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Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

Editor: REV. WESLEY F. SWIFT.

Volume XXXII

March 1960

“THE SUNDAY SERVICE OF THE METHODISTS”

IN the *Proceedings* for March 1954 (xxix, pp. 13-16), the Rev. Wesley F. Swift discusses the variants in the 1784 edition of the *Sunday Service*. Additional evidence indicates that the conclusions arrived at in the article should be reversed at one important point.

It is apparent that after John Wesley had his original edition printed, someone revised his work by having certain pages reprinted and substituted for the originals when the volume was bound. But the substitution was not carried out in all copies, so that both the original and the altered versions survive.

The significant variants occur in the Communion and Infant Baptism. In what Mr. Swift terms version “A”, the communion Prayer of Consecration, page 136, has, after the manner of the Book of Common Prayer, the five rubrics of the “manual acts” cut in. Version “B” omits these rubrics.

In the Baptism of Infants, page 142, version “A” contains the Reception of the child set with the rubric for the Sign of the Cross to be made on the child's forehead. Version “B” omits both Reception and rubric.

With the aid of evidence furnished by American scholars, Mr. Swift comes to the conclusion that version “A” is Wesley's original edition, and version “B” is the altered version. Examination of five copies of the work (three at Drew University in Madison, New Jersey, one at the New York Public Library and one at Union Theological Seminary) indicates that Wesley's original edition was the “B” version without the manual acts or the Reception and signation. Thus the “A” version was the alteration, reverting to the usage of the Book of Common Prayer.

Summary of evidence for this conclusion

1. Description of the copies examined :

Three copies in the Drew University Library :

- (i) A "B" copy, bearing the name of William Watters on the title-page, rebound.
- (ii) An "A" copy, with title-page missing, but clearly the 1784 edition, from the collection of papers from John and Robert Emory, contemporary binding.
- (iii) An "A" copy, formerly in the Methodist Historical Society collection, rebound.

One copy in the Union Theological Seminary Library, an "A" copy, rebound.

One copy in the New York Public Library. This is an odd volume with the "A" version of Communion and the "B" version of Infant Baptism, contemporary binding.

2. Signature Marks: The volumes are duodecimo, so each signature (there are thirteen, A to N) contains twelve leaves. Six leaves in each signature are marked (as F, F₂, F₃, F₄, F₅, F₆), and the remaining six are unmarked. Except that in the "A" version the discrepant pages, 135, 141, 143, carry special signature marks, F₈, F₁₁, F₁₂. The corresponding pages in version "B" are without signature marks, as in the other signatures of the volume. This indicates that these "A" leaves are substitutes, prepared thus to be "tipped" into the proper signature by the binder.

3. In the gutter between pp. 134-5 of version "A" can be seen the stub of one cut leaf; between pp. 140-1 are two stubs. Version "B" has no such cancelled leaves. In the New York Public Library copy, the cancelled leaf shows where the "A" version has been tipped in the Communion; no cancellation shows in Infant Baptism, which is, in this copy, the "B" version. Thus the original "B" printing was cancelled for "A" to be substituted.

4. In the New York Public Library copy, pp. 135-6 are heavily inked, while the remainder of the signature is medium or light. Such an ink pattern would be impossible unless this were a separately printed leaf.

5. Type faces employed are apparently the same. Paper stock seems also uniform; chain lines are uniform and micrometer measurements of thickness are uniform (for hand-made paper). Where, in those copies which contain the *Minutes*, we know we have American printing, we encounter different paper and type.

6. The page make-up of the volume is irregular because of the nature of the material. In the discrepant pages, p. 144 of the "B" version has only 34 lines. This might be taken to indicate re-setting without enough material to fill the page, except that the same type of short page occurs elsewhere (e.g. pp. 51, 57, 117, 124), and in every case the reason for the short page is a following long head or rubric in which a break would be awkward.

In the "A" version, p. 136 is a 40-line page. This might be taken

to indicate crowding to accommodate an overplus of material. But again, 40-line pages occur elsewhere (e.g. pp. 62, 68, 131).

If the change in the volume had been from "A" to "B" it seems unlikely that the printer would have reset more than one leaf for each change. However, changing from "B" to "A" required so much more space in Infant Baptism that four pages of the service had to be reset.

From this evidence we conclude that Wesley's original work was the "B" version without the manual acts or the Reception and signation, which were restored in the "A" version.

The question of who made this change remains conjectural. The nature of the change precludes it having been done in America. The identity of the printing and paper also points to England. Wesley himself may have changed his mind after the sheets were printed. Or, if the 1789 letter to Churchey is applied to the 1784 edition, the evidence points to Coke. Wesley sent the quires to America by Coke's hand, and gave him the letter "to Our Brethren in North America" which was "to be printed, and circulated in America".¹ Thus Coke had opportunity to alter the 1784 edition.

If, as Dr. Stevens says, the 1786 edition went through the press "under Wesley's eye", Dr. Coke was not responsible for the changes in Infant Baptism in that edition. Nor should we look for any other hand than Wesley's in that edition, which is in harmony with Wesley's original work.

And since the 1788 edition had no significant changes, we can assume that Wesley is referring to the 1784 edition when he says, "Dr. Coke made two or three little alterations in the Prayer Book without my knowledge." If this letter to Churchey (20th June 1789) does refer to the 1784 edition, its words reflect the importance Wesley placed on the changes he made in the Book of Common Prayer:

I took particular care throughout to alter nothing for altering' sake. In religion I am for as few innovations as possible. I love the old wine best.

And Wesley, the reformer, is seen in clearer light.

J. HAMBY BARTON.

As the writer of the article to which Mr. Hamby Barton refers, I may be allowed to make a few comments.

1. I have no hesitation in accepting without reserve the evidence which Mr. Barton produces, and also his conclusion that version "B" (without the signation or the manual acts) is the original, and "A" the secondary printed version. The evidence is highly technical, but on a recent visit to England Mr. Barton kindly allowed me to inspect the "William Watters" ("B") copy of the *Sunday Service*, and he has also given me photostats, both of this copy and also of the

¹ Coke and Moore: *Life of the Rev. John Wesley* (London, 1792), p. 459.

"A" copy at Emory University. These fully confirm what he has written.

2. The only evidence which was previously available to me was contained in correspondence with American historians, and the photostats of the "freak" copy which Dr. James R. Joy sent me. He assured me that both he himself and Dr. (now Bishop) Nolan B. Harmon (author of *The Rites and Ritual of Episcopal Methodism*) regarded the evidence of the "freak" copy, which contained both versions of the Baptismal Office and the Holy Communion, as conclusive. This evidence seemed adequate at the time, but is now refuted.

3. Since my article was written Dr. Joy has died, and Mr. Barton, despite an exhaustive search, has failed to locate the "freak" copy which provided the evidence for my article. It is thus impossible to re-examine the evidence.

4. Having accepted Mr. Barton's evidence, I do not necessarily accept his interpretation of the facts, namely, that the *Sunday Service*, when it left Wesley's hands in manuscript form, contained neither the signation nor the manual acts. Mr. Barton postulates that these were inserted by someone (possibly Thomas Coke) after the book was printed, though he does admit the possibility that Wesley may have changed his mind and made the insertions himself. I regard this possibility as highly improbable.

The theory which I stated in my article was that

the *Sunday Service* when it left Wesley's hands in September 1784 contained both the "manual acts" and the "signing with the cross". Within a few weeks or months these had been expunged—at whose instigation we cannot say—and revised pages had been inserted in the remaining unbound copies.

The first part of that theory is, in the main, still tenable.

