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Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

Editor : REV. JOHN C. BOWMER, M.A., B.D., Ph.D.

Volume XXXVIII

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HUGH BOURNE: Born 3rd April 1772

A Bicentenary Reflection

WE reflect that Hugh Bourne was never as popular as William Clowes. Clowes was the preacher who drew the crowds. Bourne was the organizer who wanted "all things done decently and in order". But the two men were not agreed on policy, and that resulted in serious tensions. After 1832 they were disagreed on the teetotal policy pursued by Hugh Bourne, but there had been strained relations as early as 1807, when Clowes was doubtful about the wisdom of camp meetings. It was in 1830 that the tension came to the surface again on the question of book sales by the preachers; and in 1831 on the membership returns and financial position of the Hull circuit, where Clowes was superintendent.

Two years later, at the Conference of 1833, Hugh Bourne renewed his criticisms of the Hull circuit, and Clowes was "deeply hurt".¹ Kendall, in his *History of the Primitive Methodist Church*, tends to make light of the whole affair, but Dr. J. T. Wilkinson is nearer the mark when he speaks of its "depth and importance". Kendall himself states that at this Conference Hugh Bourne "made a vehement attack on William Clowes and his policy".²

The last three words provide us with the real clue to the acute tension between Bourne and Clowes at this period. Bourne was not likely to make a vehement personal attack in 1833 on a man of whom he had written only four years earlier :

On this point [preaching the doctrine of a present salvation] he has no equal in the world; and in the whole range of ecclesiastical history, ancient and modern, I have found no instance since the apostles' days of anyone that excelled him.

Either Bourne had become disillusioned about Clowes between 1829

¹ J. T. Wilkinson : *William Clowes*, Appendix B, pp. 94-101. See note on Kendall, p. 94.

² H. B. Kendall : *The Origin and History of the Primitive Methodist Church*, ii, p. 360.

and 1833, or he had become deeply concerned about the policy that Clowes was pursuing. The latter is more likely to be the case.

What kind of policy was it that gave such anxiety to Hugh Bourne? It was the policy of expanding the Hull circuit at the expense of the Bemersley book-room. Hugh Bourne was editor at the book-room, and his brother James was book steward; the entire property belonged to the Bournes.

The work of Clowes in the Hull circuit had begun in 1819. By 1833 Hull had undertaken missions as far northwards as Hexham and Carlisle, and as far southwards as Sheerness, London, Plymouth, St. Austell and Redruth. As early as 21st March 1821, Clowes wrote to his brother-in-law Thomas Woodnorth:

When I look at the work in Yorkshire it is amazing to me; many chapels are built and the land is generally covered with living churches; hundreds and thousands of souls have been brought to God. I said in my last that we had had 700 increase of members during the preceding quarter, but the quarter just closed is 1,714! The total number of members in the circuit now is 4,845, and we have about forty travelling preachers.³

It was a bold policy, but it was an expensive one. Forty travelling preachers, some of them with families, required around £250 a quarter for their total maintenance. Hugh Bourne was cautious, and favoured economy. As early as 1824 he was protesting at the Conference about the employment of preachers "who were not qualified for the duties of the office they occupied".⁴ In 1826 Clowes agreed that travelling preachers should be entitled to no more salary than the circuit raised, and this was so strongly supported by Hugh Bourne that he later declared: "From that hour the Connexion has been rising."⁵

After the Conference of 1833, when Hugh Bourne made his "vehement attack on Clowes and his policy", the Bemersley Book-room printed a circular purporting to show that the Tunstall, Norwich and Manchester Districts, which had not come within the orbit of William Clowes, had secured even more members in the previous nine years than the Districts where Clowes's policy had been followed. It was headed: *A Few Plain Facts. Faith and Industry Superior to High Popularity.*⁶

But it was not simply popularity that was at stake, although on that score Clowes would win easily against Hugh Bourne. Nor was it only a question of which policy was gaining more membership, although a reply to the circular from the Clowes contingent in Hull claimed that a quarter of the entire membership of Primitive Methodism had been brought in by Clowes and his policy—no fewer indeed than 14,116 members between 1819 and 1835.⁷ For Hugh Bourne and his brother James the issue was one of survival.

³ John Petty: *History of the Primitive Methodist Connexion*, p. 137.

⁴ William Antliff: *Life of Hugh Bourne* (ed. Colin C. McKechnie), p. 200.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 214.

⁶ Kendall, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 361.

⁷ *ibid.*, ii, p. 362.

Dr. Frank Baker has shown very clearly how the Bemersley Book-room became the headquarters of Primitive Methodism. The Conference of 1821 appointed Hugh Bourne connexional editor, his brother James book steward, and a Book Committee composed exclusively of Tunstall men. From that time most of the connexional activities revolved round Bemersley, and by 1827 "H. and J. Bourne" not only headed the Book Committee but also the General Committee and the General Missionary Committee. Dr. Baker states that the 1821 Conference decisions had given to the Bournes and their Tunstall colleagues "a silent victory" over Clowes and Hull, and that they retained their tactical advantage for twenty years.⁸

But the continuance of connexional control at Bemersley depended upon the financial success of the Bemersley Book-room, and this in turn depended upon the regular return of circuit income from the sales of the Bemersley publications. It was always difficult to obtain payments from circuits, but it was specially important to do so from a large circuit like Hull. In 1824, when Bourne first complained in Conference about the employment of preachers, the Hull circuit was in debt to the Bemersley Book-room to the extent of at least £244. Each quarter from 1822 to 1824 sums of money had been held back to meet the "salaries" of its forty preachers.⁹ The Hull members numbered 3,772 in June 1824, but the amount owing to the Book-room was very large. Bourne may well have wanted to reduce the number of preachers for the sake of economy at the Book-room as well as for their "being not qualified for the duties of their office".

By 1826 the total amount owing to the Book-room by the Hull circuit had risen to £619 2s. 10³/₄d., so that it is not surprising that this was the Conference at which Clowes agreed that the preachers should be entitled to no more salary than the circuit raised. It was at the 1826 Conference that some thirty of the preachers in the connexion were induced to leave the itinerancy within the space of twelve months. It was out of the question to reduce the allowances, which were as low as £4 per quarter for a single man and £9 2s. for a married man, with children's allowances of 6d. per week for infants and 1s. per week for older children. The only way to economize in the Hull circuit was to change the policy of employing so many preachers, and by March 1827 they had been reduced from forty to thirty; a further twenty were induced to leave elsewhere in the connexion.¹⁰

Hugh Bourne was at this period subject to serious financial pressures. He must have been anxious about the state of the Book-room finances in 1825, with £680 owing for expenditure incurred by his brother James on a printing-press, type, and other materials. He himself did not ask the Conference for any "salary" as editor until

⁸ See *Proceedings*, xxx, pp. 138-50.

⁹ Hull Circuit Accounts Book, 1822-37. See *Proceedings*, xxxvii, pp. 169-72.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, March 1827.

1824.¹¹ But in that year he found it necessary to ask for help, and he was granted £4 per quarter and 10s. a week for board and lodging in the Bemersley household. The financial pressures were to grow worse rather than better, and the tension between Bourne and Clowes grew stronger until it broke out in the "vehement attack" by Bourne on Clowes and his policy at the Conference of 1833.

After 1826, when the amount owing from the Hull circuit to the Book-room had been £619 2s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., serious efforts began to be made by the circuit to reduce the figure. The amounts sent to the Book-room from Hull during the years 1827-32 were as follows:

| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|----------|-----|----|----|----------|----|----|-----------------|
| 1827 ... | 26 | 19 | 0 | 1830 ... | 42 | 16 | 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 1828 ... | 43 | 10 | 6 | 1831 ... | 66 | 14 | 6 |
| 1829 ... | Nil | | | 1832 ... | 26 | 11 | 2 |

These payments totalled £206 11s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., but at the 1833 Conference, when Bourne made his attack, there was still owing £412 11s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.¹² Bourne could scarcely avoid anxiety at the continuing failure of the Hull circuit to meet its obligations to the Book-room. These figures are sufficient to explain the tension between Bourne and Clowes at the 1833 Conference.

Matters were made worse at the Book-room the following year by a fire, and Conference sent out a special appeal for help. But in 1838 James Bourne was replaced as book steward by John Hallam, who found that the personal accounts of James Bourne had become entangled with those of the Book-room, and that both were being used in doubtful business speculations.¹³

Thus for many years Hugh Bourne had been struggling to secure unpaid debts from Clowes for the Hull circuit while at the same time facing the capital debts incurred by his brother James as book steward. It is not surprising that he broke out into an open attack on Clowes and his policy in 1833, as he must have felt that the strain could have been very considerably eased by a different policy in the Hull circuit.

But the "silent victory" won by the Bournes over Clowes and Hull in 1821 now began to turn into defeat for the Bournes at Bemersley. John Flesher, who was sent to replace Hugh Bourne as editor in 1842, had been with Clowes as early as 1822, and he had been secretary of the Quarterly Meeting at Hull as late as 1836.¹⁴ He showed at Bemersley a marked bias in favour of William Clowes. His memorandum on the Bemersley situation included a statement intended to show Clowes as the founder of Primitive Methodism. It also reported a missionary meeting in Tunstall where there was a show of hands to try and prove that Clowes was "a good and great

¹¹ Antliff, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

¹³ See *Proceedings*, xxx, p. 147.

¹² Hull Circuit Accounts Book, 1827-33.

¹⁴ John Flesher's signature appears in the Hull Circuit Accounts Book as Secretary on 11th March 1836, and he is shown to have been a preacher in the Hull circuit from 1822 to 1827.

man in Israel &c.”¹⁵ The meeting was addressed by none other than James Nixon, who had been a Clowes supporter since 1810, when he had agreed with Thomas Woodnorth, Clowes’s brother-in-law, to pay Clowes five shillings a week each if he would become a full-time preacher.¹⁶

We reflect that by 1842 the wheel was beginning to turn full circle as the friends of Clowes at Tunstall began to win their own victory. A year later, Conference took away the printing contract from Bemersley, and in October 1843 James Bourne was declared bankrupt. At the Conference of 1844 James Bourne was stripped of all his offices, and Hugh Bourne went to America into “something like exile”.¹⁷ Bemersley and the Bournes had been defeated.

But the end was not yet. James Bourne lived on, a broken man, until 1860; the Tunstall circuit had restored his name to membership on 9th September 1850. On his return from America in 1846, Hugh Bourne, now aged seventy-four, found himself burdened with the task of paying off his brother’s creditors, as well as discharging the debts of a Burslem chapel with which he had become involved. He continued to make payments as long as life lasted, and went on with his work of confirming the church in many places. Yet still the tension with Clowes flared up again. Clowes’s *Journals* had been published two years earlier, and Bourne now made strong criticisms of their content. Resentment at this was so widespread that Bourne had to sign a pledge in open Conference at Halifax in 1847 that he would “cease from the course he had pursued in speaking disrespectfully of Mr. William Clowes, whether publicly or privately, through-out the Primitive Methodist Connexion or elsewhere”.¹⁸

It may be that by 1847, when Hugh Bourne had reached the age of seventy-five, his better judgement was beginning to fail when he criticized the *Journals* as “misrepresentation and deceit mixed with some truths”. But they are based mainly on the memory of Clowes alone, and designed to cover the events in his life and ministry during the previous forty years. Most of his ministry was in Hull, and the *Journals* have much to say about the expansion of that circuit. But they have scarcely anything at all to say about the work of the forty travelling preachers employed by the circuit for some years. They convey the impression that all the expansion was accomplished by one man, although the “Hull Circuit Accounts Book” tells a different tale. There is no doubt that some of the financial support on which the Book-room at Bemersley had depended for survival had been lost to the Book-room for years in order to maintain Clowes’s travelling preachers. Bemersley had perished, and James Bourne was bankrupt. Hugh Bourne also had been “deeply hurt”.

This fresh opening of the breach by Bourne was “the last straw” at Tunstall. A resolution in the Quarterly Meeting minute-book of

¹⁵ See *Proceedings*, xxx, pp. 177-8.

¹⁷ See *Proceedings*, xxx, pp. 148-9.

¹⁶ Petty, op. cit., pp. 43-4.

¹⁸ Wilkinson, op. cit., p. 172.

the Tunstall circuit dated 11th December 1848 reads: "That Hugh Bourne's name come off the Plan, he being considered no longer a member."¹⁹

Such a resolution could hardly have been passed without the knowledge and consent of James Nixon, a pillar of the Tunstall society. At the following Conference, in 1849, it was James Nixon and William Clowes who charged Bourne with having broken his pledge not to speak in disrespect of Clowes. Hugh Bourne was not allowed to proceed in his own defence beyond "a few remarks".²⁰

Hugh Bourne died on 11th October 1852 at the age of eighty. We reflect that his strictures on Clowes sprang from no personal spite, for this would have been alien to Bourne's character. They sprang from his deep concern for the survival of Primitive Methodism. The very defeat of Bemersley and the Bournes was a clear demonstration of the dangers besetting the struggling denomination and the necessity of Hugh Bourne's outspoken protests against William Clowes and his policy.

LEONARD BROWN.

¹⁹ A further minute, dated 23rd February 1849, appears in the Tunstall Quarterly Meeting minute-book, stating that Hugh Bourne is "not a proper member in this Circuit since his return from America".

²⁰ Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

We gratefully acknowledge the following periodicals, which have come to hand since the publication of the list in our last issue. Some of these are received on a reciprocal basis with our own *Proceedings*.

Cirplan, Lent 1972.

The Journal of the Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of Wales, March 1972.

The Baptist Quarterly, January, April and July 1972.

Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society, May 1972.

The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England, May 1972.

The Local Historian, Vol. 10, Nos. 1 and 2.

Methodist History, October 1971, January and April 1972.

The late Miss Constance Maud Bretherton

It is with deep regret that we record the death of Miss Constance Bretherton. She will be greatly missed, especially by members of the North-East Branch, of which she had been the secretary since its inception in 1961; but by most of us she will be remembered as the daughter of "F.F.B.". In his lifetime she attended him with assiduous care; since his death she has maintained an inherited interest in the work of our Society, particularly in the Bretherton Library. I well remember how, on her last visit to London, she bravely negotiated the steps leading down to the crypt of Wesley's Chapel, and rejoiced to find that the Society was caring so well for the books which once surrounded her in her father's study. With the passing of Miss Bretherton, another link with the great Methodist historians of the past is severed. J. S. Simon, Nehemiah Curnock, John Telford were household names in the Bretherton family when she was a girl. So time robs us of our friends—but not of memories. J.C.B.

