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OF THE

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THE EDINBURGH WESLEY PORTRAITS

In his book *Sayings and Portraits of Charles Wesley,* John Telford in section IV. 'More Wesley Portraits' has the picture of Hamilton, Wesley, and Cole, which he entitles 'The Edinburgh Portrait.'[1] He does not give the name of the artist, only a cryptic comment that the full length profile portrait of the three men walking to the right was 'Painted by an eminent artist who saw Wesley walking in the street at Edinburgh in 1790 with Joseph Cole and Dr James Hamilton'. The only information that Telford gives is a short note about the other two persons in the portrait who were Joseph Cole, Wesley's assistant in Edinburgh and Dr James Hamilton.[2] John H Simon tells us that in '1790 he [Dr James Hamilton] was seen in the streets of Edinburgh walking in the company of John Wesley and Joseph Cole. A swift sketcher "took" them as they passed on their way'.[3]

The print shows the three men wearing an identical style of black clothing. They are all wearing a long coat un-buttoned with eight buttons down the front, a broad collar, cuffed sleeves, a pocket with a flap, knee breeches with a buckle, stockings and straight shoes with a buckle.[4] (Left and right shoe lasts were not used for making shoes until the mid eighteenth century. Before then shoes were symmetrical and as they were worn they were 'broken in' and moulded to the left or right foot.)[5] All three men are wearing a three cornered hat. Telford must have taken the image from either an undated painting in oils on thick card thought to have been painted around 1790 [although this date is unlikely because the wording on the painting does not appear on the original etching but does appear on engravings made around the time of the Centenary in 1839] or from one of the prints that were in circulation when he wrote his book. The wording in the Telford notes reflect the words in the print

1 John Telford, *Sayings and Portraits of Charles Wesley* (1927) p248f
2 Ibid p247
3 *Proceedings* Vol 10 p140
4 *Proceedings* Vol 54 p118
5 www.ShoeSchool.com 2004

published by the Birmingham Methodist business man George Ellison.[6]

Among the other prints that were in circulation when Telford wrote his book were those published by Consitt and Goodwill who were Engravers and Copper Plate Printers, Bowlalley Lane, Hull and were in business in 1829[7] or the engraving by H Longmaid of Liskeard (flourished 1828)[8] and published by G Ellison, 8 Union Passage, Birmingham (1853 - 1881)[9]. Other known copies of the engraving were published by T Wilkin of Oundle and Charles Seymoor 74 High Street, Birmingham who is listed in 1839 as being an Engraver, Printer & Stationer 131 Digbeth, Birmingham[10] and James Barton Longacre (1794 - 1869) of Delaware and Philadelphia U.S.A.[11]

The painting, which is displayed in the Museum of Methodism, Wesley's Chapel, City Road, London, has a gilt paper border and is portrait shaped. The size of the painting is 276 mm high and 237 mm wide. On a label attached to the back of the painting [which is only partially legible]: 'No.1 James Hamilton M.D. No.2 Revd. John Wesley. No.3 Revd. Joseph Cole. As they were seen walking [on the street] at Edinburgh in the year 1790 taken by [an original] genius who was expert in sketching with great [correctness] the figure of every eminent person [that appeared] publicly in that [city]'

6 The Birmingham Cherry Street Methodist Chapel Baptismal Register entry for 2 December 1865 records that Sarah Elizabeth daughter of George and Emma Ellison of 8 Union Passage [Birmingham] have their daughter baptised. There are 3 other earlier records for the same family who were living at 147 Bath Row [Birmingham] (Emma Hannah 19 June 1853, George Sidney 26 February 1857 and Howard 11th December 1858). In the Cherry Street Methodist Chapel Society Leaders Collection Book George Ellison is listed as a Society Steward 1862 - 1866. In the Wesleyan Missionary Society Collection Book George and other members of his family are shown as subscribers 1856 - 1860. All the above manuscript documents are in the Birmingham City Archives Floor 7 The Central Library, Chambers Square, Birmingham.

7 Pigot's *Hull Directory* 1829 Professions and Trades Section

8 Little is known of H Longmaid other than a dated print Mount Edgcumbe House Torpoint, Cornwall drawn by A. Rae and engraved by H. Longmaid. 1828 and is listed by J. V. Somers Cocks - Cocks, J. V. Somers. *Devon Topographical Prints 1660 - 1870. A Catalogue and Guide.* Devon Library Services, Exeter, (1977)

9 Slater's *General and Classified Directory of Birmingham* 1852 George Ellison is listed in Slater's as a Silversmiths assistant at 147 Bath Row Birmingham. In 1853 to 1881 George Ellison is listed in Slater's General and Classified Directory of Birmingham at 8 Union Passage, Birmingham as a Wholesale cutler and dealer in nickel silver forks and spoons.

10 The *Directory of Birmingham* 1839, Wrightson and Webb Birmingham list Charles Seymour under the heading Printers, letterpress:- as an Engraver, printer and stationer, 131 Digbeth. In Pigot and Co's Birmingham Directory 1842 Seymour is listed as a Printer and Fancy Jeweller, 64 Bull Street [Birmingham] He continues in business until about 1850 as a Jeweller, Engraver and Printer.

11 Arthur M. Hind, *A History of Engraving and Etching - 15th Century to 1914*, New York (1963)

On the Consitt and Goodwill print is printed above the three profile portraits:

'EIGHTY SEVEN YEARS HAVE I SOJOURNED ON THIS EARTH ENDEAVOURED TO DO GOOD John Wesley'

Below the profile portraits is printed:
'Engraved by Consitt & Goodwill Hull
1) *James Hamilton MD*
2) *Revd John Wesley MA*
3) *Rev Joseph Cole*
As they were seen walking on the street at Edinburgh in the year 1790 taken by an original genius who was expert in sketching with great correctness the figure of every eminent person that appeared publicly in that city.'

On the George Ellison print is printed above the three profile portraits:

'EIGHTY SEVEN YEARS HAVE I SOJOURNED ON THIS EARTH ENDEAVOURED TO DO GOOD John Wesley'

Below the profile portraits is printed:

'ENGRAVED BY H LONGMAID LISKEARD
1) *James Hamilton MD*
2) *Revd John Wesley MA*
3) *Rev Joseph Cole*
Drawn as they were seen walking in the Street at Edinburgh in the year 1790 by an eminent Artist.'

These later engraved prints differ from the original not only in the wording noted above but also they show no wall behind the figures, Hamilton's shirt is not showing and Cole has a buckle on his breeches and is wearing bands.

Kay's Edinburgh Portraits

The 'eminent artist' of the eighteenth century prints referred to was John Kay who in 1790 drew a miniature half length portrait of John Wesley in an oval frame [42 mm by 38mm] which was set in an oblong portrait shaped, embossed, lightly shaded frame with rounded corners [93 mm by 60 mm]. The early signed prints are on hand made paper 266 mm by 196 mm. The miniature is a half-length figure of John Wesley with the signature of K. 1790 below the outer border. It shows John Wesley looking

A modern print (2004) produced from Ellison's original copper printing plates. By permission of 'Gage postal Books'

right and forward. He is wearing a double roll wig resting on his shoulders. The preaching bands are wide spread and are coming from a cravat which is not clearly visible. Wesley is wearing a black gown. His left hand is holding a ribbed spine book, which is resting [presumably] on some furniture out of view. His middle, third and little fingers are pointing downwards along the book's back cover with his index figure in the book. The thumb is not in view. The biographical notes, which accompany the portrait in Paton's book, say that 'the principal facts connected with this remarkable individual are pretty generally known, through the elegant "Memoirs of his Life" by Dr Southey' (which were published in 1820).[12] These notes were written after the engraving 'Triumvirate of Methodists Clergymen' because the author (Paterson) talks of Wesley dying in his Eighty Eighth year whereas Kay's inscription on 'Triumvirate of Methodist Clergymen' has Wesley saying 'Ninety Four years: (*sic*) Have I sojourned on this earth'.[13]

The second Wesley portrait Kay drew is entitled The 'Triumvirate of Methodist Clergymen'. It was sketched when John Wesley visited Edinburgh for the last time. The picture is drawn within an oblong portrait shaped frame 111 mm by 172 mm] showing the three men walking towards the right on flagstones. The background is shaded to look like a wall made by large square stones. In the bottom right hand

12 Robert Southey, *The Life of John Wesley*, (1820)

13 Hugh Paton, *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the late John Kay Miniature Painter*, Edinburgh Vol 2 (1839) p274ff

corner is printed 'KAY fecit 1790.'

