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# Proceedings

OF THE

## Wesley Historical Society

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

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Volume XLII

May 1980

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### JOHN WESLEY AND BISHOP JOSEPH BUTLER

#### A Fragment of John Wesley's Manuscript Journal 16th to 24th August 1739

**A**S a spiritual check, and following the advice of Bishop Jeremy Taylor, John Wesley began on 5th April 1725 to keep a daily diary, for his personal use only, written sometimes in cipher or in abbreviated longhand with several symbols such as  $\bar{u}$  for but, and later in Byrom's shorthand, with only an occasional word in longhand. This diary he continued until 23rd February 1791—a week before his death—though the period from 9th August 1741 to 30th November 1782 is not represented even by fragments.

From about the same early period, and again stretching through most of his life, he would prepare occasional memoranda (or "narratives", to use his own frequent word) of the more significant events in his life—sometimes writing up a detailed report of an interview or an incident immediately after its occurrence, sometimes stringing together in literary form a series of related happenings over months or years, such as the 1738 account of his long spiritual pilgrimage.

Overlapping with these in some respects was the continuous manuscript journal which Wesley began to keep in Georgia, if not earlier, and apparently maintained throughout the major part of his life—a connected account of the major happenings of his daily activity, following the outlines of the diary, but expanded by the incorporation of individual memoranda (or portions of them), fuller details, and occasional improving reflections. This manuscript journal might sometimes have a strictly utilitarian purpose, such as at least one such document which served as a kind of brief for his defence before the grand jury in Savannah, delineating in great detail his relationships with Sophy Hopkey over a lengthy period. In general, however, these manuscript journals were designed for the information and encouragement of his friends and followers, like the "missionary

letters" still multiplied by missionaries overseas as personal reports to sponsors and supporters. Wesley himself transcribed sections of his journals to send as journal-letters, often introduced with a covering letter, and interspersed with personal comments and additional details. These were sent to key individuals such as his brother Charles and James Hutton, and by them circulated to others or read in his societies. The complete manuscript journals, covering much longer periods than the week or two to which the journal-letters were limited, were also circulated among a group of intimates.

In 1740 Wesley felt reluctantly compelled to publish some selections from this varied autobiographical material, though at the same time he was anxious to avoid the over-exposure in which his pupil George Whitefield had engaged, whose somewhat maudlin excesses had focused an unfriendly public spotlight on Methodism. That summer Wesley published an *Extract* from his journal as an antidote to the poisonous slander being spread about his Georgia years by a Bristol merchant, Robert Williams—not simply to defend his own reputation, but to protect the growing Methodist community, especially in Bristol.<sup>1</sup> He followed this rapidly with another *Extract*, designed this time both to set forth his own spiritual credentials and to counteract the dangerous tendencies which he now saw in Moravianism; in this he drew heavily on a lengthy journal-memorandum covering his visit to Herrnhut.

Wesley strongly doubted the wisdom of pursuing this publishing project any farther, in spite of the welcome given to the first two *Extracts*. For two years he delayed, discussed, debated the issue, until eventually he was convinced by his friends that in spite of the danger that it might be considered as an evidence of spiritual pride, and would certainly furnish ammunition for his enemies, he ought to publish further selections from his journal, to form a continuing apologia for his evangelism and his societies. The sources for such *Extracts* were rapidly accumulating—copies of letters, files of letters received, memoranda, manuscript journals, all of which helped to fill out the sometimes bare bones of his diary. Most of the documents which he published have disappeared, since it was his policy to discard material which had served its main purpose in that way, and can now only be reconstructed from the printed *Journal*. Such is the case, for instance, with his spiritual biography from Epworth to Aldersgate—a fact made especially tantalizing because the experience of 24th May 1738 fell in a period for which his diary also is missing.

It is quite clear that the published *Journal* contains only selections prepared from these varied sources in accordance with principles visualized fairly clearly by Wesley, though never stated in detail. In general he intended, he said, "openly to declare to all mankind what it is that the 'Methodists' (so called) have done and are doing", giving "a bare recital of those facts", and relating "simple truth in

<sup>1</sup> See Frank Baker: "The Birth of John Wesley's *Journal*", in *Methodist History*, viii, No. 2 (January 1970), pp. 25-32.

as inoffensive a manner as I can".<sup>2</sup> The specific principles of selection by which this guiding purpose was implemented become clearer when one studies Wesley's publishing in general, and in particular when one compares the published *Journal* with the manuscript sources which have survived. Almost always a surviving holograph page which was available to Wesley when compiling his *Journal* will bring to light information additional to that in the *Journal*—sometimes quite important information. It is obvious that Wesley carefully considered questions of personal privacy and public *mores*; he balanced the virtues of brevity and completeness, weighed spiritual and social usefulness against interest and variety. One prudential principle comes out very clearly: especially during the first decade of the Methodist societies he was very guarded indeed in any printed references to the hierarchy of the Church of England, and accounts of unfriendly encounters with bishops and other influential clergy were expunged from the manuscripts which he prepared for publication.<sup>3</sup>

Thus to my knowledge there is not a word in any work published by Wesley about any of the three interviews he had in 1739 with Dr. Joseph Butler (1692-1752), Bishop of Bristol, although he twice made complimentary references to Butler's *Analogy of Religion* in his *Journal*—on 21st January 1746 and on 20th May 1768. The first interview, in the summer, lasted a quarter of an hour; the second and third, on 16th and 18th August, over an hour each. What was generally thought to be that of 18th August—but now turns out to have taken place on the 16th—was a dramatic confrontation between the young clergyman with his newly-warmed heart and his eager experimental evangelism, facing up boldly, almost impertinently, to the cold logic and traditional middle-aged churchmanship of the bishop. The interview is best known from Nehemiah Curnock's edition of Wesley's *Journal* (ii, pp. 256-7), who copied it from Henry Moore's *Life of Wesley* (i, pp. 413-15), complaining that the original document used by Moore (and John Whitehead before him)<sup>4</sup> had disappeared. What neither Whitehead nor Moore said, and what Curnock's inability to discover the manuscript prevented him from saying, was that the famous interview was itself incomplete, that it was the second interview rather than the third, that the contents of the third were also extant (and also important), and that both of these were not isolated memoranda in Wesley's hand, but portions only of a lengthy manuscript journal. Probably, from the verbal similarity in the entries for 17th, 20th, and 22nd August, this was the very document from which Wesley transcribed passages for his published *Journal* iii. He omitted from the manuscript, however, not only his accounts of the two interviews, but a description of his action over a threatened attempt on his life in Bristol, and his attendance at public worship which seemed providentially to prepare

<sup>2</sup> *Journal* iii, 12th August 1738 to 1st November 1739, Preface.

<sup>3</sup> Frank Baker: *John Wesley and the Church of England* (Epworth Press, 1970), pp. 70-3.

<sup>4</sup> See his *Life of Wesley* (1792, 1796), ii, pp. 118-21.

him for some unpleasant chiding by the bishop and his immediate colleagues, including the redoubtable Josiah Tucker (1712-99), later Dean of Gloucester, who was at that time the bishop's domestic chaplain. It was indeed Wesley's private criticism on 16th August of one of Tucker's sermons which had precipitated Butler's summons of Wesley for trial by committee.

Curnock's fear that "the manuscript was sent to the press and had perished" was indeed unfounded, and it still remains in the Colman Collection, which came from Henry Moore as one of Wesley's literary executors, and now resides with the Methodist Archives in the John Rylands University Library in Manchester. It comprises five duodecimo leaves with their versos blank, followed by another inscribed on both sides, the whole numbered 19-24, with the second leaf not numbered in the sequence. The manuscript from which this fragment survives may probably have been devoted to Wesley's Bristol ministry only. It seems likely that the opening eighteen pages contained not only an account of the occasion and beginning of his second interview with Butler on 16th August, but considerably more: though hardly a summary in similar detail of the second period of Wesley's Bristol ministry, from 19th June onwards, yet it may well have continued at least until he left for London on 1st September. The actual function played by this document in the mysterious tapestry of Wesley's writing and publication of *Journal* iii remains uncertain, but we can indeed be grateful for this piece of literary flotsam, which opens after the beginning of a famous and important interview, and closes in the middle of a sentence describing a Friday afternoon prayer-meeting.

Without any doubt the correct setting for its opening is that recorded in Wesley's diary for Thursday, 16th August 1739:

10.15, Writ; 11. With the Bishop, the Dean there, religious talk;  
12.15, At home . . .

We follow Wesley's own practice of presenting the dialogue, viz. by giving Wesley's own words within quotation marks and the bishop's without. Abbreviations have been extended and spelling modernized in accordance with the styling principles of the Oxford edition of Wesley's *Works*.

Why, sir, our faith itself is a good work. It is a virtuous temper of mind.

"My lord, whatever faith is, our Church asserts, We are justified by faith alone. But how it can be called a good work I see not. It is the gift of God, and a gift that presupposes nothing in us but sin and misery."

How, sir! Then you make God a tyrannical being, if he justifies some without any goodness in them preceding, and does not justify all. If these are not justified on account of some moral goodness in them, why are not those justified too?

"Because, my lord, they resist his Spirit, because they will not come unto him that they may have life; because they suffer him not to work in them both to will and to do. They cannot be saved because they will not believe."

Sir, what do you mean by faith ?

" My lord, by justifying faith I mean a conviction wrought in a man by the Holy Ghost that Christ hath loved *him*, and given himself for *him*, and that through Christ *his* sins are forgiven."

I believe some good men have this, but not all. But how do you prove this to be the justifying faith taught by our Church ?

" My lord, from her Homily on Salvation, where she describes it thus : *'A sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that through the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God.'*"

Why, sir, this [is] quite another thing.

" My lord, I conceive it to be the very same."

Mr. Wesley, I will deal plainly with you. I once thought Mr. Whitefield and you well-meaning men. But I can't think so now. For I have heard more of you—matters of fact, sir. And Mr. Whitefield says in his *Journal*, " There are promises still to be fulfilled in me." Sir, the pretending to extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Ghost is a horrid thing, a very horrid thing.

" My lord, for what Mr. Whitefield says Mr. Whitefield and not I is accountable. I pretend to no extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Ghost—none but what every Christian may receive, and ought to expect and pray for. But I do not wonder your lordship has heard facts asserted which, if true, would prove the contrary. Nor do I wonder that your lordship, believing them true, should alter the opinion you once had of me. A quarter of an hour I spent with your lordship before.<sup>6</sup> And about an hour now. And perhaps you have never conversed one other hour with anyone who spoke in my favour. But how many with those who spoke on the other side ! So that your lordship could not but think as you do.

" But pray, my lord, what are those facts you have heard ?"

I hear you administer the sacrament in your societies.

" My lord, I never did yet, and I believe never shall."

I hear, too, many people fall into fits in your societies, and that you pray over them.

" I do so, my lord. When any show by strong cries and tears that their soul is in deep anguish, I frequently pray to God to deliver them from it. And our prayer is often answered in that hour."

Very extraordinary indeed ! Well, sir, since you ask my advice, I will give it you very freely. You have no business here. You are not commissioned to preach in this diocese. Therefore I advise you to go hence.

" My lord, my business on earth is to do what good I can. Wherever therefore I think I can do most good, there must I stay so long as I think so. At present I think I can do most good here. Therefore here I stay.