“HERE LIES CAPTAIN THOMAS WEBB”

An historic event at Bristol

ON Monday, 22nd May 1972, a distinguished company assembled at the New Room, Bristol, for a ceremony which was probably unique in the history of Methodism. The occasion was the re-interment of the remains of Captain Thomas Webb, who is known as “American Methodism’s Number One Layman”. Since 1796 the mortal remains of this remarkable man had lain in a vault in Portland Chapel, Bristol, but on the closure of this building the future of the Webb vault and its contents became a matter of considerable concern. At one point it was suggested that the Captain’s final resting-place should be John Street church, New York. However, it was decided that a grave be made at the New Room—and that brings us to the recent ceremony.

But not before some disconcerting discoveries were made.

First, it was discovered that in the one vault known to exist below the Communion recess more than one burial had taken place. Time had erased the memory of all except the Captain’s. Next, it was quite obvious that the burial believed to be his was that of someone else. He was a big man, and comparison with the two others buried there indicated that what had been thought to be his lined casket was relatively small. No name-plates remained completely legible. The third discovery was that, behind a brick wall, a second vault existed beneath the apse. The removal of a single brick revealed two burials there. Hence a problem of identity arose. It was unthinkable to have a public ceremony of re-interment at the New Room unless one were certain on this point. By what means could certainty be reached? One hundred and seventy-five years had passed since the Captain’s death. What had been thought to be a simple transfer was proving to be a problematic and somewhat macabre experience. For various reasons it was believed that the vault behind the brick wall was more likely to be Captain Webb’s than any other. It was decided that a respectful investigation should be made. Health inspectors and representatives of Portland Chapel and the New Room met for their unwelcome task.

When the second vault was opened, the lower burial proved to be that of a big man, and thus suggested Captain Webb. But how to be certain? It was known that upwards of eighty years ago the Webb vault had been accidentally exposed.¹ The Captain was then identified by a black band around the head and a patch over the right eye. It seemed improbable that items so perishable should have survived a century and three-quarters in a damp vault. Suddenly, a sealed glass container was noticed. Inside it was a message written on paper which crumbled as the container was moved. With the message were the band and patch: the *sealed* container had

¹ See *The Chapel on the Hill* (1931)—the story of Portland Chapel.

preserved them! Those who made their discovery fourscore years ago had acted very strangely in removing them and taking steps for their preservation, but in doing so they had provided the sure means of identification in 1972. It was obvious that, but for their exceptional and forgotten action, the Captain's patch and band must have perished long ago. As it was, their preservation enabled a confident and respectful tribute to be made to the man who introduced himself to the New York society as "Thomas Webb, of the King's service; a soldier of the Cross; and a spiritual son of John Wesley".

The discovery of a second burial in the Captain's vault raised another question of identity. Who shared with him the small bricked-up space, clearly constructed for two persons only? It was reasonable to think it might be a member of his intimate family circle. The members of that circle were his two sons, his daughter and his wife.

In every case there were difficulties. Correspondence at the Methodist Archives in City Road indicated that both sons were settled in America before their father died, and more than ten years later there was no indication that they would ever come to live in England. It seemed likely that the elder had never been to England, and the younger, by his neglect of his mother, suggested that he had shut the old homeland out of his life. The same correspondence at City Road revealed that the only daughter married, lived at Stourport, and died there in 1799. It was unlikely that her burial took place at Bristol, especially as her mother was living with her at Stourport at the time. As for Mrs. Webb, it had been assumed that she died at or near Evesham and was buried there. There was good reason for this assumption. A descendant of Mrs. Webb's sister, a Methodist minister in America in 1895, the Rev. A. G. Harrison, contributed an article to the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, in which he quoted a letter from his mother containing very interesting statements.² Briefly, they included the information that Mrs. Webb resided at Evesham with or near her nephew in her old age; that she lived to be 104 years old, and that she walked to chapel the last Sunday before she died. Mr. Harrison said that his mother was quite old when she wrote the letter, and that some of her dates and statements might not be correct. However, as she had heard them from her father, who remembered visiting Mrs. Webb before he went to India in 1816, they were likely, in general, to be accurate.

The statements had never been challenged. That Mr. Harrison was closely interested in Mrs. Webb was evidenced by the fact that he held the only known original portrait of the Captain—a portrait commissioned by Mrs. Webb herself. Not until his old age, when he was the victim of financial stringency, did he sell it to Dr. Ezra Tipple, through whom it came into the possession of Drew University. Apparently the statements in his mother's letter had never

² A copy of the article is in the Rose Memorial Library, Drew University.

been published in England, where investigation could take place. As family tradition can very easily include untrustworthy details, it was decided to inquire as to their accuracy.

A careful survey of material now at the Bristol City Archives relating to Portland Chapel provided no clues between the date of the Captain's burial on Christmas Eve 1796 and the end of 1819. Up to 1816 Mrs. Webb's name usually appeared in the list of those who paid pew rents, but nowhere did the names of the Captain's sons and her daughter appear. Though she ceased to rent a pew in 1816, there was no record of her death. This seemed to support the view that she moved to Evesham, especially as Mr. Harrison's grandfather went to India in 1816 and said he visited Mrs. Webb in Evesham just before leaving England.

Did Mrs. Webb in fact live to be 104? This seemed doubtful, as to achieve such an age she would have needed to survive to about 1835 or 1840, in which case Mr. Harrison's mother would have had personal memories. Also, an item in the Portland Chapel accounts hinted that her strength might be declining a year before her payments ceased. She and the Captain had always rented a seat in the gallery. After her daughter's death, Mrs. Webb returned to Bristol about the year 1802, and again had her pew in the gallery. Then, from 1814, she left the gallery, with steps to climb, for a pew near the pulpit. Never after 1816 did she pay pew rent.

Suddenly, the register for 1820 threw light on the whole mysterious situation. On 10th January 1820, "Mrs. Grace Webb, relict of the late Rev. Thomas Webb, of Portland St., aged 83 years, was interred in a vault beneath the Chapel." Name, age, and burial in a vault supported the suspicion that the person concerned was the Captain's widow. She could have returned from Evesham to the street where she and her husband had lived, just for the last part of her life. One problem remained. Was the use of the title "Rev." a slip of the pen, or was it an irregular courtesy to the old preacher whose memory was still held in honour? Or was the reference to another Thomas Webb? If another Thomas Webb, there was difficulty. No Thomas Webb had ever been stationed by Wesley or his Conference until a young man was appointed in 1815. That it could be a tribute to the Captain was suggested by the fact that the Methodist publication commonly called "Hill's Arrangement" has listed Captain Webb among the ministers, although Wesley never appointed him to any circuit. An examination of accounts resolved the difficulty. On 12th January 1820, two days after Grace Webb's funeral, a sum of one guinea was paid for the "interment of Grace Webb, relict of the late Capt. Thos. Webb". After that, there could be hardly a shadow of doubt that the second burial in the Captain's vault was that of his beloved wife.

Who was Mrs. Grace Webb before her marriage to the Captain in 1773? An English scholar, none other than the late Rev. F. F. Bretherton, well known to members of the Wesley Historical Society

discovered some years ago that her maiden name was Gilbert, and raised a query. Could it be that she was the sister of Nathaniel Gilbert of Antigua, the first Methodist on the continent of America; the man who preached to the slaves on the sugar plantations; who thus, in his own house, introduced Methodism to the West Indies and sowed the first seeds of Methodist missionary enterprise? An American scholar, Dr. Marvin E. Harvey, has proved conclusively that Grace (Gilbert) Webb was indeed the sister of this key pioneer.⁸

Quickly it was decided that the re-interment of the Captain's remains could not take place in isolation from those of his wife. She had been his faithful companion in his sufferings in America during the War of Independence; had made possible, by her patient understanding, his frequent absences from home on evangelistic enterprise; had shared the financial stringency of his latter years; and probably provided, for Portland Chapel, the memorial window panel copied from the portrait now at Drew. Her honour was not confined to exalted family associations. The Home Office readily gave permission for the transfer of her remains from Portland to the New Room.

Thus the plain memorial stone, removed from Portland Chapel, simply inscribed "CAPTAIN WEBB'S VAULT, 1796", honours the memory of American Methodism's number-one layman and also of his devoted partner, the sister of the first Methodist in America.

Previous to the re-interment ceremony, the Francis Asbury Room, refurbished and displaying the illuminated Webb window-panel, was opened by Dr. Arthur Bruce Moss, Pastor Emeritus of John Street United Methodist church, New York. Mrs. G. M. Naish, a member of Portland Chapel, switched on the light behind the panel. Also representing American Methodism were Dr. Frederick E. Maser (Executive Secretary of the World Methodist Historical Society) and Dr. John H. Ness, jun. (Executive Secretary of the Commission on Archives and History, United Methodist Church of America). From British Methodism were Dr. John Bowmer (Connexional Archivist), Dr. Maldwyn Edwards (President of the Wesley Historical Society and Warden-designate of the New Room) and the Rev. Leslie M. Wollen (Chairman of the Bristol District).

E. RALPH BATES.

[Congratulations to Ralph Bates for his initiative in this thrilling story—and it must have been a thriller! All who have a concern for Methodist history are grateful for what he has done for the New Room during his term of office as Warden.—EDITOR.]

⁸ See *Proceedings*, xxxiii, pp. 156-9.

The Rev. G. Brian Westwood, of Epworth House, 18, Halls Road, Biddulph, Stoke-on-Trent, can supply, at 20p. each, postal covers bearing the special handstamp "Mow Cop, May 24th" to commemorate the bicentenary of the birth of Hugh Bourne. Proceeds are for the Port Reitz Appeal.

POETRY IN THE HYMNS OF JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY

THIS article, the summary of a recent thesis for London University, attempts to concentrate on the æsthetic rather than the theological character of the hymns of John and Charles Wesley. Some value judgements stand up to universal experience, and it is the opinion of the present writer that they need to be re-stated. "What is this song, or picture . . . to me? What effect does it really produce on me?"¹ The discernible æsthetic qualities are such that certain hymns have the cathartic effect of Shakespearian tragedy. *Poeta nascitur, non fit*. The imagination of the Wesleys, working on their dogmas and cultivated by all the very considerable means they possessed, produced an art which once more restored the emotions to their purifying and dynamic value. Coupled with their music on the principles laid down by Campion and Edmund Waller—and John Wesley—"heaven is won by violence of song".² John Wesley's *Journal* and his preface to *Sacred Melody* (which the 1933 *Methodist Hymn-Book* quotes—preface to the edition with tunes) made it abundantly clear that the hymns were to be sung, and sung to the tunes he laid down for them. Contrapuntal music failed "to arouse the passions", whilst a Gregorian chant, an old minor melody or a ballad air did. The tune was for the words, not the words for the tune: and understanding was to be gained by the alliance of both.

The thesis, of course, makes no systematic study of the Wesley music, but occasionally deprecates the change made by moderns in a tune set by Wesley for a particular hymn. Dr. Erik Routley³ confirms the use of Tallis and Purcell, and considers it no accident that Handel's music and Charles Wesley's hymns should exist together. He notices how "Soldiers of Christ, arise!" and Handel's March from *Riccardo Primo* synchronize; but, with a change of key,⁴ John set this tune also for his universally-acclaimed Gerhardt *Befiehl du deine Wege* ("Commit thou all thy griefs"), the dominant thought being confidence rather than complaint. Dr. Routley's study is not concerned with the earlier hymns. Thus he is "tolerably certain" that "Wrestling Jacob", if sung at all, was given to *Vater Unser*; but—at the Foundery at least—they sang it to *Cardiff*,⁵ a tune which confirms the at times agonizing impact of Charles's monologue.

¹ Preface (1873) to *The Renaissance*, by Walter Pater.

² Pope's *Imitations of Horace*, ii, l. 237:

The silenced preacher yields to potent strain,
And feels that Grace his prayer besought in vain;
The blessing thrills through all the lab'ring throng,
And Heaven is won by violence of song.

³ *The Musical Wesleys* (1968), p. 34.

⁴ Under the name of *Jericho Tune* (*Foundery Collection*, i, p. 141); MHB 819 (to Vera Walker's hymn); but excellent alternatives are provided for the Gerhardt (MHB 507).

⁵ *Foundery Collection*, iii, p. 115.

There were also two poignant minor melodies, both in the *Foundery Collection* of 1742, by the name of *Marienborn*. The earliest is shown for a poem "Enslaved to Sense", appearing in the first Georgian collection.⁶ The likeness of the second, set to such lines as

How can I find the living way,
Lost, and confused, and dark, and blind?⁷

to an old air sung to "The Three Ravens",⁸ may have suggested Walpole's pronouncement in 1766:

I have been at one opera—Mr. Wesley's. They have boys and girls with charming voices that sing hymns in parts to Scotch Ballad tunes.⁹ The alliance between words and music is beautifully achieved in John's retaining *Herrnhuth* (*Savannah*) for his translation of Anna Dober's

Holy Lamb, who Thee receive,
Who in Thee begin to live . . .¹⁰

Reference is again made to ballads in connexion with Charles's "popular" verse later in this article.

With the close connexion of words and tunes comes the functional character of words and—so called—"ornament". It may be expected that the Wesley use of imagery in lyric should approach that of Herbert and Donne, and look ahead to Gerard Manley Hopkins and T. S. Eliot. To the Wesleys, as to the moderns, metaphor was not the "embellishment"¹¹ of Dryden and Samuel Johnson, i.e. something added to the theme to heighten its effect, but an integral part. This is touched on by Dr. Donald Davie,¹² who speaks of the Wesley incorporation of doctrine arousing feeling with the "sinewy intelligence" of its grasp and presentation. He does not mention Charles's use of synæsthesia¹³ in the exquisite short line "Silence heightens heaven".¹⁴ Charles immediately connects it with the other silence, the *pausa* or "rest" in music which may follow some noble cadence:

In hope of that ecstatic pause,
Jesus, we now sustain Thy Cross . . .

The alliance of vision and sound is not marred by a false rhyme, for

⁶ See John Wesley's 1780 *Collection of Hymns*, No. 104.

