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Proceedings OF THE Wesley Historical Society

Editor: REV. WESLEY F. SWIFT.

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DANIEL ISAAC AND HIS CONDEMNED BOOK

AT the London Conference of 1816, with Richard Reece as President and Jabez Bunting as Secretary, the following resolution was passed:

That the Conference approves of the conduct of their Book Committee in London in having refused to facilitate the circulation of a Book on Ecclesiastical Claims, which was printed in Scotland and published by a member of our Connexion, and deems it a public duty to declare, in the fear of God, their most decided disapprobation of various passages contained in that Book, as well as of the general spirit and style of it, which the Conference believes to be unbecoming and unchristian.

The author of this condemned book, entitled *An Investigation of Ecclesiastical Claims*, was one of the preachers, Daniel Isaac. George Smith's *History*¹ gives a useful survey of both the good features of the book and those to which exception was taken by the moulders of Conference opinion. Whilst the main thesis was approved, the author was accused of impugning the scriptural position of the Christian Ministry, of irreverence and profanity, and of intemperance of spirit and language.

But Daniel Isaac was not the man calmly to accept such a situation and submit to censure. Debarred from stating his case in Conference, he did so in a pamphlet of twenty pages, a copy of which he sent to every minister but to none other.

Daniel Isaac, born at Caythorpe, Lincolnshire, was a considerable figure in the Methodism of his day. He was widely known as a forceful preacher and a trenchant Conference debater, and there are numerous references to him in contemporary Methodist literature and biography. At the time of his book controversy he regarded Jabez Bunting as his "most powerful opponent", but later he became "a firm supporter" of Bunting's policy, and "his friendly help was generously appreciated and acknowledged".² Benjamin Gregory, as a

¹ Smith: *History of Wesleyan Methodism*, iii, pp. 6 ff.

² *Life of Jabez Bunting*, by his Son, pp. 462 ff.

schoolboy at Woodhouse Grove, knew Isaac intimately, and gives a delightful description of him, including his "quaint, farmer-like figure, blue coat and waistcoat", and his churchwarden pipe.³

In Volume I of *Wesleyan Takings* there are twelve full-length word-portraits of Wesleyan ministers. Forty-two pages are devoted to Adam Clarke, thirty-two each to Jabez Bunting and Richard Watson, and so, in diminishing numbers, to William Bramwell with eleven. The twelfth portrait, however, is that of Daniel Isaac, covering fifty pages, mainly of eulogy, and obviously the work of a fervent admirer. Bearing in mind the reputed author of the *Takings* and the fact that Daniel Isaac and the Conference frequently disagreed, this is hardly surprising. The "portrait" is well worth perusal by those interested in the subject. The writer claims that "to the most intelligent members of the Wesleyan body his ministry was highly acceptable". This appears to be substantiated by his circuit record, which began in 1800 with his appointment to Louth. Thereafter he travelled almost entirely in northern centres of population. From 1882 he remained at least two years in every circuit, and three years in four of them, which in those days was quite an achievement. Two terms of two years each were spent in York, to which city he was appointed for a third term in 1832. Then he retired, and died in March 1834. He was the District Chairman of Hull, Leeds and York, and the writer of *Takings* affirms that "there was a strong feeling on the part of his ministerial brethren to elect him President of the Conference at the close of the Leeds controversy". Convinced of unfitness for the office, he resisted successfully all overtures made to him.

His official Obituary largely accords with the account in *Takings*, and affirms that "Daniel Isaac was an eminent, a good and a useful man". Jabez Bunting and the others spoke approvingly of the Obituary when it was presented in Conference (1834), and more of the brethren wished to testify to their admiration of and affection for him than time would allow.⁴

We now revert to the condemned book. Robert Melson kept copies of many of his own letters, and among his papers is a copy of the letter which he sent to Isaac soon after the Conference of 1816, together with the autograph letter which Isaac sent in reply. Melson asked for copies of the pamphlet, which up to that time had been circulated only among the ministers.

ROBERT MELSON TO DANIEL ISAAC

[No date]

My dear Brother Isaac,

I have often thought since Conference that I should like to address you with a few lines and since the receipt of your letter I have felt myself as under a constraining influence.

I went to the Conference but did not arrive there till after your Book had been tried, cast out and condemned, on the information of which I

³ Gregory: *Autobiographical Recollections*, p. 134.

⁴ Gregory: *Sidelights on the Conflicts of Methodism*, p. 142.

was grieved, for, though I had not seen the Book, such were my views of the Author that I could not believe anything evil of it until I had seen it. And no sooner had I heard of the sentence denounced [sic] upon it but, though I had not seen it, I announced [sic] the existence of injustice. I believe that more than one half of those who were in condemnation of your Book never saw it but in the hands of those who were determined to have it condemned, though it should be at the expense of justice.

But, Sir, I wish to say that when I got into my circuit I was determined to give your Book a fair reading, consequently to read with a mind open to conviction, with close attention and due consideration. And now I wish to assure you that, whilst thus reading, I was truly pleased and constrained to admire both the Author and his Book, finding it was not the production of a coward, a selfish heart or a mean, dastardly soul, but of the real Patriot, of an ingenious heart of most liberal principles, an independent spirit and pure and disinterested motives.

Let others speak of it, therefore, as they may. I must say that it is an excellent, noble and powerful weapon, and in its designs most beneficial to men, to the *real* Church and the State, in that it levels a very powerful Artillery at *general corruption* and the *Craft of Priests*, which is the most horrible Craft existing in our land or any other.

Your spirit of reform I do admire,
 After the lights of men true Patriots will aspire,
 And though their names cast out as ill should be,
 They will go on, in hope that they shall see
 The happiness of all.

Some of your friends here are rather afraid that you will leave the Connexion, but I hope you will not, but rather stand your ground. Your cause is good. May He [His?] love support both it and you.

Methodist preachers certainly are called to the noble work of universal reformation; or to oppose all kinds of sin and corruption and labour to disseminate the most pure doctrines, God-like principles and universal purity. But it seems that if they exert themselves in the most noble manner and at the expense of their own ease for the promotion of general good, their *laudable actions* and *productions, if not themselves, must be tried and condemned.*

Several of your friends here are wanting a copy of your letter. If, therefore, you dispose of it by sale to any that apply for it, you perhaps will send us a dozen or fourteen copies of it, putting your price upon it. With the letter you may also send six of your Books, one for myself and five for other friends. Please to send them by the waggon. My love to Mrs. Isaac.

I am your affectionate Brother,

ROBT. MELSON.

DANIEL ISAAC TO ROBERT MELSON

Lincoln, Feby 5th, 1817.

Dear Sir,

I have written Mr. Burdchin [?] of York to send you the six copies of my book; You will receive them, I believe, in a few days.

As to the "Remarks on a Minute of Conference", I have not given a single copy to anyone except the preachers, nor do I intend to make them public *at present*, though I believe it will come to that at last. I have no expectation that my enemies will soften their censure, and without that I shall run all risks and lay the matter fairly before the world.

My friends need be under no apprehension that I shall voluntarily leave the Methodist Connexion. If I should be *driven out*, I shall go with a clear conscience. The reason of my writing the "Remarks" is simply this: I look upon the Minute as containing a most virulent attack on my moral character. When a minister has lost his character his usefulness is at an end. I was, therefore, obliged either to resign my ministry or defend myself. I could not in conscience do the former, and consequently had no course left but the latter. One of Mr. Bunting's intimate friends gave it out, before I published the "Remarks", that if I printed anything on the Minute I should be expelled the Connexion. I believe the man, however, spoke without authority. If Mr. B. founded no charge against *me* for blaspheming the Holy Ghost, he cannot, surely, propose my expulsion for speaking against himself — He cannot look upon himself as a more important personage than the Holy Spirit of God.

I believe it is quite new in Methodism to condemn a preacher before he has had an opportunity of being heard, and to denounce him to the world as "unchristian", without taking any notice of his faults to himself.

Preachers have been convicted of faults but I cannot find an instance of one of these delinquents being censured in the Minutes in terms equally severe with those employed against me, and I am not willing to pass to the world as the greatest sinner Methodism has produced.

Mrs. Isaac unites in love to Mrs. M., yourself, Mr. Cleathing, Mr. and Mrs. Ball and family, Mr. and Mrs. Spanton . . .

[the rest of the letter is missing]

Those who have met Robert Melson in previous issues of *Proceedings* will understand how naturally his interest would be aroused in anyone who was in conflict with the Conference, and how, in all probability, that person would evoke his sympathy.

Daniel Isaac had just been appointed to Lincoln, where he remained for two years as superintendent. Such an appointment shows that he was not "penalized" for his "fault". At the same time Robert Melson went to Malton, in which circuit Isaac had travelled from 1812 to 1814. This, of course, accounts for Isaac's greetings to mutual friends.

W. L. DOUGHTY.

The Michaelmas 1961 Bulletin of the Society of Cirplanologists maintains its usual high quality. There is a list of circuit plans reproduced in local histories, a welcome article on the preservation of local records, and the text of two new Wesley letters, annotated by Mr. E. Alan Rose. . . . The June 1961 *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion* contains an article on "The West African Methodists in the Nineteenth Century", by Christopher H. Fyfe, and one by Dr. A. Skevington Wood which shows the interest of Thomas Haweis in West African Missions illustrated from his diary and by letters to him from Lady Anne Erskine. . . . The little chapel at Skeeby, in the Richmond (Yorkshire) circuit, has just celebrated its centenary. An illustrated history of this cause can be obtained from Mrs. J. P. Hutchinson, Skeeby Grange, Richmond, Yorks, for 2s. 6d. post free. . . . *Archives* (the Journal of the British Records Association) in its Lady Day 1961 issue contains a general article on *Protestant Nonconformist Records*, to which Dr. Oliver Beckerlegge has made a valuable contribution on "Methodist Records". This kind of information cannot be too widely disseminated.

THE "ILLUSTRIOUS VULGAR" IN JOHN WESLEY'S SERMONS

NOTE ON THE TEXT

All Sermon references are to the three-volume collection forming Vols. V-VII of the *Works*, 3rd edition, 1829.

ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

Egan ...	...	...	<i>Life in London</i> , 1820-1.
Farmer and Henley ...	...	...	<i>Slang and its Analogues</i> , 7 vols., 1890-1904.
Grose ...	...	...	<i>Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue</i> , 1785, etc.
Hoten ...	...	...	<i>Slang Dictionary</i> , 1859.
J. ...	...	...	Wesley's <i>Journal</i> , Standard edition.
L. ...	...	...	Wesley's <i>Letters</i> , Standard edition.
O.E.D. ...	...	...	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> .
Partridge ...	...	...	<i>Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English</i> , 4th edition, 1951.
S.o. ...	...	...	Sermons only.
S.O.E.D. ...	...	...	<i>Shorter Oxford English Dictionary</i> .
W. ...	...	...	Wesley's <i>Works</i> , 14 vols., 1829.

SO much has been written about Wesley's *Works* that it is difficult to approach them with an unbiased mind. The present writer has attempted to read the Sermons in this way, noting what they actually say and how they say it. In the course of the study the impression deepened that the language of the Sermons is a remarkable mixture of what we would call literary English, correct and dignified, and of the everyday speech of several levels of society.

The literary value of the Sermons is not lowered by this fact. Assuming that a similar feature characterized the preached sermons, it would increase their effectiveness by imparting a "dramatic" note. The need of dramatizing composition before an audience, and the need of a standard language based on vernacular speech, has been emphasized a good deal in recent years. For instance, Rossitter in *Our Living Language*, pp. 104-6, etc., and Davie in *Purity of Diction in English Verse*, p. 87, etc., take a stand on Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. A good many other critics, too, have urged this "illustrious-vulgar" style of writing. They invoke Aristotle to support their plea. Many of Shakespeare's most dramatic effects, they point out, are achieved with conversational or colloquial idiom.

This style of writing is to be regarded as "Standard". It is the pithy and powerful language of established usage. It has that "tone of the centre" which Matthew Arnold said was missing from so much English writing. It would be perspicuous enough for the law-courts. It is common speech used, as Rossitter says, by "experts in expression, i.e. imaginative writers, and with nothing of the levelling-down about it".

Wesley's Sermons are written in just that style. They are largely conversational and colloquial, though not in a way which limits their appeal to certain levels of society. His vocabulary is extensive,

ranging from slang to classical-derivative, scientific terms, and vogue words, used with ease, grace and precision. Meeting and conversing with all sorts of men, from peers to ploughboys, he could address himself to all. Cultured men would not fling these sermons aside disgusted at the style. Uneducated men would understand his meaning. Such a person, hearing these sermons read, would recognize much of his own idiom played back by a master-hand. Those elements he would fail to grasp, in particular the higher reaches of Wesley's vocabulary, are indications of the levelling-up process which the people expected from a learned ministry. Perhaps the best way for us to get near to the contemporary feeling about the style of these sermons is to compare them with a vastly different work, namely Ned Ward's *London Spy*. The linguistic similarities are striking. Equally striking are the differences of purpose and effect in the use of the common material.