Neither the *Journal* nor the Diary gives any clue to the period when Wesley's revision of the Book of Common Prayer was made. The first edition of the *Sunday Service* was printed in London, but as Wesley was not in London from February 1784 until after Coke left for America it is a fair assumption that some person other than Wesley saw the book through the press. Wesley saw Coke in London on 14th February 1784. The editor of the *Standard Journal* suggests that "this was probably the interview at which Wesley introduced to Dr. Coke the subject of ordination". It may have been on this day, or perhaps more probably at the Leeds Conference in July, that Wesley gave Coke his MS. with instructions to see it through the press. However that may be, it seems clear that the printing of the *Sunday Service* was a "rush job", for Mr. Barton has produced evidence that six compositors worked on it, rather than the normal two or three.

The deletion of the signation and the manual acts does not seem to me to be in harmony with what we know of Wesley's churchmanship. It is unfortunate that we know so little of Coke's liturgical outlook.

I realize, of course, that this matter cannot be settled by an appeal to theological pre-suppositions, but we have Wesley's own statement in his letter to Walter Churchey in 1789:

Dr. Coke made two or three little alterations in the Prayer-Book without my knowledge. I took particular care throughout to alter nothing merely for altering' sake. In religion I am for as few innovations as possible.

My view is that Wesley's manuscript *Sunday Service* contained both the signation and the manual acts, and that they were deleted by Thomas Coke before the book was printed. This is in harmony with the fact established by Mr. Barton that the "B" version, which omitted them, is the original printed version. When Wesley discovered the omissions, he ordered the re-printing of the relevant pages, and these were sent to America to be inserted in the remaining unbound copies.

This theory satisfies the facts as we know them. It fails to explain why the signation was omitted from the 1786 and subsequent editions; but, on the other hand, Mr. Barton's theory fails to explain why the manual acts were restored in the 1786 and later versions. Both Mr. Barton and I seem to accept Dr. Stevens's statement that the 1786 edition went through the press "under Wesley's eye"; and both of us have therefore to leave one important (though a different) fact unexplained.

Perhaps we are both wrong! It may be that in time fresh evidence will emerge to make the whole matter crystal clear. Meanwhile, though Mr. Barton has quite plainly exhibited the contents of the first *printed* edition, future historians must weigh very carefully the rival theories of its significance.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

The Rev. W. Le Cato Edwards continues to make the *Epworth Witness* a lively and readable magazine. The September 1959 issue contains photographs of recent acquisitions by the Old Rectory of certain pieces of eighteenth-century furniture, and also pictorial illustrations of the way in which the Rectory is fulfilling its new role as a centre for retreats and conferences. Dr. Frank Baker contributes an article on "Engravings and Documents" at the Old Rectory. . . . The Rev. Frederick Pilkington has written *Methodism in Kempston* (pp. 20) in connexion with the centenary of Methodism in that Bedfordshire village. A great deal of careful research has gone into this little booklet by one of our members, and it is graced by some admirable illustrations. . . . We have received the first *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion*, published in June 1959. Amongst its contents is an interesting article on "The Nova Scotian Settlers and their Religion", by A. F. Walls. Not everybody is aware that Nova Scotian settlers in 1792 were "the first significant and reasonably permanent element in the population of the Sierra Leone Colony". The way in which Methodism came to Sierra Leone via Nova Scotia is one of the curiosities of Methodist history. . . . We have belatedly received a copy of the centenary handbook (1957) of Methodism in Haslingden, a cotton town in East Lancashire. It is a handsome booklet, written by the Rev. Fred S. Morgan, about one of the most handsome chapels in the county.

JOHN WESLEY, HYMNOLOGIST

THE position of John Wesley in hymnody is most unsatisfactory. In a half-hearted way he is acknowledged to be great: it is customary to say that he was a very fine translator; that his skilful editing markedly improved many of his brother's hymns; that it was really he, not Charles, who started the eighteenth-century revolution in English hymnody. But when these things have been said, it is customary to turn quickly and deal with Charles. This is grossly unfair. If John merits these compliments, he deserves fuller treatment; if he does not merit them, they should not be paid. By a careful re-examination of historical facts and of available texts, it is hoped in this study to show just how far these claims, so often made, so rarely supported, are justified. There will be no attempt to use the hymns to throw light on Wesley's doctrinal views, nor will there be any attempt to judge the verbal accuracy of his translations.¹ The aim is threefold: first, to consider Wesley's contribution to the development of hymnody; second, to assess his skill as an editor both of his brother's hymns and of those of other people; third, to consider him as a hymn-writer (for this purpose the majority of his translations will be regarded as original work.)²

Hymn-singing has a long tradition in the Christian Church. The disciples sang a hymn at the Last Supper,³ Paul urged the Ephesians to address one another "in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody to the Lord",⁴ the epistles contain several quotations from what are taken to be early Christian hymns,⁵ the Crusaders sang hymns on their way to battle, the medieval monks chanted plainsong, the Lutherans had their chorales, the Calvinists their metrical psalms. Wesley came into contact with the tradition of hymn-singing very early: both his father and his elder brother Samuel published volumes of verse that included some hymns, and John Wesley himself was an early advocate of the singing of hymns in the Church of England.⁶ Though his knowledge of hymns and hymn-singing was probably limited at first to the metrical paraphrases, to Sternhold and Hopkins, Tate and Brady, and to the four-square tunes of Ravenscroft, Playford and Wilkins, Wesley was well aware of the value of hymns in public worship long before his

¹ The present writer is unqualified for the task, and as only a small number of Wesley's hymns are close translations (Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* puts seven in this category) the exercise would be of little importance. Henry Bett in his *Hymns of Methodism*, p. 19, T. W. Herbert in *John Wesley as Editor and Author*, p. 51, and J. T. Hatfield in *John Wesley's Translations of German Hymns*, all testify to Wesley's ability to make accurate translations.

² The validity of this attitude will be discussed later.

³ Mark xiv. 26.

⁴ Eph. v. 19.

⁵ Eph. v. 14; 1 Tim. iii. 16; 1 Tim. vi. 15-16; 2 Tim. ii. 11-13.

⁶ *Journal*, i, pp. 122, 230, 267-9, 307. It is unlikely, however, that Wesley would approve of the present Methodist practice of having five hymns a service. He threatened to expel a preacher who had more than two (*Letters*, vii, pp. 301, 304). The writer is indebted for this information, and for much else in this paragraph, to C. W. Towson's *Moravian and Methodist*.

famous voyage to Georgia. To the Moravians, however, must go the credit for providing the initial impetus for his translations. He began work on 7th May 1736, "one of the momentous days in Wesley's life and in the history of English hymnody".⁷ Five of the translations appeared in print for the first time in his *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* of 1737, and in the same volume were twenty-six hymns by Isaac Watts. The size of Watts's contribution is not without significance. In his *Hymns of Private Composure* he had rebelled against the tyranny of the metrical paraphrases, and had called upon Christians to voice not "the thoughts of David and Asaph" but the reality of their own spiritual experience. Whilst it is true that the new subjective and emotional type of hymnody that Wesley evolved was far removed from the sobriety of Watts, Watts's influence is marked and his importance clear.

It is nevertheless to the Moravians that the credit belongs for introducing Wesley to the beauty, dignity and reverence of the German chorale and to the personal and intimate song of the great Pietists. It was they who introduced him to a new concept of the hymn—to the concept that hymns might not only be addressed to God but might also be addressed to fellow-worshippers. It was they who taught him that hymns could be used not only for the worship of God but also for the teaching of the Gospel. The *Collection* of 1737 is unique amongst Wesley's hymn-books in that it contains nothing by Charles: Aldersgate was yet to come. It was John, not Charles, therefore, who started the eighteenth-century hymnodic revolution. Charles followed a path already marked out, and, as will be seen, John did his best to see that he followed it closely. Because John edited the vast majority of his brothers's hymns his total influence on the development of English hymnody is far greater than that exercised solely by his own rather meagre output. He not only set the revolution off, he also guided its course.