⁷ From "Jesus, Thou knowest my simpleness" (later "sinfulness") (*ibid.*, No. 170), ascribed to John. MHB 357 sets the tune to a fine Wesley poem, but the melody cannot sustain such words as "Life's fierce tyranny".

⁸ "There were three ravens sat on a tree" (Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*).

⁹ Curnock (*Journal*, v, p. 188 n.) quotes Walpole's *Letters*.

¹⁰ Pronunciation of end words represents an allowed approximation. (This early hymn is not Charles's "Holy Lamb, who Thee confess".) MHB reproduces *Savannah* (*Herrnhut*) at No. 87.

¹¹ Or "disfigurement", if we quote Johnson, or Dean Church for religious poetry.

¹² *Purity of Diction in English Verse* (1952), p. 79.

¹³ Bacon's *vestigia communis*, the excitement of vision by sound, or latency of all in each. Bate: *From Classic to Romantic* (1946).

¹⁴ Cf. Revelation viii. 1 (AV). The hymn, "Come on, my partners in distress", is MHB 487.

the same sound was used for both end words.¹⁵ The close-knit quality of the Wesley metaphor means that the writers could, in a line or two, link the scriptures, Plato, St. Augustine, Thomas à Kempis (but the tabulation would always be incomplete) with "metaphysicals" of all ages. God in Christ was the "Giver and the gift", the locked "Truth, and the key". For Yeats, to quote one modern poet, the whole chestnut-tree could be apprehended in its parts:

Are you the leaf, the blossom or the bole,
How can we know the dancer from the dance?¹⁶

Another quality of the "metaphysicals", not confined to their age, was a capacity to write verse which pleases because of its beautiful simplicity and directness. *Ars est celare artem*. Charles did not "talk down" for the ignorant singers in the societies when he wrote:

Why hast Thou cast our lot
In the same age and place,
And why together brought
To see each other's face;
To join with softest sympathy,
And mix our friendly souls in Thee?

Many of his *Short Hymns*¹⁷ contain passages that might thus be written as prose. The old shibboleth about Charles seldom using run-on lines is demonstrably false, even allowing for his vast output.¹⁸

An attempt can be made to classify the metre used for the Christian Festivals according to the historical usage of the Latin hymns; but the classification breaks down. Charles makes the classic popular and the popular classic. Even with a basically "regular" pattern, there are the variations in stress which remind one of Professor Tillotson's dictum about metre being an abstraction and rhythm the reality. Professor Marjorie Daunt¹⁹ shows that there are as many speech-rhythms as language-forms, and that English poetry, like Beowulf, is formed on a series of balanced "weights", not a metronomic precision. John, as shown when considering his translations, keeps to the Ambrosian iambics, the tetrameter in unshortened form, for formal occasions expressing or masking distress or gravity. Charles sometimes does. Thus, from the later Latin hymns, Aquinas's *Verbum supérnum pródiens* is echoed in

O Thóu étérnal Victim slain . . .
My Gód who díes for mé, for mé.²⁰

¹⁵ Wyld: *A Short History of English* (1914) should be consulted before accepting similar charges about vowel sounds in the Wesley poetry.

¹⁶ *Collected Poems* (1958); the philosophic value for the doctrine of the Trinity has no doubt been noted.

¹⁷ *Short Hymns on Select Passages of the Holy Scriptures* (1762), 2 vols.

¹⁸ Unless, of course, we are to find that John wrote a number of hymns now attributed to Charles—see MHB 464, stanzas 4 and 5 (in the 1876 book it is No. 169).

¹⁹ *Old English Verse and English Speech Rhythm* (1946).

²⁰ Not in the 1780 *Collection*; but No. 508 in the 1831 Supplement, and No. 708 in the 1876 book—there ascribed to John.

Charles uses this regular iambic metre in the crucifixion hymn "O Love divine! what hast Thou done?"; with its beautifully-repeated line at the conclusion of stanzas, "My Lord, my Love is crucified";²¹ or that other masterpiece, "With glorious clouds encompassed round", beginning with the question and interpolation and ending with the answer and the same interpolation.²² Far more often, however, Charles emphasizes the triumphant in the crucifixion hymns, and turns to the falling metre of Aquinas's

*Pänge lingua glóriosi
Córporis mystérium*

(harshly called the "trochaic tetrameter catalectic"), varying it in such a *tour-de-force* as

Stóp, and gáze, and fáll, and ówn
Was néver lóve like Thíne!²³

Typically, for the Wesley manifestos, as in the Latin hymns, Charles—and Prudentius (*O solá magnárum úrbium*)²⁴—uses the same measure for the Incarnation:

Come, Thou long-expected Jesus,
Born to set Thy people free, . . .

The mournful-joyful notes are allied, as in true tragedy, the basis of all drama being the office of the Mass. The Wesleys have no hymns in this measure for the Franciscan *Dies Iræ* or *Stabat Mater* theme, unrelieved.

No poet, of course, has consistently commemorated the great festivals of the Christian Church as has Charles Wesley. Abelard's *Christiani Plaudite*—an Easter triumph hymn in the "dancing sevens"—is used by Charles for his own Easter hymn, "Christ the Lord is ris'n to-day",²⁵ this time invariably trochaic. We have it again in "Jesu, Lover of my soul", and in the invocational "Christ, whose glory fills the skies".²⁶ Spell-like in its regular falling rhythm,²⁷ Charles makes his sacred "spell" in a Communion hymn,

Weary souls that wander wide
From the central point of bliss, . . .

Speaking of such office hymns, there is the iambic "O come, ye sinners, to your Lord", with its amazing series of "proffered benefits", in language embracing both paradox and "divine simplicity". Slowly,

²¹ The *Deus meus crucifixus* theme (in trochaics); but Charles converts to iambics. (MHB 186.)

²² MHB 172: "Whom angels dimly see".

²³ MHB 191.

²⁴ Caswall's "Earth has many a noble city"; and Dryden's measure in "Fair-est isle, all isles excelling", which gives us Charles's "Love divine, all loves excelling".

²⁵ MHB 204—adapted, however, from *Lyra Davidica* (1708). Naturally, Charles makes use of such falling rhythms as "Hallelujah" wherever possible.

²⁶ This hymn is used for a chapter in the thesis to answer the critics who suggest that "religious poetry" is a contradiction in terms.

²⁷ Puck's "Sée as thóu wast wónt to sée".

as fitting the rhythm, and over five stanzas, each of which would form a convenient "stop" (like the close of a Beethoven concerto), they reach their climax in

The speechless awe that dares not move,
And all the silent heaven of love.²⁸

The hymns incorporating the Holy Spirit and the Trinity are too numerous to be analysed here, but one of these uniquely presents the Ascension in metric approaching the Horatian ode.²⁹ Horace is also the source for the *rime couée*, the six-line iambic rhyming measure with the short line in the middle which was being popularized in the eighteenth century,³⁰ and which gives us numbers of Charles's general hymns. The non-stop nature of the metre between the central pause is well shown in such verse, with its tune *Hull*,³¹

Not all the powers of hell can fright
A soul that walks with Christ in light;
He walks, and cannot fall:
Clearly he sees, and wins his way,
Shining unto the perfect day,
And more than conquers all.

My thesis does little justice to Charles's popular and irregular measures. Dr. Frank Baker's notable enumeration³² partly invalidates this, and the *Methodist Hymn-Book* preserves most of them; but it should be noted that historically the anapæst and the short-line lyric were indigenous to English poetry. Both brothers were familiar with Campion and Vaughan, and it need not necessarily be supposed that Charles "learnt" the "German metres" only from the English Moravian hymn-book. The rehabilitation of ballads was a feature of the century, and Charles's use of the popular song is mentioned. His improvisation of "Nancy Dawson",³³ with its hornpipe air, akin to "Here we go round the mulberry-bush", was "Come let us see if Jesu's love"; and the thesis gives Chatterton's skit *The Methodist*³⁴ on what he calls "bawdy songs, grown godly".

E. M. HODGSON.

(To be continued)

[Miss E. M. Hodgson, B.A., Ph.D. (Birkbeck College, London University, 1970), daughter of the late Rev. James Penrose Hodgson, is a retired headmistress with a career in Great Britain and the Argentine.]

²⁸ MHB 325. Readers of Dr. Baker's *Representative Verse: An Introduction* (p. 40) will observe that the present writer does not agree that the series of epithets "tumble over one another" and are exclamatory. Gray's method of description (in *A Country Churchyard* (1750)), which Geoffrey Tillotson describes as "laying down uniform strips", may be recalled.

²⁹ *Hymns A & M Revised*, No. 421—"Hosanna in the highest".

³⁰ Gray's *Favourite Cat* and *Gay* in *The Beggar's Opera* best show the gaiety of the metre; but almost every poet of the time employs it.

³¹ MHB 531.

³² See Dr. Baker's *Representative Verse of Charles Wesley*.

³³ Dr. F. Luke Wiseman's story in *Wesley Studies* (p. 164) will be remembered. The ballad with its tune has now been identified by Dr. Leba Goldstein.

³⁴ *Miscellanies* (1784).

THE LAUNCHING OF METHODISM IN SHETLAND, 1822

(i) John Nicolson, 1790-1828

IN October 1972 Shetland Methodism celebrates its 150th anniversary. The honour of introducing Wesleyan Methodism to Shetland, however, goes back to about 1819, when a Shetland-born bombardier of the Royal Artillery called John Nicolson, who had left the islands in his teens and was converted in London, returned as an earnest lay preacher.

The ruins of the croft where Nicolson was born can still be seen at Queensetter, just within the Aithsting parish. The Kirk, built in 1780 as central for both Aithsting and Sandsting, was a good ten miles away across trackless moorland. The parish register of the period records the baptisms of six children of "Thomas Nicolson in Quinchester" and his wife Elspet Christy: Ingagirth (1789), John (1790), Peter (1792), Mary (1794 or 1795), Christopher (1797), and James (1799). Family tradition, however, has claimed Christopher as the oldest son, and given John's year of birth as 1792.¹

The Rev. Patrick Barclay, who baptized him, described how, every year, poverty forced many young men to go north on the Greenland whalers, and later into the Royal Navy.² But Nicolson chose to go south, enlisting not in the Navy, but in the army recruited for the Napoleonic Wars, and was drafted into the Royal Artillery. A Methodist fellow-soldier, Edward McDermott, recalled in his old age how he and Nicolson were

both stationed in the Artillery in the Tower of London in winter of 1810. I had just returned from the Expedition to Holland where while I was there got my soul converted and full of holy zeal sought to get all I knew in Company with me to be converted too and among others John Nicholson until then a Pub Companion at the Red Lion in Thames St Close to the Tower and a Rendezvous of the men and on our First acquaintance he broke League with Satan and sin and joined with me in Class in Slater's Court Rosemary Lane. Very soon after God set his soul at liberty in the Tower in open Day while in prayer.³

McDermott was present at Nicolson's marriage; at a friend's house after the wedding ceremony a dinner was given, and Nicolson

stood up and said I was his Spiritual Father. The Marriage soon turned out to be a very sad and bad affair, and was the sole cause of his leaving The army, and returning to his Native home.⁴

Nicolson's bride was Sophia Weatherhead, a fellow-member of his

¹ The parish register is preserved in the Registrar-General's office, Edinburgh. It is difficult to decipher, and there is a slender possibility that John was indeed "born in 1792, in the early part of the year" and baptized on [?] 13th August 1792.

² *First Statistical Account of Shetland*, compiled 1791-9, reprinted Lerwick, 1925.

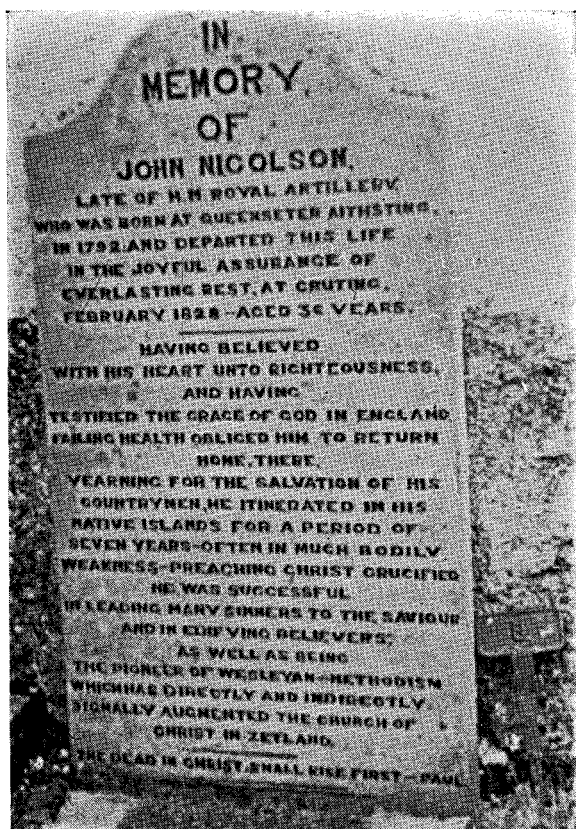
³ E. McDermott: Letter to J. Loutit, 29th May 1873; Zetland Box, Methodist Home Mission Department, London.

⁴ *ibid.*



The ruins of the croft at Queensetter where John Nicolson, pioneer of Shetland Methodism, was born.

Photo: Morris Walker (Methodist Home Mission Department)



John Nicolson's Tombstone at Gruting.

Photo : Rev. Bertram E. Woods

society class in Woolwich, whom he had known for about three years. They were married on 21st June 1814 at St. Luke's, Charlton, near Woolwich; Nicolson was

Hospital Steward and promoted to Bombardier and lived in Apartments in the [Convalescent] Hospital and now for the Tragedy she left him and went and lived with one of the artillery officers at Purfleet in Essex. This of course was a sad shake to my Dr Brother and of course was to the whole of those concerned, her two sisters and all the most intimate Friends and to the Woolwich Methodist Society. Just then [peace] was proclaimed and [] in the whole of the army Following them was no much difficulty in getting his Discharge from the Army and he was overwhelmed with sorrow and shame and my belief is that she was a hippercrit for it took place so very soon after their marriage.⁵

Most of this previously unpublished evidence harmonizes easily with family traditions—found in manuscripts kept by Christopher Nicolson's descendants in Shetland, and related in John Austen's 1935 article⁶ and elsewhere⁷—that in London Nicolson gained medical knowledge by assisting a doctor, visiting patients, and writing prescriptions; and in Shetland often diagnosed illnesses, always carried a lancet, and sometimes performed bloodletting. Further research is needed to relate McDermott's story with the family's belief that while in the army Nicolson was orderly to a general in France who had him educated in his spare time, that he was at Waterloo in 1815, and that after his discharge he was helped by the general to find employment as a clerk with the East India Company. One also wonders whether the marriage breakdown was final. If it was, why did Nicolson write from Shetland in 1821, "My deare wife is in England and unprovided for", and clearly indicate a desire to join her?