The following material is grouped and annotated in order to illustrate the claim made in the foregoing paragraphs. Proverbs which are slangy or colloquial are not mentioned here. The reader who is interested in this aspect of the subject is referred to *Proceedings*, xxviii, pp. 2 ff, 25 ff. Much of that essay reinforces the contention of this one.

Language is fluid, and all attempts to classify terminology are beset with risks and difficulties. It should be noted that the items of the first group are classed as slang or near-slang on the authority of the slang-dictionary makers. The terms in the second group are ranked, by the same authorities, as colloquial, i.e. terms in general use lying between slang and standard English of the *Oxford English Dictionary* kind. Section three deals with common idioms which are good English, but which have a familiar conversational ring about them. The third list is but a fraction of the mass contained in the Sermons. The purist would squirm to hear these used in the pulpit, or to read them in published sermons. As for slang, they are horrified by its presence. It is clear, therefore, that "illustrious-vulgar" English has not yet an established, honourable homiletic usage; or perhaps it should be put this way—that it has been disestablished, in spite of the efforts of Donne, Herbert, Adams, South, Wesley and Trench.

The arrangement in each section is alphabetical. Where a term occurs in a similar usage elsewhere in Wesley's writings the fact is noted by means of the appropriate abbreviation. If the term or phrase has been discovered only in the Sermons, this also is indicated, i.e. S.o.

I. Slang and Near-slang

"Bait, the gilded" (vii, p. 303). There is more in this innocent-looking phrase than meets the eye. We gather from Egan that the word "bait" was in common use in London for the commercialization of sex. He writes of "the dangerous bait". Wesley here bluntly states that parents who marry off their children for money sell them to the devil. Of course he means by bait the money itself, but to

liken legal marriage to the devil's trade, and to link them by this term, would be offensive to many people. (S.o.)

"Bo peep, play at" (vi, p. 98). By a jocular turn of phrase Wesley effects a *reductio ad absurdum* of a belief he rejects. He says that he is quoting some eminent writer. This bit of slang hits off the view that God may give or withdraw His presence at will. The term has been traced to the opening of the sixteenth century. Grose gives the hint that in the latter half of the eighteenth century it was commonly applied to the appearances and disappearances of public figures. Wesley's parenthetical comment is correct: slang is nearly always potent. (S.o.)

"Boy, the great" (vi, p. 442). The vagueness of the phrase, particularly the adjective, adds to its slangy tone. "Boy" was often used familiarly. The word "great" has established itself in several slang phrases. Wesley has at least anticipated later usage, even if at this point it be ranked as familiar Standard English. He knew that the local squire, wrapped up in garden and property, was often referred to as "the old boy"; when riding their hobby-horses "great" men are often great big boys. (S.o.)

"Drop" (vi, p. 521) and "let it drop" (vi, p. 473, etc.) are terms which frequently had a "low" ring. The second reference, which relates to persons, is surely outright slang. The former is an everyday speech form. In Sermons, vii, p. 425, we find Wesley speaking of dying as "dropping the covering of earth". At least six slangy terms for death contain the word "drop". Wesley is reflecting common usage. (L., J. and W.)

"Good man" (vii, p. 219); "good sort" (v, p. 316, etc.). Wesley never uses these slang phrases except to condemn them. He objects to their cant, and to their nondescript character in general use. The former phrase expressed the world's easy-going beau ideal. The latter was London jargon for a wealthy man, but it also had the connotation of expert, or thorough-going, amongst boxers, boozers and fornicators. In several places, e.g. vi, p. 461, Wesley uses italics, and so makes it clear that it is common speech he is condemning. (L. and J.)

"Hold!" (vii, p. 383). Where we would say "Hold on!", the eighteenth-century writer used simply "Hold!". In another sermon (vi, p. 203), Wesley quotes Dr. Blair as saying "Hold there!". We can almost hear Dr. Johnson speaking as Wesley cries in his letters "Hold, sir!". Here is dramatized speech: the written sermons reflect rhetorical art. Wyld in his *History of Colloquial English* gives the line from the dramatist Otway: "Hold, hold, what insufferable rascals are these". (L. and W.)

"Hot" (v, p. 287, etc.) Many of its adjectival usages are slangy, and some that are Standard English look in the same direction. Wesley writes in the *Journal* of "red-hot patriots". Elsewhere he writes in a way which suggests the colloquial simile "as hot as hell". The sermon reference here given contains the idiomatic phrase

"hot-brained enthusiasts". In another sermon (vii, p. 52), he has not quite escaped the colloquial by his periphrastic "hotter place in everlasting burnings". (*L., J. and W.*)

"Improve the occasion" (v, p. 259). We gather from Egan's *Life in London* that this was a common catch-phrase. His note on it is most contemptuous. "It is of the slang slangy", says Partridge. Perhaps it was not so bad in Wesley's day, but it is clear from the context in this sermon that it was loosely used. Wesley's own use of it here of the devil is easy-going. How "the great enemy" could "improve" anything, even Wesley would be hard put to it to explain. (*L.*)

"Jumping" (vii, p. 295). Behind the literal use of the word in this context lies that manifestation of religious fervour which was characteristic of the Jumpers, i.e. a sect of enthusiasts properly so named. This proper name escaped from the vortex of slang and rose in the world of words. But in common use it retained its contemptuous tone for a long time, and Wesley's hearers and readers would supply this even if he himself was free from it. (*J.*)

"Liquid-fire" (vi, p. 128). Where did Wesley find this name for liquor? We would expect to read "spirituous liquors commonly called liquid fire", instead of which he speaks of "drams and spirituous liquors" as the common expression. Partridge gives "liquid-fire" as a low colloquial nineteenth-century phrase, now obsolete, for bad whisky. Perhaps the phrase, in its application to spirits generally, is Wesley's own—in which case it is a notable anticipation of later slang. The present writer has found the phrase elsewhere only in Shakespeare, where it has no reference to drink at all. (*W.*)

"Lump" (v, p. 72); "lumpish" (v, p. 287). The slang phrase "ugly lump" does not occur in the sermons, but these two terms smack of the common herd. We see the obvious associations in Goldsmith's character named Tony Lumpkin. The theological term "total depravity" is bluntly translated by the vernacular "lump of ungodliness". The word "lumpish" has for long been classed as slang, although Partridge considers it ineligible. However, Wesley here gives it as the world's coarse comment upon Christian seriousness. It is obsolete today. (*J. and W.*)

"Mad against" (vi, p. 421). Wesley's parenthesis, "I cannot give it any softer title", suggests that he momentarily reflected upon his terminology at this point. Psalm cii. 8 (A.V.) gives the vigorous personal usage. When used impersonally it has at least a colloquial ring, and illustrates the transition from Standard English to the slang phrases "mad at" and "mad about". (*S.o.*)

"Marry them well" (vii, p. 302). This kind of cliché touched Wesley on the raw. It was to him sheer cant, but he uses the term ambiguously. It is not cant in the sense of thieves' slang. As a worldly maxim it carries no suggestion of whining hypocrisy. On the lips of a Methodist it would be hypocritical, according to Wesley's

thorough-going ethics. The phrase was in vogue. Its life was probably short. (L.)

"Mighty little" (vi, p. 405, etc.). Samuel Johnson's most devastating mark was set upon this word: he called it "low". It was very much overworked, and very loosely used. Greater exception could be taken to "mighty little" than to almost any other of these "mighty" combinations. Surely a very great little is an absurdity. So speaks the logician. Yet, as is often the case, the slangy is the unerring. What better way is there of saying "a very, very little"? In this context, where Wesley desires to convey the idea of immense but unfruitful labour, it is just perfect. (J.)

"Moral men" (vii, pp. 456, 459). It might be more appropriate to list this term as ecclesiastical jargon rather than as slang, though its affinities are with slang. Partridge, in dealing with the catchphrase "Holy Workman", draws attention to the parallel phrase "a merely moral man". From such instances of the use of "moral men" as the present writer has seen, the suggestion may be made that it was more frequently upon the lips of religious leaders than upon those of the common people. Wesley makes clear that he does not create the phrase. In the former reference he links it with the nondescript term "good", which has been noticed above. (J. and W.)

"Old Murderer", etc. (vii, p. 97). Several of the spicy slang-names for the devil contain the familiar epithet "old". None of them appears in the Sermons, but these common ways of alluding to His Satanic Majesty may have influenced Wesley. This particular sermon is full of everyday speech. Even should Wesley be giving a free rendering of the biblical "He [the devil] was a murderer from the beginning", one feels that it would be the colloquial rather than the biblical which would spring to the mind of his hearers. (L. and W.)

"Own" (vii, p. 207). By the middle of the nineteenth century the phrase "to be owned" had become rather nauseating clerical slang for the idea of being successful in making converts. When the term started on its downward path is uncertain. The Evangelical Revival called upon it freely. Methodist hymnology provides instances of this fact. So does Methodist biography (cf. *Proceedings*, viii, pp. 10, 151). In this sermon Wesley is approximating to the slang usage. (S.o.)

"Plum, worth a" (vii, p. 357). Here is a bit of genuine London slang, given by Wesley as such, and with its meaning made clear, presumably for the provincial reader. Besides connoting the sum of £100,000, it was used loosely in Wesley's latter days for a fortune. Wesley here uses the later colloquial expression, but interprets it in its original slang meaning. He may have been out of touch with the trend of things in his later years. (S.o.)

"Raw heads" (vi, p. 311). Wesley reports in this sermon that

the bishop of London alluded in this way to the early Methodist leaders. Plainly he bestows no compliments. But in another sermon (vi, p. 335) the bishop is reported as using the words "young heads". The term "raw-head" almost begs to be classed as slang; yet there is little authority for placing it there. "Raw", meaning "novice", is often slangy in use. "Raw-head" was the name of a seventeenth-century bogey-man figure. One archaic meaning of the same phrase was the cream on fresh milk. Whether the bishop had these associations in mind we shall never know. It is clear that he was not thinking simply of "young men"—this was Wesley's own term used on page 334 of the same volume. (S.o.)

"Roll up and down" (vi, p. 432). When vehicles are said to roll, that is good English. When the wealthy occupants of ostentatious carriages are said, by one who hated luxury, to "roll up and down" in those carriages, that is quite another thing. The term "rolling" meant, amongst other things, "smart" in Wesley's day. In one of his letters he uses it, in the full slang fashion, of wealth. In this sermon he undoubtedly charges the term with a similar tone, and achieves the maximum literary effect with the minimum effort. (S.o.)

"Seals" (v, pp. 50, 488). Hoten simply notes this term as being slang for religious converts. Eric Partridge elaborates by giving a reference dated 1853 and by estimating that its slang life lasted from about 1850 to 1880. He has a shot at its origin, but misses the mark. The start of this term's history is the Pauline "seals of my apostleship" (1 Cor. ix. 2). The "seal" phrases given by Partridge are akin to others which were almost Revival jargon, but this slang usage owes little, if anything, to them. In the first sermon reference here given, Wesley quotes Paul. In the second passage we have a slangy use. Elsewhere (vii, p. 439—1785) we find an apparently familiar use of the term "seal" for "convert". If Wesley is speaking in the common manner, the suggestion may be offered that Partridge's date needs to be revised, and perhaps carried back into the last quarter of the eighteenth century. (L. and J.)

"Shark" (vi, p. 248). Wesley knew the slang allusions of this term, one of which, viz. the rapacity of customs officers, he clearly uses in the *Journal*. The point he is making in this sermon is that man is more rapacious than the beasts. His words "the human shark" are tempered slang. (J. and W.)

"Sick of" (vi, p. 202). In the middle of a sermon on the lofty theme of the Trinity occurs this expression which might have been used at the breakfast-table. Supposing, one cold morning at breakfast at City Road, Wesley did in these slangy terms dismiss Copernicus and Co., we can imagine that the company would shrug its shoulders and murmur "He'll feel better later on!" This sermon was written after it was preached. It contains many indications of its virile, free-speech origin. (L., J. and W.)

"Sink" (vii, p. 34). An English theatre, says Wesley, is a "sink

of all profaneness and debauchery". The exceedingly common and often contemptuous "sink of iniquity" takes homiletic dress. True, there are many literary examples of the use of "sink" where it means a confluence of corruption. Donne, for instance, calls the world itself "corruption's sink". It would not be such literary associations, however, which would spring to the mind of Wesley's hearers. (J.)

"Soaking" (vii, p. 70). A word which got Wesley's back up! He agrees that it is singularly appropriate for the (contemptible) luxury of lying too long abed. The word has not been listed as slang, nor is this sense of the term given as Standard English. This tempts one to make the obvious remark, "Then it must be dialect." The word was used in the West country for "sitting lazily over a fire". But, though cognate, it is not Wesley's usage. Perhaps there is a slangy usage, nearer to Wesley's meaning, which the slang sleuths have missed. (S.o.)

"Terrify . . . to death" (vi, p. 389). Patterned upon "tired to death", which Partridge dates from about 1740, and which Wesley used in a letter dated 1733. This derived from the dignified "weary unto death", and similar phrases. The remarkable thing here is that the idea of extremity of fear, expressed in the natural "to death", is applied to the torments of those already dead, i.e. in hell. The tyranny of language is often illogical—even in the logical John. (cf. *Letters* i, 134. S.o.)

