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# Proceedings

OF THE

# Wesley Historical Society

Editor: REV. WESLEY F. SWIFT.

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## SOME NON-WESLEYAN SERVICE BOOKS

NOTE—"Non-Wesleyan" is a convenient collective term for the following Methodist bodies, with the abbreviations which will be used throughout this article: The Methodist New Connexion (MNC), the United Methodist Free Churches (UMFC), the Bible Christians (BC), the United Methodist Church (UMC), and the Primitive Methodist Church (PM). (BCP = Book of Common Prayer, 1662.)

THE non-Wesleyan Churches of the nineteenth century had one common difference from the parent body—no liturgy was prescribed for the conduct of their services. Towards the end of the century, however, it was felt (as the Preface to the UMFC service book expresses it) "that there are certain special and solemn occasions in our Church life which ought not to be left entirely to the discretion of the minister or other presiding brethren". Accordingly, they each produced a service book for optional use, but apart from weddings and funerals and possibly Covenant services, there is little evidence that they were widely used. It was difficult, if not impossible, to break the tradition of free and spontaneous worship, especially in the Holy Communion. At the same time, a study of these books is not without interest.

In some respects this article is a companion to that written by the Rev. Wesley F. Swift on the Wesleyan service books (*Proceedings*, xxxi, pp. 112 ff.), though we are mercifully spared the tangled web of variant editions. No non-Wesleyan service book seems ever to have run into a second edition.

Again, this article must, I regret, be incomplete, for I have not seen copies of the books of the BC or the MNC. If any reader could supply copies which would enable me to complete this study I should be grateful indeed.

Marriage and burial services vary but little from one book to another. They consist largely of appropriate scripture readings and prayers.

Covenant Services also follow a recognized pattern—only the wording of the different covenants showing any variation. It is in the Orders for Baptism and the Lord's Supper that the interesting varieties occur, both as they vary from BCP and from one another. We shall deal with the service books of each Connexion separately.

### The Methodist New Connexion

The MNC never published an official service book, but in 1899 a *Handbook* was compiled by Dr. W. J. Townsend by order of Conference, and that book contained services for weddings, burials, and a Covenant Service—but no orders for Baptism or the Holy Communion. This is an omission which clearly speaks for itself. I understand, however, that several unofficial orders for the Lord's Supper were prepared for those who cared to use them.<sup>1</sup> The Covenant Service ended with "The Communion", but no instructions are given as to how it should be conducted or at what point it should begin.

### The United Methodist Free Churches

The UMFC were probably the first of the non-Wesleyans to publish an official service book. The preface to their pioneer volume states that it had long been called for by many ministers, who, without an official service book of their own, were using "similar works issued by other denominations, and not in all cases free from objectionable statements". Accordingly, the Annual Assembly of 1867 directed the Book-Room to provide such a book. The edition before me now was published while Thomas Newton was Book Steward, so its date lies between 1875 and 1883. The preface also expresses the hope that the use of such written services as are contained in the book would "not be considered as in the least degree inconsistent with that freedom and simplicity of worship which the New Testament sanctions and by which the United Methodist Free Churches are characterised". It is stated that the book is "for the use of ministers and *other brethren* [*italics mine*] who may have to preside . . .".

The six services provided are:

1. The Administration of the Lord's Supper.
2. The Baptism of Infants.
3. Matrimony.
4. Covenant Service.
5. Burial of the Dead.
6. Public Reception of Itinerant Preachers into Full Connexion.

THE LORD'S SUPPER begins with a hymn (nineteen suggestions given), followed by the narrative of institution from the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke and from 1 Corinthians. This is followed by a collection (presumably for the poor, but this is not stated), during which scripture sentences are read. It is suggested that an address might follow here with another hymn. Then the elements are distributed, and "on giving the bread, the minister may say, 'The Body

<sup>1</sup> Article by Norman Mumford in the *London Quarterly Review*, January 1951.

of the Lord Jesus Christ . . .' [as 1662]. On giving the Cup he says, 'The Blood of our Lord Jesus . . .' [as 1662]". After this the service provides passages of scripture to be read "while the Bread is being distributed". To us there seems some confusion, though no doubt those who were accustomed to the rite knew by tradition what to do. We must assume that the sentences were intended to be read while the elements were being distributed to the people in the pews, and the words of delivery from 1662 at the actual partaking of the elements. The service ends with the rubric:

It is generally found profitable, after the distribution of the Elements, to spend a few moments in silent prayer, after which, singing and prayer will appropriately conclude the Service.

THE BAPTISM OF INFANTS is extremely short, consisting only of a reading of Matthew xxviii. 19-20 and Mark x. 13-16, and a possible address, after which:

The Minister then taking the Child in his arms, should pronounce his (or her) name, and sprinkle him (or her) with water, saying, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; after which prayer may be offered.

THE COVENANT SERVICE is stated to be, "with slight variations, that which has been in use among Methodists 'from the beginning'", and consists of hymns, prayers and "Directions". At the end, "If time permit, the Lord's Supper [may be] celebrated".

THE PUBLIC RECEPTION OF ITINERANT PREACHERS claims to be "in harmony with established usage". The President conducts the service, which begins with a hymn, followed by prayer and a second hymn. The brethren are then called upon to relate their experience, and questions concerning their call to the ministry are put to them. Then:

A few words from the President, followed by singing and prayer, may conclude the Service, unless the administration of the Lord's Supper has been arranged for.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, this original UMFC service book was revised and a new one issued. The preface began almost apologetically. Forgetting for the moment Wesley's love of the liturgy, it says: "We Methodist Free Churchmen are . . . the children of John Wesley. We believe in the free individual expression of the religious life." However, it acknowledges the need for a service book in that (a) a special service for the recognition of new members was required; (b) the old Covenant Service was too long; and (c) some of the other services were "too short and slight when considered in relation to the solemnity of the occasion for which they were intended to be used". Eight services are provided:

1. The Baptism of Children.
2. The Baptism of Adults.
3. The Lord's Supper.
4. Admission into Church Fellowship.
5. The Covenant Service.

6. The Ordination Service.
7. Matrimony.
8. The Burial of the Dead.

This is the most comprehensive of the non-Wesleyan books; two services are included which are not to be found in the old book, viz. The Baptism of Adults, and Admission into Church Fellowship.

THE BAPTISM OF CHILDREN is a much fuller service than that in the old book. It requires the parents to promise that they will bring up their children in "the nurture and admonition of the Lord", and the child is baptized by sprinkling. By baptism "we recognise this child as belonging to the Lord Jesus thereby receive him into Christ's fold, that he may be instructed . . ." Prayers follow for the parents, thanksgiving for the mother, intercessions for the child, "that all evil tendencies may be corrected" in him.

THE BAPTISM OF ADULTS begins with a hymn (four suggestions are given) and prayer, followed by "an address to the congregation" which merely presents the candidate for Baptism. Then come scripture passages and an "address to the person to be baptised", after which he is asked if he renounces "all worldly and fleshly sins and all the works of the devil". He is asked if he believes in the Apostles' Creed and in the Lord Jesus Christ. After Baptism (no method specified) there is an exhortation to the person who has been baptized and he is given the right hand of fellowship. The service ends with further prayers and the Benediction.

THE FORM OF ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER commences with a hymn, followed by a prayer of thanksgiving for redemption and the opportunity of observing the sacrament. Then come the Lord's Prayer, selected portions of scripture and an address. The prepared address recalls the Incarnation and the atoning death of Christ "of which the broken bread and out-poured wine are the chosen emblems". While Christ's real presence and mysterious union with us are assured, it is prayed that he might further manifest himself to those who receive the precious symbols. The sacrament is referred to as the imperishable sign of the Communion of Saints. The final appeal of the address is to consecration and service.

"Come, Holy Ghost, Thine influence shed" (a very appropriate hymn) is then sung, and the minister distributes the elements with words identical to those in the 1662 BCP, and identical with those in the former UMFC book. As in the earlier, there is the same method (if our interpretation of the rubrics is correct) of distributing the elements while certain scripture sentences are read, and the partaking of them to words from the BCP.

Then follows silent prayer and the offering for the poor. Another hymn is suggested, and a prayer in which the words "accept, we beseech Thee, this our sacrifice" plead the acceptance of ourselves as a "living sacrifice to God". Finally, remembrance is made of absent members, those who love the Lord Jesus Christ, the universal Church, and the coming of Christ. The service ends with the Benediction.

This service lacks many features of the classic liturgies. For instance, there is no *Sursum Corda*, nor any verbal responses from the congregation. Another non-classical feature is that the offertory comes after and not in its customary place before the communion, but this alteration may have been made for theological reasons—if one can go so far as to ascribe nineteenth-century liturgical amendments to any reasons at all! Really, this UMFC Order for Communion is liturgical only in the rather loose sense that it is a “written service”; in fact, it amounts to little more than a printed form of a free service—if that is not a contradiction in terms.

THE SERVICE FOR THE RECOGNITION OF NEW MEMBERS consists mainly of hymns, prayers, scripture readings and exhortations, with “the right hand of fellowship” extended to each candidate who comes forward as his name is called out. “When deemed expedient” a card is given “as a memento of the occasion”.

THE ORDINATION SERVICE—note the word “ordination” is used, whereas in the old book it was “public reception”—is virtually unchanged from the old UMFC book. There is still no laying-on of hands, no Bible presented, and no commission given; no Lord’s Supper is suggested, as in the old book.

### **The Bible Christians**

I have not been able to get hold of a copy of the BC service book, but Norman Mumford in the article referred to above said that “a Form of Celebration of the Lord’s Supper” was prepared, and described it thus:

The service began with suitable sentences, a hymn, and one or two set prayers (or, alternatively, extempore prayer). Two passages were appointed to be read, and then the minister could either read a prepared address or deliver his own. The familiar invitation of the liturgy “Ye that do truly and earnestly repent . . .” led immediately to the distribution of the elements. The minister delivered the bread and the wine to those who were assisting him, and then while the congregation received the elements he recited passages of scripture. Prayers, a hymn, and the benediction closed the service.

### **The United Methodist Church**

In 1913 the UMC published its *Book of Services*, containing orders of service as follows:

- The Baptism of Infants.
- The Baptism of Adults.
- The Observance of the Communion.
- The Recognition of New Members.
- Covenant Service.
- The Recognition of Fully-accredited Local Preachers.
- The Public Ordination of Ministers.
- The Public Ordination of Non-ministerial Foreign Missionaries.
- The Solemnisation of Marriage.
- The Burial of the Dead.