Nicolson's return to Shetland was probably in 1819. In April he wrote to Joseph Benson,⁸ a preacher he had known in London, claiming that in ten months he had built up a thirty-mile circuit which took him a month to get round, preaching at least twice and sometimes six times a week, meeting about seventy people in three classes; two weekly prayer meetings were also held, even in his absence. As a direct result of Nicolson's appeal, Dr. Daniel M'Allum visited the islands⁹ in June 1822. He reported to the Conference

⁵ *ibid.*, 4th August 1873. Another echo of McDermott's story is to be found in G. J. Stevenson: *City Road Chapel* (London, 1872), pp. 177-8, which relates that Nicolson returned to Shetland via Sunderland on a whaler from the Tyne.

⁶ See *Proceedings*, xix, p. 126 f.

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appears to possess genuine piety, considerable zeal, and some ability for preaching; and in the places where he has chiefly laboured, has been made useful. He is likely to be a valuable auxiliary to us in the part of the country where he resides.¹¹

By 1828, the year of his death, seven or eight chapels had been built, many other preaching-places were maintained, six ministers were constantly on the move round four circuits, well over a thousand members met regularly in class, and perhaps three thousand in congregations large and small all over Shetland, and Sunday-school and other educational work had begun. A change of heart—a broken heart—and all this followed!

Worn out with his exertions, weakened by frequent exposure to cold and damp, John Nicolson died at Gruting, in the house of Henry Georgeson, on 28th March 1828. "Oh man but he died very happy," said Dr. Adam Clarke to his old soldier-companion Edward McDermott.¹² He was buried in the little enclosed cemetery nearby.

Here John rests in his lowly bed, who laboured so hard as a local preacher, to spread experimental and vital religion. When I mentioned something concerning him in the village, his name was as ointment poured forth, and several wept much while I conversed with them about his death.¹³

Shetland. Extracts of his written report to Conference were printed in the [Wesleyan] *Methodist Magazine*, 1823, pp. 109-11.

¹⁰ Congregational and Baptist churches in Shetland were the permanent fruit of an evangelistic tour in 1799 by James Haldane. This tour was made because some Shetlanders were "awoken" through reading John Wesley's *Sermons and Journal*. When requests to Dr. Thomas Coke for Methodist preachers went unanswered, Haldane was approached. Not surprisingly, the first Methodist preachers thought that their role was to continue and extend what Haldane and "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Home" had begun twenty years earlier.

¹¹ Letter from John Raby to Adam Clarke (*Methodist Magazine*, 1823, p. 113; *Christian Missions*, p. 145).

¹² Quoted in McDermott's letter to Loutit, 26th July 1873; Zetland Box, Home Mission Department.

¹³ James Catton: *The History and Description of the Shetland Isles* (Wainfleet, 1838), p. 87.

So wrote James Catton, a Wesleyan minister in Shetland from 1832 to 1834. About 1873, James Loutit paid for a tombstone to be made in Halifax and shipped over 600 miles to Gruting; it now stands, not over the grave, but with other old stones alongside the cemetery wall. And in 1922 the centenary of Shetland Methodism was marked by building a new manse at Gruting and naming it the Nicolson Memorial Manse.

(ii) The Shetland Isles Circuit, 1822-3

Under the 1822 stations of the Edinburgh District appeared for the first—and only—time: "*Shetland Isles*—John Raby, Samuel Dunn."

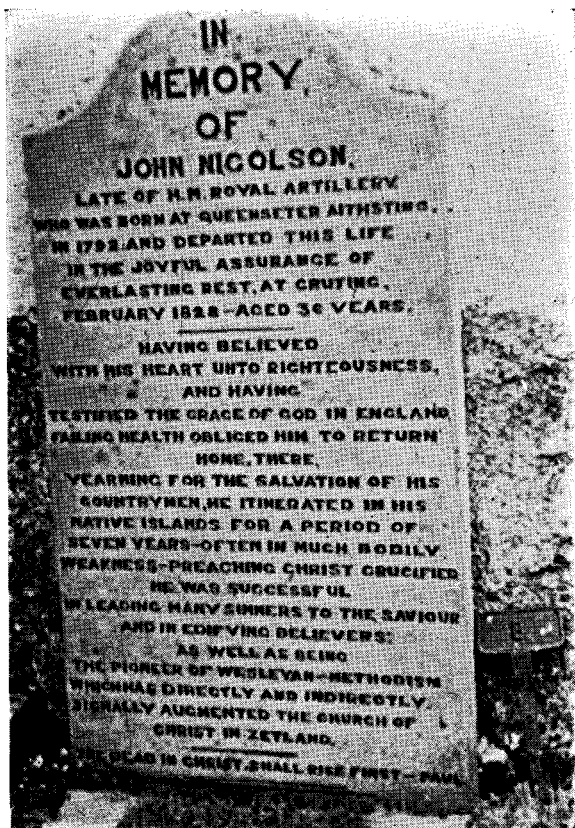
Raby was 32. Born in Lancaster, he had served for seven years in the Caribbean, then four years in English circuits. Placid, reliable, as yet unmarried, he was to spend two very active but exhausting years in Shetland.

His Cornish colleague, seven years younger, and with three years' circuit experience in St. Austell, Kingsbridge, and Pembroke, made a strange contrast. Samuel Dunn, born at Mevagissey in 1797, was a protégé of Dr. Adam Clarke. His father, Captain James Dunn, had protected that pioneer Channel Isles preacher from a Guernsey mob; over thirty years later Clarke expected the son to show heroism and courage as he pioneered in Britain's "Farthest North". Dunn quickly showed signs of becoming the fervent revivalist, volatile controversialist and prolific writer who, wherever he went, would never be far from a storm-centre.¹⁴ Ill winds of criticism soon buffeted the newly-launched Methodist cause. Most of the critics' fury was directed at Dunn,¹⁵ who was said to be high-handed, arrogant, jesuitical, self-righteous; exaggerating hardships and minimizing kindnesses; and, of course, unscriptural in his preaching and procedures. After three turbulent years, in which he frequently "rocked the boat", Dunn left Shetland, and the storm subsided.

Both missionaries kept detailed journals, from which long extracts were sent to Dr. Clarke. As President of the 1822 Conference, he took a keen interest in the work. With considerable energy for a man in his sixties, he steered the Shetland Mission for the last ten years of his life. He raised funds, sent gifts and advice, twice visited the islands—in 1826 and 1828—and kept the work before the Methodist people through the monthly *Magazine*. Some of the

¹⁴ Dunn's ordination was put off until 1836, ostensibly for doctrinal unorthodoxy bound up with his intense admiration for Adam Clarke: his patron's critics were powerful enough to keep Dunn "on trial" seventeen years. He wrote some seventy books and pamphlets, edited the reform magazine *Wesley Banner*, and in 1849, along with James Everett and William Griffith, was expelled from the Wesleyan Connexion for a breach of discipline over the "Fly Sheets" reform agitation. Not until 1880—two years before his death—did he resign as trustee of several Shetland chapels. See Samuel Dunn: *The Transfiguration and Other Addresses* (London and Toronto, 1890) and T. R. Harris: *Samuel Dunn, Reformer* (Cornish Methodist Historical Association, 1963).

¹⁵ See Appendix II at the end of the present article.



IN
MEMORY
OF

JOHN NICOLSON,

LATE OF H.M. ROYAL ARTILLERY
WHO WAS BORN AT QUEENSFETER AITHSTING,
IN 1792 AND DEPARTED THIS LIFE
IN THE JOYFUL ASSURANCE OF
EVERLASTING REST, AT GRUTING,
FEBRUARY 1828 - AGED 36 YEARS.

HAVING BELIEVED
WITH HIS HEART UNTO RIGHTOUSNESS,
AND HAVING
TESTIFIED THE GRACE OF GOD IN ENGLAND
FADING HEALTH OBLIGED HIM TO RETURN
HOME, THERE
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John Nicolson's Tombstone at Gruting.

Photo : Rev. Bertram E. Woods

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¹¹ Letter from John Raby to Adam Clarke (*Methodist Magazine*, 1823, p. 113; *Christian Missions*, p. 145).

¹² Quoted in McDermott's letter to Loutit, 26th July 1873; Zetland Box, Home Mission Department.

¹³ James Catton: *The History and Description of the Shetland Isles* (Wainfleet, 1838), p. 87.

So wrote James Catton, a Wesleyan minister in Shetland from 1832 to 1834. About 1873, James Loutit paid for a tombstone to be made in Halifax and shipped over 600 miles to Gruting; it now stands, not over the grave, but with other old stones alongside the cemetery wall. And in 1922 the centenary of Shetland Methodism was marked by building a new manse at Gruting and naming it the Nicolson Memorial Manse.

(ii) The Shetland Isles Circuit, 1822-3

Under the 1822 stations of the Edinburgh District appeared for the first—and only—time: "*Shetland Isles*—John Raby, Samuel Dunn."

Raby was 32. Born in Lancaster, he had served for seven years in the Caribbean, then four years in English circuits. Placid, reliable, as yet unmarried, he was to spend two very active but exhausting years in Shetland.

His Cornish colleague, seven years younger, and with three years' circuit experience in St. Austell, Kingsbridge, and Pembroke, made a strange contrast. Samuel Dunn, born at Mevagissey in 1797, was a protégé of Dr. Adam Clarke. His father, Captain James Dunn, had protected that pioneer Channel Isles preacher from a Guernsey mob; over thirty years later Clarke expected the son to show heroism and courage as he pioneered in Britain's "Farthest North". Dunn quickly showed signs of becoming the fervent revivalist, volatile controversialist and prolific writer who, wherever he went, would never be far from a storm-centre.¹⁴ Ill winds of criticism soon buffeted the newly-launched Methodist cause. Most of the critics' fury was directed at Dunn,¹⁵ who was said to be high-handed, arrogant, jesuitical, self-righteous; exaggerating hardships and minimizing kindnesses; and, of course, unscriptural in his preaching and procedures. After three turbulent years, in which he frequently "rocked the boat", Dunn left Shetland, and the storm subsided.

Both missionaries kept detailed journals, from which long extracts were sent to Dr. Clarke. As President of the 1822 Conference, he took a keen interest in the work. With considerable energy for a man in his sixties, he steered the Shetland Mission for the last ten years of his life. He raised funds, sent gifts and advice, twice visited the islands—in 1826 and 1828—and kept the work before the Methodist people through the monthly *Magazine*. Some of the

¹⁴ Dunn's ordination was put off until 1836, ostensibly for doctrinal unorthodoxy bound up with his intense admiration for Adam Clarke: his patron's critics were powerful enough to keep Dunn "on trial" seventeen years. He wrote some seventy books and pamphlets, edited the reform magazine *Wesley Banner*, and in 1849, along with James Everett and William Griffith, was expelled from the Wesleyan Connexion for a breach of discipline over the "Fly Sheets" reform agitation. Not until 1880—two years before his death—did he resign as trustee of several Shetland chapels. See Samuel Dunn: *The Transfiguration and Other Addresses* (London and Toronto, 1890) and T. R. Harris: *Samuel Dunn, Reformer* (Cornish Methodist Historical Association, 1963).

¹⁵ See Appendix II at the end of the present article.

preachers' letters appeared there in edited form, and in 1844 were reprinted with some of Dr. Clarke's replies in that fascinating Volume XIII of *Adam Clarke's Collected Works*, entitled "Christian Missions". Dunn's manuscript journal and several unpublished letters are in our Archives.¹⁶ One letter from Raby to a former colleague in the Sandhurst circuit, "for your own perusal and not for the Editor", gives in frank and unsavoury detail an itinerant preacher's privations in the country areas, but indicates the appreciation of the poor people which made such hardship worth while. The "feel" of his pioneering work comes over vividly—even though his attempt to record the dialect is not completely accurate:

The disposition and willingness of this people to hear the Gospel truly astonishes me. When we come to any cottage where we wish to preach we generally fix upon two strong boys and say Lads there is *ganging* to be sermon mentioning the time and place will ye *gang* and let the *folk ken*. The answer is *Yea*, dat we sall. Now mind you let them a ken. Yea dat sall we, and they will be blyth too, when off they set the distance of two or three miles without shoes, stockings or hat, *passing* the word as they go *alangst*, as soon as the people get the information they make for *haim* to *claith* them, and much sooner than you would expect the people begin to assemble in all directions, thro' bogs and mires almost knee deep, the women without shoes or stockings which they carry in their hands and put on when they reach the preaching place. They have nothing on the head but a cap which they call Mutch and this when it rains they take off and carry under their arms in order to keep it dry. On a dark wet blowing night without any road and through mires and over hills I have known them come from two to three miles, and expressing their thankfulness that they had the sermon so *near*.¹⁷

Raby worked chiefly in Yell, Unst, and Northmavine. Meanwhile Dunn sought to consolidate John Nicolson's work on the west side, and travelled widely and tirelessly in central and south Mainland, using kirks and schoolrooms where available, but, like Raby, preaching in cottages or lairds' houses or wherever people would gather. In Lerwick at least they had a comfortable lodging with Mrs. Gilbert Scollay,¹⁸ and for three or four months had the use of the Independent chapel, built only two years earlier.

The Methodist message and methods soon proved as incompatible with contemporary Presbyterianism as Independent and Baptist principles had done. Before George Reid and the Lerwick Independents were tolerated they had to endure ridicule and persecution;

¹⁶ Dunn's journal includes lists of his books, clothing, etc., copies of several Adam Clarke letters, a sermon register, and his diary for the whole time he spent in Shetland. Dunn's letters to Clarke are dated 3rd October 1822 (with postscript by Raby), 14th July 1824 (redirected to Jabez Bunting with extra notes by Clarke himself), and 2nd August 1825.

¹⁷ Letter from Raby to William Kaye, 25th March 1824. Raby's other letters in the Archives are dated 28th September and 23rd November 1822 and 26th March 1823.