" As to my preaching here, a dispensation of the gospel is committed to me, and woe is me if I preach not the gospel, wheresoever I am in the habitable world. Your lordship knows, being ordained a priest, by

<sup>6</sup> The occasion of this earlier brief interview is not known, but it seems certainly to have been in Bristol between 31st March and 12th June or between 22nd June and 8th August 1739.

the commission then received I am a priest of the Church Universal. And being ordained as Fellow of a College, I was not limited to any particular cure, but have an indeterminate commission, to preach the Word of God to any part of the Church of England.<sup>6</sup>

"I do not therefore conceive that in preaching here by this commission I break any human law. When I am convinced I do, then it will be time to ask, 'Shall I obey God or man?' But if I should be convinced in the meanwhile that I could advance the glory of God and the salvation of souls in any other place more than in Bristol and the parts adjoining, in that hour, by God's help, I will go hence; which till then I may not do."

*Fri.* 17. Many of our society met, as we had appointed, at one in the afternoon, and agreed that "all the members of our society should obey the Church to which we belong, by observing all Fridays in the year as days of fasting or abstinence". We likewise [agreed] that as many of us as could, without prejudice to their necessary business, should meet every Friday, and join in prayer from one to three o'clock.

*Sat.* 18. A note was sent me, part of which was as follows:

"While you are here, I must entreat you to be careful which way you go out of town. For there are two persons who have resolved to take your life."

I immediately writ a line to each of those persons, desiring to know whether they were so resolved or not. And received an answer from each, disavowing any such thought. My time is in thy hand,<sup>7</sup> O Lord!

In the afternoon I was sent for by the bishop. I went first to the College Prayers. Those words in the Psalms I could not but observe: "If the Lord had not helped me, it had not failed but my soul had been put to silence. But when I said, My foot hath slipped, thy mercy, O Lord, held me up."<sup>8</sup>

Part of the First Lesson was: "O son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel. Therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me. . . . If thou warn the wicked of his way, to turn from it, if he do not turn from it, he shall die in his iniquity, but thou hast delivered thy soul."<sup>9</sup>

In the Second Lesson were those words:

"Who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good? But if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye, and be not afraid of their terror, neither be ye troubled. . . . Having a good conscience, that whereas they speak evil of you, as of evil-doers, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse your good conversation in Christ!"<sup>10</sup>

After service I went to the bishop, with whom were Mr. Tucker (minister of All Saints),<sup>11</sup> Mr. Sutton (minister of St. Austin's),<sup>12</sup> and the chancellor.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Originally "particularly of the Church of England", altered to "in any part of . . .", and then to "to any part of . . .".

<sup>7</sup> Psalm xxxi. 17 (Book of Common Prayer).      <sup>8</sup> Psalm xciv. 17-18 (ibid.).

<sup>9</sup> Ezekiel xxxiii. 7-9 (the closing words becoming one of Wesley's favourite texts).      <sup>10</sup> 1 Peter iii. 13-16.      <sup>11</sup> See p. 96.

<sup>12</sup> John Sutton (c. 1692-1745), M.A., Canon of Bristol from 1723, and vicar of St. Augustine's, Bristol, from 1734.

<sup>13</sup> The Chancellor of the Diocese of Bristol was Carew Reynell (1698-1745), later Bishop of Derry.

The conversation lasted about an hour. The most material part of it was to this effect :

(The bishop) : Mr. Wesley, you have brought me a complaint in form against one of my clergy. You yesterday accused Mr. Tucker of affirming that there needs no atonement for original sin. Did you bring this complaint, or did you not ?

I answered,

“ My lord, you wholly mis-state the case. I did not bring any complaint in form. I only desired your lordship’s advice, how to proceed in a case of difficulty which I related.”

Nay, Mr. Wesley, you did bring it as matter of complaint. For when I said, “ You have no right to make complaint against my clergy,” you said you “ thought everyone had a right to complain against those who taught false doctrine ”.

“ But, my lord, did I not immediately add, ‘ But I do not bring this as matter of complaint ’ ?

“ I cannot peremptorily say whether I said or not, ‘ Mr. T [ucker] affirmed, there needs no atonement for original sin.’ I told your lordship then, ‘ I can’t be exact as to the words.’ And when you said I ‘ must be so, in bringing a complaint ’, I replied again, ‘ I do not bring a complaint, but desire direction for my private conscience.’

“ But this, my lord, was not the chief point I spoke of. But little was said upon it. The thing I insisted on then, as I do now, and which your lordship spoke largely upon, was this :

“ Mr. T [ucker] affirmed, We are justified on account of our own righteousness. This I then maintained, as I do now, to be false doctrine, and contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England.”

In answer to this his lordship read some paragraphs in Mr. T [ucker]’s sermon, all of which seemed to me to carry that sense, although it was not advanced in express terms. His lordship took occasion from them to offer several reasons why there must be something good in us, before God could justify us, some morally good temper, on account of which God justified some and not others.

He then said, The sermon was a very good sermon, and there was no room to complain of it ; and that (to speak in the mildest terms) I had been guilty of great want of candour and Christian charity. Mr. T [ucker] added that in preaching on that text ( “ Thou shalt bruise his head, and he shall bruise thy heel ” )<sup>14</sup> he had no occasion to speak of the guilt of original sin, and therefore it was not his business to speak of the atonement for it. I asked, “ Sir, do you think it needs any ? I will take your word.” To this he gave no answer.

*Mon. 20.* I preached at the Brickyard to a much larger congregation than usual, on those words, “ Oughtest not thou to have had compassion on thy fellow-servant, as I had pity on thee ? ”<sup>15</sup> *Wed. 22.* I was with several that were in great sorrow and heaviness, two of whom, upon prayer made to God for them, were filled with peace and joy. In the afternoon I endeavoured at Baptist Mills to guard the weak against the

<sup>14</sup> cf. Genesis iii. 15 : “ It shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.”

<sup>15</sup> Matthew xviii. 33.



more dangerous extreme, levity of spirit or behaviour, from, "I said of laughter, It is mad; and of mirth, What doth it?"<sup>16</sup>

*Thur.* 23. I received a comfortable [letter] from Mr. Ingham, concerning the progress of the Gospel in Yorkshire. *Fri.* 24. About forty of our society met at one, and spent an hour or two in prayer, especially for those that —

FRANK BAKER.

<sup>16</sup> Ecclesiastes ii. 2.

### The Wesley Historical Society Lectures

TWENTY years ago we published a list of our Annual Lectures, 1934-59 (see *Proceedings*, xxii, p. 91 f.). The following completes the series to 1979.

- \*26. George Lawton: *Shropshire Saint: A Study in the Ministry and Spirituality of Fletcher of Madeley*. (Liverpool, 1960)
- \*27. John C. Bowmer: *The Lord's Supper in Methodism, 1791-1860*. (Bradford, 1961)
- \*28. Arthur D. Cummings: *Portrait in Pottery*. (Stoke-on-Trent, 1962)
- 29. George W. Dolbey: *The Development of Architecture in Methodism from 1738 to 1840*. (Preston, 1963)
- \*30. John A. Vickers: *Thomas Coke, Apostle of Methodism*. (Sheffield, 1964)
- \*31. Thomas Shaw: *The Bible Christians*. (Plymouth, 1965)
- \*32. Gordon S. Wakefield: *The Spiritual Life in the Methodist Tradition, from the death of Wesley to the Second World War*. (Wolverhampton, 1966)
- \*33. Frederick Hunter: *The Wesleys and Catholicity* (Middlesbrough, 1967)
- †34. A. Kingsley Lloyd: *The Labourer's Hire: The Payment and Deployment of the early Methodist Preachers, 1744-1813*. (London, 1968)
- †35. William Strawson: *Methodist Theology, 1850-1950*. (Birmingham, 1969)
- 36. J. Leonard Waddy: *John Wesley and the Wednesbury Riots*. (Manchester, 1970). Published by World Methodist Historical Society.
- †37. Maldwyn L. Edwards: *John Wesley, the reluctant lover*. (Harrogate, 1971)
- 38. Michael S. Edwards: *S.E. Keeble and Methodist Social Thinking, 1880-1939*. (Nottingham, 1972). One of our own publications.
- 39. Frederick Jeffery: *Methodism in the Irish situation*. (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1973). Published by our Irish Branch.
- 40. Francis B. Westbrook: *Some Early Methodist Tune Books*. (Bristol, 1974). One of our own publications.
- \*41. Ian Sellers: *Adam Clarke and the Eternal Sonship*. (Liverpool, 1975). Published privately.
- †42. David A. Gowland: *Samuel Warren and the Methodist Reformers of Lancashire*. (Preston, 1976)
- 43. Henry D. Rack: *Wesleyanism and "the World" in the later Nineteenth Century*. (Hull, 1977). (*Proceedings*, xlii, pp. 35 ff.)
- 44. Joanna M. G. Dawson: *The People at the Grass Roots within the Great Haworth Round, 1738-91*. (Bradford, 1978). Published by our Yorkshire Branch.
- †45. W. Reginald Ward: *The Origins of Religious Revival: The international setting of Early Methodism*. (London, 1979)

\* Out of print. † Not published.

J.C.B.

Extract from Dr Lavington the Bishop of Exeter's charge  
to his Clergy, 1748

My Brethren,

11

Must beg you will rise up with me against moral preaching.  
We have been long attempting the reformation of the Nation  
by discourses of that kind, with what success? why none at  
all — on the contrary, we have very dextrously preached the  
people into downright infidelity. We must change our voice.  
We must preach Christ, and him crucified — nothing but Gospel  
is, nothing will be found to be the power of God unto sal-  
vation besides — Let me therefore again and again re-  
quest — nay, I must add — Let me charge you to preach  
Jesus, and salvation through his name — preach the Lord  
who bought us — preach repentance through his blood —  
preach the saying of the great High Priest and Bishop  
of our souls, he who believes shall be saved — preach re-  
pentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus  
Christ.  
There are some who are gone out

MANUSCRIPT COPY OF FORGED

“EXTRACT FROM DR. LAVINGTON THE BISHOP OF EXETER'S CHARGE TO HIS CLERGY”  
(size slightly reduced). Verso overleaf.

us, refusing to be under political Government, and  
therefore no friends to the Hierarchy — of whom yet  
must be said, their preaching is right and good in  
principle, though the persons are immethodical in  
their practice.

H.B. RR about absolutely full 5/8.

Verso of forged Lavington "Charge", showing the Bishop's own  
initialled disclaimer at the end.

## THE LAVINGTON CORRESPONDENCE

[The pages which follow, together with others which it is intended to print in the two remaining numbers of the present volume of *Proceedings*, contain the text of letters received by Bishop Lavington of Exeter in connexion with his battle with the Methodists, assembled and annotated by our contributor Dr. Oliver A. Beckerlegge.—EDITOR.]

SOME time in 1747, following upon his consecration as Bishop of Exeter in February of that year, George Lavington issued his primary visitation charge to his clergy. Some unknown wit, with a mistaken sense of humour, published in manuscript a fictitious "extract" from this charge, purporting to show Lavington as an earnest evangelical, friendly to the Methodists. A London printer officiously reprinted this as a handbill, and thereafter appeared disclaimer and counter-disclaimer, first by Whitefield (cf. *Proceedings*, xxxiii, pp. 109-10) and the stewards of the Foundry society, and then a counter-disclaimer by Lavington himself. The story is told in full by Dr. Frank Baker in *Proceedings*, xxxiv, pp. 57 ff., and, as Dr. Baker explains, it was this practical joke, and perhaps finally the publication by the Countess of Huntingdon of the apology extracted from him by her Ladyship, that caused Lavington to compose his notorious *Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compar'd*—first of all in three parts (1749-51), and then in two volumes in 1754.

The bulk of this work consists of supposed parallels between garbled extracts from (chiefly) Wesley's *Journal* and other writings—extracts taken out of their context, and often juxtaposed so as to alter their meaning to suit Lavington's purpose—and, on the other hand, Romanist writers and even pagan authors. And to this Wesley had little difficulty in replying in his two *Letters* to the author (1750 and 1751).