"Trash" (vii, p. 304). Elsewhere in Wesley's writings we find the word applied to unwholesome food, books, legends, and so on. Here is the unmistakable slang usage. Such is his contempt of the mastery of money that the term "trash" is too weak for him. He speaks paradoxically of "poor trash"; the adjective itself has often a slang tone. (L. and J.)

"Trim" (v, p. 383; vii, p. 25). To call a man a trimmer was no compliment. In politics it meant one who was half-Whig, half-Tory, or who was first one thing, then another. It could also mean a cheat, and one in trim, as, for example, a pugilist. Wesley uses only the verb in his sermons, to describe those who dexterously, but contemptibly, attempted to keep a foot in all camps. The context also deals with dress and bonnets, where "trimming" was never in place in Wesley's eyes. (L., J. and W.)

"Winding sheet" (vii, p. 324). When this term is used of grave-clothing it is unexceptionable. In some figurative expressions also it would require no comment beyond the fact that it has become rare since the time of Wesley. The term is dealt with here because amongst the common people in the eighteenth century it was the name given (so Farmer and Henley) to "grease or wax drippings guttering down the side of a candle; deemed an omen of death by the superstitious". With this in mind—how meaningful is Wesley's muddle of associations! The candle becomes more and more shapeless; the flame splutters and dies. The dying soul becomes a dead soul and is in peril

of an awful awakening within a shroud of fire unquenched and unquenchable! (S.o.)

"Worthy" (vi, p. 469). This word is damned by Wesley thus—it is cant, fashionable, silly and insignificant. It is hardly slang in the strict sense, since slang is usually bluff and unmistakable, but it is allied to it. The *S.O.E.D.* gives this very Wesley passage as one of its instances. It is mistaken all the same, in using it to illustrate "worthy" in the sense "of mind and character; having a high moral standard". Wesley's point is, as he clearly states on the same page, that these "worthies" are shameful and contemptible. That is to say, in his day the word had a nondescript character in common use. It has not recovered its sterling even yet if a remark of Ernest Weekley is to be trusted, i.e. "To describe a man worthy is to apologise for his existence". (S.o.)

II. Colloquialisms

"Animal-spirits" (vi, p. 343). In most of the places where Wesley makes reference to this phrase, he indicates that in general use it lacked precision. In this particular sermon he reveals his doubts about the psychological value of the term. "Nervous vivacity" is given as its meaning by the *S.O.E.D.* It was coming into vogue about 1739. An instance of its use in that very year may be found in the *Journal*, ii, p. 328. (J. and W.)

"Base-born clods" (vii, p. 309). One of the few places in the Sermons where Wesley's meaning is not quite clear. Grammatically, these "base-born clods of earth" appear to be the material goods upon which a heaven-born spirit cannot be expected to feed. Hearers of the spoken word would, unless very acutely attentive, take "base-born clods" to mean human as contrasted with disembodied spirits. "Base-born" was standard English, but harsh and uncomplimentary. "Clod", likewise, was a well-established term for human flesh. Together, in general application either to material things or to men, they would be too undignified for most hearers and critics today. (S.o.)

"By-and-by" (v, p. 100, etc.). In the earlier period of Wesley's life this was colloquial. Later in the century it was accounted good English, though not dignified. The Sermons do not contain the really familiar "by-the-by", but this occurs elsewhere. In this sermon Wesley is reporting common speech, so the phrase is just in place, and more appropriate than if he had used some such word as "presently". (L., J. and W.)

"Chance, no", "so to speak" (vi, p. 348). An instance of the power of the colloquial. Wesley says outright elsewhere that there is no "chance" in the God-governed universe. But the language of theology is inadequate to see us through life. Wesley's "so to speak" represents a waver in the usually firm use of the pen. (L.)

"Drop a tear" (vii, p. 467). A phrase which had a vogue at the end of Wesley's life, and for some years afterwards. It would have suited his purpose just as well to have written "him that sorrows".

He was unaware of the sentimentalism of the words in common use, or he forgot it. They came to be veritably "stagey". Egan shows it as a flippant London catch-phrase. (*W.*)

"Fairly" (v, pp. 145, 277). A comparison of these two references will reveal a shade of difference between them. If the former be taken to mean "in fairness", the latter can only mean "absolutely", which sense is colloquial. Perhaps it should be classified as dialect. For the slangy use of the word, turn to *Journal*, v, p. 283. (*L.* and *J.*)

"Fall plump" (vii, p. 5). Scripture exegesis for the unlearned. We can almost see a yokel describing a tumble into the village pond, and clapping his hand down on his knee for effect. The colloquial note is vibrant, and yet, confirmatory of the introduction to this paper, it is found in Ben Jonson and Steele. (*S.o.*)

"Fellows" (vi, p. 152). The term has a quite dignified usage in literature as e.g. in scripture, and in speech, but when it is contemptuous it borders on the colloquial. The context in this sermon is directly concerned with the common herd, and seems to have influenced Wesley's choice of the word. (*J.* and *W.*)

"Lay out" (of money, vii, pp. 308, 357). Where we would say "invest", the eighteenth century said "lay out". Wesley sharpens the idiom. Everything is "surplus" above his own spartan minimum, and is to be "laid-out", in good stewardship. A Methodist may do this; he may not selfishly enjoy his surplus. In some contexts, as e.g. in *Works*, xi, p. 471, it is almost a synonym for "almsgiving". Elsewhere the phrase means stewardship generally, including the disposition of one's time and talents. (*J.* and *W.*)

"Mortally hate" (vi, p. 371). Wesley's adverbial form, meaning "exceedingly", might just scrape in as good English if the sermon was written before about 1757 according to *S.O.E.D.*, or before 1750 according to Partridge. Some authorities do not hesitate to call this use of the term vulgar: others rank it as dialect. Status apart, the term is very interesting in this context. For it is not a "mortal" who hates, but an evil spirit whose hatred of goodness has death-dealing power. (*L.* cf. vii, p. 198, where it is unmistakably and forcefully colloquial if not slangy.)

"Palmed upon" (vi, p. 65, etc.). "Palming", Wesley says in *Sermons*, vii, p. 314, is one of the devil's tricks. This card-sharpening term had not risen into respectability in the earlier years of Wesley's life; it was colloquial when it was not "low". He never uses the full form, "palm off upon". Perhaps "palm off" was too vulgar for him, or maybe it had not come into fashion. At the same time, for him to use "palmed-upon" of men whose teaching was, presumably, sincere, implied a charge of deception which they would resent. Understatement is not a feature of Wesley's style. (*L.*, *J.* and *W.*)

"Privateer" (vii, pp. 415-16) for "private man-of-war" still had

a colloquial ring about it in 1778, although it could claim the patronage of Clarendon and Swift. The ending "-eer" is frequently a sign that the man in the street has had hold of a word. The reader who desires to see the word in a really familiar setting should turn to *Journal*, iii, p. 189. (J.)

"Quackery" (vi, p. 85). Wesley writes in half a dozen places about "quacks"—a colloquial appellation until long after his death. This is the only place where he thus speaks of quack practices. According to *S.O.E.D.*, the word "quackery" appeared about 1709. No instance is offered. Most lexicographers give instances later than this of Wesley's. It is italicized in the sermon along with several other familiar ways of speaking. (S.o.)

"Show, dead" (v, p. 372; cf. vi, p. 332). Both the noun and the adjective, used apart, have a strong colloquial flavour: together they make a powerful and apposite phrase to express Wesley's scorn of earthly vanity. The language of the street, on the lips of a spiritually-minded man, becomes the perfect comment upon the man of the world who had a name that he liveth and was dead. Partridge might well make use of this Wesley instance under his interesting note on "dead". For "show" see *Journal*, i, p. 330. (S.o.)

"Sure as ever he was born" (vii, p. 54). If these words had been omitted, and Wesley's sentence had ended at the word "together", nothing would have been lost. The familiar tone of the phrase is obvious. It is the sort of thing a harassed mother appends to a threat of punishment. Literary instances of it are hard to come by; eighteenth-century instances are almost non-existent. Perhaps it owes something to such similes as "as sure as the creed". It may be a dialect phrase. Did Wesley hear it in his childhood at Epworth? (S.o.)

GEORGE LAWTON.

(To be continued)

In 1928 the International Methodist Historical Union (now Society) put a plaque on the wall of John Wesley's former chapel in West Street, London, to mark its historic associations with Methodism (see *Proceedings*, xvi, pp. 133, 137ff.). Three or four years ago the plaque was stolen, presumably for the value of its bronze, and was never recovered. The building is now used for secular purposes, but is still the property of the church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. With the consent of the occupiers and the cordial co-operation of the rector of St. Giles, a new plaque is shortly to be placed on the wall of West Street chapel. The inscription reads:

IN THIS BUILDING
(FORMERLY WEST STREET CHAPEL)
METHODIST SERVICES WERE HELD
FROM 1743 TO 1798.
JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY
FREQUENTLY PREACHED HERE.

ERECTED BY THE
INTERNATIONAL METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1961

West Street runs from the south-east corner of Cambridge Circus, Charing Cross Road, and the chapel is next to the Ambassadors Theatre.

THE TEETOTAL WESLEYAN METHODISTS

[The by-ways of Methodist history often lead to unfrequented and little-known fields of research. One such is what may be called the minor "Methodist offshoots", which had a localized and usually brief (though interesting) existence. The Teetotal Wesleyan Methodists fall into this category, and we hope that this article will be followed at infrequent intervals by others of a similar kind.—EDITOR.]

THEETOTALISM was brought to St. Ives, Cornwall, in September 1837 by a young woman from Shropshire. She distributed copies of the *Preston Temperance Advocate*, held a meeting, and administered the total abstinence pledge to seven people. In February 1838 James Teare, whose labours firmly established the new cause in the county, spoke at two meetings in the Wesleyan chapel at St. Ives. A local society was established, with seventy-four members. Three months later it numbered 1,195 members, with fortnightly meetings held alternately in the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist chapels. By 1840 the secretary, a Wesleyan local preacher named William Docton, claimed a membership of 2,810 out of a population of approximately 5,000.

This phenomenal success was repeated all over Cornwall. The excesses that had followed the passing of the Beerhouse Act of 1830 had convinced many that there was no effective alternative to total abstinence. Previous attempts to increase sobriety had stressed moderation in drinking alcohol, but this was felt to be inadequate in coping with a rapidly deteriorating situation. The Act of 1830 abolished the beer duty, and permitted the retail sale of beer upon the payment of two guineas, with certain sureties. The duty on spirits had already been reduced, and these measures led to a great increase in national drunkenness. In Cornwall, scores of new dram shops, or "kiddleywinks", came into existence. Penzance in 1837 had twenty-nine public houses and thirty-seven beer shops, whilst St. Ives, in the memory of people living in 1927, had twenty public houses, beside numerous beer and spirit shops. The "kiddleywinks" soon became the haunts of thieves and profligates, and provided fierce competition for the existing public houses. Drunkenness and disorder reigned supreme in Cornish life, and it was this fact, plus the newly-acquired knowledge of the effect of even small doses of alcohol on the human body, that led to the birth and success of a teetotal movement.

Many St. Ives teetotallers were ardent Methodists, and from the beginning saw teetotalism as an outworking of their faith. This view was not shared by the majority of the Wesleyan ministry of the day. To them, teetotalism was unscriptural, impugning the moral character of our Lord and the divine authority of Christianity. Wesley, though he was so opposed to the drinking of spirits, had not been a teetotaller. It was established custom to have bottles in the

vestry for the refreshment of the preacher, and many preachers were in the habit of ordering casks of beer for private consumption. Any deviation from the opinion of the Founder and from tradition smack-ed of reform, radicalism, and even Chartism. There was a fear of renewed agitation so soon after the painful events of 1834, whilst the secular basis of the new movement, uniting believers and unbelievers on a common platform, was distrusted. From 1838 until the Conference of 1841 teetotal society meetings on Wesleyan premises were uneasily tolerated. A few Wesleyan ministers adopted total abstinence, and signed the pledge, among them Benjamin Carvosso, son of the celebrated class-leader William Carvosso. The younger Methodist bodies, especially the Primitive Methodists and the Bible Christians, were far more sympathetic to teetotalism.

The Wesleyan society at St. Ives was the oldest Methodist cause in the county, and one of the most highly respected. It was the head of the St. Ives circuit from 1785 to 1790, and again when the circuit was re-established in 1834. The society had avoided trouble during the Warrenite agitation, despite the fact that Dr. Warren had held a meeting in St. Ives. The introduction of teetotalism, however, proved more combustible, as the circuit ministers were by no means unanimously in favour of it. Thomas Payne, who was superintendent when teetotalism was first introduced, refused to sign the pledge. Hemlock was sent to him, with the insulting message that, as he persisted in poisoning himself by alcohol, the hemlock would do the business more effectively. His successor, John Saunders, ordered a small cask of beer; the porter who delivered it was dogged by a teetotaller, who duly reported the facts to the *Cornwall Temperance Journal*. William Appleby, the second minister, warmly approved of the efforts of the teetotal society to reclaim drunkards, and himself signed the pledge. The teetotallers for their part were amazed and angered by the inability of official Wesleyanism to support them. They tended to boycott worship led by unpledged ministers. A revival took place in 1839, and the part played by teetotalism therein was long disputed by the teetotallers and their opponents.¹ The use of fermented sacramental wine was another bone of contention, and this led Saunders to leave the circuit at the Conference of 1841. Bitter accusations were made by both parties, and class meetings, lovefeasts and leaders' meetings became focal points of controversy over teetotalism.