¹⁸ Named in Dunn's journal, and also in the inscription of a volume of Adam Clarke's *Commentaries* in the possession of the Rev. Magnus C. S. Johnston of Sandwick.

now it was the Methodists' turn. By December, Dunn was forbidden to preach in certain parish churches. Adam Clarke encouraged them to sail under distinctively Methodist colours:

You are Methodists; build on your own foundations. You cannot form classes if you preach in other men's churches and chapels: and if you do not form classes, you do not the work of Methodist Preachers. Go on believably. Read much, pray much, believe much.¹⁹

Dunn relates how, on Sunday, 19th January 1823, after the evening sermon,

I stated publicly, for the first time in Lerwick, our design in coming to Shetland, &c., and gave notice of preaching in a Room, which I have taken for the purpose, on Tuesday evening.²⁰

This "upper room", a sail-loft 32 ft. by 14, was crowded for preaching services for several weeks; on Sundays at 10 o'clock in the morning and 6 in the evening—thus avoiding Kirk and Independent Chapel hours—and on Tuesday and Thursday evenings. After the Thursday preaching on 4th and 11th February a class meeting was held. Some told Dunn that they would not join, as the Methodists might leave the islands. He assured them

we will continue here as long as we have any prospects of usefulness, or get other Wesleyan Ministers appointed . . . for my own part, I believe that we shall have Preachers in Shetland as long as the world lasts.²¹

The very next day, the landlord of the room pointed out that the beams would not support the crowds attending, and gave Dunn notice to quit.

Will any kind friend, or friends, in England, give us £50? I will engage, in that case, to beg £50 more, and then build a Chapel for £150. We must have a Chapel in Lerwick, which is the only town in the islands, to which the country people are continually coming.²²

On 22nd March Dr. Clarke wrote almost in glee to "My dear Lads"²³ to relate how he had spoken about Shetland at a missionary meeting in Bath and received over £25 for the Lerwick chapel, and that "a rich old friend"²⁴ had given a further £50 for the chapel and promised £100 to support two extra ministers.

¹⁹ Letter from Adam Clarke to John Raby, 4th February 1823 (*Christian Missions*, p. 157). An earlier letter to Dunn encouraged this same policy (*ibid.*, p. 154 ff.). Dr. Clarke in a letter to James C. Hindson, 5th March 1826 (*ibid.*, p. 257), later complained that "Mr. R. with great piety, and with the utmost disinterestedness, laboured in Yell for nearly two years; and his work was comparatively unfruitful, because he did not form societies."

²⁰ *Methodist Magazine*, 1823, p. 254; *Christian Missions*, p. 164.

²¹ Letter from Dunn to Adam Clarke (postscript), 12th February 1823 (*Methodist Magazine*, 1823, p. 255; *Christian Missions*, p. 168).

²² *Loc. cit.*

²³ *Christian Missions*, p. 172.

²⁴ This was Robert Scott, of Pensford, near Bristol [see *Proceedings*, xxxii, p. 1 ff.—EDITOR]. His gifts to Shetland Methodism were said to total over £5,000, and the Scott Bequest still benefits the work. There were undercurrents to this generosity. Adam Clarke wrote to Richard Tabraham, 13th October 1830: "Entre nous, he is much prejudiced against the Conference, at least the powerful leading men in it . . . As Mr. S. sees it, not one of the Preachers has ever helped in this work, he believes they have a prejudice against Shetland; and that they care not for the people's souls. He has again

I have two preachers on the stocks for you; and shall push them off as soon as I can; and when they arrive, I think one of you had better try the Orkneys.²⁶

Adam Clarke sent more than funds and advice to Shetland. As well as building materials for chapels and manses, a chandelier, furniture, parcels of books, Bibles, tracts and catechisms, he dispatched (for example):

[September 1823]—248 yards of fine white calico shirting and shifting, with several pounds of patent thread for my poor Shetlanders.

[June 1826]—. . . various articles of clothing for the poor, blankets, rugs, flannel, green-baize for petticoats for poor women; some shawls &c.

[June 1827]—40 new flannel petticoats large and small, with many other articles of clothing; a whole suit and more for J. Nicholson. . . Before that I despatched two large bales of quilts, calicoes &c to a great amount. . . ; the help I got and sent to the five widows and twenty-two children, I hope has long since been received and applied. . . Remember the clothing I send, you are to divide with the most necessitous, whether they be Methodists or not. In this, let there be no respect of persons.²⁶

He even sent six waterproof rubberized cloaks, costing about £5 each, for the preachers' use!²⁷

On 29th July 1823, the foundation-stone of the Lerwick chapel was laid by an Episcopalian laird, William Gordon M'Crae. Ten months later the new chapel was opened, and it served well for almost fifty years.²⁸ A preachers' house which still stands in Chapel Place was being built, to be followed by chapels at Sandness (opened November 1824), Sandwick (January 1825), Walls and Westerskeld (October 1826), Burravoe (October 1827), Papa Stour and North Roe (c. 1828), and Haroldswick (1829).

and again told me that 'if either I give up the Shetland Stewardship, or God should remove me from it, he would from that day give up contributions towards it, as he would *not trust one of them*.' I have laboured to give him a better impression, but in vain." (Original letter in Methodist Archives.)

²⁶ *Christian Missions*, p. 173. Orkney Methodism, launched with great difficulty, very soon foundered. Dunn visited Orkney in 1825, and John Knowles in 1834. Between 1835 and 1841 a few small societies were formed, but never totalled more than 200 members. Eventually the dwindling causes were handed to the Free Church of Scotland, "flock and fold and fruit". See Samuel Coley: *The Life of the Rev. Thomas Collins* (1868), pp. 89-136; Wesley F. Swift: *Methodism in Scotland* (1947), pp. 68 f., 93.

²⁶ *Christian Missions*, pp. 183, 289, 336 ff. In 1835 Peter M'Owen admitted: "That individuals did formerly unite with our society from mercenary motives may be inferred from the fact, that they have left our communion since our gifts have been withheld." (*Methodist Magazine*, 1835, p. 944.)

²⁷ Letters from Adam Clarke to Richard Tabraham, 28th August and 13th October 1830. (Methodist Archives.)

²⁸ The Adam Clarke Methodist Church, Lerwick, celebrates its centenary in 1972. From 1872 the earlier chapel, known as the Mounthooly Street Hall, was used for public functions, concerts, elections; as a general store; for a while as a Baptist chapel; and in 1896 it was demolished and replaced by the Rechabite Hall, now "The Planets" ballroom. See Thomas Manson: *Lerwick during the last Half-Century* (Lerwick, 1923), pp. 271-9.

Several factors favoured the launching of Methodism in Shetland at this time—not least the marked contrast between this vigorous, self-confident Methodism of the 1820s and the pre-Disruption Kirk.

The Kirk preached mostly a dour, fatalistic Calvinism, and stressed a strict morality and the importance of duty. In the worst parishes, according to a well-known Lerwick doctor, “pastors and people were fast asleep in the cold embraces of dead Moderatism”.²⁹ The livelier Methodists were quite as keen on outward respectability and duty, but thought that these should spring from an inner transformation of mind and motive; they expected sinners to be converted, and encouraged believers to seek full redemption; as Arminians, they optimistically offered the Gospel to anyone and everyone.

The Kirk usually sang “the Psalms o’ David to the tunes o’ David”! Methodists used the livelier hymns of the Wesleys, and soon introduced “instrumental music” to Shetland worship. Kirk “communion tokens” admitted once a year, perhaps with great heart-searching, to the Lord’s Supper; Methodist class tickets, renewed each quarter—and occasionally not renewed—admitted to a more frequent communion, an occasional lovefeast, but above all to the weekly class-meeting, intended with other means of grace, formal and informal, to stimulate Christian fellowship and keep the member continually “up to the mark”.

The Kirk was set in her ways; Methodists at their best were flexible and adaptable—the pragmatists, the activists of the Kingdom of God. The Kirk was “established”, and for better or worse very much wedded to the lairds: “Shetland had naethin’ frae Scotlan’ but bad meal and greedy Meenisters”.³⁰ Methodism did enjoy the favour of a few lairds, like John Scott of Vaila, Robert Bruce of Fetlar, Arthur Gifford of Busta, and Thomas Henry of Burrastowe; but she was free from official patronage and legal entanglement. Independently of the parish relief, she brought some help to desperately poor people, and a far-seeing Adam Clarke urged social reforms to attack poverty at its roots—reforms which years later reappear with the Crofters’ Commission and the Truck Acts.

Of course, a different ecumenical climate prevails today. At that time some rivalry between the churches was inevitable, though any charge of “sheep-stealing” was denied, for instance by the class leaders of Walls and Sandness at the end of 1825 in a letter to Dr. Clarke:

Sir, it is for sending us the Gospel that we thank you. We would not intimate by this, that we had never heard the gospel before the ministers you sent reached our shores,—no such thing is meant; but we must say, that until then, the Gospel was to us but a dead letter; we were dead in trespasses and in sin until aroused by the plain and faithful preaching of the Methodists; they were the instruments which God

²⁹ R. Cowie: *Shetland, Descriptive and Historical* (Aberdeen, 1871), p. 17.

³⁰ Quoted with qualified approval and seventeenth-century examples by Gordon Donaldson: *Shetland Life under Earl Patrick* (1958), p. 127.

employed to bring us from darkness to light . . . All denominations have benefited: many of the clergy have received new energies, have appointed sermons to be read in the distant parts of their ministries, and sanctioned prayer-meetings among their own members . . . The dissenters have also benefited materially by their arrival in our isles; for before, their congregations were exceedingly small; but on their lending their meeting-houses to the Methodist ministers, they were crowded to excess, and continue to be filled to this day, and a greater number of persons has joined their community in the last two years, than in any four years previously . . .⁸¹

By now the "Shetland Isles Circuit" was a matter of history: it lasted for just one year. In July 1823 John Raby attended the Conference in Sheffield, and was gratified to see that Shetland was no longer an appendage of Edinburgh. A new District appeared in the Preachers' Stations:

XXV. THE SHETLAND ISLES—*John Raby, Chairman.*

321 *Mainland*, Samuel Dunn.

322 *Yell*, John Raby, John Lewis, Samuel Thompson.

HAROLD R. BOWES.

[The Rev. Harold R. Bowes, B.D. is a Methodist minister in the Sheffield North circuit who was stationed in Shetland from 1956 to 1960, and has made a special study of the beginnings of Shetland Methodism.]

APPENDIX I

JOHN NICOLSON TO JOSEPH BENSON

Lerwick 20th April 1821

Revnd Sir,

This will afford you the means, of knowing; that I wrote unto Mr. S. Taylor, who knew me personally; and was acquainted with the circumstance, that brought me to this countrey: namely the want of health.

And also, that he should see Mr. Hatemore, aboute a certificate for me, in cease the thing should be asked at my hands, and also how I was to procede: but altho the letter went to England last September, yet I have recved no answer neather to no one partickular nor a nother.

I have still continued my leabouers, preaching from 2 to 6 Sermons during the week, just as uppertunity could answer; and I desire with houbtle gratoutde to thank God; for his unspeakable feavouers manefasted unto me: that he is I hope and trust blessing my leabouers; for Severals have been leade to a cearious consearn aboute their Souls intrest; some of which the Lord Jesus Christ has manefasted himself unto their souls by the cleare evidance of his spirit bearing witness, with their spirits that the Bloode of Jesus cleanzeth from all sin—Glorey be to God.

I have taken in a rownd of aboute 30 milles, which takes in the most part of 3 Perishes, and at the end of 4 week I am at the same place again; I have formed 3 Classes which I meet when I am in the plases where they are, as I have no person as yet that can ingage with me as a leader, and also in 2 places a prayer meeting once a week; the prayer meetings is all

⁸¹ W. Jones: *Memoirs of the Life, Ministry and Writings of the Rev. Adam Clarke* (London, 1834), p. 431 f.



A sketch by James Everett of Dr. Adam Clarke, wearing a red-and-white striped night-cap given him by a Shetland laird during his voyage to Shetland, 21st June 1828.

(Hobill Collection, Hartley Victoria College)

Photo: Morris Walker (Methodist Home Mission Department)

Serwick 20th April 1825

Rev. Sir,

This will afford you the means of knowing that I wrote unto Mr. Taylor, who knew me personally, and was acquainted with the circumstance that brought me to this country, namely the want of health.

And also that he should let Mr. Watson, should a certificate for me, in case the thing should be asked at my home, and also how I was to provide. But as the latter went to England last September, yet I have provided answers whether by an post or otherwise for a matter.

I have still continued my labours, preaching from 2 to 3 sermons during the week, just as opportunity shall occur; and I desire with humble gratitude to thank God for his unspokeable favours manifested unto me, that he is still pursuing and blessing my labours, for several have been led to a serious concern about their souls interest, some of which the Lord Jesus Christ has manifested himself unto their souls by the clear evidence of his spirit bearing witness with their spirits that the blood of Jesus cleanseth from all unrighteousness - Yours truly &c.

Reduced facsimile of first page of letter of John Nicolson addressed to Joseph Benson. (The original is written on a fly-leaf sheet of foolscap, watermarked "D & A Cowan 1818").

that is caried on in my abstance. 2 of the Classes have about 20 members in each of them and the other about 30 that never missie of attending when upertunity can offer ; all of which seem to be in earnest, with several others that Express the warmest wish for to be instructed in those things that make for there everlasting peace.

Those dear souls are partickularly ansues, that some one should be settled among them and for this Express end there daily Cray is that I should not go away and leave them ; this fills my soul with Grief and mine eyes with tears ; yet, Sir, what can I do my deare wife is in England and unprovided for : and the place is naturely poor ; tho verey kind and I have leaboured now for 10 monthes at I may say my owen expence : or at lest, except my vitals that has cost me nothing, from the kind deare people, and in all about 2 pounds 10 shilling, that I have got from several friends I have hade nothing : and altho I have a tolarable Good Stock of Cloth yet having no supplay they are prittey will exousted ; and how I am to get them refounded I know not as I have constantly attanded the alter, and it at present [fully occupies] me.

I have thought to come to England about Agust, to see the Committee but the Greate consearn of my soul is, what shall become of those preacous souls when I have left them : if no indevidaul is to take care of them, and I must leave them, and if to see them no more, and none sent unto them, will be to me a harder trial than death itself—for they have been as sheep wothout a sheppard and to leave them so, will be no better ; and if there is non to take ceare of them : and to keep up the means of Grace among them, you know Sir that it most ultimilly dye away.