Before Wesley's skill as an editor and hymn-writer is considered, one important question needs to be faced. What is a good hymn? Two points must be made straightaway. The first is this: the poetic and the religious values of a hymn are not necessarily the same. A hymn may gain through the years enriched meaning so that it is, in one sense, a good hymn though, perhaps, mediocre poetry. It is a good hymn, in this sense, just because it is, and has been for generations, dear to the people of God, and is therefore able to "raise or quicken the spirit of devotion".⁸ This ability to "raise or quicken the spirit of devotion" is, in the last analysis, the sign of a good hymn; that is to say poetry is, in the last analysis, subordinate to religious feeling. "When Poetry thus keeps its place as the handmaid of Piety, it shall attain, not a poor perishable wreath, but a crown that fadeth not away."⁹ It is impossible, however, for the literary

⁷ *Journal*, i, p. 212.

⁸ John Wesley in his Preface to *A Collection of Hymns for the use of the people called Methodists* (1780).

⁹ *ibid.*

critic to deal with "enriched meaning": he can only pass judgement on literary, not religious, quality. When religious and literary considerations clash he must be patient and try to be sympathetic.

The second point needing to be made concerns the demand that a hymn should be suitable for congregational singing. It is a Methodist tradition that the Methodist Hymn-Book should contain a few hymns "especially suitable for select gatherings or for solitary communion with God",¹⁰ and while it is true that many good hymns are suitable for both public and private devotions it would be wrong to condemn any of Wesley's hymns for lacking congregational quality unless it is clear that the hymn concerned is meant to have it. Now that these two points have been made, the main question may be considered: what, from a literary standpoint, is a good hymn? The purpose of a hymn is clear: besides being, as St. Augustine said, "a song of praise to God", it is "a means of raising or quickening the spirit of devotion, of confirming . . . [the reader's] faith; of enlivening his hope; and of kindling and increasing his love to God and man". Its treatment must be broad; it "must be the life-expression of all hearts".¹¹ The ideas informing it must be vividly clear and immediately comprehensible; subtlety, ambiguity and wit must be vigorously avoided. It is because of this overriding need for simplicity that so many of the best hymns are in common or long metre or in a combination of the two. Because each stanza has to go to the same tune, the same (or a very similar) pattern of rise and fall must be followed throughout. This is not a demand made on poets, and this and other differences between a good poem and a good hymn may explain why so few major poets are also good hymn-writers. Nevertheless Wesley believed that the poetic quality of hymns was very important (although of course it must always keep "its place as the handmaid of Piety"); and in his famous Preface to the *Collection* of 1780 he added "a few words with regard to the poetry . . ."¹² Wesley's insistence on the importance of the poetic quality of hymns (within certain limits) is in direct contrast to that of Watts, who was in some ways his precursor. Watts insisted that the hymn must be kept outside the realm of poetry and stripped of poetic suggestiveness, so that its meaning should be immediately clear to all. Wesley, on the other hand, maintained that the hymn should be a religious lyric and create the impression of lyrical poetry, that whilst obscure words should be avoided so that all should immediately understand, there should at the same time be an attempt to lift the masses up to the level of the hymn and make them feel the beauty and inspiration of the poetry. John Wesley was setting up a new literary standard for hymnody. To write a good hymn, said Tennyson in the next century, is the most difficult thing in the world.¹³

¹⁰ Preface to *The Methodist Hymn-Book*.

¹¹ J. M. Neale: Introduction to "Hymns of the Eastern Church", found on page 219 in his *Collected Hymns, Sequences and Carols* (1914).

¹² These can be read in *The Methodist Hymn-Book* (1933), pp. vii-viii.

¹³ Hallam: Lord Tennyson in *Tennyson: a Memoir*, ii, p. 401.

Wesley's skill as an editor will be considered first with regard to some early work (about 1737) and then with regard to some of the work of his maturity. The example of his early work chosen for consideration is "Teach me, my God and King", his adaptation of "The Elixir" by George Herbert.

GEORGE HERBERT'S ORIGINAL
in A. B. Grosart's edition

Teach me, my God and King,
In all things Thee to see,
And what I do in any thing
To do it as for Thee.

Not rudely, as a beast,
To runne into an action ;
But still to make Thee prepossest,
And give it his perfection.

A man that looks on glasse,
On it may stay his eye :
Or if he pleaseth, through it passe,
And then the heav'n espie.

All may of Thee partake :
Nothing can be so mean
Which with this tincture, 'for Thy sake',
Will not grow bright and clean.

A servant with this clause
Makes drudgery divine ;
Who sweeps a room as for Thy laws
Makes that and th' action fine.

This is the famous stone
That turneth all to gold ;
For that which God doth touch and own
Cannot for lesse be told.

JOHN WESLEY'S VERSION
in *Psalms and Hymns* (1738)

Teach me, my God and King,
In all things Thee to see,
And what I do in any thing
To do it as for Thee.

To scorn the sense's sway
While still to Thee I tend
In all I do be Thou the Way
In all be Thou the End.

A man that looks on glass,
On that may fix his eye ;
Or unopposed may through it pass,
And heaven behind descry.

All may of Thee partake :
Nothing so mean can be
But draws when acted for Thy sake
Greatness and worth from Thee.

If done to obey Thy laws
Even servile labours shine ;
Hallow'd all toil, if this the cause
The meanest work divine.

This is the long-sought stone
That all converts to gold ;
For that which God doth for His own
Cannot for less be told.

The first stanza is the same in both versions. The second, however, is entirely recast. The verse of the Herbert second stanza is unimpressive, and Wesley's changes show a keen appreciation of its weaknesses. He removes the crude opening comparison of man with a beast and its horribly jerky movement; he regularizes the rhythm of the second line (a necessary change as a hymn-tune cannot accommodate changes of stress from verse to verse); and he avoids the inelegant (and somewhat unusual) "prepossest" and the possibly ambiguous pronouns of the last line. In the first two lines Wesley replaces something negative by something positive, and his key word "scorn" receives tremendous emphasis as it is the position of first stress in a new stanza. His remodelled version is characteristically nicely balanced and, also characteristically, the changes involve the introduction of a scriptural reference (lines 3 and 4 of the stanza). In stanza 3 the changes are again in favour of the more active and definite: "stay" is replaced by "fix", and "if he pleaseth" (a too casual phrase for Wesley to feel appropriate in a hymn) by "unopposed". (Wesley was, incidentally, very fond of words beginning with "un". Bett uses this fact to help separate the hymns of John and Charles.) The stanza in its final form is rather stiff. It is more regular than the original, but it is devoid of life. The change in stanza

4 line 3 is aimed at replacing the technical reference to "tincture" and thus making the line easier to understand. The switch in the word-order of line 2 is necessary to accommodate the change of rhyme in the last line. Here again the changes are not altogether successful. "Greatness and worth" lacks the evocative power of "bright and clean"; they do not call forth the same immediate response. One wonders whether the avoidance of possible incomprehension has been bought at too dear a price. One has similar feelings about stanza 5. It is easy enough to see what Wesley is trying to do: he is trying to replace the particular by the general, and one has to admit that the general is usually the more effective in hymns. One may say too that the low educational standard of the probable singers of these verses made him justifiably anxious to avoid misunderstandings or failure to catch the full significance. At the same time, however, one feels that in rejecting Herbert's lines Wesley has lost something of real value. They have a stark simplicity and directness and easy movement that are indicative of Herbert at his best. Wesley was replaced them by something heavy and formal. He seems to have forgotten that the homely illustration was not scorned by his Master, nor was it always explained. In the last stanza the flat word "famous" is replaced by "long-sought", which brings a suggestion of activity and succinctly makes the point that real knowledge of God may only come after a long search (and this, indeed, was Wesley's own experience). The change from "turneth" to "converts" makes the change unmistakably religious, and the inversion, in the same line, of the verb and its object lays stress on the all-pervasive power of God (a main point of Wesley's teaching). The omission of the word "touch" in the third line is probably made because of Wesley's objection to anything that even suggests an equation of man and God. Although there can be no valid objection to the first two lines of the stanza, the change in the third, like so many others, clogs the movement.