This is quite a comprehensive list. It is the only service book before the 1936 *Book of Offices* to provide an order for the Recognition

of Local Preachers and the only Methodist book that has ever provided one for the ordination of non-ministerial missionaries.

**BAPTISM OF INFANTS.** This is quite a simple service, with an address to the parents, hymns, and scripture passages. There are no instructions as to how the act of Baptism should be performed, the rubric simply saying, "The minister shall then baptise the child". Prayers are said for the mother, for both parents, for home, and for the congregation.

**BAPTISM OF ADULTS** includes pledges and confessions to be said by the candidate, and after baptism with water, he is given the right hand of fellowship.

**THE LORD'S SUPPER** opens with scripture sentences which "may be used responsively by minister and people", the only instance of responses in the non-Wesleyan books. Then comes a hymn and the Lord's Prayer. Prayer is then offered, either extempore or according to a form provided, by "the minister or some other person". The set form is verbose and sentimental, expressing thanksgiving for life and salvation, confession of sin, intercession for those in trouble, and concluding with a reference to "the holy ones who serve Thee in a higher realm". Then follow some passages from the Gospels and Epistles, an address (on special occasions), and a hymn during which the offering is taken. The words of institution from 1 Corinthians xi. 23b-25 are recited "before the bread and wine are distributed". Then "the minister and any who may be assisting him first receive the bread and wine, which should be distributed to all partaking in the Communion". The words to be said at the delivery omit "The Body of . . ." and "The Blood of . . .", and begin: "Take eat . . ." and "Drink this . . .", reminiscent of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. Prayers of self-consecration are said, a "parting hymn" is sung, and the Benediction concludes the service.

This is a fairly complete liturgy of the Communion proper (i.e. without ante-communion), with affinities to the Presbyterian rite rather than to the Anglican.

**THE RECOGNITION OF NEW MEMBERS** is by the right hand of fellowship, and there is no direction for the Holy Communion to complete the service.

**THE COVENANT SERVICE** follows the usual pattern, but it includes the General Confession and ends with "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, beginning with the hymn immediately before the distribution".

**THE RECOGNITION OF LOCAL PREACHERS** includes an exhortation, questions to the candidate, and the presentation of a Bible as "a token and memorial of your dedication and appointment to the office of a Preacher among us and in the Churches with which you are more expressly associated". Hymns and further prayers conclude the service.

THE ORDINATION OF MINISTERS follows on much the same lines as the Recognition of Local Preachers—scripture, exhortation, questions to the candidates, and the presentation of a Bible “as a token and memorial of your commission to preach the Word of God and to discharge the duties of the Ministry amongst us and in the Churches wherever you are called to labour”. The hymn “Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire” is sung, the newly-received ministers kneel for prayer, and the service ends with the Benediction. There is no laying-on of hands and no administration of the Lord’s Supper.

THE ORDINATION OF MISSIONARIES follows a similar pattern. A Bible is given “as a token and a memorial of your separation to the work to which you have been called for the spread of the Gospel in heathen lands”.<sup>2</sup>

### The Primitive Methodist Church

The PM Church published an *Order of Administration of the Sacraments and other Services* at a date which must be post-1880. It contained orders for Baptism, Matrimony, Burial, Sacraments and the Covenant Service. It also contained an order for “Maternal Thanksgiving after child-birth”—a service which is not provided in any other Methodist book until the *Book of Offices* of 1936. Here, however, it consists of only one prayer with a few introductory rubrics.

BAPTISM OF INFANTS begins with an address to the congregation, passages of scripture and a second address to the congregation. After prayers, the child is baptized by sprinkling, and the service ends with the short prayers, “Grant . . .” and a longer prayer for the child’s future welfare.

BAPTISM OF ADULTS follows much the same pattern, with questions put to the candidate, and the minister “shall baptise him with water” (no method specified).

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD’S SUPPER begins with a “Prayer for the Church” which closely follows that of BCP except that it omits “alms and oblations” and the references to the Royal Family and ministers of the Crown. When it mentions ministers of the Gospel, it does not pray that they may “rightly and duly administer thy holy sacraments” but that “they may both by their lives and teaching show forth Thy praise . . .”, but otherwise it is as 1662. Then follow scripture passages and an exhortation. Once again 1662 is not far away, though the phrase “this holy sacrament” is changed to “this ordinance”. The Confession and Comfortable Words still keep to 1662, but the *Sursum Corda*, the Preface, and the Prayer of Humble Access are omitted. Then comes the Prayer of Consecration, which modifies the mystical, sacramental phraseology of 1662—e.g. instead of “may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood”

<sup>2</sup> I do not consider unofficial service books, such as E. F. H. Capey’s *Sanctuary Worship* (1916), to come within the scope of this article, even though this book did contain orders for Holy Communion.



it reads "may become more fully one with Him in spiritual life and fellowship". Then, rather strangely, it omits the words of institution (were they too closely associated with the manual acts and transubstantiation?) and concludes with an abbreviated form of the Prayer of Humble Access.

The service is well rubricated. It begins by directing that the minister stand "near the Table, upon which the bread and wine are placed", and that the service may begin with a hymn. At the time of the Communion it directs that the minister shall first partake himself in both kinds, then deliver the elements to the other officiating ministers, "after which, in breaking the bread to the people, he shall say" words of delivery identical with those of 1662. A post-communion prayer is taken from 1662, and the service closes with the Benediction. One cannot gather from the service itself whether the people sat in their pews to receive the elements or whether they came to the rail; on the whole, the rubrics favour the latter method.

### General comments

The Communion service in every case pre-supposes the normal Methodist morning or evening service as the ante-communion. In no case is the Communion Service visualized as a complete service in itself—but perhaps even the Wesleyans with their complete liturgy did not get so far as that in the nineteenth century.

We also note a general absence of any form of verbal responses between minister and congregation. Only the UM book suggests that certain passages of scripture might be read responsively. I suppose it was just "not done" in these bodies and it was too much for even their "liturgies" to introduce it. But this at once excluded such passages as the *Sursum Corda* from the Communion Service.

On the whole these non-Wesleyan liturgies are not well rubricated. Either everyone knew by tradition what to do, and when; or there were no hard or fast rules about doing it. For example, it is impossible to gather from the printed services whether communicants sat in their pews to receive the elements, or whether they came to the rail. Evidently unwritten laws operated here. The PM book is the best rubricated of them all, for all its services. It is also the nearest to BCP, and therefore to the Wesleyan. One cannot but feel that if Primitive Methodism had in any degree grown accustomed to its use, and indeed, if the other bodies had used their liturgies more than they did, a better alternative service would have been produced in 1936. However, it is probably because the PM order was so near to the BCP that it was so little used, and, in any case, all the non-Wesleyans preferred the freer mode of celebration.

May I conclude with another appeal to any who may know of the whereabouts of any non-Wesleyan service books—especially BC, MNC and early UMFC—to write to me.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

# BAPTISM IN THE WRITINGS OF JOHN WESLEY

(Continued from page 108)

THE next subject which must be considered is that of the relation of faith to baptism. Wesley said of the sacrament that "the outward sign, duly received, is always accompanied with the inward grace".<sup>28</sup> On the Day of Pentecost, baptism had been received in an attitude of "believing".<sup>29</sup> Writing against the Roman Catholic doctrine of the sacraments, Wesley claimed that "in order to our receiving grace, there is also required previous instruction, true repentance, and a degree of faith".<sup>30</sup> Thus, faith should be present before a man is baptized; it should be present during the administration of the sacrament, in order that a man may receive the gift of the Holy Spirit,<sup>31</sup> and after baptism, a man must live "answerable thereto",<sup>32</sup> which implies subsequent faith. Thus far, all is clear; but Wesley believed in and practised the baptism of infants, and he raises a problem in what he wrote against the Roman Catholics, since previous instruction, repentance, and faith can hardly be possessed by an infant at his baptism.

We therefore turn to consider the question of infant baptism. Wesley was convinced of the biblical grounds for the baptism of infants. He did not evade the difficulties, however; and though he tried to avoid discussion with the Anabaptists on the point,<sup>33</sup> his reason was not for fear that he would lose the argument, but because he felt that such disputations brought little positive good, and led only to a loss of Christian love between the parties. Where an Anabaptist insisted on pressing his point, Wesley could when he chose not only defend his own views but also take the initiative in argument.<sup>34</sup> Part of his certainty that infants ought to be baptized sprang from the vital link between baptism and circumcision, and his argument that the apostles practised infant baptism is worth quoting: "The Jews constantly baptized as well as circumcised all infant proselytes. Our Lord, therefore, commanded his Apostles to proselyte [sic] or disciple all nations by baptizing them, and not forbidding them to receive infants as well as others, they must needs baptize children also".<sup>35</sup> He also makes use of the argument from "households".<sup>36</sup> Besides that of apostolic practice, Wesley lays down four other grounds of infant baptism: (i) Infants are guilty of original sin; and as baptism is the ordinary means of washing this away, they need to be baptized.<sup>37</sup> (ii) Infants are capable of making a covenant, and therefore have a right to enter into the covenant of which baptism is the seal.<sup>38</sup> (iii) Infants are capable of coming to Christ, of

<sup>28</sup> *Journal*, iv, p. 365.

<sup>29</sup> *Notes on N. T.*, on Acts ii. 38.

<sup>30</sup> *Works*, x, p. 149. <sup>31</sup> *Notes on N. T.*, on Acts ii. 38. <sup>32</sup> *Works*, x, p. 192.

<sup>33</sup> *Journal*, iii, p. 360; iv, p. 229.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*, iii, p. 232.

<sup>35</sup> *Works*, x, p. 196.

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*, x, p. 197.

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*, x, p. 193.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, x, p. 193. The arguments at this point are not entirely convincing to

admission into the Church, and solemn dedication to God; and thus are the proper subjects of baptism.<sup>39</sup> (iv) Infant baptism has been the general practice of the Church in all ages.<sup>40</sup>

Grounds for the baptism of infants have been established, but still the problem of faith at the baptism of an infant has not been dealt with. Wesley will not have it that the faith of the godparents is sufficient, and he goes against what appears to be the plain meaning of the Prayer Book when he states that the godparents do not make the renunciations on behalf of the infant.<sup>41</sup> It is therefore not surprising that the godparents' promises were omitted from the 1784 and subsequent editions of the *Sunday Service*. Further, little trace if any can be found in Wesley's writings of what we now think of as the "praying church" view of faith at a baptism: though the church gathered for a baptism should pray in faith, it is not suggested that this is the faith which is essentially required at the sacrament. The most probable answer is that Wesley maintained that this faith was to be sought in the parents of the infant presented for baptism, since in the "Christian Library" he quotes (doubtless with full approval) the reply to Question 89 of the Catechism: "The infants of such as are members of the visible church are to be baptized."<sup>42</sup> Though the faith of the parents is not in this case specifically mentioned, it may be presumed. Further, this is again a link with circumcision. But even here it is not suggested that parents may possess faith *on behalf* of their children.