The intemperate words and deeds of the St. Ives disputants influenced the Manchester Conference of 1841 to pass three resolutions against teetotalism. The use of unfermented sacramental wine was forbidden; Wesleyan chapels were closed to teetotal meetings; and preachers were not allowed to advocate total abstinence in another circuit without the consent of its superintendent. The President, Dr. Dixon, showed the impression made by recent events in his

¹ See *A Vindication of the Teetotal Wesleyan Methodists of St. Ives*, pp. 6-7, and *Teetotalism illustrated by facts*, pp. 22-3.

words: "We are not enemies to sobriety, but to vituperation. All members of our society are bound to observe the former, and totally abstain from the latter."² Cornish Methodism was described as in a state of "fermentation" on the subject of teetotalism. The Rev. Jonathan Turner, a former Financial Secretary of the Devonport District, was appointed superintendent at St. Ives, with John Allen as his colleague. The President and the Chairman of the Cornwall District told Turner he had no discretion in the Conference resolutions apart from determining the circumstances of their enforcement. Turner needed no encouragement, for, in his view, Conference had "so wisely resolved, that in future, our chapels shall not be prostituted to the dissemination of *heresy, strife, and spiritual ruin* amongst our own people".³

He was met by a spirit as determined as his own. The Wesleyan teetotallers at St. Ives were in no mood to give up their meetings in the chapel. They denounced the Conference for furthering the interests of the brewing trade, and it appears that unauthorized persons administered the Sacrament with unfermented wine, in flagrant violation of Conference resolutions. It was probably at this time that one teetotal speaker publicly stated that "his battle was not with the drunkard, drunkards were all on his side, his war was with the Wesleyan Conference; preachers had been the greatest promoters of drunkenness in all ages, from Noah, who was a drunkard, to the present time".⁴ The secretary of the teetotal society approached Mr. Richard Kernick, senr., circuit steward, trustee, and president of the teetotal society, who advised him to go on with the meetings as before. William Burt, the Penzance superintendent, continued to allow the use of his chapels to the society—an act that prevented a large separation at Penzance, where flourished the strongest teetotal society in the county. Turner, however, had other ideas, and lost little time in carrying them into effect.

William Docton (1810-79), the St. Ives teetotal society secretary, was a tailor and Wesleyan local preacher from Padstow. He was the leading figure in the separation of 1841, and later became mayor and alderman of St. Ives. Thomas Hudson, a teetotal advocate who knew him well, describes him as a bold and vigorous speaker, both conscientious and determined. "For intelligence, zeal, devotedness, and self-denial, few could compare with the original secretary of the St. Ives Society."⁵ There were other opinions: Turner calls him "this depraved and malignant scribbler", and describes his conduct as "such a compound of ignorance, *egotism*, pride, obstinacy, *radicalism*, impertinence, overbearing *dogmatism* and *coxcombry*, as I never before witnessed".⁶

The actual circumstances of the separation are in outline fairly clear, though the details are disputed. On Sunday, 19th September,

² Gregory: *Sidelights on the Conflicts of Methodism*, p. 318.

³ J. Turner: *Teetotalism illustrated by facts*, p. 27.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 23.

⁵ T. Hudson: *Temperance Pioneers of the West*, p. 203.

⁶ *Teetotalism illustrated*, pp. 27-8.

Turner announced from the pulpit that there was to be no teetotal meeting the following Tuesday, as "Conference has passed a resolution for shutting the chapels". About a hundred teetotallers rose to leave the chapel, "declaring they would not enter it again if their meetings were not to be permitted to be held in it as before".⁷ Turner announced his willingness to discuss the matter the next day with any "pained by this proceeding". Ten days of heated consultations followed.

On Monday, 20th September, Docton and another teetotaler had an interview with Turner at which both appear to have lost their temper. Docton attacked the brewing interests swaying the Conference, Turner fulminated at Docton's impertinence. Eventually Turner said he would allow the teetotallers the chapel, provided the meetings were properly conducted, and the speakers approved by himself. He also promised to help collect subscriptions for a proposed Temperance Hall. Docton then accused Allen, the second preacher, of ordering a barrel of beer to his house the previous Friday. Turner denied this, and withdrew his offer when Docton made it clear that he would publicly refer to Allen's alleged barrel of beer at the next teetotal meeting. The same evening, the teetotal society met and decided to build a chapel instead of a Temperance Hall, as they heard "the preachers were determined to carry out their measures if they lost members by hundreds or thousands".⁸ Over £100 was raised for the chapel on the spot. Probably at this meeting they advanced their own terms to Turner: a free use of the chapel as before, to advance the principle "that it is morally wrong to manufacture, sell, or drink as a beverage, any intoxicating liquors", and notice of meeting to be published from the pulpits. These terms were directly opposed to the Conference resolutions, and Turner rejected them next morning. At this meeting, Allen quarrelled with Docton.

The Quarterly Meeting was held on the 27th, when Turner described the teetotal principle as "charging Our Saviour with immorality". This added fuel to the flames. Mr. T. Bryant, society steward, trustee, and leader of twenty-eight years' standing protested to Turner that the leaders and trustees ought to have been consulted about the dispute. Turner appears to have agreed to a trustees' meeting, at which he brought forward new proposals. Teetotal meetings could be allowed in the chapel for six months, provided they were properly conducted by "proper persons". Bryant agreed to this, and both hoped the dispute would end at the society meeting on the 29th. The teetotal society, however, refused the request for a society meeting unless Turner accepted their previous terms. Two of its members on the morning of the 29th told Turner "they were convinced they could not carry out their *principle* and remain members of the Wesleyan Society; they had therefore determined to separate."⁹

⁷ *Vindication*, p. 10. ⁸ *ibid.*, p. 16. ⁹ *Teetotalism illustrated*, p. 31.

About two hundred and fifty teetotallers broke away from the St. Ives society, and one hundred and fifty more from the societies at Goldsithney, St. Just, Lelant, and Halsetown. These included fourteen local preachers, twenty-four class leaders, and about one hundred and fifty prayer leaders. They hastened to organize themselves as a Methodist body—"The Teetotal Wesleyan Methodists". Wesley's "Rules" were adopted, with the one addition of total abstinence. By 1842, revivals and expulsions from Wesleyan societies had increased numbers to about six hundred members, with twenty-four preachers. A circuit covering twenty miles was set up, with societies at St. Ives, Goldsithney, Marazion, Lelant, Penzance, Perran, Zennor, Halsetown, Camborne, Carbis, Lady Downs, Cripples Ease, Hayle, and St. Just. The Wesleyan *Minutes* show a decrease of 858 members in the St. Ives circuit—1,890 in 1841 compared with 1,032 in 1842. A meeting of Wesleyan Methodist teetotallers in the six West Cornwall circuits was held in Penzance in October 1841; they sympathized with the new denomination, but significantly did not recommend Wesleyans to join it. (Many, indeed, remained Wesleyans, whilst others joined the Wesleyan Methodist Association.) A further meeting on 8th November deprecated "strife and division in religious societies", and was "quite opposed to any speeches of tee-total advocates tending to prejudice those who differ from it on the subject of temperance".¹⁰

The Teetotal Wesleyans of St. Ives met in a room supplied by Mr. Bazeley, a linen draper, until their chapel was completed in 1842. This chapel, which still stands as a Territorial Army drill hall, was described as "raw-looking, barn like, and not very attractive".¹¹ Thomas Hudson preached in it in 1843, but his impressions were not of the best. "The smell of fish, which everywhere assails the nostrils, the largeness of the building, dimly lighted, and the kind of people I had to address, combined with a sense of loneliness that often possesses a stranger in a crowd, did not make the occasion to myself a season of refreshing".¹² He had a better time on 19th September 1844, which he describes as "delightful". In July 1843 a Teetotal Wesleyan chapel was opened at St. Just. "Overflowing congregations" were reported, and twenty-seven persons signed the pledge the next night.¹³ In time, chapels were erected at Hayle, Mousehole, Tolskithy, and Redruth.

In 1842 a certain Mr. Sherer wrote *A Vindication of the Teetotal Wesleyan Methodists of St. Ives, with an incidental exposure of the domination of Wesleyan Priesthood*. This justification of the separation infuriated Turner, who had been removed from St. Ives by the Conference of 1842. He wrote a reply, *Teetotalism illustrated by facts*, late in the same year. It was so violent that the Book-Room (though it bore the imprint of John Mason, the Book

¹⁰ *Vindication*, p. 25.

¹¹ A. Colbeck: *Methodist Union, with special reference to St. Ives*, p. 12.

¹² *Temperance Pioneers*, pp. 203-4.

¹³ *Cornwall Temperance Journal*, July 1843.

Steward) refused to advertise or sell it. This did not deter Turner, who made his own private sales arrangements. The matter was discussed at a meeting of the Wesleyan Book Committee, as ministers complained of the harm the tract had done. Jabez Bunting himself was "decidedly of the opinion that it had done more harm than good".¹⁴ It was recognized, however, that the author had been "grievously and painfully provoked", and a "soothing letter" was sent to him. We have a colourful account of the tract's reception in Penzance:

A quantity of the above having arrived at Penzance, inquiry was made at the booksellers, but none could be obtained. At length, we found they were for sale at the Prince of Wales and Star public houses. This report having circulated, a meeting was held in Newlyn on Thursday the 15th. of December, to consider the subject, when the Rev. F. J. Hadley delivered an eloquent and interesting lecture, in which he ably refuted and exposed the fallacious and glaring and wilful falsehoods contained in the slanderous and lying publication. The audience was disgusted at Mr. Turner's attacks on James Teare, and especially with the indecent attacks on good Mrs. Fryer, and as an expression of contempt for this paragon (?) of consistency, resolved, "that the town crier, in the absence of the hangman, should burn the production of his brainless skull". The resolution of the meeting was carried, and shortly afterwards put into execution in the presence of more than two hundred individuals, who assembled on the bank to witness the immolation.¹⁵

Such were the joys of Methodist pamphleteering warfare in the last century!

We know little of the everyday life of the Teetotal Wesleyans. No doubt it was similar to that of other Methodist bodies, with the addition of regular teetotal meetings and festivals. These latter were the means of sustaining and increasing the work. In February 1845 the Chapel Street (St. Ives) society held its annual teetotal festival. After a sermon in the chapel, there was a procession through the town, with band playing and banners flying. Mr. Peace, an itinerant teetotal lecturer, called the day "a splendid and sufficient proof that teetotalism is not retrograding in St. Ives".¹⁶ A revival teetotal meeting was held in the Teetotal Wesleyan chapel, Halsetown, on 27th January 1847, when the speaker was James Teare. He spoke on "the sin and crime of destroying the people's food to manufacture drunkard's drink". At the close of his one-and-three-quarter-hours' address many signed the pledge, and it was felt that the work had received a "fresh impulse" there.¹⁷ As well as these special meetings, we hear of lovefeasts, class meetings, quarterly meetings, prayer meetings, society meetings and preachers' meetings—the whole gamut of Methodist activities. They issued class tickets and plans, and in 1844 a Teetotal Wesleyan local preacher commenced *The Teetotal Wesleyan Sabbath School Magazine and Friendly Cottage Visitor*,

¹⁴ *Sidelights*, p. 514.

¹⁵ *Temperance Pioneers*, pp. 199-200, quoting *Cornwall Temperance Journal*, January 1843.

¹⁶ *Cornwall Temperance Journal*, March 1845.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, March 1847.

priced at one penny. The Sacrament was administered with unfermented wine. The Chapel Street society were on friendly terms with the Bible Christians of St. Ives, and allowed them the use of their chapel for missionary meetings. (There was then no Bible Christian chapel in the town.) At one of these, held on 21st February 1850, William Docton and a speaker named Whittington "spoke with much warmth in favour of the Bible Christian Connexion, and declared themselves well pleased with our attempt to do good in St. Ives; believing us to have been led there in the will of the Lord."¹⁸

The Teetotal Wesleyans were ardent reformers, and played their part in the Wesleyan troubles of 1849. In 1850 "W.T." (William Tresize?) of Trewellard contrasted his state in the Teetotal Wesleyans with his former Wesleyan membership: "With the Teetotal Wesleyans I have liberty to think, and more than that, I have liberty to *speak*, and liberty to *act* in matters of law and discipline, without dread of censure or expulsion. Inquisitorial tests are unknown. Self crimination or expulsion, is not so much as heard of, except from the reign of tyranny without. . . . in this little society the principle of religious liberty is in the ascendant, as it ought to be universally." The writer deploras the "obsequious attention" paid in Wesleyan Methodism to the rich, and cannot understand why the pastors "refused to give up their wine or spirits for the sake of their weaker brethren whom their example might offend and cause to stumble and perish".¹⁹ In 1851 James Bromley spoke in the St. Ives Teetotal chapel on Wesleyan reform. The use of the chapel was only conceded after a good deal of opposition, as Bromley did not agree with Dr. Lees's views on teetotalism.²⁰

After some years, the large Teetotal circuit was split up. On the famous Teetotal Wesleyan Plan for May to July 1857, in Bedford Road chapel, St. Ives, the St. Ives circuit has only the following societies: St. Ives, Trewellard, Paul, Halsetown, Lady Downs, New Mill, Ludgvan, Chyangweal, and Goldsithney. We know that there was another circuit at Hayle, but the organization of the other societies is obscure. Each circuit appears to have been virtually independent, and we hear nothing of any Annual Assembly or Conference. The denomination throughout its short life was confined to West Cornwall, as elsewhere Methodist teetotalers did not find it necessary to resort to the drastic remedy of mass separation.