But to buttress his attacks on Methodism and to gather evidence of "enthusiasm", the Bishop collected supposed "evidence" from clergy and others of his diocese; and the original letters and documents sent to him are preserved, with some other related material, in the library of Lambeth Palace, London. As these letters are a mixture of fuel for Lavington and more sober assessments of Methodism by some of his clergy, it is perhaps time that all were made available, if only to show, on the one hand, the nature of the scurrilous attacks that Methodists had to face, and, on the other, the happier attempts of some to understand and defend. For the provision of photo-copies of the correspondence, and for permission to publish, I am indebted to the Librarian of Lambeth Palace.

The material here presented is therefore the Lavington Correspondence still preserved, arranged in what appears to be the most logical order to enable the story to be told. (There would seem to be no logical sequence in the order wherein the originals are listed.) The letters are printed verbatim, with connecting comments and elucidatory notes. In this connexion it is only right to

acknowledge my indebtedness to the Rev. Thomas Shaw, who has identified some of the personalities, and to the catalogue of the exhibition *Methodism in the Life of Cornwall, 1743-1961* (1961), at which some items from the correspondence were exhibited, with explanatory notes by Mr. Richard Potts.

The whole unhappy story began with the pretended extract from Lavington's charge. The printed version (given in *Proceedings*, xxxiv, p. 38) varies in a few minor details from the version here preserved :

*Extract from Dr. Lavington the Bishop of Exeter's Charge to his Clergy, 1748.*

My Brethren,

I must beg you will rise up with me against moral preaching. We have been long attempting the reformation of the Nation by discourses of that kind : with what success? Why, none at all. On the contrary, we have very dextrously preach'd the people into downright infidelity. We must change our voice. We must preach Christ, and him crucified. – nothing but Gospel is, nothing will be found to be the power of God unto salvation besides. Let me therefore again and again request – nay, I must add – Let me charge you to preach Jesus, and salvation through his blood – preach the saying of the great High Priest and Bishop of our souls, he who believes shall be saved – preach repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

There are some who are gone out from us, refusing to be under political Government and therefore no friends to the Hierarchy – of whom yet it must be said, their preaching is right and good in the main, though the persons are immethodical in their practice.

*N.B. All above absolutely false. G.Ex.<sup>1</sup>*

A copy of the printed version was sent by a friend to George Whitefield upon his return from America, and on 5th October 1748 Whitefield wrote to an unnamed correspondent, asking him to assure Lavington of his innocence of any complicity in the practical joke :

GEORGE WHITEFIELD TO ?

Glasgow, October 5th  
1748

Very dear Sr,

I received yours this morning – Tho' I am engaged this Evening, yet I think it my duty to send you an immediate answer – You might well inform & *almost assure* my Lord of Exeter that I knew nothing of the printing of His Lordship's *pretended Charge*, or of the Pamphlet occasioned by it – When the former was sent to me in Manuscript from London to Bristol as His Lordship's production, I immediately said it could not be his – When I found it printed, Spoke to the *Officious Printer, who did it out of his own head*, & blamed Him very much. When I saw the pamphlet I was still more offended, repeatedly in several Companies urged the *injustice* as well as the imprudence of it, & said it would produce what it did, I mean a Declaration from His Lordship that He was no Methodist – I am sorry His Lordship had such an Occasion given Him to declare

<sup>1</sup> This is Lavington's manuscript endorsement.

His aversion to what is called *Methodism* : and tho' I think His Lordship in His Declaration has been somewhat severe concerning *some of the Methodist Leaders*, yet I cannot blame His Lordship for saying that He thought "some of them were worse than Ignorant & Misguided", supposing His Lordship had had *sufficient proof* that they either caused to be printed, or wrote against when printed a Charge wch His Lordship had never Owned or Published - If you think proper, Dear Sr, you may let His Lordship see the contents of this. I will only add that I wish a way could be found out whereby His Lordship & any other of the Right Reverend the Bishops, might converse with *some of us* - Many mistakes might thereby be rectified, & perhaps His Lordship's sentiments in some degree altered - If this cannot be effected, (I speak only for myself), I am content to wait till we all appear before the Great Shepherd & Bishop of Souls - In the mean while I heartily pray that His Lordship may be blessed with all spiritual blessings, & wishing you the like mercies, I subscribe myself, very Dear Sr,

Your affec : Obliged hum : Servt,

G. WHITEFIELD.\*

As we have seen, Lavington was far from placated—quite the reverse, in fact. The most important, perhaps, of the material he gathered was furnished him by John Fursman, Chancellor of the Diocese, and William Hole, Archdeacon of Barnstaple, concerning a visit to the *Plume of Feathers* at Mitchell, kept by one W. Morgan and his wife. It contains three charges against Wesley: (a) that he had scared Mrs. Morgan almost out of her wits by telling her that she was damned already if she was not sure of her salvation; (b) that he expected, as a preacher of the Gospel, to be entertained free; and (c) that he had spoken or behaved in an indecent manner to her maid. This last—a charge of sexual impropriety, or worse—was to become a favourite mode of attack on the early Methodists.

The charge was first made in 1747, when a brief statement by two informants, William Harry and Francis Stephens (presumably local Justices of the Peace), ran as follows :

July 3d 1747

W. Morgan who keeps the Feather Inn at Mitchel & who is a Person of very good Charracter, declared this day in Presence of us, that Mr. Westly the Methodist Preacher was at his house lately & would have perswaded him not to receive anything for what he had had in his House, telling him that he travelled as an Apostle, & if Morgan took anything of him he would be damned. And also that he (Westly) had attempted to debauch his Maid Servant, of all wch both the Maid & he were ready to make Affidavit.

Witness Our Hands

WM. HARRY  
FRANS. STEPHENS.

According to Fursman and Hole, Lavington questioned Mrs. Morgan when he called for a meal at the *Plume of Feathers* in June

\* This letter also appears in *Proceedings*, xxxiii, p. 109, with an explanatory article.

or July 1748. But their affidavit (if that is the right word on this occasion) was not written until February 1752, when Lavington was clearly gathering material to defend himself: he had printed the charges in his *Enthusiasm* (Part III, 1, 2), Wesley had replied to the charge in his *Letter to the Author* (dated 1st February 1749/50) and again in the opening paragraph of his *Second Letter* (27th November 1750), and Lavington was preparing his counterblast. It is noticeable that the supposed offences had taken place a considerable time previously: in 1748 Wesley did not visit Cornwall until 6th September; in 1747 he was there between 29th June and 29th July; so that by the time Lavington interviewed Mrs. Morgan the event was at least a year old. Unfortunately Wesley does not mention calling at Mitchell earlier than 25th August 1750, when he called deliberately to interview Mrs. Morgan on the matter. Clearly his earlier call had been a casual visit for a meal, necessitating no record.<sup>3</sup>

Fursman and Hole wrote their accounts of the affair, the first on 3rd February 1752; a fair copy of this, later, undated; and a similar (but not identical) account on 27th February 1752. We give the original, with notes of the variants in the fair copy, and the third version:<sup>4</sup>

[*Fursman and Hole: Original version*]

Sometime in the month of June or July 1748, when we whose names are underwritten, were attending our Right Reverend Diocesan the present Lord Bishop of Exeter throughout his Primary Visitation of the County of Cornwall; his Lordship and we on our Return from Penryn, after we had din'd with the Reverend Doctr. Stackhouse in the Parish of Probus, not far from Truro, Baited at Michell, in our way to Saint Columbe, at a Publick House kept by one Morgan; who happen'd at that Time to be abroad.

But his Lordship, having sometime before receiv'd from a good Hand a well Attested Account of Mr. Westley the Methodist Preacher's having been guilty of some Scandalous Behaviour at That very House, his Lordship, in our Presence, took that Opportunity to inquire of Mr. Morgan's Wife, who seem'd to be a serious Person, what she knew of Mr. Westley and his Followers Conversation and Behaviour, when at her House; and particularly whether there was any Truth in the Information his Lordship had receiv'd as above or not?

Her Answer was, that Mr. Westley, being at her House, Some time before, had taken Occasion to ask her whether she was sure of her Salvation? She answer'd, she could not say she was sure of it, but Hop'd she should be sav'd, as other Christians did. Westley replied, if you are

<sup>3</sup> See Wesley's *Journal*, ad loc., and J. Pearce: *The Wesleys in Cornwall*, pp. 110-11. Dr. Stackhouse, mentioned in the accounts, was not vicar of Probus, but lived in the family mansion of Trewane; in 1847 the *Cornwall Register* mentions it as the "residence of Rev. Wm. Stackhouse, formerly vicar of Modbury". The Stackhouses were clearly a clerical family. Dr. Stackhouse's brother, the Rev. Thomas Stackhouse, was the author of a well-known *History of the Bible* and other works.

<sup>4</sup> Lavington reprinted this third version of 27th February 1752 in his reply to Wesley's *Second Letter* (London, 1752), pp. 8 ff.

not sure of it you are damn'd already. — This so terrify'd the Woman being then with Child that she was very much afraid she should have miscarr'd,<sup>5</sup> and it Affected to a great Degree<sup>6</sup> some time After. — Westley she said and some of his Followers had sometimes talk'd to her of the Apostles travelling to preach the Gospel without Their being at any Expence: and as Expecting to be entertain'd themselves in the same manner going about with the same Design: which made her no way desirous of receiving such Guests for the future.

Exon. Feb. 3. 1752 /<sup>7</sup>

Mrs. Morgan being then ask'd some Questions about some very In-decent Conversation which Mr. Westley was said to have had with a Maid of her's, as in the above Information, formerly sent to his Lordship, Answer'd that Mr. Westley had indeed said Things to one of her Maids which were very Improper to be spoken to a Young Girl! and especially by a Clergyman! but Mrs. Morgan was Tender as to the Mentioning any Particulars! Said only "Girls you know are Tender of speaking about such Things!" Seeming to Imply there was something more in Reserve which both the Maid and she were Tender of Speaking out!

To this Effect was the Discourse which pass'd in our Presence and Hearing at that Time between his Lordship and Mrs. Morgan. This the Sum and Substance of it, after the most Serious Consideration and Recollection we are capable of, at such a Distance of Time: as nearly as we can possibly Remember.

That his Lordship or either of us who then attended him sent for Mrs. Morgan to the Gentle-Man's House where we din'd, and there ask'd her the several Questions is absolutely false!

The Truth of all this is now Jointly Attested by us

J. FURSMAN<sup>8</sup> Chancellor of the Church of Exeter.  
W. HOLE Arch-Deacon of Barum.

N.B. That the *Wesley*<sup>9</sup> whom Mrs. Morgan spoke of to his Lordship in the above Discourse was Mr. *John Wesley* the noted Methodist Preacher we<sup>10</sup> then apprehended and still do.

Witness our Hands J. FURSMAN<sup>11</sup>  
W. HOLE.

[*Fursman and Hole: Third version*]

In the month of June, or July, 1748, We, whose names are under-written, attended ye Rt. Revnd. the Lord Bishop of Exeter in his Primary Visitation of the County of Cornwall. In our return from Penryn his Lordship and we (after having dined with ye Revnd. Dr. Stackhouse in the Parish of Probus near Truro) baited at a Public-House at Michell, kept by one Morgan, who happen'd at that time not to be at home. His Lordship having before receiv'd a well-attested account that Mr. Wesley the Methodist-Preacher had been there guilty of some unjustifiable behaviour took this opportunity to to [sic] enquire of Mr. Morgan's wife what truth there was in the Information of this kind, wch his Lordship

<sup>5</sup> Fair copy (pp. 40-1 as numbered in the Lambeth listing), "should miscarry".

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, "so Great a Degree". <sup>7</sup> Heading of second page on first draft.