Below is the inscription

NINETY FOUR YEARS: HAVE I SOJOURNED UPON THIS EARTH ENDEAVOURING TO DO GOOD

James Hamilton, John Wesley, Joseph Cole. Reproduction of Kay's original 1790 print in Paton's First Edition.
(By permission of 'The British Library' 1267-F12 plate LY1)

The quotation is an adaptation of the words spoken by John Wesley when in August 1783 at the Bristol Conference he was taken very ill.[14] Both Wesley and many of the preachers wondered if he would recover.[15] Wesley said to Joseph Bradford, his travelling companion and nurse, 'I have been reflecting on my past life: I have been wandering up and down between fifty and sixty years, endeavouring in my poor way, to do a little good to my fellow-creatures: and, now it is probable that there are but few steps between me and death, and what have I to trust to for Salvation? I can see nothing which I have done or suffered, that will bear looking at. I have no other plea than this: I the chief of sinners am: but Jesus died for me.'[16]

A Triumvirate of Methodist Clergymen

The accompanying notes to the portrait say that 'this "Triumvirate of Methodist Clergymen" was etched by Kay when Mr Wesley visited Scotland for the last time, in 1790.' The notes go on to say that 'the three gentlemen are portrayed as they appeared in company, while returning from Castle Hill, where Mr Wesley had delivered a sermon'.[17] The dates and information about Wesley's last visit to Edinburgh are missing from his *Journal* but his Diary records that on Thursday 13th May 1790, at 12 he took his chaise and arrived in Edinburgh at 2pm. At 6.30[pm]

14 *The Works of John Wesley* Vol 23 (Journal) Abingdon Nashville (1995) p286f
15 Thomas Jackson, ed. *The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers.* Fourth Edition Vol 4 (1865) p50
16 Dr, Coke and Mr Moore *The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, A. M.* (1792) page 504f
17 Hugh Paton, op cit p158

Ephesians 2:8! [The text of his sermon] but whereabouts in Edinburgh he preached is not recorded. Wesley stayed in Edinburgh until early Sunday 16 May 1790. He preached in Edinburgh on the Friday 6.30[pm] 2 Corinthians 4:7! And Saturday 6 30[pm] Colossians 3: 1,2,3![18] We know that Wesley preached on other occasions on Castle Hill.[19]

The three men are wearing three-cornered hats with upturned rims, with the front corner pointing forward. The hats are plain and without any ornamentation. The person to the right of the three is Dr James Hamilton (1740 - 1827) who is taller than Wesley. He has dark wig[20] in a single roll. The wig hair is held together at the back in a 'large [black] square silk bag'.[21] He has a calf length jacket with a wide collar, a pocket with a flap. The jacket is held closed with one button. The other seven buttons are indistinct and are not fastened. He is wearing a white shirt with a loosely pleated front, knee breeches with a buckle on the outside just below the knee, black stockings and buckled symmetrical shoes. Hamilton has his left arm under Wesley's right arm. Wesley is wearing the same attire as Hamilton with the exception of the shirt. Wesley has white hair (probably a wig)[22,23,24] and is wearing a cravat with bands coming from the top. His hands are interlaced clasped in front of his chest. Joseph Cole (1751-1826) is walking on Wesley's left and is dressed in similar clothes to Hamilton (a loosely pleated shirt and no preacher's bands). Cole has his left hand tucked in his jacket front. Unlike Hamilton and Wesley there is no buckle showing on his breeches. All three are looking forward. Unlike the reproductions by the later engravers there are no numbers under the three men nor does Kay put their names below them on his drawing.

John Kay's Perceptive Observation

It is hardly surprising that Paterson in the biographical sketch accompanying this etching should refer to the 'patriarchal' John Wesley, the 'unblemished'. . .labourer in the vineyard' Joseph Cole, [who was the Superintendent Minister of the Edinburgh Circuit] and the 'decidedly religious' Dr James Hamilton (1740 - 1827) of Dunbar as 'a Triumvirate of Methodist Clergyman.'

James Hamilton would have studied medicine as an apprentice from the age of 14 probably under Professor John Rutherford of Edinburgh and following an examination in medicine at the Surgeons' Hall in London he would have qualified as a surgeon.[25] He was eventually

18 *The Works of John Wesley* Vol 24 Journal and Diaries VII (2003) p317

19 *The Works of John Wesley* Vol 22 Journal and Diaries V (1993) pp97, 133-134, 230 and 413. Vol 23 Journal and Diaries VI p395

20 *Proceedings* 39 p99

21 Hugh Paton, op cit p161

22 *The Works of John Wesley* Vol 22 Journal and Diaries V (1993) p459n

23 *Proceedings* VI p21f, 28f, 148 (Q)

24 *Proceedings* XIII p138ff

25 Margaret Batty, *James Hamilton M. D.* (1998) p6

awarded a MD and FRCPEd degrees. At the age of 18 he served as a Surgeon's First Mate for 4 years (1759 - 1763)[25,26] on the *Isis* man-of-war. The Rev Henry Moore, we are told in the biographical sketch accompanying the etching, says that in 1762 James Hamilton whilst on board the *Isis* in the Mediterranean, off the Island of Malta 'became decidedly religious'. So much so that he was able to give spiritual comfort to the mortally wounded Captain Wheeler. On leaving the navy Dr Hamilton commenced practising as a surgeon and apothecary in Dunbar. He became a member of the Methodist Society and over the years his home and valuable library was open to John Wesley, Wesley's preachers and the local Methodist people. From his early years in the Methodist Society at Dunbar he was a Methodist local preacher[26]. During the 1780s he preached in the Birmingham Methodist chapels whilst attending the Conference which was meeting in the city. On August 9. 'Lord's Day forenoon, a gentleman from the north, a physician of the name of. . . Hamilton, officiated at Coleshill Street [Birmingham] meeting house.' He also preached on the following Monday and Tuesday at Cherry Street Methodist Chapel [Birmingham][27]. Rev Dr Adam Clarke in a letter dated June 16 1829 says that 'In the year 1788, (it was 1789] the late James Hamilton M.D. who was ever deservedly in high repute in our Connexion preached before the Conference at Leeds on Jer: VII. 4- "The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord are these." He spake *strong words* on *keeping to the Church.*' Not only did Dr Clarke speak well of the at length published sermon, he quoted from it at length at the Chapel in Bristol.[28] Tyerman says that what may be called the *conference sermon* was preached by Dr James Hamilton, a local preacher. A singular honour, for up to the time of Tyerman's writing he says it was the only instance that a local preacher had preached before the Conference. The sermon was published with the title 'A Sermon preached at Leeds July 29, 1789, before the Methodist Preachers.'[29]

JOHN KAY
Drawn & Engraved by Himself 1786.