It was the ministry which proved to be the rock on which the denomination eventually foundered. There seems to have been no regular ministry among the Teetotal Wesleyans, each circuit seeking the services of unattached ministers. Edwin Paxton Hood and

¹⁸ *Bible Christian Magazine*, 1850, p. 193. Dr. O. A. Beckerlegge is convinced that "Whittington" is John Swann Withington, Teetotal Wesleyan minister at Hayle, 1842-52, and afterwards President of the UMFC.

¹⁹ "W.T.": *Thirteen Pence for a Shilling, or a reply to the Rev. Isaac Harding, Wesleyan Minister, by a member of the Teetotal Wesleyan Society, Trewellard.*

²⁰ *West Briton*, 4th April 1851.

William Booth laboured for a time in the St. Ives circuit.²¹ The 1857 Plan shows that Samuel Dunn, then the minister of Camborne Free Church, preached in the circuit, while Teetotal local preachers supplied Camborne. A weekly collection for the support of the ministry was taken, according to the 1857 Plan, which also shows seventeen local preachers, with three on trial. A note reminds preachers that neglected appointments "work the ruin of a circuit".

The desire for a more regular ministry caused the denomination to break up. The first to go seem to have been the societies at Mawgan and St. Martin, which in 1848 were admitted into the Wesleyan Methodist Association on condition that only abstaining preachers were to be appointed to them. The crisis point for the St. Ives circuit arrived in 1860. Chapel Street and the other societies joined the Methodist New Connexion, whilst the societies at Hayle and in the Penzance area chose the United Methodist Free Churches. The choice of the New Connexion, which had not been so wholeheartedly in favour of total abstinence as the other non-Wesleyan bodies, was perhaps unusual, but again it was agreed that none but abstaining preachers would be appointed, and that the conditions of membership would remain unaltered. The Rev. J. White of the New Connexion was the first minister appointed, and the MNC *Minutes* show that 234 members and seven chapels in the St. Ives area came into the Connexion. This was more than the whole MNC strength in Cornwall at the time. Other societies may have lingered a little longer: the last entry in the Halsetown Teetotal Wesleyan account book is dated 1865.

William Docton lived long enough to be assured of the triumph of the principles of the Teetotal Wesleyans inside Wesleyan Methodism. Four years before his death the Conference sanctioned the Band of Hope, and three years later admitted lay representation, thus dealing a death-blow to "the domination of Wesleyan priesthood". The impression left by this small and vigorous body is one of balance: their concern for teetotalism was not an end in itself, but a means of safeguarding converts in their new-found faith from relapsing into the drunkenness of their unregenerate days. The passion for teetotalism was nowhere stronger than in Cornwall, and to this passion the Teetotal Wesleyans made a substantial contribution. Nevertheless, the real issue at stake was not teetotalism. The separation of 1841 was no more caused by teetotalism than the separation of 1834 by a theological institution. Behind both was the question of the Pastoral Office, with its ominous power of converting differences into divisions. There is little doubt that had the Conference been more sensitive to the new conditions created by the Beerhouse Act, and had Turner not attempted to force the issue, there would not have been a separation at all.

MICHAEL S. EDWARDS.

²¹ Colbeck (*Methodist Union*, p. 12), referring to Booth, says: "There are people still living [i.e. c. 1932] who remember his ministry, and can recall interesting events connected with it."

THE ANNUAL MEETING AND LECTURE

A GAIN this year we were indebted to Mrs. Herbert Ibberson for the tea which we enjoyed before the Annual Meeting at Greenhill chapel, Bradford. Our only regret was that Mrs. Ibberson herself could not be present. Over the tea-tables we discovered again that the Wesley Historical Society is a fellowship as well as a learned society.

Business Meeting

The Rev. John T. Wilkinson was elected to the chair, and the minutes were read by Dr. Frank Baker. It was a joy to us all that Dr. Baker, who was spending some weeks in this country before returning to the United States to take up his permanent post at Duke University, was able to be present at the tea and meeting, but the joy was tempered by the thought that this was his last appearance among us as General Secretary. The chairman and the Rev. Wesley F. Swift expressed to Dr. Baker our great indebtedness to him for the untiring service that he has given to the Society, and our good wishes to him for his future work.

The meeting agreed to convey its warm congratulations to Dr. Maldwyn Edwards, a distinguished member of our Society, on his election as President of the Conference.

Standing tribute was paid to members who had died during the year, the list including the names of Dr. Leslie F. Church, Dr. T. B. Shepherd, and the Very Rev. Norman Sykes, F.B.A.

The Rev. Thomas Shaw was appointed General Secretary, and the other officers were re-appointed with the addition of Dr. Frank Baker as "Correspondent in the U.S.A.". The Treasurer's report, in the unavoidable absence of Mr. Sydney Walton, was presented by the Secretary. The details will be found on the statement accompanying this report. The Registrar reported a membership of 766: 58 new members had been enrolled during the year, a net increase of 31. The Editor stated that he had plenty of material on hand, but was still in need of new contributors.

The meeting approved of the arrangements made for future lectures: the Rev. A. D. Cummings on "Portrait in Pottery" at Stoke on Trent next year; Mr. John A. Vickers on Dr. Thomas Coke in 1964; and the Rev. Thomas Shaw on the Bible Christians in 1965—the two latter being "third jubilee" occasions.

The meeting gave its approval to the form in which the rules of membership have been set out on the cover of the *Proceedings* since September 1960. Life members, under the rule so modified, will still receive "all subsequent issues of *Proceedings*" without further payment, but not the occasional *Publications*. The reason for this change is purely economic, and life members who joined the Society under the original rule have been asked to waive their claim to future *Publications*.

The Librarian's report of further progress was read by the Secretary and appreciatively received. Thanks were expressed to the Treasurer for the prominent notice of the Society's activities which he had placed in the *Methodist Recorder* as a personal gift.

The meeting heard with much pleasure of the appointment by the Conference that afternoon of the Rev. Wesley F. Swift as Connexional Archivist, an office which will be of great service in the future, not only to the departmental officers of the Methodist Church but to all interested in Methodist history.

Branch activity was reported from East Anglia and Cornwall, and the possibility of forming a West Yorkshire branch was discussed. Alderman Horace Hird of Bradford, who was present, was thanked for his leading part in organizing the "John Wesley and Methodism" Exhibition at Lister Park Art Gallery over the period of the Conference, and congratulated upon the excellence of the presentation.

The Annual Lecture

The Rev. John C. Bowmer was the lecturer this year, and the chair was taken by Mr. Gordon N. Hunter of Leeds. Those of us who treasure Mr. Bowmer's earlier study of *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism* (1951) had been eagerly anticipating this further study of *The Lord's Supper in Methodism, 1791-1960*, and we were not disappointed. The lecturer made a detailed survey of every aspect of the Eucharist in Methodism from the death of Wesley to the present day. After some discussion of what were Wesley's intentions with regard to the Lord's Supper in Methodism after his death, Mr. Bowmer described the actual history of the ordinance in the divided sections of Methodism. There was the central tradition derived from Charles Wesley's High Anglicanism and continued less vigorously in Wesleyan Methodism, and there were the "Low Church" attitudes to the Sacrament generally associated with the smaller sections of Methodism. The lecturer reminded us of the importance of the Methodist Sacramental Fellowship, which has now played a part in our history for twenty-five years. In conclusion, Mr. Bowmer turned to the present day and made suggestions about the need for some liturgical experimentation in Methodism, the use that could still be made of the chalice and of the "manual acts", and the position of the communion-table.

THOMAS SHAW.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Financial Statement for the year ended 30th June 1961

RECEIPTS.			£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.			£	s.	d.
Balance in hand, 30th June 1960	...	...	206	1	10	Printing of <i>Proceedings</i> (4 issues)	...	...	208	2	6
Subscriptions and Donations	...	...	269	18	7	Postages and Stationery	...	...	66	9	6
General	...	...	269	18	7	Secretarial and Editorial Expenses	...	...	21	15	7
New Life Members (8)	...	...	33	8	1	Advertising to Libraries	...	...	9	6	0
Irish Branch	...	...	24	9	0	Gen'l Index to <i>Proceedings</i>	...	...	155	0	0
Advertisements	...	...	4	2	0	Insurance	...	...	3	11	8
Share of Lecture Collection	...	...	2	2	1	Bank Charges	...	...	3	3	0
<i>Proceedings</i> (back numbers sold)	...	...	72	8	6	Balance in hand, 30th June 1961	...	...	152	17	4
War Stock Dividend	...	...	7	15	6						
			<u>£620</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>				<u>£620</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>

Balance Sheet

LIABILITIES.			£	s.	d.	ASSETS.			£	s.	d.
Subscriptions in advance	...	...	232	1	5	War Stock (at cost)	...	...	225	0	0
Life Members—	...	...				Cash in hand—Treasurer	...	...	84	11	3
70 at (say) £3 13s. 6d. each	...	...	257	5	0	Registrar	...	...	68	6	1
						Back numbers of <i>Proceedings</i> , Library, Filing Cabinet, etc. unvalued	...	...	

5th July 1961.

SYDNEY WALTON, *Treasurer*.
JOHN F. MILLS, *Auditor*.

A GOOD DEED FOR THE DAY

CORNWALL is celebrated not only for the number but also for the size of its chapels. Near Redruth there is an old mine-working called Gwennap Pit so formed by nature that John Wesley found it an admirable "amphitheatre" (as he called it in the *Journal*) for preaching to the mining population of the area: altogether he preached there thirteen times between 1762 and 1789, estimating his congregations at between ten and thirty-two thousand people. Now Methodists, and others too, come to Gwennap Pit every Whit-Monday for an annual service, commemorating Wesley's visits to this part of Cornwall.

Not far away is the village of Carharrack, whose former Wesleyan chapel is the host for the after-meeting every Whit-Monday. This chapel was built in 1815 and was intended to seat a thousand people,¹ most of them no doubt workers in the numerous mines round about. But Methodist societies with such flourishing numbers do not appear overnight: in fact we know that as early as 1745

A sect called Methodist came among us of late, of which there are forty or fifty who follow them. They have an unlicensed meeting house and a succession of teachers that run up and down the country.²

We do not know whereabouts in the parish of Gwennap this first meeting-house was, but we do know that by 18th January 1780 there was a Methodist society in Carharrack, for on that date one Richard Williams conveyed to seven trustees (including himself) "all that lately erected Preaching House with the yard adjoining".³

What appears to have happened is that one John Lean, a tinner, took a lease for ninety-nine years for a certain tenement in Carharrack, granting a portion of the land to Richard Williams for the building of a preaching-house. Williams, in order to put the whole matter upon a legal footing, and following the usual "pattern" deed recommended by John Wesley at this time, agreed with the Methodist society to have this deed drawn up. This trust deed is thus significant as one of the few pre-Model Deeds surviving apart from those at the Chapel Department in Manchester.⁴

The provisions were that "John Wesley, late of Lincoln College, Oxford, Clerk, and such other persons as he shall from time to time appoint" were "to enjoy the free use and benefit of the said premises". Within the new preaching-house John Wesley was free "to preach and expound God's holy word". After John's death it was stated that his rights in the preaching-house would pass to his

¹ In 1845 the weekly congregation at Carharrack was estimated at 800. (See C. C. James: *A History of the Parish of Gwennap*, p. 55.)

² Bishop of Exeter's Returns (Gwennap parish), quoted in C. C. James, op. cit., p. 19.

³ Deed in Whitford (2) collection, County Record Office, Truro, discovered during cataloguing, August 1961.

⁴ Being a "pattern" deed, its provisions are similar to those of the modified Birchin Street, Manchester, deed, 1763. (See E. Benson Perkins: *Methodist Preaching Houses and the Law*, pp. 30-9.)

brother Charles "late of Christ Church, Oxford, Clerk", but when the Wesleys were both dead the trustees were to permit "such persons as shall be appointed at the yearly conference of the people called Methodists in London, Bristol or Leeds, and no others, to have and enjoy the said premises". Wesley in 1780 was seventy-seven years of age, so it is not altogether surprising to find reference to his approaching death. Permissible doctrine within the new building was contained in Wesley's *Notes on the New Testament* and in his four volumes of sermons. It was further stipulated that preaching should be every Sunday evening (were these early Methodists at matins at the parish church every Sunday morning?) and "at five each morning following".