<sup>8</sup> Fair copy, "John Fursman". <sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, "the said *Wesley*".

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, "I then".

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, "my Hand John Fursman" ("W. Hole" omitted); p. 41 endorsed "Fursman & Hole".



had received. Her Answer was, That Mr. Wesley being at her house some time before had taken occasion to ask her whether or no she was sure of her salvation? She answer'd, she could not say she was absolutely sure of it, but she hoped she should be saved, as well as other Christians. Mr. Wesley replied, if you are not sure of it, you are damn'd, . . .<sup>12</sup> already. This, she sayd, so terrified her being then with child, that she was afraid she should have miscarried; & that it affected her to a great degree for some time after.

Mr. Wesley, she sayd, & some of his Followers, had talked there about the Apostles travelling to Preach the Gospel without being at any expence, & signified their expectation of being entertain'd themselves in the same manner as they went about with the same design; which made her unwilling to receive any more such Guests into her house.

Mrs. Morgan being then asked some Questions about some indecent conversation, which Mr. Wesley was sayd to have had with a maid of hers, replied, that Mr. Wesley had indeed sayd things to one of her maids, which were very improper to be spoken to a young Girl, & especially by a Clergyman; but she seem'd reserv'd as to enlarging upon particulars.

This was the substance of what passed between his Lordship & Mrs. Morgan concerning Mr. Wesley, as far as we can recollect, after the most serious consideration at such a distance of time.

That his Lordship, or either of us, sent for Mrs. Morgan to the Gentleman's House where we dined, & there asked these Questions, we aver to be absolutely false!

The truth of all this is now jointly attested by us

Feb. 27th  
1752

JOHN FURSMAN Chancellor  
of ye Church of Exeter  
WM. HOLE Archdeacon of Barum.

N.B. That ye say'd *Wesley*, whom Mrs. Morgan spoke of to his Lordship, was Mr. *John Wesley*, ye noted Methodist-Preacher, I then apprehended, & still do.

Feb. 27th  
1752

JOHN FURSMAN Chancellor  
of ye Church of Exeter.

But these two dignitaries were not the only men whom Lavington summoned to his aid in connexion with this slander. Thomas Bennet, vicar of St. Enoder (1734-67), in which parish Mitchell lies, was a willing tool. At the request of the Chancellor, he paid no fewer than three visits to Mitchell between 28th January and 4th March 1752, and presumably the first and second visits were intended to support the charges in the Chancellor's affidavit. According to Bennet, Mrs. Morgan denied that the suggestion that Wesley should be entertained gratis was made to her, but said that it was made to her husband—hence, we assume, the change in the above-quoted statements: Wesley had "talked to her" (3rd February) changed to "talked there" (27th February). But it adds two details to heighten the story: Bennet gives the maid's name as Grace May, and alleges that Wesley had not only said unbecoming

<sup>12</sup> "you are in Hell" crossed out.

things to her, but, significantly, "in the night", so that she left the house. Was this detail related to explain why she was then living at Justice Francis Gregor's? Or does Gregor's own letter (see p. 109) give a clearer indication?

THOMAS BENNET TO JOHN FURSMAN

St. Enoder, Jan. ye 28th 1752.<sup>13</sup>

Hond. Sir,

I Received your Favour last Saturday Evening : and Yesterday I went to Michell and talk'd with Mrs. and Mr. Morgan about the affair mentioned in your Letter. Mrs. Morgan Says, that Mr. J. Wesley formerly came to her house and Ask'd her whether She had an Assurance of her Salvation? She answer'd him yt she hop'd she should be saved; but had not an Absolute Assurance thereof. Why then replied He, You are in Hell: you are damned already. Mrs. Morgan being then with Child, was so much Terrified at this, that she was very much afraid of Miscarrying, and was not well for many days after. Mr. Morgan being then Absent, upon his Coming home and finding his wife very much disordered'd, and upon his asking her the Occasion thereof, was told by her as above, and does assure me that his Wife was not well for a long time after, and that he also was afraid she would Miscarry. Mrs. Morgan says Further, that Mr. J. Westly some time ago said to a Maid of hers (the Maid's Name is Grace May who has for some time and does now live at Justice Gregor's)<sup>14</sup> Such things as were not fit to be Spoken by any Man, but more especially by a Clergyman.

As to the Methodists asking to live upon Free Cost, this was not Spoken to Mrs. but to Mr.<sup>15</sup> Morgan by Mr. J. Wesley and others of them whom Mr. Morgan answered thus : If I was to do so I should not be able to pay my Rent, and for my Malt &c. They Replied to him that our Saviour and his Apostles used to be entertained by ye<sup>16</sup> Hosts gratis, and that he Need not doubt but that God would pay him ; upon this he determined to Admit no more of them into his house. Mr. Morgan says Further, yt Mr. J. Wesley did or sayd such Indecent things to the above named Maid, in his Chamber, and in the Night, that she Immediately ran down Stairs, and Protested that she would not go near him nor any of the Methodists more, even tho' he should that Moment discharge her and Turn her out of his house.

His Lordship, Your self & the other Gentlemen Named in your Letter may be assured yt I have used the Utmost Caution in Transacting this whole Matter : and I am fully satisfied yt it is impossible for them to know the real Occasion of my asking them such Questions : because I began and Conducted the whole Enquiry Intirely upon another Foundation. If there be any thing also in this affair or in any other that I am Capable of Executing for his Lordship and your self and ye other Gentlemen I desire to be favoured with your Commands and you may Safely

<sup>13</sup> Again there are two copies of this letter, numbered in the Lambeth listing pp. 1-2 and 42. The version here printed is the fair copy; the original draft is on p. 42. Variants (apart from the insignificant) are detailed in the succeeding footnotes.

<sup>14</sup> Passage in parentheses thickly crossed out in draft.

<sup>15</sup> Draft : "not" and "to Mrs. but" crossed out.

<sup>16</sup> Draft : yr Hosts [i.e. their Hosts].

and thoroughly Confide in the Secrecy, Expedition and Fidelity of, Hond.  
Sir,<sup>17</sup>

Your most Obedt., Obliged & ready<sup>18</sup> humble Servant

THOS. BENNET.

Mrs. Vinicombe, my Wife and Family Join with me in most humble Duty to his Lordship and Your Self; and desire you would be so good as to tender the same to our Good Friend the Subdean.

My best respects wait on Mr. Archdn Hole, Mr. Canon Snow, and Dr. Andrew.<sup>19</sup>

THOMAS BENNET TO JOHN FURSMAN

St. Enoder Feb: ye 17th 1752.

Hond. Sir

I received Your kind Letter last Fryday Evening, & ye next day I went into Mitchel in order to speak with Mr. & Mrs. Morgan, ye former of whom not being at home, I could not ask for an Affidt. I imagine they will not deny what they said to me ye 27th of the last Month, an Acct of which I sent you ye day following by Letter, tho' indeed they might be unwilling to make Affidt. thereof, however if his Lordship & You think it necessary for me to propose such a thing to them, I shall most readily doe it, when I receive Your Orders.

As to ye Methodists asking to live upon Free Cost & c – Mrs. Morgan does again assure me, yt those words were not spoken to her, but to hr Husband : She says, yt she well remembers by some very particular Circumstances at what time of ye Year such words were spoken by them to her Husband, but don't remember ye day of ye Month, or ye date of ye Year : She & Her Husband agree in saying yt it was at their first coming to their house.

As to my Letter, I desire His Lordship would make what use of it He pleases. I freely & chearfully give my consent thereto : If His Lordship or You have any other Commands, I beg to be favour'd with them, & You may be assured yt I shall endeavour to execute them to your satisfaction with abundance of pleasure & with ye utmost discretion & prudence I am master of, who am, Hond Sir,

Your most Obedient & ready  
humble Servant

THOS. BENNET.

My Mother in Law, Wife & Family Joyn with me in our most humble duty to His Lordship & Yourself, desiring You would be so kind as to tender ye same to our good Friend ye Sub-Dean :

My very humble Service waits on Mr. Arch-deacon Hole, Mr. Canon Snow, & Dr. Andrews.

[Endorsed :] Mr. Bennet / Methodists.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> This paragraph crossed out in draft, except for "Hond. Sir".

<sup>18</sup> Draft : "& ready" crossed out.

<sup>19</sup> Draft : Concluding two paragraphs of greetings crossed out. Lavington reprints the original draft of this letter (i.e. with the omission of the above-mentioned excisions) in his *Reply* to Wesley, pp. 11-12.

<sup>20</sup> Copied in letter of Francis Gregor dated 18th February 1752.

A copy of this later letter was sent to Francis Gregor of Trewarthenick,<sup>21</sup> who the very next day wrote (to Fursman?) to the effect that the maid denied all the allegations concerning Wesley, and was willing to confront her erstwhile employers. This withdrawal of allegations is the more notable in that Gregor goes out of his way to revile Wesley:

FRANCIS GREGOR TO JOHN FURSMAN (?)

Trewarthenick Feb: 18th 1752.

Dear Sir

I was glad to see under the Hand of an old Friend – As to ye Memorial, Grace May has undergone a solemn Examination, before myself & her Mistress. She absolutely denies everything contain'd in ye Papers, is ready & willing to make her Affidavit, and designs to write & confront her Master & Mistress on this Affair. She can't charge Westley with any Indecencies in Words or Actions, which wou'd be Provocations & Appeals to ye Family, to the World, and must have come out on her former and later Examinations. Westley puts me in mind of Augur, Schonobates, Medicus, Magus, in the Port. He's certainly a man of the greatest Effronterie – sure, can the Credibility of such a Person be considered by any serious, sensible, Good man on any Equality with the Bishop's? And I am sorry his Lordship should make such a Buffoon (beneath his Notice) of any the least Consequence! If and when I may hear anything further, you may expect another Letter. I desire my Duty & Services to his Ldp. with all Complimts to yourself & Ladies. I am

Sir,

Your most affectionate  
most Obedt. Humble Servant

FRANCIS GREGOR.<sup>22</sup>

Gregor's letter to Fursman must have caused the latter to write to Thomas Bennet asking him to make his third visit to Mitchell. As this letter of 4th March shows, Bennet recalled to Mrs. Morgan's mind Wesley's visit of eighteen months earlier (when Wesley had, as he tells in his *Journal*, challenged her); Mrs. Morgan claimed to remember the visit perfectly, and told how she had exonerated Wesley from any imputations of unseemly behaviour. This, together with the remark that she believed her husband had made no allegations, all now reported by Bennet, is in striking contrast to Bennet's earlier account of 28th January. The Morgans would appear to have been compelled to curb their imaginations by the maid's threat of action, mentioned by Gregor and confirmed by Mrs. Morgan.

<sup>21</sup> Francis was the traditional Christian name in the Gregor family (cf. *Cornwall Register*, p. 449); Trewarthenick was the family seat; it stands in Cornelly parish, at the head of Lamorran Creek, adjoining Tregony. The family was at this seat from 1640 until the nineteenth century. Francis Gregor (1686-1762) was a scholar, antiquarian and Whig politician. A later eighteenth-century William Gregor discovered the mineral "manaccanite", alias "gregorite" in Manaccan parish.

<sup>22</sup> Gregor appends to this letter a transcript of Bennet's letter of 17th February already quoted.

## THOMAS BENNET TO JOHN FURSMAN

St. Enoder Mar : ye 4th. 1752.

Hond. Sir,

I received Your last Favour, tho' not so seasonably, (as appears by ye date of it) as I ought : Be pleased to give my humble duty to His Lordship, & tell Him, yt I desire He would make such an use of my first Letter, as He thinks best & fittest.