Yet though himself firmly convinced of the validity of infant baptism, Wesley realized that there were those who would in all conscience disagree with him. This does not seem to have troubled him deeply, for in the sermon on "the Catholic Spirit" he says: "I believe infants ought to be baptized; . . . If you are otherwise persuaded, be so still, and follow your own persuasion. . . . I have no desire to dispute with you one moment. . . . Let all these smaller points stand aside."<sup>43</sup> Christian love, overcoming the barriers between different viewpoints, was for him the most expedient thing of all.

It will be helpful to look at some of the things Wesley has to say about the administration of baptism. There is a fair amount of detail upon one aspect or another to be gleaned from his writings, but the following are the points of most interest:

(i) In his article on the *Sunday Service* already referred to, the Rev. Wesley F. Swift notes that the 1784 edition introduced the method of baptism by sprinkling water upon the infant. Mr. Swift

the twentieth-century mind; but we today can understand that an infant can be a beneficiary under a will, and it is of this kind of covenant that Wesley thinks.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, x, p. 195.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*, x, p. 197.

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.*, x, p. 508. He may be following the argument of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, to be found in Wall's *History of Infant Baptism* (edition in The Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature (no date), i, pp. 279-280); cf. *Journal*, i, pp. 115 n, 118 n, 124 n.

<sup>42</sup> Christian Library, xiv, p. 411.

<sup>43</sup> *Sermons*, ii, p. 139.

suggests that Wesley "was simply authorizing in Methodism what had become a common though irregular Anglican practice, or, on the other hand, he may have wished to relate the rite of baptism to the 'sprinkling' passages in Scripture".<sup>44</sup> Whatever may be the relation of this introduction to current Anglican practice, it is certain that Wesley thought of baptismal sprinkling as being highly significant. He claims that John the Baptist employed this method, and sees in it the figuring of the baptism of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.<sup>45</sup> Other relevant remarks are made in his *Notes* on 1 Corinthians x. 2 and Colossians ii. 12; and most probably baptism is meant when he speaks of the "open profession" of Christ in his *Notes* on Exodus xii. 7. The *Treatise on Baptism* speaks of the sprinkling of clean water upon the people, mentioned in Ezekiel xxxvi. 25, saying that the baptismal water is "only a figure of this".<sup>46</sup> For all these reasons, Wesley could not accept the contention often made to him that immersion is the only valid method of baptism.<sup>47</sup> On at least one recorded occasion, he employed different methods at the same baptismal service,<sup>48</sup> which suggests that he left this matter to the desire and conscience of the person about to be baptized.

(ii) A vexed question during much of Wesley's later life was that of who might baptize. Several of the early helpers wished to administer baptism to their people; and Wesley seems to have feared that their motives were not so much inspired by the actual pastoral needs of the societies as by a desire to arrogate to themselves the functions of the ordained clergy. He found no formal answer to this problem in the New Testament. In his *Notes* on 1 Corinthians i. 17 he sees that the apostles possessed authority to baptize, as did also some who were of lower rank in the Church. In the sermon on "The Ministerial Office" (published in 1789) he contends that the administration of the sacraments belongs to those in the pastoral office, not to those who are evangelists and teachers.<sup>49</sup> In 1745 he wrote that he would not feel it right to administer the sacraments but for the fact that he had been commissioned by "those bishops whom we apprehend to be in a succession from the Apostles".<sup>50</sup> Thus when men whose call had been solely to preach took upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, Wesley was firm in his denunciation of the practice: if persisted in, it would be taken as evidence of a desire to sever connexion with the Methodists.<sup>51</sup> Yet during 1787 he seems to have been wavering on the matter: "As we have not yet made a precedent of anyone that was not ordained

<sup>44</sup> *Proceedings*, xxix, p. 19; cf. note, where this latter suggestion is acknowledged as having been made by the Rev. A. Raymond George.

<sup>45</sup> *Notes on N.T.*, on Matt. iii. 6.

<sup>46</sup> *Works*, x, p. 191.

<sup>47</sup> Even though he felt this himself at least up to 1736, as is to be seen from the Rev. John C. Bowmer's *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism*, p. 235; and his practice during his Savannah days (cf. e.g. *Journal*, i, pp. 210-11).

<sup>48</sup> *Works*, vii, p. 276.

<sup>49</sup> *Journal*, iv, p. 302.

<sup>50</sup> *Letters*, ii, p. 55.

<sup>51</sup> *Works*, vii, pp. 277-8; *Letters*, iv, p. 235; v, p. 330; vi, p. 179; vii, pp. 203-4, 213; viii, 129.

administering baptism, it is better to go slow and sure".<sup>52</sup> However, by 1789 he had made up his mind: he would have nothing to do with lay baptism;<sup>53</sup> and thus in the sermon on "The Ministerial Office" said of the lay preachers "we received them wholly and solely to preach, not to administer sacraments".<sup>54</sup> But he seems to have been unable to convince the preachers on the point, probably because he could find no scriptural arguments which would clinch the matter with them. They felt that his main reason for arguing as he did was not Scripture but loyalty to the Church of England, to which they themselves felt they owed little allegiance.<sup>55</sup>

It is interesting, though, that Wesley held no strong opinions about re-baptism after non-episcopal baptism. In 1749 he reproached himself for "High Church zeal" in Savannah, when he had repelled from the Lord's Table Pastor John Boltzius, who had not been baptized by an episcopally-ordained minister.<sup>56</sup> In 1735, immediately before leaving for America, he had baptized a person who had received only "lay baptism" before;<sup>57</sup> and, according to his brother Charles, said of his views at that time: "If a person dissatisfied with lay-baptism should desire episcopal, I should think it my duty to administer it, after acquainting the Bishop according to the canon".<sup>58</sup> This seems to have been another case where he was willing to leave the matter to the conscience of the person concerned.

The lay preachers of Methodism may have been right in thinking that part of Wesley's refusal to allow them to administer the sacraments lay in his loyalty to the Church of England; but Wesley had another reason, this time doctrinal. He would not tolerate lay administration, "because I do not conceive there is any such necessity for it; seeing it does not appear that, if this is not at all, one soul will perish for want of it"; whereas he would allow lay preaching, "because I conceive there is an absolute necessity for it; inasmuch as, were it not, thousands of souls would perish everlastingly".<sup>59</sup> To a Baptist minister he wrote: "You think that the mode of baptism is 'necessary to salvation': I deny that even baptism itself is so; if it were, every Quaker must be damned, which I can in no wise believe."<sup>60</sup>

We have now reached the crux of the matter, and must ask what connexion Wesley drew between baptism and ultimate salvation in the kingdom of heaven. He has roundly stated that baptism is not necessary to salvation; and neither can its reception "guarantee" ultimate salvation, since it will not save unless one is "holy of heart",<sup>61</sup> and "lives answerable thereto".<sup>62</sup> Likewise, though he said in the *Treatise* that children cannot be saved "in the ordinary way", unless they are baptized,<sup>63</sup> this does leave open the possibility

<sup>52</sup> *Letters*, viii, p. 23.

<sup>53</sup> *ibid.*, viii, p. 129.

<sup>54</sup> *Works*, vii, p. 277.

<sup>55</sup> See Henry Moore: *Life of the Rev. John Wesley*, ii, pp. 339-40.

<sup>56</sup> *Journal*, iii, p. 434; cf. i, p. 370.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*, i, p. 111.

<sup>58</sup> T. Jackson: *Journal and Poetry of the Rev. C. Wesley*, i, p. 133.

<sup>59</sup> *Letters*, iii, p. 186.

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.*, iii, p. 36.

<sup>61</sup> *Journal*, ii, p. 276.

<sup>62</sup> *Works*, x, p. 192.

<sup>63</sup> *ibid.*, x, p. 193.

of an "extraordinary" way. The sovereignty of God puts Him above the need for a strict adherence to this sacrament, and this may be what Wesley conceived as the "extraordinary" way. As Charles Wesley said in some verses based on Mark xvi. 16, our Lord never declares "The unbaptized shall die".<sup>64</sup>

But though an unbaptized person may thus attain to ultimate salvation in the kingdom of heaven, that does not mean that we may disregard this sacrament. Writing of the words of John iii. 5, Wesley says that they mean that no man may enter into the kingdom of God "except he experience that great inward change by the Spirit, and be baptized, (wherever baptism can be had,) as the outward sign and means of it".<sup>65</sup> We *ought* to submit to baptism, in that it is the command of God; and a deliberate refusal to submit to this sacrament, and to live "answerable thereto", is most probably to be construed as refusal by a man to enter into covenant with God.<sup>66</sup> However, no mention is made of the position of the Quakers with regard to this point.

Ultimate salvation seems to play comparatively little part in Wesley's baptismal thought, perhaps because he was the practical evangelist who was constantly urging his hearers to a *present* experience of the kingdom of God through the new birth. Again, it cannot be denied that there is far more discussion of the new birth in his writings than there is of baptism; but this should not lead us to imagine that the sacrament was therefore at a discount in his thinking. It is a significant fact that when Wesley preaches on the new birth, he often turns to discuss baptism, and not in depreciatory terms; and this coupled with his love for the other sacrament, should point us to the important part that baptism had in the background of his thought. Baptism was an evangelical opportunity to challenge all those who had received it to go on to claim in faith all the gifts of God which were theirs by right.

BRIAN J. N. GALLIERS.

<sup>64</sup> *Poetical Works*, xi, p. 98.

<sup>65</sup> *Notes on N.T.*, on John iii. 5.

<sup>66</sup> cf. *Works*, x, p. 192.

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Methodism in the Nottinghamshire village of Sutton-on-Trent is over 140 years old. The erection of a new chapel (the third) has occasioned the publication of a souvenir brochure (pp. 12, 2s. 3d. post free from the Rev. Frank Rothwell, 75, Appleton Gate, Newark, Notts) in which Mr. Neville Bingham has told the story of this thriving cause. . . . To commemorate the centenary of the Edward Street chapel, Camborne, Dr. Beckerlegge has written a history of the society (pp. 12, 1s. 9d. post paid from the author at 66, Mount Pleasant Road, Camborne, Cornwall). The booklet bears the marks of loving labour in research. . . . *Methodism in Witheridge, 1809-1959*, by Eric P. Lucas (pp. 38, 2s. 9d. post paid from the author at 8, North Road East, Wingate, Co. Durham) is a well-documented, illustrated account of Methodism, with Bible Christian origins, in a remote Devonshire village. The society has just celebrated its third jubilee, and the present chapel its centenary.