Who, one might ask, was Richard Williams? And who or what were the trustees of this early society? In this deed Williams is described as a tinner, although there is reason to believe that he was a mine captain at near-by Poldice—one of the most famous of all Cornish mines.⁵ This evidence is substantiated by a letter written by John Wesley to him three years later, when he is addressed as "Capt. Richard Williams of Poldice Mine, near Truro".⁶ The letter gives no clue, unfortunately, as to chapel-building, but more than hints that Williams was keenly interested in the slavery question; in any case the mere fact of a Wesley letter addressed to him marks him out as the probable leader of this society.

Of the remaining trustees, described collectively as "tanners and yeomen", a little can also be said. Their names were Thomas Michell, John Magor, Tristram Powning, Francis Quick, Joseph Pascoe and John Martin. Tristram Powning was for many years the carpenter at Poldice mine, and the same source of information leads us to suspect that John Martin was not only a tinner but one of the eight mine captains at Poldice (as was, of course, Richard Williams).⁷ Thomas Michell and Francis Quick were tanners, but this fact we know only because their names appear in other records.⁸ Francis Quick in his will showed his affiliations by bequeathing to one John Launder an allowance of "twenty one shillings yearly for permitting the Methodist people to assemble together to worship God as they now do and did heretofore".⁹ One may speculate that the private house where the Methodist people assembled (sublet by Francis Quick to John Launder) was the scene of a class meeting.

Whilst the trustees were predominantly men of the mines, as one would expect in this neighbourhood at the time (Cornwall was then approaching her industrial zenith and was perhaps the foremost industrial county in Britain—which explains Wesley's frequent visits to the duchy), two were yeomen, as they respectively described

⁵ See Wheal Gorland and Poldice Mine cost book (A.D. 87), C.R.O., Truro.

⁶ This letter is reprinted in *The Western Antiquary*, vol. II (1882), p. 49.

⁷ See A.D. 87, C.R.O., Truro.

⁸ See Manor of Tolgullow Leases, Whitford (2) collection, C.R.O., Truro.

⁹ Will of Francis Quick of Gwennap (1796), ACP/W, C.R.O., Truro.

themselves in their wills.¹⁰ One, Joseph Pascoe, farmed part of Chellean and Trehaddle (over in the east of the parish), and the other, John Magor, seems to have lived just outside the parish and was probably a farmer, although in his will he bequeathed premises in Redruth, Truro, and elsewhere, apart from land in Gwennap. One would be unsure that this John Magor was the right John Magor but for two significant points in the will: first, that he had interests in and around Carharrack, and second, that it was witnessed by one Hercules Michell, a later trustee of the chapel.

The 1780 deed was superseded in 1800 by a new trust deed, one which incorporated all the extra provisions of the Model Deed enrolled in Chancery by Wesley in 1784.¹¹ By 1800 some of the original trustees—Joseph Pascoe, John Magor and Francis Quick—had passed on. But the remaining four—Richard Williams, Thomas Michell, Tristram Powning and John Martin, with others, accepted office on the new trust. Slowly this old guard slipped away, the last being the Poldice carpenter, Tristram Powning, in 1813, two years before the new chapel was built—an edifice no doubt owing much to their lives, witness and work.

RICHARD POTTS.

¹⁰ Will of Joseph Pascoe of Gwennap (1786); Will of John Magor of Kenwyn (1789), ACP/W, C.R.O., Truro.

¹¹ See E. Benson Perkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff.

The Wesley Translation Society (Japan) published in November 1960 the first volume of the *Notes upon the New Testament*, with a first printing of 2,000 copies. This summer the first volume of Wesley's *Sermons* (translated by Dr. Yoshio Noro) has been published, and the second volume of the *Notes* will follow shortly. The Society is appealing for contributions towards its work both to universities and colleges established by the Methodist Church, and also to the churches in Japan which are traditionally and spiritually related to John Wesley. Already such contributions amount to 90,000 yen.

The Society's second report states that because there is a great need for the spirit of John Wesley in the Christian world of Japan, "we feel that we have an urgent mission to do our best in this publication project. The advancement of evangelical achievement in Japan after the War is not in a condition which is satisfactory, and we know that there are many reasons for it. But, apparently, one reason is because we lack the spirit of Methodism."

The Calvinistic Methodist Historical Society continues in good heart. Four issues of the magazine are being published this year instead of the usual three. The September and December issues are mostly in Welsh, but it is obvious (if the English articles are any guide) that much valuable information is being discovered and disseminated. The finances are sound, and the credit balance has been considerably increased during the year. There is also a credit on the Pilgrim Trust account (for publications) of £509, and the second volume of *Selected Trevecka Letters*, transcribed and annotated by the Rev. Gomer M. Roberts, is promised before this year is out.

A KINDRED SOCIETY IN THE WEST INDIES

THE Methodist Historical Society of the Western Area (West Indies and the Americas) is still young, though some of us who have worked for some years in the Area have long felt the need for such a society. Its formation may be summarized as follows :

In 1956, while I was occupied in some preliminary researches on behalf of the Provincial Synod in preparation for the celebration of the bicentenary of Methodism in the Area, I wrote to the Methodist Missionary Society urging the publication of such old documents as still existed which were of historical interest. I was impressed by the fact that much valuable material had already perished because of hurricanes, earthquakes, insects, and human carelessness. The Missionary Society warmly agreed, and gave me its blessing ; but it was not able to offer any financial help in the project. In 1958 I was put in charge of the Literature Department of the Jamaica District, and this gave me the opportunity of founding the *Methodist Archivist*, and using it to circularize people in all parts of the Western Area, and such likely people in the United Kingdom as the Wesley Historical Society, and to enlist their support by subscription. In 1960, our bicentenary year, I applied through the Jamaica District Synod to the Provincial Synod for recognition of the subscribers as foundation members of a proposed Methodist Historical Society in the Area. The Provincial Synod approved of the application, and constituted the Society by passing a resolution to that effect.

Mrs. H. A. McLarty has handled the duplicating of the *Methodist Archivist* from the first issue, and now that it has assumed the status of the bulletin of the Society to which it gave birth, she continues to serve as honorary printer, distributor, and secretary of the Management Committee which was set up after our constitution as a society. I was invalided home to England in the spring of 1961, and for some time the doctors thought I should have to cease all activity ; so the Society, whilst retaining me as editor, took the wise precaution of giving me a colleague in the person of the Rev. William Sunter. Dr. Deans Peggs was at the same time created president ; he is in Hong Kong, and Mr. Sunter and I are both in England. It was essential, therefore, that Mrs. McLarty should have a committee to support her, composed of members resident in Jamaica. This then is the present organization of our Society ; our bulletin, the *Methodist Archivist*, is prepared by Mr. Sunter and me in England, and printed and distributed by Mrs. McLarty in Jamaica, the administration of the Society's affairs being in the hands of the committee in that island, with Mrs. McLarty as secretary.

Mention should be made of two other activities which are of interest to our Society, though not directly sponsored by it. The first is the Deans Peggs Research Fund (Bahamas), which has published the Journal of William Dowson, prepared and edited by our president before the foundation of our Society—a valuable work. The second is the annual historical lecture (the William Fish Lecture) sponsored by the Literature Department of the Jamaica District: the 1960 lecture on "Methodist Origins in Clarendon" was delivered by our vice-president, Mr. Hilton S. Airall ; and in November I delivered, by tape recording, in Jamaica the 1961 lecture on "Harry's Children" (Methodist origins in the Dutch West Indies). The Jamaica Book Steward publishes these in written form (duplicator), and they are obtainable from the Methodist Book Centre, Coke House, Mark Lane, Kingston, Jamaica.

DONALD S. CHING.

NOTES ON AN ASBURY LETTER

[The contribution printed below refers to the letter from John Wesley to Francis Asbury, dated 31st October 1784, which was printed in our March issue of the current volume, pp. 11-12. Our contributor is Pastor Emeritus of John Street Methodist church, New York.—EDITOR.]

THE letter of John Wesley to Francis Asbury, presented in *Proceedings*, March 1961, is of great interest. Mrs. Warnick, Methodist Historical Society Librarian at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, has sent me a photostat of the letter, and a copy of the Perkins Theological Seminary *Journal* where it first appeared, Winter Number, 1960. I take the liberty of making brief comments on certain elements of the letter.

1. At the close of paragraph 2, there is a reference to "Mr. J——". In all likelihood, this person is Devereux Jarratt, with whom the Methodist group had developed such close co-operation in the amazing evangelistic effort in Virginia, known as "The Great Awakening". (See Jarratt's report to Wesley, as noted in *Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury*, i, pp. 207-24, and other references.) The photostats sent to me by Mrs. Warnick distinctly shows the name as "Jarr——". Replying to my suggestion that "Jarratt" is the identification, Mrs. Warnick writes: "Yes, after carefully looking at the MSS. again, I decided that you were correct in thinking that the 'Mr. J——' was Devereux Jarratt. There was a 'patch' on the back of the page, and that is why the dark blotch which I could hardly eliminate." Jarratt's extremely cordial relationship to all the Methodist leaders makes such identification quite plausible.

2. Paragraph 3 includes the suggestion that the American group "form a regular connexion with our Society in Antigua on the one hand, & with those in Nova Scotia & Newfoundland on the other." This was done at the Christmas Conference, through the ordination of certain men to serve in those areas under the order of the newly-organized Methodist Episcopal Church. For Antigua, Jeremiah Lambert was ordained, but he died before reaching the field. For Nova Scotia, Freeborn Garrettsen and James Cromwell were ordained, and went to the field. (See *Journal and Letters*, i, pp. 474-6.) It is interesting to observe that the ordinations then conferred were in the process devised by Wesley for such church as should be established in America in the vacuum created by the absence of the Anglican Church after the Treaty of Peace. These particular preachers went, however, to areas not included as under the Treaty of Peace, remaining in regular Anglican jurisdiction. Coke may have had instruction from Wesley on this, to which Asbury and the Conference readily agreed. The letter could hardly have been in Asbury's hands before the Christmas Conference. These appointments remained under the American Church for a number of years.

3. The address is given as "To / Mr. Francis Asbury / at Mr. Spragg's / in / New York." In the photostat, there is no apostrophe in the name "Spraggs". There should be no apostrophe. The person was Samuel Spraggs, who had been preacher at Wesley chapel, New York City, during the British military occupation in the Revolution. Spraggs had been admitted "on trial" at the 1774 American Conference, appointed to assist on the Brunswick circuit, Virginia. In 1775 he was received "in full connection", and for two years served at Philadelphia. The 1777 Conference sent him into Maryland. At the same time New York fell vacant as an appointment, because of the war situation, John Mann, a local preacher,

being in charge. On Monday, 9th March 1778, Asbury writes in *Journal* (i, p. 263): "Samuel Spraggs came in from the upper circuit, but on Tuesday both he and George Shadford left me." Apparently with Asbury's knowledge, Spraggs went north. Being a Tory sympathizer, he was able to pass the British lines, and soon reached New York. He promptly took the leadership at Wesley chapel, where he remained for five years, until the summer of 1783. *John Street Church Records*, Vol. I contains many references to him as "preacher" across this period, with notations of regular payment of his "quarterage". The last entry is 10th July 1783, recording the completion of payment to him as "preacher". By this time John Dickins had arrived under Asbury's appointment to assume the responsibilities at New York. Spraggs appears to have taken up residence in northern New Jersey. At a later date he took "orders" in the Protestant Episcopal Church, serving for some years at the church in Elizabeth, New Jersey. This would have been in close co-operation with Uzal Ogden, who is mentioned in connexion with Jarratt, in the Wesley letter. After Spraggs's death, a tablet was established in his honour in the Elizabeth Episcopal Church.

4. Had the editors of *Journal and Letters* known of the existence of this letter, they would surely have included it in the appropriate volume of that monumental work. The late Bishop Leete was quite "a law unto himself" in all matters pertaining to his accumulation of Wesleyana and Methodist historical documents.

5. There is no record in Asbury's *Journal* concerning the receipt of this letter, nor any particular reference to important points in its contents. Written in England on 31st October 1784, there was very little chance of its arrival at New York before John Dickins left in mid-December to attend the Conference at Baltimore. Addressed as in care of Spraggs, who had finished his work at Wesley chapel, and presumably left New York a year and a half earlier (July 1783), and with Dickins absent at Baltimore, there may have been considerable delay in forwarding it southward to catch up with Asbury. No record appears as to where or when he actually received it. Indeed, it is just about the only letter of importance from anyone to Asbury that remains extant in the original document. It must have been included in some packet of material and papers not deposited in New York, and therefore escaping the Publishing House fire of 1836, in which practically all Asbury's original documents, with other letters and papers, were destroyed. This letter may well be unique in its class, and thus priceless in Methodist annals.

ARTHUR BRUCE MOSS.