Yesterday I went into Mitchel in order to talk with Mr. & Mrs. Morgan, ye former not being at home, I began thus with ye latter : Mrs. Morgan, doe you remember yt about August last was twelve month Mr. Jn Wesley, Mr. Trembath of St. Gennys, & Mr. Haime of Shaftsbury called at your house. She answered me, Sir, I doe remember yt Mr. Jn Wesley & others (ye Names of whom I cannot tell) did call at my house about that time by some very particular Circumstances, for my Husband attending on some other business, I was obliged to be in ye Field, looking after my work-People, who were reaping Corn, and was sent for in all haste to come home, & then was told by my servant yt I was wanted upstairs, where when I came, ye Chamber door being open, I found them round ye Table on their knees, they soon rising out of yt Posture, Mr. John Wesley asked me, 'Did you or your Husband ever tell yr Bishop, or any other Person yt I attempted to debauch a Maid of your's'. I told him yt I never said such a word to any one, & yt I believed my Husband never did : As to ye other parts of Mr. Wesley's Letter to ye Bishop, she declares 'tis all false, & will be ready & willing to tell Mr. Wesley, or any other Person, so, at any time. Her former speech to me about Mr. Jn Wesley, which I gave you an Acct of in my first Letter, she declares to be true, & will be ready & willing so to doe to Mr. Wesley himself, or to any other Person whatsoever at any time, but I find she is unwilling to make Affidt. of it.

Mrs. Morgan told me also, that her Husband about a fort-night since recd. a Letter from ye Maid by way of challenge, but whether he had answered it or not, she could not tell. His Lordship's & Your further Commands in this or any other Affair shall be most chearfully & faithfully executed to the utmost of my Power by, Hond. Sir,

Your most obliged &amp; most ready humble Servant

THOS. BENNET.

My Mother in Law & Family joyn with me in humble duty to his Lordship, Yourself & Mr. Sub-dean.

My best respects wait on Mr. Arch-deacon Hole, Mr. Canon Snow  
& Dr. Andrew.

[Addressed (p. 48):]

To / The Revd. Mr. Chancellour Fursman  
at his house in Exeter  
Devon.<sup>23</sup>

The unreliability of Mrs. Morgan's witness is borne out when one compares her account of Wesley's visit (Lavington published the substance of Bennet's letter) with Wesley's reply in his *Second Letter to the Lord Bishop of Exeter*, dated 8th May 1752. In this he states (and John Haime and John Trembath were present as witnesses):

<sup>23</sup> In reprinting this letter in his *Reply to Wesley* (1752), Lavington omits the opening paragraph and all from the words "Her former speech to me . . .".

I was never yet in any chamber at Mrs. Morgan's. I was never above stairs there in my life. On August 25, 1750, I was below stairs all the time I was in the house. When Mrs. Morgan came in, I was standing in the large parlour; nor did any of us kneel while we were under the roof. This both Mr. Trembath and Mr. Haime, can attest upon oath, whatsoever Mrs. Morgan may declare to the contrary.

And he finally demolishes the whole charge of unbecoming conduct by challenging anyone to prove that he had ever spent a night at Mitchell.

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

(To be continued)

We gratefully acknowledge having received copies of the following periodicals, some of which come to us on a reciprocal basis with our own *Proceedings*.

*The Local Historian*, Vol. 13, No. 8; Vol. 14, No. 1.

*The Baptist Quarterly*, January and April 1980.

*The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, Vol. 2, No. 4, October 1979.

*The Congregational Historical Circle Magazine*, November 1979.

*Methodist History*, January 1980.

*The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Vol. 52, No. 126, November 1979.

*Cirplan*, Lent 1980.

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## THE ANNUAL LECTURE

in connexion with the Sheffield Conference, 1980,

WILL BE DELIVERED IN

Wisewood Methodist Church, Ben Lane, Sheffield

On Monday, 30th June, at 7-30 p.m.,

BY

**Mr. BARRIE S. TRINDER, M.A. (Oxon)**

(Adult Education Tutor, Shrewsbury).

*Subject:*

“METHODISM IN ITS INDUSTRIAL CONTEXT, 1750-1850”.

The chair will be taken by the REV. MICHAEL S. EDWARDS, M.A., M.Litt.

**The Annual Meeting** of the Society will be held at the same church at **5-30 p.m.**

Mr. and Mrs. Rowland C. Swift kindly invite members of the Society to **Tea** in the schoolroom at **4-30 p.m.** It is desirable that all those who intend to be present at the Tea should send their names to the Rev. Kenneth R. Brown, B.A., Ingledene, 5, Overton Road, Sheffield, S6 1WG (Tel. 0742 345008). There is a frequent bus service (Nos. 13 and 14) from the Central Bus Station, near the Conference Hall. The church is near the Ben Lane-Hallowmoor Road junction. By car, follow the Manchester road (A616) to Hillsborough.

**Exhibitions** of Methodist history will be found at the Central Library, the Cathedral, and Weston Park Museum.

## GRACE IN WESLEY'S FIFTY-THREE SERMONS

### A Concordance View

[Our contributor, the Rev. George Lawton, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., is a retired Church of England clergyman. He is the author of *John Wesley's English* (George Allen & Unwin, 1962), and has written for the *Proceedings* many articles on Wesley's language and style.—EDITOR.]

THE writer of this article, whilst studying Wesley's literary style, has accumulated some 20,000 filing slips containing over 300,000 references to his letters, journals, sermons and treatises. From time to time this filed material has proved of service to other students pursuing altogether different lines of study. It has enabled numerous hazy recollections of Wesley passages to be checked and located. It has helped to verify or nullify some alleged Wesley aphorisms, so far as their literary expression is concerned. Just recently it has been used to furnish Wesley's names and epithets for GOD—an exercise which has brought out the wealth and vitality of Wesley's reverential theism, so far removed from the graceless debunking spirit of some modern religionists.

#### I—A Wesley Concordance

Why is there no Wesley concordance? Or, if there is one, why is it not better known? Most of the major English poets have found their "Cruden" if not their "Young". Some novelists and playwrights have attracted similar devotees. The Bible, of course, has inspired concordances great and small, selective and exhaustive, indicative and analytical. As recently as 1977, the Rev. H. K. Moulton, in a book entitled *The Challenge of the Concordance*, urges resort to this aid as a means of studying the "great words" of Scripture "in depth".

Doubtless a Wesley concordance would be a most useful tool—or perhaps we should say "kit". Of course, much would depend upon the user, but besides its obvious textual, philological, analytical, expository and theological value, it would probably reveal some interesting things about Wesley himself. But to produce such a work would be costly. Several big questions rear up at the outset regarding the scope, method and spirit of such an enterprise. To cover over 7,000 printed pages selectively would require uncanny percipience; to cover them exhaustively would be a labour of Hercules.

However, the suggestion here is that an exploration be made into the Fifty-three Sermons—that little body of divinity which Wesley regarded as authoritative of his teaching. As a kind of drilling-test in this survey-area the characteristic Methodist term GRACE has been selected, and its usages in those Sermons noted and arranged as for a comprehensive concordance entry. The result is presented in section III, to which section II forms an introduction.

## II—Notes

- (1) The edition of Wesley's *Works* used is that which is still most widely available, namely the Conference Office edition of 1872, in fourteen volumes. The Fifty-three Sermons comprise the whole of volume V and pages 1-182 of volume VI. The references are given by volume and page—the simplest of several possible methods. They apply to the *Zondervan* edition, and also to volumes I and II of *some* dated and undated editions of the Sermons (three volumes) which abounded in the nineteenth century. The pagination does not apply to eighteenth-century editions.
- (2) Gathered under the second heading are instances which occur once only—surprisingly so in a few cases.
- (3) The items of specific usages, characteristic phrases, etc. would not necessarily appear thus in a full concordance; space could be saved by cross-reference.
- (4) Grammatical forms which extend any heading mean that instances of those forms occur in the entry beneath it, even though not specified there.
- (5) Each entry is as brief as possible consistent with retaining the sense. Slight omissions are not indicated. Larger omissions are indicated by the use of points thus . . .
- (6) A word in square brackets usually occurs in the context—at a remove.
- (7) Occasionally the term or combination in a heading occurs several times on a single page, but these are only noted separately when the sense is different.
- (8) Instances from verse show the line in full, and are distinguished by italics.

## III—The Concordance Entry

GRACE, -S—I. (*of character*)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| V. 219 full of <i>g.</i> are thy lips      | VI. 37 any single <i>g.</i> or truth     |
| 396 with what <i>g.</i> , decency, modesty | 70 <i>g.</i> which Spirit works in heart |

GRACE—II. (*theological*)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| V. 8 it is <i>g.</i> upon <i>g.</i><br><i>g.</i> is source of salvation        | V. 227 reaction returns <i>g.</i> he receives  |
| 30 Hast thou . . . <i>g.</i> in thy heart                                      | 239 <i>g.</i> . . . not shut out righteousness   |
| 36 resisting last effort of divine <i>g.</i>                                   | 240 Christ . . . merited for us <i>g.</i>  |
| 62 cannot do but by <i>g.</i>  | 243 for pardon, <i>g.</i> and glory  |
| 63 blessings they enjoy . . . of <i>g.</i>                                     | 244 continue sin that <i>g.</i> abound   |
| 75 more worthy of the <i>g.</i>  | 253 degree of this fundamental <i>g.</i>   |
| 104 despite to Spirit of <i>g.</i>   | 261 we may expatiate upon <i>g.</i>  |
| 106 has <i>g.</i> . . . of Holy Ghost  | 283 wishes <i>g.</i> and peace to Romans   |
| 144 not received <i>g.</i> . . . in vain                                       | 285 according to measure of <i>g.</i>  |
| 159 resolution by <i>g.</i> to abstain   | 299 whatever <i>g.</i> you have received   |
| 164 try by <i>g.</i> already received  | 336 kingdom of <i>g.</i> may come  |
| 165 by <i>g.</i> given at justification  | 338 <i>g.</i> of his Spirit conveyed   |
| 168 <i>g.</i> to help in time; 333   | 342 <i>And glory ends what g. begun</i>  |
| 188 the author of all <i>g.</i><br>able to give same <i>g.</i>                 | 345 <i>Spirit of g., and health, and power</i>   |
| 193 ordained for conveying manifold <i>g.</i>                                  | 357 wait increase of purifying <i>g.</i>   |
| 194 desire increase of <i>g.</i>   | 358 salvation of debt, not of <i>g.</i>  |
| 195 all who desire <i>g.</i> ; 198 (. . . the <i>g.</i> )                      | 391 use not <i>g.</i> . . . already received<br>with <i>g.</i> you now have<br>when temptation comes, <i>g.</i> come |
| 200 whether they convey any <i>g.</i><br>the <i>g.</i> that bringeth salvation | 419 without a miracle of <i>g.</i>   |
| 201 conveys no <i>g.</i> to the soul   | 428 for God to prove the <i>g.</i>   |
| 218 have access into this <i>g.</i><br>this state of <i>g.</i>                 | 444 <i>And g. to answer g.</i>   |
|  | 445 this blessed instrument of <i>g.</i>   |
|  | 470 imagine they have <i>g.</i>  |



## GRACE—II. (continued)

- V. 476 all these flow from *g.*  
500 nearest access to throne of *g.*
- VI. 10 *g.* is now made manifest  
who prophesied of *g.*  
11 *g.* which was brought them  
20 *God of all power, and truth, and g.*  
42 Far from envying the *g.*  
44 the first dawning of *g.*  
46 when *g.* operates, presently  
imagine
- VI. 49 can he retain the *g.*  
57 what *g.* . . . might occasionally  
work  
71 *G.* is descending into his heart  
82 imagine he has more *g.*  
94 *g.* . . . reigning in the heart  
102 *g.* may be multiplied unto them  
111 according to *g.* they received  
143 even the *g.* formerly entrusted us  
177 testified the gospel of *g.*  
178 how high soever in *g.*

GRACE—III. (*phrases and specific combinations*)

## GRACE, ATTAINED, -ING

- V. 477 imagine you have *a. g.*  
VI. 105 hinderance of our *a. g.*
- GRACE, BY
- V. 7 *B. g.* are ye saved; 8, 13, 15, 189,  
239, 318, 430  
31 *B. g.* we are saved; 363. VI. 40  
230 not keep himself *b. g.*  
231 He keepeth himself *b. g.*  
263 never rooted out *b. g.*  
399 Supposing thou hast *b. g.*
- VI. 22 *When all renewed b. g. I am*  
65 *B. g.* be wholly renewed
- See also V. 114, 134, 140, 189, 196, 229,  
239, 290, 447, 500  
VI. 22, 61, 103, 186

## GRACE, CHANNELS OF

- V. 41 stated *c. of his g.*  
188 ordinary *c. of conveying g.*  
355 other *c. of his g.*  
478 ordinary *c. of his g.*

## GRACE, COVENANT OF

- V. 65 it is *c. of g.*  
69 the *c. of g.* not require  
70 the *c. of g.* requires only  
in the *c. of g.*  
453 under the *c. of g.*; 458  
nature of the *c. of g.*

## GRACE, FALL FROM/SHORT OF

- V. 8 *f.* not *short of* the *g.*  
11 of falling away *from g.*  
146 unless he *f. g.*  
150 they were fallen *f. g.*  
448 ye are fallen *f. g.*

## GRACE, FIND

- V. 72 in whom, till he *f. g.*  
106 one who has *found g.*  
193 *found* the *g.* of God.