(By permission of 'The British Library' 1267-F11 Plate 1)

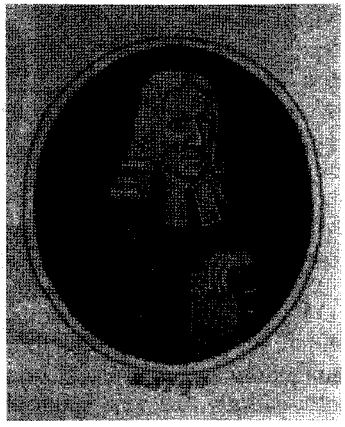
[26] John A. Vickers (Ed) *A Dictionary of Methodism in Britain and Ireland* (2000) p148

[27] *Proceedings* 39 p99

[28] *Proceedings* 18 p23

[29] Luke Tyerman, *The Life and Times of the Rev John Wesley M A* (1876) Vol 3 p584f

In Hamilton's death notice it says that 'He had been connected to the Methodist Body for upwards of 60 years and during the greater part of that time officiated among them as a highly acceptable and useful Preacher of the Gospel.'[30] Around 1790 he was persuaded to go to Leeds and in 1794 moved to London where he was appointed Physician to the London Dispensary. There are a number of recorded instances where we are told of Hamilton's charity and compassion as a doctor and of his witnessing to his deep spiritual faith.[31] He had a special concern for the well being, health and financial straits of the itinerant preachers especially the elderly and their widows. In 1798 Hamilton with six gentlemen from the City Road Society established the 'Preachers' Friend Society' to help preachers in distress. The Conference in 1799 approved the scheme.[32] Hamilton was a regular preacher in London and on the London Plan for the autumn quarter of 1803 we see that he had no fewer than 14 appointments in the circuit including City Road.[33] James Hamilton died on 21 April 1827 at his home in Finsbury Square London which is a few hundred metres from Wesley's Chapel, City Road which he attended until a few days before his death.



John Wesley - 1790
Reproduced from an original Kay print by D. H. Ryan

Joseph Cole (1751 - 1826) was called to be one of Wesley's preachers and started to travel in 1780 and for 35 years fulfilled his ministry with an 'unblemished reputation and considerable success'.[34] The characteristics of his ministry seem to have been simplicity, spirituality and energy. This does not fully express the outstanding effectiveness of his ministry. It is recorded that 'his ministry was honoured by conversion of sinners from the error of their ways. . .he was, blessed with a peculiar talent for reproving sin with effect; and often delivered his reproofs with so much point and adaptation to circumstances,-so much force and authority, blended with benevolence, - that numerous instances have occurred in which persons occupying respectable stations in society, have acknowledged the propriety of his remarks, and thanked him for his admonisions'.[35] His ministry was pioneer work in some of the first circuits and from 1789 to 1791 he was

30 *Methodist Magazine* 1827 p359
31 Hugh Paton, op cit p161
32 Margaret Batty, *James Hamilton M. D.* (1998) p51
33 Ibid p52
34 *Methodist Magazine* 1826 p642
35 Ibid p643

the Superintendent of the Edinburgh Circuit which had a staff of three. It was during this time that the 'Triumvirate of Methodist Clergymen' was drawn.

At the time when John Kay drew the 'Triumvirate of Methodist Clergymen' in May 1790, John Wesley was 86, James Hamilton was 50 and Joseph Cole was 39.

John Kay

In the *Dictionary of Scottish Art and Architecture*[36] the entry for John Kay tells us that he was born nr Dalkeith. John Kay (1742-1826) was the elder son of John Kay (? - 1748) and Helen (*née*) Alexander. He was born in April 1742 in a small house called Gibraltar on the south of Dalkeith, Midlothian, which is about 11 miles south of Edinburgh. He was born into a family of stonemasons. Both his father and his father's brothers, James and Norman, were stonemasons and it was thought that John would also become a stonemason but this ended when his father died when John was only six years old. John Kay, in his manuscript notes, which were discovered after his death[37] tells of how his mother sent him to live with his cousins at Leith which was to be a disastrous and a dangerous episode in his life. He almost drowned on more than one occasion whilst in their care. Even though he was given neither encouragement nor the crayons and paper he needed by those who were looking after him at Leith, Kay developed his talent by drawing horses, cattle and houses by using charcoal on walls or any surface he could use.

When he was about thirteen his mother apprenticed him for six years to George Heriot who had a barber's business in Dalkeith. On the completion of his apprenticeship and for the next seven years he worked as a journeyman for several barbers in Edinburgh. On 19 December 1771 Kay purchased at the cost of £40 the freedom of the Corporation of the Society of Surgeons and Barbers of Edinburgh and became a member of the corporation and opened his own business as a barber in Parliament Square, Edinburgh. Although by the time Kay set up in his own business the barber had been separated from that of the surgeon, the profession of a barber was an honourable and lucrative[36] one going back to the Old Testament times:

> And you, O mortal, take a sharp sword; use it as a barber's razor and run it over your head and your beard; Ezekiel 5:1 NRSV.

Amongst the clientele Kay attracted to his barber's shop were members of the nobility, gentry and celebrities, many of whom he drew portraits or caricatures. Robert Chambers the well-known Edinburgh publisher, and the (anonymous) author of *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* and the publisher of the weekly magazine *Chambers Edinburgh*

36 Peter J. M. McEwan, *Dictionary of Scottish Art & Architecture* (1994) p306

37 Hugh Paton, op cit p111

Journal described the portraits as 'the most faithful likenesses that could have been represented by any mode of art'.[38]

One of his customers, William Nesbet esquire of Dirleton became a patron and took Kay away from his business on many occasions sometimes for long periods. William Nesbet compensated Mrs Kay by sending her money in recognition of the fact that he took her husband away from Edinburgh which made his business suffer. William Nesbet intended to settle an annuity on Kay but died before the will could be re-written or at least a codicil could be added. To their credit William Nesbet's heirs knew of their father's intentions and they themselves settled on Kay £20 per year for the rest of his life.

The Right Hon. Selina Countess Dowager of Huntingdon
By permission of 'The British Library' 1267-F12 Plate IV

Whilst Kay lodged with William Nesbet and with his host's encouragement he used the time to improve his drawing skills and executed many miniature paintings. Following his patron's death and with the income from the annuity Kay in 1784 concentrated on his skills of etching and limning [painting portraits especially miniatures] and displayed them in his barber's shop window. He published his first caricature print, which was of laird Robertson in 1785 and abandoned his barber's business and opened a print shop in Parliament Square. The scope of his subjects included horses, dogs, shipping and portraits which ranged from Adam Smith (1723 - 1790) the Scottish political economist, philosopher and author of The *Wealth of Nations* (1776) and Smith's patron Lord Kames (1696 - 1782) to street traders and fish wives.[39] Between 1811 and 1816 Kay exhibited at the Edinburgh Association of Artists and in 1822 at the Institute for the Encouragement of Fine Arts.[40]

Kay's etchings and print business flourished until a disastrous fire in 1824, which started in neighbouring buildings, destroyed his premises. In March 1785 his wife Lilly died. She had borne him 11 children all of whom except the eldest, William named after Kay's patron died early in life. Two years later he married Miss Margaret Scott. It has been estimated that Kay produced about 900 portraits during his career and created a unique record of the persons of note who lived, worked or visited Edinburgh in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[41] It is hardly surprising

38 John Keay and Julia Keay (Eds) *Collins Encyclopaedia of Scotland* (1994)

39 Ibid p565

40 Brian Steward and Mervyn Cutten, *The Dictionary of Portrait Painters in Britain up to 1920* (1997) p283

41 John Keay and Julia Keay (Eds) op cit, p565

that he would easily see his subjects because the population of Edinburgh was relatively small, estimated to be 30,000[42] in 1700 and had grown to 138,235 by 1821 when his career was nearing its close[43].

His style was mainly stipple and line drawing. He was not only a recorder of the ordinary citizens, the great and the good who lived, worked, or visited Edinburgh but he was also a satirist. In 1792 Kay was prosecuted for producing a satirical portrait of the eminent Edinburgh lawyer, Mr Hamilton Bell running in a race from Edinburgh to Musselburgh with a vintner's boy perched on his back. Kay responded by producing an etching of himself entitled 'The Artist under Examination by Sheriff Pringle' It shows the pursuers Bell and Rae sitting behind Kay, [with faces darkened with rage]. Kay won the case.

John Kay deserves more attention than he has so far received either in his native Scotland or elsewhere. At the Scottish National Portrait Gallery there is Kay's 'Self Portrait' in oils, a water colour of Archibald Campbell, the Lord Provost's Man, and an etching-aquatint of 'The Parliament Close and Public Characters'. In the National Gallery in London there are 19 etchings by John Kay. John Kay died at 227 High Street Edinburgh on 21 February 1826 and was buried in the Greyfriars' Churchyard Edinburgh.[44]

The fact that we know as much as we do about Kay and his art is due in no small measure to Hugh Paton and James Paterson.