And now to conclude as a Will Wisher and lover of the Souls of men feel not to send me a fue lines ; to let me know what I am to do, Seeing my Soul is in the greates consearn what I am to do so as for the beast. and any Qestion that you feel disposed to ask I will endeaver to answer—I am satisfied that I am where and doing what God wold have me to do through his divine providance.

Please Sir, direct unto me as followes

John Nicholson Walls Sheetland

P.S. While I was in London I was a Member in Mr. Clippingdale's Class Blackwall Poplar.

So I Remain Rev^d Sir,

Your Houmble Servant

{ } of }
 { } years }

J. NICHOLSON.

To The Rev^d Jo^s Beanston
 Confrance office 14 Cittey Road London

NOTES

1. Those familiar with Shetland speech will recognize that some of John Nicolson's spelling was phonetic, and that he simply wrote as he spoke. The inclusion of an h in his surname is not in accordance with present custom.

2. "The Revd. Jos. Beanston" is Joseph Benson, a former President of Conference and editor of the *Methodist Magazine*, who had died two months before this letter was written. "S. Taylor" is Samuel Taylor, known to Nicolson in the London East circuit, 1818-19, who also died in

1821. "Mr. Hatemore" is Charles Atmore, another past President, who was in the London East circuit, 1818-20.

3. Nicolson claims that about seventy meet in class. Of these, Daniel M'Allum recorded: "... about twenty persons give signs of an altered life and a renewed heart; and they desire to be under our pastoral care; others are awakened; and others again are attentive hearers." (*Memoirs*, p. 101.)

4. The damaged bottom edge of the letter no doubt had some statement about Nicolson's years as a Methodist member or preacher. So far no London circuit plan has been found bearing his name as a "Local Preacher or Exhorter" as mentioned in his obituary (*Methodist Magazine*, 1828, p. 358).

APPENDIX II

CONTROVERSIAL PAMPHLETS ON SHETLAND METHODISM, 1824-5

A complete set is in the Zetland County Library, Lerwick, from the library of the late E. S. Reid Tait. Some are in the Hobill Collection at Hartley Victoria College, Manchester, at the Methodist Archives in London, and elsewhere.

- 1—Gilbert Nisbet: *A Plain Statement of the Causes of Difference between Mr. Samuel Dunn, one of the Methodist Preachers in Shetland, and Gilbert Nisbet, a Member of the Wesleyan Methodist Society* (Edinburgh, 1824), pp. 26.
- 2—John Turnbull: *Address to the Teachers and Scholars of the Sabbath Schools in the Parish of Tingwall, Whiteness, & Weesdale* (Edinburgh, June 1824), pp. 24.
- 3—Samuel Dunn: *Observations on the Rev. John Turnbull's Address to the Teachers and Scholars of the Sabbath Schools in the Parish of Tingwall, Whiteness, and Weesdale* (Edinburgh, 1824), pp. 38.
- 4—Anonymous: *Notes on the Rev. Samuel Dunn's Observations on the Rev. John Turnbull's Address &c.* (Leith, 1825), pp. 26.
- 5—John Turnbull: *Reply to Observations of Mr. Samuel Dunn* (Edinburgh, 1825).
- 6—Samuel Dunn: *Misrepresentation Exposed, and Methodism Defended; in answer to the Rev. John Turnbull's Reply to Observations on his Address* (Edinburgh, 1825), pp. 67.
- 7—"A Calm Observer": *A View of the Conduct of the Wesleyan Methodist Preachers in the Zetland Isles* (Leith, 1825), pp. 31. [E. S. Reid Tait identified the author as Dr. Arthur Edmonston, a well-known Shetland controversialist.]
- 8—"A Calm Observer": *A View . . .* Second edition, with Appendix and Woodcut (Leith, 1825), pp. 36.
- 9—Sinclair Thomson: *A Letter to Mr. Samuel Dunn, Methodist Preacher in Lerwick, on certain doctrines promulgated by him in the course of his ministrations in Shetland* (Dunfermline, 1825), pp. 36.

The Editor or the Publishing Manager would be pleased to accept back numbers of the *Proceedings*. Students and libraries are constantly requesting these (early issues in particular), and we would ask our members not to destroy their copies. Carriage will be refunded.

THE COVENANT SERVICE IN THE NON-WESLEYAN TRADITION

MR. E. A. ROSE'S article in the last issue of *Proceedings* (xxxviii, pp. 115-16) concerning the renewal of the covenant in the Methodist New Connexion will allow of a little supplementation. He is happily able to quote Conference decisions and the titles of service-books, as well as those far-too-rare diaries which can give us such a clear picture of Methodist life of earlier days.

The other source of information that he uses, viz. the circuit plan, is one whose importance should not be underestimated. One is apt sometimes to consider these plans as of use in compiling local histories, and for that purpose only; but they are valuable for telling us what actually happened in the circuits and chapels of a particular denomination. Connexional *Digests of Rules* and the like may tell us (or not!) what was connexional policy: the circuit plans can tell us what actually took place.

Among my MNC plans are four in which the Covenant Service is mentioned. The Lindley plans for 1877 and 1878—earlier than Mr. Rose's first plan—references—have the reference RC (i.e. Renewal of Covenant) on the traditional date at certain of the larger chapels in the circuit; Blackpool has CS in 1899, and Halifax West in 1906.

The United Methodist Free Churches also renewed the covenant, even though I must confess that at my own home chapel—Oak Street, in the Sheffield Hanover circuit, one of the largest societies in United Methodism at the time of Methodist Union—the service was never observed until after 1932. But, as Dr. Bowmer pointed out in his article on "Some Non-Wesleyan Service Books",¹ the UMFC printed a *Book of Services* some time between 1875 and 1883 which contained a Covenant Service, as did the later book of some date before 1896. Is there any significance in the fact that when my grandfather entered the UMFC ministry in 1864, he obtained a Wesleyan service-book (partly because there was then no UMFC book and partly because he had been a Wesleyan before the expulsions of 1849 and later) *which did not contain a Covenant Service*? To complete this part of the picture, it may be mentioned that there was a Covenant Service in the United Methodist Church book of 1913, and that the Rev. E. F. H. Capey (a minister of the Methodist New Connexion) drew up and published his own service at an unknown date.

I find little reference to the service in UMFC books: there is none, for instance, in any of the three editions of Askew's *Free Methodist Manual*. But James Harrison's *Young People's Guide* of 1895 (and second edition, 1896) speaks of it, and tells the reader: "You can get a printed copy of the service from your minister for twopence"—though I have seen no copies of this little production.

¹ See *Proceedings*, xxxii, pp. 145-52.

He points out, of course, that the service is held on the first Sunday of the year.

But again, the real test is the circuit plan. The earliest I have seen is the Newcastle-on-Tyne plan for 1873 and subsequent years, which regularly prints CS at the morning service of the main chapels of the circuit for the first Sunday of the year. Bristol North has the same reference-letters in 1876, then I have no more relevant plans until the new century has dawned, when Market Rasen has them in 1906. United Methodist plans for the period between the Unions of 1907 and 1932 have CS in 1920 and 1922, for example, and, with CR (i.e. Covenant Renewal) at Hanley Bethesda, in 1931.

There are two other points of interest. Some circuits plan the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper on the New Year Sunday, but this may be no more than the usual practice of observing this sacrament on the first Sunday of the month. Closer to the covenant ideal, perhaps, is the Boston Free Methodists' custom of holding a Love-feast on this Sunday in 1883 and presumably other years. This looks like a relic of a much earlier custom, for I find Lovefeast indicated on Wesleyan plans at Sheffield in 1812 and Camelford in 1834; Ashton New Connexion plan has this in 1833. But CS was appearing on Wesleyan plans as early as 1829, when I find it in Halifax.

The Bible Christians included a Covenant Service in their books of offices, but I do not find such a service indicated on a single BC plan in my possession.

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

Our members will welcome the production (a joint venture between our President, Dr. Maldwyn Edwards, and the Rev. John Banks) of a series of booklets entitled *People and Places in Early Methodism*, of which the first four are now before us: *Francis Asbury*, *The Wesley Family and their Epworth Home*, *New Room*, and *John Wesley and City Road Chapel*. These booklets (all of them pp. 12 with three cover illustrations) contain highly-condensed accounts of their subjects, but the fact that they are from the pen of Dr. Edwards is a guarantee both of their accuracy and their eminent readability. Even in so short a compass, Dr. Edwards succeeds in bringing the figures of early Methodism into sharp focus, in a way that will make them attractive to the general reader. This series should have a ready sale on church bookstalls, and will be useful to our members who wish to introduce others to the fascinations of Methodist history. They will also be useful to schoolchildren and students dealing with Methodist history projects, and each one in its own place should be in the hands of pilgrims to Epworth, the New Room, Wesley's Chapel, and West Bromwich. The booklets retail at 15p., and may be obtained from the Rev. John Banks, 224, Wilbraham Road, Manchester, M16 8GN, who will also supply information about available discounts and sale-or-return terms.

T.S.

Mr. Clifford B. Freeman, a member of our Society, has written a 44-page account of *Mary Simpson of Boynton Vicarage: Teacher of Plough-boys and Critic of Methodism*; copies, price 45p., from the East Yorkshire History Society, Purey Cust Chambers, York, YO1 2EJ.

THE ANNUAL MEETING AND LECTURE

THIS year's tea—at West Bridgford, Nottingham, on Wednesday, 5th July—was kindly provided for those of us who were able to attend the meeting by our treasurer, Mr. Rowland C. Swift, and his wife.

Business Meeting

About twenty members were present at the tea and meeting, which were held at our Musters Road chapel. After devotions (led by the President), tribute was paid to seventeen members who had died during the year—including Miss Constance Bretherton, honoured among us for her work for the Society as well as for the fact that she was a daughter of the late Rev. F. F. Bretherton, our General Secretary and President from 1919 to 1956, and also Mrs. Gertrude Ibberson, who for thirty-four years had been our hostess at the annual tea.

The meeting received reports from the Society's officers and from the branches. Our membership has now reached 974—a matter for rejoicing, though this was tempered by the treasurer's report, which alerted us to the fact that a large number of our members are in arrears with their subscriptions. If all our members would meet their commitments, not only should we have a greatly-increased balance in hand, but the possibility of increased membership subscriptions—a spectre haunting all such societies as ours—would be removed to a more comfortable distance. The balance sheet showed an excess of expenditure over income on the year's accounts of £17 20p. The total assets of the Society amount to £980 20p., of which £599 10p. represents subscriptions paid in advance.

Mr. Taberer introduced our latest publication, *John Jones—First after the Wesleys?*, by A. B. Sackett, and said that the *Schools Guide* was selling very well and was introducing the Society to many potential members. The Rev. John Banks introduced a new series of booklets entitled *People and Places in Early Methodism*, written by Dr. Maldwyn Edwards. Mr. William Leary expressed his thanks to the Nottingham County Archivist for his assistance in the preparation of this year's historical exhibition at the Conference.

The branch reports revealed a continuing and expanding work everywhere except in South Wales. We were glad to hear about the formation of a Scottish branch, and of steps that are being taken at West Bromwich for the better preservation of the Asbury cottage. Sympathy was expressed for the Irish branch in the damage sustained at Aldersgate House, Belfast—though it was good news that the treasures preserved there were still intact.

Mr. C. F. Stell, of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, who is a member of our Society, addressed the meeting, and voiced his disapproval of the Conference requirement that visible signs of Christian use and Methodist occupation should be totally removed before Methodist property passes into secular use. The meeting shared his concern, and resolved to take up the matter with the Chapel Department.

The meeting was glad to hear that the Society had received a legacy of £100 under the will of the late Mrs. Ibberson, and also a gift of books on Methodist history from the family of the late Rev. John J. Perry.

The Annual Lecture

This year's lecture finally extended our Society's original preoccupation with "the history and literature of early Methodism" (long since advanced

to cover our Victorian history) to the almost contemporary date 1939—a deliberate manœuvre which the lecturer vigorously defended. The lecturer was the Rev. Michael S. Edwards, and his subject “S. E. Keeble and Methodist Social Thinking, 1880-1939”. We are not without hope, that an outline at least of Mr. Edwards’s in some ways convincing and in some ways provocative study of S. E. Keeble, political leftist and prophet of social righteousness, will be available in a printed form. In the meantime, suffice it to say that in the view of the lecturer S. E. Keeble was one of the founding fathers of twentieth-century Methodism—perhaps a more significant figure than either Hugh Price Hughes or John Scott Lidgett—but one who nevertheless reprehensibly failed to give as active a lead to Christian Socialists within Methodism as he might have done.

All present—Dr. Maldwyn Edwards, who presided, members of S. E. Keeble’s family who were there, and an interested audience—listened intently to Mr. Edwards’s *bons mots*—“Keeble had the advantage of not being born into a Methodist home”—and to his careful presentation of his difficult theme.

THOMAS SHAW.

MORE LOCAL HISTORIES

Lack of suitable space in recent issues has prevented acknowledgement of a large number of the local histories of Methodism which we have been pleased to receive in the last twelve months. Details are set down below, with apologies for their belated appearance.

The Widening Way—the story of Methodism in Worthing, Shoreham and district, compiled by the Rev. Ernest W. Griffin (pp. 72): copies from the Rev. R. Clifford C. Pattison, 2, Nutley Close, Goring-by-Sea, Worthing, Sussex; no price stated.

Wymondham centenary celebrations brochure (pp. 12): copies from the Rev. Cyril D. Blount, Methodist Manse, Back Lane, Wymondham, Norfolk; no price stated.

Trinity, Wood Green, London N.22 centenary souvenir (pp. 44): copies from the Rev. Brian N. Tebbutt, 4, The Drive, Bounds Green, London, N.11; no price stated.

Brunswick, Newcastle upon Tyne, sesquicentenary brochure (pp. 24): copies, price 20p., from The Trust Secretary, Brunswick Methodist Chapel, Brunswick Place, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 7BJ.

One Hundred Years—the story of Christ Church, Worcester Park, 1872-1972 (pp. 52): copies from the Rev. Anthony T. Pepper, 97, Kingsmead Avenue, Worcester Park, Surrey; no price stated.

Little Neston (Cheshire) centenary brochure (pp. 32): copies from Sister Gwen Appleton, 36, West Vale, Neston, Wirral, Cheshire; no price stated.