## GRACE, FREE

- V. 7 *f. g.* that formed man  
64 glory of his *f. g.*  
189 saved . . . by the *f. g.*  
340 through the *f. g.* of God  
453 the *f. g.* of God
- VI. 40 Admire . . . the *f. g.* of God  
51 through his *f.* almighty *g.*  
179 through the same *f. g.*

## GRACE, FROM

- V. 12 go on *f. g.* to *g.*; VI. 46  
231 progress *f. g.* to sin
- GRACE, GIVE, -N, -TH
- V. 32 Lord shall *g.* the *g.*  
476 *g. g.* only to the humble; VI. 82,  
161

- VI. 92 prays not that *g.* be *g.*

## GRACE, GOSPEL OF

- V. 503 rejoices to hear *g. of g.*  
VI. 177 who testified the *g. of g.*

## GRACE, GREAT

- V. 42 *g. g.* was upon them; 484 (so . . .)  
239 his *g.* mercy and *g.*

## GRACE, GROW, -ING, -S, -TH IN

- V. 41 he daily *grew in g.*  
157 continuance and *g. in g.*  
257 The more we *g. in g.*  
285 daily *g. in g.*  
288 tend most to *growth in g.*  
446 *g. in g.* and knowledge  
483 he *g. in g.* till . . . holy
- VI. 6 still need to *g. in g.*  
36 scarce possible to *g. in g.*  
42 buy opportunity to *g. in g.*  
49 can he *g. in g.*  
he cannot *g. in g.*  
77 let me daily *g. in g.*  
103 daily *growing in g.*  
105 attaining *g.* or *growing* therein  
110 receiving or *g. in g.*  
112 neither can he *g. in g.*  
148 should continually *g. in g.*

## GRACE, HIS (DIVINE)

- V. 13 exceeding riches of *h. g.*  
one instance of *h. g.*  
32 light of *h. g.* here  
170 all glory of *h. g.*  
200 He can convey *h. g.*  
209-10 follow them with *h. g.*  
485 the sufficiency of *h. g.*
- VI. 86 by *h. g.* supply what lacking  
149 *h. g.* is sufficient for you
- See also V. 7, 10, 25, 41, 56, 65, 87, 144,  
188, 189, 239, 278/9, 355, 432,  
447, 478  
VI. 51, 77

## GRACE—III. (continued)

## GRACE, IN

- V. 162 conversation may be *in g.*  
233 standeth fast *in g.* of God

VI. 8 greater *in g.* of God

## GRACE, INWARD

- VI. 73 an *i.* and spiritual *g.*  
74 where not the *i. g.*

## GRACE, JUSTIFIED BY/TROUGH

- V. 10 *j.* freely by his *g.*; 25, 56, 239, 447;  
VI. 40, 77

87 *j.* them freely by his *g.*

144 being *j.* through his *g.*

VI. 34 *j.* freely by God's *g.*

## GRACE, MEANS OF/FOR

- V. 19 uses also the *m. of g.*  
20 (use . . . )  
21 public/private *m. of g.*  
185–201 The *M. of G.* [Title]  
185 outward *m. for* conveying *g.*  
186 *m.* not convey *g.* of God  
not *m.* conveying *g.* of God  
187 by *m. of g.* I understand  
bless God for *m. of g.*  
189 Christ the only *m. of g.*; 196  
abuse the *m. of g.*  
190 in the *m. of g.*  
195 *m. of* receiving the *g.*  
196 Prayer is *m. of g.*  
268 using the *m. of g.*  
323 used all *m. of g.*; 324, 326  
345 of all the *m. of g.*

VI. 110 want of *m. of g.*

## GRACE, MERE

- V. 7 all blessings . . . of his *m. g.*  
65 flows from his *m. g.*  
74 it was of *m. g.*

## GRACE, MINISTER

- V. 71 *m. g.* to the hearers; 89, 161, 254  
VI. 33, 146  
364 *m. g.* unto t. h.

## GRACE, MY

VI. 12 *M. g.* is sufficient for thee

147 good steward of *m. g.*

## GRACE/NATURE

- V. 147 contrary principles . . . *nature* and  
*g.*; 155

VI. 45 *nature* opposing *g.* of God

64 account of *n.* and *g.*

106 take *n.* not *g.* for guide

## GRACE OF GOD

- V. 114 if by the *g. of G.*  
134 but by the *g. of G.*; 138, 140  
177 *g. of G.* had delivered them  
190 wait for *g. of G.*; 198  
all who desire *g. of G.*  
192 Know not pardoning *g. of G.*  
196 By the *g. of G.*; VI. 122  
229 able . . . by the *g. of G.*

## GRACE OF GOD (continued)

- V. 273 recommended . . . to *g. of G.*

309 see *g. of G.* in you

325 *g. of G.* now sufficient; 391 ( . . .  
will be suff.)

332 tasted of *g. of G.*

338 spiritual bread, *g. of G.*

455 the *g. of G.* ruling

472 *g. of G.* you have now

477 fortified against *g. of G.*

500 by *g. of G.* corrected

501 I am ready by *g. of G.*

VI. 58 unassisted by *g. of G.*

59 unless *g. of G.* interposed

95 prevented by the *g. of G.*

97 next the *g. of G.*

139 namely, the *g. of G.*

180 fruit of *g. of G.*

181 take knowledge of *g. of G.*

See also V. 134, 143, 186, 193, 233, 340,  
453, 503; VI. 8, 39, 45, 101

## GRACE, POWER OF

- V. 278–9 through *p. of g.* purified from  
pride; 432

## GRACE, PREVENTING

- V. 134 by the *p. g.* of God  
187 *p.*, justifying or sanctifying *g.*

290 exceptions made by *p. g.*

VI. 44 but more properly, *p. g.*

61 that wrought by *p. g.*

## GRACE, THROUGH

- V. 143 have already *t. g.* of God  
206 do *t. g.* things acceptable  
259 giving . . . strong consolation *t. g.*;  
41 (athirst for . . . )

VI. 39 while *t. g.* of God

101 afflictions have *t. g.* of God

See also V. 432; VI. 51, 179

## GRACE, THY

- V. 343 *O feed us with t. g., and give*

VI. 21 *Plant in me t. victorious g.*

## GRACE, UNDER

- V. 99 said to be *u. g.*  
one who is *u. g.*  
106 he is . . . but *u. g.*  
108 one *u. g.* loves him [God]  
110 prove a man to be *u. g.*  
455 not under law but *u. g.*; 456  
VI. 7  
on contrary he is *u. g.*  
457 now I am *u. g.*  
now you are *u. g.*  
465 because we are *u. g.*

## GRACE, WORK, -S, OF, WITH

- VI. 102 the same *w. of g.*  
103 *w.* together, *with, by g.*  
106 experienced . . . a real *w. of g.*  
145 *works of* . . . providence or of *g.*

GEORGE LAWTON.

## THE METHODIST ARCHIVES

### Some recent Acquisitions

IT is pleasing to be able to report that in 1979 there was a significant increase in the number of accessions to the Methodist Archives—the total being 1,473, compared with the 1978 figure of 736. Inevitably a major proportion of the items received consisted of pamphlets, periodical-parts, centenary brochures and souvenirs, and whilst some of this material might appear to be ephemeral, its value to the historian grows with the passage of the years.

In the bicentenary year of the birth of Jabez Bunting, it was appropriate that the most important single acquisition should be the collection (with other material) of 74 letters addressed to Bunting by 52 correspondents which was authorized for purchase by the Methodist Archives and History Committee in January. An account of the collection appeared in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, vol. 62, part 1 (Autumn 1979), and this article also included a description of the celebratory exhibition mounted in the Deansgate Building of the Library last summer. Suffice it to say here that the letters range in date from 1807 to 1850, the majority having been written in the 1830s. With five long letters from the period 1836-8, Edmund Grindrod is the most strongly represented minister in the collection, but there are also important letters from (among others) William Arthur, Thomas Percival Bunting, Samuel Warren, and William Horton—this last with Jabez Bunting's uncompromising reply. The collection also includes what is probably the very last letter written by Thomas Coke (dated 13th April 1814) concerned with his forthcoming missionary work in India and the assistance he would require there. The text of this letter was published without any guarantee of its provenance by the late Rev. George Stringer Rowe in these *Proceedings* as long ago as 1902.

It is to the bequest of the late Mary Fenwick of Bishop Auckland that the Methodist Archives is indebted for the receipt of a framed letter written by John Wesley in Bristol on 24th September 1777 to Duncan M'Allum in Aberdeen concerning the work in Inverness. The text as at present printed (*Standard Letters*, vi, p. 280) contains one curious misprint: Wesley clearly refers to Ross and Cromarty, and not to "Moss and Cromarty" as printed.

It will be familiar to readers that the first Methodist quarterly meeting was held on 18th October 1748 at Todmorden Edge, and a small volume containing the society's accounts for the years 1748 to 1765 (the earliest example of such a book) has now been deposited in the Archives, together with the same society's class-book for 1822 to 1828. This latter also includes a number of prayer-meeting plans for 1835-6.



A METHODIST NEW CONNEXION CENTENARY JUG  
(see page 122).

*Photograph by the Rev. David Cooper.*



HOCKLEY CHAPEL, NOTTINGHAM, in 1931  
(see page 123).

*Photograph by courtesy of the Nottinghamshire Local Studies Library.*

Professor L. S. Hearnshaw has donated papers of his grandfather, John Hearnshaw, who was a Wesleyan minister for sixty-nine years, and whose obituary in the Conference *Minutes* notes that at the time of his death in 1909 he was "the oldest Methodist preacher in the world". The collection includes fifty-nine volumes of sermon note-books and a remarkably complete set of personal circuit plans for the period 1840 to 1879, after which time Hearnshaw retired from the active ministry because of ill-health. Another long-lived minister was the Primitive Methodist Joseph Preston, who died in 1896—his ninety-fourth year. A native of Shropshire, he is buried at Madeley, and it is from the trustees of the Unitarian Church Trust Funds at Clive, near Shrewsbury, that the case in which Preston used to carry his papers on his travels has been donated, together with a large number of personal manuscripts. These include his 80-page autobiography, register, cash and account books, sermon note-books, circuit plans, a group of letters mainly written towards the end of his life, his will, and other related documents.