Paton and Paterson

In the two volume publication entitled *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings By The Late John Kay, Miniature Painter, Edinburgh'* which was published in 1838 we are told in the 'Introductory Notice' that around 1792 John Kay with the assistance of a Mr Callender, [a contributor to the *Chambers Journal*] and who had been paid £3 per week, had written descriptive and biographical notes on the portraits and that James Maidment (1795 - 1879) an advocate, acted gratuitously as editor.[45] (In 1835 James Maidment of the Advocates Library Edinburgh [The National Library of Scotland] edited the St Clair of Rosslyn manuscripts and published them as the book GENEALOGIE OF THE SAINTE CLAIRES OF ROSSLYN).

John Kay intended to publish his portraits and notes in book form but he either lost the impetus or died before the work was completed. Paton tells us that Kay's widow had tried to sell the copper printing plates without success and after her death he had bought them from her trustees. When James Paterson was employed to write the notes that accompanied the portraits and caricatures in Paton's book, four monthly

42 Thomas Martin Devine, *Conflict and Stability in Scottish Society 1700 - 1850* Edinburgh (1990)

43 Thomas Martin Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700 - 2000* (1999) p329

44 Daphne Foskett, *British Miniature Painters* Volume 1 (1972) p361

45 James Patterson, *Autobiographical Reminiscences* Glasgow (1817) p150

parts had already been issued. Paterson was paid at the beginning around 14 shillings a week, (the equivalent to a porter's wage) which rose in stages to 25 shillings a week which was no more than a journeyman compositor's wage. Paterson tells us how in 1835 on his return from Ireland to Edinburgh his younger brother William introduced him to his employer Mr Hugh Paton, a carver and gilder of Horse Wynd, Edinburgh.

James Paterson (1805 - 1876) was born on May 18. His father was James Paterson, a somewhat impoverished farmer of Struthers, Ayrshire but he gave him as good an education as he was able to afford. He was an apprentice printer and at a young age he began to write articles for Thompson's *Miscellany*. He worked on the *Kilmarnock Mirror*, the *Ayr Courier* and the Glasgow *'Scot Times'*. In 1826 he opened a printer's and stationer's shop in Kilmarnock and in 1831, with a partner published *The Kilmarnock Journal* for about a year.

In 1835 he went to Dublin to act as the correspondent for the Glasgow *Liberator*. Paterson worked for Paton from 1837 - 1839. The *Carlisle Journal* directors approached Paterson to be their editor but Paton stopped the appointment. Paterson then became the editor of the *Ayr Observer* (the successor of the *Ayr Courier*). He spent much of his later years in writing and publishing books and articles and for most of the last four years of his life he became increasingly paralysed and died on 6 May 1876.

Hugh Paton first published Kay's *Portraits* in monthly parts[46] and according to Paterson, Paton seems to have implied that he wrote the notes. Paterson tells us that he wrote the introduction to Kay's *Portraits* in the third person but Paton changed it into the first person singular.

Nevertheless we have Paton to thank for producing the book and saving at least some 360 portraits for posterity. The first edition of Kay's *Portraits* was published in 2 volumes in 1838 and 1839 and contained Plate CXII the 1790 half length portrait of John Wesley in volume I and in volume II Plate IV 'The Right Hon. Countess Dowager of Huntingdon' and Plate XXX the 1790 'A Triumvirate of Methodist clergymen: James Hamilton, John Wesley and Joseph Cole'.

In 1836 Paton issued a prospectus announcing that he had acquired a number of copper printing plates from John Kay's widow and that he was proposing to issue prints from them in a monthly magazine at the cost of 2/6d. We are told that he attracted over 1000 subscribers including Queen Victoria.[47] The later 2 volume edition was published as *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings' by the late John Kay, Miniature painter, Edinburgh* in 1838 and 1839. Some editions included an appendix of some 28 of Kay's etchings that were not portraits. A second edition was produced in 1842 and in 1877 a third edition was published by A & C Black who had purchased the plates from Paton and retouched them and

[46] Ibid p155n

[47] Hilary and Mary Evans, *John Kay of Edinburgh 1742 - 1826* Aberdeen (1973) p52

after producing their book destroyed them. This is a two-quarto volume. In 1885 a fourth edition was produced by Thomas D Morison and published by Hamilton in London and Adams in Glasgow as the *Popular Letterpress Edition.* In 2004 a copy of the third edition in good condition with some minor defect was offered for sale at £760.

DONALD H RYAN
(Former Chair of the North Wales Methodist District, Convenor of the Methodist Church Connexional Sites, Museums and Artefacts Task Group)

THE FIRST BIBLE CHRISTIAN HYMN BOOK

The Bible Christian Hymn Book of 1820 was the first hymn book of that small Methodist denomination and was compiled and published by its founder, William O'Bryan (1778 - 1868). It does not appear that the 1820 book has previously been described although several writers have deduced its existence without seeing a copy.[1] The author has what he believes to be the only known copy of this hymn book.

O'Bryan produced this collection of hymns within a very few years of the denomination's beginnings in 1815, intending it to supplement the Wesleyan Hymn Book, which his people were currently using. Then in 1824 he published a much larger collection, which followed the layout of the contemporary Wesleyan hymn book, itself closely based on Wesley's Large Hymn Book of 1780.

Printed and manuscript material, particularly of a connexional nature, surviving from the early years of the Bible Christian denomination is very scarce, There is no reference to the 1820 hymn book in the printed *Minutes* and the prefaces to the 1820 and 1824 hymn books tell us all that we know about the circumstances of their publication. In the preface or 'Advertisement' in the 1820 book O'Bryan explains that the Wesleyan book was deficient in 'occasional' hymns so he had produced a series of suitable hymns in thirteen monthly numbers. His wording suggests that these were the basis of the 1820 volume and the hymns in the book are actually contained within thirteen gatherings, A to N, each of six leaves. However only three gatherings, A, B and D, have a hymn beginning on the front of their first leaf and the table of first lines begins on the back of the last leaf of gathering N. This indicates that probably the text was reset for this volume. The author does not know of any surviving monthly parts.

[1] John Julian, *Dictionary of hymnology.* 2nd. edt., 1907 [1st 1892], See page 731. [Says first hymn book was 1819 [sic] but obviously had not seen copy]
Morgan Slade, 'The first Bible Christian Hymn-Book' In *Proceedings* 30 pp 179 to 181. [Wrongly identifies this as the 1824 edition]
Oliver Beckerlegge, 'The first Bible Christian Hymn-Book' In *Proceedings* 34 pp 34 to 36. [Knows of existence of the 1820 edition from the preface to the 1824 edition]

O'Bryan's 1820 collection includes the words of 164 hymns, which are not arranged under subjects although a heading is given for seventy two of them. Some headings are clear enough, like 'Approaching harvest' (47) or perhaps, 'Union among ministers' (61) but 'On the minister's feelings' (10) is equivocal! William O'Bryan's sacramental views still await their researcher but it seems to the author that O'Bryan held a higher view than was general amongst his successors and hymns 30 and 40 are both headed 'Sacrament', the first being 'Come let us join with one accord'. The name of a tune is given for fifty hymns and metres are given for many. It may be noted that 'P. M.' is 'particular' metre, *i.e.* irregular and 'B. M.' is 'ballad' metre, similar to common metre. The tune and metre are given on the same line as the hymn number and the heading on the following line. There is a table of first lines [2] but no reference to authors.

As mentioned already, this book was published during the early years of the denomination's existence, a period about which a great deal is unknown both at the local and at the denominational level. Partly due to the charismatic although flawed character of O'Bryan, there was little denominational direction other than that provided by and centred on O'Bryan. During these early years he moved his home and thus the denominational base regularly[3] - from Holsworthy to Kilkhampton in August 1816, to Launceston in February 1819, to Mill Pleasant, Devonport, Plymouth in 1822, to Liskeard in 1828. From 1822 a house at Mill Pleasant was used as an office and publishing centre but prior to this local printers must have been used and a significant amount of work is known to have been undertaken by Thomas Eyre of Church Street, Launceston. He printed some of the early *Minutes of Conference* and the monthly parts of the first volume (1822) of the Magazine but only as far as October, the final two months being printed by Samuel Thorne at Devonport.[4] O'Bryan was living at Baddash near Launceston when he published this hymn book and Eyre was conveniently located to undertake the printing of its 160 pages. Initial investigations about Eyre's printing activities have provided little information except the possibility of there being a father and son of the same name in the business.

