which was the large square-fronted Talbot Lane. Many members of the society there remembered the original Octagon in which Wesley had preached, and which pleased him so much. Many would remember the occasion when Robert Newton set a new fashion in the pulpit there: he came wearing trousers instead of the usual riding-breeches!

Hopkins was delighted to find that the newly-inducted Vicar of Rotherham, the Rev. Thomas Blackley, was an old friend of his. Blackley was a former Methodist preacher, and had been admitted on to the plan some years previously by Robert Hopkins, then his superintendent minister.

Hopkins died at Rotherham six months later, and the vicar offered the honoured place in the church for his burial. S. J. Russell's *Historical Notes on Wesleyan Methodism in the Rotherham Circuit* (1915) states the grave to be "in the choir at the entrance to the Chancel", but the present location of the gravestone is at the north-east corner of the chancel, in front of the altar rails. It bears the inscription: "Beneath this stone / Lie interred The Remains / Of the Rev'd Robert Hopkins. / He was born April 24th, 1758, / And died February 24th, 1827."

The Talbot Lane society stewards, F. Slack and R. Rhodes, made a record in their minute book of their appreciation of the vicar's kindness.

Blackley's gravestone may be seen at the south-east corner of the chancel. Thus two of Wesley's preachers were in death not divided.

THOMAS SHAW.

1033. A WESLEY LETTER COMPLETED.

Volume viii, pp. 182-3, of the Standard Edition of Wesley's *Letters* records a fragment of a letter "To Mr. —", dated 31st October 1789. The complete letter may be found in a rare volume in the Library of Congress: Guirey, *History of the Episcopacy in Four Parts*, written in support of the O'Kelley schism.¹ The Wesley letter in question is addressed to Beverly Allen, one of the elders elected at the Christmas Conference. Allen was expelled from the Connexion in 1792 for "a flagrant crime". He was later arrested for murder, but escaped to end his days as an independent preacher in Kentucky. Asbury noted in his Journal concerning him, 20th January 1794:

Poor Beverly Allen, who has been going from bad to worse these seven or eight years—speaking against me to preachers and people, and writing to Mr. Wesley and Dr. Coke, and thereby being the source of most of the mischief that has followed.

The letter as given by Guirey reads:

JOHN WESLEY TO BEVERLY ALLEN

London, October 31, 1789.

Dear Brother,

The point on which you desire my thoughts upon is doubtless of no common importance; and I will give you my settled thoughts concerning it, without the least disguise or reserve: and indeed this has always been my manner of speaking, when I spoke of the things of God; it should be so now in particular, as these may probably be the last words you will receive from me. It pleased God, sixty years ago, by me to awaken and join together, a little company of people at Oxford. And a few years after a small company in London, whence they spread through the land. Sometime after, I was much importuned to send some of my children to America; to which I cheerfully consented. God prospered their labours. But they and their children still esteemed themselves as one family, no otherwise divided then as the Methodists on one side of the Thames, are divided from the other. I was therefore a little surprised when I received some letters from Mr. Asbury, affirming that no person in Europe knew how to direct those in America. Some time after he flatly refused to receive Mr. Whatcoat in the character I sent him. He told George Shadford, Mr. Wesley and I are like Caesar and Pompey, he will have no equal, and I will bear no superior, and accordingly he quietly set by until his friends by common consent, voted my name out of the American minutes.—This compleats the matter; and shews he has no connection with me.

JOHN WESLEY.²

This serves to throw more light on the unhappy relationship of Wesley to Asbury from 1787 on. One notes a change of tense in Telford's fragment from the present to the past—a change which has softened the force of Wesley's words.

J. HAMBY BARTON.

¹ William Guirey: *The History of the Episcopacy in Four Parts, From its Rise to the Present Day* (n.d.), pp. 347-50.

² Francis Asbury: *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury* (London: Epworth Press, 1958), II, p. 4.