This is hardly one of Wesley's happiest attempts at editing. Nevertheless from the changes made to just this one poem one is able to gain a clear idea of the effects Wesley was striving after: clarity of expression, forcefulness, Biblical authority, poise, immediate comprehensibility, regularity (i.e. choral quality). One sees also evidence of two of his main beliefs: the omnipotence of God and the paucity of comparison of man. At this stage of his development, however, one feels that he was at times over-sensitive about possible obscurities and irregularities, and that he had not mastered the technique of combining regularity with easy movement. These, though, are faults that time can cure. About this time Wesley adapted several of Herbert's poems, but none of his adaptations has been as successful as his translations from the German. The reason probably is, as T. W. Herbert¹⁴ has pointed out, that in many cases the poems by their very nature were incapable of being wrought into instruments of that predominantly emotional—almost dramatic—appeal that the really great hymn exerts.

¹⁴ op. cit.

John Wesley's editing at its best is seen in his alterations to some of the hymns of his brother. Though at times some of his changes seem to have been made out of mere prejudice—for example, he rejected "Jesu, Lover of my soul" as being too erotic, and automatically changed any references to "dear Redeemer" to "great Redeemer" or something similar—yet his reaction against sentimentality, even if sometimes carried too far, serves as a useful antidote to some of the gushes of his brother. Few people, for example, would quarrel with his changing

The wonderful flood
Washes off my foul load,
And purges my conscience, and brings me to God¹⁵

to

Let Thy life-giving blood
Remove all my load,
And purge my foul conscience, and bring me to God.¹⁶

Other changes are the result of theological differences. John omits the second stanza of "Love divine, all loves excelling":

Breathe, O breathe Thy loving Spirit
Into every troubled breast,
Let us all in Thee inherit,
Let us find that second rest;
Take away our power of sinning,
Alpha and Omega be,
End of faith as its Beginning,
Set our hearts at liberty.¹⁷

John Fletcher¹⁸ comments on its theology: "Mr. Wesley says *second rest*, because an imperfect believer enjoys a first inferior rest; if he did not, he would be no believer. 'Take away the power of sinning?' he asks. 'Is not this expression too strong? Would it not be better to soften it by saying, "Take away the love of sinning" [or the bent of the mind towards sin]? Can God take away from us our *power of sinning* without taking away our power of free obedience?" In another hymn, "O Thou who camest from above",¹⁹ Wesley objected to the last line of the last stanza:

Ready for all Thy perfect will,
My acts of faith and love repeat,
Till death Thy endless mercies seal,
And make my sacrifice complete.

It created an antithesis with "Thy endless mercies" in the previous line, and man was thus equated with God. This, to Wesley, was unacceptable (he changed the penultimate line of "Teach me, my God

¹⁵ "O Jesus, my hope", *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1749.

¹⁶ "O Jesus, my hope", *Collection of Hymns for the use of the people called Methodists* (1780). No. 200 M.H.B.

¹⁷ *Hymns for those that seek, and those that have, Redemption in the Blood of Jesus Christ*, 1747. The altered version may be found in the 1780 *Collection* (as may be all other altered versions unless otherwise stated). No. 431 M.H.B.

¹⁸ Quoted by J. Telford in *The New Methodist Hymn Book Illustrated in History and Experience*, p. 224.

¹⁹ *Short Hymns on Select Passages of the Holy Scriptures*, 1762. No. 386 M.H.B.

and King" for this reason), and so in the 1782 edition he substituted "the" for "my". Wesley had (again, as was seen in his treatment of "Teach me, my God and King") a keen concern for the congregational quality of a hymn, and therefore he omitted references to local circumstances, as for example stanzas 7 and 8 of the "Hymn for the Kingswood Colliers" ("The people that in darkness lay"),²⁰ which describe the moral state of the colliers of that time:

Suffice that for the season past
Hell's horrid language fill'd our tongues,
We all Thy words behind us cast,
And lewdly sang the drunkard's songs.

But, O the power of grace divine!
In hymns we now our voices raise,
Loudly in strange hosannas join,
And blasphemies are turn'd to praise.

He also from time to time changed "me" to "us" ("Talk with us, Lord, Thyself reveal"),²¹ and thus made the hymn more truly congregational.

Perhaps one of the most important qualities of John Wesley as an editor of his brother's hymns was his ability to see when the poetic inspiration had lapsed. And at times it did lapse badly. For clumsiness and ineptitude, this stanza which Wesley omitted from "All thanks be to God"²² would be hard to surpass:

The opposers admire
The hammer and fire,
Which all things o'ercomes,
And breaks the hard rocks, and the mountains consumes.
With quiet amaze
They listen and gaze,
And their weapons resign,
Constrained to acknowledge—the work is divine!

On the whole, Wesley in later days followed with great skill the same editorial principles that he had used rather arbitrarily in his earlier work. These alterations to his brother's hymns are—at least when they are prompted by literary considerations—of a consistently high standard. Occasionally religious ideas caused him to commit faults of literary judgement, as for example when he rejected "Jesu, Lover of my soul", but even then he was being perfectly, if perhaps slavishly, consistent with his own standards: poetry, after all, was to be "the handmaid of Piety". Literary and religious considerations are here at loggerheads. This, surely, is one of those times when the literary critic has to try to be sympathetic.

B. C. DRURY.

(To be continued)

²⁰ *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1740. The original begins: "Glory to God, whose sovereign grace". Amended version, No. 379 M.H.B.

²¹ *ibid.* The original begins: "Saviour, who ready art to hear". Amended version, No. 460 M.H.B.

²² *Hymns for those that seek, and those that have, Redemption in the Blood of Jesus Christ*, No. 3. No. 262 M.H.B.

IN SEARCH OF FORGOTTEN METHODISM

IT was tea-time when the country 'bus brought me to Brechin, and after finding lodgings for the night I went in search of the Borough Clerk's office. This was closed, as was also the Engineer's office; but the town's library was open. It is a handsome building for a little town, the gift of the Carnegie Trust. The librarian, a maiden lady of uncertain years, listened to my request with interest, as I told her I was trying to trace an old Methodist chapel built about 1798, and closed before 1835. She was sorry, but they hadn't any "local" section in the library, nor any old maps of the town. But she produced a *Gazetteer*, article "Brechin", which she thought might help. I glanced through it, not wanting to appear discouraging.

"No, I am afraid there is nothing there."

She went and fetched the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, opened at the relevant page. Again a quick glance with, naturally, the same result. At her request I again outlined what few facts I knew about the chapel. A bright idea then struck the guardian of the town's culture:

"It wouldna be the Cathedral ye're wanting? That's a fairrly old building."

With the aid of the Borough Clerk, I found the building the next morning. It was marked on a map of 1822 in his office, and, converted into tenements, still stands in a yard off City Road (surely a good address for a Methodist chapel, even in Scotland!), which a century ago bore the name of Dodd's Wynd. At the near end of the building is a little one-storey cottage that was originally the manse. At the turn of the century two probationers were annually appointed to Brechin, the Sacraments being administered by the Dundee ministers.