The author's copy of the 1820 book is a small leather bound volume with a page size of 70 mm by 131 mm. Pages 157 to 160, gathering O, are mis-bound between pages 144 and 145, i.e. between gatherings M and N. The binding has been repaired and the volume re-spined. Some pages have been repaired with very slight loss of text. The paper is fragile

2 The author has compiled a list of first lines, suggested tunes and headings.

3 S. L. Thorne, *William O'Bryan, Founder of the Bible Christians*. (1st edt. 1878) See pages 114 to 123

4 Samuel Thorne effectively became the denomination's printer and publisher and many Bible Christian publications bear his imprint, successively at Devonport, Shebbear and Plymouth. Despite this little is known about his business activities and it is possible that some ambitious items with his imprint were actually sub contracted out.

which precludes photocopying. A description of this copy is given below. Text that has been transcribed is included in ' ' and capitalisation has been greatly simplified.

Free end paper
[Blank]
Free end paper
[Inscribed] 'Johanna Hocken[5] her book March 23rd 1825'

[i][6]
'A collection of hymns for the use of the people called Arminian[7] Bible Christians. By William O'Bryan. Launceston: Sold by T. Eyre, Church-Street; also by W. O'Bryan; and may be had of all his preachers. 1820'

[ii]
'T. Eyre, Printer, Launceston'

[iii]
'Advertisement
The greater part of these hymns have appeared in print before, the others have not.

The occasion of their appearing in this way was in a manner fortuitous, (or providential,) as most of my movements have been, some have thought overruled by an unseen hand.

Being in the west of Cornwall, I was desired to print and send down a few favourite hymns which we had in manuscript, namely the Union, Pilgrim's and Parting Hymns. Mentioning my intention, I was persuaded to publish more, and at last came to the decision of printing a monthly number for one year, of hymns not in Wesley's large Hymn Book. The demand has exceeded our expectation; a second order of seven hundred being given from one Circuit, before one half of the numbers were printed. This and other encouragements, gives [Page] iv us to hope that the hymns have given the purchasers satisfaction. This tho' small in its beginning, may in time lead to a large work; perhaps to an addition to this, of the most approved and most used of those in Wesley's larger Hymn Book, together with a selection from other publications, and some more original hymns.

Occasional hymns have been much wanted among us, the large Hymn Book affording so very few; this it is hoped will in a measure supply that deficiency; but still it is thought more would be both acceptable and useful, which in its season it is hoped will be afforded to

5 The author has no means of identifying this inscription nor the provenance of his copy. He understands that in recent years it was in a private collection in Cornwall.

6 Pages [i] to iv are gathering a, with page [iii] signed a2, so the preceding free end papers may be part of this gathering.

7 The early Bible Christians were first identified as followers of O'Bryan but adopted the official name of 'Arminian Bible Christians'. 'Arminian' was dropped in 1829.

the public; it would have been the case now, but we were not willing to vary from our proposal, that it should be completed in thirteen Numbers.

May all who read and hear, or sing them, be edified thereby; and God be glorified, is the prayer of their servant for Christ's sake.

Wm. O'Bryan, Launceston, Feb. 1st. 1820)'

[1]

'A Collection of Hymns.

Hymn 1

[Peace [*sic.* i.e. a suggested tune]

Attend ye saints and hear me tell,' [etc]

* * *

[156]

'A table of first lines.

A sigh thou breath'st into my heart

Page 108' [etc]

ROGER THORNE

(Roger Thorne is a retired civil engineer and a Lay worker in the Exeter Circuit)

JOHN WALSH, MARY LEADBETTER AND 'A SHORT ACCOUNT OF MISS MARY GILBERT'

An Extract of Miss Mary Gilbert's Journal was published in Chester in 1768 with a preface by John Wesley. Mary Gilbert died in that city in 1768 aged 17, and this brief pamphlet style book extracting her journals up to the time of her death attracted enough interest for a sixth edition to be published in 1813. Interest may have been added by the fact that her father Nathaniel Gilbert was well known in Methodist circles as the founder of Methodism in the West Indies. The journal extracts are preceded by an anonymous 'Account' of Mary Gilbert, and this was automatically attributed to her father Nathaniel Gilbert in Green's 1896 bibliography.[1]

When Frank Baker reviewed the history of the Gilbert family in 1960 he attributed this' Account' to her uncle, Francis Gilbert, who was looking after Mary in England at the time of her death.[2] Given that it is written by someone present when she died, and that her father Nathaniel was in Antigua at the time, Francis seems a plausible candidate, but there is a source of information that has not, as far as I know, been taken into account.

A copy of the first edition of this book held by the British Library is

1 Richard Green, *The Works of John and Charles Wesley: a Bibliography etc.* (1896) No 250.

2 Frank Baker, 'The Origins of Methodism in the West Indies: The Story of the Gilbert Family', *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review, 1960,* (9-17, p. 11n

inscribed on the title page as the 'Gift of Lt J Walsh'.[3] This copy has a manuscript annotation attributing the anonymous 'Short Account' to Mrs Mary Leadbetter, who became the aunt of Mary Gilbert after marrying her uncle Francis. [4] Other annotations in the same hand confidently spell out names that are identified in the text by initials only. The identity of the donor, 'Lt J Walsh', makes these annotations authoritative. Lieutenant John Walsh was the brother of Mary Leadbetter, who was later to have an important role in Antigua after the death of Nathaniel Gilbert, when she returned to that island and joined John Baxter and others who were building up the Methodist Society that Gilbert had started.

Mary Leadbetter had been governess to the Gilbert children from 1759 onwards when they lived with their parents in Antigua. After they left their parents to live in England with their uncle Francis, she became his housekeeper and then his wife, and had the primary care of Mary and her four younger sisters in England between 1764 and 21 January 1768, when Mary died at their home in Chester.

Lieutenant John Walsh's naval experience played a part in saving the lives of the Gilbert household and his sister Mary when they were sailing to Antigua in 1759 on the journey that is hailed as the introduction of Methodism to Antigua and the New World.[5] They set sail from Portsmouth in a naval convoy of 70 ships. This was during the Seven Years War and they were berthed on a captured French vessel that was taking a cargo of anchors for the naval dockyards in Antigua. The captain 'too much addicted to liquor to know exactly what he was about' proved to be incompetent. If it had not been for the assertiveness of Walsh, who was seeing them off and got stuck on board when the ship set off prematurely, it would have sunk at the first encounter with bad weather. The ship's load was so badly balanced that it was listing appallingly.[6] Walsh threatened to report the captain to the Admiralty unless he took in ballast at the next port. It took 40 tons to right the situation, and this remedial action was fortunate because there was a severe storm in the Bay of Biscay that would certainly have sunk such an unstable ship.

John Walsh is given a brief write up in the Bicentennial Edition of the Works of John Wesley.[7] He had first written to John Wesley in 1755 an

3 Shelfmark T.971.(4.)

4 She is properly known as Mary Gilbert but I am forced to keep her previous surname here, to distinguish her from her niece. Born Mary Walsh, Leadbetter was her married name. Her connection with the Gilbert family began after she was widowed in October 1758.

5 See Robert A. Glen, 'A Tangled Web: The Gilberts of Cornwall and the Gilberts of Antigua', *Proceedings*, 53, October 2002, pp. 216-225. I am also indebted to Robert Glen's generous personal communication of findings from his ongoing research on the Gilberts.

6 Henrietta F. Gilbert, *Memoirs or the late Mrs. Mary Gilbert, with some account of Mr. Francis Gilbert, (her husband) Second Son of the Honourable Nathaniel Gilbert, or Antigua. [etc.]* (London: Cordeux, 1817), p. 7.