## A "GENERAL ASSISTANT" FOR SCOTLAND

**I**N a scrap-book in our Society's Library at Wesley's Chapel I recently found a Wesley letter which, so far as I know, has not before been published. It is addressed "To Mr. Broadbent / At Mr. Wicken's, Shoemaker / Near the Castle / Oxon.", and reads as follows:

JOHN WESLEY TO JOHN BROADBENT

Newcastle  
June 2. 1784

My Dear Brother,

I expect to be at Darlington on Saturday the 12th instant, at Scarborough the 19th, at Epworth, the 26th.

You do well to preach abroad, when occasion serves, & to be exact in Discipline. I want a man (& I have been seeking him in vain these ten years) that would be so, in spite of all opposition. I have tried one, & another, & another. But all have proved deceitfull upon the weights! I want such an one to be the General Assistant in Scotland. Four of our preachers there are men after my own heart. But none of them has a *Head* for that office. I am at my wit's end. Now dare you *bestride* that Kingdom? If God calls you to it, he will give you a *Body*. Pray, and think, and let me know your mind. I am,

Your Affectionate Friend & Brother

J. WESLEY.

I have set down b[rother] Hodgson for Oxon.

Wesley's idea of a "General Assistant" for Scotland is, in the light of history, an intriguing one. In Wesley's lifetime it was never carried out, but it clearly shows Wesley's awareness of Scotland's special needs, which resulted in the following year in the ordination of "three of our well-tryed preachers . . . to minister in Scotland". At the date of this letter there were eight preachers stationed in Scotland: Joseph Pilmoor, Andrew Inglis, Joseph Saunderson, William Warrener, Duncan McAllum, Alexander Suter, Thomas Bartholomew, and John Ogilvie. Who were the four men after Wesley's own heart? Duncan McAllum (whom Wesley affectionately called the "North Star") was undoubtedly one, but the identity of the other three is anybody's guess. It is interesting to notice that of the eleven preachers eventually ordained for Scotland, only McAllum and Suter appear in the above list.

The recipient of the letter, John Broadbent, was a Leeds man who was "called out" in 1772. He became a supernumerary in 1792, settled at Frome in Somerset, and died in November 1794, at the age of 43. His obituary in the *Minutes* says that "during the last years of his life, his constitution was exceedingly debilitated", whilst Charles Atmore in his *Methodist Memorial* refers to Broadbent as "having naturally a weak constitution". Either God did not call him to Scotland, or did not "give him a *Body*"; but this new letter affords a belated recognition of the fact that, though Broadbent has left no permanent mark on our history, he stood exceedingly high in Wesley's esteem,<sup>1</sup> and, but for circumstances over which he had no control, might well have altered the course of Methodism in Scotland.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

<sup>1</sup> Despite the fact that Wesley described him as a "screamer" in the pulpit, and his handwriting as that of a "scrawler"! (*Letters*, vi, p. 308, and vii, p. 391.)

## THE COLLOQUIAL ELEMENT IN THE ENGLISH OF WESLEY'S "JOURNAL"

[This is the second of four articles by the Rev. George Lawton on the use of colloquialisms and slang in Wesley's writings. The first, dealing with the *Letters*, was printed in *Proceedings*, xxxii, pp. 5-11, 25-33.—EDITOR.]

The chief authorities used for this study are: Wesley's *Journal* (Standard edition); Wesley's *Letters* (Standard edition); Wesley's *Works* (third edition, 1829); the *Oxford English Dictionary* (quoted as *O.E.D.*); the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (quoted as *S.O.E.D.*); Dr. Samuel Johnson: *A Dictionary of the English Language*; Wright's *Dialect Dictionary*; Farmer and Henley's *Slang and its Analogues*; Eric Partridge's *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (quoted as Partridge).

WESLEY prepared his *Journal* for the press, but wrote it largely in the unconventional style of spoken English. Its colloquial element, though not so great as that of the *Letters*, is an important factor in the effectiveness of the work as the Apologia of Methodism. Some of its colloquial expressions, slang terms, and items of dialect, have special interest for the lexicographer. A living language is always galvanized in times of deep feeling. The study of the language of the Revival throws many sidelights on eighteenth-century history. Wesley himself, when studied in this light, is seen to be very much the man of his age, and very much the man who could stand apart from his age. He has something to say which is fundamental, but often unpalatable. For the most part he says it in the language of the wayfaring man, without vulgarity of course, but without polish except that of native genius, quick wit, and good breeding.

### I

The terms and phrases noticed in this section are all common to the *Journal* and the *Letters*. The *Journal* instances are here commented upon because they are clearer than the others, or because they have additional interest.

Dean Swift did his utmost to abolish the term "mob" (mobb). Wesley used it hundreds of times, and often before it had attained respectability (e.g. *Journal*, ii, p. 304). The participial "mobbing" was slang for still longer. It is found in *Journal*, iii, p. 470. On page 240 of the same volume Nelson speaks of "mobbers", a rare term which the *S.O.E.D.* does not give. Elsewhere Wesley writes of "brother mob" (*Journal*, iii, p. 47), where the adjective has a slangy flavour. The phrase "King-mob", i.e. the personification of mobrule, occurs in *Works*, xi, p. 36, and elsewhere.

There are several references in the *Letters* to the "flowery-language" of his opponents. One place in the *Journal* (ii, p. 474) makes it quite clear that the term connoted vulgar abuse, for in this way Wesley satirizes the ugly names which Calvin called Servetus.

In some quarters the Methodists were nicknamed "New Lights",



and the term later attained dictionary status. Nevertheless, the *Journal* (iv, p. 179) makes it quite clear that for Wesley, in 1756, the "New-Light Men" were not Methodists at all.

The colloquial phrase "hard-mouthed" (cf. *Letters*, v, p. 86) has a parallel in the common term "hard-faced", i.e. unfeeling or insolent. Wesley's encounter with the ruffian Griffiths evokes the description "a clumsy, overgrown, hard-faced man". That is factual, no doubt, but the language has a slangy ring about it in this context (*Journal*, iii, p. 460).

The colloquial use of the term "blessed" crops up, unexpectedly perhaps, here and there in Wesley's writings (e.g. *Letters*, vii, p. 291). Two instances occur in the *Journal*. In the first (v, p. 295) it is associated with scurrility and inhumanity. In the second (vi, p. 110) it alludes to the inefficiency and indolence of the governors of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews. The irony in Wesley's tone is unmistakable in his quip "Are they all fast asleep?"

Nondescript slang phrases like "good sort" and "good woman" occur in the *Journal* as in the *Letters*. Grose in his *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* gives the form "good men", and this is found exactly in *Journal*, ii, p. 325, where it is clear why Wesley repudiates the "good sort" ideal. The phrase "good woman" occurs half a dozen times, and its nondescript nature is indicated by the parenthesis "so called" (*Journal*, iii, p. 68). In one place (iv, p. 236) we find the phrase "good sort of woman" in italics. Some consider that to italicize a colloquialism is a mental and a moral weakness. Wesley often does it. The familiar term "goody", of a matron, was occasionally used by Wesley in his early ministry (*Journal*, i, p. 450, and 453 diary). When thus used by a stiff young clergyman it approximates towards the slang of a social superior. In spite of his condemnation of "good sort", he drops sometimes into the colloquial use himself (e.g. *Journal*, v, p. 27).

Another instance of Wesley's italics is seen in *Journal*, v, p. 194—"small friends". This reference is given as an instance under "friend" in the *O.E.D.* The "small friend" was in fact an enemy. Akin to this slang use of the word is the phrase "our friends the mob" (v, p. 244), where Wesley humorously alludes to one of his oldest enemies.

The colloquial use of the term "face" meaning insolence, and of the allied "face me down", can be illustrated from the *Letters* and the *Journal* (e.g. vii, p. 332). In one place he has dropped into dialect and written "threaping him down" (vi, p. 232). Curnock has added a footnote to say that "threap" was used by Scott and Carlyle. The phrase "threap me down", i.e. "rude insistence", is given by Halliwell as an archaic Lincolnshire phrase. It has the robustness of Samuel Wesley about it, and it may well be right out of John's childhood.

The colloquial words and phrases common to the *Letters* and *Journal* could be illustrated at length. Those in the ensuing list all have

interest: "bawled out" (*Journal*, vi, p. 526); "beforehand" (of money—vii, p. 465); "at the bottom of" (v, p. 5, etc.); "by-and-by" (v, p. 430)—the extremely colloquial "by-the-by" which occurs in the *Letters* is not used in the *Journal*; "coxcomb" (v, p. 242, etc.); "croakers" (iv, p. 370); "drop", i.e. separate from or get rid of people (iii, p. 18, etc.); "had it out", i.e. attempt to settle a dispute (vi, p. 443)—a hint that Partridge's date for this colloquialism (1850) is too late; "palm upon" (v, p. 257); "pit"—prison slang (iv, p. 416); "pretty"—particularly the adverb (frequent, e.g. i, p. 165, diary, and viii, p. 74); "quacks" (vi, p. 325); "run down", i.e. disparage (v, p. 400); "set him on", i.e. encourage one to misbehave (iii, p. 482); "set on", i.e. make a victim of (iii, p. 464); "sick of" (vi, p. 427); "poor tools"—watchmen (iii, p. 224); "women of the town"—originally thieves' cant, euphemistic for prostitutes (vi, p. 425, etc.).

## II

A constant feature of Wesley's style is his free use of proverbs. Many contemporary writers considered this practice to be low. Here we are concerned only with those proverbs which were slang or colloquial when Wesley wrote.

Eighteenth-century speech was often coarse. Wesley frequently referred to this in the phrase "Billingsgate" or "Billingsgate language" (cf. *Journal*, iii, p. 460 and v, p. 142). Along with this went boorishness and hooliganism, which Wesley often portrays by using the names of animals. Several times he writes of behaviour at preaching as like a "bear garden" (e.g. iv, p. 350 and vi, p. 200). Sometimes individuals are called "bears" (e.g. v, p. 37). In this context there is a reference to some who were nicknamed "lambs". Wesley, hinting at this local derisive term, makes vivid and unconventional play upon the words "lambs" and "bears". The "lambs", i.e. difficult, fanatical Methodists, give him more trouble than the "bears", i.e. members of the rough crowd.