That story illustrates perfectly the ignorance that widely prevails north of the Tweed regarding Methodism, and the difficulties encountered when digging up the Methodist past. Often not a vestige of the outward and visible sign remains, nor is Methodism's inward and spiritual grace even a memory. Which of course makes the chase the more exciting and the catch the more satisfying.

For those who want to engage in such a hunt in Scotland, Wesley Swift's 1947 Wesley Historical Society lecture, *Methodism in Scotland*, is the guide, though it does not profess to deal with chapels other than those of the Wesleyan tradition, nor with those opened after the middle of the nineteenth century. Armed, then, with this guide, I spent part of a holiday trying to track down the sites and, if possible, the exact buildings, of some early chapels.

CALDERBANK. This village stands near Motherwell and Airdrie, and was for some years the head of a small Primitive Methodist circuit. I am unable to say when this circuit originated; but in December 1849 the Mossend society (still existing) came on the Calderbank plan, and six years later it is minuted "that the [Mossend] Mission be dominated

by the Calderbank and Motherwell Mission". In 1856 both Mossend and Motherwell severed their connexion with the Calderbank circuit. The chapel (or "church", as they would say in Scotland) stood in the centre of the village, at the top of a slight hill; it was bought about 1880 by the Church of Scotland. The present parish church is, then, the old Primitive Methodist chapel, or, more likely, stands on its site—they pulled down and rebuilt. In what year the chapel was originally built—and whether there was one previous to the building sold about 1880—I am unable to say. The cause of closing down was not uncommon in Scotland—most of the members were English folk who went there to work, and later moved on.

DALKEITH. This Midlothian chapel, built in 1789, still stands, at present occupied by the Brethren, at the corner of South Street and Back Street. It is still Methodist property, though we ceased to worship there in 1887 when a new chapel was erected at nearby Eskbank; the list of its trustees is still printed on the Edinburgh (Nicolson Square) circuit Plan. It is a quaint building, with a bull's eye window in the middle of one side, over the doorway. The cause in 1839 reported 105 members.

The 1887 **ESKBANK** building is now closed and used as a sale room; as "Dalkeith" figures for the last time in the *Minutes* in 1916, and the minister's residence is last mentioned there in 1917, the Eskbank chapel must have closed about that date.

DOUNE. The chapel in this Stirlingshire village, not far from Stirling itself, was built in 1845 and closed in 1890. The circuit was still called "Stirling and Doune" until 1910—presumably a small society still met there on occasion, under the Stirling minister. The building, obviously a chapel at one time, is now converted into tenements, known locally as the "Methodist property" (a "property" signifying a block of tenements in Scotland). It stands in George Street, and is still owned by the Falkirk, Wallacestone and Stirling circuit, though it is now more of a liability than an asset.

DUMBARTON. About the year 1820 a small society was formed at nearby Renton, but was later dissolved. In 1860, however, a new start was made, and a minister, George Latham, appointed to Dumbarton. On 26th April 1861, the local society now numbering over 70, the foundation stone of a chapel was laid by William Campbell of Tillichewan Castle, and the building opened later the same year. It held 289 and cost £800, of which over £500 had been raised by the time of the stone-laying; a substantial part of this was the gift of Mr. Thomas M'Millan. From 1878 to 1886, and again from 1901 to 1904, it was associated with the cause at Alexandria (at the southern tip of Loch Lomond), and from 1905 onwards, as previously, with the Glasgow (Claremont Street) circuit, sharing a minister with Alexandria. From about that time a decline set in, and the chapel was finally sold in 1916.

Between the wars it was used as a "Youth Welfare Centre"; in 1939 it became an ARP Decontamination Centre, and in 1949 the

"Levensgrove Theatre" (seating 140) of the Dumbarton People's Theatre. It is situated on the west side of the main road-bridge across the River Leven, near its junction with the Clyde. Samuel Chadwick was its minister from 1887 to 1890.

DUMFRIES. A chapel here is still in use, and is one of the places in Scotland not attached to the Scotland District, but to the Carlisle circuit. But there were previous buildings.

Methodism in Dumfries dates from 1787 (though Wesley had previously visited the town without preaching), Robert Dall having been sent to establish a society. By the time Wesley next visited Dumfries on 13th May 1788, building had already begun on a preaching-house in Queen Street; the manse was attached to the lower end of it; this superseded another (hired?) room in which Wesley preached. The Methodists left this building in 1868 when they bought St. Mary's Episcopal Church for £800—a reduced price as the building was still to be used as a place of worship. This building, a dignified structure, stands in Buccleuch Street, and had been built in 1817; the Episcopalian communion-table, font and lectern were of course transferred to their new church in Lovers' Walk.

When the Queen Street chapel was left, it became the offices and works of the *Herald* newspaper, and in 1895 it was converted into shops and dwelling-houses. As such it stands today.

DUNDEE. Methodism in Dundee, now represented by the one cause in Ward Road, has had a number of branches and chapels at various times. The Wesleyan society first met in 1788 in a portion of a Franciscan Nunnery at the top of Methodist Close, adjacent to the Overgate; the room was above the vaults on the north side. The building was pulled down in 1869. Methodist Close, now numbered 43, Overgate, is the second close from Barrack Street going towards Reform Street. The site was in 1951 occupied by the Morris Wallpaper Co. Ltd.

The next place was a disused Episcopalian chapel in Tally Street, occupied in 1788. This building had "nine large Saxon arched windows, and three brass chandeliers suspended from the ceiling", and was used until the opening of Ward Road chapel in 1867. For the next two years, until it was demolished in 1869, "it was occupied by the successors of the Primitive Methodists who had been received in the Wesleyan Connexion on the death of Mr. Johnston in 1864" (see later). It stood at the corner of Tally Street and Overgate, backing on to Mid Kirk Style; the site was in 1951 occupied by Messrs. Menzies, men's outfitters; though there is some old masonry in that building, it is doubtful if any is part of the original chapel. There is a small drawing of it in Lamb's *History of Dundee*.

Another Wesleyan chapel in Victoria Road was built in 1869, and was sold on 21st February 1921. In 1951 it was occupied by the Salvation Army, and is now used as a tyre depot.

Reference has been made to the Primitive Methodists. According

to Lamb's *History of Dundee* there was a Primitive Methodist society about the year 1836 worshipping in Meadowside, under its minister, the Rev. J. Johnston; we have seen that Mr. Johnston is reported as having died in 1864 (though he does not figure in the Alphabetical List in *Hill's Arrangement*). Is this then another example of Scots ignorance in things Methodist leading to an error?

The third branch of Methodism mentioned by the same authority is the "Independent Methodists under Rev. D. K. Shoebottom". These are described as having "left the Wesleyan Connexion, March 1836, in consequence of a dispute with the Conference"; their name is either a slip on the part of the author, or the name locally used by a branch of the "Scottish United Methodist Churches",¹ for they formed part of the Wesleyan Association from 1836 to 1840, when they seceded—again owing to a dispute with the Assembly of the Association: they refused to submit to any sort of oversight by the Connexion. They worshipped in the Lindsay Street Independent Church (hence their name?).

DUNFERMLINE. A chapel built in 1816 stood in Marygate (off Kirk Gate), opposite the City Chambers. It figures on the local map of 1823, and was closed in 1827. The site was in 1951 occupied by Messrs. Fraser & Carmichael, grocers.²

EDINBURGH. The story of Methodist chapels—particularly those of the smaller branches—is rather obscure, on account of demolition and replanning of streets. The following notes are a brief contribution to this history.