7 *The Works of John Wesley*, Edited by Frank Baker, Vol 26, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982) pp. 616-618.

agonised but engaging letter setting out his spiritual predicament: 'as yet my soul is like a weather beaten bird, that hovers over the great ocean, tired and afraid of dropping'. This poetical image that rises to the heights of Coleridge's 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner', evokes Walsh's seafaring past. Walsh's theological doubts too, were startlingly original. Why, he wondered, would God choose the planet Earth when 'Mercury is reckoned much smaller, and nearer the sun; Jupiter much larger; and Saturn much further, with a nobler apparatus.' His continuing correspondence with Wesley satisfied his doubts to the extent that he addressed Wesley as the 'long-desired restorer in Christ of a half-believer', and gave useful service to the Methodist cause. Frank Baker's write up goes wrong in one small particular. He guesses that Walsh's rank of Lieutenant is due to 'a brief career in the army'.

As this anecdote shows, Walsh had been in the Navy. Without his seamanship the history of Methodism in the West Indies could have been very different, and the object of my research, William Gilbert, Nathaniel Gilbert's youngest son, author of *The Hurricane: a Theosophical and Western Eclogue* (Bristol: 1796), might not have been born in Antigua three years after his parents' crucial 1759 sea voyage to that island.

PAUL CHESHIRE
(Paul Cheshire is writing a biographical study of William Gilbert)

BOOK REVIEWS

Brother Charles by Barrie W. Tabraham (Epworth Press, 2003, pp.xi, 146; £14.99. ISBN 07162 0570 X)

This new volume in the 'Exploring Methodism' series is to be particularly welcomed in that it fills a real need and covers ground that has been relatively neglected. Charles Wesley has always suffered from living in the shadow of his older brother and for many years, despite the continuing use of his hymns, was suspect in Wesleyan circles because of his dogged loyalty to the established Church. In this he paid the price for his more critical and honest attitude to the shortcomings of the lay itinerants of early Methodism and to the ambiguities and inconsistencies of 'brother John' .

While lives of the latter have continued to pour out, often with little new to offer, Charles still awaits his definitive treatment. This is no implied criticism of the present book, which sets out to fulfil the needs of a wider readership and does so admirably. A lucid and very readable text is backed up by well chosen extracts from primary sources and end-notes identifying secondary sources: a format familiar to us from the earlier volumes in the

series. It introduces the 'general reader' to Charles Wesley's life, his contribution to the establishment of Methodism and, of course, his skill as hymnwriter and poet. The author achieves what may be termed a critical appreciation of Charles - a balance between two extremes represented by Frederick Gill and Arnold Dallimore. He shows admirable judgment both in his selection of facts and their evaluation. I specially like his characterization of Charles as 'a Barnabas to John's Paul'. Anyone accustomed to the use of his hymns in public worship, but knowing little or nothing of the hymnwriter, should find this volume fascinating.

A scattering of minor errors does not detract from the value of the book. Charles had nine, not ten, siblings (p.5). Savannah is north, not south, of Fort Frederica (p.25). Thomas Jackson was not quite Charles's first biographer (p.33), since John Whitehead's life of John Wesley includes a lengthy chapter (over 200 pages) on Charles. There is no evidence that the religious society meeting in Aldersgate Street was Moravian (p.39); and William Seward, despite his popular reputation as 'the first Methodist martyr' was not killed during an open-air service (p.65). The Collection of Psalms and Hymns published in 1738 after John Wesley's return to England was a separate publication, not volume 2 of the 'Charlestown Hymn Book' he had published the previous year in South Carolina (p.70). James Wheatley's immorality was certainly (not 'probably') sexual (p.138 note 49), as Elizabeth Bellamy has amply shown.

The series as a whole is a very useful one, if only the Methodist in the pew (not to mention the pulpit) can be persuaded to buy and read it. It is a pity that it does not seem to have been clearly thought out and planned in advance, but left just to 'grow' like Topsy. An inadvertent, but welcome, consequence of this is that Charles for once gets fuller treatment than John, who has to share a volume with a survey of later Methodist history in the opening volume, The Making of Methodism. Methodism since 1932 gets both a chapter in that volume and a volume in its own right. Primitive Methodism gets a volume all to itself (and an excellent one at that), whereas the Bible Christians and other nineteenth-century offshoots of Wesleyanism have to be content with much briefer treatment in The Making of Methodism. The argument from design would be difficult to apply here.

JOHN A VICKERS

Calendar of the Trevecka Letters by Boyd Stanley Schlenther and Eryn Mant White. (The National Library of Wales,Aberystwyth,2003. pp.xii, 528. £29.95. ISBN 1 86225 039 1)

This volume is of prime importance for the study of the origin and growth of the Methodist movement, chiefly but by no means exclusively, in Wales. The

compilers are practised scholars in the field: Dr Schlenther's biography of the Countess of Huntingdon has been much praised as has Dr White's detailed study,in Welsh, of the Methodist Societies in South-West Wales from 1737 to 1750. The Trevecka letters - the compilers indicate that they have retained the antiquated spelling as the one favoured by Howell Harris - have been deposited at the National Library of Wales by the Presbyterian (Calvinistic Methodist) Church of Wales, whose authorities were at one time thought to have been over-protective of the letters and of Harris's diaries, perhaps from an apprehension that somewhere embedded among them might lurk a compromising nugget about the relationship between Harris and 'Madam' Sidney Griffith. Matters have for some years been much more relaxed, perhaps reflecting the general view, even in this prurient age, that the connection, though breathtakingly unwise, was not carnal.

Three quarters of the three thousand or so letters are by Harris or to him, and the correspondents notably include the Wesleys, Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon. Many are, however, less well known and the compilers have often helpfully attached a location to their names in the index: ten instances of John Jones are thus distinguished. Perhaps a little more help might have been given by quoting their dates, but this would no doubt have been a major and all too often fruitless undertaking. Some twelve per cent of the documents are in Welsh. Harris's handwriting when in haste, his usual state, was of the doctor's prescription variety and the compilers have had to make valiant and generally successful attempts at decipherment. Summarizing the contents of the letters has been done with both thoroughness and common sense. Correspondents often wrote somewhat copiously about their spiritual state, and not infrequently this evokes the brisk phrase 'pious sentiments'. Detail is, however, provided where appropriate or just interesting. The printer John Lewis, for instance, writes to Harris in April 1743 : ' A very long letter, written from Bartholomew Close. His only son, aged eleven, is given to constant stealing. Lewis not only has lost all his business among worldly people, but manages to disoblige the godly, who find the least fault in him to be worse than in another printer. John Cennick and George Whitefield seem not to wish to give him any more work.' Other preachers, family problems, printing matters and Tabernacle affairs take up a further eighteen lines.

The value of the work lies not just in the chronological arrangement and in the summaries but also in the comprehensive index. A pioneering work by M.H.Jones in 1932 had listed the letters then known, but it was no more than an inventory and of very limited usefulness. Here the index contains not only a detailed ordering of correspondents but also references to them in letters by others. So that under Marmaduke Gwynne, for instance, there are forty-four summarized letters to and from him (some admittedly as 'solely pious exhortation' or 'pious effusions'), but also twenty three references in other letters. With the present calendar and the publication in 2002 of the first

volume of Geraint Tudur's scholarly biography (*From Conversion to Separation*) a more detailed and accurate picture of Harris and his contacts is emerging. If the compilers of this volume could be encouraged now to turn their attention to his library, that would provide further illumination.

GLYN TEGAI HUGHES

Dr Taylor of Norwich: John Wesley's Arch-heretic, by G. T. Eddy (Epworth Press, 2003, pp.265 £16.99, ISBN 071620568 8.)

On the cover, Cyril Rodd justly commends this book as an attractive biography of a most attractive man and a most enjoyable read. It also provides a study of one of John Wesley's less welcome theological controversies and sheds welcome light on eighteenth-century theology and some of Its key terms and issues.