The Cheshire town of Macclesfield has this year celebrated its 700th anniversary as a Borough, and the event has called forth *A History of Macclesfield*, edited by C. Stella Davies (Manchester University Press, pp. xiv. 404, 21s.). This handsome volume deals adequately with Methodism and its influence in the town. We learn, for example, that the second preaching-house about 1750 was a cottage rented by Elizabeth Clulow, whose son William became the solicitor who prepared John Wesley's will. One of the leading Methodists in the early days was Mrs. Charles Roe (whose husband founded the local copper works). Their daughter, as Hester Ann Rogers, "became a great name in the Methodist Church". Future Methodist historians will find that this book provides them with much valuable information about people, places and dates, as well as giving an informed account of the town's history and industries.

THE CONNEXIONAL ARCHIVES

IT is common knowledge that the last Conference appointed me to the post of connexional archivist (the first full-time appointment of its kind), to work at the Epworth Press, where most of our archives happen to be located, under the direction of the Book Committee. This is not the place to recount the details of the scheme, but as so many of our readers are Americans the opportunity is now afforded to acknowledge the generosity of American Methodism, which has been responsible for two-fifths of the money required for the establishment of our connexional archives.

My tenure of office has been so brief that it has so far been impossible to examine more than a fraction of the items which our archives contain, but this article is written in the belief that a general description may be of interest to all our members, and of assistance to not a few. It will be convenient for this purpose to list the archives under certain main headings.¹

1. CONFERENCE ARCHIVES.

These include :

(a) The Journals of the various Conferences which now form The Methodist Church. The Wesleyan Conference Journals commence with an attested copy of the Deed of Declaration of 1784, and the Minutes of the first seven Conferences (commencing in 1784) are of course signed by John Wesley as President and Thomas Coke as Secretary.

(b) The Deed of Union of 1932.

(c) Wesley's "Field" Bible—the insignia of office of the President of the Conference.

(d) District Synod Minutes (incomplete) of the various Methodist denominations, going back to 1800.

(e) Minutes of various connexional committees, notably the Book Committee from its inception, and the committees which produced the 1904 and 1933 hymn-books, etc., and account books relating to the Children's Fund and Woodhouse Grove and Kingswood Schools.

2. THE LIBRARY.

The Library is perhaps the most complete of its kind in the world. It contains, amongst other things :

(a) Complete runs of the *Minutes* and *Magazines* of all the Methodist denominations.

(b) Copies of all but a score of the 417 publications of John Wesley, as listed in Green's *Wesley Bibliography*, including most of the editions of each item ; and a large percentage of the literature listed in Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications*.

(c) About 5,000 eighteenth- and nineteenth-century pamphlets, at present unclassified and uncatalogued.

¹ A full (though not always accurate) inventory of the connexional archives was printed in *A Catalogue of Wesleyana* in 1921, in a limited edition of 250 copies. Many additions have, of course, been made during the last forty years.

(d) An extensive collection of Wesley and other Methodist biographies; histories of Methodism in all parts of the world; and a large number of "local histories" of Methodism in this country.

(e) A complete run of the *Watchman*, and small runs of other Methodist newspapers, including the *Methodist Recorder* from 1925.

(f) The Percy Music Library, consisting of copies of over 1,000 hymn-books and tune-books from every denomination under heaven. This valuable collection was originally presented by its owner, Mr. J. C. B. Percy, to the Chapel Committee, who in turn handed it to the connexional archives.

A word may be necessary about the relationship between the Archives Library and our Society's own Library only a few yards away in the crypt of Wesley's Chapel. In many respects the two Libraries overlap; but whilst the Archives Library is richer in runs of Magazines and *Minutes*, our own Society may claim to have a greater selection of books of more general interest. Many books in the "Bretherton Collection" (which was the nucleus of our Society's Library), for instance, are not to be found in the Archives Library. The main distinction between the two Libraries, however, is that whilst the Archives Library is purely a reference library which can only be consulted on the spot, the Wesley Historical Society Library is a lending library for the benefit of its members, and there is nothing quite like it anywhere else. We are glad to report that both libraries, within their respective limitations, are in constant use by workers from far and near.

3. THE "COLMAN" COLLECTION.

This valuable collection, consisting mainly of twenty volumes of Wesley's diaries, accounts, sermon registers, etc., was the property of Mr. J. J. Colman, of Norwich. His son, Mr. Russell J. Colman, presented it to the Conference in 1937.²

4. THE "LAMPLOUGH" COLLECTION.

This collection, received by the Conference in 1942 as a bequest from the late Mr. Edmund S. Lamplough, contains a large number of autograph Wesley letters, letters by other members of the Wesley family, some rare editions of various Wesley publications (including Augustus M. Toplady's personal copy of the *Notes upon the New Testament*, with his own annotations), and other autograph Wesley manuscripts; together with a collection of medallions, and small items associated with the Wesleys and other prominent Methodist personalities.

5. THE "BOTTELEY" COLLECTION OF WESLEY POTTERY.

A collection of 107 Wesley busts, statuettes and plaques, presented to the Conference in 1912 by Mr. James Botteley, of Birmingham. The collection has since received further accessions.³

² The "Colman" Collection was described in *Proceedings*, xxi, pp. 93 ff.

³ Illustrated articles on the "Botteley" Collection were printed in the *Connoisseur*, September 1907, and in the *Methodist Magazine*, 1913, pp. 86-92.

6. DOCUMENTS.

The archives contain immense piles of documents, i.e. letters, sermons, ordination certificates, deeds, etc. This is the accumulation of two hundred years, and the formidable task of examining, collating and classifying them will occupy a large part of the archivist's time. When completed, they will prove to be of great value to research workers. In addition, there are several hundreds of letters written by various members of the Wesley family (at least sixty of which have not yet been published), and scores of other documents of the Wesleys, including several MS. volumes of Charles Wesley's hymns, in his own writing.

7. MARRIAGE REGISTERS.

When a Methodist chapel is closed, the marriage registers are sent to Somerset House, where they are officially "closed" by cancelling the unused pages. One copy is then sent to the superintendent registrar of the district concerned, and the other book is sent to the Secretary of the Conference for permanent retention in the connexional archives. There are nearly 900 parcels of such registers, which are carefully indexed and recorded, and the number increases every week.

8. "EXTRA-MURAL" ARCHIVES.

The above list is no more than an outline to give a general idea of the nature of the connexional archives housed at City Road, London. But it must not be forgotten that considerable quantities of archive material are located elsewhere, e.g. at Wesley's House and Chapel, at the Methodist Missionary Society, at Richmond College (which possesses Wesley's own personal library and the pulpit from the Foundery), at Headingley College (whose most cherished possession is Wesley's last diary), at Hartley Victoria College (which owns the collection of James Everett, as well as many items associated with the founders of Primitive Methodism), and at the Department of Chapel Affairs. Even so, the list is by no means complete, for we must not overlook the large quantity of archives reposing in circuit safes or stored on permanent loan in county or municipal record offices.

CONCLUSION.

This article must end with an appeal, and the appeal may begin with a story. One of our members, ascending into the false roof of the manse to clear out some birds-nests, discovered there some important account and minute books relating to his chapel. But for the birds-nests, the books would have remained there for ever. As it is, they are proving of great assistance to this brother in the writing of a centenary brochure. It cannot be said too strongly or too often that every minute book, every account book, every church leaflet or circuit magazine, every handbill, is precious archive material which, though perhaps of little value today, will be of immense value for posterity. Some would even say that every Sunday-school class

register should be preserved for future generations, and I would not demur.

Unfortunately, the physical resources of our new archives centre in London are insufficient to justify us welcoming a vast influx of circuit records, glad though we should be to have them. Under present circumstances, they should be kept locally, but they *must be kept* somewhere. The responsibility for their preservation belongs mainly, of course, to superintendent ministers, but all our members can help by making inquiries at a local level; and also, perhaps (with the consent and approval of the superintendent), by compiling a register of books and documents kept in their chapel or circuit safes.

Another useful piece of work which our members could undertake is to secure the transfer, on permanent loan, of church and circuit records (such as minute and account books, handbills, old plans, etc.) to county and municipal record offices. There is no constitutional objection to this being done; indeed, many circuits have already used this method of preserving and storing their historical records. Such documents should not, of course, be too recent. Minute books before 1900 are rarely used except by the historian, and are not now likely to contain anything of a private or confidential nature. County record offices are usually delighted to receive such accessions, which provide a wealth of material for future historians.

It remains for me to say, as connexional archivist, that where such lists are compiled or loans made to record offices, a copy sent to me at 25-35, City Road, London, E.C.1 would be of great value. I hope the day will come, and that soon, when our connexional archives will have a complete survey of all our historical records, no matter how trivial they may appear or where they may be located. Only in this way can the "research centre" side of our archives function properly, and every member of our Society can help towards that end.

Finally, it may be permissible to state that with the utmost desire to help students it is impossible for the archivist to do their work for them. We cannot undertake to do more than give a general idea of the material which is available on any given subject, but photostat copies of any document can be supplied on request at a modest charge to cover the cost. Students will always be welcomed (preferably by prior appointment) between the hours of 10 a.m. and 4 p.m., and the full resources of the Research Centre will gladly be placed at their disposal.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

We have often reviewed the *Epworth Witness* in these pages. It is now an even greater pleasure to commend *Epworth—the home of the Wesleys*, by W. Le Cato Edwards (pp. 32, 10s. 6d. post paid from The Old Rectory, Epworth, Doncaster). The text is a history of Epworth, with special reference to the Wesleys; but it is no disrespect to Mr. Edwards to say that the book's chief attraction is the profusion of illustrations, including eight magnificent coloured plates of the Rectory, the parish church, and the Wesley Memorial church. This is a book to treasure: the profits of course go to the fund for the maintenance of Wesley's boyhood home.

BOOK NOTICES

Sons to Samuel, by Maldwyn L. Edwards. (Epworth Press, pp. xii. 134, 10s. 6d.)

Dr. Maldwyn Edwards lists the usual authorities in his latest book on the Wesley family, but two very different books were clearly much in his mind as he wrote of the Epworth Rectory—Mrs. Elsie Harrison's sensational *Son to Susanna* and Quiller Couch's *Hetty Wesley*. Dr. Edwards is more successful in establishing the influence of the father over his three sons than in mitigating the unutterable and Hardy-esque tragedy of Hetty, and to a less extent of her sisters, for which the rector must bear a major responsibility. Indeed, no attempt is made to lighten the picture of Samuel Wesley's relationship with his daughters beyond the reference to the different customs of the age, the main purpose of the book being to bring out the understanding which existed between the sons and their father. The study shows how the imperious spirit of John was coloured, but never dominated, by his strange but gifted father; and how first his brother Samuel, and then Charles, tried vainly to guide and curb one who acknowledged no master save only the One he served so faithfully to the end. Perhaps the most attractive chapter in this delightfully written study of the brothers and their father is that entitled "The Unalienable Friend", from Charles's own moving description of his relationship with his brother, which tells the story of their deep and abiding love for each other in spite of all differences.

The final chapter asks the question "what remains?". Dr. Edwards writes with true catholicity and without a trace of denominational bigotry, but does not his story point to a goal even greater than that of preserving our heritage? The twentieth century presents a very different ecclesiastical picture from the eighteenth, and if the brothers were alive today the question of church order, for which Charles strove and which John on occasion disregarded, would appear in a very different light. Dare we hope that the "unalienable friends" will at last be reconciled in a Church which is even greater than that from which they sprang, and greater too than the world-wide community which under God they called into being?

A. KINGSLEY LLOYD.

The Lord's Supper in Methodism, 1791-1960, by John C. Bowmer. (Epworth Press, pp. 64, 6s.). The Wesley Historical Society Lectures, No. 27.

Mr. Bowmer's earlier book, *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism*, is the standard work on its subject. In this year's Wesley Historical Society Lecture he continues the subject from Wesley's death to the present day. There are side-glances at such kindred topics as ordination (in which he shows a certain fondness for the Lichfield Plan), the qualifications for membership, and the service-books of Wesleyan Methodism. He describes the practices of all the branches of British Methodism and of Methodism since the union, traces the history of our eucharistic doctrine, and prophesies the future. The conclusion is all too clear: in the nineteenth century none of the branches of Methodism preserved the full richness of Wesley's theology or of his practice. In our own day something, but not yet all, has been recovered.

The chief impression made by the book is its brevity. The main portion of it contains only fifty pages, and the complex story has had to be severely compressed. Doubtless this compression accounts for the error on page 30 where Wesley is said to have published a book in 1792. The section on

doctrine is even briefer than the purely historical chapters. It is right to say that the sacrificial aspect has been largely unappropriated, but in view of the current ecumenical study of sacrifice a much fuller discussion is needed; reference might incidentally be made to the first additional note to the report on Christian Worship presented to Conference in 1960. The author brings out the point that in Wesley's view we share in Christ's sacrificial offering, but he does not make it clear that in Wesley's view we also plead it. The vexed question of the position of the Prayer of Oblation (page 46) is also excessively brief.

The book is a useful factual guide, and no one will be more aware than Mr. Bowmer himself how much has had to be omitted. We hope that he will produce a larger book on the same subject to guide that revision of our liturgy which must surely be made in the next ten or fifteen years.

A. RAYMOND GEORGE.

John Wesley, by Ingvar Haddal. (Epworth Press, pp. 175, 18s. 6d.)