Human attitudes and situations are frequently hit off in proverbial phrases of a colloquial character. Preaching for the first time in a place (where, we gather, the "atmosphere" was cool) he calls "breaking the ice" (v, p. 187). The need for confidence in the leaders of Methodism is mentioned in *Journal*, vi, p. 301. Wesley says: "I desire to do all things openly and above board." Here he has dignified the colloquial figure somewhat, and the reference could be used to illustrate Partridge's remark that occasionally the phrase achieves Standard English. The figure is derived from card-sharpping for money. A society on the edge of peril is spoken of as "just escaped with the skin of their teeth" (iv, p. 86). On page 358 of the same volume the figure is rendered as a simile. In the latter half of Wesley's lifetime it fell from Standard English (it is a biblical figure) into a colloquialism. When he doubts the veracity of a writer he lets out his impatience in the remark "[his] word I will not take for a straw" (vii, p. 241)—usually "not worth a straw". A

good example of the case where a colloquialism is far more expressive of feeling and thought than conventional terms is found in *Journal*, ii, p. 244, where he speaks of "those who have one foot in the grave".

Partridge's *Dictionary of Slang* gives Wesley's *Journal* (v. p. 130) as a literary instance of the proverb "Every bullet has its billet". Wesley traces this "odd saying", as he calls it, to King William. Here is the human Wesley, not a precise theologian, taking a slang term which has had analogies in many periods of war, to express a popular idea of providence.

A common proverb conveying the notion of dependability and helpfulness in an emergency ran: "A friend will help at a dead lift". The phrase "help at a dead lift" was also used in a not too complimentary way of individuals who were frequently called to "stand in", as we say. It is in this sense that Wesley uses it of the nerves upon which, then as now, the physician often fell back to explain what was otherwise inexplicable (v, p. 81). "Welsh miles", as everybody knows, are indeterminate and long. Twice in the *Journal* Wesley uses this colloquialism (iii, pp. 76, 457): Upon this figure he has patterned others, e.g. "Northern miles" (iii, p. 81), "a little mile" (iv, p. 256), "old mile" (iv, p. 175). Three other phrases, though signifying geometrical reality, viz. "measured miles", "computed miles", and "German miles" (ii, p. 47), all have a similar ring as Wesley uses them.

### III

Every virile movement creates its own slang, and we should expect to find instances of this fact in Wesley's writings. Under this heading we shall notice a score or so of such terms which appear in the *Journal*.

The nicknames which accrue to men and movements often tell more than the names. A list of Wesley's nicknames would be interesting. We know that he was called "Pope John", and "the little pope". The earliest nicknames of the Oxford band—"Holy Club", (i, p. 94—italics), "Godly Club" (i, p. 99), etc.—reflect the colloquial raillery against anything too religious. The term "holy" in particular had slangy associations long before Wesley's day. The terms "Bible-bigot" and "Bible-moth" are allied to a group of slang terms which contain the word "Bible" as part of a compound.

The nickname "Methodist" rose in the world of words until it became honourable Standard English. Traces of its colloquial origin long remained, and indeed are sometimes heard today. Wesley reports having heard the form "Methodee" in Mevagissey (iv, p. 78). He reports another Cornish way of referring to Methodists, viz. "Macabee" (iii, p. 537). This may be a localized term: it is not given in Wright's *Dialect Dictionary*.

Wesley tells of hearing himself called "the Canorum" in Cornwall (iii, p. 189). The term he describes as "an unmeaning word

which the Cornish generally use instead of Methodist". Wright gives this nickname with a variety of spellings, and an instance of the term's use in doggerel dated 1780. Wesley's *Journal* instance must be one of the earliest if not the first on record—1745. Wright offers no etymology. Curnock suggests that the word is derived from "canor", Cornish for singer. If this is correct, it is odd that Wesley, who was a Latin scholar, and a man who would know the Standard English word "canorous", i.e. melodious or musical, should call the dialect term "unmeaning".

The *Journal* gives the origin of the slang term "swaddler" (iii, p. 472). The adjective "swaddling" is found elsewhere (e.g. iv, p. 271). It was also used adverbially. For about one hundred and fifty years it was frequently used. According to Partridge, the colloquialism was not quite dead even in the early years of the present century.

The last term to be considered in this group of Methodist nicknames is "Culamite". The *Dialect Dictionary* gives the term as meaning a "Wesleyan of the New Connexion, or an opprobrious term for a dissenter, an over-serious person . . . said to have been originally Kilhamite, from Mr. Alexander Kilham". Now how could Wesley write of the "Culamites" nineteen years before Kilham was born? By an odd coincidence, writing a term he had heard only, he spelt thus a word which should have been written "Culeymites" (iii, p. 61).

The *Journal* mentions a fanatical local sect known as "the Jumpers" (e.g. vi, p. 37). This obvious and jocular application of the term has qualified for a place in the *S.O.E.D.* as Standard English. This is a surprise. The date given is 1774, probably on the strength of this very *Journal* reference. Wesley refers to this effect of religious experience eleven years earlier (v, p. 27). Here is an interesting example of how speedy may be the process whereby a term becomes standardized. But some will feel that the *S.O.E.D.* has telescoped it somewhat in this case.

We turn now to the wider field of religious slang. When Wesley desires to convey some idea of Lutheran pulpit dress he says that this was "a sort of pudding-sleeve gown" (ii, p. 21). That is no ecclesiastical tailor's catalogue description. The term "pudding-sleeve" was, in fact, already on its way to becoming a slang expression for a clergyman.

Although he scrutinizes religious terms in controversy, Wesley is no pedant. In speaking of the baptism of an over-scrupulous preacher as being "dipped", capping it with an exclamation mark, he drops into a colloquialism. Plainly the language of the Prayer Book is being used in a way far removed from the spirit of that book (v, p. 165).

A colloquialism can sometimes express in a sentence what takes a volume to work out. Wesley's doctrines of Man and Sin appear at length in the Treatise on Original Sin. A *Journal* entry reads thus (iv, p. 248): "I talked with one who had been a mighty good Christian

for near 70 years", i.e. from her baptism, but who had no experience of divine forgiveness. The term "mighty" is noteworthy on two counts: first, Dr. Johnson deplored it as being overworked and low; secondly, in extension of Partridge's point that its slang use is an adverb conveying irony in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Wesley imbues it, here an adjective, with similar feeling.

The term "seal", religious jargon for a "convert", is to be dated, states Partridge, from about 1850. It is, he says, "of the slang slangy". Phrases like "set to one's seal" were common in the song and speech of Methodism, and do not incur this condemnation. There are several places in the *Journal* where the word "seal" jars upon the sensitive ear, though neither is Wesley's own. One relates the account of a dying minister who cried out to his assembled flock: "May I have some seals among you" (iv, p. 165). Elsewhere we read of "a sealed prayer". It occurs in one of Charles Wesley's letters, which is referred to in a footnote in John's *Journal* (v, p. 182). The former takes us back a hundred years beyond Partridge's date.

Wesley is usually fair and charitable when speaking of Roman Catholics. It seems out of keeping, therefore, that he should speak of a place of worship as a "mass-house" (iv, p. 394). It is possible that the term is not derogatory, as he uses it, i.e. it is strictly in line with his term for a Methodist chapel—"preaching-house". But "mass-house" is a protestant term, and was nearly always contemptuous.

An early *Journal* reveals the difficulties which Wesley had with his parishioners. For example, there was an enraged couple who threatened to "uncase John and Charles" (i, p. 261). It is almost inevitable that it should be taken to mean "unfrocking", and Cur-nock has added a note to that effect. This is at least doubtful. There is no evidence from the dictionaries that "uncase" was used for "unfrock". The Standard English meaning as given, for example, by Dr. Johnson and the *S.O.E.D.* does not relate to the technical "unfrocking" of a clergyman. By Wesley's time suggestions of undressing were archaic, and only the ideas of flaying (fig.) and exposing remained. This was almost certainly how Wesley understood the word, for he would not have said "the sooner the better" of unfrocking. Again, a layman would be more likely to say "I'll have you uncased" if unfrocked was meant. Unless the term is unrecorded slang, it must be said that since Milton's day the word for the deprivation of a clergyman was "unfrock". The meaning here is that Wesley's enemies think they have something which they can expose. He, clear in conscience, tells them to get on with it. "Uncase", in this context and with this meaning, has a very rough sound.

Religion puts its own emphasis upon language. Terms like "moral-men" (i, p. 463 (*italics*), etc.) readily become jargon. Some people tried to be "moral-men" or "men-of-the-world" and Methodists at the same time. Wesley calls these "trimmers" (e.g. ii, p.

165). At the end of the seventeenth century a "trimmer" was "one neither Whigg nor Tory, a hater of Anti-Christ, an Abominator of Enthusiasm". It also meant "to cheat", and it developed a colloquial meaning in connexion with the ring. It was therefore a good term for those who nimbly attempted the religiously impossible, and who were despicable for so doing. The followers of Zinzendorf are charged with a similar spirit, only the colloquial phrase used of them is that "they take the colour . . . of any that are near them" (iii, p. 504).

"Hot" is a word which enters into many slang compounds. When Wesley writes of "hot" preaching (iv, p. 158), "hot" predestinarians (iv, p. 292), and "as hot a place in hell" (iii, p. 318), he is very much in tune with the vulgar tongue.

Finally under this heading may be noticed the phrase "good time"—part of the technical terminology of Methodism, as we might say. It occurs as early as 1735 of a satisfying ministerial duty (i, p. 114, diary). The phrase is inevitable, and one more illustration of Wesley's readiness to set his stamp on anything he wishes to use. It often related to pleasure, and sometimes to coarse pleasure, but Partridge thinks that in these senses it fell out of use during the eighteenth century and revived about 1850. GEORGE LAWTON.

(To be continued)

## WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

### Financial Statement for the year ended 30th June 1960

RECEIPTS.	£ s. d.	PAYMENTS.	£ s. d.
Balance in hand, 30th June 1959 . . . . .	193 19 2	Printing of <i>Proceedings</i> (4 issues) . . . . .	223 18 9
Subscriptions and Donations		Postages and Stationery . . . . .	53 9 4
General . . . . .	238 12 6	Secretarial and Editorial Expenses . . . . .	19 6 2
New Life Members (8) . . . . .	58 16 0	Lecturer's Honorarium . . . . .	7 7 0
Irish Branch . . . . .	21 14 0	To Library Fund . . . . .	10 0 0
Share of Lecture Collection . . . . .	2 13 0	Sundries . . . . .	14 0 0
War Stock Dividend . . . . .	7 15 6	Bank Charges . . . . .	2 13 1
		Balance in hand, 30th June 1960 . . . . .	206 1 10
	£523 10 2		£523 10 2

### Balance Sheet

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
Subscriptions in advance . . . . .	228 1 6	War Stock (at cost) . . . . .	225 0 0
Life Members—		Cash in hand—Treasurer . . . . .	87 19 5
71 at (say) £3 13s. 6d. each . . . . .	260 18 6	Registrar . . . . .	118 2 5
		Advertising (amount due) . . . . .	4 0 0
		Back numbers of <i>Proceedings</i> , Library, Filing Cabinet, etc. unvalued	

SYDNEY WALTON, *Treasurer*.