Joseph and Silas K. Hocking were both at one time Methodist ministers, and both wrote novels which in the early part of the present century were exceedingly popular; many of the stories were concerned with Cornish Methodism. Before his untimely death at an early age in 1977, Michael E. Thorne was able to form a collection of virtually all their published works, mostly in first or early editions dating from 1878 to 1935. This collection of nearly two hundred volumes has been presented to the Methodist Archives in memory of his brother by Mr. Roger F. S. Thorne.

The Methodist Archives is fortunate in receiving all publications of the Methodist Publishing House direct from the publishers, and the University Library normally purchases relevant English and American books. An effort is made to obtain those items which are not distributed through the usual trade channels, but it would be helpful if readers would draw my attention to any such, mainly pamphlets, which are not marketed commercially. Both the Connexional Archivist (Mr. William Leary) and members of the staff of the University Library assiduously read all antiquarian booksellers' catalogues which come their way, and during 1979 it has proved possible to add a number of items not previously found in the Archives, including eighteenth-century editions of works by Wesley and parts of periodicals to complete sets of titles already located on the shelves.

The Archives' facilities are being intensively used at all times by research workers not only from this country but also from abroad, and last year there was a marked increase in the number of inquiries originating from Germany and Switzerland. Certainly the Methodist Archives will be able to make a significant contribution to scholarship in this new decade.

D. W. RILEY.

## NEWS FROM OUR BRANCHES

THE fifteen branches have been active in varied ways during 1979. During the summer most branches made at least one visit to an area of historic interest: **Cumbria** visited Whitehaven, from whose harbour John Wesley sailed on many occasions; **Plymouth and Exeter** had a former President of Conference, the Rev. J. Russell Pope, to lead them around Ilfracombe; **Lancashire and Cheshire** toured Rossendale, whilst the chapels of the Laxey and Lonan area were sampled by the **Isle of Man** branch. The **London** group repeated their now traditional walk round the Wesley sites in the capital before the Wesley Day service at Wesley's Chapel. A combined **Bristol** and **West Midlands** visit to Oxford included a tour of Methodist sites and a lecture by Dr. John Walsh. **Lincolnshire** friends joined the bicentenary celebrations of the chapel at Raithby Hall associated with Robert Carr Brackenbury, and a group of **Cornish** members visited the County Record Office at Truro, now the custodian of much Methodist material. Some visits had a more ecumenical flavour: the **North-East** branch went to Ushaw College, a Roman Catholic seminary tracing its origins to 1568, whilst the **Yorkshire** branch were the guests of the Society of Friends at Ackworth School, Pontefract.

Lectures continued to provide a staple diet—many on appropriately local topics. In Bunting's bicentenary year, Mr. John Burgess considered "Jabez Bunting and Cumbrian Methodism" at Keswick; Mrs. E. V. Chapman spoke on "Manx circuit plans" at Douglas; Dr. C. Fry spoke on "Some Sociological Reflections on Methodism in Scotland" at Partick, and "Expansion in Yorkshire Methodism, 1791-1800" was Dr. A. Skevington Wood's subject at Gomersal. The Rev. Douglas A. Wollen lectured on "The Art and Architecture of Wesley's Chapel" to the **London and Home Counties** branch. Wider subjects were considered by **East Anglia** (Rev. Bertrand J. Coggle on "The Contribution of the Ranters to Social Progress"), **Bristol** (Bishop N. Carr Sargant on "The Missionary Controversy, 1889-1900"), **Plymouth and Exeter** (Rev. R. Keith Parsons on "The Bible Christians and their Mission to China") and **West Midlands-Shropshire** (Mr. E. A. Rose on "The Methodist New Connexion").

The new **East Midlands** branch has begun with a flurry of activity. Other branches might profitably follow their example in holding one-day schools in conjunction with local Adult Education Departments. The theme at Leicester was "The Early Methodists", and consisted of a lecture by Dr. John Walsh on "Methodism Attacked" and a talk by Mr. Peter Cheeseman (director of the Victoria Theatre, Stoke-on-Trent), giving an account of the making of the play about Hugh Bourne, *The Burning Mountain*, with filmed extracts. "The Social and Political Influence of Methodism" was the theme at Derby, and included a lecture on Methodists and the General Strike by Professor Robert Moore of Aberdeen.

In November the **Yorkshire** branch organized a highly-successful Day Seminar at Oxford Place chapel, Leeds, on the subject "Sources for Yorkshire Methodist History". Among the speakers were the Connexional Archivist, the Leeds City Archivist, and Miss Joanna Dawson (a past Wesley Historical Society lecturer). There was a fine exhibition of Yorkshire Methodist records and local histories. The event attracted a large number of attenders, mostly genealogists—some from as far away as London and Dorset.

The **Shropshire** branch has continued its valuable survey of pre-1933

county circuit plans, led by Mr. John H. Lenton, and the fruits of this work are appearing in the branch bulletin. This is a project that could be copied in other counties.

E. A. ROSE.

**BRISTOL**—76 members

*Lectures* Nos. [24], 25 and 26 received.

*Secretary*: REV. WILFRID J. LITTLE, 5, Leyton Villas, Redland, Bristol,  
BS6 6JF

**CORNWALL**—324 members

*Journal* Vol. 5 No. 2 received.

*Secretary*: MR. C. J. TROMANS, M.A., 17, Knight's Meadow, Carnon Downs,  
Truro, Cornwall.

**CUMBRIA**—165 members

*Journal* Nos. 5 and 6 received.

*Secretary*: REV. IAN SUMNER, 6, Fairview, Dalton-in-Furness, Cumbria.

**EAST ANGLIA**—81 members

*Bulletin* No. 38 received.

*Secretary*: MISS MONICA PLACE, 2, Mill Hill, Lavenham, Sudbury, Suffolk.

**EAST MIDLANDS**

*Secretary*: REV. SIDNEY Y. RICHARDSON, B.A., B.D., B.Sc.,

15, Coniston Crescent, Loughborough, Leics, LE11 3RQ

**ISLE OF MAN**

*Secretary*: MISS A. M. MCHARDY, Zeerust, Clayhead Road, Baldrine,  
Isle of Man.

**LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE**—159 members

*Journal* Vol. III Nos. 9 and 10 received.

*Secretary*: MR. E. A. ROSE, B.A., 26, Roe Cross Green, Mottram, Hyde,  
Cheshire, SK14 6LP

**LINCOLNSHIRE**—109 members

*Secretary*: MR. H. JUBBS, 3A, Church Road, Upton, Gainsborough, Lincs,  
DN21 5NR

**LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES**—81 members

*Secretary*: REV. WILLIAM D. HORTON, M.A., 6, The Drive, Sevenoaks,  
Kent, TN13 3AE

**NORTH-EAST**—184 members

*Bulletin* Nos. 31 and 32 received.

*Secretaries*: MR. A. P. CHAMPLEY, B.A., 121, Haydon Close, Gosforth,  
Newcastle upon Tyne, NE3 2BZ  
MR. G. E. MILBURN, M.A., 8, Ashbrooke Mount, Sunderland,  
Tyne and Wear, SR2 7SD

**PLYMOUTH AND EXETER**—90 members

*Proceedings* Vol. 5 Nos. 2 and 3 received.

*Secretary*: MR. ROGER F. S. THORNE, J.P., C.Eng., 11, Station Road,  
Topsham, Exeter, EX3 0DS

**SCOTLAND**—100 members

*Journal* No. 12 received.

*Secretary*: DR. D. A. GOWLAND, Department of Modern History,  
The University, Dundee, DDI 4HN

**SHROPSHIRE**—45 members

*Bulletin* Nos. 12, 13 and 14 received.

*Secretary*: MR. BARRIE S. TRINDER, M.A., 20, Garmaston Road, Shrewsbury,  
SY2 6HE

**WEST MIDLANDS**—73 members

*Bulletin* Vol. 3 No. 4 received.

*Secretary*: MRS. E. D. GRAHAM, B.A., B.D., 34, Spiceland Road,  
Northfield, Birmingham, B31 1NJ

**YORKSHIRE**—209 members

*Bulletin* Nos. 34 and 35 received.

*Secretary*: MR. D. COLIN DEWS, B.Ed., 4, Lynwood Grove, Leeds, LS12 4AU



## BOOK NOTICES

*Pietismus—Methodismus—Gemeinschaftsbewegung. Zum Wandel des Begriffs "Methodisten". Ein Fragment*, by Karl-Heinz Voigt. (Bremen, 1979: pp. 49, cyclostyled.)

"Your name is new, (at least, as used in a religious sense,) not heard of, till a few years ago, either in our own or any other nation." So John Wesley boldly announced to his fellow-Methodists in 1745, and reiterated in 1764 and 1777; but in fact he was quite mistaken. Given, then, Wesley's *faux pas*, key questions arise: when, where, and how was the term Methodist ("in a religious sense") first coined? In what countries and contexts was it used between the time of its first minting and spring 1729, when it became a nickname for a group of three Oxford undergraduates?

So far, answers to these and related questions pertinent to "Methodist" origins have been piecemeal and elusive. But in the first four chapters of *Pietism, Methodism and the Brethren Movement. Side lights on the changes in meaning of the term "Methodists"*, fortuitously published in the year which marked the 250th anniversary of the founding and dubbing of the "Oxford Methodists", Voigt largely remedies this long-standing omission. His headings are: 1. The term "Methodists" in the 16th and 17th centuries; 2. The term "Methodists" in German Pietism; 3. The dissemination of Pietism in England; 4. The epithet Methodist as understood by the Wesleys themselves. In these chapters Voigt monitors the double use to which the term Methodist was put in Germany and France for 150 years before the English Methodist movement. Originally, Voigt avers, "Methodist" was a technical term describing a methodic approach to inter-Confessional polemics first adopted by Roman Catholic theologians in France and then taken up in Protestantism. Later it became a thematic term relating to the rigidly methodical views about conversion held by and against Pietism *à la* Francke. It was from this latter mainstream of ideas, suggests Voigt, that the term flowed into English Methodism.

Voigt's panoramic view of Methodist semantics serves, however, only as a backcloth to his main scene, the gist of which is readily gathered from the remaining chapter-headings. These are: 5. The first interpretations in Germany of the term Methodists as applied to the English movement; 6. The propagation of Methodism on the continent of Europe; 7. Reactions to the evangelistic activities of the Methodist churches on the European continent; 8. The term "Methodists" in the polemical literature directed against the various branches of the Methodist churches in Germany between 1850 and 1900; 9. The origin of the concepts used in the adverse evaluation of the Methodist churches in Germany; 10. Summary and conclusions.

The technical shortcomings and brief compass of Voigt's work belie its intrinsic importance. The sooner the opening chapters are published in English, the better for all concerned with "Methodist" origins. Further, without accepting Voigt's tentative conclusion, plausible as it is, that Pietism was the formative factor behind the term Methodist being applied to the Wesleys and their adherents, the clues given by Voigt (and others before him) as to the semantics of the term Methodist in England need to be tested and a coherent whole made of the emergent picture of the term Methodist as used before 1729 in English theology and church life.

Irrespective of further research and its results, however, this little masterpiece stands in its own right as essential reading on "Methodist" history prior to the Wesleys.

DENIS INMAN.

*Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797-1860*, by Niel Gunson. (Melbourne and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978, pp. x. 437, illustrated, £19 25p.)