The value of this recent addition to the ever-expanding library of books about the founder of Methodism is not that it is a new evaluation of Wesley seen through the eyes of a Norwegian scholar, for we see him in this book in the form he has always assumed before English eyes; but lies rather in the fact that Mr. Haddal has produced a straightforward, truthful, well-balanced and attractively-written biography for the ordinary reader. This is not a book for the Wesley scholar as such, but one that he could confidently place in the hands of anyone who asks the question "Who is this John Wesley?". The book would make an excellent addition to the biographical section of the local library, and we think that that will be the most useful place for it.

It is remarkable that a Norwegian should have been able to make selections from the great mass of detailed information available in English and produce so balanced a book. The only indication that the author is not an English Methodist comes on page 4, where grandfather Wesley is called "Pastor Bartholomew", and on page 9, where there is a similar reference. The errors which we have detected are few and of minor importance: the Industrial Revolution can hardly have contributed to the misery of Samuel Wesley's fellow-prisoners in Lincoln gaol in 1705 (page 1); the rector was not under his son's pastoral care (page 38); and Bishop Lavington is not accurately described as a "High Anglican". The word "not" is surely missing from the end of line 8 on page 5.

The book, which is translated from the Norwegian, is further evidence of the truth of the author's final observation that the tireless horseman of the eighteenth century "now travels farther and farther into the minds and thoughts of men each succeeding day".

THOMAS SHAW.

The Fen Road church, Heighington, Lincs, has published a cyclostyled souvenir handbook in connexion with its centenary. The historical notes, unfortunately, are few. The society began in 1823, and its designated origin as "Free Methodist" seems lacking in exactness. . . . "Beulah" chapel, Brendon Hill, in the Kingsbrompton circuit, has also celebrated its centenary. It was established through the preaching of Mary Mason, one of the early Bible Christian "itinerant females", in 1821, though the society had no permanent home until 1861. The Rev. Walter Floyd has been responsible for an admirable booklet, but unfortunately (from our point of view) it is sold out, and no copies are obtainable.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1059. THE UNITED METHODIST FREE CHURCHES BOOK OF SERVICES.

Contrary to general impression, this volume did go into a second edition. As Mr. Bowmer remarks (*Proceedings*, xxxii, p. 147), the original Book of Services was considerably revised towards the end of last century, and two new services added; and, as often in such books, the volume concluded with an Appendix giving "Legal Instructions relative to Marriages" and "The Burial Laws Amendment Act, 1880".

Shortly after 1901 this revised Book of Services went into a second edition. It was no doubt occasioned by the passing of the Marriage Act of 1898,¹ when Free Church ministers for the first time could be appointed as "Authorised Persons" for marriages. Consequently the Appendix was revised to include a summary of the provisions of this Act, drawn up by Edward Boaden, the Connexional Chapel Secretary, and dated Manchester, December 1901.

But the UMFC Book-Room took advantage of the occasion to make minor revisions in the volume itself. For the most part they are not important. The rubric in the Service for the Baptism of Children, for instance, opens, after the introductory paragraph, with "The Service may be commenced by singing one of the following hymns: 722, 723, 724, 910", whereas in the slightly earlier volume it had read: "The Service may be commenced by singing a hymn. The following are suggested as suitable: 722, . . .", etc.

In the interests of strict grammar and clarity, the rubric at the beginning of the closing prayer contains the words "if either of the parents be not living" (earlier: "if both parents are not living"). The service concludes with a note, missing from the earlier volume, regarding the registration of the baptism. In a similar way, the opening rubric of the Service for the Baptism of Adults is revised, compressing two sentences into one, as in the former service.

The Service for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is not altered apart from the rearrangement of the order of the hymns in the rubric before the final prayers. Incidentally an interesting feature of the service, which Mr. Bowmer does not note, is the inclusion *twice* of the Benediction from Hebrews xiii. 20-21: it appears as one of the passages which "may be read" "while the Cup is being taken round", and again as a final benediction with this difference, that on the second occasion the word "you" is replaced by "us". At the distribution the minister was clearly praying, as it were, for each member as the Cup was given him; in the closing benediction, as a sound Protestant, he includes himself with his congregation, and so speaks of "us".

Mr. Bowmer is of course right in assuming that the elements were distributed by stewards, members of the Leaders' Meeting, to the congregation sitting in the pews (as no doubt was the case in the early Church); if my own youthful memory is typical (and I suspect it is), the words of delivery, "The Body of the Lord Jesus Christ . . .", were spoken as the minister gave the bread-plates to the stewards, and the optional passages of scripture as the stewards distributed. In other words the order in the service is clear,

¹ Though the 1901 *Minutes*, p. 114, notes that "The Book of Services being out of print, a new edition on smaller paper is in preparation". This phrasing suggests that each edition was printed in one format only—in large type for the use of the officiating preacher.

and not confused as Mr. Bowmer suggests. There is no hint in the service as to when the minister and the stewards partook of the elements: in practice they partook after the distribution to the congregation, and this custom continued even after the appearance in 1913 of the UMC Book, where the rubric suggests that they partake first.

This second edition is easily identifiable in that it was printed at the Free Methodists' own press, the Magnet Press, established in 1901.

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

1060. METHODISM AND THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND IN AYR.

Mr. J. J. Fowler, of Ayr, has kindly sent me an interesting extract from the Minutes of the Kirk Session of the Sandgate Church of Scotland (formerly Free Church of Scotland) in Ayr. The extract reads:

At Ayr, the Twenty fourth day of January, Eighteen hundred and ninety. The Kirk Session of Ayr Free Church met in the Church at the close of the preparatory service conducted by the Revd. Mr. Weston, of the Wesleyan Church, Ayr, by whom the Meeting was constituted.

The Clerk intimated that he had received a note from the Moderator [i.e. the minister of the church] stating that he was confined to the house by a severe cold, and had asked the Revd. Mr. Weston to constitute the Meeting at the close of the Evening Service . . .

Then follows an account of the business transacted at the meeting.

Mr. Fowler points out that for a Wesleyan minister to preside at a Presbyterian Kirk Session is probably a unique occurrence. No Kirk Session can meet unless a minister is present; and the law requires the minister who is prevented from attending a Session meeting to authorize in writing another minister *of the Church* to take his place.

In 1890 Ayr was a "single station". Methodist work there was begun in 1795; a chapel was built in 1813; and the cause seems to have disintegrated just before the first World War. WESLEY F. SWIFT.

1061. STRANGE NOMENCLATURE.

I should be grateful for any information throwing light on the following unusual terms recently encountered.

(i) "Wrenite": John Pawson says that his wife "was a Wrenite" (see *Proceedings*, xi, p. 54).

(ii) "Hell-Redemptioners": Thomas Coke in a letter to Robert Lomas, dated 18th November 1807 (original in M.M.S. Archives), says: "The Kilhamites, I find, are turned Hell-Redemptioners".

(iii) Probationers: On the Bury St. Edmunds Wesleyan circuit plans from November 1843 to October 1844, during the superintendency of Thomas Ballingall, the list of "preachers on trial" is headed "Probationers". Is there any other evidence for this usage? JOHN A. VICKERS.

1062. FORMATION OF A WEST YORKSHIRE BRANCH.

Members of our Society living in or adjacent to the West Riding of Yorkshire are invited to write to the Rev. W. Stanley Rose, 18, Welburn Avenue, Leeds, 16, with a view to the formation of a West Yorkshire branch on similar lines to those branches already formed and functioning in Cornwall and East Anglia. If a sufficient response is forthcoming, Mr. Rose will arrange a preliminary meeting of those interested.

EVELINE A. CHAPMAN.

1063. INFORMATION REQUIRED ABOUT R. C. BRACKENBURY.

I am collecting information concerning the life of "Squire" Robert Carr Brackenbury (1752-1818) of Raithby Hall, Lincolnshire, who was, as members of the Society will know, a great friend of Wesley, and the man mainly responsible for the introduction of Methodism into the Channel Islands and for the building of several chapels in various parts of the country.

Unfortunately, Brackenbury before he died expressed the wish that nothing should be written about his life, and probably a great deal of informative material was destroyed. Mrs. Richard Smith wrote *Raithby Hall: Memorial Sketches of Robert Carr Brackenbury* (Wertheim, London, 1859), which is by no means a complete or accurate record of this very interesting man; but *Raithby Hall* and the various books written by Brackenbury himself appear to be unobtainable, and information has to be sought in the journals, letters and biographies of his friends and contemporaries. I am of course familiar with the better-known of these, but I should be grateful if any members of the Society would send me (at The Green, Dunholme, Lincoln) a note of any reference which may be thought useful, especially those in little-known books or manuscripts.

TERENCE R. LEACH.

1064. EAST ANGLIAN BRANCH.

At the half-yearly meeting on Saturday, 27th May, at the Bury St. Edmunds church, the Rev. John J. Perry presided. The speaker was the Rev. Peter E. Green, of Botesdale (Diss circuit), his subject being "New wine and old bottles". He first described the generally deplorable condition of the Church of England when John Wesley, under the impetus of his spiritual awakening in 1738, preached so effectively that Methodist societies sprang up throughout the country. Though Wesley loved the established Church, despite its defects, and urged his people to cleave to it, he must have seen that all his efforts to keep the new wine of Methodist belief and practice within the old Anglican wineskin would prove unsuccessful. Indeed, many of his own actions were conducive to the separation which inevitably came. Yet, in the speaker's opinion, Methodism did not break away from the Church of England; rather, she grew away as she herself developed into a church.

Mr. Green concluded by saying that once again the fermenting movement of the Spirit of God was producing new wine, and that the old denominational wineskins would not serve indefinitely to contain it. Wesley, who had often declared that the interests of the Church as a whole must always take priority over those of the Church of England or of Methodism, would have been thrilled by the ecumenical prospect which lies before us today. It was our duty to explore any avenue that would seem to lead to a union based on unity of essential belief though not necessarily on uniformity of practice.

The speaker was warmly thanked for what was regarded as a sound and informative appraisal of the relations between Methodism and the Church of England both in Wesley's day and our own.

In the ensuing business session it was announced that at the next meeting, at Norwich, the Rev. Dr. Maldwyn L. Edwards (President of the Conference) would speak on "The Wesley Family". Tea was served at the close by the ladies of the church.

The branch now has sixty-six members.

W. A. GREEN.

1065. "WESLEYBOBS".

Notes and Queries Nos. 952 and 957, of some six years ago (March and June 1955) raise the question of the meaning of the word "Wesleybobs". The following passage which I have just come across in A. Smythe Palmer's *The Folk and their Word-Lore* (London, 1904), throws further light on the subject:

(p. 57) In the East parts of Yorkshire and some parts of Lincolnshire, carol-singers at Christmas-time carry about a box containing figures intended to represent the Virgin and the Infant Saviour, which they call a *vessel-cup*, the box doubtless being conceived as the vessel, and the cup the alms bowl which accompanies it. Another name for it is "wessel-bob", which helps us to the conclusion that the word is really a corruption of *wassail-cup*, the distinctive feature of the ancient Yule, a transition all the easier from *wesselle* being an Old English form of "vessel". Another variant is *bezzle-cup*, but the Leeds folk have contrived to give it a new significance by dubbing it a *Wesley-bob* or *Wesley-Box*, with some latent idea, apparently, that the founder of Methodism had something to do with it.

Presumably in the last fifty years the name has in some places at any rate been transferred from the original box of figures to the familiar Christmas-tree silver balls mentioned in Notes and Queries.

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

The Editor regrets that circumstances, domestic and otherwise, prevented the publication of the September issue of the *Proceedings*. This issue, therefore, following a precedent of many years ago, is a "double" number, and the full number of pages will be made up by the end of the present volume. We apologize for the lapse to all our members, especially to those whose concern prompted them to make courteous inquiries about the non-appearance of the September issue.

Recent months have brought to our Society some serious losses by death. We may mention especially the Rev. R. Ernest Ker, M.A., and the Rev. Robert Haire, ministers of the Irish Conference, whose historical work was known far beyond their native land; the Rev. F. Howell Everson, organizer of the "How Great a Flame" exhibition in 1945, and author of *The Manchester Round* in connexion with the bicentenary of Manchester Methodism; Mr. Charles T. Nightingale, S.S.C., of Edinburgh, whose interest in our work was unbounded and was a constant source of encouragement to the present editor; and the Rev. Tom Beynon, whose work for the Calvinistic Methodist Historical Society, especially in connexion with the writings of Howell Harris, will cause his name long to be remembered. We can ill afford to lose such workers as these, and we extend our deepest sympathy to their relatives.

From the pen of our Secretary, the Rev. Thomas Shaw (whom we congratulate on being made a bard of the Cornish Gorsedd in recognition of his work on Cornish history) comes a full-length brochure, *Methodism in Probos, 1781-1961* (pp. 60, 3s. post paid from the author at The Manse, Probos, Truro, Cornwall). The text is neatly cyclostyled, and there are some splendid illustrations. Mr. Shaw's careful work is known to us all; those who do not know him by sight, however, may see his features portrayed in two of the illustrations. We commend this admirable book.