History of Bourne, by J. D. Birkbeck (pp. 120): copies, price £1, from the author at 22, West Villas, Bourne, Lincs.

Reddal Hill (Worcs) centenary souvenir (1871-1971) (pp. 16): copies from the Rev. Bertram L. Simpson, 1, Haden Road, Cradley Heath, Warley, Worcs; no price stated.

Lindal-in-Furness centenary brochure (pp. 16): copies, price 15p., from the Rev. Dr. David A. Jackson, 6, Hall Street, Dalton-in-Furness, Lincs.

Ruislip jubilee souvenir (pp. 40): copies from the Rev. Thomas F. Cawthera, 39, Sharp’s Lane, Ruislip, Middlesex; no price stated.

- A Brown Study*—a record of the Brown Memorial Methodist church, Newcastle upon Tyne (pp. 24) ; copies, price 10p., from Mr. Norman F. Moore, 3, Martello Gardens, Cochrane Park, Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Eastwood View (Rotherham) history, by Eric Morris (pp. 120) : copies, price 75p., from 12, Dovedale Road, Rotherham, Yorks.
- Holywood (Belfast) brochure (pp. 72) : copies, price 50p., from the Rev. William Callender, 22, My Lady's Mile, Holywood, Co. Down.
- Copnor (Portsmouth) diamond jubilee handbook (pp. 40) : copies from the Rev. Peter J. R. Evan, 40, Kirby Road, Northend, Portsmouth, PO2 0PB ; no price stated.
- Buckland (Portsmouth) history, 1858-1971 (pp. 28) : copies, price 7p., from the Rev. H. Seymour Tonkin, 39, Salisbury Road, Southsea, Hants, PO4 9QV.
- Whickham (Co. Durham), Spoor Memorial centenary booklet (pp. 20) : copies from the Rev. William Platts, 9, Buttermere Avenue, Whickham, Newcastle upon Tyne ; no price stated.
- Altofts (Yorks) Lock Lane centenary booklet (pp. 16) : copies from Mr. Kenneth Caswell, 1, Lawns Close, Altofts, Normanton, Yorks ; no price stated.
- Burnley, Southfield history, 1914-70 (pp. 24) : copies from the Rev. John A. Fisher, 10, Southfield House, Southfield, Burnley, Lancs ; no price stated.
- Sedgley (Worcs), Tipton Street 150th anniversary booklet (pp. 40) : copies, price 10p., from the Rev. Albert Roebuck, Cranstone, Kent Street, Upper Gornal, Dudley, Worcs.
- Tysoe (Kineton), brochure on opening of new chapel (pp. 8) : copies from the Rev. Kenneth Cheater, Wesley Manse, Kineton, Warwicks ; no price stated.
- Hartlip (Kent), 150th anniversary souvenir history of the chapel, by R. A. Baldwin (pp. 14) : copies from the author at 36, Stuart Road, Gillingham, Kent ; no price stated.
- Essington (Staffs), Allens Rough centenary booklet (pp. 18) : copies from the Rev. David J. Read, 256, Lichfield Road, New Invention, Willenhall, Staffs, WV12 5BG ; no price stated.
- Gateshead and Jarrow Circuit inauguration brochure (pp. 12) : copies from the Rev. Geoffrey Kemp, Wesley Manse, 118, Church Road, Low Fell, Gateshead, Co. Durham ; no price stated.
- High Littleton (Paulton circuit) centenary brochure (pp. 8) : copies from the Rev. R. Martin Broadbent, The Manse, Clutton, Bristol, BS18 4TA ; no price stated.
- Methodism in Bramhall, 1871-1971*, by Andrew Corrie (pp. ix. 40) : copies from the Rev. John H. Wroe, 2, Thorn Road, Bramhall, Stockport ; no price stated.
- Newbury and Hungerford Circuit inauguration brochure (pp. 10) : copies, price 5p., from the Rev. Wilfred Trinder, 5, Castle Grove, Newbury, Berks.
- The Sacred Flame*—a record of Methodism in Shillington, Bedfordshire (pp. 16) : copies from Mr. J. D. Tearle, St. Clare, 7, Cutenhoe Road, Luton, Beds ; no price stated.
- Sherburn-in-Elmet (Yorks) centenary brochure (pp. 16) : copies from the Rev. Mark A. Mercer, 8, Low Street, South Milford, Leeds, LS25 5AR ; no price stated.

WALTER CHURCHEY

IN *Proceedings*, xxvii, pp. 74-5, there appeared the transcript of a letter of John Wesley to Walter Churchey, with notes by Dr. Oliver A. Beckerlegge. Since coming into the possession of Wesley's letter of 8th August 1788, I have sought diligently for fuller details of this "honest attorney", and I now record my findings and comments to date. In addition to the thirty letters of Wesley, there are the three by Churchey to Joseph Benson, one by him to Lady Huntingdon, and notes in such books as *Old Brecknock Chips* (1886), *Brecon Methodism* (1888) and *Methodism in Wales*.

Churchey's home was Brecknock, delight of the poet Henry Vaughan, birth-county of Thomas Coke and Howell Harris, the place where Lady Huntingdon established her college for students at Trevecka (who shot the dairy-maid there?), the highway through which Wesley would pass on his journeys to and from West Wales, the heart of revival and the hospitable home for Methodist preachers. With his large family, Churchey resided first at Little Ffordd Fawr, a house on the roadside about midway between Glasbury and Hay; then he moved to a mansion in Lion Street, The Bulwarks, Brecon—a place later to become the Old Post Office. Wesley records a visit to this house Near-the-Hay in his diary for 16th August 1788; and it may be that young Walter had been present when a rioter in Hay struck a companion of Howell Harris and killed poor William Seward.

Although called "conceited" by Wynne Jones in *Brecon Methodism*, Churchey was generous in his poverty, and willingly used his "little horse" for taking preachers to Hay from Brecon and Trevecka at a time when the gentry and the "unweildy officers" (so called by Wesley) refused to use their "fat horses" for this purpose. He was a barrister on the Radnor, Brecon and Glamorgan legal circuit, with a sister happily married to a "serious person" (a tallow-chandler in London) and a wife whom Wesley nearly always remembered with an affectionate "My love to Sister Churchey". He guarded his children's health by inoculation, probably sending his boys to Kingswood, one eventually going to Jamaica and another holding office for many years as town clerk of Brecon; he allowed a daughter to take up work in London when Wesley could find no suitable home for her in Bristol. He was buried beneath the south aisle of Brecon Cathedral (then Brecon Priory) in 1806, the stone marking the spot bearing no more than his name. Was this because he was so well known locally that, like Ben Jonson in Westminster Abbey, this was sufficient, or because of his Methodist connexions and the feeling of the incumbent and his wardens that he merited no more? Methodism owes him far more than a passing reference.

In those thirty letters from John Wesley, written between 1770 and 1791—the last only a few days before the writer's death—we find such intriguing comments as the following:

I am of no sect but the Church of England.
 I have a little rheumatism [aged 85 !]
 No-one over 20 should learn Greek or Latin.
 You could learn Welsh [to a preacher].
 I prefer "which" to "who" [in the new prayer-book].
 In my Will I bequeath no money but what may happen to be in my pocket when I die.

In his own letters, Churchey quotes Latin and Greek and the latest books he has read: he warmed to the hope of the Millennium, rejected Fletcher's controversial doctrine of the Descent of the Holy Ghost, claimed that he first suggested the idea of the *Arminian Magazine*, put up a scheme to Conference for reducing the connexional debt, and probably dissuaded John Prickard, the young consumptive who made a deep impression on the Conference of 1778 when offering for service in Africa, from going west to enlighten the Indians. (In a letter to Joseph Benson in 1774 he writes: "Why go to America to look for them? their black souls are visible at Home: Wales abounds with Indians of all kinds!") He also expressed—in 1774!—particular concern for the "matrimonial mania" of the young students and preachers coming into this part of Wales—"these men who had great families, little fortune or gifts and were left to the dry relief of strangers and the perplexities of a vagrant station". He objected strongly to the decision of the Conference of 1797 to close the chapel at Hay.

Churchey was on familiar terms with the Poet Laureate, Robert Southey, corresponded with William Cowper, and eventually persuaded Wesley to publish his own "mediocre" poems in August 1789, entitled *Poems and Imitations of the British Poets, with Odes, Miscellanies and Notes*—500 copies were printed on Wesley's press for £150, to be sold at a guinea apiece. Here is a sample, quoted in that letter to Benson in 1774:

Not Sapho's soft Aolian air
 Nor light a nacrean debonnair
 Nor Horace, with his native ease
 Our solemn Passions can appease.
 No—bear us where Isaiah found
 Jehovah's Glory all around
 And, lost in that ecstatic sight
 Sunk down beneath it with delight!
 Thus awed may we for ever stand
 Or follow at His great command
 Whate'er His Providence ordains
 Where'er it points, whate'er the pains!

I should be grateful for a glimpse into this ancient volume and for any information regarding this man and his family.

JAMES H. TEMPLE.

[The Rev. James H. Temple, M.A., whose address is Roseleigh, King Edward Road, Axminster, Devon, is a Methodist minister at present serving as superintendent of the Devon and Dorset Mission.]

WORSHIP IN A DISUSED RAILWAY-COACH

ONCE John Wesley found that he was no longer welcome in Anglican pulpits, he was forced, much against his inclination, to preach in the open air. The uncertainties of the British climate, coupled with the lack of an efficient public-address system in those days, meant that worship was much easier in a building of some sort or other. The early Methodists were largely working-class people, of very limited means; thus they had to buy or rent any premises they could obtain as cheaply as possible. For example, the waiting-room on the platform of the London and Birmingham Railway at Rugby was one of these unusual preaching-places.

There was another interesting chapel at Jarrow-on-Tyne. In the early 1830s seven lads from the Jarrow colliery were transported for trade-union activities. These workers did not achieve the fame of the Tolpuddle Martyrs, but nevertheless their case aroused such public reaction against the Jarrow colliery proprietors that they let the Primitive Methodist congregation have a meeting-place. The coal-owners did not build it. They merely roofed in the space between two rows of pitmen's cottages at what was known as Bede Place. Still, to the Methodists it was a home of their own, this little meeting-house which would only hold, at best, about forty people. For the few years they were allowed to use it, this little sanctuary became very dear and a real centre of hard lives. Yet they were never able to afford any furnishing. If a worshipper needed a seat, he or she brought along some stool to the service; kitchen forms were brought to seat the whole family.¹

Railway enthusiasts, however, will know that in 1892 Isambard Kingdom Brunel's broad-gauge system, the Great Western Railway (now the Western Region of British Rail) was changed to standard gauge. Thus a vast quantity of equipment became redundant. Although much of it was broken up for scrap, one broad-gauge coach was used for religious purposes. This coach had been built for the Bristol and Exeter Railway, and taken into stock on 31st December 1863. It was taken over by the GWR and re-numbered 341 on 24th March 1877. Later in that year it was re-built, and it carried passengers until it was condemned on 28th February 1890. Although I. K. Brunel was credited with the building of everything broad-gauge (7 ft. 0¼ in.), in much the same way as David is often regarded as the writer of all the Psalms, research has suggested that just as David could not possibly have written some of the Psalms, it is difficult to prove that Brunel actually built this coach. Possibly it was a "Long Charley" built by Brown & Marshall of Birmingham.

In 1892 the coach became a Wesleyan Methodist chapel, and later a schoolroom, at Portbury, near Portishead (just outside Bristol) in

¹ Ellen Wilkinson: *The Town that was murdered* (Gollancz, 1939), pp. 44-5.

Somerset. Its location was the site of the present waterworks, by the railway station. From 1892 to 1899 it was in use as the "Portbury Wesleyan Mission Room". This "chapel" was no doubt a vast improvement on the previous one—a shed which had formerly been a hen-house! The Portbury Wesley chapel was built in 1899 near to the station, and the broad-gauge coach was towed by Mr. E. H. Shopland and his good horse "Smart" to a site alongside the chapel. The coach was used for week-day meetings until 1950. In 1965 Portbury Methodist chapel was closed, and in 1967 the building was sold. The coach was then abandoned.

At the moment the coach is at Long Ashton, where it has been dismantled; and enthusiasts, led by Mr. Wood of Shrewsbury, are hoping to restore this coach—one of the very few survivors of the broad-gauge era—and to place it in Bristol Museum. Since both John Wesley and I. K. Brunel had close connexions with Bristol, this would be an appropriate resting-place for an interesting piece of both Methodist and railway history.²

I am indebted to the Rev. Eric J. Okell, who until his retirement twelve months ago was the Methodist minister at Portishead, for his help in the writing of these few paragraphs.

PETER S. RICHARDS.

² *The Daily Telegraph*, 23rd December 1969.

Among publications recently sent to us are the following, which we have been pleased to place in the library.

The Asbury Seminarian, October 1971, containing article on "The Wesleyan Message in the Life and Thought of Today".

Blackmansbury, February and April 1972, containing articles on "William Fuller Pocock, 1779-1849", with notes by Miss M. A. Powel.

John Wesley: his way of knowing God, by Robert O. Reddish, jun. (The Rorge Publishing Co., P.O. Box 130, Evergreen, Colorado, 80439, USA, \$1.95).

"The Disciplined Society: Early Victorian Preachers in the Retford Wesleyan Circuit", by Barry J. Biggs. (Offprint from the *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*.)

Handbook of the 123rd Aggregate Meeting of the Methodist Local Preachers' Mutual Aid Association, containing articles on Methodism in Northampton.

Heritage, compiled by Mr. R. E. Tonkin, of 19, Broad Street, Truro, Cornwall, continuing the story of St. Clement Street church, Truro. (This is the fourth in this series of pamphlets, of which the three earlier issues were referred to in *Proceedings*, xxxviii, p. 89.)

"The Growth and Typology of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in New South Wales, 1812-1901", by Dr. R. B. Walker (Associate Professor of History, Macquarie University). (Offprint from *The Journal of Religious History* (Australia).)

John Woolman in England (Supplement No. 31 to the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*).

BOOK NOTICES

John Wesley and the German Hymn. A detailed study of John Wesley's Translations of Thirty Three German Hymns, by John L. Nuelsen, Translated by Theo Parry, Sydney H. Moore and Arthur Holbrook. (A. S. Holbrook, Calverley, Yorkshire, LS28 5RQ, pp. 172.)