*Histoire des missions et églises protestantes en Afrique Occidentale des origines à 1884*, par Jean Faure. Texte préparé pour l'édition par Pierre Cadier. (Yaoundé, Cameroun: Editions CLE, 1978, pp. 363, no price stated.)

Structure, content and style combine to make Gunson's workmanlike and slowly-matured book a model of missionary history. The chronological framework is provided in an 18-page prologue, the rest of the material being arranged thematically under three main headings: "The Missionary in the Making" (the social background, motives, educational level and training of the missionaries); "The Missionary in the Field" (including "culture shock", material conditions, moral and physical problems, and attitudes to local culture); and "The Missionary as a Social Force" (including the missionaries' evangelistic and educational activities, their political impact, and church growth). The conclusion is all the more devastating for being thoroughly documented, and stated with every due qualification: "It was the first duty of the missionary to save souls, but wherever he went he brought havoc to the existing social systems" (p. 333).

The missionaries in question are primarily Methodists (both Wesleyan and Calvinistic) and those of the London Missionary Society. The author is careful to distinguish where necessary between the various groups (Methodists being more often ordained, until the founding of the Theological Institution in 1834 less well educated, and more inclined to revivalism); but denominational differences seem to have been generally subordinated to the common task, and theological controversy (except, of course, with Roman Catholics) was rare.

A hundred pages of addenda set the author free to tell a complex story with admirable clarity and a fair balance between fact and comment—the latter marked at times by a humour so dry as to leave the reader pleasantly uncertain whether it is unintentional. Mistakes and questionable statements are few, but R. A. Knox is not the best authority for Wesley's doctrine of the New Birth (p. 47); the author would not have worked in 1958 "in the Muniments Room of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society" (p. 396); and it would be a remarkable missionary indeed who "had read the Bible and the Septuagint in Hebrew" (p. 75)!

So little is available in French on the history of Christianity in West Africa that our first and most important word regarding Faure's book must be one of thanks to Pierre Cadier for rescuing and revising the manuscript, which was virtually completed in 1952, and whose author died in 1967.

As one might expect, the book bears the marks of its origin. It is based on printed sources, and these not generally the most recent, though a "complementary bibliography" by Robert Cornevin is appended. The basic facts are presented clearly and (give or take a few misspellings of English names) generally accurately; but the impression of a chronicle is alleviated by the listing of "conclusions" at the end of each chapter.

Methodist missions, of British and American origin, are given their fair place. It is puzzling to find Gold Coast Methodism represented in Parts I ("The Beginnings", to 1840) and III ("The Problems", to 1884), but not in Part II ("The Rise", 1840-69). This points to a defect in the book's structure rather than to unfounded criticism of Methodist beginnings in Ghana.

Faure and Cadier have provided an invaluable manual for theological education in French-speaking Africa, though not, even at this level, a definitive work.

PAUL ELLINGWORTH.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

1327. A METHODIST NEW CONNEXION CENTENARY JUG.

Among the items of pottery formerly preserved at Hartley Victoria College, Manchester, and now at the Stoke-on-Trent City Museum, Hanley, is one associated with the Methodist New Connexion. It was made to mark the New Connexion's centenary in 1897, and, as the photograph (facing p. 116) shows, is of a most unusual form. It is in fact a "tyg" (a multi-handled drinking-vessel)—in this case with three handles symmetrically placed and a raised circular lid. It is about 7½ in. [19 cm.] high, and is about 4½ in. [11.5 cm.] in diameter at the widest point. At the top, between the handles, are three white applied portraits, each in a light brown circle with the name above and the dates below in white slip trail lettering:

A. KILHAM  
1762-1798

W. COOKE, D.D.  
1806-1884

S. HULME  
B[orn] 1806

These three, of course, were all prominent MNC ministers. Towards the base are two bands of white lettering, again in slip trail: "In Commemoration of the Centenary / of the METHODIST NEW CONNEXION A.D. 1897", whilst similar lettering on the lid proclaims "Religious Liberty, Equality & Fraternity". Olive green, mustard and dark blue are the dominant colours.

According to the Museum staff, the tyg is stoneware, and was manufactured by Doulton at their Lambeth factory, where they were in the habit of making single items to order. It could, therefore, be unique. Unfortunately, I have not been able to discover any documentation concerning this piece, despite a search through both the New Connexion *Minutes* and *Magazine* for 1897. I am unable to say, therefore, whether it was made in response to an official initiative or to the order of an individual member of the New Connexion, possibly George Hobill. Any further information about this striking piece of commemorative pottery will be welcome.

E. A. ROSE.

1328. THE REV. GEORGE DYSON (1858-1928).

The reference to George Dyson's suicide on page 105 of Helen McKenny's *City Road Diary*, under the date 19th February 1886, is an error. I am grateful to Mr. David A. Barton and to Mr. L. G. Simkins of Messrs. Richard Booth Ltd. of Hay-on-Wye for providing the vital clues to a far more bizarre story than one could have expected. Details are still emerging, but the essentials are as stated below.

Dyson was a young probationer in the Wesleyan ministry, at the time stationed at Putney. He became involved in one of the most sensational murder trials of the day, in which Adelaide Bartlett was accused of murdering her husband. Dyson on his own admission had obtained the liquid chloroform which killed Bartlett, and had lied to do so. Although the charge against him was dramatically withdrawn at the outset of the trial and Mrs. Bartlett was eventually acquitted because the Crown could not show how the poison could have been administered by her, Dyson's ministerial career was irreparably damaged. The District Meeting found him guilty of wilful falsehood and grave and discreditable misconduct, and he accordingly disappeared from the official records.

There is no evidence to suggest that the Wesleyan hierarchy had any further interest in George Dyson, beyond a desire that the scandal should be forgotten as quickly as possible. But his subsequent career was scarcely an anti-climax. He emigrated to America, adopted the name of John Bernard Walker, became an American citizen, and eventually married,

had a family, and was divorced. In the meantime, after an initial period of hardship, he became a successful journalist and an acknowledged expert on such diverse topics as Army and Navy affairs, yachting and engineering. He was for many years on the staff of *Scientific American*, became its editor, and, on his death in 1928, was honoured with a highly eulogistic obituary in its pages. Whether his family—he was the son of the Rev. John B. Dyson, superintendent of the Poole circuit at the time of the 1886 scandal—would have felt that this was sufficient to make amends for his disastrous start is something we shall probably never know.

JOHN A. VICKERS.

1329. HOCKLEY CHAPEL, NOTTINGHAM.

This chapel, to which brief reference was made in my article in *Proceedings*, xxviii, p. 76, was a major factor in the development of Methodism in Nottingham. John Wesley took an interest in the building of the chapel, contributed towards its cost, preached at the opening services on 4th April 1783, and visited it on a number of other occasions.

Upon the formation of the Methodist New Connexion, the majority of the trustees and members supported Alexander Kilham and obtained possession of the chapel. In 1798 Kilham was appointed to the Nottingham MNC circuit, and on 20th December of that year he died in the preacher's house, and was buried within the chapel. As the result of legal proceedings, the Wesleyans regained possession of Hockley in 1817, and used it until 1839, when the building was sold to the Primitive Methodists, and it became the head of a new circuit. In 1895 difficulties arose, and the property was sold by public auction; but the sale being declared void, structural alterations were made, and the chapel reopened on 27th October 1897. The Primitives continued to use the chapel until 1932, when it was sold and altered to serve as a suite of furniture showrooms, though remaining outwardly still recognizable. Our photograph (facing p. 117) was taken in 1931, and shows the exterior of the building as it was during the last thirty years or so of its use as a place of worship.

In the course of a recent check on my material relating to the history of Nottingham Methodism I was informed that the chapel had been demolished during redevelopment of the area; but being unconvinced, I made a pilgrimage to Hockley. With some difficulty I traced the old chapel, still standing between Nos. 50 and 60, Goosegate, and after obtaining permission from the present occupiers, the Nottingham Sewing Machine Co. Ltd., was taken on a tour of the building. Apart from the additional floors constructed when the chapel was converted into furniture showrooms (mentioned by the Rev. George W. Dolbey in *The Architectural Expression of Methodism*), it still bore traces of having been a place of worship. It was possible to trace the original shape of the windows, and the back wall included an arched recess which had the appearance of being the position of the organ. In every way the building corresponded with the description given in the early history of Hockley chapel.

The human remains lying under the chapel were removed in 1885 to the General Cemetery, Nottingham, but subsequent inquiries have failed to disclose any record of the reinterment of the remains of Alexander Kilham.

This historic building seems to have been sadly neglected by Nottingham Methodists. Besides its association with John Wesley and the fact that it served three of the major branches of Methodism, it is now the oldest building in the city once used for Methodist worship, and as such would seem to qualify for some form of identification. It is in the hope that interest may be aroused that this note is submitted.

ROWLAND C. SWIFT.

## 1330. METHODIST BELLS.

Further correspondence on this subject in the *Methodist Recorder* of 18th October 1979 has confirmed Mr. C. F. Stell's supposition (Note No. 1325, *Proceedings*, xlii, p. 91) that at least one late nineteenth-century Wesleyan Gothic steeple is not empty. Mr. W. H. Haskett reported that at Grainger's Lane, Cradley Heath (West Midlands) a peal of eight bells was installed in 1939 which is still in use. The bells are rung from a key-board which can be operated by one "ringer".

In his note, Mr. Stell mentions the long tradition of chapel bells in Lancashire since the early eighteenth century. Evidence exists for their use at the following chapels in the county and adjoining areas:

*Lancashire*—Ashton-under-Lyne, Bacup Mount Pleasant, Barrowford, Lamberhead Green, Lees Zion, Southfield (Burnley), Trawden;

*Cheshire*—Hazel Grove, Marple, Winsford (Over Lane PM);

*Derbyshire*—Hayfield St. John's, New Mills St. George's Road.

Most of these examples date from the late eighteenth century or the early nineteenth. They appear to have mostly served as service bells. It is doubtful if any survive. E. A. ROSE.

## 1331. ADAM CLARKE'S "MOSCOW" BELL.

There is a famous bell in Irish Methodism to add to the list of Methodist chapel bells already referred to in recent issues of these *Proceedings*. This is Dr. Adam Clarke's "Moscow" bell, still used to-day to summon worshippers to Portrush Methodist church, Northern Ireland.

It was cast in Amsterdam in 1681, and is reputed at one time to have been the property of a slave-owner. Later it came into the possession of the Emperor Alexander I of Russia (1801-25), who gave it to the Duke of Newcastle, British ambassador to his court. The duke in turn presented it to Adam Clarke in recognition of the services he rendered in the editing of State papers.

On 1st January 1831, Dr. Clarke opened in Portrush the first of six day-schools he provided for neglected districts in his native Ulster, and the bell was given for use by the school. A larger building was erected in 1859 to include provision for a Sunday congregation. Some years later—in 1877—on the same site was erected the present Methodist church, in which a tower was provided for the bell. It is somewhat out of tune, and, to quote from an unpublished biography of Adam Clarke by the Rev. J. Baird Ewens,

It is like the summons of the great scholar evangelist himself sounding through the long corridors of time, whose life story . . . is accompanied by some harsh notes. FREDERICK JEFFERY.

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The Methodist Church Music Society's *Bulletin* contains articles of considerable historical interest in its recent issues, such as A. S. Gregory's new study of *Wesley's Hymns with a New Supplement*, M. Tuckwell on "The Origin and Growth of Choirs in Methodism", Kenneth Trickett's survey of S. S. Wesley's church music, and Wilfrid J. Little's publication data relating to Wesley's *Hymns* and *Sacred Harmony*, 1780.

Non-members of the MCMS may obtain the *Bulletin* for 40p. post free from the Rev. Bryan F. Spinney, 84, Peabody Road, Farnborough, Hants, GU14 6DY.