JOHN F. MILLS, *Auditor*.

6th July 1960.

## THE ANNUAL MEETING AND LECTURE

MR. HERBERT IBBERSON was appointed Treasurer of the Wesley Historical Society in 1935. Three years later, at the Hull Conference of 1938, he followed up the happy idea of inviting members of the Society to tea before the Annual Meeting. If I may reminisce, aided by a perusal of Dr. A. W. Harrison's minutes of those meetings, I am the sole survivor of the ten members who attended the 1937 Annual Meeting, which was my first such function, as an ordinand. At the 1938 Annual Meeting, however, which I was also able to attend, as it was in my home town, there were twenty-seven members present. Although one or two later meetings fell back to the old level as regards numbers and activity, there is little doubt that the Annual Tea inaugurated by Mr. and Mrs. Ibberson in 1938 has been a major factor in raising the Annual Meeting to the state of vigorous life which it continues to enjoy. Once again this year, at the Princes Avenue chapel, Liverpool, on Wednesday, 6th July, we partook of Mrs. Ibberson's hospitality at the tea-table, and in her absence tribute was paid to her generosity in wishing to continue this service to the Society just as Mr. Ibberson himself would have done.

### Business Meeting

In the absence of our President, the Rev. John J. Perry was called to the chair, and guided us efficiently through a very full agenda. The Financial Statement prepared by the Hon. Auditor (see page 165), together with his comments thereon, was discussed at some length. Those present agreed that although there was no need for panic, something must be done to stabilize our economy, so that the printing of *Proceedings* should no longer be paid for out of subscriptions paid in advance. In particular, even those of us who had set our faces against any rise in the ordinary membership subscription felt that the time had come for this to be increased to 10s. We trust that all members will continue to subscribe, realizing withal that they are getting very good value for their money. (We hope also that they will help to recruit new members.)

Pursuing suggestions made in the last Annual Meeting, discussions in the Executive, and proposals printed in the *Proceedings* for March and June, the Annual Meeting made, by the necessary two-thirds majority, the following amendments to the Constitution :

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

Honorary Membership—Annual Subscription	...	10s. (\$1.75)
Five-yearly Subscription	...	£2 (\$6.00)
Life Membership	... ..	£10 10s. (\$30.00)
Associate Membership (without receipt of <i>Proceedings</i> or use of Library)	... ..	... 2s. 6d. (\$0.50)

Libraries and kindred societies may receive the *Proceedings* for an annual subscription of 10s. (\$1.75).

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 the Rules approved by the Annual Meeting of the Society. Readers'

tickets valid for one year shall be obtainable by non-members at the discretion of the Librarian at a cost of 10s. (\$1.75).

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.

Other items may be summarized: The Registrar reported a total membership of 735, a net increase of nineteen during the year. The Treasurer, Mr. Sydney Walton, was cordially thanked for his offer to prepare, print, and distribute some brochures about the Society. The Editor reported plenty of material on hand, but from too few contributors. The General Index to the *Proceedings*, volumes i-xxx, will be published shortly, price 21s. The Rev. John C. Bowmer will deliver the lecture in 1961, on "The Lord's Supper in Later Methodism". (Mr. Bowmer, as MS. Journal Secretary, will be glad to hear of any who are interested in contributing to the MS. Journal, now beginning its rounds again.)

The Officers were all thanked and reappointed, with the addition of the Rev. Thomas Shaw as Assistant Secretary. The Editor wished "God-speed!" to the Secretary, who would be serving for a year as Associate Professor of Church History at Duke University, North Carolina.

### The Annual Lecture

Owing to sudden illness, Bishop Ferdinand Sigg was unable to preside at the Annual Lecture as we had hoped, and all our members will join in wishing him complete recovery. In his absence the Rev. Wesley F. Swift took the chair, and commented on the fact that we were making history that evening by welcoming as our lecturer an Anglican clergyman—indeed one who had been for a time vicar of the parish in which we were assembled, as well as at an earlier period the assistant curate at Madeley.

The Rev. George Lawton drew richly both on his personal knowledge of Madeley and on his exhaustive researches into John Fletcher's writings as he spoke on "Shropshire Saint: a study in the ministry and spirituality of Fletcher of Madeley". First he enabled us to visualize Madeley itself, set in an agricultural area, yet in Fletcher's day an increasingly important agricultural centre, with riches in iron, coal, and wood. He sketched in the life-story of Fletcher, concentrating particularly on anecdotes and characteristic sayings which made him a living and romantic figure. We were enabled to see through Mr. Lawton's eyes the four-square vicarage, built of brick on sandstone foundations, with its two tiny rooms on either side of a passage on each of its three floors. Fletcher's church was rebuilt in 1796, and Mr. Lawton made both the former and the present building take shape for us.

The lecturer stressed Fletcher's great personal qualities, and gave examples of his literary skill and power, and of his synthesis of Methodism and Anglicanism. Time forbade a careful assessment of Fletcher's spirituality, except for Mr. Lawton's noteworthy tribute that he personally had received more spiritual stimulation by his study of John Fletcher than during the rest of his spiritual pilgrimage.

The printed lecture was not available at the time of the meeting, but is now ready, its publication coinciding in fact with the bicentenary of Fletcher's induction to Madeley in October 1760. It is larger than most of our lectures, and costs 15s.

FRANK BAKER.



## JOHN WESLEY'S THEOLOGY TODAY

DR. COLIN WILLIAMS, an Australian who, after studying and teaching in America, is now teaching in Melbourne, has written an important book on Wesley's theology.<sup>1</sup> It is widely assumed in ecumenical circles that the strength of Methodism lies in organization and fellowship rather than in theology. This was not true of our founder, though many have underestimated his merits as a theologian, and it is only partly true of Methodism today. It is fairer to say that we are not very effectively making the distinctive contribution which our denominational tradition entitles us to make, and that ecumenical encounter ought to shame us into taking more pride in our tradition than we have sometimes taken. Of course the investigation of denominational tradition is not an end in itself; our own tradition itself insists that it must be brought under the judgement of the "one book"; and, wherein the denominational tradition proves to be sound, it is something not to be hoarded, but to be contributed. We do not show Wesley's "Catholic Spirit" by a rigid confessionalism. It is in this admirable spirit that Professor Williams very properly sets out to consider the nature of our contribution.

We all know of course roughly on which topics our distinctive emphasis rests. They are not very popular topics outside Methodism today; the very welcome re-discovery of the doctrine of the Church has swung theological thought away from the individual. It is all the more necessary that we should bear our witness and supply a much-needed supplement or indeed corrective to some of the things that are said elsewhere. Thus we naturally have chapters on such familiar themes as experience, prevenient grace, the new birth and assurance, and Christian perfection. Quite rightly, there are also chapters on those great doctrines where our emphasis is less distinctive, such as the atonement and eschatology. Curiously, there is no chapter on christology, though a little is said about it under atonement. The publication of John Deschner's *Wesley's Christology* will serve to fill this gap. [This book will be reviewed in an early issue of the *Proceedings*.—EDITOR.]

But the new interest in the Church need not be excluded, and the book is true to Wesley himself in giving more attention to ecclesiastical topics than some theologies of Wesley have done. Thus the chapter on new birth and assurance contains a passage on baptism; a section on the means of grace appears, a little awkwardly, in the chapter on repentance in believers; there is a chapter on the Church, which includes an account of the Lord's Supper; and there is an interesting appendix entitled "The unresolved tension; truth and unity; Wesley's doctrine of the Church and Ministry as seen in the history of his relation to the Church of England"; this concludes with an opinion on the line which Methodism should take in current reunion negotiations.

In general the book is well done. It cannot of course replace those works which, because they are concerned with a limited field, are able to treat it in greater detail, such as Dr. Lindström on perfection, Dr. Rattenbury on the eucharistic hymns, or Mr. Thompson on ordination. Often one wishes that some subject could have received fuller treatment. But as an introduction to the whole subject, both for Methodists and others, the book will be most useful. It is to some extent dominated by two phrases, Professor

<sup>1</sup> *John Wesley's Theology Today*, by Colin W. Williams. (Epworth Press, pp. 252, 21s.)

Rupp's "optimism of grace" and Bonhoeffer's disapproval of "cheap grace". The insight which had led the author to emphasize these themes is shown in many penetrating judgements throughout the book.

Some criticism might be made of the treatment of perfection. Dr. Williams rightly sees that Wesley worked with two definitions of sin, one the famous phrase about "a voluntary transgression of a known law", another which relates sin more objectively to the perfect law of God. A man might avoid sin by the former, not by the latter standard. Our author does not make it entirely clear that perfection is to be set somewhat higher than this. It is the privilege of every Christian not to commit sin, that is, presumably, voluntary transgression; but, according to Sermon XXXV, there is a stage beyond this: he that is strong in the Lord is freed also from evil thoughts and tempers, though not from ignorance, mistake, infirmities or temptations. It is thus overlooked, as by many authors, that Wesley's notion of perfection is something intermediate between that inadequate notion which his Pelagian definition of sin would suggest and that exalted notion which he rightly admitted to be impossible in this life. In fact the much-criticized definition, wrong as it would have been if it had been his whole account of sin, was used only in a particular context to exclude involuntary transgression, and did not influence his view of sin or perfection as much as has often been supposed.

On the vexed subject of ordination, Dr. Williams has thrown light on the Erasmus incident by quoting a writer Tsoumas, who has written an article in a periodical which probably few Methodists before our author have noticed. His account of the theological significance of the American episcopacy (pp. 233-4) takes into account considerations which are too often overlooked by our current "orthodoxy". At page 147, note 13, he is not quite fair in his summary of Simon's article in these *Proceedings*, ix, pp. 145-54. Certainly Henry Moore, who was ordained presbyter, thought that he was meant to continue the succession, but Simon did not use the phrase "regular presbyteral succession", and refers with equal emphasis to the views of Pawson and Myles that Mather was ordained Bishop or Superintendent. The subject recurs at page 236, where "Rankin" (the second occurrence on the page) is presumably a mistake for "Mather". On page 239 the statement that ordinations were not resumed till 1836 is too strong; quite apart from the theory that reception into full connexion was virtually ordination, there were exceptions, in which ordination was performed by imposition of hands, usually for men going overseas.