John Wesley: A Theological Biography, by Martin Schmidt. Vol. II, John Wesley's Life Mission—Part 1, Translated by Norman P. Goldhawk. (Epworth Press, pp. 312, £4.)

The late Dr. John Nuelsen, who was at one time Bishop of the Methodist Church in Germany, wrote two important works which, to our shame, have long remained untranslated. One was *Die Ordination im Methodismus*; the other, *John Wesley und das deutsche Kirchenlied*, published in 1938, has at last been translated by the enterprise of three men, one of whom has published it privately. It is not in normal print, but the translators' typescript has been reduced and printed, so that it looks like a typewritten work in miniature. It is, however, perfectly legible. It contains an extremely detailed study of the thirty-three hymns which Wesley translated from the *Herrnhuter Gesang-Buch*—all of them, curiously enough, before 1738—with a great deal of background information. Both the German and the English texts are also given.

In one or two places, Mr. Holbrook has added short notes on matters which have been clarified since 1938; account has been taken of the *Methodist Hymn-Book* of 1933, of which Nuelsen took account in the text, but not in his first Appendix, and several errors in Nuelsen's transcription of the German hymns have been corrected. In a few places the translators have made mistakes in translating Nuelsen's text, but all honour to them that they have provided for English readers a book which hymnologists have long needed, for Wesley was a pioneer in the introduction of German hymns to England.

There are in it several references to an early work of Martin Schmidt, *John Wesley's Bekehrung*, which appeared in the same series in the same year. Since then Professor Schmidt, now at Heidelberg, has written his magnum opus, *John Wesley*.

The first volume, published in 1953, was reviewed in these *Proceedings*, xxix, pp. 139-40, and the translation, by Mr. Goldhawk, published in 1962, was reviewed in *Proceedings*, xxxiv, p. 21. The long-awaited second volume, published in Zürich in 1966, has been divided for the purpose of translation, and we now have the first half of the second volume. The author has abandoned the chronological method of the first volume on the ground that after 1738 Wesley's course remained constant. He deals with five themes, though within each of these the treatment is largely chronological. These are the beginnings of the evangelistic movement, which includes an account of Wesley's relations with the Moravians, the progress of the movement, with brief accounts of Wales, Ireland, Scotland and America, Wesley as organizer, his relation to the Church of England, and a long account of his answers to his opponents. The book has an index, but the bibliography will presumably appear in the second part.

This work ranks among the greatest of the lives of Wesley written by friendly non-Methodist scholars. Its particular strength lies in the author's very detailed knowledge of German pietism. This was of course even more relevant to the narrative preceding John Wesley's conversion, but it also lends interest to this volume, particularly to the first chapter.

A great wealth of information is contained in the end-notes. Dr. Schmidt shows a most detailed knowledge of the English scene—though if, like the reviewer, he had been a Gloucesterian, he would hardly have described Painswick as being near Birmingham (p. 122)! F. D. Maurice was Chaplain at Lincoln's Inn, not Preacher at Gray's Inn (p. 284). He does not make much use of English secondary sources. His account of the ordinations of 1784 is based on Nuelsen, and makes no reference to the interesting ecclesiological questions raised by such writers as E. W. Thompson and A. B. Lawson. He might also have referred to various English writers on Wesley's relations with the Church of England, though of course he could not use Dr. Frank Baker's definitive volume, which did not appear until 1970. But whilst it would have been interesting to have Dr. Schmidt's comments on these writers, the value of this book as a study of the primary sources, and indeed of many of the less well-known ones, is substantially unimpaired.

The translation reads very smoothly. Perhaps the present reviewer may be permitted to mention a melancholy link between the two volumes. The translator's preface of Schmidt's book was written at Richmond College, and is presumably the last of many works of scholarship to come from that college, unless Methodism can find some fresh Methodist use for it; and in the Nuelsen volume there are several references to important books of which the actual copies used by Wesley himself were in the library of Richmond College, but which are now housed in Wesley's own house in City Road, London.

A. RAYMOND GEORGE.

Nonconformity in the Nineteenth Century, edited with an Introduction by David M. Thompson. (Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp. xiv. 281, £3.)

This is a source-book, one of the publisher's "Birth of Modern Britain" series. It consists of over a hundred extracts from key documents, together with twenty-two pages of introduction and a "select bibliography". The author appears to have mastered the intricacies of nineteenth-century Methodist history. His extracts, of which there are nearly thirty taken directly from Methodist sources and many others bearing indirectly on Methodism, range from the loyalty of the Wesleys to the persecution meted out to the Primitives; from a sidelight into "A Methodist Preacher's week, 1819" to "The Resolutions of the Wesleyan Conference on Slavery"; from "The 'No smoking' rule in Primitive Methodism, 1823" to "The Wesleyan Conference on Teetotalism, 1841"; from "The Expulsion of James Everett from the Wesleyan Conference in 1849" to "Hugh Price Hughes and Parnell, 1890". Thompson's selection will not, of course, coincide with everyone's choice; but it is a fair sample to be going on with, and it is good to have these key documents in a handy form.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

John Jones—First after the Wesleys?, by A. Barrett Sackett. (Wesley Historical Society Publication No. 7, pp. vi. 42, 35p.)

John Wesley in Wales, 1739-1790, edited by A. H. Williams. (University of Wales Press, pp. xxxviii. 141, £3.)

It is good to have so careful a piece of research on Dr. John Jones, a preacher well known for twenty years in early Methodism and yet little more than a name today. Mr. Sackett draws out three features of special interest. First, there is Jones's longing for ordination, which was thwarted when the Bishop of St. David's refused the application, presumably because of the candidate's close connexion with Howell Harris. In 1746,

when Jones decided to join the Methodists, his worth was quickly recognized, and, as Mr. Sackett is careful to note, his name on occasion appears first among Wesley's "assistants". Other references suggest that John Wesley valued a man who not only took an A.M. of Trinity College, Oxford, but later obtained a medical degree. Partly, therefore, because he himself thought that Jones, if ordained, would be more useful to him, he took the unwise and unjustified step of consenting to his ordination by the Greek bishop Gerasimos (Erasmus) in March 1764. At last, when, with entire amiability, he left the Methodist movement, he was ordained a clergyman and became successively curate and vicar of Harwich. It is a pleasant conclusion to the life-story of a man who fulfilled his earthly desire to be a priest, but to the end retained John Wesley's affection and esteem.

Second, Mr. Sackett brings out clearly how Jones abandoned his Calvinism and became a convinced Arminian under John Wesley. In this role he could play either a polemic or an eirenic part as the situation demanded.

Finally, Mr. Sackett valiantly tries to support his thesis that during the time that Jones laboured with the Methodists he was second only to the Wesley brothers. This I would find hard to accept, but most certainly Mr. Sackett does paint the picture of an able and influential "assistant", likeable and devoted, who in a period before Fletcher or Coke had become outstandingly significant, played a valuable part in the shaping of Methodism in Kingswood, Bristol, and London.

This is a monograph that students of Methodist history cannot afford to miss.

Mr. A. H. Williams's much-needed work, briefly mentioned on page 59 of the present volume of *Proceedings*, has been done with great care and scholarly research. Special features are the discerning analysis of John Wesley's relationship with Howell Harris; the account of the 1750 split between Harris and his Calvinistic friends; and the subsequent reconciliation which meant that once again John Wesley resumed his travels in Wales after making only two visits in twelve years.

In this last period, stretching between 1763 and 1791, about eighty of Wesley's preachers had spent a year or more in Wales, and by the time of Wesley's death there were three circuits and six hundred members.

The editing of the *Journal* records of Wesley's thirty-five visits to Wales and the eighteen occasions when he passed through on his way to Ireland has been done with skill and accuracy. All obscure references have been made clear in footnotes, and new light has been shed on forgotten persons and places.

This book is quite essential for those who would know more of John Wesley's journeys in the Principality. Mr. Williams has placed in his debt all students of John Wesley and his times. MALDWYN EDWARDS.

Many of our readers will have heard that because of the unsafe state of part of the fabric of Wesley's Chapel, City Road, London, E.C.1, the building has been closed, and is likely to remain so for a lengthy period. In consequence of this, the Wesley Historical Society Library has had to be removed from the crypt, and the books have been taken to the basement of Epworth House, adjoining the Archives Centre. Any inquiries should be addressed to the Archives, but borrowing is suspended for the present.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1234. CAMP MEETING HYMN-SHEETS.

Miss Jane Harding, assistant curator of the Museum and Art Gallery, Market Street, King's Lynn, Norfolk, asks if there still exist hymn-sheets and other printed material for the use of camp meetings, particularly those used by the Primitive Methodists in the early nineteenth century. Readers who know of anything of this kind are asked to communicate with Miss Harding at the above address. EDITOR.

1235. PRIMITIVE METHODISM IN AMERICA.

Dr. Charles W. Tyrell of the University of Dubuque, Iowa, 52001, is seeking information on Primitive Methodism in the United States, and would be glad to hear from anyone who could help him with (1) the history of early Primitive Methodism in the Mid-West and (2) the Primitive Methodist Van Mission in New England. EDITOR.

1236. A NINETEENTH-CENTURY METHODIST CARTOON.

Many members will be familiar with *The Pageantry of Methodist Union* by R. Newman Wycherley (1936). On page 95 there is a full-page illustration headed "Emblems of the Polity of Methodism". It is a cartoon contrasting the respective polities of Wesleyan Methodism, Primitive Methodism and the Methodist New Connexion. On the right, Wesleyan Methodism is represented by a layman crushed by the load of the three ministers he is carrying on his back. Beneath is the caption "Priestly Tyranny". On the left, representing Primitive Methodism, two laymen ride on the back of an emaciated minister, and the caption reads: "Lay Despotism". In the centre, however, minister and layman walk amicably arm-in-arm, under the heading "Methodist New Connexion". This time the slogan reads: "Equal Rights". The costume suggests the 1830s, and as the cartoon was no doubt put out by the MNC, this would fit in very well, since it was in this period that the MNC tried to woo the Warrentite seceders. All this, however, is speculation. Does any member have any definite information, or know the location of the original? E. A. ROSE.

1237. JAMES MONTGOMERY.

I was glad to read, in *Proceedings*, xxxviii, pp. 76-80, the article referring to the bicentenary of James Montgomery, but was surprised that there was no mention of his rather unusual background. His father was a Moravian missionary in the West Indies, and I have been shown the mission-house, church and school at Moriah in Tobago where James (I was told) spent part of his childhood. Another Moravian settlement in Tobago is named Montgomery. In 1795 and 1796, back in England, his political radicalism during the war with France following the French Revolution twice brought him into conflict with the authorities, and he was fined and imprisoned. Towards the end of his life he wrote the hymn sung by the slaves welcoming the dawn of their day of freedom when the Emancipation Act came into force in 1843. Despite the faint praise accorded in *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary* ("Some of his hymns keep their place in the hymnals"), I believe that it was once calculated by Dr. Erik Routley that hymns by Montgomery were to be found in a wider range of hymn-books than is the case with any other English hymnographer, and that he also secured a more consistent place among the favourite hymns of diverse denominations than any other writer. I should be pleased to see a fuller account of his life and work.

R. W. MANN

(Kingham Hill School, Oxford).

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Financial Statement, 1st January to 31st December 1971

| EXPENDITURE. | | £ | p. | INCOME. | | £ | p. |
|--|--|-----|----|--|-----|----|---------|
| <i>Proceedings</i> and Printing | | 267 | 4 | Subscriptions in advance br't forward from previous year— | | | |
| Insurance | | 3 | 90 | Ordinary Members | 296 | 80 | |
| Secretarial, Editorial and Registrar's Expenses ... | | 35 | 79 | Life Members | 318 | 50 | |
| Lecturer's Honorarium ... | | 10 | 50 | Received during year | 201 | 50 | |
| Publications | | 67 | 60 | | | | 816 80 |
| Marler-Hayley Display Panels | | 8 | 71 | <i>Less</i> Unexpired Subscrip- tions (see Balance Sheet) ... | 599 | 10 | |
| Contrib'n to Archives Centre | | 25 | 0 | | | | 217 70 |
| Grant to I.M.H.S. | | 3 | 0 | <i>Proceedings</i> (back nos.) sold | 61 | 80 | |
| Sundries | | 1 | 0 | Advertisements | 14 | 79 | |
| | | | | Irish Branch | 18 | 0 | |
| | | | | War Stock Dividend | 7 | 68 | |
| | | | | Conference Lecture | 13 | 44 | |
| | | | | Publications sold | 34 | 29 | |
| | | | | Donation | 1 | 57 | |
| | | | | Bank Interest | 35 | 80 | |
| | | | | Debit Balance | 17 | 47 | |
| | | | | | | | <hr/> |
| | | | | | | | £422 54 |
| | | | | | | | <hr/> |
| | | | | | | | £422 54 |

Balance Sheet as at 31st December 1971

| LIABILITIES. | | £ | p. | ASSETS. | | £ | p. |
|--|--|-----|----|--|-----|----|---------|
| Unexpired Subscriptions— | | | | Cash in hand—Treasurer ... | 124 | 60 | |
| Ordinary Members ... | | 287 | 60 | Registrar | 18 | 88 | |
| Life Members (69) (say) | | 311 | 50 | War Stock (at cost) | 225 | 0 | |
| | | | | (Market Value £94) | | | |
| | | | | Trustee Savings Bank | 611 | 72 | |
| Accumulated Funds b/fwd. | | 599 | 10 | | | | |
| | | 398 | 57 | | | | |
| | | | | Library, Publications Stocks, Filing Cabinet, etc. unvalued | | | |
| | | | | | | | <hr/> |
| <i>Deduct</i> Excess of Expendi- ture over Income ... | | 997 | 67 | | | | £980 20 |
| | | | | | | | <hr/> |
| | | | | | | | £980 20 |

(Signed)

ROWLAND C. SWIFT, *Treasurer.*

30th June 1972.

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have examined the above Account and Balance Sheet with the books and records of the Society. It appears that considerable arrears of unpaid subscriptions are outstanding and no account has been taken of the amount thereof. Subject to this, in my view the Account and Balance Sheet show a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Society as at 31st December 1971, and of the excess of Expenditure over Income for the year ended on that date.

(Signed)

F. J. HAMMOND, F.C.A., *Auditor.*

High Beeches,
Long Park Close,
Chesham Bois, Amersham, Bucks.