The Primitive Methodists met from 1835 to 1836 in James Court. Thereafter trace of them is lost until we find them worshipping in Magdalen Church, 1846-7. Again a gap in our information, until in 1861 they built Victoria Terrace chapel, which they occupied for forty years. This property was then sold to the managers of St. Giles' Cathedral, when the Methodists bought Livingstone Hall in South Clerk Street in 1901; this was adapted, and served as a Primitive Methodist "Central Hall" until it was closed shortly after Methodist Union. A hall in Canongate also was rented, c. 1903.

The Wesleyan Association and the United Methodist Free Churches also had work in Edinburgh,³ but their chapels are almost impossible to trace. One is known—no longer existing—namely Wesley chapel, Richmond Street, occupied in 1838.

We still have work in ARMADALE, on the 'bus route half-way between Glasgow and Edinburgh; and the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* in 1863 and 1864 tells something of its beginnings. Mission work is there reported as being carried on in Bathgate, Annandale (a slip for Armadale?) and Blackburn; previous to 1863 the Corn Exchange had been rented in Bathgate, but in that year they rented a hired hall; preaching took place in the schoolroom at Blackburn

¹ Cf. *Proceedings*, xxviii, p. 96.

² Further details in Swift, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-90.

³ Cf. *Proceedings*, *loc. cit.*

in 1863; and in 1864 they were planning a chapel in "Annandale". Cottage meetings were also held, and in 1864 five services took place each Sunday in Bathgate, "Annandale" and adjacent places.

FORFAR. The chapel here was bought for £180 from the Episcopalians in July 1823 on their moving to a new church. After adaptation it was re-opened on 8th February 1824, the opening collection and subscriptions totalling £30. The chapel held 400, and though there were only some thirty members, it was reported at the time that "nearly all the seats have been taken". It seems likely, in view of the fact that the name of the Episcopal church was up to 1824 "St. James Church", that the chapel stood on the site of the present St. James Church of Scotland, which, standing in St. James Road, backs on to Chapel Street, where presumably the front of the Methodist chapel was.

GLASGOW (ANDERSTON). A word may be added to the notes on Anderston in *Proceedings*, xxx, p. 8. The old chapel was sold in 1826, but work was prosecuted in the vicinity later; the *Magazine* for 1864 tells how in January of that year a hall was rented in the "Glasgow Police Establishment", when the mission had 112 members; later that year they planned another chapel, and reported funds and promises of over £500 towards it. Query: was it ever built?

HADDINGTON. A chapel to seat 300 was erected here by Valentine Ward, in Sidegate at a cost of £600 in 1816; but for some ten years previously a society had existed. "In or about 1806 James M'Cullagh, a subaltern in the Irish Regiment stationed in the barracks in the town, began preaching Wesleyan doctrine and founded a congregation which for many years was well attended."⁴ The same authority states that the chapel was sold c. 1850, though Swift, *op. cit.*, says c. 1841. It stood on the site of a garage and garden recently occupied by Messrs. Allan & Co., decorators, and an old wall is probably part of the back wall of the chapel.

STRATHKINNESS. This chapel, by far the most modest of Valentine Ward's projects,⁵ was bought in 1816 for £86. It stood on the right-hand side of the road as one leaves Strathkinness, a hamlet not far from St. Andrews. After it was given up at some unknown date, it served among other purposes as a Quaker meeting-house, and latterly as a garage, necessitating the opening of a big doorway in the front wall. When I saw it in 1951, it was roofless and ruinous, though clearly it had been a place of worship. It stood in the garden of Mr. Solman of Neilson Cottage, and since then has been pulled down. A lawn now occupies the site.⁶

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

⁴ W. Forbes Gray and Jas. R. Jamieson: *A Short History of Haddington* (East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society, 1844); kindly communicated to me by Mr. James Annand, of the *Haddingtonshire Courier*.

⁵ Cf. Swift, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 88.

⁶ I am grateful to the Rev. G. W. Anderson, M.A., D.D., then of the University of St. Andrews, for communicating to me the latest news.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Proposed Amendments to the Constitution

IT is ten years since the Constitution of the Wesley Historical Society was drawn up and approved by the Annual Meeting. (See *Proceedings*, xxvii, pp. 118-19.) Article VIII states that "Any revision of the general Constitution of the Society . . . shall be made only by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast at the Annual Meeting, after previous notification in the *Proceedings* of any proposed alteration."

In accordance with this article I give notice that the following amendments will be submitted to the next Annual Meeting:

To replace Article III:

III. MEMBERSHIP

Any interested person is admitted to membership of the Society, without previous nomination, upon subscribing under any one of the following heads:

Ordinary Membership—Annual subscription	. . .	7s. 6d.
	Five-yearly subscription	£1 15s. od.
Life Membership	£7 7s. od.
Associate Membership—Annual subscription	. . .	2s. 6d.

Libraries and kindred Societies may receive the *Proceedings* for an annual subscription of 10s. od.

[These alterations were in fact brought into operation in 1954, when it was felt that they should be treated as "administrative regulations", for which only the agreement of the Annual Meeting was necessary. It seems desirable, however, that they should be confirmed in accordance with Article VII.]

(Previously Associate Membership was available to those in a member's family; the amendment will make it available to others who do not wish to receive the quarterly *Proceedings*.)

VI. OFFICERS

Add " Librarian ".

For IX. GIFTS substitute:

IX. LIBRARY

The Society shall maintain a Library for the use of its members, to be administered by the Librarian in accordance with Rules approved by the Annual Meeting of the Society.

X. GIFTS

The Society is open to receive any loans, gifts, or bequests of historical documents, which shall be held by the Secretary in the name of the Society, and either retained and kept available by him, deposited in the Library, or entrusted to some other suitable repository.

(The Article about the Library is an addition, as is the clause in Article X "deposited in the Library". Nevertheless, it seems desirable to allow for the occasional deposit of an item elsewhere, as of three Wesley engravings on loan to the Old Rectory, Epworth.)

FRANK BAKER, *Secretary*.

The golden jubilee handbook of the Fairhaven Methodist Church, Lytham St. Annes, is a sixteen-page illustrated history of the church by our editor. It can be obtained for 2s. 10d. post paid from the Rev. Wesley F. Swift, 45, Kingsway, Lytham St. Annes, Lancs.

A WESLEY SOCIETY IN JAPAN

THERE recently arrived upon my desk the first issue of a new 16-page magazine, printed in a language which it would take a lifetime to master, bearing upon its front cover (i.e. the back cover, as the magazine is printed from back to front) the familiar portrait of John Wesley. Indeed, the magazine is entitled *John Wesley*, and it is the first publication of the newly-formed Wesley Translation Society of Japan.

The aims of the Society are conveniently printed in English on the back cover (i.e. the front!) of the magazine, and are as follows:

The Society has been established aiming to provide the translations in Japanese of the works of John Wesley to the wider public. When we survey the Wesleyan literatures in Japan, it is regretful to say that we have not produced much comparing to published translations of the works of Martin Luther and John Calvin. It is almost impossible for a person in Japan who does not know foreign languages to study on John Wesley and his movement.

We feel, also, that the interest in John Wesley and his movement is growing amongst Japanese Christians. Especially since we will observe a centenary for our Protestantism in Japan this year, it will be a very memorable and timely event to publish the works of John Wesley in this land. . . . We have secured the consent to co-operate with our project from competent translators, and we have the support (and necessary financial backing) from the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, U.S.A. Moreover, many Christians in Japan have enlisted their financial as well as spiritual support for the undertaking.

As our project, we propose to publish ten volumes of the important works of John Wesley during 1960-1964. The first volume which will appear in April, 1960, is the first half of the *Notes upon the New Testament* translated by Dr. Takuo Matsumoto . . .