On page 63 the spelling "solafidean" seems to be an innovation; on page 168 "gloria" is a mistake for "gloriæ". As the book has been reproduced in this country by lithography the Epworth Press must not be blamed for the slipshod appearance given to it by the wholesale omission of the accents and other marks which should appear over certain well-known foreign names. In the bibliography there is a mistake in the initials of the late Dr. A. W. Harrison, and the Rev. John Lawson is wrongly split into two men. Apart from these trivial errors the bibliography is on sound lines, but in the Primary Sources it omits the *Sunday Service* and the *Minutes*, both of which have important passages not in the *Works*, and the author does not appear, in the secondary sources, to have made much use of the abundant articles in periodicals.

By this book Dr. Williams has established himself as a leading figure in Methodist scholarship, and we hope that this work will be followed by many others.

A. RAYMOND GEORGE.

## BOOK NOTICES

*Howell Harris's Visits to London*, transcribed and edited by Tom Beynon. (pp. x. 289, 12s. 6d., obtainable from the Rev. Tom Beynon, Llwynarel, Penparcau, Aberystwyth.)

This publication of further portions of the Howell Harris documents is cause for rejoicing. The editor, the Rev. Tom Beynon, has given a lifetime to the study of the Harrisian literature, and is deserving of high commendation for both his past publications in this field and for this present volume.

The material selected for this book relates largely to fourteen of the visits Harris made to London. His work there was mainly that of superintendent of Whitefield's Tabernacle while the evangelist was in America, but in the capital he had many associations with all the prominent people of the revival. He was a mediator between the varying elements of Methodism and Moravianism, and John and Charles Wesley, Lady Huntingdon, John Cennick, and many lesser-known individuals were among his daily contacts. He jotted down his observations on personalities and events, and thus provides a unique account of the inner workings of the movement.

But valuable as this book is in the main, it has one chief fault. There is always the danger, in making a few selections from a mass of material, that those chosen will tell an incomplete story, and that the half-truth will create the untruth, and that is what has unwittingly happened here. For instance, on pages 58, 59 and 65, Harris has accepted as true some tales of scandal regarding Charles Wesley, and the editor should here have appended a note concerning his proven innocence. He had previously indicated (p. 27) that Charles was the object of false accusations, but the reader is not likely to connect the two separate statements, and much hurt could be done to the character of Charles by the unexplained publication of the charges.

Harris also makes accusations against Whitefield, and they too are presented here in such a way as to give the impression they are true. In 1751 and 1752 Harris peevishly complains that his erstwhile friend has discontinued the former intimacy, and now treats him with coldness, and as the editor has failed to make even the slightest hint as to the real circumstances in the matter, Whitefield is made to appear as a heartless ingrate. The fact is that in 1750 Harris came under the spell of a strange woman, Madam Griffith; he looked upon her as a prophetess, took her to live in his home at Trevecka, and had her accompany him on his evangelistic journeys, and plainly stated that he was waiting for his own wife to die in order that he might marry her. His claim that there was nothing actually immoral in their association is readily accepted, but their behaviour was very unwise and brought reproach and ridicule upon the whole revival; and all the leaders of the movement, both in Wales and England, found it necessary to dissociate themselves from him. But he came up to London again (Madam Griffith came to the city at the same time), and expected Whitefield to have him preach as formerly, and finding he was no longer accepted here either, wrote these complaining notes in his diaries. For twelve years Harris was out of the revival work, but perhaps there is some mitigation of his unusual actions in the remembrance that during a mob assault upon one of his meetings in 1748 he had received "a prodigious blow on the head", and that his behaviour seemed strange from that time on.

Read with this background in mind, this book provides a wealth of unique historical information.

ARNOLD A. DALLIMORE.

*Shropshire Saint: A study in the Ministry and Spirituality of Fletcher of Madeley*, by George Lawton. The Wesley Historical Society Lectures, No. 26. (Epworth Press, pp. xviii. 136, 15s.)

We badly need a scholarly life of Fletcher of Madeley: one which shall give an accurate account of his birth, life and death; a factual biography: one which shall set accurately within the controversial context the precise significance of his *Checks to Antinomianism* and explain, incidentally, why Jabez Bunting was wisely cautious about them; one which shall make out the case for his sanctity concretely and without the usual chorus of rapture, and which will carefully define his piety in relation to Protestant sanctity, to Catholic spiritual theology, and to Anglican mysticism of the Underhill school. So much do we need such a study that I have to try hard not to blame Mr. Lawton for not giving us what he never intended to give. For his is an act of piety, by one admirably sensitive to Fletcher as Anglican and Methodist, and he writes throughout with a disarming and pleasing modesty. He takes it for granted that we will read the anecdotes in the older biographies, and dips into his bag of facts but sparingly (he tells us intriguingly that Fletcher was ordained deacon and priest in the space of eight days by different diocesan bishops—but why not tell us “Where?”, “When?”, “By whom?”).

The opening chapters are the most successful, and the portrait of Fletcher as a parish priest and as one of those Methodist preachers who added to the other four grand possessives “Our” Liturgy is well done and worth returning to. The chapter on his literary vocation is evidently a hobby of Mr. Lawton, and it is none of mine, so that I do not feel very qualified to pronounce on the importance of the number of times in which Fletcher’s use of words gets into the *Oxford Dictionary*. It may really all be just as he says, though a sceptic might wonder whether it is enough simply to treat Fletcher alone like this, and what a comparison with Doddridge or Henry or Haweis or Grimshaw or Newton would yield—and what really it would amount to?

The chapter on Fletcher as “Christian Thinker” is an interesting essay, and there are many poppies in this cornfield worth the plucking. But an historical student or a theologian must find it all too nebulous, too unrelated to the context of the time and to the not unimportant circumstances of the crises of the Calvinistic controversy and the Methodist situation for which the *Checks to Antinomianism* were written. Here is the one theological work of original Methodism which was put alongside the hymns of Charles and the writings of John Wesley as in some sense normative of the Methodist position, but it is left unexplained and uncriticized.

The chapter on Fletcher as spiritual director contains ample material of value, and good things wisely, wittily and elegantly said, but perhaps again it is too impressionistic, too vague where it needs to be precise. The modern Christian needs the anecdotes, and they ought not all to relate to his statements about prayer. There is one blast of fresh air let into the statement by Charles Wesley, “He is (I know and he knows) a mule by nature.” So often Fletcher seems to be shown as a beautiful but ineffectual angel, and it is high time that our great Methodist saint was shown warts, as well as halo, and all. But on the whole this is a most interesting and useful study and a worthy addition to this series of lectures.

E. GORDON RUPP.

*The Inextinguishable Blaze*, by A. Skevington Wood. (Paternoster Press, pp. 256, 15s.)

The ambiguity of the title is clarified by the sub-title—*Spiritual Renewal and Advance in the Eighteenth Century*—and the author deals with his subject in clear, straightforward English which adds to the reader's pleasure.

We are warned against regarding the Methodist Revival as an isolated phenomenon. Both before and concurrent with it were other spiritual quickenings whose impact upon the movement associated with the Wesleys the author carefully examines. His method, in general, helps to hold the attention of the reader. He takes some outstanding personality of the movement under review and shows how, through him, its special features found expression.

After a brief account of the social conditions of the century the writer discusses the state of the Established Church, and warns against too severe and exaggerated a judgement of its defects. Not all parsons were shepherds "whose hungry sheep looked up and were not fed". Attention is drawn to the Religious Societies to which the Wesleys owed so much. There is an excellent account of the Moravians, showing the profound influence which they exercised upon the Methodist wing of the Revival and the grounds upon which Wesley finally withdrew from their fellowship. An interesting and informative chapter deals with "The Dawn in Wales", with accounts of Griffith Jones, Daniel Rowland and Howell Harris. America had its own "awakening", and we are introduced to leading characters there. Scotland receives separate treatment, and when we arrive at "The Conversion of the Wesleys" we are on familiar ground.

The author has a very high regard for George Whitefield, whom he places among the most distinguished and influential leaders of the Revival, especially in relation to Methodism. There is an understanding account of the relations between him and John Wesley, which led to the division of Methodism into Arminian and Calvinist camps, and a helpful discussion of the issues at stake. At this point we meet the Countess of Huntingdon. Finally, the author deals with the basic message and mission of the Revival, as links which bound together in one great spiritual movement men who differed on various points of speculative theology, and then shows how the Revival gradually brought into existence many religious agencies such as the Missionary Societies.

It is a pleasure to commend this comprehensive volume, which should be of special value to young people and to those whose interest in the religious life of this period has been recently aroused. W. L. DOUGHTY.

*Methodism Mocked: The Satiric Reaction to Methodism in the Eighteenth Century*, by Albert M. Lyles. (Epworth Press, pp. 191, 25s.)

The scholar will respond occasionally with a query, but largely with appreciation, to Mr. Lyles's study of Methodism in eighteenth-century satire. The Methodist will be sluggish indeed, be he scholar or otherwise, who does not feel his gorge rising as he moves through this exhibition of distorted, vulgar and even obscene pictures of what to him is pure and precious and sacred. The scholar will find here a comprehensive treatment of a characteristic literary reaction to Methodism, with perhaps the best collection of specimens extant. The reader who is unfamiliar with eighteenth-century literature needs to accept at the outset the key which

the author gives on pages 12 and 13, i.e. that the book deals with literary facts and not with religious values.

After an account of the spirit and purpose of Augustan Satire, successive chapters deal with specific aspects of the satirical depictions of Methodism: Enthusiasm, Doctrine, Preaching, Practices and Conversion. Wesley and Whitefield then have a chapter each. There follows a chapter on how the satirists show up the lesser fry of Methodism, and the final chapter (incidentally a good guide to the spirit of the book) deals with literary conventions.

The "subject" scheme involves a certain amount of repetition. For instance, Whitefield's "squint" appears three or four times, and "Dr. Squintum" oftener still. Lackington and Graves are frequently quoted, and the same quotation sometimes re-appears, e.g. that from "Geoffrey Wildgoose" concerning enthusiasm on pages 34 and 70. Still, there is a mass of much rarer material.

The author is surer in handling the material of satire than in his grasp of Methodism and its literature, and of the English background. This probably accounts for some sweeping statements and some ambiguities. For instance, was Toplady's writing "unskilled"? (p. 18): Bishop Ryle considered it "unanswerable". Was Wesley's *Calm Address* his most satirized work? Once more, did satire generally paint Grace Murray as "a low class, hypocritical slut"? The evidence offered (pp. 141, 148) is insufficient to bear that judgement. On page 75 there is an ambiguous remark about Wesley's preaching in theatres. He rarely preached in a "live" theatre, but in buildings formerly such.