The life of the Revd. Dr John Taylor (1694 - 1761) can be divided into four very different parts. The first covers his upbringing, his early determination to be a minister and his education at two Dissenting Academies at Whitehaven and Findern. The second extends from 1716 his ordination in through a seventeen year ministry at Kirkstead to his call to Norwich. During the third his reputation as an outstanding minister and a distinguished scholar, not least through the publication of his *Hebrew Concordance* (2 vols, 1754 and 1756), was firmly established. In the last, what should have been the crowning appointment of his life, as a tutor at the new Warrington Academy, proved his greatest disappointment, and he died a sad and broken man.

It is generally agreed that, in his prime, Taylor was a kindly and tolerant man, who made important contributions to biblical studies and theology. Why then did John Wesley regard his influence as poisonous and take the trouble to write in 1757 a reply of 522 pages to Taylor's *The Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin* first published in 1740? Eddy devotes much time and trouble to answering this question, providing along the way insights into the roots of the doctrine of Original Sin, the influence of the Enlightenment, the difference between the ministries of Taylor and Wesley, and the premises from which writers like Jonathan Edwards contributed to the debate.

Further theological illumination is provided by five appendices, in which notes are contributed on different uses of the term 'catholicity', the interpretation of Romans 5, 12-21, the subsequent history of the doctrine of Original Sin, and Taylor's opposition to Hutcheson's moral philosophy, and the text of eighteen letters from Taylor to his friend, the Revd. Dr George Benson (1699 - 1762), is helpfully supplied.

From this rich and readable volume, then, we obtain an appreciation of the religious and theological life of the period, a judicious assessment of Taylor's

character and theological contribution, and a valuable glimpse of how the doctrine of Original Sin has fared since then. All these contributions are useful by themselves, but taken together they are an invaluable resource.

GRAHAM SLATER

Itinerant Temples: Tent Methodism 1814-1832, by John K. Lander (Paternoster Press, 2003, pp.xix, 268, £19.99 ISBN 1-84227-151-2)

Amid all the regurgitation of familiar material focused on the Wesley tercentenary, it is both refreshing and reassuring to find someone venturing into virgin territory. No one who has read John Lander's article in volume 53 of the *Proceedings* will need much encouragement to turn to his fuller treatment of the subject in this book. Hitherto Tent Methodism has either been ignored or at best marginalized by Methodist historians, and the reasons are not difficult to find. Unlike other offshoots of Wesleyanism, the movement, though by no means confined to the Bristol area, was confined to a small number of localized pockets; it survived for barely two decades and failed to achieve 'critical mass'.

Both primary and secondary sources on the movement are limited, but John Lander has been assiduous in gathering up the crumbs and presents for the first time a detailed, well resourced and judicious account that does justice to a largely overlooked fragment of Methodist history. His account also throws light on grassroots Wesleyanism of the early decades of the nineteenth century, and in particular on the relationship between the itinerants and the membership at circuit level. The result is far from flattering to the former, though the author is at pains to be even-handed in his analysis and judgments.

After a preliminary chapter on the social and religious context of the movement, the book traces its fortunes from its rise within Bristol Wesleyanism, through the disputes with the circuit ministry that led to the expulsion of its leading figures, the establishing of the fundamental characteristics of a new denomination, its sporadic spread to other areas, including Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool, to its decline and early demise. A final chapter discusses its contribution to the wider religious scene of the time.

John Lander sets out his findings with admirable clarity and readability. Not only is the geographical extent of Tent Methodism shown to be wider than hitherto thought. The individual contributions of its leading personalities, George Pocock and John Pyer, are clearly identified and delineated, together with the role of several secondary figures. The similarities and differences between Tent Methodism and other early

nineteenth-century offshoots of Wesleyanism (notably, of course, Primitive Methodism and the Bible Christians) are explored, and the influence of Congregationalism assessed.

The text is supported by seven appendices and a detailed bibliography, together with a useful index marred only by a few unhelpfully long 'strings' of page references. As Tim Macquiban says in his Foreword, it 'takes us to the heart of sociological and ecclesiological questions about Methodist identity still as relevant for us today two centuries later' . To resort to contemporary jargon, the book is a 'splendid read' which no one interested in Methodist history should miss.

JOHN A VICKERS

Dr Franz Hildebrandt: Mr Valiant-for-Truth by Amos Creswell & Max Tow (Gracewing, Leominster, 2000pp.vii (1) 254+pp8plates. £12.99 ISBN 085244 3226)

Franz Hildebrandt (1909-1985), son of a pantheist professor and a mother from an important Berlin, Jewish merchant family, although baptised, came into the Christian faith and Lutheranism through his two, adopted aunt, godmothers. Entering the Church, a dispensation allowed him to be ordained slightly under age on the very last Sunday when the church was pre-Nazi; the following Sunday this would have been prevented by anti-Aryan laws and this profoundly influenced his life and beliefs. Active in the German Confessing Church, he formed friendships with Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Martin Niemoeller, later Bishop Bell of Chichester and Charles Raven.

Exile to England came in 1937, with pastoral charge of Lutheran congregations in Streatham and then Cambridge. Then in 1946, increasingly influenced by the Wesleys, he entered the Methodist ministry in the Cambridge Circuit with oversight of the ex-Primitive Methodist Castle Street, which surely was a culture shock, followed by Edinburgh, Nicolson Square. In 1953 he accepted a professorship at Drew University Theological School and so continued until 1967 when, with a number of others, he resigned over the dismissal of the School's respected Dean by the University President. He was observer at Vatican II and an opponent of the Anglican-Methodist Union Scheme. A request to have a Church of Scotland pastorate was refused and so he resigned from the Methodist ministry.

There is no doubt that Hildebrandt, a talented musician, who held that any one teaching in a seminary should also hold a pastorate, was a great man. A man of principle, the influence and ultimate control of the Nazis on the German Lutheran Church not only caused personal suffering but also helps to explain his principled stands. He opposed the scheme for Anglican-Methodist Union and it does seem as if some of its supporters were going to

force it onto Methodism regardless of objections. There is a suggestion that if Hildebrandt had wanted an Anglican, rather than a Church of Scotland pastorate, permission would have been granted.

This is an excellent, challenging and uncomfortable read, for who amongst us, faced with a political dictatorship controlling the church, as he faced under the Nazis, would not: have compromised, rather than dissent, face prison and even death? One tantalising question left unanswered is the extent to which modern American scholarly work on the Wesley theology and hymns, even the very existence of the Charles Wesley Society, can be traced back to Hildebrandt's time at Drew. His resignation from Methodism, which surely could have been avoided, was a loss to the Connexion, but not to the wider church, which has been enriched by his scholarship. This is more than a biography; it is a challenge to our own Christian discipleship.

D COLIN DEWS

NOTES AND QUERIES

1566 CORTON METHODIST CHURCH AND THE COLEMAN MEMORIAL WINDOWS.

The coastal village of Corton lies in the north of Suffolk, between Lowestoft and Great Yarmouth. The village lies on the dunes with holiday camps at either end of the street, in the middle of which lies the attractive brick and flint Methodist chapel, its garden surrounded by a matching brick and flint wall.

Inside the building is of pleasing proportions, with seating for up to two hundred. The pulpit is central in an apse, but it is when one turns around and looks towards the rear of the building that its treasures are to be seen. Four stained glass windows, two right and left of the entrance and two more on the opposite walls are splendid examples of first quality artistry in glass of the late nineteenth century.

The windows and indeed the chapel itself owe their existence to Jeremiah James Colman - of Colman's Mustard - and his family who lived at a house called The Clyffe, which has now sadly succumbed to the erosion that threatens so much of this coast. Jeremiah had married Caroline Cozens-Hardy from Letheringsett in Norfolk who came from a family strongly connected to the United Free Methodist Churches. When the family arrived in Corton there were already Methodists worshipping there, but there was no chapel. This situation the Coleman family set about rectifying. Money was raised and on 28 June 1873 Caroline Colman laid the foundation stone. A brick was also laid by each member of the Colman

children bearing their initials, these can be seen on the north wall. The architect was Edward Boardman of Norwich, who later married one of the Colman daughters. In 1882 a schoolroom was added in the same style on land given by the Colmans.