In a covering letter, the Secretary of the Society provided me with a translation of the first page of the magazine. It indicates that the Society desires to propagate during this centenary year the two emphases of Wesley as a preacher—"assurance" and "mass evangelism", and feels that without them the work of Japanese Methodism "would be inferior to the evangelism of the Soka Gakukai, a newly sprung Buddhist sect of our time". The first issue of the magazine includes an article by Dr. Edwin Lewis of Drew University, and a review of Dr. Franz Hildebrandt's book, *Christianity according to the Wesleys*.

There are only 300,000 Christians in Japan, less than 1 per cent of the population, a large number of whom are influenced directly or indirectly by Methodism. Methodists, indeed, constitute about one-third of the membership of the United Church of Christ in Japan (Kyo Dan). This new project is therefore an ambitious and commendable undertaking. Our Society extends its congratulations to this new sister Society, and sends its best wishes for abundant success in this centenary year.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

ERRATUM

In *Proceedings*, xxxii, p. 96, the reference in the text to footnote 2 should be attached to the earlier quotation commencing "Poor Beverly Allen . . .".

BOOK NOTICES

Genealogical Research in England and Wales, by David E. Gardner and Frank Smith. (Bookcraft Publishers, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A., Volume I, pp. 296, \$3.50; Volume II, pp. 432, \$3.95.)

Salt Lake City has certain associations which are entirely unconnected with Methodist history, and books from such a source on the subject of genealogical research would seem to have no relevance to the work of our Society. Such an impression is entirely erroneous, for these two volumes are packed with information of the greatest use and interest to all who concern themselves with the writing of "local histories". The authors are Englishmen who have emigrated to America, where they are both employed by the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, but one does not need to be a Mormon to appreciate the value of their work. It has already been acclaimed by genealogists all over the world, and Methodist historians will find that they too are under debt.

Those who write local histories know from painful experience that the most important clues are often found in out-of-the-way or almost inaccessible places. These books make the way plain, if not easy. Volume I gives an abundance of information about the civil registration of births, marriages and deaths since 1837, the census records since 1841, parish registers, diocesan records, and the historical and other records of the various nonconformist Churches, together with details of the methods by which these sources can be investigated and their contents inspected. There is also a valuable "Table of Non-Parochial Registers", in which is given, county by county, the number of baptism registers deposited by each non-conformist denomination with Somerset House in 1837, with the date of the earliest register and the number of chapels of that denomination in the county.

Volume II is even more valuable. Nearly half the book is occupied with information about Probate records, Wills, and the like, but the latter half is devoted exclusively to a full description of each county in England and Wales in 1831, its area and population at that time, an extensive list of its ecclesiastical records and their present location, and many other helpful notes. Finally, the volume is completed with a series of maps of the counties as they were in the 1830s, and some are duplicated by sketch maps giving against each parish the date of the earliest parish register.

All this information, with an abundance of illustration both written and pictorial, makes these two volumes an almost indispensable aid to serious local historical research. Few, if any, of the sources covered in these books should be overlooked by the historian of even the humblest village chapel, and if Public Libraries can be persuaded to put the books on their shelves we may confidently expect that the quality of local Methodist histories will considerably improve. A third volume, covering such subjects as Manorial Records, School and University registers, and similar matters is promised for early publication.

In a work involving so much detail, minor errors are difficult to avoid, but the number we have noticed are reasonably few. The indexes leave much to be desired, and some of the miscellaneous drawings would appear crude even in a children's book, but this is a curious feature of American literature upon which we have commented before, and it does not detract from the value of this work. Salt Lake City will now have associations more important than those which attach to Brigham Young.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1034. DEMOLITION OF "OUR PARISH CHURCH".

The *Church Times* reports that St. Luke's, Old Street, Clerkenwell, has been closed because of subsidence, and is likely to be demolished. St. Luke's was built in 1733, and as the Foundery was situated within the parish boundaries Wesley frequently referred to St. Luke's as "our parish church". Wesley regularly communicated there during 1740 and 1741 (for example, on 3rd August 1740), but he does not seem to have preached there until 29th November 1778, possibly because a new vicar appointed in 1775 was more favourable to the Methodists than his predecessors.

St. Luke's has the "oddest spire in London", a fluted obelisk which is one of London's landmarks to be observed from the Board Room of the Epworth Press. The interior of the church has altered little since Wesley's day, but "in the eighteenth century a neatly-varied screen of tiny lodges, railings, urned gates and pedestalled urns stood between the street and the graveyard. At the centre of the parapet on the south side of the roof was a large urned sundial (Elizabeth and Wayland Young in *Old London Churches*, p. 196)." All Methodists will regret the closing and possible disappearance of a church so closely connected with Wesley and the first London Methodists.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

1035. A CORRECTION TO A WESLEY LETTER.

The original Wesley letter to Sarah Crosby dated 1st July 1757 (*Standard Letters*, iii, p. 219) has passed through my hands. A correction needs to be made to the postscript as printed. It reads: "I shall expect a Letter at York." This is a small point, but it serves to illustrate a carelessness in transcription which, we fear, is an all too common feature of the *Standard Letters*.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

1036. A REGISTER OF EARLY CIRCUIT PLANS.

The Society of Cirplanologists is engaged in compiling a list of all extant pre-1861 plans. The following have already been located: 992 Wesleyan, 294 Primitive, fifteen UMFC, six Bible Christian, four Wesleyan Methodist Association, three Methodist New Connexion, three Wesleyan Reform, one Arminian Methodist (facsimile), and one Teetotal Wesleyan; total 1,319. Thus the only branch of Methodism for which at least one plan has not yet been discovered is the Leeds Protestant Methodists.

Some 470 of the Wesleyan plans are gathered in seven "guard books", each containing a series of plans for one circuit over a period of years. Forty of the plans are in church safes or framed in vestries. The plans are widely distributed over the country, but there is a marked lack of plans from Devon, Somerset, Gloucester and Bristol. This may be due to a lack of correspondents in the area.

The register will be published early in 1961; details of plans which come to light after this will be embodied in a cumulative supplement to be issued at subsequent intervals of two years. I would be grateful if anyone who is interested in receiving a copy of the Register would write to me at 9, Silverdale Street, Manchester, 11, so that we may estimate the potential demand. The price is likely to be about four shillings.

Details of further pre-1861 plans, either in private hands or in vestries, will be welcome. The details required are: circuit, denomination, date, size, whether a separate weekday plan is included, whether names or numbers used for appointments, and any special features.

E. A. ROSE.

1037. JOHN WESLEY'S MARRIAGE.

The place of John Wesley's marriage to Mrs. Vazeille in 1751 has never been located, though in the earlier years of our Society various members gave the matter their attention (see *Proceedings*, ii, pp. 38, 61; iv, p. 145). The problem has again been investigated independently by the Revs. C. Deane Little and Victor E. Vine. Their reports below have been extracted from our MS. Journal.—EDITOR.

The Rev. C. Deane Little writes: I visited the Guildhall Library in London in September 1953. The church registers preserved there in print or MSS. are practically limited in number to that area now known as "the City". I examined carefully at least twenty of these old registers, and others, such as the Dutch Reformed Church, the Chapel of the French Hospital, Threadneedle Street, the French Church, Threadneedle Street, etc. My search was in vain. Following a possible clue I visited the British Museum and later the headquarters of the Society of Genealogists. There I examined *Boyd's Marriage Register*, which had by then reached 351 volumes. All search proved futile, and I am "faint yet pursuing". I found a few items relating to the Vazeille family, e.g.:

1736—baptism of Jeanne Vazeille (born 15th June). She was born two years earlier than has often been stated.