The author sometimes finds satire where the form is colloquial idiom rather than deliberate depiction. For instance, the fact that Methodists (preachers especially) were alluded to as "cobblers", had much more to do with the expression "cobbler stick to your last" than with a pun upon soles (p. 12). Occasionally in this volume words appear in an unfamiliar usage, e.g. "envisioned" (? envisaged, p. 98), and "skullduggery" (p. 165). Waiving the American spelling, this latter is ambiguous. Does it mean some form of immorality, or fraudulent collections? These and occasional typographical errors, e.g. "them" for "then" (p. 118, line 6), are but minor blemishes. The book is a scholarly, fresh, interesting and well-documented effort to map the not-too-well traversed borderland between Methodism and secular literature, and five whole-page illustrations add greatly to its value.

GEORGE LAWTON.

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Two booklets have recently come to hand from Wales. The first, *There was a man sent . . .*, by M. Bickerstaff (pp. 36, 2s. 8d. post paid from the author at Trevecka College, Talgarth, Brecon) is an outline of the story of Howell Harris and beginnings of the Calvinistic Methodist Church of Wales. Though written as a souvenir brochure for summer visitors to Trevecka, it has a much wider appeal; and those who know nothing of the romance of Howell Harris's life will find it an adequate and interesting introduction to one of the leaders of the evangelical revival. . . . The second, *When he is come*, by Eifion Evans, is published by the Evangelical Movement of Wales, Bala, Merioneth (pp. 108, 5s. post paid). It is a full-length account of the 1858-60 revival in Wales, fully documented and well printed—a booklet from which even those who know nothing of "the land of revivals" can gain both instruction and inspiration.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

## 1046. FORGOTTEN METHODISM AT STRATHKINNESS.

By the courtesy of Mr. J. Duncan of Bury St. Edmunds, I am able to add a few lines on the history of the chapel in that Fifeshire village (see *Proceedings*, xxxii, p. 113).

The place of worship was built for the Relief Church (one of the many erstwhile branches of the Church of Scotland, which later became in 1847 part of the United Presbyterian Church) in 1801, at a cost of £160-£170. It had 300 sittings. After two ministers had left on account of the inability of the congregation to find an adequate stipend, the church was disused for some months, until Valentine Ward came across it by chance in October 1816. As there were two Methodists in the village (a discharged soldier and his wife), and others (mostly soldiers) who lived in St. Andrews, Ward bought the building, which measured 47 by 33 feet, together with a quarter of an acre of ground, for £86; and it was opened by John Lancaster (then stationed in Edinburgh) in December 1816 or January 1817.

Ward was, as always, sanguine as to its prospects, but some time before 1823 the cause had died out. About 1823 the building was purchased for £90 by eight individuals representing the Original Burgher Presbytery, and in the following forty or more years it was occupied by successive branches of the Church of Scotland, until it was vacated in 1867 when the new Free Church was built. Thereupon, Mr. Duncan informs me, it was taken over by a joiner for a workshop, never having been a Quaker meeting-house as I had previously been told. Query: was it perhaps used by the Quakers for a brief spell after 1867, before David Thom (the joiner) bought it? It served as a garage for a short time only.

Mr. Solman, who now owns the ground, has carefully laid out the exact site as a lawn, with some of the old foundations round the sides.

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

## 1047. INFORMATION WANTED ABOUT REDRUTH.

The *Wesley Banner*, 1849, p. 49, gives the well-known account of how Peter Martin drove John Wesley from Redruth to St. Ives through the Hayle estuary at high tide. Can anybody please help date this?

The Redruth (Fore Street) Methodist church is building up a collection of Methodist books and records. The collection of circuit plans includes two of the four Wesleyan Association plans known to exist. The work has been greatly helped by the accidental discovery of two large books of cuttings, covering the history of the chapel from 1863 to 1896, containing amongst other items a large number of plans and photographs.

JOHN C. C. PROBERT.

## 1048. EAST ANGLIAN BRANCH.

The spring meeting was held on Saturday, 21st May, at the Central Hall, Great Yarmouth, and it was appropriate that, on a date so close to May 24th, the subject of the lecture by the Rev. Wesley F. Swift should be "John Wesley's Diaries and Journal". The speaker held the interest of the thirty people present as he described the manner in which the early diaries were compiled, and the painstaking labours—aided by a dream—of the late Rev. Nehemiah Curnock in discovering the key to the ciphers used by Wesley. What perhaps some in the audience had not until then realized was that our founder in his young manhood evinced more "joie

de vivre" than one is apt to associate with him. But both before and after his Aldersgate Street experience he was a meticulous "method-ist", recording daily doings, conflicts, joys and aspirations. An interesting discussion followed, and tea was served at the close of the meeting.

In the place of Mr. John A. Vickers, B.A., who was resigning office as co-secretary, in consequence of removal to Canterbury, and who was warmly thanked for his outstanding services in the formation and running of the branch, Mr. O. Job, B.A., of Ipswich, was elected to act as joint secretary along with Mr. W. A. Green, of Norwich.

It was reported that the membership had risen to over fifty, and that the next meeting would be held on 15th October 1960, at the Hethersett Methodist church, near Norwich, at 3-30 p.m., when Mr. R. C. Richardson, J.P. would be the speaker.  
W. A. GREEN.

#### 1049. WESLEY LETTERS: CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONAL PASSAGES.

The following corrections and additions to letters in the Standard Edition should be noted. The autographs of the letters concerned are, for the most part, in the vestry safe at Wesley's Chapel, London.

- Vol. iii, p. 34 After "but it is an extreme" [last line] read "and keep close to your Bible. Neither you nor I is wiser than St. Peter or St. Paul". . . . "I am, etc."
- Vol. vi, p. 116 To Martha Chapman, 6th October 1774. After "his wife also" read "When we meet you may tell all that is in your heart to, Dear Patty, Yours affectionately,". [This letter is in the possession of Mrs. S. Thorne, 48, St. Mark's Road, Maidenhead.]
- Vol. vi, p. 326 For October 18 read October 10.
- Vol. vi, p. 370 For January 12 read January 21.
- Vol. vii, p. 66 The letter begins thus: "As you had a desire to see *me*, so for a considerable time I have had a great desire to see you." Then, "I had much hope . . ."
- Vol. vii, p. 67 After "persevering prayer" read "It is hard to say what your sister should do in [that case?]. It seems to me she must either hear or not hear and that she does not find this easy. She hardly spoke to me at all. She looks as if she were afraid of me." Then, "I wrote to Mr. Fletcher . . .".
- Vol. vii, p. 73 After "My dear Miss Loxdale" read "Last Monday I met with a friend of yours at Grantham, almost in a dying state. I took her with me to Newark, Lincoln, Gainsborough, Doncaster and so round to this place [Nottingham], and I now hope that Miss Gratten will live a little longer. She sends her kind love to you." Then, "As it has pleased God . . .".
- Vol. vii, p. 248 For John Valton read Zechariah Yewdall.
- Vol. vii, p. 391 To Samuel Bradburn. In the last line on this page for "That melancholy [feeling]" read "That melancholy turn".  
W. L. DOUGHTY.

#### 1050. JOHN WESLEY, HYMNOLOGIST: A POSTSCRIPT.

The paragraph on Wesley as translator in Mr. B. C. Drury's article on "John Wesley, Hymnologist" (*Proceedings*, xxxii, p. 132) can perhaps



with advantage be amplified, for a single page does less than justice to its subject.

In the first place, Julian is slightly incorrect in giving the number of John Wesley's translations as thirty-two: in point of fact there were thirty-three. Those thirty-three were listed by Dr. Bett in *The Hymns of Methodism* (1945 edn., pp. 30 ff.), and the full text of all, arranged in parallel columns for comparison with their originals, is to be found in Dr. J. L. Nuelsen's *John Wesley und das deutsche Kirchenlied* (No. 4 of the *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Methodismus*, Anker-Verlag, Bremen, 1938), pp. 162 ff. A study of those parallel texts shows that, of the thirty-three hymns, Wesley translated eight in full (including the hymn noted by Mr. Drury as being amplified in translation), and thirteen almost in full; of another eight he translated about half the hymn, and of four he translated a fragment only.

As the author remarks, "Wesley drastically changed the metres". He used C.M., D.C.M., S.M., L.M. (both *abab* and *aabb*), D.L.M. (of both types), and one hymn in twelve-line stanzas—a triple L.M.; 7 7.7 7, two forms of "six lines eights", and the German metre 6 6.7.7.7.7. German metres are indeed of great variety (cf. for instance the metres of "Sleepers, wake" and "A safe stronghold"), albeit English writers in condemning their artificiality commonly ignore the reason. In the days of the Mastersingers, the prizes were naturally awarded for the best new songs composed and sung, but as it would have been easy to plagiarize, the singer had not only to sing a song of his own composition, but *in a metre* of his own composition; he could not use an existing metre, unless it were one he himself had previously composed. This naturally led to a fantastic variety; some "caught on"; and when the Reformation followed immediately upon the era of the Mastersingers, many of their most popular metres were utilized by hymnographers, who themselves also often maintained the tradition of composing new metres; and many have continued to be used until now. The many combinations of masculine and feminine rhymes found in German poetry are quite simply the inevitable result of the "shape" of German language and grammar.

One other point may be noted—particularly, perhaps, by the Connexional Editor and the Book Steward! Hymn 65 in the 1933 *Methodist Hymn-Book*. "O God of God, in whom combine", is described simply as translated by John Wesley from the German, without any original first line quoted at the head. In point of fact, it is clearly a translation of Zinzendorf's "Herz der göttlichen Natur"—not, as Telford assumes in his *New Methodist Hymn-Book Illustrated*, of "Gott, aus dem quillt alles Leben", also by Zinzendorf. OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

#### 1051. WILLIAM BLAKE AND WESLEY'S HYMNS.

My old friend Mr. Charles T. Nightingale, of Edinburgh, has kindly drawn my attention to an article by Geoffrey Keynes in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 6th November 1959. Mr. Keynes possesses a number of books once in the possession of William Blake, artist and poet (1757-1828), and amongst them he lists:

John Wesley's *Hymns for the Nation in 1782*. With the signature "W. Blake 1790" on the first leaf; of undoubted authenticity. Formerly in the possession of the late Dr. James Starkie of Dublin (Seumas O'Sullivan), and now in my collection. Bound with a later edition of the same book containing a second part. WESLEY F. SWIFT.