The two windows beside the entrance depict two angels, one holding a lily and one a crown and are dedicated to the memory of Caroline Colman. They carry the following inscriptions:

BLESSED ARE THE PURE IN HEART FOR THEY SHALL SEE GOD.
BE THOU FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH AND I WILL GIVE THEE A CROWN OF LIFE.

To the Glory of God and in loving memory of Caroline the beloved wife of Jeremiah James Colman who died at The Clyffe Corton on July 5th 1895 aged 64.
This window is erected by her husband.

The window on the south side shows the figure of St George, and interestingly contains scenes of the Nile complete with palm trees and feluccas. This carries the inscription:

CALLED AND CHOSEN AND FAITHFUL.

To the Glory of God and in loving memory of Alan Cozens Hardy Colman the younger and dearly loved son of Jeremiah James and Caroline Colman who died on the Nile at Luxor on February 7th 1897 aged 30 and was buried at the Rosary Norwich
This window was erected by his father.

Alan Cozens Hardy Colman died of tuberculosis in Egypt where he had been sent in the vain hope of ensuring his recovery. This must have been a severe blow for his father, whose wife had died barely two years earlier. He survived his son by little more than a year, as is shown in the fourth window, which is a memorial to Jeremiah James himself. It depicts a soldier giving up his armour to an angel with a seascape behind him, where Norfolk wherries can be seen in the place of the exotic feluccas on his son's memorial. The wording is as follows:

FAITHFUL AND TRUE

To the Glory of God and in loving memory of Jeremiah James Colman of Norwich. The only son of James and Mary Colman of Stoke Holy Cross Norfolk who died at The Clyffe Corton on 18th September 1898 aged 68.

This window was erected by his children.

The windows have been referred to as the 'William Morris' windows and even more hopefully accredited to Burne-Jones. Burkin Haward in his book on Suffolk stained glass suggests that they were late work of the William Morris factory, possibly the work of the stained glass artist J. H. Dearle. It was important for the funding of repairs to establish the provenance of the windows. Therefore I wrote to the William Morris Gallery enclosing a description and photographs. They were not the work of Morris and Co. However they suggested that they might be from James Powell and Sons (Whitefriars) Ltd, whose archives are held in the Victoria and Albert Museum. In due time this was confirmed.

They had been ordered by Miss Colman of The Clyffe, Corton and are entered in their order books. The angels are listed in their index of subjects under 'Angels - Lily' and the stained glass painter is named as Mann. These two were ordered on 30 June 1896. The Alan Cozens Hardy Colman window is listed as a figure of St George (taken from Browns) with Nile scenes introduced at the back and ordered in June 1897. Finally the Jeremiah James window was ordered in July 1899, again the artist in noted as Mann and is listed in the index of subjects as St George. The decorative window over the door came from the same source.

The provenance was clear and thanks to a grant from the Cozens Hardy Trust for the windows and funding from many sources including the Suffolk Historic Churches Trust, using funds made available through the Landfill Tax Credit Scheme, the chapel is now is good shape, and well worth a visit.

Incidentally in one of those splendid quirks of fate, one of the church members who worked very hard on the appeal, on hearing where the windows were made realised that his grandfather could have worked on them as he had been employed by James Powell and Son at that time.

CHRISTINA VAN MELZEN

1567 'THE FOUR ALLS': A SIDE-LIGHT, PERHAPS A SOURCE:

The occurrence of 'the Four Alls' in W. B. Fitzgerald's *The Roots of Methodism* (London, Charles H. Kelly, 1903, p. 173) is well known. It appears there in what became the prevailing form: '...the early Methodists... boldly and definitely taught that — **All** men **need** to be saved; that **All** men **may** be saved; that **All** men may **know** themselves saved; and that **All** men may be saved to the **uttermost**.' An utterance on the same general theme, close enough in content to merit comparison is preserved in the proceedings of *The Fourth Ecumenical Methodist Conference ...Toronto ... 1901* (Cincinnati, Jennings & Graham, n.d.), pp. 190-1.

In his contribution there to the debate on 'Methodism: Its Place in the Church

Universal,' and to the sub-section on 'The Essentials of religion according to John Wesley' Milton S. Terry characterizes Methodism's position as one of catholicity, the secret being concentration on simple fundamentals. The key documents appealed to are the sermons, 'A Caution against Bigotry' and 'The Catholic Spirit.' Response to the controversy with some aspects of Calvinism had helped to shape the essential Methodist position, which Terry sums up as: **All** are sinners; **all** have been redeemed by Christ; **all** are called to receive that redemption in obedient faith; **all** who obey this call and thus believe are elect; all who obey and persevere shall be saved. The heavy repetition of 'all' points to some historical relationship, especially at a time when American and British Methodisms were in a more than usually close interchange. Even if there was no conscious link, the similarity is also noteworthy, in a period when both branches of the Methodist family of churches were deeply concerned with self-redefinition. Like Fitzgerald's formula, this summary concentrates on the human side of things, although the objective basis (all have been redeemed) is somewhat more explicit than in 'all may be saved.' The risks of the life of faith are more clearly hinted at: final salvation is conditional upon perseverance in faith. We hear echoes of Charles Wesley's 'Ah, Lord, with trembling I confess / A gracious soul may fall from grace...' Stylistically, Terry's wording has a less homiletic flavour than Fitzgerald's.

Terry (1841 - 1914) concludes with an interesting biographical glimpse. He had been reared by Quaker parents. He confided to his father his difficulties over the Trinity, and had been reassured that, once he had come to terms with one Divine Person, the rest of the problem would resolve itself. This is a valuable pastoral commentary on the 'opera Trinitatis ad extra...' principle. Terry taught at Garrett Biblical Institute, at Evanston, Illinois (one parent of the present Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary), and helped to mediate to the churches the developments in Biblical criticism: in some ways, he corresponds in America to Arthur Samuel Peake in Britain. Terry's least known but probably most influential publication was his pamphlet on a proposed replacement for the Methodist Episcopal Church's Articles of Religion, which subsequently provided the basis for the confession of the United Evangelical Church, and of its continuing descendant, the Evangelical Congregational Church, which remained distinct after the United Evangelical Church and the Evangelical Association reunited in 1922.

DAVID TRIPP

1568 A NEW ROOM RESOURCE

The family of the late Ralph Bates, warden of the New Room from 1968 to 1972, has presented us with an exercise book (8" x 6") kept by him and

containing meticulously recorded notes on the history of the building, those who preached there in the early years, who managed the household, analyses of membership rolls, comments on portraits and furniture and much else besides. In order to make the volume immediately useful its 144 pages have been provided with an index containing just over 100 headings. The essential value of the document is that it concerns the building and the people who have served it over the years. It says very little about the Wesleys themselves. Here the New Room has a record of its social history and notes on its possessions not available under a single cover anywhere else. Full references are provided to sources. It is a work of devoted scholarly passion intended first of all to assist only its compiler but, now that we have it, something which nobody dealing with the enquiries we receive can afford to ignore. One really does wonder if 'the man himself' could have done it better.

JEFFREY SPITTAL

1569 AN OTLEY CHAPEL SHARE

Raising capital by issuing shares for the building of Methodist chapels in the nineteenth century is well documented, especially for the Wesleyan Association, where a notable example was Baillie Street, Rochdale of 1837. To what extent was the shareholder principle found in eighteenth-century Methodism?

John Ritchie (1703-80), a retired naval surgeon, was the mainstay of the Otley, West Yorkshire, society, then in the Keighley circuit. He was the father of Elizabeth Ritchie (1754 - 1835), later Mrs Mortimer, a close companion of John Wesley who was present at City Road at the time of his death. Ritchie's will, dated 1780, leaves

'To my daughter Elizabeth the share I have in the preaching house at Otley which I rate at £150.'

The implication is that Otley's first Methodist chapel, built in 1774, had shareholders. Are other eighteenth-century examples known or was Otley unique in this regard?

D. COLIN DEWS

The Index to Volume 54 will be issued with the May Proceedings.

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