1744—death of an infant son and baptisms of other children, reported by a Wandsworth historian.

1781—Mrs. John Wesley was buried in Camberwell churchyard on 2nd October.

The Rev. Victor E. Vine writes: Following Tyerman's suggestion that Wesley was married by Charles Manning, I have examined the registers at Hayes parish church (where Manning was at that time incumbent). He was not married at Hayes (Middlesex). Wesley's *Journal* (26th May 1754) suggests that possibly Manning was also officiating at near-by Hillingdon at this time. It is an unfortunate coincidence that there is no Hillingdon register for the period 18th August 1743 to 27th May 1754. (There remained the remote possibility that since Uxbridge and Hillingdon were at this time served by the same incumbent, and marriages at Uxbridge could be recorded in the Hillingdon registers, the Hillingdon marriages might have been recorded at Uxbridge; but no Uxbridge registers are extant from 1694 to 1840, and the probability is that owing to the peculiar relation with Hillingdon there never were any.)

The parish church of the Foundry was St. Luke's, Old Street, and I applied at County Hall for permission to examine the registers, but owing to their condition they were not available for public inspection. The Archivist, however, kindly agreed to examine them for me, and reported that in these registers the change from Old Style to New Style appears to have been made in March 1750-1, that there is one entry for the month designated February 1750, and six for the month designated February 1752, none of which are Wesley's.

I have also examined printed copies of registers for the churches listed below (from the series *Middlesex Parish Registers*) with negative results: Acton, Heston, Hanwell, Harlington, Greenford, Northolt, Ickenham, Cowley, West Drayton, New Brentford, Hounslow, Stanwell, Sunbury, Feltham, Hanworth, Hampton, Twickenham, Teddington, Harefield, Enfield, Edmonton, Finchley, South Mimms, Ealing, and Tottenham. Registers for Ashford, Pinner, Great Stanmore, and Monken Hadley are not extant for the period.

1038. A SERMON BY THOMAS MAXFIELD.

A careful examination of all the diaries of Howell Harris would furnish us with a summary of a number of sermons which he heard John and Charles Wesley preach, but the following short extract gives an account of one of Maxfield's sermons :

[1743, August 16] . . . In going tow'd. ye New Room [Bristol] to hear Bro. Maxfield I saw & felt myself out of this World in God, that I was a stranger here & that God was my Father . . . In hearg. him preachg. Justification by ye Righteousness of faith & killg. ye Law & searchg. ye Old Principle of doing this & that, that we may have Life &c, & havg. such Gifts & pure Light, my soul was fed & made thankfull to God for sendg. this Light here among them, & for giving such Light in ye Land. . . . Went home sweet to Smith's Hall to hear Mr. Meriton from ye Isle of Man; att first I thought there was no Power, but soon I felt ye Ld. . . .

Harris had met Maxfield at least as early as 26th June 1740 ("had sweetness from Bro. Maxfield's saying that wn. we rejoyce wn. we have over-com'd [sic] anothr. in reasong. . . . self steps in, &c.").

GRIFFITH T. ROBERTS.

1039. JOHN WESLEY AND SOPHY HOPKEY.

I happen to think that John Wesley's love for Sophy Hopkey has never been given the importance that rightly belongs to it. It has been too much the habit of our official and "respectable" historians either to ignore it or to write it off as a kind of temporary aberration of which the less said the better! There are, I believe, weighty reasons for thinking otherwise :

(1) Most of the hymns translated in Georgia by John Wesley reflect the struggle through which he was passing. (See *Journal*, i, p. 220, note.) If, as seems to be the case, they include M.H.B. 546, 430, 433 and 375, it is difficult to escape the conviction that a (perhaps unconscious?) process of selection was at work, and that in these translations we have a reflection of the conflict in his own life. Especially, note 546 and the similarity between Antoinette Bourignon's dilemma and his own; and 433, which has a poignancy deepened in the original translation of the closing lines of the fourth verse :

From earthly loves I must be free
Ere I can find repose in Thee.

(2) The *Journal* itself, ad loc., suggests the depth and strength of Wesley's love for Sophy. (See *Journal*, 4th March 1737.)

(3) The fact that a year later he should have taken the trouble to write so full and detailed an account of the affair.

(4) The dominance in Wesley's teaching and preaching of the doctrine of "Perfect Love" needs some explanation. Why should this "donnish scholar" have been captured by such a doctrine? Or, was he less a "donnish scholar" than we have imagined, and more a man whose life had been shaken and re-orientated by his love for a woman?

I hinted at this view of the matter in my *This is Methodism* (chapter 16), and was promptly rebuked by the *Methodist Recorder* reviewer for attaching undue importance to it. What do our expert psychologists think?

F. HOWELL EVERSON.

1040. DUPLICATE WESLEY LETTERS.

Mr. Shaw's note (*Proceedings*, xxxii, p. 94) on Mr. Doughty's article (*Proceedings*, xxxii, pp. 40-1) on a letter to Adam Clarke (*Letters*, viii, p. 188) has led me to look at this letter again. The date 1789 is further confirmed by the postmark. The date at the head of the letter is so badly written that it might be taken with equal plausibility as 1789 or 1790, which accounts to some extent for the duplication in the *Letters*.

A. RAYMOND GEORGE.

1041. NEW LIGHT ON A WESLEY LETTER.

In *Proceedings*, xxiii, p. 51, is a Wesley letter written from London on 10th December 1786. A footnote states that the recipient was a Mr. Frederick Eggleston of Newark. The autograph is—or was—in Australia, and in a prefatory note it is stated that it has not been published before, "so far as can be ascertained".

But it has been published before. It is printed in the Appendix to Samuel Dunn's *Memoirs of Mr. Thomas Tatham*, p. 270, published in 1847. It would therefore seem that it was then in England, or at any rate a copy was extant. Where? No reason is given for its inclusion in the *Memoirs*, nor is the name of the recipient. There are very slight differences in punctuation and the use of capital letters, and after "open the room" the words "at Newark" have been omitted. Otherwise the two are identical.

W. L. DOUGHTY.

By a coincidence, the very day before I received Mr. Doughty's note printed above I chanced to discover amongst some papers extracted from our MS. Journal a contribution written some years ago by the Rev. Frank Rothwell, of Newark, which unintentionally identifies the recipient of this letter. Mr. Rothwell's note concerned Wesley's visit to Newark on 12th June 1780 (*Journal*, vi, p. 284, and footnote), and his information, which I summarize, is culled from *Memorials of Frederick Eggleston*, by W. H. Thompson, published in 1784.

It seems that the events narrated in the *Journal* footnote (i.e. the ill-treatment of the preacher and the burning of the pulpit by the mob, in 1770) resulted in the conversion of John Eggleston, who had recently come to Newark from Flintham to set up in business as a baker. He became one of the first dozen Methodists in the town, opened his house to the preachers, and stood identified thereafter with the growth and history of the society to the end of his days.

Years later, in 1813, after a dissolute youth and early manhood, his son Frederick was also converted, and became one of the leaders of Newark Methodism. His diary records his wide travels as a local preacher, and he was certainly identified with the opening of many chapels in the Newark circuit. His son became one of the first missionaries to Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania), and was later President of the Australian Conference.

Two facts are now clear. First, Wesley's letter was sent to John Eggleston, not to Frederick; and second, we now know how and why the letter eventually found its way to Australia. We might also add that once again it is demonstrated that contributions to our MS. Journal often have a significance which does not appear on the surface.

The "room" which Wesley opened in Newark in 1786 was in Guildhall Street. It superseded the 1776 chapel in Mill Lane, and is now a day school due to be demolished in a few years' time. EDITOR.